

The Magical (Racial) Contract

Understanding the Wizarding World of Harry Potter through Whiteness

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Race is fashioned through racialization/racial formation—a fluid and dynamic social and historical process that involves creating institutions that produce racial subjects.¹ Race is foundational to J. K. Rowling’s *Harry Potter* series and is best illuminated by examining the structural context of magical beings. Previous scholarship has demonstrated the utility of analyzing marginalized magical others through the lens of race² even if one could think of magical others as creatures warranting an interspecies analysis.³ Racialization has historically rendered non-White others synonymous with different species.⁴ If racially othered human beings can be made subhuman via fabricated but consequential biological distinctions, then one’s personhood is not contingent on being human. Magical others are marginalized differently with different consequences.

In this chapter, I tie together examples of structural racism and racial formation in the Wizarding world discussed by other scholars through an analysis of White supremacy, which I understand to be mutually constitutive with capitalism and colonialism. Some understand this relationship through the term “racial capitalism,” which Jasmine Wade expands upon in this volume. I argue that we can understand the structural context of race in our

world and the Wizarding world philosophically by drawing on Charles Mills's *The Racial Contract* (1997) to illuminate what I call the "Magical Contract." I do not center the British colonial middle-class perspective that is Rowling's personal frame of reference⁵ as the basis of the magical racial context, both because I am more familiar with US examples and because these power structures were/are internationally constructed and globally consequential.

I use Mills's philosophical scaffolding to demonstrate the logic behind a magical racial order in which Wizards—like White people—sit atop a racial hierarchy with other magical beings—like non-White people—positioned below them.⁶ I deploy additional scholarship to argue that (1) human mixing across blood status (pure, half, Muggle) approximates the historical and sociological process of immigrant assimilation into Whiteness rather than interracial acceptance, and that (2) true miscegenation—reproduction between humans and nonhumans—is exceptional and largely repudiated.

To be clear, I am not making claims about Rowling's intellectual or political intentions about race, multiculturalism, or antiracism in this chapter; there is a wealth of scholarship that does just that—including other chapters in this volume.⁷ Rather, I am interpreting this magical world as it has been constructed by exploring imperfect similarities between it and the social and historical facts within our "nonmagical" embodied reality. I provide a heuristic aided by concepts developed through real-world empirical examples of hierarchy and stratification across disciplines (legal studies, sociology of migration, political science, history) to be used to understand the Wizarding world.

The Magical (Racial) Contract Is Useful

Wizardness (Whiteness) is maintained by property and power over others. In a 1993 article, "Whiteness as Property," law professor Cheryl Harris historically and legally explores how Whiteness as a form of identity evolved into a form of property.¹⁴ Property, in this case, means access to privileges and rights in addition to material goods. As Harris argues: "The possessors of whiteness were granted the legal right to exclude others from the privileges inhering in whiteness; whiteness became an exclusive club whose membership was closely and grudgingly guarded."¹⁵ The pivotal case *Plessy v. Ferguson* is one example Harris uses to demonstrate a vested property interest in Whiteness

and how the court system denying someone's Whiteness results in lost privileges, capital, and property.

Harris's concept of Whiteness as property is useful for understanding Wizardness as an exclusive group with privileges and property interests. Being a Wizard is synonymous with access to a particular piece of property—a wand. Rather than through phenotype, visual recognition of Wizardness happens through wand possession. Membership in the category of Wizard is not determined by magical ability but rather by permission to possess a wand. Insofar as property matters for power, denying property is the denial of power. Wand possession is symbolically powerful because it signals parity, and it is materially powerful because a wand is a well-protected magical tool.

As Harris has demonstrated with US courts protecting the exclusivity of Whiteness, Wizarding courts are integral to formally drawing boundaries between those who are real Wizards and those who are not. Wand possession is racial; other magical creatures are not allowed to possess wands⁶ or the secrets of wand-making—as the Goblin Griphook reveals in *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* (488). Wands are for Wizards, Muggles who become Wizards, and exceptional interracial others like Rubeus Hagrid (half Giant and half Wizard; *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*, 428) and Fleur Delacour (a witch with Veela heritage; *HP and the GF*, 308). In *Deathly Hallows*, Ministry courts begin questioning employees' blood status and legitimate possession of their wands on the grounds that those born to Muggles cannot legitimately be Wizards. While Muggle-born Wizards can be compared to assimilated White people, pure-blood racial extremists—like White supremacists with regard to Jewish people—continue to see them as racial others without legitimate claims to Wizardness.

