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*Illusion, Harry Potter, and Public Policy*

Professor Daniel Kahneman has long and usefully reminded policy makers as well as academia in general of the dangers of illusion. Now Professor Kahneman has authored *Thinking, Fast and Slow* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York, 2011), which summarizes his views about the dangers of intuitive decisions and illusion. Professor Kahneman has persistently held that despite protestations of rationality, most of us proceed with our decision-making falsely based on illusion. One could not ask for a better endorsement of thinking about the meaning of the Harry Potter phenomenon, something that Professor Emma Norman has done as well.

Of course, the books are a long way from what we usually consider to be political thought. Or are they? All the tomes of political science aside, it is disconcerting to realize that a decision based on illusion is still a decision. It is momentarily comforting to realize that a bad policy has been based on an illusion, but the consequences of bad policy remain bad. We see this every day in the damage inflicted by proponents of various religious cults, be they the prophets of renegade Mormon splinter group sects who believe they have an inspiration to restore child polygamy, or the ranting ayatollahs who think society will improve if women are veiled.

This distortion of reason by trickery and bathic wizardry was the mainstay of Nazi Germany and Stalin’s Soviet Union. Drums, bugles, oratory, and a whole choreography of magic were employed to justify power. Lit from the proper angle anything can seem to make sense. The fate of evil sorcerers like Hitler has not discouraged imitators, who regularly arise to ruin their countries. The saga of Harry Potter includes some pretty awful characters, and a whole world of nightmare illusion, but not really anything worse than has gone on in North Korea or Afghanistan. Fortunately for our bedside reading the good folk win out in the novels, if not always in the real world.

Perhaps one lesson of the series is that we have to be on continuous guard because a lot of what happens in political life is based on illusions. Every day along K Street in Washington there is treasure spent on creating illusions, and an election year is when the special interest coffers really overflow. Just as Harry and his stout-hearted friends were on guard about dark magic, policy makers need to be on guard about letting illusion replace actuality. There will always be policy proponents armed with what are more apparition rather than fact. It is an eternal goal of policy studies to be sure that the debate is based on truth rather than tomfoolery.

Paul Rich
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Syllabi

The following syllabus was sent to us per our invitation to share it in our journals. We have received other outstanding ones and they will be published in future Proceedings. As we hope these documents will be of use to the teaching of policy studies and curriculum development, we would like to encourage professors to send us their material for consideration. Contributions can be sent to Daniel Gutierrez at dgutierrez@ipsonet.org

Contents:

Harry Potter and International Politics: Identity, Violence and Social Control

Prof. Emma Norman
The Policy Studies Organization
Harry Potter and International Politics: Identity, Violence and Social Control

The themes we draw from J.K. Rowling’s Harry Potter series are used to illuminate parallels in contemporary world politics and to apprehend in detail some of the key problems that revolve around the three core themes of the course (identity, violence, and social control). How, for instance, does life in Hogwarts help to illuminate the multiple, crosscutting identities produced by globalization? How does the divide between wizards and muggles, or Hermione’s obsession with elvish welfare, serve to illuminate continued discrimination in current liberal democracies and do these narratives help to widen our options when it comes to minimizing it? What are the parallels between the Death Eaters’ methods and contemporary terrorism and can a discussion of these parallels isolate the areas that need more thought in the way we are currently dealing with terrorist suspects? How does the secrecy that characterizes the wizarding world reflect the declining role of state sovereignty and its replacements on the global stage? How far can the wide publicity and internationalization of these stories be used as evidence of the globalization of culture and, particularly, of western values? Should Harry be seen as the “glocal hero” he has been branded in existing literature? How do these books on magic speak to ethical questions concerning current and future scientific and technological advances? In turn, the course is designed to show how political and philosophical reflection on such contemporary issues promotes a fuller understanding of the deepening relation between popular culture and international relations in our complex, globalized world.

