Unhomeliness and Social Injustice: A Comparison between Alan Paton's *Cry, The Beloved Country* and the Current State of Affairs in Syria

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I certify that in my opinion the thesis submitted by Hanan HASWA titled "Unhomeliness and Social Injustice: A Comparison between Alan Paton's *Cry, The Beloved Country* and the Current State of Affairs in Syria" is fully adequate in scope and in quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts

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FOREWORD

Praise be to Allah first, and prayers and peace be upon the one after whom there is no prophet. Thanks be to Allah and then to my mother, who bore me a lot of troubles that confronted me, and replaced the moments of succumbing to pessimism to moments of optimism and hope. I am pleased and honored to offer in my name and deepest words of thanks, gratitude and respect to my esteemed supervisor Prof. Dr. Abdul Serdar ÖZTÜRK for his efforts and attention in order to complete my thesis to the fullest and many thanks to everyone who participated in the success of my thesis.. God is the source of success.

ABSTRACT

Postcolonial countries have been a source of controversy and debate to many scholars, owing to the anarchic situation that they were left with following the departure of the colonial powers. The colonizing powers have sought to undermine these countries through creating an unstable and poor environment along with triggering inter-communal conflicts as to stay trapped in a cycle of dependency. Hence, this study explores comparatively the issues of social injustice and unhomeliness in the current Syrian situation and in the society of South Africa reflected in Alan Paton' *Cry, The Beloved Country* in the light of the postcolonial criticism. Paton, through his work, shed light on the suffering of the black South Africans during the period of the apartheid which is not completely different from that of the Syrians during Assad's reign. The purpose of this study is to explore the reasons that founded the similarities between the two situations. In actuality, the situation in Syria resembles to a great extent that of South Africa, whereby the two countries have been forcibly ruled for 50 years by the minority parties, and have experienced fear, suffering and disenfranchisement within their own homelands, where they are supposed to be feeling homely.

Keywords: Alan Paton's *Cry, The Beloved Country*, Black South Africans, Afrikaners, Syrians, social injustice, unhomeliness

ÖZ (ABSTRACT IN TURKISH)

Sömürgecilik sonrası ülkeler, sömürgeci güçlerin ayrılmasının ardından karşı karşıya kaldıkları anarşik durum nedeniyle birçok bilim insanı için bir tartışma ve araştırma kaynağı olmuştur. Sömürgeci güçler, bu ülkeleri bir bağımlılık döngüsüne hapsetmek için toplumlar arası çatışmaları tetiklemişlerdir. Ayrıca bu güçler, istikrarsız ve fakir bir ortam yaratarak bu ülkeleri baltalamaya çalışmışlardır. Dolayısıyla, bu çalışma, sömürgecilik sonrası eleştirinin ışığında, Alan Paton'un *Çığlık* ve *Sevgili Ülke* eserlerinde yansıtılan Suriye'nin mevcut durumunu ve Güney Afrika toplumundaki sosyal adaletsizlik ve evsizlik meselelerini karşılaştırmalı olarak incelemektedir. Paton, Esad dönemindeki Suriyelilerden tamamen farklı olmayan apartheid döneminde siyah Güney Afrikalıların çektiklerini bahsedilen eserlerde ortaya koymuştur. Bu çalışmanın amacı, iki durum arasındaki benzerlikleri oluşturan nedenleri araştırmaktır. Gerçekte, Suriye'deki durum büyük ölçüde Güney Afrika'ya benzemektedir. Bu durumda iki ülke, 50 yıldır azınlık partileri tarafından zorla yönetilmektedir ve kendi anavatanlarında rahat yaşamak yerine, korku, ıstırap hisleriyle kendi haklarından mahrum bir şekilde yaşamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler (Keywords in Turkish): Alan Paton'un Ağla, Benim Sevgili Ülkem, Siyah güney Afrikalı, Afrikanlar, Suriyeliler, Sosyal Adaletsizlik, Evsizlik.

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SUBJECT OF THE RESEARCH

The subject of this study focuses on unhomeliness and social injustice, comparing between Alan Paton's *Cry, The Beloved Country,* and the current state of affairs in Syria.

PURPOSE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE RESEARCH

The purpose of this study is to draw parallels between the South African society reflected in Paton's *Cry, The Beloved Country* and the Syrian society in the current situation, particularly with respect to the social injustice and the sense of unhomeliness. The importance of this study is to display how the colonial legacy of oppressive minority governments that was left behind in South Africa and Syria had set the stage for the infliction of long-lasting suffering on the population of the two countries.

METHOD OF THE RESEARCH

Alan Paton's *Cry, The Beloved Country* and the current state of affairs in Syria are examined using many other related newspapers and works that have been written during the Syrian Civil War, journals, books, TV news, and online studies. The damaging effects of unhomeliness and social injustice on the Syrians and the black South Africans were studied comparatively through the Postcolonial Criticism.

HYPOTHESIS OF THE RESEARCH/RESEARCG PROBLEM

The postcolonial governments of South Africa and Syria are no more than surrogates for their former colonial masters, and this explains the similarity of the two countries' socio-political situations, where social injustice and feeling of unhomeliness are among the most critical issues.

SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

The South African suffering was reflected by Paton's perspective. However, the Syrian one has so many reflections by so many people which made it slightly difficult to be compared.

INTRODUTION

'The love of mankind was nothing but the love of justice; the same might be said, with considerable truth, of the love of our country. It is little more another name for the love of liberty, of independence, of peace, of social happiness'

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

(Bhabha, 1990, p. 138)

The association of the concept of motherhood with terms like 'motherland' and 'mother tongue' did not come out of a vacuum. One's native land is as sacred as one's mother, sharing the characteristics of loving, giving, and being the source of peace that is existed once and can never be replaced. It is the matrix of one's past, present, and future. The moment an indigenous would becomes reluctant to defend it and protect it from being raped and exploited, the individual will become lost in mazes of injustice and tyranny. "Stand unshod upon it, for the ground is holy, being even as it came from the creator. Keep it, guard it, care for it, for it keeps men, guards men, cares for men, destroy it and man is destroyed" (Paton, 1948, p. 7). From the beginning of the European colonial era, the Asian and African people have lost sense of belonging and tasted social injustice with different types and forms. The two continents have experienced all forms of manipulation and exploitation over the course of history by their European counterpart. A sprawling empire seizing hold of the Asian and African territories has become an appetency for Europeans to satisfy their economic, territorial, and political avidities, driven by the urge to appease their inside population at the expense of the poor population of the two continents. Besides, destroying the

infrastructural facilities of the colonized country by debilitating their national governments has leaf it helpless for basically two reasons. The first one is to become an easy prey for exploiters, and the second reason is to impede its ability to get back on its feet and have the powerful base that enables its population to think of an accessible way to reveres colonialism. Each continent has a country that is still bleeding to date either because of its vast wealth of nature like south Africa, or because of its moral weight on the peoples of the region like Syria, which is unlike the other sliced off parts of the Levant, 'encompassed territories that historically had functioned as the political center of the Levant region' (Tucker, 2016, p. 184). The most prominent territory at that time was its capital Damascus which was initialized to be the main center of gravity of the united an Arab kingdom headed by Faisal bin Hussein.

With the onset of the Ottoman Empire downfall that was exercising control over a large number of the Asian continent's states, the European forces rallied to apportion what is left of this atrophied entity. Accordingly, the current state of affair in Syria is no more than an updated version of Sykes-Picot Agreement which was signed between France and the United Kingdom in 1916. This hundred-year-old agreement mapped the ancient Levant, that had once a unique character of religious and cultural diversity until the artificial partitioning effectuated the area into small states among these major powers like a war trophy to be meticulously swallowed piece by piece. During the distribution process of the spoils, Syria was defined as France's part of the equation; ergo, it became a right acquired under the treaty to have ascendancy over the state wealth and resources in an exchange for a full protection from any anticipated external blows that may threaten the state sovereignty. At a subsequent time, Syria was subdivided on a sectarian basis into small independent states, namely Aleppo, Damascus, Alawi, the great Lebanon and Jabal al- Druze, as a reaction for its response

to the French mandate in the battle of Maysalun in 1920. While other states have been reunited in 1924 due to the popular rejection, the "Alawi State", that was assigned under the French mandate by resolution of the league of nations in 1920, and had Latakia as its capital, returned to be a French autonomous territory.

Alawites were believed to be descended from the Shiite section, that is a minority who later took different direction and termed itself as Nusayris in honor of its founder Ibn Nusayr during the 19th century. Upon the arrival of the French mandate in 1920 following the Franco-British agreement, on the pretext of protecting the religious minority communities' rights who were at that time having difficulties in obtaining job opportunities and were subjected to risk marginalization, French powers found it to be the ground that provides the basic underpinnings to the formation and the empowerment of the sectarian blocs (Nusayris, Armenians, Circassians, Kurds, and others) particularly the Nusayris through the establishment of special troops of the Levant, whose job was geared towards suppressing rebellions who were identified as inimical to the French occupation (Tucker, 2016, p. 188). France even went further by instituting a military academy at Homs with the goal of rearing military officers from these sectarian blocs as a preparation to be their future loyalists in case there happened any rebel forces that pose a threat to the French existence in the area, and also as a preparation to the delimitation of Syria on religious and denominational basis. Towards the end of the French mandate on Syria in 1946, the Alawite minority came to power in Syria after surreptitious French encouragement to join the Syrian army which happened to be a lifeline for their sect against social degradation.

Accordingly, the current government's policy in Syria is traced back to the colonial era. The colonial repercussions have been proven in the country's post-independence affairs. As a result, the Syrian population have been subjected to a sieving process in which only the weakest, the minor sect, and less religious extremist would be granted the right to ascend the throne, ignoring the majority Sunni Muslims that consist 70% of the total population. "France would continue to take on the government of Syria and the region. Its policy was to play on the divisions in the country, tribal, religious and cultural and maintain those divisions by choosing the weakest to be the French allies" (Busch, 2018, para 22). Therefore, the Syrian regime officials belonging to the Alawite community which was a numerical minority among the state population, knowing their ineligibility to rule the country, have pursued a policy of tyranny and oppression towards any anti-regime individual or group. Moreover, they worked on using a brainwashing technique as to entrench their ideologies on the succeeding generation through schools and media. In order to work towards the practical realization of the iron fist, they perpetrated massacres against civilians and appointed their members in positions of influence, power and decision-making. Consequently, the indirect discriminatory practices against the other denominations, especially the Sunnis, were part and parcel of the Syrians' life. No one had an easy access to the public offices, and whoever applies to be recruited by the public employment, nepotism will play an important role in increasing the rate of admission. Only the individual who is either an Alawi or a big supporter of the regime's officials is accepted (Saleh, 2015, para. 3). Besides, three-quarters of the state money were pillaged by some of the Alawi officials, thereby depriving the majority of their basic rights (Al-Halabi, 2020, para. 4). However, with the onset of the anti-regimes' movements in some of the Arab countries, Syrian people had the courage to

tear down the wall of fear and rebel against this totalitarian regime. Unfortunately, the outside interests in the lands of Syria that were associated with the remaining of Assad's regime in power, have impeded its collapse.

Undisputedly, the pen which charted the contemporary Levant is the same pen charting the state of Syria to be consisted of other small states within itself. The process of division is a forethought action resembling that of its predecessor. The split parts, as Kirmanj deduced in his article on 'The Syrian Conflict: Regional Dimensions and Implication' (2020), were three detached parts, the minor Alawite sect holds the capital and majority of portions, whereas the opposition groups of the Sunni sect have the least of the share positioned in the north and northeast of Syria. Further, the previously marginalized people of Kurdish descent have also established their semi-autonomous rule in the area. Each sect boosts its own flag, security agencies, and judicial system (Bhabha, 1999, p. 49), claiming for an establishment of a sovereign nation with an invented national flag and anthem. The nationalism concept here in a clear sense is a myth that is mistaken for the invented idea of a nation where race, language and tradition seem to be an extraneous trigger to fight and die for.

