

# The Season of the Witch

FEMINIST DISCOURSES OF EMPOWERMENT AND SPIRITUALITY  
BY THE CONTEMPORARY WITCH ON INSTAGRAM

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## Summary

Cultural trends like the witch are often indicators of bigger societal issues.<sup>1</sup> Besides their popularity in Netflix series and fashion, the contemporary witch has also gathered a big following on social media platforms such as Instagram. In this paper I argue that the cultural obsession with the contemporary witch reflects (conscious or unconscious) engagement with feminist discourses. Because Instagram allows its users to communicate both through visual and verbal texts, it is an appropriate space to analyze the discourses that the contemporary witch employs online. Through a combined visual and discourse analysis of 120 Instagram posts by 12 popular witches, I assess how these witches employ feminist discourses. In this thesis my focus lies on the two subjects that return frequently on the Instagram witch's page: empowerment and spirituality. I discuss how witches on Instagram claim to empower themselves through their spirituality. This spiritual practice prioritizes the wellbeing of the witch and teaches them to find the goddess within themselves. The discourses that the Instagram witch employs have proven to be similar to those within feminism. Just like the contemporary witch, feminist discourses also mention selfcare<sup>2</sup> and distancing oneself from a masculine god for the sake of resisting patriarchal standards.<sup>3</sup> Feminist spirituality is centered around the devotion to the feminine divine, both in an external goddess and the goddess within.<sup>4</sup> The empowerment and spirituality that is practiced by the witch corresponds mostly with the feminist idea of personal empowerment.<sup>5</sup> This form of empowerment has caught much criticism within the feminist debate, as it requires women to change themselves instead of challenging the system that oppresses them.<sup>6</sup> However, apart from encouraging their followers to empower themselves from within, the witch also teaches them that some things will inevitably affect their life, such as astrological events. Both feminists and contemporary witches are balancing between on the one hand the pursuit of an individual feeling of independence and on the other hand the realization that some external influences (such as astrological events and oppressive

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<sup>1</sup> Jon Stratton, "Zombie trouble: Zombie texts, bare life and displaced people," in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 14, issue 3, June 1, 2011, 267-8

<sup>2</sup> Sarah Ahmed, "Selfcare as Warfare" *Feministkilljoys* (blog). August 25, 2014. Accessed May 17, 2020. <https://feministkilljoys.com/2014/08/25/selfcare-as-warfare/>.

<sup>3</sup> Penelope Ingram, "From Goddess Spirituality to Irigaray's Angel: The Politics of the Divine," in *Feminist Review*, vol. 66, issue 1, September 2000, 55

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Zoe D. Peterson and Sharon Lamb, "The Political Context for Personal Empowerment: Continuing the Conversation" in *Sex Roles*, vol. 66, 2012, 758

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 760

social structures) will inevitably affect a woman's experiences.<sup>7</sup> My analysis has made it evident that these witches employ discourses that correspond with the feminist debate on empowerment and spirituality. However, it is up for discussion whether these discourses contribute effectively to the empowerment of women in general.

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<sup>7</sup> Peterson and Lamb, 760

## Introduction

*Using 'Witch' to describe yourself is a privilege and reclamation only recently afforded to us, but still not everywhere. 'Witch' spent many years as an insult and dangerous accusation - especially towards women. Wear it like a badge of pride. Honour it. Stand in your power.*

Quote from Stephen Aiden's Instagram account @awitchespath, May 15, 2020.

It is the season of the witch. Log on to Netflix and you will find a remarkable amount of films and series that revolve around witches, such as *'Sabrina'* (2018), *'The Witcher'* (2019), *'Always a Witch'* (2019), *'The Order'* (2019) and *'October Faction'* (2020). Trendy clothing brands like 'Urban Outfitters' picked up on this 'witchy' trend by selling T-shirts and sweaters printed with witchcraft references, such as symbols from tarot, astrology and palmistry.<sup>8</sup> The popularity of astrology apps such as *'Pattern'* or *'Co-star'* has increased massively in the last years.<sup>9</sup> The trend is also demonstrated on Instagram by popular influencer witches who share their craft with hundreds of thousands of followers.

