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Harry Potter and the Gender Structure: Exploring Gender in *The Goblet of Fire*

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the social construction of gender through literature looking specifically at *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* written by J. K. Rowling (2000). Connell's (2002) four gender structures will be utilized as a guide to explore how gender is represented in this specific piece of literature. Research has been done to support the effect of secondary socialization in our understanding of what is valued by society and therefore how we act out our gender. Consistent messages of sexism in a variety of mediums contribute to the continued undervaluing of traditional female roles in our society. An analysis of the *Goblet of Fire* shows that sexism also exists in the magical world of Harry Potter created by the author.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Books have been a major influence in my life. One of my strongest memories from childhood is when I got my first library card at the age of seven. The exhilaration of being able to sign out and read all the books I ever dreamed of still goes unmatched. So much of what I have learned about the world and the people in it has come from my relationship with literature. It must therefore follow that at least some of what I know and accept about male and female roles have also come from books.

The Harry Potter series of books, written by J. K. Rowling, has brought to life for millions of readers a magical world of witches, wizards, dragons and more. With millions of books sold worldwide in many different languages (including Latin), the influence of Harry Potter in contemporary children's literature is undeniable even to the most vehement critic. The popularity and accessible nature of the books has spawned a franchise of movies, merchandise, websites, and even fan fiction (stories written by fans based on both the characters in and the setting of the books). The series is not only read by children worldwide, the target audience being 10-12 year olds, but by people of all ages. In fact, the series is so popular with adults that the publisher has now put out versions of the books in an adult format: the content is the same but the covers are more mature.

However, beneath the fantasy and the commercialisation of the series there lies a very normal world of social interactions that could mirror anyone's school experience. This is perhaps one of the reasons adults enjoy the series so much—it is relatable to all people. In fact, the Harry Potter series has also escaped being labelled as *either* for girls or boys, it is accepted by both.

So with all its success what is the problem? For me, it is a scientific one – a *problematic* – in this instance one centered on gender. I will explore the gender patterns within the fourth instalment: *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*. As pointed out above, both males and females read the series, so that creates a non-issue in terms of the sex of the reader (it would be a very different reading if, for example, Rowling had intended her audience to be male). There are a variety of characters in *the Goblet of Fire*, male and female. There are teachers, parents, friends, and mentors, just as we have in our own lives. Since the series follows the characters through seven years of schooling, they have a great depth: a past, present and future. At the same time, they have many experiences from which they learn and grow.

Rowling may not have intended to stereotype her characters when she wrote the books, but when a series such as this is let out into the world, it could be influential. Children could learn about acceptable behaviour from what they read in her books. As Palys (2003) puts it "since producing things is part of what we do, *analyzing* the things we produce is another way to learn about us (and others) as people" (p. 228). Just as I began to learn about the world beyond what I could ever experience when I was seven and signing out my first library book (*Little House on the Prairie*), those who read *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* could likewise be influenced. As Diekman and Murnen (2004) point out: "literary adventures educate children about what is expected and valued in the real world" (p. 373). This is why it is important to look at the gender patterns within them.

Literature Review

Gender and Storytelling

Signorielli (1991) argues that "[t]raditionally parents, peers, schools, and churches have had major responsibility for socialization. Over the past 20 years, however, numerous studies have revealed that the mass media plays a very important role in the socialization process for both children and adults" (p. 69). But, how much of an impact on a child's perception of the world (specifically gender roles) will these tools of secondary socialization have? According to Diekman and Murnen (2004), "narratives have been found to produce changes in adults' beliefs and attitudes, even when passages are clearly based in fiction" (p. 373). They argue that for children "immersion [in literature] is likely to be more pronounced" therefore the "potential impact of stereotypic images" is greater (p. 373).

The problem of gender role stereotyping in children's media has been discussed in the literature primarily since the 1970s. This began, according to Gooden and Gooden (2001), when "feminists criticized fairy tales because young girls appeared to be passive, stepmothers were portrayed as evil or only beautiful girls were equated with goodness" (p. 91). Articles cited from the 1970s all point to a lack of female characters in number and diversity. Obviously this is problematic; a young girl who watches/reads these cartoons and/or books could gain a biased idea of what she is capable of as well as what is expected of her as a female. The authors also argue that "although female representation has greatly improved since the 1970s, gender stereotypes are still prevalent in children's literature" (p. 89; see also Thompson & Zerbinos, 1995; and Hamilton, Anderson, Broaddus & Young, 2006). This is reiterated for other types of children's entertainment as well. Thompson and Zerbinos (1995) indicate that there has been a "significant change toward a less stereotypical portrayal of the characters, particularly female characters" in children's cartoons since 1980 (p. 651; see also Oliver & Green, 2001, p. 67). This seems to parallel

real life advances of women in work, though it does seem to lag behind. Levinson argues that "television's portrayal of the sexes in cartoons does not accurately mirror real world events but it does reflect real world values concerning traditional gender-role assumptions" (quoted in Thompson & Zerbinos, 1995, p. 652). These arguments reflect the psychological principle that what people say and what they do are not always commensurate.

Today, the major concerns pointed out in the literature for gender stereotyping are: underrepresentation, the lack of occupational diversity, and specific behaviours and communicative acts[1] of women. Although male characters experience stereotyping as well, they are more likely to be portrayed as having positive attributes including intelligence, strength, and importance relative to their female counterparts (Thompson & Zerbinos, 1995). Additionally, Trites (2001) argues that in young adult literature the "pattern of development differs for the male and female protagonist. Female protagonists are more likely to define maturity in terms of inner growth and familial relations than they are in terms of achieving independence from their parents" (p. 472).

In Gooden and Gooden's (2001) study on notable children's picture books they find that "females were listed as the main character 40% of the time and males in 39% of the titles analyzed" (p. 94). This does not, however, mean that males were the other 60 percent of the main characters, or that females were in the remaining 61 percent of the titles. Unfortunately, the authors do not offer statistics for these, but they do give a listing of the books used for their study at the end of their paper. According to my calculations, only 20 percent of the 43 titles had a female reference; one title (1.2 percent) had both male and female names; and one title (1.2 percent) had a gender ambiguous name (Sam).

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[1] Discussed further below; see also Appendix

In another study on children's literature, Grauerholz and Pescosolido (1989) find that males outnumber females in all categories (human/animal; title/central character) (p. 116). The authors also find that gender representation is balancing out with more recent literature. However, they observe "when stories involving only adults or animal characters are considered, males become more prominent over time" (p. 113; p. 122). The authors' review also suggests that as the proportion of females increase in the media their diversity will have to increase as well. What is important to take away from this is that with a lower number of representative females in children's literature, young girls lack role models from which they can learn positive behaviours and attributes.

Not only are women lacking in equal representation, but they are also lacking a diverse skill set. In their study Gooden and Gooden (2001) found that "[m]ale adults tended to be illustrated in a variety of roles. The number of roles totaled 25 for male adults and only 14 for female adults" (p. 95). Diversity is important for children to see in characters, as they tend to enjoy copying, or modeling, their favourites (Noble, 1975, p. 87-88). If female characters are lacking an assortment of roles it is likely that children (both female and male) will limit their perception of the acceptable activities for females in real life.

It is clear from these articles that consistency and diversity of women in 'non-traditional' roles in the various forms of media for children are lacking and necessary. What is also interesting are the types of behaviours and communicative acts typical of women in stories. Thompson and Zerbinos (1995) outline a number of characteristics associated with these including males being independent, assertive, leaders, and interruptive while females tend to be more emotional, troublesome, helpless, and prone to gossip (for a full listing see Appendix).

As we know, gender is socially constructed. In particular we collectively help to create and to perpetuate the very system that favours one sex over another. Further, "gender roles are the behaviours that society teaches are 'correct' for boys and 'correct' for girls" (Shaw in Gooden & Gooden, 2001, p. 90). These expectations, arguably, are also what society values in males and females. If, as Gooden and Gooden (2001) argue, the values of a culture are reflected in their literature (for more modern times we can extend this into video as well), then I would have to say that patriarchy still has its hold on North America's entertainment world. Oliver and Green (2001) suggest "the media industry may be generally sluggish to respond to cries for more female-oriented entertainment because of fears that male viewers will avoid such programming" (pp. 68-9). Is there, or can there be, such a thing as non-gender specific television/movies/books?

On the other hand, in Clark, Guilman, Sacier and Tavarez's (2003) study on gender stereotyping in award-winning picture books from the 1930s to the 1960s, books were found "more likely to reflect local, temporal variations in gender norms than to express a long-term trend toward increasing the increasing visibility of female characters and decreasing gender stereotyping" (p. 446). So where this leaves us in the 21st century is an interesting conundrum as racial issues have been at the forefront of the media since the September 11th attacks in the United States, overshadowing gender relations and even making them seem relatively unimportant.

