The Roots of Radicalism: Analyzing Post-9/11 Situation in *The Runaways* by Fatima Bhutto

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Abstract
This research paper presents a postcolonial critique of a post-9/11 novel, The Runaways by Fatima Bhutto. A comparative analysis of the three main characters in the novel has been made to understand the unique postcolonial experiences of each. The different backgrounds of all the characters have been explored to comprehend what led them to become terrorists. Through this comparison it has been unveiled that religion is not the reason behind the radicalism of these characters, instead the postcolonial experiences of 'Capitalism', 'Modernity', and 'Unhomeliness' are the reason behind their militancy. Through this analysis, the researcher has made a broader effort to explain Bhutto's stance of invalidating the Islamophobic beliefs prevalent in the post-9/11 West. This study is a unique effort to explain how postcolonial experiences are the root cause of radicalism. The selected novel has not been examined through this particular lens before; hence, this study is an effort to bridge this knowledge gap.

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INTRODUCTION

This research paper aims to analyze the novel *The Runaways* by Fatima Bhutto. Firstly, the researcher read about the author and then watched every interview based on the discussion of the selected novel. Further, the researcher read the novel and tried to understand the political situation displayed in the novel and tried to comprehend the position and situation of all characters. As this novel is quite dense, so the researcher needed to understand and research various political scenarios while reading the novel. The researcher tried to develop a meager understanding of Iraqi militant groups like ISIS and the Ummah Movement (2017) in Iraq. By assembling all this knowledge, the researcher was now eligible to research this novel.

Secondly, the researcher analyzed the three main characters of the novel namely Sunny, Monty, and Anita Rose/ Layla. All three characters were deeply studied by the researcher and the important quotations of each character were highlighted. It was observed that all the characters have a different identity and milieu but still, all of them ended up joining a militant group in Iraq. This assortment leading to identical destiny was made the main point of analysis. The researcher selected the theoretical framework for this study and made a tripartite framework to research all three characters simultaneously. It was observed that Anita Rose/ Layla faced certain financial constraints in her life which led her to lose her calm and join the militant group. Monty, who belonged to an elite-class Pakistani family, was the victim of 'Postcolonial Modernity'. His rootlessness made him hollow and he faced an identity crisis that made him a rebel. Sunny who lived in Portsmouth, England, faced the feeling of 'Unhomeliness' and this made him alienated. To fill this alienation, he took refuge in terrorism.

Thirdly, the researcher broadly analyzed that all the characters were facing postcolonial experiences and these experiences made them vulnerable to commit heinous crimes. The evolution or one might say degradation of these characters from innocent humans to savages is quite interesting to observe. The researcher has then explained how Bhutto has made a very bold effort to negate the concept of Islamophobia prevalent in the West. In one of her interviews, she says, 'Radicalism is a reaction spurred by nationalism more than any religious belief' (Basheer).

Background to the Study

Post colonialism is a very multifaceted field of study that cannot be understood in an all-inclusive manner. The postcolonial critics not only criticize the colonizers but also unveil the evils prevalent in the postcolonial world. The present study is an effort to disclose the process through which the individuals of a postcolonial world become radicals. The researcher is not accusing the colonization process of being accountable for the present situation of the postcolonial world but is making an effort to understand the complexities of personal human experiences that led to radicalism. These experiences are linked to the process of colonialism in one way or the other and this relation is to be understood in the present study. Kumar has explained the complexity of the discipline of postcolonialism.

> As the very titles indicate, 'postcolonialism' stands as an indispensable (yet independent) body of discursive thought ('ism' turned into 'theory' on occasions), which must be sought after, imported, integrated, or added into disciplines, fields, paradigms, etc. using overt conjunctive gestures ('of, 'and', 'meets'). A traveling discourse at its best, postcolonialism is thus an incomplete, but interdiscursively evolving field (Kumar, p. 668, 2011).

The post-9/11 Literature produced by the Western or the Eastern writers includes certain political schemas. Western writers often project Muslims as fundamentalists "The West remains the center of defining Muslim identity" (Karim, 2018, p. 44). While the Eastern writers either try to justify the position of the East or promote the stance of the West as 'Re-Orientalists'. In the present study, the researcher has explained how Fatima Bhutto has justified the position of postcolonial people. Here the role of religion is very important to be understood. Fatima has highlighted that religion has nothing to do with fundamentalism. In the contemporary world, religion is not a very strong force to be blamed for every evil. As Shaw has rightly explained, "Society began to view religion as another fictional enterprise, another narrative that encouraged the suspension of disbelief" (Shaw, 2017, p. 265). The present research is pivoted on this background and the researcher has tried to unravel the postcolonial experiences in the novel.