Radical pure-bloods and mainstream Wizards do not question the exclusivity of their Wizarding club, only where to draw the boundaries of membership. Radical pure-bloods might hate anyone who is not like them, but “liberal” Wizards make the distinction between Muggle-born Wizards and magical others, because Wizards with Muggle heritage are virtually indistinguishable from other Wizards over time through the process of assimilation. Just like European immigrants to the United States have shed their ethnic traits over time, so have Wizards with Muggle heritage. Yet, Muggle-born Wizards are not safe from radical pure-bloods. In *Deathly Hallows*, we see how Muggle-borns are rounded up, placed on a registry, and stripped of their claim to Wizardness (Whiteness) through confiscation of their wand

(property) (*HP and the DH*, 209). For radical pure-blood Wizards, Muggle-born assimilation is not valid or even possible.

Institutional power goes beyond arbitrating claims to Wizardness. The Ministry of Magic is a governmental body run by Wizards that is responsible for regulating much of the activity of magical others.¹⁷ Like Whiteness in its mutually constituting relationships with colonialism and capitalism, Wizardness involves dispossession. Rubeus Hagrid alludes to dispossession during a conversation with Harry and Hermione in the Forbidden Forest in which he predicts a Centaur revolt if the Ministry continues to limit the Centaurs' territory.¹⁸ In contrast, Giants—who are seen as barbaric and self-destructive—are dispelled to mountain regions far away (*Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix*, 426–30).

Informal attitudes of Wizard superiority and magical strength also perpetuate Wizarding rule. In this way, the Magical Contract is both moral and epistemic, as I describe later in this chapter. Within Wizard-run institutions like the Ministry of Magic and Hogwarts School, political power rests on these informal (one might say cultural) understandings of superiority among Wizards. Lucius Malfoy (a sort of lobbyist who leverages powerful relationships at the Ministry) and Albus Dumbledore (the headmaster of Hogwarts) exemplify how status shaped by wealth and blood-purity in the first case and by exceptional magical achievement in the second facilitate institutional power.

Like for Whiteness, advantages in material accumulation are weighed in favor of those with the greatest claim to Wizardness through racial purity. If Wizards sit atop the racial hierarchy in the magical world, then pure-bloods traditionally sit atop the Wizarding hierarchy. These old Wizarding families typically have an economic privilege that corresponds to their racial privilege. As hinted in several *Harry Potter* books and confirmed in *Deathly Hallows*, they have come to possess over many generations the oldest, largest, and most protected vaults in the Goblin-run Gringotts Bank (*HP and the DH*, 509). This class standing is so taken for granted that the relative poverty of the Weasley family is the sticking point of ridicule that the Malfoys levy upon them, in addition to their unacceptable “love” of Muggles.

The Magical (Racial) Contract Is Real

In *The Racial Contract*, Charles Mills—in the spirit of classical Western philosophers who have used “contract” as a useful term to imagine what a just

society should look like—proposes the “Racial Contract.”⁸ Mills uses this tradition beyond imagining a moral ideal to explain our historically and sociologically observable reality. This reality is one of White racial domination through a sometimes tacit and sometimes explicit agreement among White people to rule over non-White others. This agreement or “contract” is multidimensional as it is simultaneously “political, moral, and epistemological. . . . [A]nd economically, in determining who gets what, the Racial Contract is an exploitation contract.”⁹ The creation and reproduction of this agreement mutually facilitates and is facilitated by colonialism and capitalism. While we cannot neatly compare the historical structures of capitalism, colonialism, and White supremacy to possibly analogous structures in the Wizarding world, we can tease out similarities in the overall structure by comparing aspects of the Racial Contract to those of the Magical Contract.

