

ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN KHALED HOSSEINI'S *THE KITE RUNNER*

THESIS

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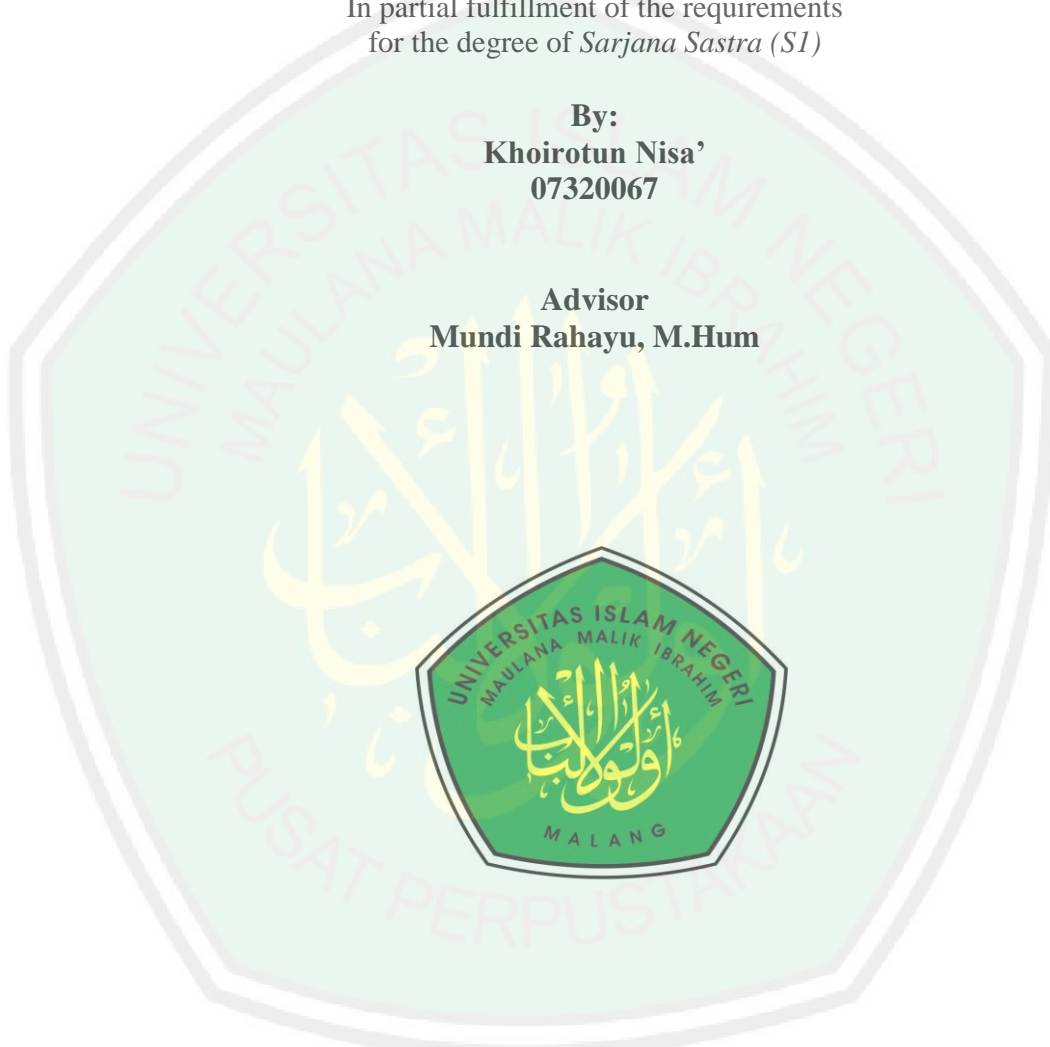
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for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra (S1)*

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DEDICATION

This thesis is proudly dedicated to
my endless love parents M. Muslihlin and Siti Zuhroh;
Thank you so much for the trust, patient, prayers, sacrifice, care,
and support that always be given to me no matter what.
You are the place where I always comeback to.
You are the place I can always rely on to.
I am sincerely sorry for always making hard time for you.
So much thanks to my beloved sister Ainur Rofi'ah
You always support and taking care of me.
And also my little sister Laila Rizqia Umami. Thanks for the pray.
And to all of my friends who always stay by my side and
Thank you for always supporting.
I Love you all so much

MOTTO

**DIVERSITY MEANS NOTHING
AS LONG AS WE ARE TOGETHER**



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Malang, 5th of June 2014

Khoirotun Nisa'

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ABSTRACT

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Keyword: Ethnic group, Ethnic Conflict, Hazara, Pashtun, Rivalry, Hostility,
 Struggle, Ideology, Religion.

The Kite Runner is Hosseini's debut novel about Afghanistan. The kite plays a center role in this novel though this novel tells about Afghanistan. Hosseini tries to picture us about the conflict among ethnic groups in Afghanistan through its traditional game, Kite dueling, in which we can see different colors of kites as different ethnic groups in the society that are competing to take power of Afghanistan which results the emergence of ethnic conflict. The story of *The Kite Runner* is fictional, history, social issue, and conflict which Afghan faced in different kinds of situations during 1970s until 2000s. Ethnic conflict has been one of the social issue that Hosseini builds in this novel. Ethnic conflict in Afghanistan that is described by Hosseini through out the novel portrays the reader how a conflict can effect in someone's life. That is why this study is aimed to find *Ethnic Conflict in Khaled Hosseini's The Kite runner*.

This study is trying to answer two research questions which are in the forms of ethnic conflict in Afghan that are described in the novel manifested and what causes the conflict to emerge. The researcher uses sociological literary approach to analyze the novel. Since the novel has historical connection in Afghanistan, using sociological approach will be more beneficial to enterprise the events in the novel.

The result of analyzing the data is classified into two points based on the research problems. First point is the forms of ethnic conflict manifested in the novel. It is found that there are three forms of ethnic conflicts in the novel. Rivalry opens up the finding of ethnic conflict forms. It is rivalry between Pashtun and Hazara ethnics which results in oppression of Hazara ethnic in Afghan society. The next form of ethnic conflict is hostility between Pashtun and Hazara ethnics which results in hostile action and violation toward Hazara ethnic. Here, the racial identity of Hazara people who have Mongoloid face has been used a lot in referring them such as slant eye and flat nose. The last form of ethnic conflict manifested is Hazara struggle against Pashtun. Even though Hazara people have received so many haters and oppression, they still manage to struggle against Pashtun. They use their loyalty and kindness to fight against Pashtun, in which it effects in their psychological condition. The second point of analysis is the cause of ethnic conflict which results in different ideology that each Pashtun and Hazara believe which are Sunni and Shi'a. In the

name of religion and ethnicity, Pashtun people planning to rule the whole Afghanistan by oppressing Hazara people and destroy their home land.

This research has only taken very little part of the novel and sociological literary literature. There are still many aspects that can be studied from *The Kite Runner*. For the next researchers, especially literary researchers, analyzing this novel using different literary theory will result different view of the novel since this research is only analyzing from sociological literary view.



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of study

In the world of literature, there will always be relation with human since literature is produced by human and is produced in human society. That is why literature and human life cannot be separated. Humans live in society. They experience, observe, sometimes object to what happens in it. As a result, they express them in many ways. One of them is literary work such as novel, poetry, or drama. So, we cannot make easy on literary works. Beside they are imagination; they are used to respond social events in a writer's life. Even they are not really real, they have lessons that can be taken by the audience.

According to Edgerton (2006:27), literature is simply another way we can experience the world around us though our imagination is a mood stated literature as born of telling story of arranging world in pleasing pattern of expressing words in some special aspects of human experience. Fowler (1987:34) also states that although literature presented in imaginative way, it usually imitated, reflected, or at least described the condition of the society in which it is produced. Literature is not limited to the imaginative world only, but through literary work the author also presents the fact of social condition in the creative process when it is written.

In some cases, we cannot see the messages which are hidden among the words with our naked eyes. To be able to discover them and find the meaning of a literary work, we need a tool which is called literary criticism. Endraswara (2008:80) explains that literary criticism in that way becomes an important point of view that will reveal the whole content and purpose of the work of literature.

Moreover, analyzing literary work can be done from its intrinsic elements and extrinsic elements. A researcher can use structuralism and formalism to analyze literary work from its intrinsic elements. Or, she can use psychological literary criticism, new historicism, post structuralism, sociological literary criticism, and so forth to analyze its extrinsic elements.

Meanwhile, this study is using sociological literary criticism, because the researcher wants to analyze the extrinsic element that is specifically in the social setting of *The Kite Runner* novel. Endraswara (2008:77) states that sociological literary criticism is a branch of literary methodologies that have reflective trait. He adds, despite sociology and literary study is different, they can complete each other. To view literary from the sociological side, there will be connection between literary work and the society where it is produced.

Literature cannot be separated from socio-cultural that cause the work to be created. If the literary work created in conflict period, the author will be influenced by the situation and condition of the conflict in his work. In this case, it can be found in Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner* in which the story presents the social life of Afghan people when they face ethnic conflict.

The Kite Runner tells a story about Afghanistan in 1970s until early 2000s in which Afghan was under several leaderships. Though *The Kite Runner* is not one of biographical novels, its storyline in certain time periods are important to be explored. The first is the Daoud Khan Coup, the nostalgic childhood era of Amir during the last days of the monarchy of king Zahir Shah. The second is Russia invasion to Afghanistan, Amir's experience of immigration. Then the last one is Afghan civil war after Russia's leaving, and finally the time when Amir comes back to his homeland after years leaving it, which was under the Taliban regime. The Taliban is known as a group of Pashtun people who take over Afghanistan after Russia invasion ended. They purpose to make Islamic based nation in Afghanistan.

On the other hand, we can tell that kites are central to the novel just by reading its title, *The Kite Runner*. *The Kite Runner* derives its name from ancient Afghan tradition of dueling with kites. Kite flying is a two-person affair. One boy such as Amir controls the kite while the other such as Hassan assists by feeding the string. While kite fighting describes the happiness of Amir and other Afghan childhood and Afghan tradition, it also represents the conflict that occurs in Afghanistan nearly throughout the novel. When Hosseini paints us a picture of hundreds of kites fighting with great determination to cut each other down, he also describes us the ethnic competition of Afghanistan overthrowing one another.