Regarding the South African case, Alan Paton's *Cry The Beloved Country* depicts the fearful and godforsaken world the black South Africans lived in under the system of apartheid (meaning 'apartness' in the Afrikaners' language). The system was enforced immediately after the accession to power of the Afrikaner ethnic national party. Paton masterfully portrayed the suffering of the whole black families through the characters who were a figment of his imagination. Apparently, the novel's protagonist Stephen Kumalo was the one who had the biggest share of distress. Kumalo receives a letter saying that his sister Gertrude is very sick and is in a

miserable condition. Knowing about that, he undergoes a journey from his town Ndotsheni to Johannesburg city in order to search for his sister and his son Absalom who has previously travelled to look for his aunt Gertrude in Johannesburg. Throughout the journey, Kumalo begins to see the world from a different Angle. He realizes the large discrepancy between the worlds of the blacks and whites as well as the economic and cultural disparities between the two places. While the white areas were prosperous and had modern trains and cars along with high buildings, wide and beautiful streets, the black areas were mired in poverty and lacked the productive capacity. As the story progresses, Kumalo meets some people who volunteered to help him find his lost family. One of those people was reverend Msimangu, who has a great role in reflecting the moral of the story. Kumalo also meets his brother John who used to work as a carpenter in Ndotsheni before he travelled to Johannesburg and discovers that his brother has been influenced by the city life and turned into a corrupt person. He finally finds his sister Gertrude who appeared to be working as a prostitute and has an illegitimate child. After sending her to a safe place, Kumalo continues on searching for his son Absalom. Kumalo later discovers that Absalom has been in a relationship with a girl who becomes pregnant. Towards the end of the story, Kumalo hears about a murder of a decent white person in his house by black boys while they were trying to rob the house, and then knows that his son was one of them and the one who accidently killed the white person. In the end, Absalom repents his wrongdoings and marries his girlfriend before he was sentenced to death by hanging. Stephen Kumalo, grieving for his beloved son and country, goes to contemplate on a top of a mountain and hopes for a better future for his beloved country.

Alan Paton is an Afrikaner white author and an anti-apartheid activist. He was born in Pietermaritzburg in South Africa. Although he has published several works and

short stories, his masterpiece *Cry, The Beloved Country* played an important role in his life and in the lives of the black South Africans. The novel served as a revolutionary work on the unfair practices to the black people. Paton's sympathy towards the black South Africans began when he was appointed to work as a principal in Deipklof dormitory which was designated for black boys. Seeing the pressure and the social injustice that were practiced against the black, he sought to alleviate the manifestations of racism by producing a work that shifts the level of consciousness among the black community about the necessity to struggle for a better life.

Historically, the African continent was first colonized in 1488 by the Portuguese. In 1830, they stationed themselves on the coastal of uninhabited islands, such as Cape Verde and São Tomé. Later in 1885, a conference, entitled the Berlin conference, was convened by the German chancellor Otto von Bismarck to draw a partition plan of the African continent among the major imperial powers, namely Portugal, Britain, France, Germany, and Spain, which previously claimed their right to possess lands of Africa, as to prevent future military conflicts. Ultimately, the Continent was politically fragmented among those rivalries into 50 countries without taking notice of the extent of the damage to the indigenous caused by this division. South Africa was Great Britain's part of the equation. However, back in the seventieth century, a company called Dutch East India, sought to build a commercial relationship with colonies in the Asian continent by establishing a station on the lands of South Africa which were back then settled by the British sailors, thereby leading to a strong competition between them. The company was constituted of white people including German, Dutch and French. Those people who were known as the Afrikaners, later allowed themselves to victimize the indigenous population and enslave them in order to expand their existence in the region. However, upon considering the South of Africa

as a British country, the British people establish the Natal colony, where sugar plantation was run by Indian laborers. On the other hand, the Afrikaner colonized the Orange free state and Transvaal republic. Upon the discovery of gold in the Transvaal republic, a second war erupted between the two powers to maintain a total domination over the area, and it was the most devastating war in the history of South Africa. In the end, the Afrikaners were defeated and many of them were killed. In 1870s, in an attempt to re-establish their presence in South Africa, the Afrikaners considered themselves as nationalists and established the Afrikan nationalism, so that they can change the reality of being outsiders and justify their political existence in South Africa. In the first half of the twentieth century, the British people, trying to live in good terms with the Afrikaners for the purpose of ensuring their interests in the area, granted them the right to dominate over the natives by the South Africa Act. Accordingly, this Act paved the way for the Afrikaners to govern the nation in 1948. In this regard, Beinart argues that the "State power in South Africa came to be dominated by a group of whites who used the term 'nation' narrowly to mean an ethnically defined segment of about 12% of the population" (2001, p. 134). Due to the fear of being a minority, the party legislated the apartheid policy which progressively systematized land dispossession, thus depriving the South Africans from their right "to buy or hire the land on which they had previously farmed" (Clayton, 2017, p. 51) to maintain their dominance over South Africa, resulting in a suffering which had an impact on the black South Africans till now.

In Chapter one, an extensive overview of postcolonialism is presented to explain how postcolonial criticism has contributed to a great extent to the understanding of South Africa and Syria through the lens of postcolonial theory. Undisputedly, the two nations have been through hard times during and after

colonialism, owing to the fact that the colonial powers have severely overstretched all their resources and left them immersed in internal conflicts and are busy searching for a loaf of bread to survive. Besides, the social injustice existed in the current affairs of Syria and in *Paton' Cry , The Beloved Country* is discussed. It is deplorable that the discriminatory practices against people with different ethnicities and sects, who either coercively or voluntarily emigrated from their countries and lived in another, are increasing according to (FRA) report (2017, p.79). What is more woeful is that those practices are also committed primarily against them in their own homeland. The reasons of such fomented discrimination are traced back to the colonial era. Anyone considers that this era has been put behind in the pages of history is substantially mistaken. Although there happened movements of military retreats from the formerly colonized countries, this does not necessarily mean their ramifications have receded in the same manner. In addition, the governing authorities of these countries gradually lost their legitimacy of governance and showed their inability in considering the serious conditions of their constructed nation. It is clear that the French and the British colonizers ensured the remotely illimitable domination over their former colonies by maliciously supporting the racial and sectarian divisions in the area. Consequently, the administrative culture of those post-independence countries has fallen into this vicious cycle of totalitarian systems, where social marginalization is taken to be the sole solution for the survival of the threatened minorities. Given the adequate and ulterior colonial support to take over the reign, their arbitrary and precarious tenure has led the region to the endangerment of decay.

In Chapter two and three, Homi Bhabha's theory of Unhomeliness is applied on the South African society reflected in Paton's *Cry, The Beloved Country* and the current state of affairs in Syria. Bhabha is an Indian theorist and a writer who migrated

from Bombay to the UK. Therefore, being himself an immigrant, he starts having a great concern about the reasons that caused an individual to feel unhomely whether in or outside his homeland. Bhabha was inspired by Freud' essay "The Uncanny" or Unheimlish. For him "The Unheimlich is what one was Heimisch, home-like, familiar; the pre-fix 'un' is the token of repression" (1997, p. 450). Based on this, his theory best describes the people of South Africa and Syria who have lost sense of familiarity within and out of their homelands due to the co-mingling of different cultures and oppression. In the conclusion, a comparison between the two nations' postcolonial period is introduced to show how similar they are in many aspects, starting from being both ruled by a minority party which was empowered by the colonial powers to continue from where they stopped, down to the political oppression and the brainwashing that the black South Africans and Syrians suffered from during the colonial and post- colonial periods.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1.   THE FALSITY OF INDEPENDENCE IN THE POSTCOLONIAL ERA

Decades have passed since the decolonization of many nations around the world, yet **"**Independence itself did not eradicate the influence of the colonizing powers" (Ashcroft &Griffiths & Tiffin, 2002, p. 195), or in Edward Said's words, colonialism "had not passed; but it had evolved" (1978, p. 257), and technically, it was turned into postcolonialism. With the restoration of independence for many colonies, colonial powers have worked on conceptualizing nationalism within these colonies as it identifies their traditional culture, thus resulting in spreading linguistic and geographic divisions across Asia and Africa. This wanton division under the concept of nation-states was nothing but an act for the preservation of Europe's domination over its colonies even after its achievement of independence and "already with their own state apparatuses, and therefore having to project independence on the terms set down by the former rules" (Bhabha, 1990, p. 58). Accordingly, the expression of nationalism was entrenched in the minds of postcolonial nations as a consolidation instrument for their cultural and historical background.

The concept of nation--state was first introduced through the principles of the barbarian Germanic invasions to the world in the fifth century AD. Around the middle of the ninth century, the divisions of the European countries were outlined as a result of the Roman Empire's disintegration, thereby opening the door for the spread of this concept within Europe itself "under the pressure of enlightenments ideals" (Bhabha,

1990, p. 58). later, this concept became a popular fact as the European expansion took place in favor of exerting their force over many nations as much as they can, employing this unadulterated fictionalized expression to cover up the colonial's commercial and industrial interests in the zones of influence. Further, their hidden agendas were embodied in the monopolistic rivalry among them to predominate the area, along with the accorded ethnic prerogative that legalized their exploitation of what they claim the other's lands under the guise of the warlike terms, modernity and progress, which helped be an alluring pretext for amelioration.

Postcolonialism has become popularized by the end of World War II by literary writers from previously colonized nations. This term is sometimes confused with Post-colonialism (with a hyphen) that marks the transitional period of time. However, postcolonialism studies the legacy of colonialism and its repercussions nationally, economically and politically on the occupied people. With the official rise of the postcolonial literary criticism in 1980s, there happened a great awakening of the continuing colonial objectives in the postcolonial countries. Basically, Africans whose writings were produced after the decolonization of their homelands whether living in or outside of them, have constituted a term known as the African literature, that came to "dismantle the powerful myth about African inferiority" (O'Reilly, 2001, p. 32). One of these African writers was Chinua Achebe, who was considered as the father of the African literature. In his masterpiece *Things Fall Apart* (1958), Achebe was heavily influenced by the irreparable damage caused by colonial powers on the African Igbo society. He portrays the probity of the African society before the arrival of the white missionaries. It is believed that his impetus behind becoming a writer is that he wanted to breathe life into the African body, thus refuting the stereotypes that were demeaning for the Africans. In addition to Achebe's novel, Joseph Conrad's novel

Heart of Darkness 1899 also depicted the inhumane and degrading conditions of the Africans under the rule of the European powers, who claimed that their presence in Africa is for the sake of spreading civilization.

Wole Soyinka, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie were also famous black pioneers of the African literature. Wole Soynika made use of his satirical work *Kongi's Harvest* (1965) to criticize the political realities in the African societies after achieving independence from the European colonial rule. Soynika highlighted the pernicious effects of the colonialism that the Africans still suffer from in their contemporary world. He postulated that the political dictatorship of the contemporary African rulers is evidence of the inherited colonial legacy of the oppression of political freedom. With a view to the continuing process of pauperization of the African continent, colonial powers have endeavored to leave surrogates as to remotely maintain their exploitation and dominance on Africans. Similar to Soynika, Thiong'o insisted on the fact that Africa was not genuinely decolonized. While Soynika criticizes the political legacy of colonialism, Thiong'o in his book *Decolonizing the mind* (1986) sees that the colonial powers worked on obliterating the African civilization and identity by making them feel ashamed of their language, because "the choice of language and the use of language is central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to the entire universe. Hence language has always been at the heart of the two contending social forces in the Africa of the twentieth century" (Gikandi, 2000, p. 4). Like Soynika and Thiong'o, Adichie was also a black novelist from the new generation who advocated the rights of the African people. She was famous for her postcolonial novels such as *Half of A yellow Sun* (2006), *Purple Hibiscus* (2003), *The Shivering* (2016), and *You in America* (2006).

Undisputedly, the unforgettable period in the minds of the South Africans witnessed the enforcement of the apartheid policy (apartness) in 1948. Correspondingly, South African writers from white origins like Nadine Gordimer, André Brink and Alan Paton have sympathized with the black South Africans who were dehumanized, destabilized and treated as mere tools in the hands of the whites. André Brink, with his two banned novels in South Africa *Looking on Darkness* (1976) and *A Dry White Season* (1979), has been considered as a "malicious writer" (Karolides, 2006, p. 162) by the South African government, since through his works and the other two writers' works, namely Nadine Gordimer' *Burger's Daughter* (1979) and Alan Paton's Cry The Beloved Country (1948), they drew the black South Africans and the global attention to the South African repressive and racist regime. The three writers with many other writers, like Richard Rive, Mary Benson, J.M. Coetzee and Bessie head who were fiercely anti-apartheid writers, have reflected the devastating consequences of the apartheid on the black community, such as poverty, poorly qualified individuals and a breach in the private and family life.

Afro-American postcolonial literature also focuses primarily on the traumatic narratives experienced by the Africans under the bonds of servitude. These narratives were published by writers of an African descent who live in the US. It started first with Phillis Wheatley's works, then it gained its popularity by writers like Toni Morrison and other six thousand who were formerly enslaved by the whites in their homelands. Through these narratives, the writers portrayed the gloomy atmosphere of South Africa under the rule of the whites who took advantage of all South Africa's resources, including human, financial or natural ones. They also wrote about their arduous journey along escape routes from the hell of slavery and the inhumanity of the whites.