Thompson and Zerbinos (1995) point out that there has been some "recent efforts to incorporate ecological messages into cartoon story lines," they continue by saying that this "suggest[s] that producers believe such messages can teach children to be more concerned about the environment" (p. 652). If children can learn about the fragility of nature from

television, it must surely be the same for gender. Producers who care about the bottom line need to care about their portrayal of gender roles just as much as the environment. If they can incorporate "green" messages into their story lines, surely they can incorporate more female leads and more diversity and consistency in all of their female characters. However, as Baker-Sperry (2007) points out: "boys are not likely to embrace a female main character...girls, however, are often willing to embrace a male main character such as the popular children's character, Harry Potter" (p. 718). This fact alone may lead writers and producers alike to create works that will appeal to a wider audience and therefore limit the number of female leads.

Gender and Harry Potter

Little has been written in academic literature on the gender patterns in the Harry Potter books. Academics have studied the materials from a variety of perspectives. For instance they have studied it from the angle of popular culture (see Kidd, 2007; Morone, 2001), marketing (see Lathey, 2005; Tucker, 1999), psychoanalysis (see Noel-Smith, 2001), the moral development of children (see Binnendyk & Schonert-Reichl, 2001), social care (see Sedan, 2002), and as a case for adolescent literature (see Trites, 2001). No one has specifically considered gender patterns as a primary focus.

This is not to say that issues of gender in Rowling's writing (including sexism and homophobia) have not come under scrutiny, both in the academic world and by the mass media. In fact, according to Trites (2001) the first book in the series, *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*, is "altogether more sexist than it needs to be" (p. 472). For example, characters called *Dementors* are "always and only male" (p.476). Dementors, being the epitome of evil, are almost a black hole for happiness: they suck any positive memories or

thoughts from wizards around them. They are also used to guard the wizard's prison. Trites (2001) also discusses power in her article, interlinking it with the characters' "burgeoning sexuality" (p. 477). She points out that by timing this theme to the fourth book it "reflects the cultural tendency to define sexuality as the purview of maturation" (p. 477).

Trites (2001) also asserts that in the fourth book the Tri-Wizard "tournament is a mechanism for Cedric and Harry to work out their male aggressiveness as they compete for the attention of the same girl" (p. 478). This reveals the inclination for males to work out their differences through physical means rather than through their emotional devices. Alas, this is as far as Trites ventures into a gender analysis of the Harry Potter novels.

In conclusion there is, unfortunately, a significant gap in scientific literature on the subject of gender in the Harry Potter novels, I hope to merely begin to fill it in.

Theoretical Perspective

As mentioned briefly above, I am approaching my research from a social constructionist perspective, which states "society is actively and creatively produced by human beings" (Marshall, 1998, p. 609). Therefore, studying gender from this standpoint would argue that gender is created and perpetuated by a culture or society itself. According to Connell (2002):

> Ideas about gender appropriate behaviour are constantly being circulated, not only by legislators, but also by priests, parents, teachers, advertisers, retail mall owners, talk-show hosts, and disk jockeys. Events like the Super Bowl are not just consequences of our ideas about gender difference. They also help to create and disseminate gender difference, by displays of exemplary masculinities and femininities
>
> p. 5

As pointed out by Connell, gender can be passed on through popular culture. Left out of his list, but still just as appropriate, is literature, especially a literary phenomenon as important as the Harry Potter books.

Put another way, Brickell (2006) explains that social constructionism, specifically symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology, "explain[s] how social relationships inform the construction and deployment of meaning and the accomplishment of self in everyday life" (p. 88). Both Connell (2002) and Brickell point out the external influences that make up who we are and, in turn, who we present to the world.

Often what influences ideas of acceptable male or female traits are gender stereotypes: "one-sided and exaggerated images of men and women which are deployed repeatedly in everyday life" (Marshall, 1998, p. 251). Taylor (2003) lists female gender stereotypes which include: submissive, weak, content, emotional and passive; and male gender stereotypes as dominant, strong, rational, brave and insensitive (p. 309). Children, in fact, all of us, are influenced by these stereotypes and we internalize them to create our identities.

Connell (2002) further points out that we "cannot think of womanhood or manhood as fixed by nature...People construct themselves as masculine or feminine. We claim a place in the gender order...by the way we conduct ourselves in everyday life" (p. 4).

Moreover, Dorothy Smith (2001) argues:

> the ways in which we think about ourselves and one another and about society—our images about how we should look, our homes, our lives, our inner worlds—are given shape and distributed by the specialized work of people in universities and schools, in television, radio and newspapers, in advertising agencies, in book publishing and other organizations forming the "ideological apparatuses" of society
>
> p. 17

The ideological apparatuses of society are what Smith (1987) refers to as *ruling relations*: "a concept that grasps power, organization, direction and regulation as more pervasively structured than can be expressed in traditional concepts provided by the discourses of power" (p. 3). Smith's methodology, Institutional Ethnography, is meant to describe these ruling relations rather than to explain human behaviour.

Relations are what we should be looking at, not differences, according to Connell (2002) as "gender is, above all, a matter of social relations within which individuals and groups act" (p. 9). He also explains that:

> enduring or extensive patterns among social relations are what social theory calls "structures". In this sense, gender must be understood as a social structure...It is a pattern in our social arrangements, and in the everyday activities or practices which those arrangements govern
>
> p. 9

Connell further breaks down gender relations into four main structures: power, production, emotional, and symbolic (p. 55). "Power, as a dimension of gender," points out Connell "was central to the Women's Liberation concept of 'patriarchy'" (p. 58). Power relations between men and women are expressed individually and institutionally (pp. 58-60). Production relations point to the sexual division of labour: women are the gatherers, men the hunters; women the caregivers, men the breadwinners (pp 60-62). Emotional relations refer to sexuality as well as attachments or commitments people have "often interwoven with power and the division of labour...but also following its own logic" (pp. 62-63). Finally, symbolic relations involves our interpretations of the world around us. When this is connected to gender relations, "we call into play a tremendous system of understandings, implications, overtones and allusions that have accumulated through our cultural history" (p. 65). Drawing from the above four concepts of gender relations my analysis of

Rowling's novel will explore several patterns of the gender structure and the stereotypes which fit within this model.

The everyday is a recurring theme in the theorists' arguments above. This is an important distinction because what is being studied is the mundane, not the extraordinary. Although extraordinary things do happen in life, as well as to the characters in Rowling's novels, what will be studied and what comes of relations between characters is expressed in everyday relations between individuals and groups. At the same time it is important to remember that "none of us...singly create and interpret gendered understandings. Such a process is necessarily a social one that is finely entrenched in the beliefs and cultural expectations of gendered difference" (Baker-Sperry, 2007, p. 726). Reading the books alone will not in itself change a person's viewpoint, it is the coming together of interactions and relations with other people and media that will help to form how one understands and interprets the social world.

Book Summary

While I provide a discussion as to why I specifically chose the fourth Harry Potter book, *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire,* below, I will first summarise the book.

The basic premise is that Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry is hosting the Triwizard Tournament: a dangerous competition testing selected students' magical skill and wit. Although only students aged 17 or older are permitted to enter, somehow the magical goblet of fire chooses Harry Potter, aged 14, as one of the Hogwarts champions. He and the other three school champions (also chosen from the goblet of fire) must compete in a series of tasks until the Triwizard Cup is awarded at the end of the final task.

Of the other school champions, Fleur Delacour is from Beaxbatons Academy, Victor Krum is from Durmstrang and Cedric Diggory is from Hogwarts.

The tasks confronting the four school champions are quite challenging, especially for Harry as he is only in his fourth year and therefore only 14 years old. He handles the situations with a little help from his friends but in the end it is discovered that the help actually originated with a teacher at Hogwarts who is not who he seems to be. Mad Eye Moody, as he is known, has actually been overtaken by a Death Eater (an evil wizard who is on Lord Voldemort's, the antagonist's, side) and hence has lead Harry right into the hands of Lord Voldemort, an evil wizard thought to have been defeated 13 years earlier. At the climax of the book there is a battle between Harry and Voldemort in which another student, Cedric Diggory, is killed. Harry himself escapes to tell the wizarding world that Lord Voldemort is back and stronger than ever.

Summary

The social construction of gender includes such secondary-socialization tools as books. How children form their views of acceptable and expected male and female behaviour is at least partially formed through this medium.

Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire is one such book that is read by millions of people worldwide. It has come under scrutiny by academics, journalists and lay-people alike. I will be looking at it from a social constructionist perspective with specific attention to gender patterns. The following chapter will outline how I will go about my research.