The conflict occurs in the novel is between ethnic Pashtun and Hazara. Ethnic conflict is a phenomenon often found in multi ethnic society. Ismayilov (2008:4) once said that ethnic conflicts can be defined as conflicts between ethnic groups

within a multi ethnic state, which have been going on some time, which may appear to be unsolvable to the parties caught up in them. Many ethnic conflicts result in a significant loss of life, a serious denial of basic human rights and considerable material destruction, some escalating into interethnic or internal war. The impact of ethnic conflict is not only in regional but also in international. There are some of ethnic conflict victims who seek refuge across the country. Some of them even sacrifice their safety only to be able to run away from suffering of ethnic conflict in their country. Some of them even get arrested in certain countries.

Ethnic conflict in *Hosseini's The Kite Runner* comes between the dominating group Pashtun tends to have the power over Hazara people. Pashtun has ruled Afghanistan since long time ago; meanwhile Hazara has received oppression and persecution from Pashtun since long time ago and continue to the 1970s era until early 2000s. Ethnic conflict also results the mass killing toward Hazara, which is also written by Hosseini in the novel.

Through *The Kite Runner*, Hosseini unveil the face of Afghanistan that mostly people who before reading this novel, have no idea about a state called Afghanistan. The novel can vividly portray the detail of Afghanistan social condition during the conflicts. *The Kite Runner* is everlasting novel. It means that the topic about ethnic conflict in the novel will still be faced by human since there are so many different ethnic groups living in one society.

In addition, *The Kite Runner* is the way to experience living in Afghanistan in different time line, during the peaceful time before Russia invasion, and the time

when Taliban takes control of Afghanistan. As Hauser (1985) states that novel is clearer in representing the characteristic of era. *The Kite Runner* represents a condition of Afghanistan during the time of 1970s until 2000s.

To deepen this research, the researcher reads several previous studies that have the same object that is Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner*. It proves that *The Kite Runner* is a great novel as it has been researched. There are some previous studies which help the researcher to take important matters this study, they are:

The first one is Rahmy Mahirani's research entitled *A Critical Discourse Analysis on Sentence Structure Used by Characters in The Kite Runner*. It was conducted in 2010 English Letters and Language department Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University of Malang. Her study focuses on linguistic branch which aims to understand and give detailed explanation about how discourse strategies on sentence structure used by the characters in *The Kite Runner* movie, particularly in order to be used as a sign of discrimination.

The second research is Anis Kurilah's *Social and Moral Responsibility in Khaled Hosseini's The Kite Runner: Sociological Approach* which is conducted in 2009 School Of Teacher Training and Education Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta. This study focuses on how the social and moral responsibility in Khaled Hossini's *The Kite Runner* reflects the real condition in Afghan society. This study uses sociological literary approach to analyze.

The third one is Sentot Joko Mulyono's *Amir's Personality Development In Khaled Hosseini The Kite Runner A Psychosocial Approach*. This study is conducted

in 2009 at School of Teacher Training And Education Muhamadiyah University of Surakarta. He analyzed Amir's personality development and external factors that influenced Amir's personality development based on psychosocial theory. He used psychological literary criticism.

The Kite Runner still has many aspects to be analyzed, one of them is ethnic conflict. So the researcher decides ethnic conflict as her object because if there is a power group, they will be a powerless one. And that is when ethnic conflict is started. This novel also takes some issue about ethnic conflict in the real society of Afghanistan since this novel has Afghanistan as its background. As the researcher acknowledges, Ethnic in Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner* has not been taken by other researcher. Considering those reasons, the researcher chooses this topic.

1.2 Statements of the Problems

1. What are the forms of ethnic conflicts described in Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner*?
2. What are the causes of ethnic conflicts in Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner*?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1. To find the forms of ethnic conflicts in Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner*.
2. To find the cause of ethnic conflicts in Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner*.

1.4 Scope and Limitation

This study focuses on the forms of ethnic conflicts manifested in Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner*, the cause of ethnic conflict as reflected in the novel. This study only focuses on ethnic conflict issues consisting in the novel during 1970s era until 2000s era. The researcher analyzes each data only from sociological point of view which sees the literary works as social documents of Afghan society. The forms of ethnic conflicts and causes in the novel that the researcher is trying to find are limited in 1970s until 2000s era.

1.5 Significance of the study

This research is expected to give practical contribution in academic world, especially in literary studies. This research is hopefully useful to the literary study related to analyze ethnic conflict in some context and also to analyze *The Kite Runner* novel. As expected, this research can be helpful for researchers who want to analyze literary work using sociological criticism. Finally, for the next researchers who want to study political aspect of *The Kite Runner* novel, can use this study to view this novel from different aspect.

1.6 Research method

This part discusses about research design, data sources, data collection, and data analysis.

1.6.1 Research design

This study is using literary criticism which is the study, discussion, evaluation, and interpretation of literature. The researcher relates the literary work

with sociological aspect. This approach is called sociological literary criticism. It is about literary works which are always influenced by social condition. The researcher will describe in what way ethnic conflict in society happens. Then the researcher will analyze what causes ethnic conflict happened. The researcher will also explore and search how the real condition of the society in order to have reflection of condition in Afghan society in 1970s and early 2000s.

1.6.2 Data source

In collecting the data, the writer uses library research to find the supporting data for the research. Then the data are divided into two: primary and secondary data. The primary data is *The Kite Runner* novel written by Khaled Hussein, which consists of 371 pages within 25 chapters and is published in 2003 by Riverhead Books New York. The secondary data is taken from some books and internet sources in the form of journals and articles about sociological literary criticism, ethnic conflict and Afghan society.

1.6.3 Data collection

There are some steps to collect the data. First, reading and understanding the whole story of *The Kite Runner* to get the information that is needed. The next step is classifying the data related with ethnic conflict. The data that is classified is in the form of words, phrases, and sentences presented in the novel. In other word, the data from *The Kite Runner* novel are collected in quotation form. Then those quotations are interpreted by using the researcher's own sentences and explanation. The

researcher will take some quotations related with ethnic conflict and Afghan society from experts to support analysis.

1.6.4 Data analysis

After collecting and studying the data, the researcher comes to the data analysis. The first step is the researcher identifying the data from the novel and the other sources related with Afghan society. The second step is classifying the data which is based on things related to research questions which are the forms of ethnic conflicts and their causes. Meanwhile the data from other sources are mostly related to Afghan society. Then, the data from the whole classification is explained and analyzed its sociological meaning because this research uses sociological literary criticism in literary text perspective. Endraswara (2008:80) says that literary text perspective means the researcher analyzes literary text as a reflection of human life. The last step is making conclusion based on the whole analysis. The conclusion covers all of the discussions in the research.

1.7 Definition of key terms

Definition of key terms is used to avoid misunderstanding in reading this research so that this research can be understandable.

Ethnic conflict : A conflict or a clash between two or more ethnic groups in multi ethnic society.

Multi ethnic society : A society which includes people of several different ethnic groups.

- Ethnic group** : A group of people who share the same cultural heritage, language, religion, race, and who have common feeling of identity with other members of the same group.
- Hazara** : An ethnic minority originating in the mountainous region of Afghanistan called Hazarajat. They are adherence to Shi'a Islam, and long history of persecution.
- Pashtun** : An ethnic group forming a majority in Afghanistan and surrounding areas. They are characterized by adherence to **Sunni** Islam.
- Taliban** : A group of Pashtun people who take control of Afghanistan after Russian invasion. They purpose to make Islamic-based nation in it.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents some theories that are related to this study. It covers the discussion about sociological literary criticism, ethnicity, forms of ethnic conflict, Afghanistan in 1970s until early 2000s, Pashtun and Hazara ethnics, and previous study.

2.1 Sociological Literary Criticism

Sociology and literature differs each other if we look at how a research is conducted on each area. In sociology, analyzing object of study is done in scientific way meanwhile literature tries to represent the real world by viewing through author's imagination. In spite of having certain difference, sociology and literature give explanation toward literary text (Endraswara, 2008:78). In literary word, Sociology is used to complement literary study because literature is reflection of human life which cannot be separated from society. Endraswara (2008:78) argues literature is reflection of social and cultural sphere which is a dialectical text between an author and social situation or is an explanation of a dialectical history explored in literary works.

As sociological literary criticism is one of the branches of literary criticism, it is used by literary researchers who want to see literary works as reflection of a society. Endraswara (2008:77) states the basic assumption of sociological literary criticism is that literary works is not made in inanition of society. Social life will always be an inspiration of writing a literary works. In other words, there is relation

between social life and literary work that is created from it. Because the literary work that is considered as successful is the one that can reflect the social life of the era it is made, sociological literary criticism is the tool to view how an event described in the novel reflects a society.

However, there are some steps to analyze literary work in sociological view. According to Laurensen and Swingewood (1971) the things to be considered by researcher in analyzing literary work from sociological view are: First, a research views literary work as a social document which contains a form of the situation when the literary work is created. The researcher view on a literary work is the first tool to analyze the literary work from a point like sociological view. Second, a research reveals a literary work as a social mirror of the author. A researcher should find some events written by the author and see as what happens in a society. Third, a research considers the literary work as a manifestation of history phenomenon and social culture condition. Endraswara (2008:79) adds up, if we want to capture a fact of human's history in the past, it will be better to use the third perspective. A literary work is often seen bound with certain moment in human life history (Elizabeth and Toms Burn's opinion (1973).

Meanwhile, to analyze a literary work in sociological literary view, Ratna (2009:340) explains that there are three steps. Firstly, analyzing social problems consisting in literary work, and then connect them with the real events happened in a society. Secondly, mostly the same with the previous step but this step is finding

inter-structure relationship between the novel and the society. Lastly, analyzing literary work in order to get certain information, it is conducted by certain discipline study (Ratna (2009:340).

Based on the explanation above, this study is using sociological literary criticism to analyze Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner*. By using sociological literary criticism, the researcher can understand, analyze the content, and find anything related to ethnicity and its conflict reflected in the novel.