The Racial Contract is not about race as much as it is about Whiteness; likewise, the Magical Contract is not about magic as much as it is about Wizardness. Mills tells us that “[a]ll whites are *beneficiaries* of the Contract, though some whites are not *signatories*.”¹⁰ In other words, White people are structurally privileged in this agreement over non-White people even if they do not agree with it or have the power to shape it. Wizards benefit from maintaining the magical racial order even if they see the position of other magical beings and creatures as unjust. The Weasleys, even in their relative poverty and low-status position,¹¹ can access the distinction and recognition of being pure-bloods and the protection that entails. In fact, although the Weasleys suffer from their low status relative to some of their pure-blood peers, Ron Weasley often promotes the status quo by playing devil’s advocate during Hermione Granger’s efforts to free house-elves—the enslaved servant class.¹² Sirius Black may have deviated from his family’s political agenda by rejecting pure-blood ideology, but he nevertheless benefits from the services of his house-elf, Kreacher, whom he treats with disdain and whom Harry Potter continues to use as a bound servant even after having earlier disrupted the racial order by freeing Dobby—the Malfoy family’s house-elf.¹³

The Magical (Racial) Contract Is Political

While magical others are marginalized as a group, a select few—either through their relationships with politically powerful people or their interracial claims to Wizardness—can live among Wizards and influence their

ways of knowing. Political scientist Cathy Cohen describes this process of a select few people having access to dominant institutions and space as “integrative marginalization.” Cohen “examines the political processes of black communities”¹⁹ and conceptualizes different forms of marginalization to understand how Black people resist and function inside White society.

For Cohen, integrative marginalization refers to the limited mobility open to a select few marginal group members—typically Black elites inside White institutions. In the Wizarding world, selection for special status is based on racial proximity and/or personal relationships that result in proximity to power. Racial proximity for magical others is achieved through miscegenation. Rubeus Hagrid is half Giant and half Wizard; Professor Flitwick is rumored to have some Goblin ancestry due to his short stature;²⁰ Madame Olympe Maxime surely carries Giant heritage but knows to refrain from acknowledging it due to stigma (*HP and the GF*, 428–29);²¹ and Fleur Delacour is part Veela.

Mixed-race Wizards are part of the select few included racial others because of their claim to Wizardness through a Wizard parent. As we learn in the series, this privilege is ultimately taken away from Hagrid when his wand is broken (*Harry Potter and the Sorcerer’s Stone*, 83). These select few can integrate into Wizarding society and may play significant roles as intermediaries for those in power, like non-White elites in our society. We see this in Hagrid and Olympe’s mission to recruit Giants for the fight against Voldemort despite their mistreatment by Wizards (*HP and the OP*, 424–33). Of course, while those from non-Wizard races are othered, the treatment that individuals from different social locations receive is disparate. Someone like Fleur, who is magically skilled and whose mixed parentage heightens her beauty—a sort of “model minority”—is treated better than Hagrid. Apart from her individual talent, Fleur may fare better due to the sexual exoticization of Veelas discussed by Amy Green; Hannah Lamb applies Edward Said’s concept of Orientalism to Veelas.²²

These select few incorporated into important social positions are not exclusively mixed-race individuals. Non-Wizard others, like non-White others, are incorporated due to their relational proximity to power, or their usefulness. Firenze is a Centaur who befriends and aids Wizards—activities Centaurs forbid, which results in his exile (*HP and the OP*, 602). His relationship with Albus Dumbledore, paired with his extraordinary ability to read stars and his mystical insight, facilitate both his hiring as a professor

of divination at Hogwarts and his protection from those who wish to harm him for his perceived betrayal (*HP and the OP*, 599–603). This opportunity to teach and live among Wizards, however, is not a pathway to becoming a Wizard. That privilege is not open to Firenze. Nevertheless, his presence provides the opportunity for young Wizards to glimpse other ways of knowing and thinking, which I discuss at greater length below.