UNDERGRADUATE ASSESSMENT

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EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this course students should be able to:

1) Identify how the structures and values encoded inside the works of popular culture illustrate, key into, reflect and make critical comment on some core issues in global politics today.
2) Demonstrate verbally and in written form a detailed, critical knowledge of a specific issue at the heart of at least two of the three central course themes: group identity(ies) and how they are affected by globalization; instances of violence and/or discrimination in an age of global terrorism; and forms of modern sociopolitical control and regulation.
3) Understand, in some depth, how political and IR theories can raise multiple readings of a text/practical situation.
4) Develop their own critical perspective on the issues discussed in class and refine their intellectual responses to those issues.
5) Understand how using unconventional approaches to serious academic issues not only enriches the level of discussion and the creativity of how those issues are approached, but also can help to increase self-motivation, making their academic endeavors a lot of fun.

COURSE RATIONALE AND READING

As one would expect with such unconventional subject matter, this course is rather different from the ones you will ordinarily take in international relations and political science. We will be using a variety of alternative and fun teaching and learning techniques and interactive media right from the start to lead the way into the serious academic issues to be discussed each week. As an advanced undergraduate seminar, discussions will be detailed and are expected to extend well beyond the superficial level, so the reading load is fairly robust and includes no assigned reading from the Potter books themselves, though you will undoubtedly want to use them for your essays. It is assumed that all students taking the course have read—or are reading—all the Potter books at least once. N.B. merely watching the films is not enough. I certainly don’t expect you to be a Potter Encyclopedia, but many elements of the books we will be using do not appear in the films. You will get more out of the class with a knowledge of the books themselves.

This university course is not endorsed or sanctioned by Warner Bros., the Harry Potter book publishers or J.K. Rowling and her representatives.
REQUIRED READING (SEMINARS)

This course involves a commitment to independent reading and you are expected to do it thoroughly – NO EXCUSES! The success of the seminars—which can be a lot of fun—depends on your reading and commitment beforehand. Texts or pieces marked * are required reading for each seminar and form a necessary (but not sufficient) condition for passing the course. They are short pieces of rarely more than 30 pages in total, often much less. Students who persistently fail to fulfill this requirement will be penalized.

The reading list below is fairly extensive to reduce demand on resources. You are NOT expected to read every text on this list for every topic from cover to cover. Nevertheless, the required reading often provides only a broad overview of the topic in question. To augment preparation for seminar discussions, try to read at least one other text from the reading list every week (or a relevant text you find online or in the library), whether browsing and taking notes from a book, or from close reading of an article or chapter. Your examination results will depend on this additional reading. Excerpts marked # are in my office.

EXTENDED READING (ESSAYS AND EXAM PREPARATION)

When researching for essays and exams, you are required to make full use of the reading list and you will undoubtedly be drawing from the HP books as well. Pass undergraduate essays make purposeful use of at least 10 appropriate resources in addition to Rowling’s work. Good undergraduate essays often use in excess of 15 in conjunction with clear independence of judgment. All resources must be referenced correctly. Badly referenced or unreferenced essays will not be marked - as will those that use no resources/citations at all or do not answer the question. If in doubt about any of this, come and see me. If not in doubt, see me anyway.

You may find and use additional resources where appropriate, provided they are referenced clearly and correctly and used in conjunction with texts from the reading list. Questions for seminar discussion are included for each week. Use keywords from them to find additional relevant resources and make full use of book indexes, tables of contents, abstracts, internet searches and other aids for locating relevant material quickly. I have some resources (marked %) I am willing to lend if you see me before the essay submission date.

IMPORTANT: INDEPENDENCE OF JUDGMENT AND INTELLECTUAL CREATIVITY

Reading academic works and gathering information is an important part of any university course and, indeed, forms the basis of the learning process itself. It is as essential for this course as for any other. However, the emphasis in this course is also placed on learning to make your own connections; to put the information you have learned to independent, creative use. Unlike my other courses, a main aim of this one is to demonstrate that serious academic exploration need not be dead boring, dry, dispersed, abstract or tedious. On the contrary, you can exercise a great deal of creative independence in the way you approach, study and connect those points—not only to things in everyday life that are important to all of us, but to perspectives that are interesting, provocative, unconventional (and, on occasion, downright fun) to discuss. It is that kind of creative approach that really gives undergraduate work the sparkle that distinguishes between very good work and outstanding work. One word of warning, however: light-hearted does NOT mean ‘lite’! This methodology does NOT mean that the academic standards of this course are lower than in my other courses—it is not a license that permits superficial thought or research, sweeping, unsubstantiated statements in class or in essays, wild claims that are ungrounded in practical examples or the theoretical literature, or trivial and flippant approaches of any kind to your work. So take care to get the balance right between the fun stuff and the serious scholarship by ensuring that the central academic points are always the raison d’etre of your discussions and essays.