2.2 Ethnicity

Ethnicity has been a major subject in the social sciences for the past several decades. Ethnicity can always attach people to study about it since human will always live within it. In the world of ethnicity, there is no complete agreement on how it should be defined. In the past, it was mostly translated as nation, people. In 19th century the term was used in the sense of peculiar to a race, people or nation. It was defined as the sense of different cultural groups, and in US English it was translated as racial, cultural or national minority group. In the 1930s to 1940s it was common to highlight cultural difference as an essential feature of ethnic distinctiveness.

A group to be called an ethnic group some criteria must be met (Ismayilov 2008:04). First, the group must have a name for itself. Names are important not only for self identification, but also as expressive emblems of the collective personality. Second, language is also a powerful indicator of ethnic and national identity. The struggle over language policies and language rights are often a major reason in ethnic

conflicts. Third is religion that has historically been an important marker of the ethnic identity. Especially, in the societies in which religion intervenes in the various spheres of public life, it may become a hegemonic factor and thus determinant for ethnicity. A fourth feature is territory. The majority of ethnic groups in the world are identified with some territories, which are not only their vital environment, but also their real or mythical land of origin.

Briefly definition, an ethnic group is collectivity which identifies itself and is identified by others according to ethnic criteria, that is, in terms of certain common elements such as language, religion, tribe, nationality or race, or a combination thereof, and which shares a common feeling of identity with other members of the group (Stavenhagen 1998: 433). Ethnic groups defined previously may also be considered as people, nations, nationalities, minorities, tribes or communities (according to different context and circumstances). Frequently, ethnic groups are identified in terms of their relationships with similar groups and with the state. According to Stavenhagen (1998: 434) In fact, many ethnic conflicts in the world result from problems arising from changes in the position of an ethnic group in wider society. Here are Stavenhagen's numbers of different situations which are commonly found around the world:

First situation is when ethnic groups within a state which identifies itself as being multi ethnic. Such group may base their identity on language, religion, nationality, or race. In some cases, ethnic groups which are different from the

dominant or majority may or may not enjoy special legal status, and they are usually in minority or non dominant position.

Second situation is when ethnic groups within a state which does not formally recognize its own multi ethnic composition. Here minorities may be regionally based, or they may be racial, religious, linguistic, tribal, or combination of several of these elements.

Third situation is such as multiple ethnic groups within a state in which none enjoys dominant position. It is sometimes found in recently independent states in which the state itself is relatively still weak.

Fourth situation will be indigenous and tribal people that constitutes a special case of ethnic groups, generally being regarded as minorities, because of historical circumstances of their conquest and incorporation into new state structures as well as their attachments to their land and territory.

These different situations that an ethnic group faces do not exhaust all possibilities of situations in which ethnic groups interact and there might be overlapping between the categories (Stavenhagen (1998:435). However it can be used to identify the situations in which an ethnic conflict tends to occur.

In multi ethnic societies, more often ethnic exclusion happens rather than peace and equality. Identities bearing markers of ethnicity, religion and culture are often the sources of conflicts among groups. Conflict among ethnic groups often appears as the result of different ethnic groups living together.

Before defining ethnic conflict, some experts argue that the identity of ethnic group must be defined as what we have explained above. It is done to see whether the conflict existing is categorized as ethnic conflict. Ismayilov (2008:2) argues before talking about ethnic conflict, it is necessary to make definition about ethnicity. This is the reason why we should define ethnicity before examining what ethnic conflict is. Above all arguments explained, the researcher defines ethnic conflict as will be explained in the following sub chapter.

2.3 Ethnic conflict

Conflict is seen as the clash of two actors of the same group or different group when an action of one's is unacceptable by others. The word 'conflict' describes a situation in which two or more actors pursue incompatible goals (Wolff 2006:2). Then, ethnic conflict is one of conflict happens between two ethnic group. Ethnic conflict is commonly defined as conflict happens between two or more ethnic groups in multi ethnic society. According to Ismayilov (2008:5) Ethnic conflicts can be defined as conflicts between ethnic groups within a multi-ethnic state, which have been going on some time, which may appear to be unsolvable to the parties caught up in them.

The term ethnic conflict covers a wide range of situations. It might be argued that ethnic conflict as such does not exist. What really exists is social conflict between groups of people who identify each other in ethnic terms such color, religion, language, or national origin. When ethnic differences are used (conscious or

unconsciously) to distinguish the opposing group in conflict situation, ethnicity does become a determining factor in the nature and dynamic of the conflict (Stavenhagen 1998:435).

The question of what really is ethnic conflict becomes problem, whether it is simply a form of a conflict within ethnic groups or there is some specific issue related. Meanwhile, it is difficult to draw a border between purely ethnic conflict and other conflict related to ethnic features such as social conflict. Matsievsky (2000:61) explains, ethnic conflict often, not always, bears some elements of social conflict, and social conflict may consist of some elements of ethnicity.

However, there is still problem in defining which conflict erupts in a society is the ethnic one. Such a broad definition of the term ethnic conflict could hardly either for terminological clarity or analytical purpose (Matsievsky (2000:62). Most part of scholars dealing with problem of ethnic conflict is that they do not differentiate between ethnic and national conflict. Many scholars tend to use the term national for conflict which in fact is an ethnic one.

Based on Stavenhagen's opinion (1998:435), there are ranked and unranked system of inter ethnic relations, though there are numerous border line cases. In unranked system, ethnic conflict may occur between groups which enjoy equal shares of wealth and power. Here ethnic may be localized and particularistic, without involving the centre of political power. Most cases of ethnic conflict in the world nowadays involve ranked system of inter ethnic relations in which not only different ethnic groups are ranked on scale of power, prestige and wealth and placed in a

subordinate position, but more importantly, the center of power and the state apparatus are more or less controlled by dominant ethnic group, leaving the subordinate group in position of marginality.

Among the problem in defining ethnic conflict, it will be fair to look back at the source of ethnic conflict actor which is ethnic group. Ethnic conflict is then a conflict emerged between ethnic groups within multi ethnic state. According to Wolff (2006:2) empirically, it is relatively easy to determine which conflict is an ethnic one because their manifestations are violent and their causes and consequences obviously ethnic. Violence does not always come as manifestation of ethnic conflict, in some conflicts which less violence the term such as tension and unease are commonly used. For further explanation about manifestation of ethnic conflict, it will be discussed in the following sub chapter.

2.4 Manifestations of Ethnic Conflict

The word manifestation means an action or object that clearly shows something. In term related to conflict, manifestation means how the interaction between two groups is embodied. Some conflicts are explicitly manifested while others are not, as their forms range from the private experiences of anger, frustration, contempt, to public pronouncements of ethnic slurs and violent confrontations.

Ethnic conflict can be expressed in many forms, ranging from individual behavior involving avoidance, exclusion and hostility accompanied by stereotyping, prejudice, intolerance and discrimination at the level of interpersonal relationships;

through institutional action, secessionist movements, to violent confrontations which may take form of riots, massacres, genocide, uprisings, rebellion, revolution, terrorism, civil war, wars of national liberation and inter state warfare (Stavenhagen 1998:436).

Based on matsievsky's opinion, there are three manifestations of ethnic conflict which are rivalry, hostility, and struggle. The three most common modes of expression or forms of manifestation of ethnic competitive relations are:

A) Rivalry — as an objective competition of group interests. However, Mack and Snider (Matsievsky (2000:67-68) state that competition is not regarded as conflict or a form of conflict but Dahrendorf, made no distinction between conflict and competition. Rivalry (as far as we are agreed that it may really exist) becomes really important only through empirically tested aspirations of one of the groups toward cultural exclusivity, or toward the occupation of some societal niches.

B) Hostility is a negative attitude toward others, consisting of enmity, denigration, and ill will. Smith, Glazer, Ruiz, Gallo (2004:3) explain that in as a general cognitive characteristic, hostility involves, a devaluation of the worth and motives of others, an expectation that others are likely sources of wrong-doing, a relational view of being in opposition toward others, and a desire to inflict harm or see others harmed. The word hostility relates to such the word unfriendliness, hatred, and antagonism. Hostility appears when one party tends to see an enemy in its opponent. Hostility can be used to describe aggressive relations between two countries or groups as well as between people. If actual fighting breaks out, use the

word hostilities to refer to the violent actions between them. Matsievsky (2000:67) furthermore explain that hostility does not necessary turn to conflict and in each conflict hostility is not always a dominant factor. Some conflict bears dose of hostility whereas different type of conflict are characterized by different level of hostile attitude.

C) Struggle is commonly defined as making forceful efforts to get free. It means a long effort to do, achieve, or deal with something that is difficult or that causes problems. When struggle defined as a physical fight between usually two people, it appears to be a little bit brutal here. Struggle does not necessary mean the direct contacts in the form of a physical struggle, which usually takes place in extreme situations, but also a hidden aggression, different kinds of pressures such as by threat of strike, boycott, restriction of communication. Struggle is not always come out as physically defending something. It can be morally, intellectually or psychologically struggling or defending against something.

Struggle in Arabic can be defined as Jihad. But Jihad is often used as the struggle to the way of Allah. There are two commonly accepted meanings of jihad: an inner spiritual struggle and an outer physical struggle. However, there is consensus amongst Islamic scholars that the concept of jihad will always include armed struggle against persecution and oppression.

2.5 The causes of ethnic conflicts in Afghanistan in 1970s until early 2000s

Finding the cause of ethnic conflict in doing sociological research is important because according to Blagojevic (2000:2) that examination of the causes of ethnic conflict is necessary, so that we may develop a better understanding of what causes the breakdown of peace in various multi ethnic contexts and create a more comprehensive basis for peace building and post conflict development in ethnically divided societies. Furthermore, Wolff (2006:6) argues it is important to bear in mind that ethnic conflicts do not just exist or come into being, but they are the product of deliberate choices of people to pursue certain goals with violent means. Knowing the cause of ethnic conflict emergence probably will help to create peace after the conflict has calm down. It might be useful to find the way to calm a conflict between two groups.

Conflict, by definition is often conceived as a struggle over power or scarce resources. This is also true for ethnic conflicts. An unequal distribution of resources and political power among ethnic communities within multi ethnic states is often considered to be the cause of the ethnic conflicts (Matsievsky, 2000:63). As what Basedau (2011:6) definition about ethnic conflict which he states that ethnic conflict refers to any conflict in which at least two ethnic groups are opposed regarding an incompatibility such as access to power and resources or more symbolic incompatibilities such as discourses on history.