Aims and Objectives

The main objective of this research is to understand the roots of radicalism as explicated in *The Runaways* by Fatima Bhutto. The researcher also aims at exploring the unique experiences of three protagonists of the novel to understand that what led them to become terrorists.

- The objective of this study is to know that how postcolonial experiences of 'Capitalism', 'Modernity' and 'Unhomeliness' changed the lives of the main characters

- By comparing the three characters, the researcher aims at finding the roots of radicalism in postcolonial world

- This research also aims at focusing that this novel is a counter argument of Islamophobia prevalent in post 9/11 west

LITERATURE REVIEW

This review is grounded in the postcolonial experiences and post-9/11 paradigm shift. The researcher has divided this literature review into four sections. The first section foregrounds the present research by explaining the global political and social situations after the 9/11 incident. The second section explains the link between postcolonialism and capitalism. This section sheds light on the condition of once colonized nations that are still regulated by the Western powers. The third section explains the present-day issue of postcolonial modernity and its impact on human existence. The fourth and final section describes the phenomenon of unhomeliness which is a feeling associated with modern-day existential issues and a lack of sense of belongingness. The purpose of describing these discrete yet interlinked ideas is to create a unique connection between radicalism and world politics. In the modern world, it is a futile effort to diagnose one concrete root cause of radicalism. The post-9/11 world is complex regarding political situations and in return finding the root cause of violent human actions is difficult. A white school shooter in the United States of America is as radical as Osama bin Laden. Hence, the purpose of this literature review is to foreground all the concepts that unfold the answer to finding the root of radicalism. As the novel under discussion has not been analyzed through this approach before, this study will fill the research gap in deciphering the root of radicalism in the universal sense.

Post-9/11 World

The post-9/11 world is complex and political. The Western countries have turned against the East and specifically Islam after 9/11 and the result of this hatred is called Islamophobia. Similarly, the East also retaliates and has biases for the West, "The tectonic events of the past three years—September 11 and Operation Enduring Freedom, the global war on terrorism, and the war in Iraq and its aftermath—have dramatically affected the Muslim world and attitudes toward the United States" (Angel R., iii). This stigmatization of Muslim identities has made the general conception that fundamentalism is something merely associated with Muslims. This research has made an effort to negate such misleading concepts and to bring forth the complexity of human violent behaviors.

Fatima Bhutto in one of her interviews remarks about this flawed understanding of the West: "The Western world doesn't understand radicalism; nearly 20 years on from 9/11 if you're watching Fox News or listening to Sam Harris's podcast you would have the impression that no lessons - not one - have been learned from the past two decades" (Bhutto). On the other hand, Bhutto is not solely accusing the West, she also reproaches the role of Pakistan in dealing with her people. She adds, "When you don't

offer a sizeable portion of your population a vision for their future when you exclude them from a collective narrative, they will look for a vision somewhere else" (Bhutto). This criticism is quite genuine and the writer is deeply concerned about the postcolonial experiences which the citizens of Pakistan face. The marks of colonialism and the absence of any ray of hope make the youth of once-colonized places displaced. This displacement is not something associated with religion but with human experiences. The complexity of human experiences that lead to creating human behaviors is important to understand rather than blaming religion in every scenario.

The postcolonial study is a very diverse yet complex field of study. The western as well as the eastern writers have to deal with this topic with great attention otherwise their literature might turn out to be misinformed and misleading. On the other hand, the readers must also be well-informed while dealing with such texts. Jones has rightly explained this, "Possibly readers need to look further afield for more specific and informed political analysis in literary fictions, as writers who create and are read, from a western perspective are predisposed to that cultural lens" (Jones, 2017, p. 114). Literature is not just about feelings and emotions. It involves broader concepts from history, sociology, and anthropology. The way Bhutto explains the life of displaced characters in the novel under discussion depicts the need to understand literature beyond any boundaries.

According to research that deals with the responses of Pakistani writers to post-9/11 Western fiction, the Pakistani responses are very complex yet natural. The research says:

> "Such works portray complicated, individual human beings and families torn between cultural and religious loyalties in ways that complicate and undermine fear-confirming narratives of Muslim fanatical terrorism. They counter the all-too-simple trope of the 'angry young Muslim becomes terrorist' that appears in many fictions written by Western authors" (Worthington and Ghaffari, p. 31, n.d).