The falsity of independence is clearly manifested in Frantz Fanon's *The wrenched of The Earth* (1961). Fanon, in the first section of the book titled "On Violence" pointed out to the fact that decolonization itself is a violent act by reference to the act of decolonization that occurred in the Republic of Gabon. He stated that colonial powers would offer a non-violent conflict resolution as to keep their connection with their colonies. This is what happened when Léon M'ba declared Gabon as an independent state though the reciprocal state-to-state relationships are still as before (Fanon, 1963, p. 52). For Fanon, the third world nations fought with the object of evacuating the colonizers irreversibly, but what happens in reality is just a colonialist poly embodied in shifting the power to a surrogate native member within the same colonial system. Further, in the second section of his book titled "National Culture", Fanon contended that national culture would not be achieved as long as the country still has connections with its former colonizing powers, because the colonizers try to discourage the nations of the third world by depicting them as barbarians, gullible, unable to have a civilized country only with their national culture and are in need for the European nations and culture to get them out of the mire of illiteracy, poverty, and disease.

According to the Europeans, any non-European is "an undifferentiated type called oriental, African, yellow, brown or Muslim" (Said, 1978, p. 252), because this satisfies their sense of superiority as nothing and nobody can gain notability unless there was an opposite to it. Said argues that the Europeans would not stop stereotyping the Arabs as gullible, bloodthirsty, salacious and camel drivers, until the Arabs themselves think of these as truthful realities, and thus attributing the qualities, civilization, and modernity to their European masters. Moreover, the Arabs are always labelled by the Europeans according to the degree of their acquiesce to the demands of

their colonial masters. They would either be good Arabs or bad Arabs. Basically, the bad Arabs would later be labelled as terrorists (Said, 1978, p. 306).

Contextually, in the name of the nation, every action and reaction are justifiable, and it is an ambivalent cultural formation which is put to authorize the processing of hierarchical structure of the world. Said, in his *Orientalism* (1978), which has served as a groundbreaking work for postcolonial studies, likened the correlation between the west and the third world to a coercive sexual relationship (1978, p. 309), whereby the west is disguised in patriarchal strong figures who impose their dominance over the weak "feminine orient" (1978, p.220), thus alleging that its weakness is what invited their interest and penetration to take place. Subsequently, with the disempowerment of this feminine third world as a result of the continued attrition that led to severe dysfunction, their body was left naked, "lazy", prone to other external violations, and "has no conception of history, of the nation" (1978, p.253). The illegitimate child born out of this coercive sexual relationship is a good case to be explained. This child is the postcolonial governmentalities which preserved colonial legacies within their systems. A legacy which is driven by "the rigidly binominal oppositions of "ours" and "theirs", with the former always encroaching upon the latter" (Said, 1978, p. 227). Said diagnosed the western conception of the other as "a form of paranoia" (1978, p. 72). Their exaggerated fear of loss of what they had accumulated over years through the process of colonization, along with the fear of possible and similar reactions from the natives' side, thus going back to the era of Islamic conquests, and their persistent holding onto the notion of civilization and superiority are the factors that determined their unwarranted demarcation of the two continents, namely Africa and Asia. The growing resistance movements which impeded the continuity of the official colonial presence have inflamed hatred in the

minds of the imperial powers towards the so-called barbaric and uncivilized nations as their imperial strategy is to colonize and never leave (Said, 1978, p. 91). Therefore, a solid plan must be formulated with the intention of re-consolidating its hold on the previous territories as an indemnification for the great loss with the least amount of material and human life losses. Since the colonizer is unconvinced of the ability of those naïve nations to practice self-government and survive on their own without taking help from their western masters, the declaration of independence was nothing more than an embodiment of the "stick-and-carrot" policy (Said, 1978, p. 107). It is clear that independence is dangling in front of these gasping nations and will never be obtained with the existence of the stick that in turn represents the implanted governments, owing to the fact that these governments "were designed to protect the state from its own people rather than to protect it from outside militaries" (Helfont, 2015).

Furthermore, the colonial powers have worked on establishing their fashion and believes in the mind of these people by reminding them of their inferiority and dependency on them and that their lives cannot be constructed without these believes. Thus, the west planted the roots of dependency and the soul of submission and defeat in the nations they colonized which resulted in making them like a looted human statue unable to mutiny. Self-autonomy has become a far-fetching reality as its actual content has been never achieved since the alleged declaration of independence. The word 'independence' itself in the case of the third world might has been formulated as a substitution for the word 'interdependence'. which intrinsically reflects the current political conditions that the third world has been and is still entangled in until present. The cycle of dependence is manifested through the act of international treaties the governments had signed to guarantee their seizure of power over their population.

More specifically, the population is dependent on their governments, and governments in turn are dependent on the pledges of the former colonizers. Conversely, colonial powers in an attempt for protecting their borders tend to privilege one negotiable party over the others based on its eligibility for hampering any effort exerted to resort the national unity, neither extraterritorial nor within the national borders. Thus, these colonial powers keep themselves out of any anticipated revolutionary threat or a new conquest similar to that of its antecedent under the Ottomans. This can be inferred in Gordons's book titled *understanding contemporary Africa* (2013), as it is stated "the west often has had a major role in deciding who came to power or stayed in power" (p. 6), and they has rebuked the long-standing impact of western penetration on the African history starting from their conquest in 1500s until the present time. Regardless of their prime objective on keeping a grip on the trade and depleting the natural resources, their influence extended even more after South Africa was decolonized and left powerless against any new incursions, which led to post-colonial unstable political system dominated by the white European ancestry.

Undeniably, Britain and France have different styles regarding their way of exerting power on their colonies. While the British style of exercising hegemonic domination over their previous colonies was achieved through the promotion of racial discrimination and the separation between nations, regions and even minds, the French one, however, focuses fundamentally on the weakest segments within its colonies as to be their lackeys after decolonization. Normally, the minorities of any state are always prone to marginalization and shown as a vulnerable and disadvantaged party. By utilizing this reality, France offered to empower those minorities on condition that they have to serve as the political puppets of the French powers (Said, 1978, p. 245). Accordingly, with the post-independence governments, the state's economic, social

and political conditions would be problematized, thus any attempt by the third world nations to revolt would be either doomed to failure or not fully achieved. This what Vatikiotis tries to elucidate stating:

> The major source of political conflicts and potential revolution in many countries of the Middle East, as well as Africa and Asia today, is the inability of so-called radical nationalist regimes and movement to manage, let alone resolve, the social, economic and political problems of independence. . . .Until the states in the Middle East can control their economic activity and create or produce their own technology, their access to revolutionary experience will remain limited. The very political categories essential to a revolution will be lacking (1972) (Said, 1978, p. 314)

With the implantation of the cancerous tumor, namely Israel in the heart of Arab nation, colonial powers have guaranteed the death of the Arab and Islamic unity. However, the Europeans are of the view that the outbreak of any Arab revolution would turn into anti-Jewish riots, and consequently lead to powerful and unified Arab and Islamic nation. Taking this into consideration, they would do everything for the sake of hampering any revolutionary movement (Said, 1978, p. 317)

Edward Said along with Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak are believed to the most influential theorists of the postcolonial field. Young, in his book *Colonial Desire* (1995), stated "it would be true to say that Said, Bhabha and Spivak constitute the Holy Trinity of colonial discourse analysis, and have to be acknowledged to the field"(p. 154). Spivak, in her article *"Can The Subaltern Speak?"* (1988), argues "the result of the west representing and defining 'the east' or (non-west) on its behalf was "to constitute the colonial subject as other" (p. 76), thus making it the reason for the conceptualization and the institution of racial hierarchy in their colonies. Hence, the colonial subject, being referred to as the other, will automatically be placed at the bottom of this racial scale, deep down to the extent that their voices are impossible to

be heard. Spivak uses the term Subaltern, coined by Antonio Gramsci, to define the segment of the society that was deprived from its right geographically, socially and politically to point out to the reality that the subaltern cannot speak, and even if they speak, their voices are too insignificant to be heard.

Homi Bhabha is one of the most prominent figures, whose writings have formed the basis for the postcolonial studies. Bhabha, influenced by Edward Said, Frantz Fanon, Salman Rushdie, Toni Morrison and other influential authors, has produced works that placed an emphasis on the cultural hybridity in the light of the colonialism and postcolonialism. His two books, *Nation and Narration* (1990) and *The Location of Culture* (1994), have contributed considerably to the expansion of the postcolonial studies. In *Nation and Narration*, Bhabha by quoting Hanna Arendt, states that the contemporary nation is "hybrid realms where private interests assume public significance" (p. 2). It is a naturally ambivalent and Janus-faced nation, where progression coincides with repression and the line that separates political rationality and irrationality becomes blurred. In the same way, his second book, *The location of Culture,* contains various articles that deal with concepts, like ambivalence, cultural hybridity, mimicry, third space, and unhomeliness. Through his articles, "Signs taken for wonders: Questions of ambivalence and authority under a tree outside Delhi, May 1817" 1985, "Of Mimicry and man: the ambivalence of colonial discourse" 1992, "The world and the home", and "Culture's in between" 1993, Bhabha attempted to emphasize on the idea that the originality of the self and the cultural identity of the colonial subject have been deliberately sabotaged due to the discursive practices associated with colonialism. According to Homi Bhabha, the colonized began to have an ambivalent sense of identity as a result of imitating the colonizer's culture, which opens the way for new hybrid beings to emerge. Then this identity became confused

about what is familiar and what is not and ended up being unhomely identity which is caught in the in-betweenness of everything.

Works like Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1981), Dipesh Chakraparty's *Provincializing Europe* (2000) and Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things* (1997) along with Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffith, and Helen Tiffin's book *The Empire Writes Back* (1989) are also of great significance to the development of the postcolonial studies. Rushdie, Chakraparty, and Roy have reflected the fragmented Indian society after decolonization and the negative repercussions of colonialism on the Indian nation and identity. The title of Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffith and Helen Tiffin's book *The Empire Writes Back* (1989) was taken from Salman Rushdie's "The Empire Writes Back to The Center". The book is generally concerned with all the cultures that have been previously colonized, and "with the world as it exists during and after the period of European imperial domination and the effects of this on contemporary literatures" (Ashcroft & Griffiths & Tiffin 2002, p. 2). Besides, it provides an overall analysis of the texts related to the field.

1.2. SOCIAL INJUSTICE IN ALAN PATON' *CRY, THE BELOVED COUNTRY*

In 1948, the governing National Party (NP) comprises of only members of Afrikaner, who have entitled themselves to rule the country they believed belongs to them, and that the greater plurality of Africans is less significant and poses a threat to their security. On this ground, they divided south Africans into four ethnic groups, blacks, whites, Indians, and colored. In efforts to legalize their inequitable partitioning, they managed to strengthen a system allowing them to relentlessly persecute everyone who is not white, more specifically the blacks. This system was the passing laws act which was put into practice between 1880 and 1994. Based on this legislation, the whites became empowered in the sectors of education, labor and employment. Consequently, these practices have led to increasing tensions between the blacks and the whites (Savage, 1986, p.182). Paton's *Cry, the beloved country* portrayed its ramifications on the way blacks and whites acted towards each other. The White Johannesburg has developed a sense of 'Nigger-hatred' following the black hate crimes that were in response to the enforced passing laws (Paton, 1948, p.22). In the same way, Absalom's murder of Arthur Jarvis was justified to be out of fear, that is the fear of the white man's assault as he stated in his trial.

The Afrikaners, as portrayed in Paton's *Cry, The Beloved Country*, have succeeded in downsizing the explicit and public opposition to their governance by diverting natives' attention from addressing their own concerns, namely poverty, stealing of lands, occupation and hard living condition to a state of constant accusation of being barbaric and troublemaking human beings through controlling means of communication, that is the Bantu press. However, this does not mean that the persistent opposing groups will be overlooked; they will be confronted with the force

of the passing law where "over 17,745,000 Africans have been arrested or persecuted" (Savage, 1986, p.181).

The tyrannized groups are hierarchically classified into an inescapable subordinate position (Ashcroft, B., & Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H., 2002, p.170). Accordingly, monopolization of power was made explicitly through the presidential electoral process in South Africa. As soon as the NP won the elections in 1948, their primary concern was centered on eliminating any potential adversary from participating in the next election, particularly black natives, who might claim their right for power as they constitute the majority of South Africa's population. In order to meet their objectives, the NP strengthened the legislative reality of the Apartheid and relocated the blacks away from the cities where elections were being held and forced them to live in the reserves which were designed for them. In doing so, the party declared to politically alienate blacks by coercing them to "have no form of parliamentary representation in South Africa" (Byrnes, 1997, p.54), and restricted their political practices within their reserves.