In fact, the civil war in Afghanistan was created by the competition between the ethnic groups to reach to power and control the country. The main reason of civil

wars in Afghanistan is the involvement of external factors in interior affairs. The Afghan state was created by the rival colonial powers British India and Russia at the end of 19th century controlling its neighbor lands. The ruling family of the Pashtuns, enthroned by British India and favored Pashtun elements in their concept of nation state (Schetter (2003:3). That is why Afghanistan is the synonym for Pashtun. Afghan history was written from Pashtun point of view.

As part of a nation-building project early in the twentieth century, it increasingly came to imply "citizen of Afghanistan" (Soleman in Mazhar (2012:102). The borders of the territory that now form Afghanistan were build in the end of the nineteenth century, when the British and Russian empires were competing for control of the region. The Pashtun population was split, one part living in British India and the Pashtun majority in Afghanistan being reduced to around half the total population.

In the history of nation the world, there were always competitions between ethnic groups for reaching to power. In Afghanistan, it is the same case like the entire world. It starts the king Abdur Rahman Khan (1880–1901) Trying to establish authority throughout the country, particularly where ethnic minorities were dominant at that time. Religion sect and ethnicity were used to legitimize warfare and ethnic persecution (Schetter (2003:4). As a result, Hazara were persecuted because they were Shi'a Islam meanwhile Pashtun were Sunni Islam.

The ethnic groups have been significant factors in the history of Afghanistan when it is talked about violence (Hanley in Mazhar (2012:103). The ethnic issues

have great impact on the people of Afghanistan and may lead to violence in the society. Ethnic characteristics further exacerbate the division between Pashtun and Non Pashtun tribes whose insurgencies threaten Afghanistan. The hostilities among ethnic groups tend to be more localized than nationwide. The persistent conflict among ethnic groups over land and water rights has plagued the history of Afghanistan.

However, the persecution of Hazara people on the name of religion and ethnicity does not end at that time. It starts in the 1994 when Taliban, a group of Pashtun people who are trying to build an Islamic based state. At first the organization avoided ethnic rhetoric, but gradually it began using pro Pashtun as well as anti Shi'a arguments. In the aftermath of armed confrontations with other groups, the Taliban often arrested and harassed people only for ethnic reasons.

Gulzari (2001:13) On August 8, 1998, Taliban militia forces captured the city of Mazar-i Sharif in northwest Afghanistan, the only major city controlled by the United Front, the coalition of forces opposed to the Taliban. The fall of Mazar was part of a successful offensive that gave the Taliban control of almost every major city and important significant territory in northern and central Afghanistan.

Whether or not there is external interference is a cause of a civil war in Afghanistan is open to debate. First civil war possibly become internationalized because many of part of ethnic members living in neighbouring state like Iran and Pakistan that makes it possible for neighboring states to intervene. Let us take example of Shi'a Hazara in Afghanistan. Iran takes attention of politic and military

capabilities of Shi'a group in the central region of Hazarajat due the same affiliation of Shi'a sect. There is a strong sense of persecution among Hazara Shi'a by the majority Sunni sect of Afghanistan. This perception of percecution is very strong among the Iranians. Since mostly Shi'a sect in Mulim countries are minorities, it has been central objectives of Iran's foreign policy.

2.6 Afghanistan in 1970s and early 2000s

The Kite Runner deals with Afghanistan from the 1970s to the year 2002. Like all places, Afghanistan has a long and complicated history, but it came to international attention only after the coup of 1973. It is located in Central Asia and is made up of thirty-four provinces. The country's capital is Kabul. Afghanistan recognizes 14 ethnic groups among the country's 27 million people: Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazaras, Uzbeks, Balochis, Turkmens, Nooristanis, Pamiris, Arabs, Gujars, Brahuis, Qizilbash, Aimaq and Pashai. Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazaras and Uzbeks are respectively its four main ethnic groups followed by other smaller ethno lingual communities. They speak about thirty languages and dialects belonging to four main linguistic groups: Indo-Aryan, Turkic-Mongolian, Semitic, and Dravidian. The Indo Aryan languages Pashto and Dari (Afghan Persian) serve as lingua franca, hence the significance of their speakers, that is, Pashtuns and Tajiks (Kakar 1995:03). Except for the small group of Afghan Hindus and Sikhs, about 90 percent of Afghans are Sunnis and 10 percent Shi'as.

Afghanistan is ethnically a very diverse country that has been dominated by the Pashtun majority at the top level as all the kings came from this group. From 1933-1973, Afghanistan was a monarchy ruled by King Zahir Shah. On July 17, 1973, when the king was on vacation, Daoud Khan seized power. Daoud Khan was Zahir Shah's cousin and a former Prime Minister of Afghanistan. For six years, Daoud Khan was President and Prime Minister of Afghanistan. Then, on April 27, 1978, he was violently overthrown by the PDPA, People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. The PDPA was a Communist party and therefore held close ties to the Soviet Union (Kakar (1995:04).

In 1979, the Soviet Army entered Afghanistan, beginning an occupation that would last a decade. The Soviet troops finally withdrew in 1989, Afghanistan remained under the PDPA for three more years. Then in 1992, in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union and therefore Soviet support for the government, the Mujahedin finally won Afghanistan and converted it to an Islamic State.

Then in 1996, the Taliban took control of Kabul. Based on traditionalist network of Islamic scholar and village mullahs, the Taliban found supporters mainly in the Pashtun population. At first the Organization avoided ethnic rhetoric, but gradually it began using pro Pashtun and anti Shi'a argument. In the aftermath of armed confrontations with other groups, the Taliban often arrested and harassed people only for ethnic reasons. The movement dominantly Pashtun membership and frequency of ethnic violence have only contributed to further manifest ethnicity as a central component of the conflict in Afghanistan.

The Taliban were a group of Pashtun supremacists who banded together and took almost complete control of the country. Despite their warm initial reception, they soon made life in Afghanistan dangerous again. Being Sunni fundamentalists and supremacists, they systematically massacred Shiites, including the Hazara people. After years taking over Afghanistan, in 2001 Taliban fell.

2.7 Pashtun and Hazara ethnics

Pashtuns (also called Pushtuns, Pakhtuns, Pakhtus, and Pathhans) are the largest and traditionally most politically dominant ethnic group in Afghanistan. The name of the common ancestor is less important than the Pashtuns' belief of belonging to one huge kinship group or family. Pashtuns are generally Sunni Muslims and are organized by tribal society along family, clan, sectional, and tribal lines. Pashtuns are generally Sunni Muslims and are organized by tribal society along family, clan, sectional, and tribal lines (Glatzer 2002:258).

The Pashtun ethnic group, like all ethnic groups in Afghanistan, consists of numerous tribes that center around common genealogies and geographic areas. These tribes, however, do not necessarily constitute unique ethnic identities. The two major Pashtun tribes include the Durrani (3.3 million), and the Ghilzai (4.4 million). The Pashtuns are mainly Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school. Most Pashtuns see their Sunni Islamic identity as something that distinguishes them from the Iranian Persians, who are Shia Muslims. The Pashtuns have a tribal ethic code, known as the *Pushtunwali*. The *Pushtunwali* is a series of normative rules about revenge,

hospitality, and ethics. The *Pushtunwali* is often in contradiction to the Islamic code of law, the *Shariah*.

Hazara is the third large group in Afghanistan but they remain minority. They are descendants of Mogul that is why they have facial features like Mongolian people. Hazara people speak Farsi and are mostly Shi'i Muslims (primarily Twelver Shi'i, some Ismaili Shi'is), yet there are also some Sunni Muslim Hazaras. They settled in Afghanistan at least as far back as the 13th century. Hazaras have always lived on the edge of economic survival. From the 1880s onwards, they suffered severe political, social and economic repression. As a result of Pashtun expansionism, fueled by Sunni prejudices against the Shi'i in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the Hazaras were driven from their traditional homeland to the barren dry mountains of central Afghanistan (the Hazarajat).

The illiteracy rate of Hazara people is high because of the lack of access to schools in those rural areas and the unstable political system for them. In 1960s an estimated 30-50 percent of the unskilled labor, artisans, factory workers, shopkeepers, and low grade civil servants where Hazaras migrating from rural areas to the cities in search of work. The Hazaras were always seen to be working in the lowest rung of the social scale in the society.

According to Sarabi (2005:37) Many writers like Hassan Pouladi and S.A. Mousavi believe that Hazaras have always been victimized exclusively because they were of Shi'i (shi'a) believers; its easy to believe this theory because Hazaras who are in majority Shi'i have always been tortured and victimized especially by Pashtuns

during the history of Afghanistan and in most of the cases they were forced to leave their lands and homes and migrate to other locations within the country or in some part to neighboring countries.

2.8 Previous Study

To deepen this research, the researcher reads several previous studies that have the same object that is Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner*. It proves that *The Kite Runner* is a great novel as it has been researched. There are some previous studies which help the researcher to take important matters this study, they are:

The first one is Rahmy Mahirani's research entitled *A Critical Discourse Analysis on Sentence Structure Used by Characters in The Kite Runner*. It was conducted in 2010 English Letters and Language department Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University of Malang. Her study focuses on linguistic branch which aims to understand and give detailed explanation about how discourse strategies on sentence structure used by the characters in *The Kite Runner* movie, particularly in order to be used as a sign of discrimination.

The second research is Anis Kurilah's *Social and Moral Responsibility in Khaled Hosseini's The Kite Runner: Sociological Approach* which is conducted in 2009 School Of Teacher Training and Education Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta. This study focuses on how the social and moral responsibility in Khaled Hossini's *The Kite Runner* reflects the real condition in Afghan society. This study uses sociological literary approach to analyze.

The third one is Sentot Joko Mulyono's *Amir's Personality Development In Khaled Hosseini The Kite Runner A Psychosocial Approach*. This study is conducted in 2009 at School Of Teacher Training and Education Muhamadiyah University of Surakarta. He analyzed Amir's personality development and external factors that influenced Amir's personality development based on psychosocial theory. He used psychological literary criticism.