Besides literature, several real-life incidents reflect the post-9/11 chaos. The most prominent case is that of England-born Shamima Begu. She is a Muslim girl born in England who left her home at the age of fifteen, went to Iraq, and joined ISIS. After living a miserable life there, she tried to come back to her homeland i.e., England. Nevertheless, the authorities of England did not accept her instead they asked her to go to Bangladesh (the land of her ancestors). She had never seen Bangladesh yet she was forced to go there. The story of this girl was badly anticipated by the Western media which resulted in chaos. "Through the exploration of how the trajectory of a single female foreign fighter is discussed it was evident that media framing can directly impact how an individual or community reacts to events"

(Snowden, 2019, p. 25). This shows that the role of Western media is very crucial in spreading Islamophobia in the West. The foregrounding of the post 9/11 world scenario to the present debate is important to create a research gap in the present study. This gap is generated by thoroughly linking various distinct concepts and creating a chain that leads to finding the root of radicalism.

Postcolonial Capitalism

Almost all the postcolonial nations are economically paralyzed. The reason for this ruin is two-faceted. The first reason is the hegemony of colonizers which never let the colonized subjects become capable enough to deal with their economy. The second reason is the hegemony of the elitist groups within the colonized nations which maintain their power by controlling the lower class. Both these reasons are directly linked to the concept of postcolonialism. Another situation is that the powerful nations, even after postcolonialism have not ceased to control the developing nations. This concept is termed as "new imperialism" (Harvey, p.10, 2003). This control of the West over the East has created a lot of trouble in the lives of Eastern people. The displaced personalities of the Eastern people are an outcome of this control and the West is not giving up on the East. The stakeholders of this inevitable control of the West over the East are the elites of the East. The survival of such elitist Eastern leaders is only possible if the Eastern countries remain dependent on the West. This phenomenon of postcolonial capitalism has done a great deal of damage to Eastern mindsets.

As the postcolonial subjects experience a sense of ambivalence, likewise, the mimicry of the Western economic structures by the East is also inconsistent. "In essence, the most blatant flaw of postcolonial orthodoxy (establishment postcolonialism employing a poststructuralist organon) lies in its refusal to grasp the category of capitalist modernity in all its global ramifications, both the regulated and the disarticulated aspects" (Bartolovich and Lazarus, p. 222, 2002). In the same way, the concept of hybridity of the postcolonial subjects can be applied to the postcolonial economy. "The post-colonial economy is necessarily heterogeneous, and the post-colonial capital does not represent itself as a monolith; its hegemony is expressed through difference rather than monism" (Sanyal, p. 254, 2014).

The East is dependent on the West and this dependency is carried forward even after colonization. Kapoor remarks on the dependency of colonized nations, "Dependency and postcolonial theory cover some similar territory and share important common concerns-a suspicion of Western liberal modernity, a historical-global analysis, and a critical politics" (Kapoor, p. 647, 2002). This dependency of the East on the West is self-inflicted and inevitable because the survival of the capitalists' powers is not possible without the construction of paralyzed nations. Here it is important to note that radicalism is not a mindset

it is a condition of escape. An escape from the monopoly of world capitalism and a way forward to making one's mark. Although the radical reaction is wrong, the history involved in this reaction should also not be ignored.

The postcolonial capitalism give rise to certain political and social disorders in the developing nations, "Postcolonial capitalism creates challenges for forging political struggles around or against dispossession" (Aung, p. 219, 2018). The irony here is that the western world also faces economic complications for instance the illusion of the great America was shattered after 9/11, "the conjuncture is the "war on terror" launched in the early 2000s, and that by 2008 was confronting its limits, as the new American century heralded in 2001 seemed to be deflating (Sinha, p. 3, 2017). This shows that either it is East or West, the ones who suffer are only the common masses. The leaders create the boundaries through stigmatizing people and hence, the common masses are drawn to the disillusioned self-constructed ideas which ultimately harm the common public on both sides. The novel under discussion is not analyzed through this lens of postcolonial capitalism via linking it with other concepts of modernity and unhomeliness. This distinct feature of this discussion will add something new to the existing research paradigms.

The Concept of Postcolonial Modernity

Modernization is the process of adopting Western trends in all spheres of life. This theory of modernization "had also been under attack, largely by Third World theorists of development and underdevelopment" (Bhambra, p. 655, 2011). The process of modernization has its pros and cons. On one hand, it can be helpful for the colonized nations as it can help them in progress, but on the other hand, it snatches away the identity of the people of once-colonized nations. In return, the identities created through this tug-of-war are disillusioned and perplexed.