After you have done the required reading, take ten minutes to think about one or two of the questions for seminar discussion and consider how they and your reading are related to the HP texts. Make some notes on your ideas, and any specific examples from practical political situations you can think of that connect to some of the ideas in your reading, and any particular scenes or themes from Rowling that illustrate or illuminate it. You will then never be at a loss for something to contribute in each seminar.

MY AVAILABILITY

In class, during class breaks, after class and during my consultation hours. Houses are expected to come to see me while planning their presentations at least once. I also strongly recommend every student to come and discuss their essays with me while they are writing them and well in advance of the deadline to discuss further reading and to develop lines of argument to maximum potential. This will undoubtedly enhance your grade.
**Rules**

1) Attend all the seminars.
2) Do the required reading *before* the seminar. The success of the seminars depends on the level/depth of your participation.
3) Come to the class of your presentation on time and well prepared.
4) Students arriving more than 10 minutes late to class will not be allowed into class. Discipline and punctuality are important in life, respect them as matters of principle.
5) Submit *all* homework on time. Assessed work not submitted by the deadline class will not be marked and thus will receive 0.
6) Unreferenced or badly referenced essays *will not pass*. Consult the notes on referencing in the first class handout and follow the format to the letter.
7) Do not submit written work in *any* folder. Ensure multiple pages are stapled together.
8) All cellular phones to be switched off in class. No exceptions.
9) **Plagiarism of any kind will NOT be tolerated.** Plagiarised work, which is easier to detect than most students think, will receive 0, will be reported to the Head of Department, all teachers and the Dean and could result in your expulsion from university. Notice you have been found guilty of plagiarism (cheating) will be included in any letters of recommendation a student requires any teacher of the university to write to future employers. **DON´T DO IT!**
10) Read this syllabus thoroughly and always have it handy in class.

Key texts you should think about buying and the acronyms for them used below:

- **HPIR** = *Harry Potter and International Relations* (2006), Nexon and Neumann (eds.)
- **HP&P** = *Harry Potter and Philosophy: If Aristotle Ran Hogwarts…* (2004), Baggett and Klein (eds.)
- **UHPP** = *Ultimate Harry Potter and Philosophy: Hogwarts for Muggles*, William Irwin and Gregory Bassham (eds.).
- **PIRHP** = *Political Issues in J.K. Rowling’s Harry Potter Series* (2009), Bryfonski (ed.)

For a full bibliography of pretty much everything ever written on HP in many languages, see:


**WEEK 1: “A FEW START OF TERM ANNOUNCEMENTS…”**

This course is taken exclusively in English. What I expect from you (my rules). What you should expect from me (your rules). Seminar structure. Plagiarism and correct referencing. Why Harry Potter? **Sorting Ceremony.** You will be sorted into your Houses (following the form of the Potter books—and yes, we do have a Sorting Hat) in this class. All joint projects and presentations for the rest of this semester will be conducted together in your House group. Note the interactions your House has with others in this class and be prepared for a discussion toward the end of the semester concerning how House identity functions.

**PART 1: IDENTITY**

**WEEK 2: TRANSFIGURATION I: Identity 101**

Do brave people get placed in Gryffindor, or do Gryffindors become brave? Is Voldemort really Dr. Evil? What are the basic points of essentialist versus social constructivist theories of identity? What position on free will does each theory take? What functions does identity serve in politics and IR? Why do Sterling-Folker and Folker say that the wizarding world is inexplicable from a realist IR perspective? Are they right?  
* = required reading


*(optional) Goldstein, Dana, “Harry Potter and the Complicated Identity Politics,” *The American Prospect*, July 24, 2007. This sounds rather more useful than it turns out to be, but it might be helpful for those of you who need a broad refresher of the HP plot.


#Hall, Martin, "The Fantasy of Realism, or Mythology as Methodology," in HPIR 177-193.