The fourth one is Miswari's *The Kite Runner Of Khaled Hosseini (Analysis of Characters and Theme)*. This study is conducted in 2010 at Teacher Training and Education Faculty Abulyatama University of Lampoeh Keude, Aceh Besar. She analyzed the characters, theme and the moral message in Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner*. He analyzed intrinsic elements of novel.

The last one comes from Lilis Fitriany's *Meaning Shifts in the tranaslation of Khaled Hosseini's The Kite Runner in Bahasa Indonesia: A gender Analysis Perspective*. This study is conducted in 2009 at English department of Letter faculty of University of Sumatra Utara Medan. Shea analyzed the meaning shifts specially on the conceptual meaning that are caused by the difference of gender between the writer (male) of the novel and the translator (female).

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS

This chapter aims to analyze and answer the research problem. Based on the objectives of study, the data are classified into three categories. Firstly, forms of ethnic conflict described in Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner*. Secondly, discussing what problem causing ethnic conflict occurs. Lastly, describing how ethnic conflict in *The Kite Runner* portrays the real condition of Afghan society. The findings and discussion are presented as below.

3.1 The forms of ethnic conflicts described in *The Kite Runner*

Most of multi ethnic states face the problem such as ethnic conflict. When two or more ethnic groups come to meet in a society, conflict is a common thing to be seen among them. Seeing ethnic conflict erupts among Afghan society is not something to be surprised. Afghanistan itself is well known with its multi ethnic state. Even though there are multi ethnic states which do not face such as ethnic conflict, Afghanistan, however becomes one of those multi ethnic states facing problem such ethnic conflict.

The Kite Runner, somehow, describes how the ethnic conflict erupts in Afghan society. From the data analysis, the researcher finds out the forms of ethnic conflicts manifested in three kinds. Ethnic conflict described in Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner*.

3.1.1 Ethnic rivalry between Pashtun and Hazara

Rivalry is described as a competition acted by two or more group. Sometimes competition comes out in sportive way but many are formed in a violent ways. In Khaled hosseini's *the Kite Runner*, rivalry comes out as one of manifestation of ethnic conflict between Pashtun and Hazara. As Afghan has many different ethnic groups living side by side, such rivalry exist among them. Pashtun people tend to feel jealous toward Hazara people. As the researcher looks at the story of Afghan society, rivalry comes out as the form of relation among ethnic groups.

In the novel, rivalry has been begun from very basic part of society, which is a family. The main character Amir, who represents Pashtun here, has feeling of competition toward Hassan, who represents Hazara, lives as his servant. Baba, Amir's father, takes a good care toward Hassan as if he is his own son. Amir does not want to share Baba's attention toward his friend whom he never really admits it. The following data shows how Amir wants his Baba only for himself:

Baba took me to Ghargha Lake, a few miles north of Kabul. He asked me to fetch Hassan too, but I lied and I told him Hassan had the runs. I wanted Baba all to myself. And besides, one time at Ghargha Lake, Hassan and I were skimming stones and Hassan made his stones skip eight times. The most I managed was five. Baba was there, watching, and he patted Hassan on the back. Even put his arm around his shoulder. (Hosseini 2003:13-14)

The data above describes how Amir feels jealous toward Hasan, his servant that is supposed to not get the attention from his father. Amir feels he compete

Hassan over Baba's love. Seeing rivalry from children side, we, often think that it is common thing that maybe they still lack of knowledge and experience that make them feel jealous and competitive. In Afghan society, Hazara people never get treatment as equal to Pashtun people. Through character Amir and Hassan, Hosseini represents ethnic Pashtun and Hazara. As a Pashtun, Amir will not accept the fact Baba treats well Hassan, who is only a Hazara servant.

Other rivalry toward Hazara ethnic is shown by Amir who sacrifices Hassan to pay for the kite that he won in the kite flying tournament.

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. (Hosseini 2003:57)

The data above explains how even though Amir feels paralyzed by fear when he sees what is happening; he admits that his main reason for not intervening is his grudge to save himself and the blue kite that can make Baba proud of him. When Baba was a boy, he won the kite fighting tournament. Though Amir had always done well in the competition, even making it to the final three once, he had never won. To finally please Baba, Amir feels he must show Baba he is like him by winning the tournament and bringing home the kite of his final opponent. A terrible irony exists in the fact that Amir allows his friend to be raped in exchange for a prize that he believes will earn him Baba's love.

Hosseini describes the big difference from Hazara and Pashtun ethnic from characters Ali and Hassan. In Afghanistan, Pashtun is known for their wealth meanwhile, Hazara is famous with their poorness just like what is shown in the following data:

It was there, in that little shack, that Hassan was born in the winter of 1964, just one year after my mother died giving birth to me. _In the eighteen years that I lived in that house, I stepped into Hassan and Ali's quarters only a handful of times. When the sun dropped low behind the hills and we were done playing for the day, Hassan and I parted ways. I went past the rosebushes to Baba's mansion, Hassan to the mud shack where he had been born. (Hosseini 2003:6)

Using the characters of Baba and Amir on one side and Ali and Hassan on the other he lays out all the divisions such as economic, ethnic, and religious present in the country during the late 1970s. Baba and Amir, for instance, are rich and live in a large mansion, while Ali and Hassan are poor and live in a small hut on Baba's property.

Ethnic class status which had built up to make much of the adults world at that time also involved the young children like Amir. It is a bit disappointing the fact that such young children giving evidence to the fact that, even though they were young they knew what conflict going on all around them.

The rivalry has been part of Afghan society. The Afghan's old tradition kite flying is the most famous hobby of Afghan people. It was midair duel between the rivals. The kite flyers attempt to down their opponent's kite. When the opponent's kite has been downed, the battle turns into a race. The kite runner will run and battle

to see who gets the falling kite. Hosseini describe this Afghan kite flying hobby in the following data:

Every winter, districts in Kabul held a kite-fighting tournament. And if you were a boy living in Kabul, the day of the tournament was undeniably the highlight of the cold season. I never slept the night before the tournament. I'd roll from side to side, make shadow animals on the wall, even sit on the balcony in the dark, a blanket wrapped around me. I felt like a soldier trying to sleep. in the trenches the night before a major battle. And that wasn't so far off. In Kabul, fighting kites was a little like going to war. (Hosseini 2003:49-50)

In the data above, it is clearly seen that the kite runner is not just a play. It is not just a hobby. Hosseini symbolize the competition among ethnic groups in Afghanistan as the kite flying tournament that long has been a tradition in Afghan society. Amir said that the going to the kite flying competition was like going to war. The kites represent ethnic groups in Afghanistan while the tournament itself represents the competition among ethnic groups.

The tradition of kite flying is not done by only one person. But every kite flyer needs one assistant to bring the string. In Amir case, Hassan is his assistant who also run the kite after it is cut off. Hosseini describe it in the following data:

The kite-fighting tournament was an old winter tradition in Afghanistan. It started early in the morning on the day of the contest and didn't end until only the winning kite flew in the sky--I remember one year the tournament outlasted daylight. People gathered on sidewalks and roofs to cheer for their kids. The streets filled with kite fighters, jerking and tugging on their lines, squinting up to the sky, trying to gain position to cut the opponent's line.

Every kite fighter had an assistant--in my case, Hassan--who held the spool and fed the line. (Hosseini 2003:51)

The data above lies class different between Amir and Hassan. It largely indicates the limits their relationship. In kite fighting, one boy controls the kite while the other assists him by bringing the string. Just like Hassan makes Amir's breakfast, folds his clothes, and cleans his room, so does he assists Amir in kite tournaments. Even though Hassan gets excitement of kite fighting, he does not actually have control over the kite. Hassan may help the kite taking down over the opponent, but Amir is the one who claims a victory.

Kite fighting and kite running, activities that bring Amir and Hassan closer together but eventually cause a permanent rift between them. In kite fighting, as in any activity, the difference between Amir and Hassan is obvious. Even though Baba makes a point of buying the boys equally nice kites, Hassan relegates himself to holding the string and running the kites for Amir. Just as he is Amir's household servant, he is his kite-fighting servant.

Above all, what Amir does toward Hassan is just a small picture of the real condition of Hazara ethnic which has been persecuted by Pashtun people. There are still many pictures of Hazara ethnic oppression done by Pashtun such as hostility that will be discussed in the following sub chapter.

3.1.2 Hostility between Pashtun and Hazara ethnic

Hostility is the action comes out as the hater feeling toward someone or some group. Hostility toward Hazara people is easy to be found in *The Kite Runner*. Mostly Pashtun people do not treat Hazara well. They tend to look down over Hazara people. Hostile action toward Hazara people are often found in so many interactions between Pashtun and Hazara. Pashtun is often seen to start the hostile action toward Hazara. One of the examples of their hostile action is as below:

Ali's face and his walk frightened some of the younger children in the neighborhood. But the real trouble was with the older kids. They chased him on the street, and mocked him when he hobbled by. Some had taken to calling him Babalu, or Boogeyman. "Hey, Babalu, who did you eat today?" they barked to a chorus of laughter. "Who did you eat, you flat-nosed Babalu?" They called him "flat-nosed" because of Ali and Hassan's characteristic Hazara Mongoloid features. For years, that was all I knew about the Hazaras, that they were Mogul descendants, and that they looked a little like Chinese people. (Hosseine 2003:9)

The quotation above explains Hassan and Ali's physical problems were not caused by violence. Still, Hassan's harelip and Ali's stunted leg and lazy mouth make them targets for ridicule and violence. The fact that they bear physical signs of suffering while Baba and Amir do not reflects that they are people whose lives are defined by violence and hardship.

All about Hazara people that Amir knows, he gets it from Pashtun people in neighborhood until one night, after hearing so many insults thrown at Hassan because he was Hazara, Amir secretly read a summary of Hazara history.