Raghuramaraju while discussing the concept of 'postcolonial Modernity' in the light of Said and Foucault discussed, "There is invariance in the intentionality of modernity. In other words, both Said, who laid bare the theme of external colonialism, and Foucault who excavated the internal project of modernity have to form part of the discussion on colonialism" (Raghuramaraju, p. 4217, 2005). This proves that the concept of modernity goes hand in hand with the concept of colonialism.

There are many challenges of modernity in the postcolonial world. "The challenge provided by colonial modernity is that one needs to take differences amongst human beings seriously while reconstructing freedom" (Mahadevan, p. 208, 2002). This leads to problems like jingoism and

radicalism. When humans are segregated through such concepts, the outcomes are not favorable. For instance, the religions are stigmatized. The identities are lost. The sense of belonging is lost. Ultimately, the disillusionment leads to destruction.

As discussed earlier the phenomenon of postcolonial modernity stigmatizes religions. For instance, the stigmatization of Islam in the postcolonial world is a product of this postcolonial modernity. In the literary world, the religion Islam has been dealt with with less sensitivity and understanding. For instance "recent trends in religious studies have focused on "Islam" as a set of discursive practices rather than as a stable religious or cultural signifier" (Santesso and McClung, p.167, 2017). Hence the association of certain discursive practices to Islam and ignoring the importance of a religion simply as a religion is a product of this postcolonial modernity which in return has created chaos both in literary and public spheres. The mindset of people is forcefully created through such conceptions and hence, the essence of hybridity and human diversity is lost somewhere. This idea of linking postcolonial modernity with radicalism is unique and adds new knowledge about the issue under discussion.

The Concept of Unhomeliness

The concept of Unhomeliness by Homi K Bhabha explains the ambivalent situation of Eastern people, living in the West. These people from the once-colonized lands can never feel like home in the West. As Bhabha says, "The unhomely is the shock of recognition of the world-in-the home, the home-in-the-world" (Bhabha, 141). Further, he explains how this feeling of 'Unhomeliness' can psychologically be harmful to the one who experiences it. "The unhomely moment relates the traumatic ambivalences of a personal, psychic history to the wider disjunctions of political existence" (Bhabha, p. 144, 2012). The situation of 'Unhomeliness' is very emotional and psychological as Tyson explains, "Unhomeliness is an emotional state: unhomed people don't feel at home even in their own homes because they don't feel at home in any culture and, therefore, don't feel at home in themselves" (Tyson, p. 23, 2020). The concept of unhomeliness is psychological but the causes of this experience are deeply rooted in the politics of postcolonialism. The unhomely dispersed humans are a product of world politics and capitalism.

The concept of 'Unhomeliness' has been used as a theoretical lens in numerous studies moreover, the researchers have explored how various characters experience this feeling and what are the impacts of it. Farahbakhsh while exploring J. M. Coetzee's novel *Foe*, says that, "Bhabha sees unhomeliness as the point from where one might go beyond the binary opposition of homeness and homelessness"

(Farahbakhsh, p. 108, 2016). In another research, Tas has explicated that the protagonist in the novel *When Mountains Weep: Coming of Age in Kurdistan* has a "desperate search of a means to attach himself to not to lose his sense of belonging" (Tas, p. 185, 2016). This desperate search for self often leads individuals to vagueness. The researcher has made an effort to unfold the phenomenon of unhomeliness with other concepts like modernity and capitalism to highlight the root of radicalism. This multifaceted effort is made to emphasize the dire need to deal with the concept of radicalism with more complexity. This web of interlinked ideas is created because of a unique effort to make the point of the complexity of human experiences and behaviors. This literature review section has made a clear way to the discussion of the present research.

METHODOLOGY

The theoretical framework and the methodological design selected to ensure the analysis of the targeted text are:

Theoretical Framework

As this research is based on analyzing three different characters in the novel, the researcher has selected a tripartite theoretical framework for this research. The foreground of the entire research is on the postcolonial ideas and the post 9/11 world, hence the researcher has tried to analyze the characters in the novel in the backdrop of postcolonial world after 9/11 which involves complex ideas like postcolonial capitalism, postcolonial modernity and unhomeliness. This mixed conceptions are deliberately created to form a web of distinct yet interlinked ideas and to make an effort to relate all these concepts to the root cause of radicalism.