Several scholars have demonstrated that these seemingly trivial cultural trends are actually potent indicators of the profound struggles within a civilization.<sup>10</sup> For instance, the increased interest for zombies in films, tv-series and videogames that started around the year 2000, is often connected to the western fear for "displaced people", like immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees.<sup>11</sup> By analyzing the contemporary witch on social media, my thesis shows that the popularity of the witch-identity is also a consequence of societal issues. My aim is to

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<sup>8</sup> 'Tarot T-Shirt' from Urban Outfitters <https://www.urbanoutfitters.com/en-gb/shop/uo-tarot-tie-dye-long-sleeve-skate-t-shirt?category=SEARCHRESULTS&color=024&searchparams=q%3Dt%20tarot&type=REGULAR&quantity=1>

<sup>9</sup> Jonas Kooyman, "Waarom astrologie zo populair is onder hoogopgeleide Randstedelingen" in *NRC*, February 13, 2020, <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2020/02/13/status-met-je-sterrenbeeld-a3990202>

<sup>10</sup> Keith Scott, "Blood, Bodies, Books: Kim Newman and the Vampire as Cultural Text." In *The Modern Vampire and Human Identity*. ed. Deborah Mutch, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 19

Peter Dendle, "The Zombie as Barometer of Cultural Anxiety" in *Monsters and the Monstrous: Myths and Metaphors of Enduring Evil*, ed. Nial Scott, Brill, 2007, 48

Jon Stratton, "Zombie trouble: Zombie texts, bare life and displaced people." *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Vol. 14, Issue 3, June 2011, 267-8.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

demonstrate that the discourses used by popular Instagram witches in their posts correspond with feminist discourses on empowerment and spirituality.

By analyzing the witch-identity that these Instagram witches display on their pages, I seek to answer my research question: ‘How are the feminist discourses of empowerment and spirituality employed by the contemporary witch on Instagram?’ I will answer this question by posing the following subsequent questions: What are the existing debates within feminism on empowerment and spirituality? How does the Instagram witch claim to empower herself? How do the spiritual practices of the witch correspond with feminist spirituality?

My theoretical framework demonstrates that the use of internet and social media is a crucial part of fourth wave feminism, since it allows feminists to spread awareness easily.<sup>12</sup> Taking on an online identity provides them with more freedom to express and represent themselves beyond their physical body.<sup>13</sup> This freedom of expression is an important part of personal empowerment, which is the most well-known form of empowerment today.<sup>14</sup> Personal empowerment has been broadly criticized within the feminist debate, since it is thought to provide a very individual, limited form of empowerment that does not generate a more collective empowerment.<sup>15</sup> Within feminist spirituality this individuality is actually encouraged, as it allows women to break free from patriarchal dogma. Feminist spirituality helps women to feel ‘whole’ again, by learning to honor their own bodies as sacred and holy and taking better care of themselves.<sup>16</sup> Through channeling their inner goddess, these feminists detach themselves from the patriarchal idea that there is only a masculine god that resides in heaven.<sup>17</sup>

This thesis practices a combined discourse and visual analysis. By counting words and expressions that refer to empowerment and spirituality, I get a clear overview of what topics are most popular in the Instagram witch’s posts and how the witch talks about them. I then

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<sup>12</sup> Hanna Retallack et al. ‘‘Fuck Your Body Image’’: Teen Girls’ Twitter and Instagram Feminism in and Around School,’’ in *Learning Bodies: Perspectives on Children and Young People*, Vol. 2, ed. Julia Coffey, Shelley Budgeon and Helen Cahill, Singapore: Springer Science, 2016, 86

<sup>13</sup> Camilla Vásquez, ‘‘Usually not one to complain but...’’: constructing identities in user-generated online reviews,’’ In *The Language of Social Media*, ed. Philip and Caroline Tagg, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, 67

<sup>14</sup> Zoe D. Peterson and Sharon Lamb, ‘‘The Political Context for Personal Empowerment: Continuing the Conversation’’ in *Sex Roles*, vol. 66, 2012, 758

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 759

<sup>16</sup> Kristin Aune, ‘‘Feminist Spirituality as Lived Religion: How UK Feminists Forge Religio-spiritual Lives,’’ in *Gender & Society*, vol. 29, no. 1, February, 2015, 123

<sup>17</sup> Penelope Ingram, ‘‘From Goddess Spirituality to Irigaray’s Angel: The Politics of the Divine,’’ in *Feminist Review*, vol. 66, issue 1, September 2000, Penelope Ingram, 46

compare my findings to the feminist discourses in my theoretical framework, to demonstrate if and how the witch's language (both visual and verbal) corresponds with feminism.