The Magical (Racial) Contract Is Moral

At the foundation of Wizard morality is respect for the autonomy, dignity, and safety of other Wizards. Wizards are not all equal in power, status, or magical skill, so there are many ways to endanger others. At a minimum, there is a basic regard for Wizard life that is expressed through a categorical ban on the Imperius (controlling) curse, the Cruciatius (torturing) curse, and the killing curse. These Unforgiveable Curses are heavily punished and used mostly by “dark Wizards.” Mad-eye Moody confirms that these curses are the most heavily punished and alludes to higher moral regard for Muggles over magical others by stating: “The use of any one of them on a fellow human being is enough to earn a life sentence in Azkaban” (*HP and the GF*, 217). A categorical ban on the use of these curses—even across axes of authority and power within the Wizard category—suggests that Wizards see each other as standing atop the same moral plane; Wizards are all people. What is more, Muggles—with their potential to birth Wizards—are also people. Meanwhile, non-Wizard magical beings, like non-Whites, are often shown to be not worthy of the same respect for autonomy, dignity, and safety.

Historically, non-Whites were “relegated to a lower rung on the moral ladder (the Great Chain of Being)” to distinguish between people and “racial subpersons,” in other words, distinguishing who was and was not entitled to equal rights based on personhood.²³ This lower designation would likewise morally justify slavery, genocide, and extraction economies around the world for European benefit. This categorization of non-Whites normalized the exploitation of racialized others. Moving into the magical world, the logic goes that house-elf enslavement is justifiable because house-elves naturally want to serve. George Weasley, for example, justifies house-elf slavery to Hermione by claiming: “They’re happy” (*HP and the GF*, 239). In fact, freeing them could have dire psychological consequences, like in the case of

Winky—the house-elf dismissed from the powerful Crouch family who would drink herself into a stupor in the Hogwarts School’s kitchen because she saw “freedom” as a terrible fate (*HP and the OP*, 385–87). We also normalize exploitation through language. Dolores Umbridge from the Ministry of Magic refers to Centaurs as “half-breeds” and “creatures of near-human intelligence” when she encounters them in the Forbidden Forest (*HP and the OP*, 754–55). She makes clear that their place is below Wizards and, as such, feels justified to use near-fatal force when they are defiant.

Wizards normalize the oppression of racially distant magical others but are benevolent toward racially close nonmagical others, or Muggles. Radical pure-bloods like Lord Voldemort treat Muggles as subhuman or as another species, but the mainstream Wizarding population respects Muggle independence and protects them from harm. The magical potential of some Muggles, which leads to a process of immigration into the Wizarding world and assimilation into Wizardness, solidifies Wizarding interests in protecting Muggles. There are not enough pure-blood Wizards, so it is Muggles who can sustain the Wizard population even if pure-blood racists see them as no better than other marginalized magical races.²⁴

A somewhat similar scenario unfolded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when large swaths of European immigrants entered the United States looking for work.²⁵ These immigrant waves largely consisted of uneducated laborers first from Ireland and later Italy and eastern Europe. While the Anglo-American population discriminated against them, over a couple generations, these waves of immigrants were encouraged to fully assimilate into US Whiteness and adopt a pan-ethnic White identity while protecting the boundaries of Whiteness from racial others.²⁶ Drawing these parallels might be confusing at first, because we know that Wizards are not all White. Yet what matters here is less the phenotype of light skin color, which has not always been constructed as White, and more the temporal and spatial process of moving individuals who have historically been discriminated against—like the Irish—into Whiteness. In this way, I am describing Wizardness as the foundation for the Wizarding world of magic in the way Whiteness has been constructed as a foundation of power in our global world over the past few hundred years.

Just as most non-White people are considered perpetual racial others who are barred from full assimilation, so are magical others barred from assimilation into Wizardness. The Muggle-born are not Wizards because of their

ability to do magic—other magical races can do magic. Muggle-borns must first learn about and then be allowed to immigrate into the Wizarding world. Wizard gatekeepers choose to incorporate Muggle-borns like US Whites incorporated European immigrants first into the country as ostracized others, and then into Whiteness as more distant racialized others grew in number. In the Wizarding world, gatekeepers are necessary because the International Confederation of Warlocks' Statute of Secrecy keeps Muggles ignorant of the magical world (*Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*, 21). Hogwarts school officials must invite students, and they are the first to acculturate students from the Muggle world; Albus Dumbledore visits and tells the half-blood Tom Riddle that “[a]ll new Wizards must accept that, in entering our world, they abide by our laws” (*Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince*, 273).