Alan Paton's novel *Cry, The Beloved Country*, delves into the black characters' psyche, conjuring up their feeling of fear and injustice as they are put under surveillance for being criminals and thieves by nature in the eye of the government. This can be felt in John Kumalo's dialogue with rev. Stephen Kumalo when he said "I have heard that some of them are dangerous things. I have heard that they are watching you, that they will arrest you when they think it is time" (Paton, 1948, p.181). In Paton's novel *Cry, The Beloved Country*, the word 'fear' has been repeated many times in different occasions, such as fear of native crimes, fear of victimization, fear of the unknown, and the fear that would be inherited by the unborn child. This explains

the overall mood of the story which is demonstrated manifestly through Stephen Kumalo's words that his country is dominated by fear (Paton, 1948, p.25). People in his country were victims of the fear incited by their governments as fear does not exist by itself; it is created to achieve certain objectives for the interest of the inciter (Altheide, 2002, p.26).

The national party in their attempt to exclude any potential competitors from the next electoral process disqualified non-whites from holding on to the rein of power arguing that Africans can only practice politics in their designated reserves that the government has forcibly transported to. By introducing the act of 'the passing Laws' as means of cracking down the indigenous people, the president of the Congress Youth League (CYL), Anton Lembede, emphasized on the fact that South Africa is "a black man's country" (Byrnes, 1997, p. 58), and any alliance with other groups is repudiated. After his death, unlike Lembede, the leaders of the (CYL) looked with favor on cooperating with other groups like the South African Indian Congress (SAIC). The leaders of these congresses called for civil disobedience as to put pressure on the government to repeal these unfair laws. One of the forms that the mass resistance has taken on was the boycott of the buses as a reaction for raising the fares of travelling by vehicles. Thus, as the character Msimangu described that "Pavements were full of the walking people. There were so many that they overflowed into the streets" (Paton, 1948, p.46). Although weeks have passed with the black people doing so, the government still insists on the implementation of the Apartheid. Msimangu continued describing the situation with the traffic officer who tried to send a white man to the court for helping carry black people by his car. Paton, through depicting this situation, shows how the government is concerned with forcibly instilling a sense of racial segregation in the mind of their white citizens. However, the black resistance remained

active until it was severely confronted with a campaign of arrests of 156 leaders and of civilians who participated in the demonstrations. Notwithstanding, the struggle for freedom did not lapse at this point with the formation of a new resistant group called themselves the Pan-Africanist Congress in 1960. This group propelled Africans to assemble in front of the police station at Sharpeville, that is a township in the south of Johannesburg. The uprising was stamped down with the police opening fire on the demonstrators, thus causing casualties among civilians where sixty-seven of them were shot dead and 186 suffered from severe injuries (Byrnes, 1997, p. 61).

In South Africa, Before the bantu education act, 1953, schooling was provided by religious institutions that made it accessible for both blacks and whites, and that was financially supported by the government of the union. Upon the takeover of the government by the NP in 1948, educational facilities were apportioned according to people's ethnic identity after the pass of the bantu education act. The party began to keep these religious schools on a tight leash with the cutting off the supply of funds, resulting in forcing many of these schools to either shut down their doors or handing them over to the government as to be directly controlled by the ministry of native affairs (Ocampo, 2004). Clark and Worger (2004) noted that "the bantu education act (No. 47) of 1953 was 'by far the most important legislation …and the most deadly in its effect' (Huddleston, 1956)"(p.52). Furthermore, school textbooks were designed to reflect upon the way the black students will consider themselves as the savages and idiots of this community who should be reformed in accordance with the demands of their country as described in the words of Ezekiel Mphahalele (1959), who is an African school teacher. He said:

> I condemned the textbooks ordered by the education department for use in African schools: a history book with several distortions meant to glorify white

colonization, frontier wars, the defeat of African tribes… and a literature that teems with non-white characters who are savages or blundering idiots to be despised and laughed at (Ezekiel Mphahalele,1959, p.166)

Substantively, the desired result behind this disposal was to "Mould Africans into compliant citizens and productive workers" (Clark & Worger, 2004, p.55)**,** by means of filling black students' minds with poor quality education as to confine them to unskilled labor markets, thus having no choice but working in menial jobs with low wages. Moreover, ordinary African schools were not the only place of concern for the Afrikaners. Even before the apartheid era, racial segregation and experiments of brainwashing were implemented without given validations. As the brainwashing process can be more effective among younger age groups, reformatories designed for under-age criminals were changed from prison into schools at the minister of education's behest Jan Hendrick Hofmeyr in 1934 who was Paton's friend at that time. Reformatories were as follows: Tokai, Houtpoort, and Diepkloof. Tokai reformatory has two sections; one is for the white offenders and the other for the colored ones. Diepkloof on the other hand is designed for the black Africans (Paton, 1986, P.8).

In Chisholm' view for turning reformatories into schools was "an attempt to shift control from external to internal sources and ... to resolve the question of social order through ideology rather than repression" (1991, p.3), which would explain Paton's endorsement of the opinion that 'punishment' must be replaced with other methods that deter any expected future malice bore against the whites from generations to come. That method was the 'treatment' as what the rehabilitative approach, a popular movement in his time, is suggested to be (Chisholm, 1991, p.1). In the beginning, Paton was interested in gaining a position in Tokai reformatory. His desire of gaining the principal position in reformatories was out of restlessness after suffering

from typhoid along with being ambitious and attracted to dealing with young offenders. That was because of his studies in juvenile delinquency in his master course in 1935 as he stated in his book about the reflections of Diepkloof reformatory (1986). However, contrary to his expectation, he was assigned to work as a principal in Diepkloof reformatory. Paton responded that working in reformatories for blacks was not within his calculations as shown in his letter to Hofmeyr in 1935 "My dear Hoffie, your letter this morning came like a bolt from the blue. Diepkloof had not entered my calculations; its name in third line of your letter rose up and hit me" (Chisholm, 1991, p.2). The letter reveals his indifference to the black African issue before contacting with them in Deipkloof. During his first month of working in Diepkloof, he described it "As foul a place as ever I saw" (Paton, 1986, p. 9). Paton here depicts the black Africans' failure to run any place without the help of a white master as they are nescient and barbarian. Otherwise, the place would have turned to be a foul one. This obviously is presented in his statement after the arrival of three young Afrikaners to work as warders in Deipkloof. He states that by virtue of those white sergeants Diepkloof has been transformed into the school (Paton, 1986, p.14). His depiction of the situation of the prison is just a microcosm case of the whole south Africa as he provides the idea that south Africa without the Afrikaners would not have been prosperous. Paton here unintentionally reflects an inner sense of inherited white superiority as well as embraces an authoritarian personality which his black staff in the reformatory experience through dealing with him. Ironically, Paton was confronted with resistance against his idea of the granted freedom inside the reformatory from the white staff in Deipkloof as well, who argued "educating the boys above their station in life was a recipe for trouble" (Skelton, 2015, p.8).

Aiming at lessening the number of abscondments, Paton in his autobiography recounts how the ritual approach *Vakasha* badge, which means "going for a walk", represents a gradual gaining of the freedom that was applied to encourage the boys to take responsibility for their behaviors in which the number of boys will be selected to be given a shirt for being obedient and docile. Then they stand in front of Paton who asks them:

> "today you are receiving your *Vakasha* badge. What do you have to say? The boys then turn to the congregation and say:
>
> "Today I receive my *vakasha* badge.
>
> I promise not to go beyond the boundaries of the farm.
>
> I promise not to touch anything that is not mine.
>
> I promise to obey the rules of the school." (Paton, 1986, P.24)

Ironically, Paton's approach has approved its ineffectiveness through his own character Absalom who was one day subjected to this ostensibly freedom-gain approach. Consequently, the right to live off the reformatory grounds was bestowed on him after proving his obedience and good behavior. Paton, by narrating his character's journey to Johannesburg, reveals his underlying deep anger towards Absalom as he did not appreciate this merit and could not take responsibility for his behaviors by leaving his job and his pregnant girlfriend. His failure of not making the right choices has led him to end up unfree and wait repentantly for his execution. Chisholm (2013), in her study about "reformatories and industrial schools in South Africa", pointed out to the false freedom that Paton kept as a 'reformatory instrument'. For her, the boys were trained for "unfreedom that they did not choose" (p. 374). Therefore, Paton's system of

granting restrained freedom through consent was not congruent with the discriminatory practices imposed by the wider society on blacks (Chisholm, 2013, p.376).

Furthermore, the dominant political party plays on affecting the public opinion by holding the idea that "Words uttered under appropriate circumstances have the power to bring into being the events or states they stand for, to embody rather than represent reality" (Ashcroft & Griffiths & Tiffin, 2002, p.80). This clearly was demonstrated in Msimangu conversation with Reverend Stephen Kumalo as they were walking past the building of the natives' newspaper 'The Bantu Press', which was undoubtedly interspersed with the European presence. Although it is for natives, but it 'does not say all that could be said'. He asserts the fact that how the European intervention is evident in subverting the truth and reality if any trouble develops, which established for Stephen's brother john anticipation of the manipulation and repression practised upon the media industry as he calls it 'the Bantu Repress' (Paton, 1948, p.27). Besides, their subversion of the facts and the violence acts which they were its cause are highlighted when it exists without fabrication.

In the mass media, people are set to a sort of emotional dimensions. They undergo powerful psychological methods of persuasion that triggers an ambivalent reaction and a change of attitudes towards their Janus-faced authority. One of these adopted methods is to cast judgment on the current state of affair in the newscast, owing to the fact that the news is formulated to direct the targeted population to an obsessive self-reflection, so that they would start to parallel and mirror themselves with the attacker who belongs to their race or sect believing that the curse falls on everyone anytime unexpectedly by the attacked ruling party and their people.

Therefore, fear would be the master of the moment among those people. This was evident in the novel when the black men felt fearful seeing the headline that says:

 "ANOTHER MURFER TRAGEDY IN THE CITY. EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDER SHOT DEAD BY NATIVE HOUSEBREAKER, these were the headlines that men feared in these days…all law-abiding black men feared them. some people were urging the newspaper to drop the word native from their headlines" (Paton, 1948, p.165).

Consequently, the perfect image of innocence of the controlling party would hinder the indigenous people from observing their manipulative behaviors and ideologies. This was drastically redirected in Gayatri Spivak's concept of "othering". The white men's seizure of the newspaper has made the construction of othering rooted in the mental state of the black men. Besides, the word native has an interpretative power in which it not only averts the black men's eyes on the reality of the repressive white domination, but also reminds them of their savagery which shows Bhabha's assertion on the colonial legacy that "specifies a degenerate native population to justify its conquest and subsequent rule" (Ashcroft & Griffiths & Tiffin, 2002, p. 175), thus silencing all natives likewise. Furthermore, creating a great picture of moral superiority is what the dominant power seeks to manifest even if it requires forcible suppression (Ashcroft & Griffiths & Tiffin, 2002, p. 170).

1.3.   SOCIAL INJUSTICE IN THE CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SYRIA

Syrians in 1970 were in an encounter with a sinister despotic regime that overturned the hierarchal structure of the Syrian society. This regime was headed by president Hafez Assad who propagated that he came with a corrective movement to correct the internal state of anarchy Syria has suffered from after gaining its autonomy. The movement which was claimed to bring promises of prosperity and freedom for the modern Syria has turned out to be mere slogans. Ironically, these slogans served as a cover to the gradual pauperization of the non-Alawites sects and at the same time helped in privatizing the country's wealth to the ruling party, precisely Rami Makhlouf, the maternal cousin of President Bashar Al-Assad, who has plundered a fair number of public institutions under the auspices of security services. Since the beginning of his administration, President Hafez Al-Assad has worked on strengthening the Alawite existence in the institutions of the state through appointing the Alawi officers in high-ranking positions in the army and the security services who amounted to approximately 87 per cent out of the total officers' rate. (Tsurkov, 2019). The purpose was to ensure the loyalty of the military to the regime with complete disregard for the fact that the majority of the citizens were from the Sunni Muslim sect. Consequently, Syria has become a security state by all counts, governed by the intelligence service and some anonymous gangs who are backed up by Al Baath party. Every individual in the country is put under an indirect surveillance to make sure that no one would dare to oppose or speak out, or to be more specific, a kind of spiral silencing. Otherwise, those individuals will be prosecuted through military justice.

During Assad's reign, the sectarian division was sensed in all spheres of life. Being an Alawi in the post- independent Syria was a door of privilege to be effortlessly granted access to education and to the highest functions of the State, thus resulting in Alawi-dominated occupations reaching 80 percent. (Mangold, 2020, para. 11). This prerogative of the sect that only formed 12% of the country's population was the spark that ignited the Syrian revolution in 2011. Alawites, in the same respect, expressed their fear of the Sunni sect's access to power stating that Sunni ruler will probably be influenced by the Sunni militant movements; therefore, the presence of the Syrian minorities would be threatened (Tsurkov, 2019).