The book said that my people had killed the Hazaras, driven them from their lands, burned their homes, and sold their women. The book said part of the reason Pashtuns had oppressed the Hazaras was that Pashtuns were Sunni Muslims, while Hazaras were Shi'a.... It also said some things I did know, like that people called Hazaras _mice-eating, flat-nosed, load-carrying donkeys_. I had heard some of the kids in the neighborhood yell those names to Hassan. (Hosseini 2003:9)

Since Baba never tells him history of Hazara people to him, Amir finally finds out himself. Part of the reason why Baba did not tell him about them is probably because one of his hidden son, Hassan, is part of them that he could not admit it in front of other people because of the ethnic barrier. Hassan was born from a Hazara woman that he gets all the Mongolian facial features as one of the identities of Hazara people. From the data above it is explained that Amir finds out that Hazara were brutally oppressed throughout their history for being Shi'a instead of Sunni Muslim. His own people, the Pashtun, oppressed the Hazaras.

Though race is not mainly influence and big issue in ethnic conflict of Afghanistan, but race is often used by Pashtun people to abuse Hazara people. There are so many titles for Hazara have been made by Pashtun people to refer Hazara such as slant eye donkey and babulu. Below is the data:

Of all the neighborhood boys who tortured Ali, Assef was by far the most relentless. He was, in fact, the originator of the Babalu jeer, Hey, Babalu, who did you eat today? Huh? Come on, Babalu, give us a smile! And on days when he felt particularly inspired, he spiced up his badgering a little, Hey, you flat-nosed Babalu, who did you eat today? Tell us, you slant eyed donkey! (Hosseini 2003:38)

As Hazara is the lower ethnic group in Afghan, they often receive hostile attitude such being referred to animal and being insulted their physical appearance. The title such mentioned in the data above shows that Pashtun people tend to look down people who have facial features such Hazara people.

The Mongolian identity that Hazara posses have become the way Taliban, a group of Pashtun scholar ulema who take over Afghan after Russia withdrawn, identify them when they attack Mazar e syarif such described in the data from the eyewitness of Taliban's mass killing below:

Mr. Namatulla said "Two pick-ups with 12 Taliban fighters asked my youger brother, Hashmatullah, where are you from and to which ethnic group you belong? My brother said the truth, "we are from Kabul and we are Hazaras." Then they entered our house and started to search. They took my brothers outside the house. Firing sound was heard. When my mother looked outside they had been already killed. My appearance is not like Hazaras, although I am." (Gulzari 2001:11)

In the Taliban regime, Hazara persecution continues. They use Hazara's physical identity to search people and arrest or kill them if they do not want to stop practicing their Shi'a sect.

The hostility of Hazara in Afghanistan by Taliban is even more violent. They will not let Hazara people to live in peace, even in better place. They also have some bad prejudice toward them. Taliban is very sensitive when there is a talk about Hazara, moreover it is about Hazara that live in lavish house in Kabul. Their prejudice toward Hazara people is shown in data below:

He told me this story: 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 accused him 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 Hazaras and ordered him to get his family out of the house by sundown. (Hosseini 2003:218)

The data above describes how Talibs, the name for Taliban member, think of Hazara people. Taliban never care in what Hazara people are saying. Everything that they say is always a mistake. Wazir Akbar Khan is a district with affluent neighborhood in the northern part of Kabul. Hearing that there is Hazara family living in Baba's house makes them angry. They cannot accept Hazara get better live, and they make sure if what he hears is true. Meanwhile, out of respect, Hassan and Farzana live in the small hut on Baba's property, and work diligently cleaning and repairing the house. They even only live in the mud hut of Baba's lavish house but they are attacked by untrue news.

In Afghan society, Hazara ethnic is always in the low position among all the ethnic groups living there. Their possibly occupation is in lowest job. Most of them work as servant for pashtun people. Hasan is not the only Hazara servant in Kabul, Afghanistan. In the novel, Amir narrates that one of his neighbor has a Hazara ethnic too. Hazara ethnic is excluded from all equal treatment such exclusion from education and history. Hazara people receive many injustices such as the cleansing from Afghan

history. They also do not have the rights to go to school so that they grow illiterate such as explained in the following data:

Hassan absently plucked blades of grass from the ground as I read him stories he couldn't read for himself. That Hassan would grow up illiterate like Ali and most Hazaras had been decided the minute he had been born, perhaps even the moment he had been conceived in Sanaubar's unwelcoming womb after all, what use did a servant have for the written word? (Hosseini 2003:28)

Here another data of Hazara's illiteracy which Hosseini represents as Hasan:

My favorite part of reading to Hassan was when we came across a big word that he didn't know. I'd tease him, expose his ignorance. One time, I was reading him a Mullah Nasruddin story and he stopped me. "What does that word mean?"
 "Which one?"
 "Imbecile."
 "You don't know what it means?" I said, grinning.
 "Nay, Amir agha."
 "But it's such a common word!"
 "Still, I don't know it." (Hosseini 2003:29)

The ability to read and write divided Amir and Hassan. Being literate while Hassan was not able to read even a word somehow gave Amir a feeling of superiority over him, causing him to abuse his privilege by playing tricks. Yet, Hassan's illiteracy does not mask his intelligence; for example, he points out the major plot hole in Amir's story. And what Amir thinks toward Hasan over his critic was "*What does he know, that illiterate Hazara? He'll never be anything but cook. How dare he criticize you?*"

Hazara people do not have the right to have education like Pashtun people. This has been running from long time since the process of Afghan state building.

Amir knows really well about this fact that Hassan and all Hazara living in Afghanistan will never get the chance to have education. Hasan and Ali are the small examples of illiterate Hazara in Afghanistan.

The hostile action of Pashtun people come to the level of mass killing and ethnic cleansing. In the Taliban regime, Hazara people suffer even more.

The Talib laughed. Mumbled to himself. His hands were shaking and he almost dropped the cigarette. "But you want a real show, you should have been with me in Mazar. August 1998, that was."

"I'm sorry?"

"We left them out for the dogs, you know."

I saw what he was getting at. He stood up, paced around the sofa once, twice. Sat down again. He spoke rapidly. "Door to door we went, calling for the men and the boys. We'd shoot them right there in front of their families. Let them see. Let them remember who they were, where they belonged." He was almost panting now. "Sometimes, we broke down their doors and went inside their homes. And... I'd... I'd sweep the barrel of my machine gun around the room and fire and fire until the smoke blinded me." (TKR:276-277)

Taliban treat people according to their ethnic identity. They treat with violence with hazaras while with others they were a little bit smooth. The killings of Hazara men and boys appear to have been carried out largely in reprisal for the killing of several thousand Taliban soldiers after a failed attempt by the Taliban to take the city from May to July 1997. Witnesses stated that Taliban conducting the house-to-house searches accused Hazaras in general of killing Taliban troops in 1997 and did not distinguish between combatants and noncombatants.

They massacre the Hazaras not only in Mazar-i-Sharif, but in the region of Hazarajat and nearly anywhere else they can find them. Assef and his fellows do not see the Hazaras lives as worthwhile since they barely see them as human. Assef tells

Amir when they meet to take Sohrab, "Afghanistan is like a beautiful mansion littered with garbage, and someone has to take out the garbage." Like his idol, Hitler, he feels entitled to killing those he deems unworthy of living in his land. He even relishes the term ethnic cleansing because it goes so well with his garbage referring to Hazara people.

As majority or dominant group treats minority group unequally, denying them equal access to wealth and prestige that they enjoy. That is how Talibs try to keep their privilege over Hazara people because the minority like Hazara people disadvantage is Pashtun's advantage. Hazara has been a victim of Pashtun's dominance in the Afghan society. However, Hazara still has the effort to fight their oppression by struggling against Pashtun. The following sub chapter will explain more about Hazara's struggle against Pashtun.

3.1.3 Hazara's struggle against Pashtun

Hazara people are always seen as weak and being in the lowest class group among Afghan ethnic groups. Seeing from the previous sub chapters that have showed how Hazara ethnic survive living among Pashtun ethnic, which notably oppressing them, it seems impossible for Hazara people to struggle against them. But then, Hazara people still manage to struggle against Pashtun people.

Struggle is not always referred to something to be physically fight for something. Hazara's struggle against Pashtun is more like protest toward their injustice without harming people. The struggle Hazara people has against Pashtun is

showing their loyalty and kindness toward them. It might be something that does not make sense. Some people may think how people struggle with loyalty and kindness. But in the novel, Hosseini describes Hazara struggle against Pashtun by representation of characters Hassan and Amir. Hassan has known that Amir was there when he got raped by Asef, but he did not do anything to help him. Yet, he keep it secret from Baba. This even makes Amir gets frustrated.

This was Hassan's final sacrifice for me. If he'd said no, Baba would have believed him because we all knew Hassan never lied. And if Baba believed him, then I'd be the accused; I would have to explain and I would be revealed for what I really was. Baba would never, ever forgive me. And that led to another understanding: Hassan knew He knew I'd seen everything in that alley, that I'd stood there and done nothing. He knew I had betrayed him and yet he was rescuing me once again, maybe for the last time. (Hosseini 2003:105)

Hosseini makes it clear that Amir was in a state of panic and internal conflict. Still, he makes a conscious decision to abandon Hassan, whom he feels on some level to be his sacrificial lamb and just a Hazara.

The most painful thing that Amir, as a Pashtun, ever experience is the whole of his life he is feeling regret and apology toward Hassan because he remain silent the whole life about the rape of Hassan that he has eye witnessed since kid. The way Ali and Hassan struggle over their oppression is to remain loyal and silent. The remaining silent about injustice is Ali and Hassan's way of showing loyalty to Baba and Amir. The story of *The Kite Runner* is filled with things untold or unspoken. Baba's adultery, Hassan's rape, and Amir's betrayal of Ali and Hassan are examples of things

untold. As a result of their loyalty and silent for their whole life has turned Amir's psychological condition such as the data below:

An hour later, I still couldn't sleep. I kept tossing and turning as my relatives grunted, sighed, and snored in their sleep. I sat up. A wedge of moonlight streamed in through the window.
 "I watched Hassan get raped," I said to no one.