Chapter 2: Methodological Considerations

As described in the above chapter, I am approaching my research from a social constructionist perspective based on Connell's (2002) four main structures of gender relations: power, production, emotional and symbolic. Tying theory to methods is an important task in social science. Being that gender is constructed at least partially through objects of mass media, I will study Rowling's book as such and let the text reveal to me what, if any, structures are imbued within it.

Methods

To study the gender structure in *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* a textual analysis makes the most sense. In contrast to a content analysis where one would do hypothesis testing by systematically coding the text, a textual analysis "relies less on coding schemes and checklists and more on a well-defined research question and a thematic reading of [the] sample materials," which in my case is the fourth book in the Harry Potter series (chosen for reasons discussed below) (Palys, 2003, p. 246).

However, I am going into my reading of the book with an organizational scheme in mind. To approach the text with nothing would be haphazard; to call it coding would be an overstatement of the process. I am merely marking locations within the text that fit either within or without gender expectations or stereotypes. For each chapter I will write a very brief summary of the events as well as list characters within that chapter who have evoked a behaviour or dialogue that is scientifically interesting to my research question. Once this is complete, I will go through my notes in order to reorganize my findings based on Connell's four gender structures. The results of this will constitute the following analysis chapter.

My research question is: What is the gender structure of *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*? The research will be inductive based on the fact that I will "begin by examining the social world and, in that process, develop a theory consistent with what [I am] seeing" (Esterberg, 2002, p. 7). However, because I am utilising Connell's (2002) model of the gender structure, it could also be considered a retroductive study. As Mason (2004) explains, retroductive research "begins with data but theorizes a model of an underlying mechanism which might have produced patterns seen in the data, and then works backwards from the data towards verifying or otherwise that model" (p. 181).

I will be engaging in exploratory research due to the fact that little has been done through scientific research on the gender patterns in the Harry Potter books. Therefore, according to Stebbins (2001), the research must be approached with "*flexibility* in looking for data and *open-mindedness* about where to find them" (p. 6). The point in doing this will be to "learn all that is important" about gender in Rowling's book (Stebbins, 2001, p. 19).

As Ragin (1994) points out: writers "create fiction, but their fictions are believable representations of social life, representations that often strike at the core of what it means to live in a complex social world" (p. 18). If this is the case, then I should find evidence of the same gender structure described by Connell (2002); if not, then I should find something else entirely (or even partially). The everyday world of Harry Potter will be explored, and it is the rules of the everyday social world that it will be studied by.

Sampling

Altogether there are seven books in Rowling's Harry Potter series: *The Philosopher's Stone*, *The Chamber of Secrets*, *The Prisoner of Azkaban*, *The Goblet of Fire*, *The Order of the Phoenix*, *The Half Blood Prince*, and *The Deathly Hallows*. I chose to work with the

fourth Harry Potter book, *The Goblet of Fire*, because it is one that has the most data to work with for my purposes. Not only is it lengthy but there is a greater focus on relationships than some of the other books in the series. Characters are dealing with change, they are being challenged and they are learning about who they are as well as who and what is important to them.

I am looking at the gender structure and it so happens that the fourth novel has a wealth of information from which to draw for these purposes. In *The Goblet of Fire* there are foreign wizards who visit Hogwarts from other wizarding schools: Beaxbatons in France and Durmstrang in an unnamed eastern European country. In many ways the French students represent the essence of femininity while those from Durmstrang are quite masculine. This is also the novel in which sexual undertones between the female and male students start to come to the surface. By sampling strategically like this I will be able to come up with a "relevant range of contexts and phenomena" to explore in my analysis (Mason, 2004, p. 124).

Ethics and Reactivity

Ethics are no doubt important in social scientific research. Things to think about are the potential impact on what is being studied as well as the results of the findings. The most sensitive ethical considerations are when the subjects are human. Additionally, one must consider one's own life experiences and what that may or may not bring into the research process.

Due to the fact that I am examining a widely available book, ethical considerations are minimal, and arguably nonexistent, as I do not have to be concerned with problems of

working with human subjects. The characters and events are all fictional and the author knowingly and freely shares her work with the world.

However, it is a safe assumption the Rowling did not intend her work to be scrutinized by academics in universities. Therefore I must consider the context in which the book was written and for what reader it was anticipated. Although I am interpreting the text for purposes of research, I also have to be aware that it is an adventure story intended for 10-12 year-old children.

Bias and Reflexivity

As pointed out already, personal life experiences are an important consideration when conducting social scientific research. It would be a mistake not to disclose my own personal bias regarding Rowling's storytelling. I am a fan: I have read all of the books and have seen all of the movies more than once. This introduces the problem of researcher bias. However, I am confident that in the course of reading *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* for the purposes of this project I can put my personal feelings toward the characters and the writer aside and focus on the task at hand.

What this means is that I will have to employ "reflexive acts" while reading the book. As Mason (2004) puts it: "Reflexivity...means thinking critically about what you are doing and why, confronting and often challenging your own assumptions, and recognizing the extent to which your thoughts, action and decisions shape how you research and what you see" (p. 5). As I have seen and read interviews with J.K. Rowling I have come to admire and even like her as much as one can without ever having met her. I do not believe that she has meant any ill-will if I do find that the characters and events in the book are stereotypically male or female. I have an acute understanding that we all are guilty of this

even with the best of intentions. After all, we live within the social world and cannot escape that which we study and criticize.

Validity, Reliability, Generalizability

In science validity, reliability, and generalizability have very specific and rigid definitions. In fact, they are taught in undergraduate research methods courses and students are tested on these concepts to make sure they know them. Validity is ensured if we study what we think we are studying; to test for reliability the study must be replicated; and generalizability ensures the results can be applied to the greater population.

According to Stebbins (2001) validity, reliability and generalizability have altogether different implications and considerations in exploratory research. Since this type of research is conducted because there are little or no like studies, it is impossible to measure validity in the traditional sense. Consequently, the representativeness of the sample chosen for exploration is what constitutes validity. I have intentionally chosen a sample of work that I feel represents not only the world of Harry Potter, but the greater wizarding world which comprises the setting of the books. At the same time, being upfront and "aware that personal bias can distort perception and interpretation of observed events" is vital (Stebbins, 2001, p. 48). As discussed above, I am fully aware and freely disclose my personal bias towards the books and the author.

Replicating research is the key to ensuring reliability in scientific research. In exploration, this component is "most appropriate toward the end of the research chain, where confirmation is the rule, compared with the beginning of the chain, where exploration dominates" (Stebbins, 2001, p. 49). As there has been very little written on

Harry Potter and gender in the academic world, my research will be situated at the beginning of the chain and therefore, reliability will not be tested at this time.

Finally, because "exploratory findings are always hypothetical" generalizability also cannot be accomplished (Stebbins, 2001, p. 40). Once the research is replicated on many samples, then it may become possible to generalize to the greater social sphere. At best, I will be able to generalize my conclusions to the six Harry Potter books I am not focussing on in this study.

Summary

In sum, I will be conducting a textual analysis of *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* with Connell's four structures of gender in mind: power, production, emotional, and symbolic. The study is exploratory therefore I will not be going into it with assumptions of what I will find and I will keep my personal bias at bay.

The following chapter focuses on what I found through this exploration. Keeping in mind the four gender structures I outline what emerged from my research.

Chapter 3: Gender Structures

As described above, Connell's (2002) four dimensions of gender will be utilized in the analysis of the gender patterns in *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*. Again, they are as follows: power, production, emotional and symbolic. I will first describe each of these in more detail, show examples from *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*, discuss how the four patterns intertwine with each other, and, finally, tie them in with the rest of the relevant literature.

Power Relations

According to Connell (2002) "[p]ower operating through institutions, power in the form of oppression of one group over another, is an important part of the structure of gender" (p. 59). Power relations reflect the patriarchal system that has been present in our society for many years; that is to say, the differential balance of power between the sexes.

He also points to Michel Foucault's understanding of power as a more intimate experience not only between groups, but also between individuals "through the ways we talk, write and conceptualize" (Connell, 2002, p. 59). Power is a much more liquid concept in Foucault's theory, it is held by everyone in different ways and situations not systematically by one group over another. As Connell (2002) paraphrases: "[i]t impacts directly on people's bodies as 'discipline' as well as on their identities and sense of their place in the world" (p. 59). Within both approaches to power is raised the "crucial question of resistance" (Connell; 2002, p. 59).