By demonstrating the connection between the Instagram witch trend and feminist discourses, I intend to prove the societal relevance of the cultural obsession with the contemporary witch.

## Theoretical Framework

The term ‘witch’ has been defined differently over time and still has different meanings to different people. In this thesis I employ a very broad definition of the witch. I define ‘the witch’ as someone who has adopted a witch-identity and displays in their posts at least one of the numerous practices that are considered to be a part of Witchcraft, such as spell casting, astrology, palmistry, or other divinatory techniques. Witchcraft should, however, not be confused with pagan religions such as Wicca. Although all Wiccans are witches, not every witch is devoted to Wicca. Witchcraft is a radically free form of spirituality<sup>18</sup>, which is why it cannot be identified as a religion. As demonstrated in this thesis, witches encourage a form of spirituality that is open to subjective interpretation and that is free of dogma.

It must be mentioned that the witch-identity I have researched is displayed on Instagram (a social media platform primarily based on visual representations). Because this identity is employed in a virtual space, it provides Instagram witches with different possibilities to express themselves than they would have in ‘real life’. For instance, Camilla Vásquez, professor of linguistics, argues that one can uphold a relative anonymity in digital interactions that would not be possible in offline conversations.<sup>19</sup> Because of this anonymity, users can display other identities than the ones that are limited to their physicality.<sup>20</sup> This is not only true for verbal communication, for instance in the caption of a post, but also for the communication through pictures, which is a key element of the Instagram platform.

The construction of identity through visual and verbal discourse on social media is an object of study in sociolinguistics. Philip Seargeant and Caroline Tagg argue that identities are “‘co-constructed’” through the way people present and express themselves “‘via interaction with others.’”<sup>21</sup> This idea of the continuous production of identity is also common in feminist theory. As stated by Judith Butler, men and women construct their identities by “‘performing’” their gender through certain rituals.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the identity is not static, but a continuous dynamic process.<sup>23</sup> Neither can an identity be created by an isolated individual, since it needs to be

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<sup>18</sup> Sharan B. Merriam et al. “On Becoming a Witch: Learning in a Marginalized Community of Practice,” in *Adult Education Quarterly*, Vol. 53, Issue 3, 2003, 170

<sup>19</sup> Vásquez, 67

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Philip Seargeant and Caroline Tagg, “Introduction: The language of social media,” In *The Language of Social Media*, ed. Philip Seargeant and Caroline Tagg, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, 5

<sup>22</sup> Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*, (Taylor & Francis Group, 2011), x

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.



constructed in interaction with others.<sup>24</sup> For the Instagram witch this interaction consists mostly of sharing posts with their followers.

Sofia P. Caldeira states that “[p]hotographs act not only as a documental record of a person’s identity, but more importantly as a ‘stage’ where they can dramatically perform an idealized version of themselves.”<sup>25</sup> This idealized version can be easily created on social media, because online it is easier for an individual to control what aspects of them are exposed.<sup>26</sup>

Feminist movements have taken on this freedom of self-representation on social media as a means to empower themselves.<sup>27</sup> According to Hanna Retallack et al. the internet is an indispensable part of fourth wave feminism<sup>28</sup>, which they define as a feminism “characterized by a sharing of voices, engagement with global politics, and intersectionality.”<sup>29</sup> The internet is an important aspect of this contemporary feminism, because it provides countless opportunities to share voices and engage with global politics. Many women are learning about feminism online and are creating their own spaces within the internet where they can express their feminist ideas and connect with other feminists.<sup>30</sup> Social media also allow feminist movements to spread awareness about feminist issues amongst other social media users. Because of its accessibility to many people, feminist social media content can influence other social media movements as well. In this thesis I discuss how the Instagram witch is one movement that is either consciously or unconsciously influenced by feminist thought.

I will now discuss the feminist discourses on empowerment and alternative knowledge, because they form the main theoretical framework of this thesis.