The Postcolonial Capitalism

The researcher has selected the theory of 'Postcolonial Capitalism' by Vivek Chibber from his book *Postcolonial theory and the specter of capital* (2014). He has explained that how Capitalism works in a postcolonial world like India, "the Indian bourgeoisie was reluctant to incorporate subaltern demands into its program, it was no different from European elites in the classic revolutions. In both cases, ruling classes reacted similarly to subaltern mobilization—by trying to minimize its claims on their own power" (Chibber, p. 85, 2014). This ideology of 'Capitalism' exploits the lower classes.

> "Capital had acquired hegemony by successfully articulating the interests of subaltern classes in the antifeudal coalition; it then built upon its success as a mobilizing agent in creating, after its victory, a political nation that bridged the gulf that had thus far separated subaltern politics from elite politics" (Chibber, p. 86, 2014).

He has further explained the difference between Indian and European capitalism, "Whereas the European capitalists had rested their dominance on the consent of the masses, the Indian ruling class settled for dominance without hegemony" (Chibber, p. 87, 2014). Here an important aspect is to be understood that how the colonized nation like India got the readymade scheme of capitalism,

"It took European subaltern classes more than a century to achieve what the Indians acquired at the very birth of the postcolonial state" (Chibber, p. 89, 2014). This scheme was not according to the needs of the colonizers and from here, the problem began.

The Concept of Postcolonial Modernity

The researcher has selected the theoretical framework of Postcolonial Modernity by Vasant Kaiwar, from his book, *The Postcolonial Orient. The Politics of Difference and the Project of Provincialising Europe (2014).* He explains that the phenomenon of 'postcolonial Modernity, is directly linked to the postcolonial concept. "notion of modernity as always already inherent in Europe and its imposition on the Outside under 'colonial conditions'" (p. 34). He has further related the concept of 'Modernity' with that of 'Nationalism' and explained how both these concepts go hand in hand. "Nationalists therefore had no issue with capital or modernity in the conventional sense of the development of the productive forces: indeed, they gave the impression of being all too eager to embrace both" (p. 51). He has further explained the harms of modernity in India, "The loss of this kind of overarching disciplinary function, brought on by modernity – specifically the kind of modernity that was brought to colonies like India from the West – then begins to unravel the homeostatic balance of humans and nature" (p. 68). Moreover, there is always class discrimination when it comes to 'Modernity', the lower class always struggles in such modernity, "the institutions of modernity start to make their differential impact felt along class lines" (p. 76). Kaiwar has not completely blamed the process of colonization for 'Modernity' but he explains that the colonized people can also be the producers of 'Modernity':

> Since modernity is not just a European monopoly, and the colonised people are also 'producers' of modernity, the logical conclusion is that the 'colonial' in postcolonial can be dispensed with and postcolonial studies can take its place alongside poststructuralism or post-modernism as just another post-marked discourse interested in fragments that may come with names and places, but which all seem sufficiently homogenised as to be interchangeable. (p. 108)

The Concept of Unhomeliness

The researcher has selected the theory of 'Unhomeliness' by Homi K. Bhabha from his book, *The Location of culture* (1994). Bhabha describes how this feeling of 'Unhomeliness' is linked with the concept of colonialism, "the 'unhomely' is a paradigmatic colonial and post-colonial condition" (p. 13). The experience of 'Unhomeliness' is traumatic, "the unhomely moment relates the traumatic ambivalences of personal, psychic history to the wider disjunctions of political existence (p. 15). Bhabha terms this experience as, 'unhomely stirring' (p. 18). He further adds, "It is precisely in these banalities that the unhomely stirs, as the violence of a racialized society falls most enduringly on the details of life:

where you can sit, or not; how you can live" (p. 21). This feeling further leads to displacement, "'unhomely' house marks a deeper historical displacement" (p. 18). The feeling of 'Unhomeliness' is like a shadow that sticks to the person, "The unhomely moment creeps up on you stealthily as your own shadow" (p. 13).

Methodological Design

This is qualitative research based on descriptive analysis and the nature of the study is archival based on textual analysis.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

As this study is based on the investigation of three characters in the novel, the researcher has analyzed all three characters separately to present the diversity of their characters and the assortment of their postcolonial experiences.