In *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* there are many power relations between characters and institutions. Firstly, the power relations between the three main characters, Harry, Ron and Hermione, prove to be an interesting dynamic as their intimate circle of

friends consists of two boys and one girl. Second, there are power relations that manifest themselves as struggles between the individual and the larger social sphere, encompassing issues between racial groups. Within the racial oppression are power struggles between the sexes. Finally, power relations are played out through institutions. There is the governmental institution: the Ministry of Magic. Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry represents the institution of education. Finally, Lord Voldemort leads the evil group of wizards called the Death Eaters.

Individual Power Relations

By this time in the series the three main characters, Harry, Ron, and Hermione, have been friends for three years and have established some boundaries with each other. However, it is obvious that there are differential power struggles between the trio. Harry often takes on a leadership role within the group and throughout the book Ron becomes agitated to the point that they quit speaking until Ron becomes the centre of attention and feels some of the spotlight that Harry usually receives. Hermione is often seen as a know-it-all who would much rather read and prefers to learn from books rather than experiencing things in real life. Therefore, her input to the group is often pushed aside because the boys feel that they know better because they are willing to go out and try it. The relationship between Ron and Hermione is also tested.

Being the title character of the series it is no surprise that out of the three friends Harry is the dominant one. When Harry makes a decision it is made and no one can talk him out of it or convince him of otherwise. Even when Ron or Hermione do not agree with his choice, they will still go along with it.

Ron tends to struggle the most with his sense of place in the world. Not only is he known in relation to his best friend, Harry, but this also extends to his large family, of which he is the sixth of seven children. This leads to a fight between the two boys and results in them not talking for a large portion of the book. The resolution comes when Hermione finally intervenes and Ron also gets a lot of attention that is usually focused on Harry.

Hermione comes across to the reader as the more mature authoritarian of the group. She seems level headed and very smart. However, beneath the surface of this exterior is a girl who is quite sensitive and always looking for the approval of others. Because she is very smart there are many times that Hermione comes across as the leader of the group, she shines when the boys come urgently to her to help solve a problem or to look something up in the library. However, she relies too heavily on the books and therefore becomes powerless and puzzled when she cannot find an answer to what she is looking for.

Race and Gender Relations

When thinking of power relations as the oppression of one group over another in regards to gender, one often thinks of the oppression of females by males. Although this could be the opposite, and indeed in some cases it is, historically we know it as the first. In *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* this is not so apparent at the group level. There are groups that oppress others throughout the series of books, but these are for different reasons than gender. With not only the oppression of mudbloods by purebloods, but also of house elves, giants, centaurs, and squibs (wizards who do not have magical ability) by wizards the theme of racial oppression is quite rampant in Rowling's Potter series, but this does not preclude the fact that there are still gender relations running throughout it as well.

Winky and Dobby are both house elves. House elves have been enslaved to wizards since the beginning of history, each subsequent generation being bound to the wizarding family they are born into. The highest form of disgrace for a house elf is to be set free from their wizarding family. This is the exact situation both Winky and Dobby find themselves in and they now must try to make a living in some other way. Although their situations are alike, their reactions and acceptance of it are quite different. A similar relationship is between another male and female pair who each are half wizard, half giant. The wizarding community fears giants as they are seen as violent and ignorant. As with the house elves, their reactions to being racially stigmatized are quite different.

Historically, at least in the wizarding world, elves have always been enslaved to wizards. They are, for the most part, treated poorly, unpaid, and never given time-off. A statue at the government building of the Ministry of Magic even shows a house elf in relation to the rest of the wizarding community. House elves are loyal to their wizard family no matter what the circumstance and if they say something negative about their masters or do a poor job they must punish themselves with physical violence. For example, throughout the series Dobby has ironed his ears, slammed his hands in a drawer and hit his head with a heavy lamp, all for telling Harry how much he dislikes the wizard family he works for.

To a house elf, the worst form of disgrace is to be given a piece of clothing by their masters. Although this sets them free, it is not done as an altruistic gesture for the best interest of the house elf. It is the highest form of punishment for betraying the wizard family. It basically translates as: you cannot be trusted and are not worthy enough to have a family to work for. As generations of house elves stay with the same wizard family, being

set free from that family disgraces the entire line of house elves and the chances of being hired to another house after this incident is highly unlikely, if not impossible.

This is the circumstance Winky and Dobby find themselves in *The Goblet of Fire.* Although Dobby is accidentally set free at the end of the second book (his master was tricked into giving him a sock, thus setting him free), it is no secret to the reader that he is gleefully happy about this. On the other hand, Winky is set free by her master in a most disgraceful and public scene at the beginning of this book. Their acceptance and reactions are quite divergent, and their relationship in light of their position in the wizarding world is quite a source of interest.

Dobby's attitude to his freedom is very positive, especially considering how this act looks to the larger community. Despite this he eagerly begins searching for paid work with a new family and takes quite quickly to dressing in clothing rather than the traditional tea towel accustomed by house elves. Unfortunately, due to the stigma attached to a free house elf, Dobby is unable to find work anywhere, especially since he is demanding pay. However dire his circumstances Dobby's outlook is always positive. He eventually secures work for himself and Winky at Hogwarts where he has negotiated with the headmaster both a salary and days off.

Although Winky does find work after being freed, she is still very emotional and is in quite a fragile state due to the disgrace she has caused her family. Traditionally the female line upholds the honour of a family. Although the power, per say, is passed through male lines, a family can recover if a male member commits a dishonourable act. Women are held up to a high standard of purity, which, once stained, is forever tarnished. Winky's shame reflects this as she is in a constant state of shambles: her clothing is soiled, she has

taken up drinking, and she is still showing loyalty to her former master, even though she now has a new one.

Out of the two, Dobby has taken on a caretaker role. He takes Winky in when she is at an incredible low point in her life and tries to help by finding work and clothing for her. She, on the other hand, becomes almost childlike and regresses into a stumbling mumbling mess who needs to be taken care of.

As for the "crucial question of resistance" pointed out by Connell (2002), Dobby is clearly the resistor in this situation whereby he is the one who, despite the social exclusion he has experienced from being set free and subsequently being paid for his current position, has questioned the traditional position of the house elf in the wizarding community. Although he is paying for this socially, Dobby remains blissfully ignorant. Winky's resistance is to the change in her position, she is extremely reluctant to let go of her former loyalties and breaks down emotionally when reminded of the fact that she is now being paid for her work at Hogwarts. Here the power relation is being played off of each of the elves rather than between them, this is also the case with Hagrid and Madam Maxime in the following example.

Hagrid and Madam Maxime are both half-wizard, half-giant. Giants are not a part of normal wizarding society and have been living autonomously in the mountains for quite some time. Their language is simple and they solve arguments through physical violence rather than mediation. Because of this the wizarding world sees giants as violent, primitive monsters. Although very large in stature relative to pure wizards, the intrinsic dispositions of both Hagrid and Mme Maxime weigh heavily on the wizarding side of their heritage.

It is not common knowledge at Hogwarts School that one of the staff, Hagrid, is a half-giant. Hagrid hides his heritage because he knows that the reaction of students and parents will be devastating: he fears losing his job at Hogwarts as well as the respect of the community.

When he first meets Mme Maxime Hagrid is immediately taken by her and assumes, based on her size, that she too must be half-giant. Finding comfort in the fact that he is not the only one in the wizarding world, Hagrid takes for granted that Mme Maxime will be just as delighted to meet him as he is her. Unfortunately, she is horrified at his assumption that she has any giant in her, claiming that she is big boned rather than anything but a pureblood wizard.

Eventually a gossip columnist reveals the truth and Hagrid suddenly has to deal with his fears. Of those close to him, although surprised by the revelation, none has any change of respect for who he is. On the other hand, Hagrid had a right to be concerned about what those in the larger community will think. Fortunately for him, the headmaster is a very close friend and is able to vouch for his character and Hagrid is allowed to remain in his post as groundskeeper.

The relationship between Hagrid and Mme Maxime is tested during this period. Mme Maxime is hesitant to admit her heritage and is somewhat resentful towards Hagrid for being so upfront about it. She eventually does come around after she witnesses Hagrid's acceptance by his friends and colleagues, but this does take some time.

Again, the gender relation here has much more to do with race rather than gender. Nonetheless, the fact that both characters have unique experiences and reactions to their position within the power structure of the wizarding world, makes it interesting to note as a

gender relation as well. As with the above example, the female in this situation is also reluctant to accept her position and tries to deny the truth of the matter: that she is half-giant. Additionally, the male character is accepting of his heritage, and although he worries about what people will think when they find out about his parentage, he does face the truth.

Power relations at the individual level make for a very interesting study. How individuals relate to each other as well as the larger social sphere in this novel is very indicative of how people relate to one another in our social world as well. Individuals will relate to institutions, but how do individuals fit within institutional power relations? This will be explored in the next section, which looks at power and institutions in J.K. Rowling's wizarding world.