That was the night I became an insomniac. (Hosseini 2003:86)

Another data showing how Amir psychologically destroyed is as follow:

Hassan milled about the periphery of my life after that. I made sure our paths crossed as little as possible, planned my day that way. Because when he was around, the oxygen seeped out of the room. My chest tightened and I couldn't draw enough air; I'd stand there, gasping in my own little airless bubble of atmosphere. (Hosseini 2003:89)

In the data above it is explained that Amir's guilt begins to consume him immediately after the rape. He becomes an insomniac. He cannot bear to be around Hassan, who reminds him of his guilt by merely existing. Instead of making him right his wrong, Amir's guilt leads him into a cycle of wrongdoing. First, he lies to Ali and says that nothing happened to Hassan. Next, Amir begins to ignore Hassan, effectively torturing him with silence and compounding his injury. The only thing that sickens Amir as much as his guilt is the fact that Hassan will not do anything to stand up for himself.

However, the cost of Amir's guilt toward Hasan he has to pay it years later. It was when he is trying to save Hasan's son, Sohrab from Asef's hand. In the return of his guilt to Hasan, he has to face his undone business with Asef at that time when

Hasan saved him. When Amir got smashed by Asef he feels peace since winter of 1975, when he was eye witnessing Hassan got raped by Asef. What Hassan had been struggling in the end has been paid by Amir.

Another struggle Hazara people, in this case it is represented by Ali and Hasan, have shown against their injustice. When they were accused of being a thief of Amir's missing watch, they suddenly ask to resign from their job because living there was difficult now.

"We are leaving, Agha sahib," Ali said.
 "What?" Baba said, the color draining from his face.
 "We can't live here anymore," Ali said.
 "But I forgive him, Ali, didn't you hear?" said Baba.

Baba stood up, a sheen of grief across his face. "Ali, haven't I provided well for you? Haven't I been good to you and Hassan? You're the brother I never had, Ali, you know that. Please don't do this."

"Don't make this even more difficult than it already is, Agha sahib," Ali said.

"forbid you to do this!" Baba bellowed. "Do you hear me?" I forbid you!"
 "Respectfully, you can't forbid me anything, Agha sahib," Ali said. "we don't work for you anymore" (Hosseini 2003:106-107).

The refusal of Ali and Hassan made has shown their struggle against injustice. Even though Baba begged them to stay, they remain leaving. When they say "we can't live here anymore" describe that they have been threaten injustice. They must have known that Baba will never be able to find very loyal and kind people like them to be his servant, but they still leaving him. Ai and Hassan leaving has made Baba difficulties to find the new servants. He has been employing servant for five times but cannot replace Ali and Hassan's existence.

The fact that Ali and Hasan leaving Baba's house also impacts in father-son separation. Ali must have known that Hasan is originally Baba's son that never been revealed. He must have been watching Baba showing how proud and love toward Hasan. Indeed, they still insist in leaving.

Meanwhile, Hazara people also struggle against Pashtun with some action of threaten. When Hassan and Amir were surrounded by Asef and his friends, Hasan tried to fight back Asef with his slingshot. The following data will explain:

I turned and came face to face with Hassan's slingshot. Hassan had pulled the wide elastic band all the way back. In the cup was a rock the size of a walnut. Hassan held the slingshot pointed directly at Assef's face. His hand trembled with the strain of the pulled elastic band and beads of sweat had erupted on his brow.

"You are right, Agha. But perhaps you didn't notice that I'm the one holding the slingshot. If you make a move, they'll have to change your nickname from Assef 'the Ear Eater' to 'One-Eyed Assef,' because I have this rock pointed at your left eye." (Hosseini 2003:42)

Hassan's braveness describe how Hazara struggle against Pashtun. It also helps them save from Assef threat. It is one of the struggle against toward Pashtun with the threat. The quotation above also represents the era of King Zahir Shah and Daod Khan. It was era of Hazara rebirth even though they were still the most oppressed ethnic in Afghanistan. The fight back against Asef was a picture of Hazara's position in the country is better.

In the contrary of what Hassan and Ali have done to struggle from Pashtun people, here lies a contradiction of Hazara's effort to struggle. In Taliban regime after

Russia withdrawal, Hassan and his wife live in Baba's house to take care of the house. Taliban hear the issue of Hazara living in empty house without Pashtun people in it. The little Hassan has fight back Asef who tried to hurt him when they were little, but the adult, marriage Hassan cannot afford to do that against Taliban.

Hassan and Farzana were murdered by Taliban because they think they stole a big house to live, while actually the house they were staying was Baba's house that they are taking care of. The injustice of Hazara murder is shown in data below:

"The Taliban moved into the house," Rahim Khan said. "The pretext was that they had evicted a trespasser. Hassan's and Farzana's murders were dismissed as a case of self-defense. No one said a word about it. Most of it was fear of the Taliban, I think. But no one was going to risk anything for a pair of Hazara servants." (Hosseini 2003:219-220)

The data above explains how Hassan's murder is important for many reasons. It plays multiple roles in the section, and in the novel as a whole. For instance, it brings together two of the story's major themes. His death is presented as a combination of the political strife ravaging Kabul and the entrenched prejudice against Hazaras that has turned up repeatedly in the novel. Two members of the Taliban, who at this point control Kabul without competition, shoot Hassan. Rahim Khan's telling of the story implies that these Taliban officials want Baba's house, and since Hassan is a Hazara, he essentially has no rights. Conspicuously, the men are not punished for killing Hassan and Farzana. The suggestion is that, to these men, the lives of Hazaras have no value, or at least not enough value to punish anyone for ending them.

Manifestations of ethnic conflict that have been explained above might not be the same with manifestations of other ethnic conflict because some conflict between ethnic groups is not always manifested, some of them remain latent. However, ethnic conflict in Afghanistan is manifested in those ways. On the other hand, knowing the cause of ethnic conflict is also important. That is why it will be explained in the sub chapter below:

3.2 The cause of ethnic conflict: The Religious ideology diversity between Pashtun and Hazara

After analyzing how ethnic conflict in *The Kite Runner* manifested, it is also important to find the reason behind ethnic conflict emergence in the novel. Looking at the cause of ethnic conflict aroused in Afghan society, we can relate it with what causes the conflict between Hassan, as the representation of Hazara people, in the novel and Amir, represents Pashtun people in the novel. In this part, the researcher will present the second analysis about cause of ethnic conflict in the novel. The major cause of ethnic conflict described in the novel that the researcher has found is the different ideology in Islam between Pashtun people and Hazara people. There are two Islam sects that each group believe; Pashtun is Sunni sectarian whereas Hazara is Shi'a sectarian. In the following, Hosseini explains since when the ethnic conflict caused by different Islamic ideology has emerged in Afghanistan:

An entire chapter dedicated to Hassan's people! In it, I read that my people, the Pashtuns, had persecuted and oppressed the Hazaras. It said the Hazaras had tried to rise against the Pashtuns in the nineteenth century, but the Pashtuns had "quelled them with unspeakable violence." The book said that my people had killed the Hazaras, driven them from their lands, burned their homes, and sold their women. The book said part of the reason Pashtuns had oppressed the Hazaras was that Pashtuns were Sunni Muslims, while Hazaras were Shi'a. (Hosseini 2003:9)

The quotation above, it is mentioned that Hazara was not accepted among Pashtun people because of their different ideology in religion. According to Amir, their ethnic and religious ideology differences kept them from being true friends or family. Amir's saying "And nothing was ever going to change that" indicates the impossibility of Hazara people to be accepted by Pashtun people because through out Afghan history, Hazara will always be outsiders.

In Afghanistan, Shia political activism mostly by the Hazara ethnic group, has increased the prominence of the Shi'a Sunni issue within domestic politics. It is difficult to differentiate the issues of ethnic identity and religious affiliation in the violence between Pashtun and Hazara. Pashtun leaders have at times claimed that the Hazaras were not true Muslims because they are Shi'a sectarians and could be persecuted.

The irony that Hosseini build through main character, Amir, is very clear in the novel. Though Amir knew what he did was wrong he chose to let it happen and other irony came out when the way he thinks of who Hassan is. Seeing the relationship he has with Hassan and Baba has with Ali, Hassan's father, it seems they

do not matter the difference ethnic class they have. But the fact they never really think they are friends with Hazara people. The data below describes how this irony is told:

But in none of his stories did Baba ever refer to Ali as his friend. The curious thing was, I never thought of Hassan and me as friends either.

Never mind of those things. Because history isn't easy to overcome. Neither is religion. In the end, I was a Pashtun and he was a Hazara, I was Sunni and he was Shi'a, and nothing was ever going to change that. Nothing. Because history isn't easy to overcome,. Neither is religion. In the end I was a Pashtun and He was a Hazara, I was Sunni and he was Shi'a, and nothing was never going to change that. Nothing. (Hosseini 2003:25)

From the data above, we see the difference between Amir and Hassan. Despite their closeness, Baba never considered Ali his friend just as Amir never considered Hassan his though Hassan always consider him as a friend. Part of the reason why Amir denies his relation with Hassan is that he actually sees and feels the different and prestige of Pashtun people as dominating group in Afghan.

Amir metaphorically follows his father's footsteps as he fails to call Hassan his friend. Because both Ali and Hassan are Hazara, they are distinctly below Baba and Amir. The Sunni and the Shi'a don't mix. The effect of religious and cultural differences is explored throughout *The Kite Runner* but is extremely apparent in these relationships.

In the novel, Religion is described a lot as the main reason why Hazara always receive such an oppression. When Amir was in his mother's library, he found a book telling about Hazara people that his father never tells of.

The following week, after class, I showed the book to my teacher and pointed to the chapter on the Hazaras. He skimmed through a couple of pages, snickered, handed the book back. “That’s the one thing Shi’a people do well,” he said, picking up his papers, “passing themselves as martyrs.” He wrinkled his nose when he said the word Shi’a, like it was some kind of disease. (Hosseini 2003:10)

In the data above, we can see the hate of Amir’s teacher who is a Pashtun and Shi’a adherent toward Hazara people. Meaning that by his facial expression, it can be implied that he was Sunni and he is not interested with the story about Shi’a.

Ethnic conflict in the novel happens because of the different ideology of religions that Hazara and Pashtun believe. Hazara are Shi’a while Pashtun are Sunni. Pashtun, which is a dominant group in society, would differ themselves with other inferior group.