Anita Rose/ Layla

Anita Rose whom later on turns to become Layla a Christian girl who lives in Karachi with her mother and brother. She is the victim of 'Postcolonial Capitalism'. She used to be fascinated by the women on television and wished to have a life like them, which she knew she could never afford. This commentary of the author explains the sentiments of Anita Rose, "Anita Rose closed her eyes and tried to imagine herself as one of the women she had seen in the dramas on TV who sat in pink chairs and had their beautiful light-brown hair washed and dried in salons" (p. 34*). The lack of basic facilities, which the nation failed to provide Anita, made her a person with repressed desires. The lack of basic things makes her fall in love with daydreaming and thinking about unachievable luxuries. Her condition seems to be an outcome of postcolonial capitalism where the poor class of developing nations do not think more than watching dreams and wishing for life-changing miracles to happen.

The extreme poverty level at her home forced her to ask for favors from others and this made her feel so shameful. *"Anita seemed almost desperate to avoid asking for things, from anyone. She didn't like asking for water, no matter how dry her throat"* (p. 35). This state of Anita makes her feel lesser of herself and hence she finds no way out of this merciless poverty. Chibber explains this complex situation of dire poverty in following words, "No mobilization, on a mass scale, in conditions of dire poverty, could elicit sustained participation from the laboring classes if it failed to address their material deprivation" (Chibber, p. 267, 2014). When people like Anita are deprived of their basic rights, they do

not deal with their condition rationally. They do not stand up for their rights because they are so much stuck in the swamp of poverty and deprivation. This condition makes people like Anita vulnerable to committing all the evils.

The living standards of this poor girl were also extremely underprivileged. "A drop of cinnamon oil, dalchini, peppery and warm, cleaned even the murky, unfiltered water in Railway Lines – though now, in Machar Colony, they filled their drinking water in jerrycans at the local tap, waiting in line behind fifty people every morning" (p. 52). These underprivileged situations are the stimulus to disaster which can be created by the frustrated people in the hands of poverty. Further, Anita also faces bullying at her school. All of her class fellows hated the existence of this poor creature. As Bhabha says, the marginalization starts from within. Class and creed, race, religion, etc. are the incitements to this marginalization. In an instance Anita's class fellows mistreat are in the following words, "Kutee ke bachi,' Mira would whisper, her voice buried under the drone of the teacher's sums. Her breath always smelled like onions and achar early in the morning. 'No one wants you here'" (p. 37). This constant rejection and poor life conditions make the personality of Anita vulnerable.

All of these unfavorable situations make Anita a rebel. She escapes from this situation and joins ISIS. In the very beginning of the novel, the writer foretold the fate of a poor person in a city like Karachi. In a conversation, her neighbor Osama says Anita, You don't know what Karachi does to people like us. Take your heart, do you hear? (p. 29). The end to Anita's miseries came in the shape of her joining a radical organization. She had never been exposed to such organizations in her life but her circumstances made her find refuge in ISIS. Sanyal explains, "The phenomenon of exclusion and confinement as an essential condition of capital's existence, and also makes visible the specific technology of power that helps create that condition." (Sanyal, p.47, 2014). The condition of Anita is also a reaction to the exclusion and confinement she faced in her life. She wanted to fit in and enjoy the luxuries of life but the postcolonial capitalist world threw her away and made her make her unique identity which she always wished to have. The exclusion, which her society imposed on her, made her something that she never wished to become. Her confinement to the poverty-stricken situations made her step out of the vicious cycle of survival battle, which she was fighting daily. Hence, it can be said that postcolonial capitalist situations made Anita a radical person whom she never intended to become.

Sunny

The character, Sunny lives in Portsmouth, England, with his father. They had been living there for years but still, they could not become part of the Western society and faced the phenomenon of

'Othering' in a foreign land. This situation makes Sunny experience 'Unhomeliness' which haunts him and he becomes restless in the search for meaning in his life. There is an unending confusion in his life. "When someone would know him – would meet him at the intersection of his confusion and emptiness – and, in seeing him, would lift him from his troubled self" (p.58). This ambivalence made him hate himself and everything he had. "I have too much. I hate it all. I want nothing. A minimum of things, a skeletal frame of belongings" (p. 58*). Bhabha calls this phenomenon of unhomeliness a problem of ontology. Our nation-centered view of sovereign citizenship can only comprehend the predicament of minoritarian 'belonging' as a problem of ontology (Bhabha, p. xvii, 1997). The nations create boundaries among humans to promote the ideas of nationalism but in actuality, there is no such parameter to create a sovereign citizenship. All humans belong to this entire world and creating such parameters only ends up giving birth to complexities in a society. The unhomeliness felt by Sunny is also an outcome of such invalid parameters of sovereignty.