Institutional Power Relations

A different level of power relations in the social world occur within institutions. Three of the main institutions within the wizarding community are government, education and an oppressive organization called the Death Eaters. There is a branch of government in the United Kingdom representing wizards called the Ministry of Magic, the head being the Minister of Magic: Barty Crouch. The largest school in all of Britain is Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry with Albus Dumbledore as the headmaster. Finally, Lord Voldemort leads a tyrannical group of wizards called the Death Eaters.

The authority within the wizarding community, indeed the power, is held and centred within the Ministry of Magic. It is where laws are written and upheld, officials liase with the Prime Minister of England, and where policies of the wizard world are created. The Head is the Minister of Magic, Bartimus (Barty) Crouch.

Albus Dumbledore is the headmaster of Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry and is a very powerful and respected wizard in the community. Representing the educational hub of Britain, Dumbledore does not abuse his power, but does assert himself when he feels necessary. For example, when the Ministry of Magic is in denial about the return of Lord Voldemort and the Death Eaters. That the headmaster of an important school is male is a point of interest, however, this relation will be discussed below as a symbolic relation rather than a power relation. This is because it is about the symbolic position and ranking of males and females within the school rather than oppression and asserting power over others.

Towards the end of *The Goblet of Fire* Barty Crouch and Albus Dumbledore are confronted with the horrifying possibility that the evil Lord Voldemort has returned and is indeed after Harry Potter. As headmaster of Hogwarts it really is not Dumbledore's place to advise on matters beyond the realm of education. However, as Mr. Crouch is in pure denial over Voldemort's return and doing nothing will undoubtedly lead to disaster, Dumbledore defies the Minister, and thereby the Ministry, and chooses to inform the student body of what is happening and advises them to tell their parents and to prepare for what is to come.

The Death Eaters are lead by Lord Voldemort. Indeed, when the symbol of this group appears in the sky after 14 years of obscurity, wizards in the vicinity "erupted in screams" and one character's face is described as "white and terrified" (p. 116). The terror this group inspires is based on a period of torture, murder and mayhem because of one wizard's hatred of muggles (non-magic humans) and mudbloods (wizards who came from a muggle family) and favoured pure-blooded wizards.

Power relations refer to individual associations and to the oppression of one group over the other. On the other hand, what follows below will look more specifically at the household and how work is divided between the sexes.

Production Relations

Production relations directly refer to the sexual division of labour and the concepts of paid versus unpaid work. Connell (2002) argues "[t]here is a larger division of labour between 'work' – the realm of paid labour and production for markets – and 'home'" (p. 61). This pattern tends to constrain women into "social isolation and dependence on a male breadwinner" (Connell, 2002, p. 62).

Ron's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Weasley, uphold a perfect example of production relations and the sexual division of labour. Harry's Aunt Petunia and Uncle Vernon are another example of the traditional division of labour within a household. On the other hand, the triad of Harry, Ron and Hermione both supports and refutes this pattern of gender relations, depending upon the situation. Although the examples set by the parents and guardians of the kids are very traditional in nature, the kids themselves, especially Hermione, tend to break these norms.

As with any traditional division of labour, Mr. Weasley works outside the home and Mrs. Weasley takes care of everything within the household. In the morning Mrs. Weasley will get everyone up, make breakfast and send her husband off to work. When he needs to work overtime she is always supportive and never complains. She is in charge of the children and the household and of keeping her husband happy.

Her life's work is maintaining the household and it is serious work. She is up before everyone else and stays up until the work is done. She certainly uses magic to her

advantage in her household duties, but she has to work at that as well. Spells and potions need to be learned and practiced, they are not innate skills one is born with. It is a thankless job with more complaints than declarations of appreciation.

Before the rest of the family heads of for the Quidditch World cup, Mrs. Weasley makes sure everyone is well fed and ready to go. Although she is not attending the event herself, it is still up to her to prepare the family for the outing. After the game is over and during the celebrations, a series of attacks occur. Hearing this through the radio, Mrs. Weasley becomes extremely worried for her family and when they finally all arrive home safe she can finally relax again.

On top of this, when her husband has to work several overtime shifts after the events at the World Cup, Mrs. Weasley also works overtime at home making sure that when her husband finally does arrive home from work there is a hot meal awaiting him. She also takes care of preparing all of the kids, including two that are not her own, for the return to Hogwarts in the fall. She shops for all their supplies, tailors their uniforms and packs their trunks for the train journey to school.

Although Mrs. Weasley never complains about her endless work, she does appear quite ragged at times, especially when Mr. Weasley is rarely at home and she is on her own for the most part. She is exhausted and often resorts to drinking to either calm her nerves or fall asleep. Mr. Weasley never appears to *expect* Mrs. Weasley to cater to his needs as she does, but he also does not give her recognition for the work that she does.

Likewise, Mr. Weasley is equally committed to his work outside the home. As alluded to above, he puts in many hours of overtime at work when he is needed, even doing work outside the normal realm of his job. He is not very high up in the organization,

however he is very committed to his employer and goes far above and beyond without even being asked. He is the epitome of the ideal worker, sacrificing time with his family in order to show loyalty to his employer. He sets the example of the dedicated, hard working employee to his children.

The norms in the Weasley family and the role models the kids learn from are such that the woman stays at home to take care of the family and the man earns the money by working outside of the home. It is accepted by all of the characters and never questioned or commented upon. As a reader it is a comforting arrangement and does not need to be questioned because it does not feel oppressive or constraining to either parent. Although shed in a more negative light, this scenario is also true of the Dursley family.

Harry's Aunt and Uncle fulfill the traditional gender roles in their household as well. His Uncle Vernon works his typical job in the city, comes home in a foul mood, takes it out on the family and eats his dinner with no comment. Aunt Petunia seems to be always overcompensating for something. She tries very hard to be the perfect housewife for others to see, even though under the surface she and the family are hiding many secrets from the neighbours. The pressure is manifested in Aunt Petunia's uptight demure and Uncle Vernon's boiling temper which is always at the edge of exploding.

Uncle Vernon never seems to gain satisfaction from his work and is also equally unsatisfied with his family. Always grunting and groaning and ordering the family around, Uncle Vernon, like Mr. Weasley, is the epitome of a suburban husband. Although the two characters have their similarities, they are two very different people.

Likewise their wives are very different as well. Aunt Petunia is the traditional unfulfilled housewife who is always trying to be recognized but never is. She spends much

of her day cooking and cleaning and doing what she can to appear like the perfect housewife she strives to be. Additionally, her son is spoiled and acts as such. He is overweight, ungrateful and has a very strong sense of entitlement.

Two of the three main characters have grown up in traditional households, the exception is Hermione whose parents are both dentists. Beyond that the reader knows nothing of Hermione's upbringing as neither of her parents is a wizard. She shows up at the end of summer at Ron's house and then goes back home at the end of the school year.

Until now Hermione has appeared as the work focussed know-it-all in the group. However, after she witnesses Mr. Crouch treating his house elf so poorly at the Quidditch World Cup her humanistic side becomes exposed. She starts a group called S.P.E.W., which is a society for the welfare of house elves and her goal is to eventually free them all from the slavery they are currently living in. The two boys don't take her seriously and grumble about having to join in the fight, in the end they decide to humour her rather than humiliate her. In a sense this is reflective of the relationship between a suburban housewife and her husband who indulges and patronizes his wife's latest cause. And like the suburban housewife, Hermione either does not notice or just does not care and forges ahead with her project.

The division of labour in the household has not yet become a theme told in stories from the past as stories usually end with "and they lived happily ever after"; nevertheless it is an integral part of the present lives of most people. Both Harry and Ron grow up in households where this traditional way of living is prevalent. Though both of their upbringings reflects the traditional division of labour, the feeling emitted by each home is quite different. Both sets of parents accept their roles, however Harry's Aunt and Uncle do

so begrudgingly and seem to go through life burdened by their roles. Ron's parents are just as divided in their roles, but are not stifled by them. They embrace their respective duties and seem to derive a great deal of satisfaction and joy from a job well done. Hermione's parents both work outside the home, which seems to have influenced her drive in school and to choose a career for herself. However, the three kids still play the roles well as Ron and Harry tend to humour some of Hermione's passions rather than truly support her. Emotional relations play into the division of labour, as we will see in the following section.

Emotional Relations

Perhaps the one of the least straightforward of the concepts, emotional relations are "often interwoven with power and the division of labour" (Connell, 2002, pp. 62-63). They can be both "positive or negative...[and] both loving and hostile at once" (Connell, 2002, p. 63). Additionally, "[a] major arena of emotional attachment is sexuality" (Connell, 2002, p. 63).