Ironically, the same people who are incorporated—Muggle-born Wizards or Wizards with some Muggle parentage—are charged with policing Wizarding boundaries and upholding the Magical Contract. This is not unlike the role played by the Irish in America, who taught newly arrived eastern Europeans how to be racist toward and reinforce boundaries against Black people in the United States.²⁷ Many Wizards with Muggle parentage deny that parentage, and some are enlisted in the oppression of Muggles and Muggle-born Wizards alike. Voldemort and Severus Snape are the most prominent examples of half-bloods who often pass for pure-bloods and engage in this kind of boundary keeping. Without pure-blood pedigree, being in the club requires both assimilation and reifying the boundaries between Wizards and everyone else.

Lord Voldemort may be enacting a personal vendetta against Muggles, but he is successful at accumulating followers by explicitly invoking the Magical Contract that lies at the foundation of Wizarding society. It is mainstream Wizards who perpetuate the Wizarding racial order by upholding the status quo—tacitly agreeing to the Magical Contract. As Jenn Sims demonstrates in her essay “Wanagoballwitme? Inter ‘Racial’ Dating at Hogwarts,” Wizards can reject expressions of supremacy without rejecting or even interrogating the Wizard supremacist structure in which they live.²⁸ Hermione and Harry are both immigrants to the Wizarding world by virtue of their upbringing. However, only Harry is bestowed with the privileges associated with having a pure-blood father from an old Wizarding family, like inheriting an invisibility cloak and other riches (*Harry Potter and the Sorcerer’s Stone*, 75, 202). Although Hermione and Harry are both taken aback by the marginalization

of magical others, Harry is largely ambivalent about Hermione's efforts to fight for systemic change, including the abolition of house-elf slavery (*HP and the GF*, 224–25). Indeed, at the end of the series in a powerful nod to the status quo, Harry wonders if Kreacher would be up for fixing him something to eat upon his return (*HP and the DH*, 749).

The Magical (Racial) Contract Is Epistemic

Beyond coercion and the moral systems that justify coercion, oppression is perpetuated at the level of constituting legitimate knowledge. Mills concedes that we do not often think about contractual philosophy as epistemic, but that inherent in participating in a contractual agreement is a system of determining what is objectively true. What counts as the correct way of interpreting the world? The Racial Contract is epistemic both in establishing Whiteness as the arbiter of legitimate knowledge so that non-White perspectives and contributions are downplayed or ignored, and in prescribing a misunderstanding of the world so “that whites will in general be unable to understand the world they themselves have made.”²⁹ This “misunderstanding, misrepresentation, evasion, and self-deception on matters related to race are among the most pervasive mental phenomena of the past few hundred years, a cognitive and moral economy psychically required for conquest, colonization, and enslavement.”³⁰ In other words, a persistent mental gymnastics that includes collective forgetting, historical obfuscation, and general disassociation from past and present violence has been necessary for White people to sleep at night. Though, of course, some White people have worked and continue to work toward illuminating historical erasures and changing the status quo.

Likewise, Wizards largely take for granted the power structure that they have created; Wizards often overlook the contributions of magical others including their forms of magic, social organization, and understandings of the past. Wizards misunderstand the magical order they have created to morally digest wrongdoing. House-elf magic is powerful; house-elves can apparate and disapparate wherever they please, disarm Wizards of their wands, perform enchantments, and easily locate people.³¹ However, their magical ability and power are taken for granted as unthreatening because they form the enslaved servant class of the Wizarding world. Somehow,

Wizards enslaved house-elves, retained sole responsibility for their freedom, and inflicted centuries of psychological damage so that freedom is undesirable and can potentially collapse house-elves' sense of self—like in the case of Winky. Within this reality, Dobby is the exception.