After Al Baath party gained access to the state power, and with the intention to fit their own advantages in the area, they have followed a politicking activity in which their leader Hafez Al Assad would be the one and only presidential candidate in the electoral ballot. The party warranted this activity by means of psychological manipulation that was presented in an intense compulsion to have the population convinced with undying love for the president. In every presidential election, streets would be overstuffed with photos of Hafez Al Assad waving his hand and smiling with phrases on these photos, such as 'we love you' and 'we will not accept anyone but you'. This strategy was also implemented by his successor Bashar Al Assad, but with some modifications to demonstrate the functional democratic governance. On 3 June 2014, multiparty elections were held for the first time, giving way to other nominees to perform as rivals to Assad's family. During these elections, "celebrations were taking place before a single ballot was cast" (Black, 2007, para. 3). For the president Bashar Al Assad, the pre-judgment on the outcome was an axiom since the elections were nominally held to prove the translucence and eligibility of Assad's rule in front of his citizens and the world.

At the time when the president Hafez Al-Assad undertook the presidency of Syria, any anti-regime resistance was considered as if a gate of hell was opened and never closed until thousands of innocent people get crushed and burnt with its flames. Therefore, the Syrian regime has been described to "Be one of the bloodiest regimes in the middle east (Ranke, 1982 as cited inWiedl, 2007, p.4). Hama city that was the center of the anti-regime Muslim Brotherhood's military wing, which represents the Sunni majority, witnessed the worst grisly crimes committed by the president Hafez al-Assad's army troops. when an uprising against the government broke out, with a proclamation that "the Alawis have played a role of subservience to imperialist interests. The [Alawis]… in Syria now… and in the past, played similar roles of direct complicity in support of the crusaders…against the Muslim population of the region (Abd-Allah 1983)" (Wiedl, 2007, p.11). The city was besieged for about 27 days with a frantic bombing. According to the Washington Post, several hundreds of residents were killed by the regime's security forces. Furthermore, "The Syrian human rights committee claims furthermore that in addition to the death 10.000 persons disappeared" (Wiedl, 2007, p. 9).

Educationally, the educational systems in schools and universities reflect considerably the actual techniques of brainwashing and produce nothing but a docile slaves whose mind was daily subjected to the influence of the party's hypnotizing mottos 'Unity, Liberty, Socialism' and 'One United Arab Nation with an Eternal Message' in morning flag salutes to rise up the so-called national sentiment. The hypnotization process will not end at this stage. Students are then prepared to undergo a kind of cult indoctrination technique embodied in the nature of the content of the curriculum (Saleh, 2015, para. 1). The government is not different from any totalitarian rule that strives to divert attention away from the fundamental issues which address the

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right and dignity of its citizens by inserting the subject of national education in the schools' syllabus. The purpose of such subject revolves around the exaltation of the ostensible ruling party's achievements on the state's development. Education in Syria has always been associated with politics since the early 1973s for the purpose of achieving political aims and ensuring its consolidation in the area. Moreover, appointments in the education sector must undergo a detailed security check about the individuals appointed to undertake the position (Al- Maaloli, 2016, para.9), thereby prompting subconsciously the cult-based indoctrination at early age, so it can forestall any kind of future revolutionary actions.

Although the educational institutions in Syria were not designed for a particular race or sect, the practice of sectarianism was present in every corner of it. Assaf Assaf, a Syrian doctor and an author, recalls in an interview with Orient News TV channel his school life experience at a time where Al Baath party overrun every aspect of the Syrian people's life. Assaf clarifies the kind of indistinct social practices that hold a touch of class system during the dual shift system. He states that the divided groups were not selected randomly. Grouping students is superintended according to their parents' strong connection with Al-Baath Party. (Orient, 2015, 3:30). Moreover, for a student to have a prestigious future career, s/he must only have a strong affiliation with the ruling party. 'The Baath Vanguard Organization' which was established four years after Al-Baath's control of power has been concerned mostly with elementary school students who are at an essential stage to be shaped and imbued with the party's ideology that is the love of country is manifested through the love of the leader (Al-Maaloli, 2016, para.15).

However, the educational environment was not the only suitable place for the implementation of the brainwashing policy, because this very policy is what the Syrian media resorted to during the popular protests that aimed to bring down the government. Media is the second powerful tool in the world following weapons. Struggles over media have continued for decades as it has the power to constitute and reconstitute the world (Ashcroft & Griffiths & Tiffin, 2002, p. 86). It is also used to pass certain expurgated policies in the interest of the financier as the financial support is of great importance for the media industry. However, it can be supported financially by either the government or a certain political party. Accordingly, the Lebanese journalist Okab Sakr stated in an interview on Aljazeera channel that the reality about the Syrian media has been unclouded after the Syrian revolution, thus refuting its long-standing series of lies on the Syrian people. He contended that the Syrian media has been run secretly by the security apparatuses, and politically rationalizes the violation practiced upon Syrians by their regime forces through creating a unsubstantial picture of people and groups who are opponent to its law enforcement policy as being terrorist armed gangs formed to sabotage the country (Al Jazeera Channel, 2012, 5:00). Contextually, the article about 'the Syrian media and Economic crisis … Naivety of Justification' that was written by Omar Bakbook (2019), who is a freelance Syrian journalist, satirized the Syrian media's attempt in alleviating the suffering of their people by reporting the current Turkish economic crisis and its influence on the Turkish people living in Istanbul. Omar states that the media tried to justify the repercussions of the Syrian crisis by drawing the Syrians attention to the problems of the Turkish people in Istanbul as they have to wait in a long queue to buy food because of the massive price increases due to President Erdogan's government policy. This situation was invoked by the Syrian media in rationalizing the economic crisis Syria is

facing, thereby delivering a subliminal message to Syrians stating that any kind of insurgency would not solve the crisis as it is affecting the neighboring countries as well. "The control of the means of communication by the state gags the voice of the individual. This silence is literally and dramatically revealed in the censorship exercised by the government over newspapers, journals" (Ashcroft & Griffiths & Tiffin, 2002, p. 83), which is a perfect solid plan for discrediting the grass-root movement advocated by the media's headlines about demonstration's subversive drive.

CHAPTER TWO

UNHOMLINESS" IN PATON' *CRY, THE BELOVED COUNTRY*

Alan Paton' *Cry, The Beloved Country* is an earth-shattering postcolonial novel that provoked essential collective consciousness of the black segment of the society and ignited a political awakening among the South African people. The novel's publication coincides with the year that marked the starting point of the marginalized South Africans' long suffering and social hardship after the all-white national party had adopted an office in South Africa in 1948. The title of the novel itself signifies the "unhomely" atmosphere that the South Africans sense within their own homeland following the enforcement of the Apartheid policy. In other words, it conveys the strong outcry and the lack of a stable sense of identity of those people as they were desperate for freedom and peace. The novel centers on the fictional protagonist Stephen Kumalo's distressing journey that reflected the dystopian world natives were living under the humiliation of racism and slavery. Stephen was one among millions who were relocated in segregated lands and were given a small piece of their country's wealth. From the very outset, the narrator highlights the economic and wealth gap between the areas of the colonized and colonizer by describing the dire situation and the poor living conditions in the valleys, where the homes of the elderly are situated. Besides, the lands allocated for the colonized groups were limited, thereby exposing them to excessive farming for sustenance. Therefore, this led to deterioration of the soil and the nearby streams became dry. In contrast, the lands of the colonizer gave a complete opposite picture, where the ample resources and aspects of modernity are their main characteristics

Under the Group Areas Act in 1966, South Africa's map of population distribution has been redrawn according to the governmentally forced construction of the ethnic and racial categories (Whites, coloreds, and natives). The act authorized the eviction of different racial groups from their homes by the white community. Accordingly, the government racially segregated areas by forcing the homeowners of natives and coloreds to sell their immovable property to the white families, and four millions of them were relocated to reside in reserves. For instance, Johannesburg, the city of the precious metal gold, has witnessed a forced mass eviction of the black inhabitants. As a result, the natives, leaving their homes, have lost their memories and connection with the land in which they were once born and were part of. Undeniably, the identity is linked to the land, and what is obvious from the beginning is that South Africa has lost its identity. The readers get a picture of the marked differences between the land of natal and Johannesburg through Rev.Kumalo's journey, who seemed as if he was travelling between two different worlds, the worlds of the colonized and the colonizer, the poor and the rich, the desolated and the inhabited, the old and the modern. Throughout this experience of vacillation, the interrelationship between the self and place progressively loses its substantiality. Indeed, D. E. S Maxwell has perfectly defined that "a valid and active sense of self may have been eroded by dislocation, resulting from migration and the experience of enslavement" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin. 2002, p. 9). In Bhabha's words, evoking the unhomely began as an outcome of the social effects, which stemmed from the enforcement of cultural relocation and historical migration in the postcolonial societies; therefore, another world has existed (1992, p. 141). Consciously, Bhabha's theory is compatible with the novel, since he emphasized on the effects of dislocation on the black people' lives,

who started to "make a small world of their own" (1948, p. 13) in a way to alleviate their suffering as psychological refugees.

At the novel's outset, the coziness of Rev. Stephen Kumalo's house was entrancingly related. Being located right next to the church, the house was conferred a kind of homely ambience and an aura of spirituality as if it was an extension of that church. The reader gets a picture of the greatness and stability of the house with its table, chairs, clock, and a large number of books. However, Kumalo's homely home was later shaken by the impact of the postcolonial world of Johannesburg from where the letter came, which "for once is opened, it cannot be shut again" (Paton, 1948, p. 9). This statement has accentuated the letter as the turning point between the homeliness and unhomeliness atmosphere of the house. According to Bhabha, postcolonialism is the place that is situated between what is familiar and what is unfamiliar (Parvaneh, 2015, p.157). Consequently, Kumalo became unfamiliar with the reality of the geographical dispersion of his family members within the borders of what is supposed to be their homeland. His family, just like other families of the tribe, was torn apart since the allocation of the lands by the national party, because "when people go to Johannesburg, they do not come back. They don't even write anymore" (Paton, 1948, P. 11). Johannesburg city was the epicenter of the economic growth and development, which is the reason why it became an attraction point for many young black workers. However, being poor, easy and cheap tool, the mines' superintendents have exploited them through paying very low wages in return for long hours of work, and the moment they ask "for more money from the richest industry in the world" they will suffer from uncertain fate, and will be "brought down and put in the van, and taken to some other place" (Paton, 1948, p. 159)

Bhabha's interpretation of the whole situation mentioned above was indicated in his essay "The world and the Home" (1997). Bhabha asserts the inseparability of the home and the world in the postcolonial states. To put it differently, the private life has sustained an "intimate recesses" and became overlapped with the public one. Consequently, this process caused a disruption of the original concept of the home and the world. Bhabha defines unhomeliness as "the shock of recognition of the world-in-the-home and the home-in-the-world" (p. 141). In order to exemplify his point, he drew on the postcolonial works by Nadine Gordimer and Toni Morrison which are no different from Alan Paton's *Cry, The beloved country*. For him, the acts of injustice induced by the Apartheid implementation and slavery will not stand at the border of the public sphere. Rather, they will penetrate and manifest themselves in the private life of the affected people (Amelsvoort, 2016, p. 9).

It can be seen that the culture change occurring in South Africa has paved the way for the emergence of the sense of unhomeliness. For Bhabha, "cultures know themselves through their projections of 'otherness'" (1985, p. 12), which explains why the colonizer feels powerful and homely more than the indigenous people themselves. Having coined as the other by the colonizer was the reason that set those natives in a state of identity diffusion. In the novel, the whites were regarded as the incorruptible and the civilized who have the right to impose their cultural norms upon the corrupted black society.

> It is the white people that make the law. In south Africa men are proud of their judges, because they believe they are incorruptible. Even the black men have faith in them, though they do not always have faith in the law. In a land of fear this incorruptibility is like a lamp set upon a stand, giving light to all that are in the house (Paton,1948, p. 137).

This quote reflects the state of identity crisis experienced by the black men. Though they know that the root of their corruption was the whites' monopoly of their sources of livelihood, they still have faith in the incorruptibility of the white judges. As a result, the black people have lost their culture and original identity in the process of idealizing that of the whites. Richard Dyer pointed out to the reality that the constitutional process of the white's culture and identity depends on their representation of blackness to "implacably reduces the non-white subject to being a function of the white subject" (1997, p. 13). Furthermore, Bhugra and Becker (2005) contend that the loss of culture concurs with the "loss of the familiar, including language (especially colloquial and dialect)" (p. 19). This clarifies Stephen Kumalo's confusion once he arrived at the outskirts of Johannesburg city as he encountered unfamiliar names, "hard names for a Zulu who has been schooled in English. For they are in the language that was called Afrikaans, a language that he had never heard spoken" (Paton, 1948, p. 16). Having consolidated their culture, the whites have enjoyed a sense of homeliness in their new homelands much more than the original owners of these lands. This was manifested through the narrator's limning of the location and the surroundings of James Jarvis's home. Jarvis enjoys unabated stable and prosperous life dwelling in the finest farms of the countryside with a home situated between two hills and "stands high above Ndotsheni, and the great valley of Umzimkulu" (Paton, 1948, p. 112). The highness of Jarvis' house represents the significant gap between the colonized oppressed black people and the white colonizer. Even in their designated area, the colonizer exercises a monopoly of the finest farm, leaving useless farms as the main source of livelihood for the marginalized people.