In this fourth book Harry and his friends, for the most part, are becoming quite interested in the opposite sex: feelings begin to emerge which affect current relationships between friends. There are also magical creatures called "Veelas" which cause unexplainable behaviour in men who gaze upon them. The difference between the expression of emotions of one sex over the other is also interesting in this book, with Hermione being much more outwardly emotional that many of the male characters.

Until this book Harry's world has been free of any sexual tensions. That changes suddenly when he is informed that he must ask a girl to be his partner for the upcoming ball. He and Ron put off the task until the last minute and by not prioritizing it they soon find out that they are left with little choice as to who to take. On the other hand, the girls

flock to the boys trying desperately to be the one Harry chooses (as he is one of the champions competing in the Triwizard tournament).

Initially Harry knows that he wants to ask out one particular girl, Cho Chang. He keeps this to himself even though he usually shares everything with his close friends. Unfortunately for him, when Harry finally asks her to the dance, Cho turns him down as she has already been asked by the other school champion, Cedric Diggory. Crushed by this Harry then puts off asking anyone and ends up asking Padma and Parvati Patil to escort him and Ron. His feelings for Cho do not change, but he suddenly feels anger towards Cedric though he really has not done anything directly against Harry.

Hermione, on the other hand, has a date to the dance but refuses to tell the other two who it is. Ron is sceptical about this and constantly bugs her about lying about having a date and, in a final effort, tries to get her to go with him. This irritates her greatly and she becomes quite short with him. Hermione has the last laugh however, when she shows up at the ball with the champion from Durmstrang: Viktor Krum. Ron's reaction is jealousy which manifests itself as anger and he communicates this to Hermione in a few insensitive attempts that come out as hurtful towards her rather than honest, even accusing her of "fraternising with the enemy" (p. 367). The reader knows that Ron is acting this way because what he has not yet realised himself is that he wants to be with Hermione and feels threatened when a strong, handsome, and popular guy like Viktor shows up as her date. In the end Hermione spells it out for Ron and tells him "next time there's a ball, ask me before someone else does, and not as a last resort!" (p. 376). This is the first time Hermione has been seen as a beautiful and desirable young woman, and for it her emotions seem to be getting the better of her.

Veelas are magical creatures from Bulgaria who never have the problem of not being seen as beautiful or desirable. For the most part they are stunning women who have a strong affect on men who gaze upon them, in fact, Harry's mind goes "completely and blissfully blank" upon seeing them for the first time (p. 94). They make their first appearance at the Quidditch World cup and the affect on Ron is the most comical. He, and most other men in the crowd, attempt to impress the Veelas with various feats of prowess. Fortunately, Hermione stops Ron from attempting a dive off of the top box in the stadium. Later in the game when the referee makes a bad call, the Veelas show their other side by "launching themselves across the field, and [begin] throwing what [seems] to be handfuls of fire" (p. 101). Mr. Weasley follows this with a piece of advice: "*that* boys…is why you should never go for looks alone" (p. 101).

One of the French champions whom visits Hogwarts seems to have the same effect on Ron and the boys at school as the Veelas at the game did. Ron does a couple things that are out of character for him, such as asking Fleur to the dance (usually he is quite shy and needs Harry's assistance in asking a girl out on a date). Later, when Harry finds out that Fleur's grandmother is a Veela, he tells Ron so that Ron feels better about his behaviour, knowing that there was nothing he could have done about it since he was under the influence of magic and not behaving on his own accord. At this age it often feels like one is not in control of his own actions, and it is a great comfort to Ron to find out that it is not his fault. It would be safe to say that a lot of young men would be comforted by this sentiment as well, wishing they had such a rational explanation.

The above three relations, power, production and emotional, each refer to a specific set of structures. The following relation does the same, but also encapsulates all areas of social life.

Symbolic Relations

Symbolic relations refer to the ways in which we interpret the world: "[s]ociety is unavoidably a world of meanings. At the same time, meanings bear the traces of the social processes by which they were made" (Connell, 2002, p. 65). Our definition of what is masculine or feminine has been "accumulated through our cultural history" (Connell, 2002, p. 65). This not only affects how we categorize people and their actions but it also influences how we behave in specific situations. Additionally, Connell (2002) points out that "language…is the most analysed site of symbolic gender relations" (p. 66).

With this in mind, the language used to describe each character becomes much more meaningful and interesting. What is also worthy of note is that the three most important characters to the plot as well as those who hold positions of power within the wizarding community itself are all male: Harry (the protagonist), Lord Voldemort (the antagonist and leader of the Death Eaters), Barty Crouch (the Minister for Magic) and Albus Dumbledore (Headmaster as well as Harry's mentor, guide and surrogate father). The female characters play strong supporting roles and are present within the institutions headed by men; they report to them but are never really a major part of the decision-making process.

Symbolic Language

In *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*, the language used to describe female characters is quite interesting. On the one hand, there is Hermione: in the beginning of the fourth book Harry ponders asking his friend for advice and imagines her voice in reaction as "shrill and

panicky" (p. 24). Although her reactions are often stereotypically female, for the most part she is painted as a modern girl who is smart, studious, and who follows the rules only bending them when it is for the greater good. However, she tends to become a bit of a caricature of herself at times becoming the "know it all" or "goody-goody". Therefore, she is not as much of a modern girl as she comes across on the surface. On top of this, she acts rather emotionally throughout the book: when a male teacher insults her by making an insensitive comment "Hermione let out a whimper; her eyes filled with tears, she turned on her heel and ran, ran all the way up the corridor and out of sight" (p. 263). Harry and Ron's reaction to this, however, is to shout at the teacher.

On the other hand, there is Fleur Delacour who is the epitome of femininity. She has soft beautiful features, her hair floats around her, and all the boys want her. As Harry observes "she kept throwing back her head so that her long silvery hair caught the light. A paunchy man...was watching Fleur out of the corner of his eye" (p.265). Although a school champion, Fleur is the only female in the competition and ends up at the final task in last place. Girls, in general, throughout this book are often described as acting "hysterically" (p. 584), appear as "giggling and whispering in the corridors", "shrieking with laughter" and are quite emotionally unstable (p. 338).

The language used to describe male characters tends to be quite different than that used to describe female characters. Harry, for example, is interested in sports, particularly Quidditch, a sport he both watches and plays. Through his sport he has often succumbed to injury; he is "no stranger to pain and injury" (p. 22). He is also quite independent. Having grown up without parents in a family who does not accept him and ostracises him on a

regular basis, this is not a surprise. Consequently, when he does need advice he is not sure who to go to and worries about bothering them with his problems.

At the same time, Harry's best friend Ron is described as "bemused" (p. 25) and tends to be portrayed as the blubbering, naïve boy who is a couple of steps behind everyone else. He never really knows the answer to a problem and will always go to others for help before relying on his own resources.

Symbolic Roles

The fact that all of the main characters and authoritative roles in the magical world are filled by men is both symbolic and very meaningful. The message conveyed is that the male holds the authority in this society. They make up the rules, uphold the law, and dole out the punishments when needed. The final word is theirs and although women may be consulted, the last word is the male word. Further on in the series a woman does take over as Headmistress at Hogwarts school, but this is seen as a temporary mistake, she does a very poor job and no one, not even the teachers, like or respect her.

One woman who is in an esteemed role, and who is respected, is Professor McGonagall. She is second in command under Dumbledore at Hogwarts School. Although the students respect her, she is quite stern and not very likeable. Symbolically this shows that to be an authority a woman has to be strict, unlikeable, and there still needs to be a man in a position above her to reinforce her status.

Other female characters in the book play very minor roles. The headmistress of Beaxbatons Academy has her only significant appearance in the series in this book. However, as she is a half-giant she is portrayed as very masculine and any chance of femininity about her is downplayed by the obsession with her shear size. At the Yule Ball

she has the chance to be feminine and to play up that part of her personality, however, she is still described as "enormous" (p. 371).

Within the wizard working world, there are women with careers at the Ministry of Magic, but they are in lesser roles. As to unpaid labour, the status of a housewife is still not very esteemed in society. As discussed above, the main characters' mother figures are both stay at home moms who earn no income and do not engage in work outside of the household. Their contribution is intangible and therefore less valued than a monetary income. Finally, not to be forgotten, are the women who are members of the Death Eaters. There is Mrs. Malfoy who is the Mother of one of Harry's schoolmates, and also Bellatrix Lestrange who happens to be the cousin of Harry's godfather. Both are depicted as evil, eccentric and slightly mysterious.