Here, ethnic class difference is dominantly seen from the difference sects they believe. The sect difference is often used to qualify the standard of people who can live in Afghan land. Hazara will always be an outsider in Kabul because of their affiliation of Shi’a sect. The split between Sunni and Shia Islam began to occur immediately after Prophet Mohammad’s death, with the followers of Abu Bakar, one of Mohammad’s early disciples, forming the Sunni branch and the followers of Ali, the Prophet's cousin and husband of his daughter Fatima, forming the Shia branch. The historical divide of Islam into Sunni and Shi’a sects was originally caused more by political disputes over successors, than by doctrinal differences. Over time, the differences between Sunni and Shia Islam has gradually assumed theological

overtones. Shia Muslims attach great value to the intercession of saints and clerical hierarchy, while Sunnis do not have a clerical hierarchy.

Power of the dominant ethnic group also takes part as the cause of ethnic conflict in the novel. Pashtun is the majority group in Afghan society, as majority group, they dominate most of life aspect of Afghanistan. Meanwhile, Hazara is the minority group who often get oppressed by Pashtun. The strong feeling of Pashtun's ethnicity is the source of Hazara being oppressed in the society such as described in the following data:

His blue eyes flicked to Hassan. "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." He made a sweeping, grandiose gesture with his hands. "Afghanistan for Pashtuns, I say. That's my vision." (Hosseini 2003:40)

From the data above, it is described that Assef, who represents Hazara ethnic, wants Afghanistan only for Pashtun people. The power as dominant group in society has made him disguises Hazara people in the name of ethnicity. It is clearly seen when he said "Afghanistan is the land of Pashtun". That means Pashtun wants Afghanistan to be lead, to be filled with only Pashtun people. It resembles with Amir's saying "I wanted Baba to all myself", in which Amir does not want Hassan to be part of whom Baba gives his love.

The power as the dominant group in the Afghanistan can also be seen as a source of ethnic conflict in Afghanistan from tragedy of raping toward Hassan that has been done by Assef in the following data:

"Whatever you wish." Assef unbuttoned his winter coat, took it off, folded it slowly and deliberately. He placed it against the wall.

I opened my mouth, almost said something. Almost. The rest of my life might have turned out differently if I had. But I didn't. I just watched. Paralyzed. Assef motioned with his hand, and the other two boys separated, forming a half circle, trapping Hassan in the alley.

"I've changed my mind," Assef said. "I'm letting you keep the kite, Hazara. I'll let you keep it so it will always remind you of what I'm about to do."

(Hosseini 2003:73)

Power is shown to be predicated upon authority and control. As a youngster, Assef is able to display power in the social stratification that places him and Amir above someone like Hassan. The act of raping is representation of how Assef has power and how Hassan lacks it. Through this data, Hosseini defines power in modern day Afghanistan which is someone has power at the expense of someone else. The action of Asef's rapping means ruining the man's dignity. It shows how Pashtun people have destroyed Hazara's up to their tribal system. When Asef become one of Tliban member, he, once again doing the same harassment toward Sohrab, Hasan's son:

Sohrab danced in a circle, eyes closed, danced until the music stopped. The bells jingled one final time when he stomped his foot with the song's last note. He froze in mid spin. "Bia, bia, my boy," the Talib said, calling Sohrab to him. Sohrab went to him, head down, stood between his thighs. The Talib wrapped his arms around the boy. "How talented he is, nay, my Hazara boy!" he said. His hands slid down the child's back, then up, felt under his armpits. One of the guards elbowed the other and snickered. (hosseini 2003: 280)

He kissed the side of Sohrab's neck. The boy flinched a little, closed his eyes again. (Hosseini 2003:282)

In the data above, Assef represents Pashtun people showing the power over Hazara people by Harrasing the little boy, Sohrab. Seeing how Sohrab can not do anything but close his eyes to refuse Assef's harassing treatment is the picture of Hazara ethnic who are always oppressed by Hazara people.

In other data, Amir also shows his power over Hassan, who is his Hazara servant. He scarifies Hassan to get Baba's love for himself by witnessing and letting him to get rapped by Asef to fight for the blue kite that he has been taken over, he finally get Baba's love for himself.

The real reason I was running, was that Assef was right: Nothing was free in this 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 conscious mind before I could thwart it: He was just a Hazara, wasn't he? (Hosseini 2003:77)

In the data above it is explained that Amir sees Hassan as the exchange of Baba's love. Amir does not help Hassan and chooses to runaway because he intentionally wants Hassan not to getting in the way to reach Baba's love. He uses his dominant power of Pashtun mastering Hazara people as a servant to sacrifices Hassan.

His blue eyes flicked to Hassan. "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." He made a sweeping, grandiose gesture with his hands. "Afghanistan for Pashtuns, I say. That's my vision." Assef shifted his gaze to me again. He looked like someone coming out of a good dream. "Too late for Hitler," he said. "But not for us." He reached for something from the back pocket of his jeans. "I'll ask the president to do what the king didn't have the quwat to do. To rid Afghanistan of all the dirty, kasseef Hazaras." (Hosseini 2003:40)

Through the data above, it is clearly seen that Hazara people are not accepted in Afghanistan because Pashtun people are really proud of their ethnic. They would not let others to have part in their life and society. They assume that their own values and way of life are superior to other groups, especially Hazara. As the dominant or majority group, they use their own standards to judge other groups.

Though Amir and Hassan are inseparable since the first years of their life, Amir is often jealous of him. However, Amir often treats him poorly out of his jealousy and unhappiness which often makes him mean and even cruel. Because he so desperately wants Baba's love, Amir allows all the violent things to happen to Hassan. This is the manifestation of Amir's jealousy of Hassan and his desperation for Baba's love.

Beside the longing of Baba's love that Amir wants only for him, the cause of ethnic conflict that has been described in the novel is prestige as part of dominant group in the society also contributes to build such a rivalry, hostility, and struggle in the novel. The characteristic of Pashtun people such as *Nang* which means honor, reputation and *Namoos* which means fame, dignity. These *Nang* and *Namoos* are the source of Baba's untold story about his other son, Hassan, which in the whole story in the novel, Amir feels jealous of.

"How could you hide this from me? From him?" I bellowed. "Please think, Amir Jan. It was a shameful situation. People would talk. All that a man had back then, all that he was, was his honor, his name, and if people talked...We couldn't tell anyone, surely you can see that. " (Hosseini 2003:223)

For the whole life of Amir, he never knew that Baba has been hiding the fact that Hassan is his half brother because the prestige of Pashtun people. It is very shameful of Pashtun people to have such a family who is a Hazara people. Baba, who represents Pashtun ethnic here in the novel, has high prestige toward himself as his affiliation toward Pashtun ethnic.

Above all, the major cause of ethnic conflict between Pashtun and Hazara that is described in the novel is the difference ideology that each group believes; Pashtun people are Sunni sectarians meanwhile, Hazara people are Shi'a sectarians. In Afghan history this difference ideology has been used to take control and persecute Hazara people. However, the events that have been described in the novel might not be found in the real society of Afghanistan but there are some that have been described by Hosseini in *The Kite Runner*. We cannot match all that have lied in the novel with the real society though it is the Sociological literary research because maybe there are still many events in Afghan society that Hosseini does not tell through out the novel. However, that is all that have been found in the novel about ethnic conflict forms and its cause.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

After presenting the result of analysis in the previous chapter, the researcher will present the conclusion and suggestion in this chapter. The conclusion consists of the answer of the problems that has been asked in this research and the suggestion which may be helpful for the next researchers to conduct the similar study.

4.1 Conclusion

After analyzing and interpreting the obtained data in the previous study, the researcher has found out the forms of ethnic conflict manifested in the novel and what causes it. To make it more specific, the researcher will explain them in each point. First point is explaining the forms of ethnic conflict described in the novel which consist rivalry between Pashtun and Hazara ethnic, the hostility between Pashtun and Hazara ethnic, and Hazara's struggle against Pashtun. The following point is the cause of ethnic conflict: the conquering of Hazara ethnic by Pashtun ethnic.

In case of forms of ethnic conflict that is manifested in the form of rivalry. Through rivalry, Pashtun people tend to utilize their power and privilege as the major group in Afghan society to compete against Hazara people. Meanwhile, Hazara people seem too lack of power that they cannot fight back toward Hazara people. The rivalry action comes from Pashtun side toward Hazara. The kite flying competition takes a big role in representing rivalry among Afghan ethnic groups. In the kite flying, each kite flyer needs to take someone else's kite down in the mid air battle. It

is just like how Pashtun people take Hazara people down by oppressing them and place them in the low class in the society.

The manifestation of ethnic conflict between Hazara and Pashtun ethnics is in the form of Hostility. Hostility toward Hazara people by Pashtun has been done in many ways. Pashtun people tend to make title of hazara people by their Mongolian identity. They have been called flat nose, slant eyes, and many others referring their Mongolian identity. Though race issue is not the part of big influence in ethnic conflict among them, Pashtun people utilize it to take down Hazara people.

The other manifestation of ethnic conflict is Hazara struggle against Pashtun. The struggle is seen as the act of protest by Hazara people against Pashtun people. In this case, Hazara does not show the violent action as the protest toward Pashtun. On the other hand, the way they show their struggle is to be loyal and kind toward them. As a result of their loyalty, Amir suffer the psychological pain. The struggle does not always have to be acted as a thread. On the contrary, the effect of struggling using a good manner will have a big effect towards the opposite.

The second point of the analysis results as the cause of ethnic conflict in Afghan society described in the novel. The major cause of ethnic conflict in the novel is the diversity of ideology in religion between Pashtun and Hazara. Pashtun people are Sunni sectarians meanwhile Hazara people are Shi'a sectarians. The difference between Shi'a and Sunni has caused Hazara's persecution during nineteenth. This cause is just become the mask for Pashtun people who plan to rule the whole Afghan territory.

4.2 Suggestion

This study is far from perfection and it still discusses small part in literary work. For those who are interested in studying literature, this study may contribute the students in enjoying literary works, especially the novel. There are still so many part of literary work needed to be studied especially Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner*. This study is expected to be inspiration for other researchers, especially researchers in Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner* because there are many other aspects that can be done to appreciate this literary work.

For researchers who want to use sociological approach to study literary works, this thesis is hopefully help them to understand a bit about sociological literary criticism. This thesis is also expected to help next researcher in finding references that might be used to their research. For reader, the researcher hopes to learn literary works not only analyzing about the basic element but also external element.

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