Furthermore, what is known is that the classical connotation of home is where one can live a dignified life, that enables him to have access to the basic necessities of

life, such as health-care services, a good steady income and comfortable housing. Therefore, because of the lack of such necessities the native people feel unhomely within the borders of their homeland. In the novel, the substantial disparities in the living conditions between the whites and the blacks are being highlighted. While the whites had every convenience in South Africa, including the beautiful houses, the biggest hospitals and the ability to buy bigger houses and a brand-new car from the huge amounts of money coming from the discovery of new mines, the blacks were given the minimal amount of the dividends that come from the mines and were mired in extreme poverty and disease, having nothing but hospitals with poor conditions of facilities where the people lie on the floor so closely, so the person can not step over them, and densely populated compounds with the absence of warmth, cleanness and safety. Evidently, the whole issue is that the finances of the state were used for the self-interest of the colonizer, leaving nothing for the blacks. Noticeably, the black people's only hope was to gain their entitlements from their country's finances. Because for them, it is "for security, and for dreams, for hopes, and for purposes. Money is for buying the fruits of the earth, of the land where you were born" (Paton, 1948, p. 149).

In addition, Paton portrays the great affliction black families had even in the places where they were allowed to have a land and a house of their own. Alexandra and Orlando towns were from those places which were established for the laborers of the mines and located outside the boundaries of Johannesburg city. The towns, where the dream of having "a place of one's own, and a house to bring up children in, and a place to have a voice in, so that a man is something in the land where he was born" (Paton, 1948, p. 42), can be unimpededly fulfilled. However, the sense of unhomeliness appears when people wait for years to find a room for them to hire,

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owing to the fact that the families outnumbered the houses available, and thousands of black families were stuffed in the house's rooms "Ten people in two rooms, and only one door for the entrance, and people to walk over you when you go to sleep. But there is a little more food for the children" (Paton, 1948, p. 49). The concentration of husbands, wives, boys, and girls in such houses with poor conditions had induced them to relinquish their customs and "live loose and idle lives" (Paton, 1948, p. 22), thereby opening the way for moral decay and corruption among the black community. Further, those rooms were a perfect hiding place for the prostitutes, robbers, and thieves who were a source of fear for the white people living in the neighboring areas, like Highlands North, Orange Grove, and Norwood. With the increasing number of the racial attacks, such as snatching bags, assaulting, and killing carried out by the young black boys, the white people drew up a petition to evict the blacks from the only places where they could have possessions. Ironically, it is the colonizer's intrusion which "has contributed in part the decay of the native people" (Paton, 1948, p. 71), and led to a state of confusion and a feeling of identity crisis among the natives.

Furthermore, the characters' circumstances and conversations in the novel have overwhelmingly reflected a sense of unhomeliness. Starting with the protagonist Rev. Stephen Kumalo, his first appearance was when he called the small child who brought him a letter from Johannesburg to enter his house. The peaceful and humble Anglican priest seemed to have seen the world as a place of perfectness in the first pages of the novel before developing a broader understanding of the world beyond his town line. Kumalo appeared to be unaware of the reality outside his town, precisely the crime life and the reasons that compelled the young people to travel and work in big cities like Johannesburg. He was blinded by the fact that the white community has implemented policies to maintain a state of inequality, which would grant them the right to privilege

their own race over the other. This was clear when he blamed his wife for her unawareness as she was the one who opened the door for the entrance of such bad news. What can be noticed is that she had a comprehensive understanding of the situation of the black people in South Africa as she tries to have his eyes wide open to see the cause of their suffering. She told him that the door "has a long time been open, but you would not see" (Paton, 1948, p. 11). It was this statement that awakened the sense of unhomeliness within him. The moment he apprehended the whole situation, a sense of instability has penetrated his life as he feared the world he is living in, realizing that it was "not made for him" and "whose own world is slipping away, dying, being destroyed, beyond any recall" (Paton, 1948, p. 15). Oscillating between two different worlds, Kumalo found himself searching for a third one as to provide him a feeling of relief, thus demonstrating Bhabha's point of the "third space". This world was nothing but his a sacred book that he described as the only world "that was certain" (Paton, 1948, p.16).

Bhabha in his book *The location of culture* (2004) argues "the connective tissue that constructs the difference between upper and lower, black and white.... prevents identities at either end of it from settling into primordial polarities" (p. 5), and rather contributes to the designation of in-between identity. He considers that the two-part identities become unfixed in the postcolonial societies which consequently lead to an ambivalent sense of identity. In Stephen Kumalo's case, as a colonized subject, the ambivalent mixture of humility and self-righteousness that he experienced when meeting with the colonizer, became evident in two scenes. The first one was when he was introduced to the European superintendent. The way in which he was welcomed and was called as "Mr. Kumalo" by the European superintendent brought about an in-between sense of identity as it was "not the custom" (Paton, 1948, p. 77). Analogously,

the second scene shows the state of identity crisis that Kumalo had when the young white man stood in front of him in order to discuss the issue of the lawyer for his son Absalom. At that moment, "Kumalo struggled within himself. For it is thus with a black man, who has learned to be humble and who yet desires to be something that is himself" (Paton, 1948, P. 93).

Another manifestation of Kumalo' sense of unhomeliness was when he acknowledged the reality of the unmendedness of his broken tribe. The moment he began to lose hope of the restoration of his previous life, he resorted to recalling the homely and innocent life he and his wife used to have back in Ndotsheni before the obtrusion of the unhomely world of Johannesburg. He wished that the things happened to him were only a mere dream as he wondered "Why sometime in a moment or two, I can even believe that it has not happened, that I shall wake and find it has not happened" (Paton, 1948, p. 95). With such imagination, ''he turned with the relief of the thought of rebuilding, to the home that they would fashion" (Paton, 1948, p. 79), that would gather his family back together again.

> For Bhabha the border is the place where the conventional patterns of thought are disturbed by the possibility of crossing, it is argued that the imaginative border crossings are as much as a consequence of migration as the physical crossing of borders (McLeod, 2000, p. 217).

Therefore, Kumalo by depicting the cosiness of his home in Ndotsheni or as Bhabha defines it "restaging the past" reduces the feeling of the powerlessness and despair that he endured in his bitter journey to Johannesburg city. This act of imagination made him live in a third space that is neither the past nor the present. However, on returning from Johannesburg, Kumalo felt unhomely amidst his tribe as he was afraid of their

view of the immorality of his son Absalom and his sister Gertrude who have forgotten their customs once they departed from the town. His only consolation was travelling to the mountain top where he could contemplate and create a world of his own, in which he could imagine a better life for his people and family.

John Kumalo, Stephen Kumalo's brother who used to work as a carpenter in Ndotsheni, but then, just like the others, he left his hometown to find a job in Johannesburg city. Unlike his brother Stephen, he appeared to be aware of the bitter feelings the black people had towards the white community. Consequently, he turned into a politician, justifying "what god has not done for South Africa, Man must do" (Paton, 1948, p. 25). However, as time passed, he became allured by the European way of life and began criticizing the community that he belongs to. This was evident in his conversations with his brother Stephen as he started comparing the experience, he once had in Ndotsheni with the one in Johannesburg, saying

> "Down in Ndotsheni I am nobody, even as you are nobody, my brother. I am subject to the chief, who is an ignorant man. I must salute him and bow to him, but he is an uneducated man. Here in Johannesburg I am a man of some importance, of some influence. I have my own business". (Paton, 1948, p. 34)

John here found himself faulting the submissiveness of his people to the chief "who is nothing but a white man' dog" (Paton, 1948, p. 34). Bhabha's explication of the true home is the one whose residents enjoy every form of freedom, and the moment this freedom is restricted, a sense of unhomeliness insinuates itself in the person's life. In John's case, freedom was not obtained neither in his homeland nor in the lands where the whites control. Although he became free of the chief back in Ndotsheni, but this does not necessarily mean

that he could get it in Johannesburg, because the ghost of blackness would not disappear through moving from one place to another in a country that judges a person   based   on   the   color   of   the   skin.

Further, John became astonished by the openness and the prosperity of Johannesburg city to the point that he rebelled against the customs of his tribe along with the principals of the church. As a result, he does not believe in fidelity anymore. His wife has left him for ten years which made it possible for him to live with a woman without having legal recognized marriage. Breaking away from the customs that he grew up with and having been corrupted by his possessions demonstrate his feeling of unhomeliness within his homeland. Further, the native language he speaks which is the Zulu lost its essentiality in his life. It became difficult for him to explain using it as he asked his brother "Do you mind if I speak in English? I can explain these things better in English" (Paton, 1948, p. 33). Moreover, John resorts to imitate the language of the colonizer as a mean to survive and visualize himself as powerful as the colonizer. However, by this act of imitation, John disavows his cultural identity similar to what Bhabha argued in his essay "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse". He stated "mimicry emerges as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal" and it "appropriates the other as it visualizes power" (Bhabha, 1984, p. 126).

Absalom Kumalo was a meek and simple boy who was sent by his father Stephen Kumalo to Johannesburg in order to search for his aunt Gertrude. Absalom, although is not considered a major character, contributed considerably to the progression of the plot. Being alone in such an evil city, he sank into the life of crime

and robbery. Besides, he seemed to be real homeless living like a vagabond and moving from one place to another. The feeling of loneliness, insecurity, and not belonging to the new land and its inhabitants evoke a sense of unhomeliness in the one's self. This was the reason that induced Absalom to kill an innocent man while he was burglarizing his home. Furthermore, during the period of custody, Absalom was not able to give a clear explanation of the reason that pushed him to commit the murder as he was under the "disastrous effect of a great and wicked city on the character of a simple tribal boy" (Paton, 1948, 171). Therefore, what can be seen is that Absalom has felt insecure and threatened due to the negative stereotyping of the blacks as outsiders and killers by the whites, which ultimately caused him to experience a sense of unhomeliness within his own homeland.

Arthur Jarvis is Mr. James Jarvis' only son and the white man who accidently got killed by Absalom Kumalo. Although he was not an active character in the novel, his views were expressed through "an unfinished manuscript on 'The truth about native crime'"(Paton, 1948, p. 66), which was found on his table next to the bed, thus implying that he was engaged in writing this manuscript before going to his death. What can be understood from the novel is that Arthur was the voice of reason and justice. Becoming the president of the Africans Boys' Club, he turned into an untiring advocate "for the welfare of the non-European section of the community" (Paton, 1948, p. 66). However, his advocacy was the result of his feeling of unhomeliness in South Africa. Arthur, as indicated in his writings, hated the discriminatory and inequitable behavior against the natives. Having been born and grown up in South Africa to a loving family with all the comforts of the world have created a positive image of the homeland in his mind where he described it as a "land of sun and beauty sheltered from the storms of the world" (Paton, 1948, 150). Arthur later realized that

beyond the brightness of the sun, there were other things he did not know. The things that made him feel unhomely and lost in the shadow of othering that was created by his own people, who thought that it is permissible for them to exploit and develop the resource at the cost of the labor and allowed themselves to keep those unskilled labor for unskilled jobs. These also made the native families sink in poverty and stay apart for the sake of gathering as many workers as possible to extract as much gold as they can from the mines.

Arthur supports the idea that the whites' feeling of unhomeliness is unjustifiable, because it came from their tendency to focus on the self-interest alone, which ultimately caused the deterioration of the tribal system, thus impeding the opportunity to create a future with harmony in between the Europeans and the non-Europeans. He stated that the Europeans themselves are responsible for the natives' crimes. The natives have turned into criminals as a reaction to the destruction of their culture "by the impact of our civilization" (Paton, 1948, p. 127), which is nothing but a "tragic compound of great ideal and fearful practices" (Paton, 1948, p. 134). Arthur's case conclusively demonstrates that homeliness is only achieved when "the individual's sense of belonging to and pride in his homeland and its ruling political leadership" (Al-Maaloli, 2016) becomes unshakeable.