### *Empowerment*

The concept of empowerment is widely discussed within feminist discourses. Feminist pedagogue Helen Cahill states that empowerment is often seen as “a matter of claiming back power.”<sup>31</sup> In the case of feminist empowerment this means that women claim back power from the patriarchal system that oppresses them. Although there are many ways in which women are

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<sup>24</sup> Seargeant and Tagg, 5

<sup>25</sup> Sofia P. Caldeira, “Identities in Flux: An Analysis to Photographic Self-Representation on Instagram,” in *Observatorio*, vol. 10, no. 3, 2016, 143

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 144

<sup>27</sup> Retallack et al., 86

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Heather McIntosh and Lisa M. Cuklanz, “Feminist Media Research,” in *Feminist Research Practice: A Primer*, ed. Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber, (SAGE, 2014), 272

<sup>31</sup> Helen Cahill, “Playing the Inside Out: Using Drama as an Embodied Medium Through Which to Work on Changing Gender Norms,” in *Learning Bodies: Perspectives on Children and Young People*, Vol. 2, ed. Julia Coffey, Shelley Budgeon and Helen Cahill, Singapore: Springer Science, 2016, 225

empowering themselves (e.g. politically, financially, sexually), the word ‘empowerment’ is predominately used to indicate ‘personal empowerment.’<sup>32</sup> This is a very individual form of empowerment that allows women to resist patriarchal standards by changing their own mindset and attitude.<sup>33</sup> Women can achieve this personal empowerment by determining their own values, wishes, self-worth, ambitions, instead of conforming themselves to what is expected from them by society. Because of its individualistic nature, personal empowerment is a form of empowerment that requires women to change their own attitude and way of thinking towards patriarchal standards.<sup>34</sup>

Patriarchy is an institutionalized social structure that constructs and promotes the biological differences between men and women, with men as the superior.<sup>35</sup> The constant reproduction of this idea has led to its internalization by both sexes and a general consensus about its validity.<sup>36</sup> Feminist jurist Alda Facio explains that this way of oppressing and discriminating women works through multiple levels, such as the “‘mental, social, spiritual, economic and political”’ level.<sup>37</sup> In order to break these structures it is necessary to reach empowerment on all those levels, according to Facio. Personal empowerment is therefore only a small aspect of empowerment as a whole. Personal empowerment is often labeled as a more “‘superficial”’ form of empowerment as opposed to, for instance, political empowerment, because it requires a woman to change her attitude towards society instead of society adjusting to her.<sup>38</sup> I argue that personal empowerment is just as important as other forms of empowerment. Even though the effects of personal empowerment might not be easily visible, as they are individual experiences, it is crucial for women to create an identity for themselves outside of patriarchal structures. This, I argue, would be of great benefit to women’s empowerment on other levels as well. Peterson and Lamb are also critical towards the argument that personal empowerment is superficial and say that a woman who empowers herself in her personal life can inspire others in doing so too, which can make a significant impact on society.<sup>39</sup> However, many women pursue an empowerment that is still limited to the patriarchal paradigm of the binary opposition between men and women; either by reclaiming qualities that patriarchy considers essentially feminine, or by seeking a neutral identity, which in reality is

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<sup>32</sup> Peterson and Lamb, 758

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 759

<sup>35</sup> Judith M. Bennett et al. *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 10

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Alda Facio, *What is Patriarchy?*, 2013, 1

<sup>38</sup> Peterson and Lamb, 759

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 760

the essentialized masculine.<sup>40</sup> By staying within the masculine/feminine binary, these women cannot detach fully from the patriarchal paradigm. Although Peterson and Lamb emphasize that one must be critical of these expressions of personal empowerment, they do not dismiss them.<sup>41</sup> These ways of empowerment can improve a woman's individual experience, which has value on its own. Personal empowerment can entail many different things to different people.<sup>42</sup>

According to some feminists, women can seek personal empowerment by distancing themselves from the traditional role of women being caretakers of others,<sup>43</sup> and start to take better care of their own physical and mental health.<sup>44</sup> Feminist scholar Sara Ahmed has written a blogpost about this, in which she discusses how selfcare can be a form of warfare for feminists.<sup>45</sup> Ahmed draws on Audre Lorde, who argues that: "[c]aring for myself is not self-indulgence, it is self-preservation, and that is an act of political warfare".<sup>46</sup> According to Ahmed, taking care of the self is a political act of empowerment for the marginalized, since it requires them to redirect some of their caretaking from others to themselves.<sup>47</sup>

Peterson and Lamb appreciate personal empowerment<sup>48</sup> as a way of resisting patriarchy, but describe it as merely a "subjective feeling of empowerment."<sup>49</sup> One woman's empowerment can be another woman's oppression.<sup>50</sup> The subjective nature of empowerment has caused a lot of critique within the feminist debate.