Descriptive language is very significant in its usage. The way that characters are described and depicted should not be minimized in its importance. The written word is unique in that it has a much stronger lasting power than other mediums. Not only can the reader read and re-read the books and passages, but the writer herself spends a great deal of time writing and editing her work. The words that end up in the book are not always the first words that came from her pen: each one has been intentionally chosen for the page. This is why the language used to describe characters is so important. They are not random thoughts, but rather reflect deliberate beliefs about these characters. Great thought is given to how the author hopes the reader will perceive them.

So when the reader perceives that the character is submissive and weak, it is because the writer intentionally tried to generate this impression. There is intent behind it, which makes all words and language meaningful and symbolic.

Relating Power, Production, Emotion, and Symbolic Relations

It is unrealistic to only look at these relations as four distinct entities. Just as life isn't played out in that way, neither is this book. All four relate to, impact, and affect the others. As Connell (2002) points out, he distinguishes "structures *analytically* because tracing out their logic helps in understanding an extremely complex reality. This does not imply that reality itself comes in boxes" (p. 68).

The links can easily be made, but at the same time are quite dense. Power relations have one group oppressing another while production relations look at the division of labour between those same groups. Additionally, emotional relations investigate "the structure of...attachments or commitments" which is interwoven with both power and production relations (Connell, 2002, p. 62). Finally, symbolic relations may be the most ambiguous of the four as it is based on interpreting meaning. Often the analysis is derived from illuminating the underlying connotations in the other three relations.

Literature and the Social Sciences

Although R.W. Connell (2002) proposes a concise method of investigating the gender structure in *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*, he is not the only academic to offer insight into this type of study. As summarised in chapter one, many scholars have studied the effect of secondary socialization through literature on children and youth.

Gender Stereotypes and Children's Literature

In the second half of the twentieth century it was found that male and female stereotypes were very much present in children's stories. In the 1990s there were still concerns with female characters lacking presence and importance and having very stereotypically female behaviours and communicative acts (Thompson & Zerbinos, 1995). As shown above, in the

Goblet of Fire female characters are quite typical: they are housewives, teachers or giggling schoolgirls.

Thompson and Zerbinos (1995) argue that the communicative acts of female characters tend to be such that they: "ask questions, emphasize relationships, gossip, express excitement or happiness, show variety, and express disappointment or sadness" (p. 655). As already discussed, the female characters in *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* were quite gossipy and emotional. Perhaps the gossipy nature of females is epitomized in the character of Rita Skeeter. She is a writer for the wizard newspaper sent to report on the Triwizard Tournament. Rita turns mundane stories into sordid pieces by using emotional language, embellishing details and outright lying. For example, when interviewing Harry about the upcoming tournament, she asks about his parents who died when he was only one year old. Harry, at this point is "feeling really annoyed" with Rita Skeeter's line of questioning, especially when he sees that what she writes is: "*Tears fill those startlingly green eyes as our conversation turns to the parents he can barely remember*" (p. 268, italics in original). Rita's methods work as her readers, mostly women, buy into it and believe what she writes even when they know better. For example Ron's mother believes that Harry and Hermione are dating even though she is quite close to her children and to Harry and would very likely know this to be true first hand rather than reading it in a tabloid article.

According to Grauerholz and Pescosolido (1989) not only are the behaviours and importance of the characters significant, so are the numbers or ratios of male to female characters. *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* has a wide variety of characters: there are a lot of males and females in the book who come with an array of backgrounds and ages.

However, out of the three main protagonists, two are male and one is female. Additionally, although there are several females in the remaining cast, they play small supporting parts, are in stereotypically female roles and usually report to more important male characters. This leaves few examples for young girls reading the book to look up to and can give them a skewed and limited impression of what they could be capable of themselves. Noble (1975) argues that having diversity is important for modelling behaviours, therefore, having few examples would greatly reduce the possibilities.

As highlighted by Gooden and Gooden (2001) messages present in mediums such as books teach us acceptable behaviours for males and females, and by extension, what is valued by society. Consequently, by reading about the adventures of Harry, Ron, and Hermione young people, and perhaps even adults, learn that society values women who stay at home and raise children, or work for important men; and men who lead, fight and bring home the bacon.

Although the entire series of Harry Potter books seem to have a diverse audience of male and female fans, whether or not it is non-gender specific is a difficult question to answer. The series appeals to girls and boys alike, but it also seems to be quite stereotypical in nature. The female characters are minor, but engaging. On the surface they appear strong, intelligent and independent, but upon further inspection, they are supportive, emotional and dependent.

Summary

Power, production, emotional, and symbolic gender relations open up an interesting insight into the characters and story of *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire.* When looked at through Connell's (2002) structure, the book's stereotypical leanings come through. Female

characters hold less power, are typically placed in homes or in supportive roles, act and react emotionally and are described in symbolically female language. Male characters are more powerful, they occupy the important roles in society, they are more logical problem solvers, are more accepting of their fates, and they are more predominant players than the female characters.

These depictions of male and female characters can greatly influence the audience's perceptions of what acceptable behaviours are. Secondary socialization through literature can and does affect how we learn what is valued by society, and therefore how to act in order to be accepted into it.

The final chapter will summarize my findings and link them to the literature reviewed in the first chapter. I will also discuss the practical implications by asking questions about who is responsible for these messages and what still needs to be done to ensure that boys and girls alike become empowered. Finally I will suggest avenues for future research.

Chapter 4: Conclusions

Summary of Findings

When taken altogether, studying *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* through the four gender relations set out by Connell (2002) paints a picture of consistent sexism in J.K. Rowling's characters. Although female characters seem strong, they are always in supporting/supportive roles and fulfill the stereotypes of being weak, emotional, and dependent. Male characters also live up to stereotypes: they hold positions of power and are insensitive and independent.

Once race becomes the central issue in two relationships the characters' reactions to their situations become divided along the sexes. The female characters become emotional and are worried about what others will think of them, while the male characters accept and work with their circumstances.

I also found that within institutions men hold the powerful roles while women are in supportive positions. The males are the decision makers and the rule makers; they lead and expect others to follow. This symbolic placement of male and female characters is consistent throughout the book; however, when a woman is in a dominant position she is described and portrayed as masculine and usually not a very likeable character (for example, Professor McGonagall and Mme Maxime).

Finally, the division of labour in the household is certainly well represented within the *Goblet of Fire*. The parents and guardians of the main characters play the roles of husband and wife almost by the book. The fathers go to work and come home to dinner on the table, which is prepared by the wife whose full-time job is as a stay-at-home mother.

My findings show that within J.K. Rowling's fourth book, sexism is a constant theme that is found in within a variety of situations, the language, the stratification of work and the characters' actions and reactions. It seems as though it is an inescapable truth within the wizarding world created by the author, just as it is in ours.

Links to the Literature

The literature cited in the first chapter offers a variety of insights into the studies of gender and socialization. There are several points I will revisit with findings from my research.

Trites (2001) argues that the pattern of development will be different depending upon the sex of the protagonist. When female, Trites contends that the character will identify "inner growth and familial relations" as signs of maturity (p. 472). As Hermione learns and grows throughout *the Goblet of Fire*, Ron does not learn from his mistakes or make any attempts toward a mature relationship. This is most evidently seen in his behaviour at the ball.

However, Trites (2001) also makes the assertion that with female protagonists "achieving independence from their parents" is not a measure of maturity and growth. This seems to go against Hermione's character who, in the course of the entire series, spends very little time with her parents. Most of the year is lived at school and she often spends much of the summer at the Weasley household. In fact, in *the Goblet of Fire* she even spends the Christmas holidays at Hogwarts so that she can attend the Yule Ball as Viktor Krum's date. Hermione is portrayed as a mature character and clearly, in this case, becomes quite independent of her parents at a very young age.

In a study done by Grauerholz and Pescosolido (1989) on the number of male versus female characters in children's literature, the authors find that male characters are

more prominent than females. In *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*, two of the three main characters are male and the other female, supporting Grauerholz and Pescosolido's (1989) findings. As for the supporting characters, the male roles outnumber the females by about one third, also supporting the author's assertions. The authors' point that diversity in children's book characters is needed in order to create more positive role models for girls is well taken.

Gooden and Gooden (2001) support this position and argue that female characters are lacking a diverse skill set in relation to their male counterparts. Since there are a greater number of male characters in *the Goblet of Fire* it does make sense that there is greater role diversity; however, that does not excuse the fact that females are limited in their roles. Female characters are teachers, students, stay-at-home mothers, or in the case of Rita Skeeter, gossip columnists. Male characters are also students and teachers, but in addition, they are professionals, athletes, dragon-tamers, Aurors[2], and government officials. Clearly, not only do male characters show more diversity, but these distinct male and female roles fit their respective stereotypical expectations. Unfortunately, they leave a limited set of skills for young female readers to look up to.