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**WEEK 3: TRANSFIGURATION II: Changing Identities in a Globalized World**

Global dislocation. Managing blood status, ethnicity, hybridity, virtual networks and identities created around belonging to interest groups. How has the ‘nature’ of collective identity transformed over the last 20 years? What does it mean to say that we have multiple, crosscutting identities? In the HP books? In contemporary sociopolitical practice today? How can we manage them when they conflict? How do the concepts of time and space in the HP books differ from our own, if at all? In what way do these concepts affect the concept of community and belonging? Can re-imagining the way we negotiate space in the books be a useful metaphor for how globalization has transformed our views of crosscutting identities, and ways of managing them?

- Sheila Croucher, chapters 1 “Globalization, Belonging and the State” and 4 “Constructed Ethnicities, Global Contingencies,” in *Globalization and Belonging: The Politics of Identity in a Changing World* (Lanham MA.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004) 9-42 & 115-47. The first chapter has some broad notes on globalization and state that will be crucial for later parts of the course, but the identity part starts for real on p. 35. Do not skip Chapter 4. It is awesome!


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%Norman, Emma, *El yo político: concepciones del yo, la política y la autonomía en la filosofía política contemporánea* (Mexico DF: Ediciones Coyoacan, 2007) part one, see me for English version.


Notes on Kant for Beginners, available online at [http://academics.vmi.edu/psy_dr/Kant%20for%20beginners.htm]

Notes on Kant’s Ethics, available online at [http://academics.vmi.edu/psy_dr/kant.htm]

### WEEK 4: INDEPENDENT READING WEEK


Neumann and Nexon’s intro is a great way to engage further with the international importance of using HP. An excellent revision text that goes through the main points of contact between HP, popular culture, international politics and identity.

Long’s piece shows that games, like works of fantasy fiction, can have very profound implications for, and are excellent illustrations of, serious debates about contemporary practical problems like identity and violence and how sports in HP can be used as analogues for war and identity construction.

### WEEK 5: TRANSFIGURATION III: The Public and the Private Transfigured

Changing conceptions of public and private: from blurred at the edges to interconstituted. Given that the magical community has to hide itself from the muggle world, does this constitute a lack of public authenticity? Why should we be worried about this apparent lack? In what sense could it be a metaphor for other communities that have not always been traditionally accepted by mainstream culture? Coming out of the broom closet. Overcoming identity secrecy.


#Rayside, David, “Comparative Reflections on Public Recognition of Sexual Diversity,” in *Queer Inclusions, Continental Divisions*, 283-316.


Sedlovskaya, A. *et al.*, “Concealable Stigma and Public Private Distinction.” A quantitative psychology article that examines concealment of sexuality along the public-private divide. Not for the faint-hearted, but clear parallels are here. Available at [http://www.yale.edu/intergroup/ASedlovskaya.pdf]


**WEEK 6: TRANSFIGURATION O.W.L.: BEING HUMAN**


Love him or hate him, Schmitt will certainly elicit a reaction from you. The book is only 40-ish pages.


**PART II: VIOLENCE**

**WEEK 7: DEFENSE AGAINST THE DARK ARTS I: International Boggarts**

Identifying the other and the enemy: fear and paranoia in international relations. What are the links between the HP books and contemporary terrorism and our attempts to contain it? What, or who, would a boggart become for your society today? Would it be the same thing for all the groups you belong to? How do different perspectives and particular identities change our collective fears? How far should we take the injustice of the trials against Death Eaters and magical incarceration as an illustration for the wrongs behind the human rights abuses at Guantanamo Bay or Abu Graib?

WEEK 8: DEFENSE AGAINST THE DARK ARTS II: National Boggarts

What themes connect all the required readings/viewings today? How significant is the absence of the state in magical conflict? How do the three Arendtian themes discussed by Bernstein (absolutes in politics, human superfluousness, the banality of evil) key into your understanding of the Potter series? Does the “banality of evil” idea suggest that Voldemort is not a convincing villain? What does Arendt’s concept of human superfluousness mean and how do you think it might relate to a) the problems at Guantanamo we dealt with last week and b) how “the other-as-enemy” is dealt with when nations, or parts of nations, come into conflict?

* Short film: On Our Watch: Genocide in Darfur, Refugeesinternational.org available at http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-1587138622759665645#

#Norman, Emma, “Violence and Deprivation: Arendt and the Pervasiveness of Superfluous Life,” paper presented at the MPSA Conference, Chicago, 2009. See especially for comparison on war on terror issues and with Schmitt, and also for the argument about globalization, the state and the femicides of Ciudad Juárez which updates Bernsteins approach and applies it to contemporary practical situations.