Sunny's father never diagnosed Sunny's identity crisis and always encouraged him to fit into the Western culture. This strategy of trying to fix it made Sunny feel even more miserable. "If only Sunny knew if only he would try harder to fit in, to assimilate, his pa promised he would take his place among Britain's rising Asians" (p. 59). Besides this, Sunny also went through a journey to find his self. His father did not pay attention to this serious concern of Sunny which in return made him more miserable. "Didn't he see his son amputating himself from the rot of this-here life, from everything British, belonging to this alien country and culture? Didn't he see Sunny returning to something pure?" (p. 102). The tug of war between Sunny and his father is the same as the process of trying to fit in and feeling unhomely at the same time. Sunny could not find an outlet for his feeling of alienation and ultimately it became unbearable for him.

Sunny was always in search of someone who could understand him and connect him to his long-lost tradition and culture? "He needed to meet someone who shared his values, who lived their life according to a certain purity of tradition and ideals. Someone with culture and knowledge" (p. 63). When he meets his cousin Oz he finds a way out. Oz became a savior for him. "It was true. It made sense. All his life, Sunny never felt he belonged in Portsmouth. Ben and those guys, never understood him. Underneath all their banter, Sunny knew one thing: no one had ever seen through all the fog he put up around himself, no one had ever touched upon the heart of it all – the pain, the loneliness, the confusion. No one until Oz" (p. 101). The void that Oz filled in Sunny's life made Sunny a blind follower of Oz. As Sunny had found his savior, he was ready to submit to Oz and to follow him in every aspect of his life.

When the novel proceeds, Sunny finally becomes a radical with the help of his cousin Oz. However, eventually, Sunny is surprised to see that Oz, who made him an extremist, leaves him and goes back to the West. "Oz's profile picture is different – it's no longer the white and green of Saudi Arabia's flag, the sword of Islam curved upwards like the arc of a dying moon. Now, it's a selfie of Oz and some white guy. . . Underneath the picture 'Out to war' has been replaced with 'I am writing in the age of barbarism, which is already, silently, remaking the world of men.'" (p. 160). Through the example of Sunny and Oz it is shown that how a person experience unhomeliness (Sunny) when meets a wannabe (Oz), is misguided. Bhabha defines unhomeliness as "relocation of the home and the world – the unhomeliness – that is the condition of extra-territorial and cross-cultural initiations" (Bhabha, p.13, 1997). The unhomeliness experienced by Sunny is an outcome of postcoloniality. A person like Sunny who lives in the West and has no deep-rooted connection with his Eastern home becomes a fundamentalist in search of his own culture and traditions.

Monty

The character of Monty is unique in the novel. He is the only son of an elite dual-national family, living in London and Karachi Pakistan. They enjoy all the luxuries of life and try to imitate the English people. "– and ate strawberries and cream like real English people" (p. 67). Monty is the victim of 'Postcolonial Modernity'. This modernity made him a vulnerable and confused identity. He knew nothing about his own culture; rather he only followed English culture. "Everything Monty knew about the culture he had learned in London" (p. 67*).* He lived his life according to the standards of English society and culture. "Watching plays in the West End, eating fine food in Mayfair, watching his father buy tailored suits on Savile Row" (p. 67). This condition of Monty made him attracted to the evils of radicalism.

As Bartolovich and Lazarus write, "modernity and capitalism are [sic] inextricably bound up with each other in the world as we, collectively – though heterogeneously – live it, and sought to understand its variously shaping force throughout the globe" (Bartolovich and Lazarus, p.15, 2002). Hence, the phenomenon of modernity is an outcome of the postcolonial and capitalist agendas. The elite class status of Monty made him a modernist who took refuge in a borrowed culture.

Monty was far away from the teachings of Islam and in some instances in the novel; he is even seen disrespecting his religion, Islam. While travelling in a taxi in London he was drinking water when the Muslim driver asked him to respect the month of Ramzan when Muslims practice fasting. At this instant, Monty simply laughed at him. "Monty laughed nervously. It was a long flight, he replied – you didn't

have to fast while traveling, he thought, not that he kept any rosas anyway" (p. 47).