The authors also argue that what is valued by a society will be reflected in its literature. The traditional family is still highly valued by our society even with the marriage rate declining and with the many alternate living situations that have become the new family unit. Both the Weasley and the Dursley families are very traditional, as shown in the previous chapter, the wife stays at home and takes care of her husband and children while he works in order to bring home a paycheque and maintain the roof over their heads.

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[2] A very dangerous position within the Ministry of Magic, an Auror's job is to catch dark wizards

The characters in the book would lead one to conclude that what is also valued is the uniqueness of the male and female actions and reactions. Females are often emotional and dependent while male characters are independent and decisive. These traits are valued in our society because the persistence of these behaviours will perpetuate the status quo, which is what people are used to and therefore are reluctant to change.

Oliver and Green (2001) point out that male audiences are adverse to more female-oriented forms of entertainment. This could explain why mass media are slow to catch up to the mindset that women can be strong characters and do not necessarily have to fulfill a stereotype to be likeable. The appeal of the Harry Potter series by girls/boys and women/men alike may be an anomaly, but perhaps it is *because* it has sexist tendencies that it has mass appeal. Perhaps if J.K. Rowling put a female wizard as the title character and a female headmaster as her mentor, the audience would be half of what it is, maybe even less. This we will never know for sure. However, I would not hesitate to apply Trites' (2001) comment about the first book in the series and say that book four is also "altogether more sexist than it needs to be" (p. 472).

Marshall (1998) summarises well what I found in studying *the Goblet of Fire*, I quoted it in the first chapter, but it bears repeating. He argues that what creates our ideas of acceptable behaviour are often "one-sided and exaggerated images of men and women...in everyday life" (p. 251). There are several characters in the Potter series that are quite obviously exaggerations or caricatures: Rita Skeeter, Mad-Eye Moody, Mrs. Weasley, and Ludo Bagman are a few. But even in the remaining cast, exaggeration of character is still found: Harry is fiercely independent; Hermione is emotional; and Ron is emotionally vacant.

Finally, as Connell argues "gender must be understood as a social structure" (2002, p. 9). The gender relations in *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* follow extensive patterns and are consistently visible in the theme, language and relationships between characters. This in itself shows that the structure of gender is inherent in the book. Social structures shape who we are and how we interpret our place in the world. Gender is one of those structures, it shapes the characters in the book, but it also shapes how readers learn to interpret their own worlds.

Consequently, in response to my research question posed in chapter two: What is the gender structure of *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*? It is implicitly sexist and shows a consistent and deep stereotypical theme imbued in the text. The implications of this conclusion follow.

Implications

The practical implications of this study are numerous. Studying the gender structure in *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* leads to interesting discussions and considerations of gender patterns in society as well as the importance of literature in secondary socialization. The fictional world in which the scene is laid out is believable and relatable. It is not completely fictional in that the relationships could be real relationships in the real world in which we are living. It has been shown that children not only model behaviours they see, but those they read about as well. And when they are reading, the messages are not always obvious or easy to see.

As a reader of J.K. Rowling's series of books I had an idea that it was slightly sexist, but not to the extent I found during my analysis for purposes of this research. Male and female characters were found to be stereotypical and fit into the mould of what is

expected. But how are these expectations created and perpetuated? A variety of ways is the simplest answer; but one of those is most definitely through the mass media, including literature. Here we learn what is acceptable and valued by society and therefore how to act and what to expect from others.

In all four of Connell's (2002) gender relations the characters from the book fit into what is theoretically laid out. Power relations are found to be divided along the division of labour, production relations were found in the households of the characters as well as in the workplaces, emotional relations were based in sexual relations and female characters reacted emotionally to their situations. Finally, symbolic relations were evident in the language used to describe characters, their actions and their relative positions within society.

The first question is: what do we do with this information? More research needs to be done. Academics need to look at gender relations in modern literature and in other more modern mediums such as websites, weblogs and podcasts. Children are not getting messages about gender from a few sources, but through many. Moreover the messages seem to be consistently sexist. However, as we know, primary socialization is more basic than secondary, so parents will still have the last word on what a child learns and how they understand their symbolic world.

The second question is: who is responsible? The finger can be pointed in many directions: parents, teachers, friends, writers, television producers, society. Also, how far does this responsibility go? Must a parent debrief after every television commercial, movie, book, song, or school day? Do writers need to create more gender-neutral story lines? Does gender-neutral literature equal gender-ambiguous characters and is this what we want? It

seems as though there are considerably more questions than answers, even though generations of academics have studied this subject. With more and more access to mass media at younger and younger ages it seems we need to be more careful with what messages our young people are being exposed to. We cannot forget that in the hum of all that is put out into the world, there are people who are just learning who they are and what is expected of them.

Just the other day at work I was talking to a boy of about 10 years of age. He asked who I was and I told him that I was his leaders' boss. His instant reply was "I thought only men were bosses", I asked him why he thought that, but he couldn't answer me, he only said "I don't know". That message came from somewhere. But the fact is it likely came from everywhere which is why he answered the way he did. It may not have been from the Harry Potter books. But, if children are getting consistent messaging that men are the bosses, it is not difficult to conclude that must be what they believe. I was concerned when I left work that day. What if this boy grows up and has a female boss? Will he respect her or listen to her as he would a male boss? I also considered how many girls must believe that only men can be bosses and how this must limit the hopes and dreams they can possibly have for themselves.

The final question is: what do we learn from Rowling? Race is a predominant theme in her work. Do race matters take precedence over gender relations because that is what is at the forefront in a post-9/11 society, or is it based on the context of the author's life experience? Are gender relations forgotten altogether, and what does this mean in terms of what the reader takes away from the books? Should one issue be highlighted at the expense of another and is it an author's responsibility to tackle everything? Is this even possible?

Should books, especially children's literature, reflect the culture in which they exist, or should they idealize it into a sort of utopia? Is this realistic, would that shatter the image of the entire world the author created and cause the reader to question if anything is really possible. Or do books that reflect social reality teach us more about ourselves as well as the consequences of our behaviours and ideologies than books that do not? In the end, I suppose it is up to the reader. Will they question what they read, will they reflect upon the book's content, or will they accept it as the inevitable?

Unfortunately, the generation of readers J.K. Rowling has aimed this series at is too young to make these observations on their own (for the most part). Perhaps it is up to teachers, parents, or even older siblings to talk about what comes up in the books they read. Perhaps it is all of us who are responsible for the messages that are shared with the world.

Future Research

It would be interesting to continue this research and to look at the same gender structures in the other six books in the series. *Harry Potter* did not reach the heights of popularity it has today until after the publication of the third instalment. The autonomy the author gained at this point is obvious with one glance toward the bookshelf: the first three books take up about three inches of space and books four to seven take up about eight inches. The amount of content is not the only change. The kids age a year in each book and the writing and themes reflect that growth. It would be interesting to see if gender relations change or grow throughout the series.

Another line of research that would shed light on this subject would be to talk to readers of the series. As a researcher I was able to discover the sexist undertones that were not obvious to me when I was not thinking about what I was reading as a recreational

booklover. Having in depth conversations with readers to gain insight about their thoughts on the characters, their actions, and behaviours would be a fascinating study.

In the 21st century it would be important to compare the many other forms of mass media to the books. We live in an overwhelmingly visual culture so comparing images versus written passages would be imperative. Possibly even comparing the books to the movies based on them, the numerous websites, blogs, as well as fan fiction.

Finally, if I could have my wish, I would want to talk to J.K. Rowling herself about all of the findings from my research as well as her thoughts on secondary socialization through books. I would also be interested in her thoughts about the responsibility of the author to her audience of impressionable young people.

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Appendix: Male and Female Stereotypes in Literature

Males: more prominent, more likely to have a recognizable job, more independent, assertive, intelligent, athletic, important, competent, technical, confident, responsible and stronger

Females: more weaker, more controlled by others, emotional, warmer, tentative, romantic, affectionate, sensitive, frailer, passive, complaining, domestic, stereotypical, and troublesome

Specific Behaviours

Males: more likely to be aggressive, show leadership, bravery, ingenuity and achievement, and give guidance to others

Females: followers, helpless, ask for help, to be rescued, fail, give praise, and show affection

Specific Communicative Acts

Males: more likely to initiate new topics, express opinions, answer questions, emphasize tasks, interrupt, laugh at others, insult others, brag, threaten, show anger, and order others

Females: ask questions, emphasize relationships, gossip, express excitement or happiness, show variety, and express disappointment or sadness

From Thompson and Zerbinos, 1995, p. 655