German Propaganda Archive, including posters intended to indoctrinate school children with racism. Available at http://www.bytwerk.com/gpa/vogel.htm


docid=3007418844597329454

Good pop article by Andrew Slack on HP and Genocide, Darfur. Available at http://www.inthesetimes.com/article/3365/harry_potter_and_the_muggle_activists/


#Garcia, Dora Elvira, “La violencia como condición o como disolución de lo político: Carl Schmitt y Hannah Arendt,” Signos Filosóficos VI, no. 11 (enero 2004), 73-96.


%Arendt, Hannah, The Origins of Totalitarianism.


**Peters, Ralph: "Ethnic separation is a nonviolent form of ethnic cleansing," in Bryfonski, Dedria (ed.): Political issues in J. K. Rowling's Harry Potter series, 2009.


WEEK 9: DEFENSE AGAINST THE DARK ARTS O.W.L. Submit essay #1
Slytherin House Presentation (O.W.L. 25%) Free discussion and recap of the course so far

WEEK 10: MUGGLE (AND OTHER NONMAGICALS) STUDIES I: Discrimination

Violence is not only physical. How many kinds of discrimination are thematic in the Potter series and how well do you think these reflect the main problems we still face with discrimination in contemporary western democracies today? What is prejudice, exactly? Looking more closely at the Arizona Immigration Law and its implications. Are there any real parallels between the Arizona Law and the institutionalized discrimination of various groups in Nazi Germany?

* Patterson, Steven W.: "Kreacher's Lament: S.P.E.W. as a Parable on Discrimination, Indifference, and Social Justice." Baggett, David/Klein, Shawn (eds.): Harry Potter and Philosophy: If Aristotle ran Hogwarts, 105-120.


Good for recent statistics.


WEEK 11:  MUGGLE STUDIES O.W.L.:
Hufflepuff House Presentation (O.W.L. 25%)

Class Debate on activism and indifference. DO the reading: we start with a pop quiz.

* (If you didn’t read it well last week, you will need to for this week!) Patterson, Steven W.: ”Kreacher's Lament: S.P.E.W. as a Parable on Discrimination, Indifference, and Social Justice.” Baggett, David/Klein, Shawn (eds.): Harry Potter and Philosophy: If Aristotle ran Hogwarts, 105-120.

*Slack, Andrew, “Harry Potter and the Muggle Activists,” Available at https://www.inthesetimes.com/article/3365/harry_potter_and_the_muggle_activists/

*Good, if superficial, blog on HP and political action http://www.opednews.com/hersh1103_harry_potter.htm


**McWilliams, Susan: "The Crisis of Slavery in Harry Potter," in Margaret S. Hrezo, John M. Parrish (eds.): Damned if you do: Dilemmas of action in literature and popular culture (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010).

WEEK 12:  CHARMS I: Institutional Control and Weapons of Mass Deception

Secrets, lies and bureaucracy. Which institutions exert the most controlling behavior on the magical population in the Potter books? How does Weber say bureaucracy wields power and control? Throughout the series, how far do these
start to mirror the kind of bureaucracy that Weber is so famous for writing about? Plato argued that some forms of social control and even secrecy and lying were necessary for a government to control its people. Do you agree? (Why? Why not?) Are you, like Foucault, concerned with how much this kind of control is spreading in contemporary political and social life? At what point should we call for stopping the spread? At the same time, if knowledge is power, but we have limited time to gather it, then how much political knowledge can we demand and really use?


** Surveillance: Excerpts from MSNBC Documentary 2009:** [http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/21134540/vp/15511094#15511094](http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/21134540/vp/15511094#15511094)


“Searching through your Google Searches” [http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/21134540/vp/15511098#15511098](http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/21134540/vp/15511098#15511098)


Additional readings from Michel Foucault – see me.