CHAPTER THREE

SENSE OF "UNHOMLINESS" IN THE CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SYRIA

"Every person has two homelands ... his motherland and Syria". This statement represents an image that was put forward by the French archaeologist Charles Virolleaud upon discovering the Ugaritic alphabet in Syria in 1928, which is the oldest alphabet known in history in Syria. The French colonial powers then indeed embodied this saying when mandating the Syrian territories between 1920 and 1964, declaring Syria to be their own possession thus having two homelands. Ironically, most Syrians in the postcolonial period experienced a sense of unhomeliness within their own homelands under Assad's rule. The conditions have become worse and this sense increased due to the Syrian revolution's negative repercussions represented by internal displacement and external migration, thereby placing the Syrians in an in-between space that is neither their homeland nor the homelands of others. With the deprivation of a fair democratic and political climate, the Syrians' beloved country became more like a prison that would bring any citizen to the gallows when opposing the regime. However, by organizing a revolution, the Syrian people thought it is their time to be accorded deliverance and escape from the quagmire of corruption and oppression. What truly happened later is that the regime's deep-rooted ideologies and its mutually advantageous multilateral diplomatic relations precluded the success of the revolution like the previous ones in Tunisia and Egypt, thereby leading to the exacerbation of the Syrian's identity crisis and the sense of loss by exposing three-quarters of the Syrian population to a state of homelessness.

The Arab Spring that started in Tunisia has evoked the buried sense of unhomeliness among most of the Arab nations. Syria at that time was like a raging volcano waiting for the time of eruption. Therefore, what has happened in Syria over the past ten years has undoubtedly ended in a big quake, affecting the   military, economic, political, and the conceptual levels. This reality induced Syrians to reconsider their previous perceptions that they once thought to be axiomatic and standard. Home in the political and cultural history is associated with a set of conceptualizations that distorted its original definition. In other words, the national statements have become solely associated with the political independence and territorial defence against the raiders. Noticeably, this notion was strengthened during the colonial times for the sake of some national liberation movements that delimited the role of nationalism through coupling it with the necessity of the state's border protection and the expulsion of the other or the colonizer. Therefore, a question emerges inquiring about such a state where everyone must die to avoid its collapse and the authoritative name to whom everything is attributed, including the state's treasury, the state's property, the state's territory, the state's prestige, and the state's president.

Unquestionably, the state is an imaginary idol made up to cultivate a sense of submission, so that it serves the governing party's interests and keeps their dominant positions. If they want to bring more reverence and exaltation on it, they name it the sacred homeland, which was evident in Hafez Assad's saying "Home is dear, home is cherished, home is ourselves, let us realize this truth and love our country as hard as we can". This saying has been used as a cover for the regime's arbitrary measures against the citizens for 50 years. More specifically, the regime to some extent succeeded in instilling the culture of the abandonment of the citizen's fundamental rights for the sake of the state. Therefore, this shows the reality that home is not the

citizens but the land, and "that nationalism is a modern phenomenon and comes prior to nations" (Kara, 2007, p. 104). So, if it was the land that represents the home, then who sat its boundaries. The boundaries that change over the course of history and the only constant is the name. However, in the post-revolution Syria, after breaking the chains of the totalitarian regime and enjoying relative freedom in some parts of Syria, Syrian people came to the conclusion that home is not a matter of political boundaries nor a nationality. Naturally, home is where the person was born and raised and had memories about, and learned its language, customs and traditions. The real home is not only confined to the land; it is the citizen and nothing is sacred but the citizen.

The correct concept of the function of the head of the state is to be a public servant. However, in the case of Assad's Syria, as the regime and its supporters call it, a redefinition of that concept took place. The identity of the president became an integral part of the identity of the nation. In other words, the political process was based on the "Nationalization of politic" (Ismail, 2011, p. 546). Therefore, whoever becomes the president from Assad's family is seen as an infallible person, who is close to be a priest of a sacred idol whose worshippers must sacrifice their religion, souls, dignity, and livelihood on the pretext that this priest is sent from God to be the protector of the motherland. The citizens must starve so he gets full, they die so he lives, and they are humiliated so he retains his dignity. Besides, he even became equivalent to God in the eyes of his advocates, which was clear in the refrain that came out as a reaction to 2011's demonstrations "God, Syria, Bashar and that's all, (Allah, Surriya, Bashar wi bas)" (Ismail, 2011, p 542). Furthermore, in the current state of affairs in Syria, some of those who survived the corporal punishment that was applied in Assad's prisons told that they were asked who was their God. If the expected answer is not Bashar, then they will be tortured mercilessly. Moreover, whoever tries to

defend his right and criticize the president, he would be considered as a traitor to the state. This was obvious in the reports and newsletters of the television channels possessed by the Syrian regime. According to them, if there was any area that is not within the regime's sphere of control, then it will be considered beyond national jurisdiction and thus extra-territorial. The moment they would break into it, destroy it, and force its disloyal habitants to leave it, it would be publicized as returned to the embrace of the motherland.

For Bhabha, the sense of unhomeliness evokes when the individual finds himself deprived of the fundamental rights like the freedom of choice and expression, and is restricted to the place where he is supposed to be himself, the home. Accordingly, a right activist Ibrahim Nasr, states

> The Assad regime portrayed the homeland as symbols and sancities that not to be touched. Geography, flag, president, national anthem and external enemy. we were the slaves of the leader to meet the call of duty of the homeland, freedom, unity and socialism were echoed as sacred mottos that we did not know its meaning. Today I no longer see that there is a homeland, a cause and a flag, and the homeland had become the place that gives me my rights and makes me feel human (Omari, 2019).

For Nasr, the concept of homeland has changed drastically after breaking out of the vicious cycle of the blind submission to Al-Ba'athist ideologies. Likewise, Mohammed Hammadi and Steve Jundi, Syrian refugees in France and Germany, have discerned a new concept of homeland. Comparing their homeland with the countries where they were hosted, they recalled the regime's attempt in reversing the roles of the government and the citizen. Hammadi pointed out to the fact that under Al-Baath rule, the term 'security' has a different meaning in the Syrians' dictionary. Or rather, it shares the same meaning with its antonym "insecurity", and this can be seen in the role

the Syrian security forces played in spreading insecurity among the Syrian people instead of protecting them. For him, France represents the real homeland that provides a fully secure and safe environment for its citizens and "works from the top of its pyramid to serve [them]" (Omari, 2019). As for Jundi, influenced by the German government which took upon itself providing the citizens with every mean of care from birth, he justified his sense of non-belonging to the homeland where he was born and raised by putting forward a question on how he would serve a country that does not serve him (Omari, 2019).

Furthermore, feelings of unhomeliness was not limited to ordinary citizens. As the Syrian scholars and religious people were not exempted from the 'iron fist' policy. On the contrary, being "exposed to the pressures of professionalism (Said, 1994)" (Kara, 2007, p. 98), the scholar even suffers double what the common people suffer. In addition, the scholars are far from enjoying autonomy in promulgating their ideas and beliefs under the system of a strict control exercised by the government on any declaration that opposes the government's interests. Concomitantly, the government has a stranglehold on the religious institutions in the cities with a big population, namely Damascus and Aleppo. Imams of the mosques were subjected to an in-depth security study, and were appointed "on the condition of approval by the security services" (Khaddour, 2019, p. 4). Besides, the religious people staying on the top of their job are contingent upon how close and dependent they are on the regime's officials (Khaddour, 2019, p. 3).

In the past several years, feelings of anxiety have controlled the Syrian people within the country. The series traumatic events they have been through left them in hopeless and vulnerable situations. Jovanović, in her article on the representation of

"home" 2011, explains "The angst which Bhabha calls the "anxiety of belonging" manifests itself as spatial and historical uneasiness. The "home" or dwelling is constantly haunted with shadows of various individual and collective traumas" (p. 46). The deteriorating economic situation and difficult living conditions which are the result of years of warfare along with a serious food insecurity have led to a high suicide rate among young people. Two suicides were recorded within 10 days and went viral on social media, namely Hussein Shamas (18 years) and Maha Al-Nazal (17 years), leaving behind a letter that reflected their feelings of non-belongingness to their homeland (Berksieh, 2021). In addition, what is known is that the self and place constitute a pivotal relationship. Having experienced enforced displacement, the Syrian individual's relation with the place that he had always considered safe and peaceful became disrupted, and "It is here that the spatial post-colonial crisis of identity comes into being" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2002, p. 8).

Bhabha, in his article "The home and the world", asserts "to be unhomed is not to be homeless, nor can 'unhomely' be easily accommodated in the familiar divisions of social life into private and the public spheres" (1997, p. 141). However, the Syrian people have experienced homelessness and unhomeliness in parallel since 6.6 million Syrians have been internally displaced and have become real homeless at home (Jones, 2016). The disastrous events of the revolution have irrefutably affected most of the Syrian families. Today, in Syria, the division used to separate the public and the private spheres has become blurred. The war events which stand for the public sphere have become present in the private spheres of the Syrians. Therefore, aspects of dispersion were evident in most of the families. There were those who have a detainee in the regime's prison, and those who have either lost or killed members. The remaining were either separated within Syria between the regime and the opposition

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areas or separated between Syria and the host countries. However, the families were not just physically separated, but also attitudinally. Members of the same family had different attitudes toward the controlling party; some members were loyal, while others were disloyal. Thus, a serious quarrel might happen and divide those members.

Furthermore, Syrians' feeling of unhomeliness was not just confined to being within the borders of their country. Since the beginning of the Syrian crisis, millions of Syrians have become refugees in the neighbouring countries. Hoping for the end of the war and the toppling of the oppressive Assadist rule, they conjectured that the whole situation would be purely temporary, and that they would return soon to their properties and homes. However, with the strict adherence of the government to its position, along with receiving support from the allied countries, the safe re-entry of the Syrian refugees has become almost non-existent. Accordingly, those refugees found themselves obliged to cope with the hardships and challenges raised by the enforced or involuntary assimilation into the host countries' culture and identity, which is undeniably a complex and difficult process especially for the first generation of those refugees who wound up at a crossroads for two reasons. First, they experienced the severe traumas of war, which have impacted their ability to adopt the new land culture, Second, the deeply rooted ancestral culture justified their tendency towards cherishing the traditional and cultural heritage of the country of origin. Moreover, the continuing lack of acceptance by the peoples of the host countries for the existence of a large number of refugees which would burden the host community with an economic impact. Consequently, this process contributed to serious social alienation and feelings of in-betweenness within the host countries, and it is here where the sense of unhomeliness finds its way into the lives of the Syrian refugees.

For Bhabha, home is the place where the individual meets his contentment and find solace with the thought of stabilization. However, for the Syrian refugees, the feeling of restlessness is haunting the vast majority of them in the host countries, where temporary living situations cause them to be trapped in a state of full preparedness for any emergency matter. Being referred to as outsiders keeps them permanently frightened of refoulement or from being driven out of their rental houses by the lessors, similar to the case of the Syrian refugees in Lebanon. Lebanon was infamous for its ill-treatment of the refugees who have arrived since 2012. The Lebanese government sought to stifle with the influx of the Syrian refugees by following a policy of 'no-camp'. Concomitantly, following the orders of the Lebanese leaders, "Syrians have been evicted in attempts to drive them away, even if the landlords lose money as apartments remain empty" (Grandi, Mansour & Holloway, 2018, p. 9), causing an uncontrolled proliferation of informal settlements and deplorable housing conditions for those refugees. Besides, providing legal stay for the coming refugees has been ceased since 2015. As a result, large proportions of the refugees were deprived from their fundamental rights, such as education, healthcare, and freedom of movement within the Lebanese territory. Moreover, any crime committed by a Syrian individual against the Lebanese people would put Syrians in a state of terror and fear from the public's reaction. Indeed, this is what happened in a village located in northern Lebanon called Mizyara. According to the Human Rights Watch (2018), a Syrian man raped and killed a Lebanese woman at her home, leading to a public outcry among the inhabitants of that village who called on the authorities to take action and enforce mass evictions of the Syrian refugees from Lebanon. Fearing of the recurrence of the crimes, a municipality of a nearby town called Bcharre issued a circular announcing their unwillingness to accept refugees, saying "our homes are

not for strangers", and "no one can impose on us settlements or emergency housing for newcomers at the expense of our people" (p. 21). Accordingly, this act of estrangement and social alienation has doubled the refugees' sense of insecurity, thus causing them to feel unhomed in Lebanon.

Although the idea of finding secure and adequate housing in Lebanon has become unattainable, it was relatively attainable in the other host countries that have governments funded the housing organisations. However, due to ill-conceived localization, refugees were unable to feel stability being obliged to constantly move from place to another. Kinda, who is a 31 year-old Syrian woman in Millan, Italy, expresses her fear and insecurity, saying "It is not mine, I feel threatened here, I do not feel stability in this place, I am afraid in it, especially when they told us that we have to move out" (Eltokhy, 2020, p. 142). As for those who are not dependent on the housing organisations, the process of finding a suitable home was the hardest part. The problems of xenophobia and the propagation of stereotypical images of the Arabs as terrorists and primitive played a major role in the reluctance of many homeowners to lease their houses. Salwa, who is a 39 year-old woman, says "It is difficult to rent an apartment from an Italian; they do not rent to Arabs" (Eltokhy, 2020, p. 143). By that rejection, the person finds himself longing for his real origins and homes. In this regard, Bhabha defined the unhomely moment as the moment that "creeps up on you stealthily as your own shadow and suddenly you find yourself taking the measure of your dwelling in a state of incredulous terror" (1994, p. 15).