Centaurs and Giants—like others in the magical world—are not only oppressed by Wizards but also culturally misunderstood.³² This misunderstanding coupled with structural oppression fuels the perspective that magical others are morally or epistemically inferior. Centaurs, who are separatist as a rule, are largely uninterested in the Wizarding world and perhaps do not care to be understood by Wizards. This does not mean, however, that they do not have to contend with the consequences of being viewed as morally or epistemically inferior. Wizard power and authority can affect their quality of life, access to land, resources, peace, and so on.

Goblins are curious magical others in their ability to monopolize metallurgy and banking, securing a more favorable position in the magical hierarchy. Wizards need their services in accumulating, protecting, and creating material wealth. In framing Goblins as categorically astute, mean, and tricky, Wizards acknowledge Goblin racial superiority over enslaved or banished magical others but frame them as morally inferior to Wizards (*HP and the DH*, 506, 516–17).³³ This inferiority is epistemological in that it extends to Goblins' understanding of history and social organization.

The origin story of Godric Gryffindor's sword is an example of competing understandings of history. The story goes that the powerful sword of Hogwarts cofounder Godric Gryffindor was made especially for him by a Goblin. In *Deathly Hallows*, Griphook tells Harry and his friends that the sword belonged to a Goblin king and that Gryffindor had stolen it (*HP and the DH*, 505–6). This is particularly interesting when we learn that Goblins connect ownership to a thing's maker, not to the person who purchased it (*HP and the DH*, 516–17). Purchasing is like leasing; ownership of Goblin-made things is collectively Goblin, and when a Wizard owner of such a property dies, Goblins believe that the property should be returned. Of course, property is not returned in such a matter but rather kept in Wizard hands because this definition of ownership is not legitimate to Wizards. Gryffindor may not have stolen the sword, but whether the sword was made for or purchased by Gryffindor matters. Either way, Wizards maintain their favorable origin stories and hold fast to acquired property rather than engage in a wider search for truth.

Conclusion

The term “Magical Contract” is shorthand for the political, moral, and epistemic foundation of Wizard supremacy in the *Harry Potter* series. The Magical Contract exists to protect and perpetuate Wizarding interests and control over magical others. Access to wands is exclusive to Wizards and necessary for accessing Wizardness. Through the process of integrative marginalization, a select few racialized magical others are included in Wizarding society due to their exceptionality, interracial claims, or special relationships with powerful Wizards. Inter marriage or reproduction between Wizards and Muggles approximates inter marriage or reproduction between US Whites and assimilating European immigrants to the United States. Muggles are incorporated into the Wizarding world by Wizard gatekeepers who determine the boundaries of Wizardness. Magical others in the magical world are not incorporated into Wizardness because they are seen as perpetually unassimilable racial others who can threaten Wizarding control of the magical world, their property (wand; land; house-elves), and their corresponding privileges (political power; freedom of movement).

There are limitations in comparing a fictional world and its social structures to extant social structures—especially the ever-expanding *Harry Potter* universe that now includes movie adaptations, additional story lines, a huge consumer market, a rich fandom, and post-series author commentary and revisions. Even so, it is worth examining how this extraordinarily influential cultural product with admirable intentions to promote decency, justice, and agency manages to produce racial logics similar to the ones that structure our world. There are moments of justice, underdog triumph, and respect for the other in the interactions *Harry Potter* and his friends have with other characters. Yet, the larger structure of oppression based in Wizard supremacy is left intact. J. K. Rowling’s books condemn a particular brand of radical pure-blood extremism without condemning the tacitly Wizard supremacist foundation of the magical world she has constructed.

To tear up the Magical Contract would require disinvesting from Wizardness. To be clear, disinvesting from Wizardness is not about hiding or downplaying that one is a Wizard but rather about working to make the magical world, through relationships and institutions, one where Wizards are beings among many. This means negotiating power, resources, knowledge, and place as beings among many and not through a conjured superiority imposed on magical lived reality.