** WEEK 13:** **FILM WEEK:** **WMD: Weapons of Mass Deception**


** WEEK 14:** **CHARMS O.W.L.: The Media and Control**

How and where to we derive knowledge and how dependent are we on those who make it available to us? How does the media shape public perception of social and political issues in HP? Can you think of any recent instances where the media has over-exaggerated our social, national and international fears—leading to increased discrimination? How important is it to control the kind, the flow, and the spread of information both socially and politically in today’s world? How politically independent should the media be? Should the media give the public what it wants, or should it be educational even if this is NOT what the public wants? What implication does this have for the role of the state: in HP/and the ‘real-world?"


%

WEEK 15: DIVINATION: Science, Technology and the Future
Ravenclaw House Presentation (O.W.L. 25%)


WEEK 16: CONCLUSION AND N.E.W.T. TECHNIQUES Submit essay #2

WEEK 17: N.E.W.T. EXAMINATION
3 hours. Answer 2 essay questions, one from each section, from a choice of approximately 12 unseen questions. Students may take a Spanish-English dictionary and their required reading packet for this class into the examination with them (provided they do not contain substantive notes written by the student).

FIRST ESSAY TITLES, AUTUMN 2010

1. Why do Sterling-Folker and Folker say that the wizarding world is inexplicable from a realist IR perspective? Are they right? What insights does this shed on the way power is understood, theorized and exercised in international politics today?

2. Why should questions of identity and where it comes from be important to issues in politics and IR? Answer with reference to the themes in Harry Potter we have looked at so far, the theories (from IR and elsewhere) we have discussed and use practical examples to illustrate your case.

3. Rowling uses a curious mix of both essentialist claims and constructivist ones – which reflects our intuitive biases: we generally accept that identity and morality is socially constructed nowadays, but we don’t like to accept this means that we lack free will. Why? Why is free will so important to us as students of politics and IR, or as citizens of the world?

4. In Harry Potter, the “liberal fantasy” of an individual who does not need to win over the hearts and minds of large collectives to wield power is both a contrast with today’s globalized world and an analogue of it. How? Answer with reference to the practical examples of your choice.

5. How do the Potter stories’ use of magic capture the way that space and territoriality are conceived and used differently in the real world today, aided by technology?

6. Can re-imagining the way we negotiate space in the books be a useful metaphor for how globalization has transformed our views of crosscutting identities, and ways of managing them?
7. “In contemporary times, in tandem with our shift in understanding how we relate to space, we are also having to shift our perception, and conceptual landscape, in terms of visualizing how self and role, inside and outside, public and private relate to each other, both personally and also politically.” Critically discuss.

8. Given that the magical community has to hide itself from the muggle world, does this constitute a lack of public authenticity? Why should we worry about this apparent lack? Can it be seen as a metaphor for other communities that have not been traditionally accepted by mainstream culture?

9. What are the links between the Potter books and contemporary terrorism and our attempts to contain it?

10. “Each participant is in a position to judge whether the adversary intends to negate his opponent’s way of life and therefore must be repulsed or fought in order to preserve one’s own form of existence,” (Schmitt). How can Schmitt’s argument make us think critically about the traditional IR view that international action is motivated by a search for security based on Hobbesian fear?

11. In Theory of the Partisan, Schmitt adds nuance to the complexities of understanding how we are reacting to terrorism today. How useful do you think his concept of the ‘absolute enemy’ really is?

12. What, or who, would a boggart become for YOUR society today?

13. How far should we take the injustice of the trials against Death Eaters and magical incarceration as an illustration for the wrongs behind the human rights abuses at Guantanamo Bay or Abu Graib?

14. What is wrong with using absolutes in politics? Do you think the Potter books encourage or discourage this way of looking at the world?

15. How do the three Arendtian themes discussed by Bernstein (absolutes in politics, human superfluousness, the banality of evil) key into your understanding of the Potter series? Does the “banality of evil” idea suggest that Voldemort is not a convincing villain? What are the practical implications of your answer?

16. What does Arendt’s concept of human superfluousness mean and how do you think it might relate to a) the problems at Guantanamo Bay prison and/or b) how “the other-as-enemy” is dealt with when nations, or parts of nations, come into conflict?

17. Critically discuss the real-world political implications posed by the character of Cornelius Fudge, Minister of Magic with reference to either bureaucracy, or cognitive biases, or both.

18. “What’s worse, a global pandemic or a Twitter-induced panic about one?” Is Cringely right to say that “problems with social media are just symptoms of a larger disease?”