Monty is a modern and unreligious person, and this rootlessness makes him vulnerable to any change. When he meets Layla, he finds that all his existing beliefs are wrong. "Once he understood that the Ahmeds and their genesis of the nation's dream were false, things would never be easy again. Layla pulled all Monty's edifices down. Without her, he would have known nothing – especially what was painful – about the world" (p. 208). Layla also made him realize the importance of their native language Urdu, which Monty never spoke. *"Don't you feel strange, speaking a language every day that's not your own? Layla asked Monty. But Monty had never spoken anything besides English"* (p. 105). The role of Layla in the life of Monty made him question his entire existence. He is a victim of postcolonial modernity and when he is exposed to radicalism, he happily embraces it in disguise of the spirit of tradition and culture.

The rootlessness of Monty created a void in his life. He filled up this void after meeting Layla and in search of Layla, he ultimately joined ISIS. However, eventually, he realized that he had done wrong. "Monty tries to steady himself, exhaling deeply. Everything has gone wrong. Everything he planned – coming here, finding Layla, all of it – has gone so wrong" (p. 335). The journey of Monty, turning a fundamentalist begins when he is stuck in the issues of identity crisis. He had been living as a person who blindly followed Western trends. Eventually, when Layla questions his identity he becomes confused. Out of this confusion, he joins ISIS in search of his true identity. Bartolovich and Lazarus explain postcolonial modernity as "a tendency to situate the global dispersal of capitalist modernity in terms of the universalization of "the West." " (Bartolovich and Lazarus, p.45, 2002). This universalization of the West has created problems in the lives of people like Monty. The belief that the West is the standard of civilization has robbed the identities of the Eastern people. This results in the creation of vulnerable and tender mindsets of the Eastern youth that are dangerous.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the research questions needed to be answered. Firstly, the postcolonial experiences of each character were quite different. Anita Rose/ Layla was the victim of 'Postcolonial Capitalism'. The writer has presented how the people at the extreme poverty line in Pakistan suffer. Tabrizi has rightly pointed out, "Most Islamic countries have yet to develop a substantial middle class that can consume highly priced postmodern commodities" (Tabrizi, 85). In his book, Mehmet provides a solution to the problem of poverty and labor in developing countries. "A pro-labour, people focused development that empowers local cultures and places the individual in a community (not as some islolated, egoistic utility maximizer) is the path for sustainable development" (Mehmet, p. 162, 1999). Sunny faced the experience of 'Unhomeliness' which made him ambivalent. As Dizavi explains the phenomenon of displacement, "the displacement is linked directly to identity or is bound to relocation, as in the condition of immigrants and exiled people" (Dizayi, p. 84, 2019). Sunny was a hybrid individual but his hybridization was not balanced which led him to an identity crisis, the solution of such a problem is presented as, "Balanced hybridization can break down the strict polarization of imperialism" (Arian, p. 321, 2018). Monty was the victim of 'Postcolonial Modernity', he became Western which ultimately made him vulnerable to all evils. The situation of Monty is like the black man who imitates the white man as explained by Fanon, this imitation becomes a dent to his psyche, "a black man thinks himself to become whiter by utilizing the dialect of the white man, by taking upon himself the world of the other" (Fanon, p. 25, 2008). Monty never spoke his native language which left a gap in him Hall and Gay explain that language is very crucial in identity building. "In common sense language, identification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group" (Hall and Gay, p. 2, 2006). This modernity that Monty experiences is also due to the globalization of the world, "In the era of globalization, hardly any local context avoids the influence of the transformative effects of cultural globalization" (Ozer, p. 35, 2020).

Secondly, yes, these postcolonial experiences of the characters led them to terrorism and fundamentalism. As all three characters were suffering in one way or another, so to end up their suffering they wanted to escape. This escape was found in the militancy hence they joined ISIS.

Thirdly, Fatima Bhutto has made an effort to explain the deep and complex human experiences that led all these characters to become terrorists. As one of the characters i.e., Anita Rose/ Layla is a Christian girl, still she joins ISIS without any religious connection. Monty is also shown as a highly nonreligious person and he ends up as a terrorist. Bhutto has made a deliberate effort to provide a

counter-discourse of Islamophobia in the post-9/11 West as the West is biased towards Islam, "the American public labels Islam as a terrorist religion rather than Christianity" (Richardson, p. 135, 2013).

In the end, it can be concluded that the roots of radicalism lie in postcolonial experiences, not in religion (Islam). However, as a postcolonial critic, one must also criticize the role of Pakistan in promoting jihadi groups, which made innocent people vulnerable. "Pakistani politicians– both civilian and military – have used jihadi groups to fight a proxy war in Kashmir. This policy rebounded on the state when many jihadi groups turned on the government and the military when they became allies with the US after 9/11" (Murphy, p. 162, 2012).

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