Notes

1. Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*.
2. Some of this work includes Green, "Revealing Discrimination"; Horne, "Harry and the Other"; and Anatol, "The Replication of Victorian Racial Ideology."
3. Batty, "Harry Potter and the (Post)Human Animal Body."
4. Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning*.
5. For more on this, see Lamb, "The Wizard, the Muggle, and the Other"; Baker, "You Have Your Mother's Eyes"; Anatol, "The Replication of Victorian Racial Ideology"; Rangwala, "A Marxist Inquiry"; and Park, "Class and Socioeconomic Identity."
6. We can understand Wizards as White while Goblins, house-elves, Giants, Centaurs, and so on are racialized others with varying degrees of power.
7. See Jasmine Wade's "Harry Potter and Black Liberation Movements: Addressing the Imagination Gap with History" and Jackie C. Horne's "Harry and the Other: Multicultural and Social Justice Anti-Racism in J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter Series*" in this volume.
8. Mills, *The Racial Contract*.
9. Mills, *The Racial Contract*, 9.
10. Mills, *The Racial Contract*, 11.
11. The Weasley family's poverty is mentioned often in the series; one of the first instances is in *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*, 86–87. Their debased position also derives from the low prestige associated with working on Muggle affairs, as discussed by Elizabeth Heilman and Anne Gregory ("Images of the Privileged Insider and Outcast Outsider"); and Alison Baker ("You Have Your Mother's Eyes").
12. Ron is one of several characters who patronize Hermione's antislavery efforts and/or uphold the house-elf status quo. This is discussed in greater depth by Brycchan Carey ("Hermione and the House-Elves"); and Amy Green ("Revealing Discrimination").
13. We learn more about Black's family history and his relationship to Kreacher in *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix*. Harry frees Dobby in *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*, 337–38.
14. Harris, "Whiteness as Property," 1707.
15. Harris, "Whiteness as Property," 1736.
16. The Code of Wand Use states that "no non-human creature is permitted to carry or use a wand" (*HP and the GF*, 132).
17. Hannah Lamb discusses regulation and control of magical others' activity including reproduction, and the colonial implications thereof, in greater depth in "The Wizard, the Muggle, and the Other."
18. While this scene occurs in the movie version of *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix*, territorial conflicts are alluded to several times in the book series, such as during an altercation between Centaurs and Hagrid (*HP and the OP*, 698–99) and between Centaurs and Dolores Umbridge (*HP and the OP*, 754–55).
19. Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness*, 9.
20. While my intention is to rely on the written series as my primary source rather than venture into the larger Harry Potter universe, this information is taken from J. K. Rowling's official website: http://web.archive.org/web/20070724184245/http://www.jkrowling.com/textonly/en/faq_view.cfm?id=95.
21. See Heilman and Gregory, "Images of the Privileged Insider and Outcast Outsider," for a discussion of Wizard disdain for magical mixing.

22. Green, "Revealing Discrimination"; and Lamb, "The Wizard, the Muggle, and the Other."
23. Mills, *The Racial Contract*, 16.
24. Ron Weasley notes that Wizards would have died out if not for marrying Muggles (*HP and the CS*, 116).
25. Bodnar, *The Transplanted*.
26. The following scholarly sources are relevant here: Bodnar, *The Transplanted*; Roediger and Barrett, "Making New Immigrants 'Inbetween'"; and Kasinitz, "Race, Assimilation, and 'Second Generations.'"
27. Roediger and Barrett, "Making New Immigrants 'Inbetween.'"
28. Sims, "Wanagoballwitme?," 167.
29. Mills, *The Racial Contract*, 18.
30. Mills, *The Racial Contract*, 19.
31. Some examples include Kreacher disappearing from the place Voldemort hides his Horcrux locket while his Wizard master could not (*HP and the DH*, 195–96); Kreacher finding Mundungus Fletcher when he did not want to be found (*HP and the DH*, 220); and Dobby taking Narcissa Malfoy's wand using magic (*HP and the DH*, 474).
32. An example of Wizard ignorance of Centaurs can be found in *Order of the Phoenix*, 601–3; and of Giants in chapter 20 of the same book.
33. Horne ("Harry and the Other") and Anatol ("The Replication of Victorian Racial Ideology") both argue that Goblins represent a more structurally powerful racial other who are allowed through Griphook to denounce Wizard power.

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