Alongside the xenophobia phenomenon, refugees hosted in the European countries have suffered from religious discrimination. In addition, what is known is that the enjoyment of the religious freedom in Europe, particularly the Islamic religion,

has become exceedingly difficult and sometimes dangerous in the view of the continued misrepresentation of Islam by some Western media. Therefore, "many Syrian refugees experienced increasing Islamophobic and xenophobic incidents along with immigrant rhetoric that links Syrian refugees to terrorism or the Islamic states of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) (Koca, 2016; Whittaker, 2016 as cited in Mzayek, 2018, p. 8). As a consequence, for the refugees, finding a job or having an easy life has become compromised with abandoning religious practices, namely wearing Islamic scarf and growing a beard. A Syrian woman refugee wearing an Islamic scarf expressed concerns about headscarf discrimination in the Netherlands. She stated that she feared going to school as it was inconvenient, and she was placed under intense pressure by her surrounding fellows to take it off being a barrier to the assimilation into the European communities (Staring & Liempt, 2020, p. 14). Being referred to as terrorists makes it challenging for refugees to develop a strong attachment to their new place, thereby resulting in provoking a sense of non-belonging.

McLeod, in his book *Beginning Postcolonialism* (2000), conceptualized home as an idea that **"**stands for shelter, stability, security and comfort. To be 'at home' is to occupy a location where we are welcome, where we can be with people very much like ourselves" (p. 210). Despite the fact that a fair number of countries has opened their doors for the Syrian refugees, part of their population, who have anti-Syrian sentiments, have considered the Syrians as a pauper, and believe that the taxes they pay to the government are given to the refugees. This is the reason why "refugees regularly find themselves excluded and silenced, if not represented as unintended and desperate victims in need for material support" (Fogliata, 2017, p. 33). A Syrian woman showed that how the feeling of being unwelcomed affected her connection with her new place in Netherlands, as her neighbours disheartened her with words like

"You are refugee, you live here on benefits, and we are paying taxes for you, for your benefits" (Staring & Liempt, 2020, p. 14). Besides, statements like "go back to your country", "no Syrians desired", go viral whenever there happens an incitement by the opposition parties against the Syrian refugees in the host countries, which entrench ethnic prejudices. For instance, Abdul Kader Tizini who is a Syrian migrant and a master's student in mechanical engineering thought that his graduation from RWTH Aachen, one of the most prestigious universities in Germany, would open a new prospect for getting his dream job. With the outbreak of Coronavirus, Tizini's dream vanished since job vacancies have become limited. He stated that if the foreigner's chance in joining the job market was somewhat slim, it became even impossible due to the pandemic's impact because "Companies think, 'With a foreigner we will have to explain the idea twice, with a native only once". Correspondingly, Tizini was overwhelmed by the companies' repeated refusals that were based on ethnic prejudices, and the feeling of arbitrary deprivation of equal employment rights, especially after spending over 10,000 euros for studying in Germany. For him, after all these exerted efforts, everything has gone in vain; the only thing he knows for sure is waiting for the help of others in order to live (Alkousaa, 2021)

Another important sign of the sense of unhomeliness is revealed through the act of imagination. Syrian refugees, although living in the present time, resort to reminiscing their past as a way to alleviate their misery. "This disjunction between past and present, between here and there, makes 'home seem far-removed in time and space, available for return only through an act of imagination" (McLeod, 2000, 211). By 'restaging the past' as Bhabha says, spaces of the past and the present become mingled, thus producing a 'third space' centralized in the conscious mind of the displaced person. Nour Burhan, a Syrian human rights activist, demonstrated the

effectiveness of Bhabha's theory. The constructed images of the Syrian trees in her memories get revived whenever she comes across a tree in Germany that resembles the one in her memory (Omari, 2019). Although she did not cross the borders physically, however, she mentally constituted a new world that reminds her of her real identity and satisfies her nostalgia about her country of origin. Similarly, a Syrian man living in Mepple city in the northeast of the Netherlands talks about his feeling of nostalgia whenever he sits on a bench. He states that it is this particular "bench that made me feel at home" (Staring & Liempt, 2020, p. 6). The bench for him is the third space that connects the past with present; therefore, home is that "place of relationships, bonding and a pool of collective memories that assume identity and natively formulating a longing when dispersed" (Elmo Raj, 2014, p.90).

Furthermore, feeling of loneliness can be considered one of the leading causes of the feeling of unhomeliness as well. A 42 year-old Syrian man was asked about his past life in Syria compared with his recent life in Netherlands. He recalled:

> In Syria, I was never alone; my whole family lived in the same neighbourhood_my grand parents, my uncles, my parents, we all lived very closed to each other. In the evening we always met at my grand's mother place. The whole family came together. That is what I miss the most here (Staring & Liempt, 2020, p. 11).

The thought of how difficult it would be to return to the normal pre-disaster life, where the families are close to each other and get together whenever they want to overwhelm the Syrian refugees with much melancholy.

Lastly, the current state of affairs in Syria has not only affected the Syrian people, but it also has a profound impact on the Palestinians who were refugees in Syria. As it is known, Syria was one of those countries in which the Palestinians have

been violently scattered since 1948-*Nakba* (catastrophe). The Palestinians fleeing their homes after the destructions caused by the Zionist militia groups found a sanctuary in Syria and gradually formed the largest density of the Palestinian refugees in one of Damascus city's districts named Al-Yarmouk which later was turned into a camp that became a home for nearly 150,000 Palestinian refugees. Following the aftermath of the Syrian revolution, the Palestinians' loss of home has been duplicated due to the intense conflicts that caused severe damages to the area, thereby resulting in rapid depopulating of the camp as more than 140,000 refugees have fled to the neighboring countries since the outbreak of the revolution. The Palestinians in Syria, experiencing displacement for the second time, revived their "general condition of homelessness" (Said, 1979), especially after having resided for generations and developed a strong affiliation with the Syrians. For instance, Mahmoud, a Palestinian living in Al-Yarmouk camp, stated that the Palestinians were on good relationships with the country and its people (Fogliata, 2017, pp. 39-40). However, in the war-torn Syria, the conditions have changed since the need for protection was the reason that triggered the Palestinians to seek refuge in Syria and it is the very reason again that prompted them to flee it. Unfortunately, their state of being "double refugees" has led to additional obstacles where their condition of homelessness unlike their Syria's counter parts is strictly connected with the one of "passportlessness" (p.41) and this is clearly manifested in the further restrictions that were imposed by the governments of the neighboring countries, such as Jordan and Lebanon on the Palestinians coming from Syrian upon entering their states. Besides, Ghaith, a Palestinian refugee in Syria, says that even in Turkey, we face many problems regarding the official documentation, because in Syria I used to have a temporary residence permit, but now in Turkey, I am under the temporary protection and I am threatened by deportation (Homos, 2019).

Ghaith's situation resembels many other Palestininas who fleed Syria and did not have any official documents needed to start a new life in any host country. As a result, the Palestinians of Syria have experienced an increasing sense of unhomeliness.

CONCLUSION

Calls for equality achievement and social justice have never been discouraged neither before nor within the postcolonial era. The same calls gave rise to the formation of the national liberation movements, which came as an inevitable consequence to curtail the inherited arbitrary colonial practices applicable to the Asian and African populations by their governments in the post-independence period. However, despite all those calls and efforts that have been exerted to support the formation of self-identity, postcolonial countries have never had a complete autonomy, largely owing to the repeated conspiracies of the colonial powers that targeted the defacement of the identity and privacy of their previous colonies. Today, South Africa and Syria are heading to be more like failed states. During the period of colonialism, the colonial powers have shared the bounties of the territories they have seized, along with plundering their natural resources to meet their colonial interests. As a result, these territories lost their infrastructures and could not return to their former state.

Apparently, the colonial powers have succeeded in rearing the weakest groups as to be their future lackeys, who would keep on formulating the minds of the two countries' population in order to have them indoctrinated against their own rights. Consequently, this hamper the awakening of the civil society. Because once a country attains its autonomy, it would be impossible for the imperial powers to keep its exploitation of the this country's resources.

Both governments have hidden behind false and unfounded nationalist concepts to justify their eligibility to rule the country, and their monopolization of the political power was justified by their pretended correctional nature of governance. The Assadist family came up with what they call it 'the corrective movement', claiming that it would overcome poverty and corruption, whereas the Afrikaners entitled themselves to rule the country claiming that they are incorrupt, civilized and know how to invest the country' wealth. Further, as a mean to consolidate their sovereignty over the nation, they employed tactics of fear, intimidation and brainwashing through media and the educational systems. Accordingly, aspects of intimidation under the rule of Al-Baath and national parties varied including physical and psychological ones. The two parties in the two countries have worked on constructing a fear-driven society by applying the most proven method, namely massacring for silencing revolutionary movements over the long run. Employing varied types of torturing to claim their validation for the upcoming generations who did not have a direct experience of fear and the thought of suffering from the same fate can make freedom an adjourned matter endlessly. The regimes thought that resorting only to the physical force for getting rid of the public demonstration would causes nothing but a malevolence, which is the reason why underhanded tactic was applied to psychologically manipulate the target groups. Their tactic was to find the enabling environments for the dissemination of

their dogmatic ideas, whereby the educational institutions and the media were the perfect means to achieve that goal.

Undeniably, the policy of brutal massacring against the opponent groups is considered the mainstay followed by the previous and current politics. Two terrifying massacres that remained present in the minds of the Syrian and South African people were Hama 1982 and Sharpeville 1960. The National and Al-Baath parties, fearing of losing their rule of the African and Sunni majorities, respectively have rigorously fought against their oppositions. The result of these massacres and rigorous repression was palpable in shaping a sense of intimidation within these communities. The suppressive effect of war atrocities towards civilians in Hama and Sharpeville cities had worked on curtailing and stifling any individual or a collective decision of Sunni and black rebellions. Concomitantly, they had also worked on the reinforcement of the dictatorial rule in the area. Governments under the rule of Al-Baath party and the National party have proven to be the obedient slaves of their European masters through imbuing and revitalizing the legacies of colonialism. More specifically, the postcolonial governments of South Africa and Syria not only echoed the colonial repressive style, but also surpassed it and devised their own methods that are directed towards subjecting their state members to a brainwashing process. Thus, anyone who tries to think out of this governmentally established box would be pointed out as an outcast who is a traitor to the nation. Furthermore, the two governments sought for less tiring strategy that reduces the number of native protests in order to shape the minds of civilians in line with their interests without concerted efforts to safeguard their existence. Therefore, they found schools to be the appropriate environment for implementing this process of brainwashing.

In the backdrop of the economic malaise since the independence time, the media industry demands ongoing funding to establish strong basics. The economic conditions were not the only leading cause of the media deficiency; the conditions created by the colonizers before their evacuation and the agenda they implanted significantly have considerably contributed to undermining the role of media because the media industry during the colonization was directly associated with the imperial powers to enforce their control over the colonial mentality and use manipulative strategies to instill their ethnic and cultural inferiority. 'One aspect of electronic, postmodern world is that there has been a reinforcement of the stereotypes by which the orient is viewed. Television, the films, and all media's resources have forced information into more and more standardized molds' (Said, 1978, p.26). Following the same approach, the constituted governments after the attainment of independence in Syria and South Africa, have tried to associate media with their own ideologies through having a full control of media.

Despite being from different ethical and cultural backgrounds, both Syrians and black South Africans shared the feeling of alienation and unhomeliness within their own homeland. They were deprived of the freedom of opinion in the political matters. Fear was ruling the population, and no one was allowed to oppose or comment on any decision made by the leaders. However, being refugees, Syrians have also experienced a sense of unhomeliness in the host countries, where they were considered as outsiders, victims and temporary residents in a desperate need for material support.

To conclude, this study explored the similarities between Paton's *Cry, The Beloved Country* and the current state of affairs in Syria, where both populations were deprived of their political rights and were long oppressed by totalitarian regimes. Also,

both were indoctrinated with their regimes' ideologies either by media or the educational environment. Undeniably, the Syrian and the South African cases have altered the customary stereotyped images of the minorities. Generally speaking, all over the words, minorities are depicted as alienated, discriminated, poor and marginalized. However, this study showed that the segment that constitutes the overwhelming majority of the population in both South Africa and Syria have experienced the inequalities mentioned earlier. As a result, the black people in South Africa feel unhomely within their countries, whereas the Syrians felt unhomely not only within their homeland, but also in the countries that hosted them as refugees.

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