Lisa A. Daily argues that empowerment is often used in more mainstream feminist discourses to create a euphoric sense of solidarity amongst all women globally, which actually dis-empowers many women by disregarding their different needs and perspectives.<sup>51</sup> Peterson and Lamb add that even though personal empowerment is important, it should not be the most prominent level of empowerment for women, as it is now.<sup>52</sup> This is because personal

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<sup>40</sup> Peterson and Lamb, 760

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Peterson and Lamb, 760

<sup>43</sup> Laura Duhan Kaplan, "Woman as Caretaker: An Archetype That Supports Patriarchal Militarism," in *Hypatia: Feminism and Peace*, Vol. 9, No. 2, Wiley, Spring 1994, 123

<sup>44</sup> Sarah Ahmed, "Selfcare as Warfare" *Feministkilljoys* (blog). August 25, 2014. Accessed May 17, 2020. <https://feministkilljoys.com/2014/08/25/selfcare-as-warfare/>.

Audre Lorde, *A Burst of Light: And Other Essays*, Courier Dover Publications, 2017, 130

<sup>45</sup> Ahmed, August 25, 2014.

<sup>46</sup> Lorde, 130

<sup>47</sup> Ahmed, August 25, 2014.

<sup>48</sup> Peterson and Lamb, 758

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ruth Desouza, "One Woman's Empowerment is Another's Oppression," in *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, Vol. 25, 2014.

<sup>51</sup> Lisa A. Daily, "We bleed for female empowerment": mediated ethics, commodity feminism, and the contradictions of feminist politics," in *Communication and critical/cultural studies*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2019, 140

<sup>52</sup> Peterson and Lamb, 759

empowerment requires one person to change their position towards society, instead of forcing society to adjust to that person.<sup>53</sup> Nazneen et al. agree with this and state that “empowerment is a transformative process that is predicated upon group solidarity.”<sup>54</sup>

Since empowerment is such a much debated topic within contemporary feminism, it is relevant to assess whether the Instagram witch employs any kind of empowerment – either consciously or subconsciously - in their discourse. And if this is the case, where is the witch’s empowerment located on the spectrum of subjectivity and group solidarity?

### *Spirituality*

As stated by Facio in the previous paragraph, one can resist patriarchal structure on many levels. Some feminists are showing resistance on a spiritual level.<sup>55</sup> This feminist spirituality is characterized by its engagement with feminine divinity.<sup>56</sup> Penelope Ingram, professor in race and feminist studies, argues that the female divine, often embodied in the image of a Goddess, functions as a source of empowerment for feminists.<sup>57</sup> Since patriarchal religion only acknowledges a masculine divine, women often feel unrepresented within the divine.<sup>58</sup> According to Ingram, “only men experience an infinite horizon and a representation of themselves as divine.”<sup>59</sup> Through their devotion to (a) feminine divinity women learn to see themselves outside of the patriarchal standards. Instead of seeing themselves as solely connected to the earth, excluded from the divine and perceiving their own bodies as merely “impure or purely sexual”, women feel they are part of a bigger, divine reality.<sup>60</sup> Dr. Kristin Aune, who has done most of her research on gender, religion and alternative spirituality, describes this holistic form of spirituality as “those forms of practice involving the body (...) that have as their goal the attainment of wholeness and well-being of body, mind and spirit.”<sup>61</sup> Interestingly, Aune argues that this spirituality is centered around the body. This seems to contradict Ingram’s argument that feminist spirituality allows women to see themselves as a divine being, instead just a body. However, according to feminist philosopher Luce Irigaray,

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Sohela Nazneen et al., “Researching women’s empowerment: Reflections on methodology by southern feminists,” in *Women’s Studies International Forum*, vol. 45, July-August, 2014, 55

<sup>55</sup> Aune, 123

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ingram, 46

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 48

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Aune, 125

the divine and the body should never be separated.<sup>62</sup> She argues that women will only reach their full potential once they get familiar with the feminine divine and the spiritual aspect of their body. Women need to treat their bodies as sacred, holy, and not only as material objects of nature.<sup>63</sup> As stated by Irigaray, it does not suffice to have women shift their devotion from a masculine god to a goddess. Women should honor themselves as goddesses, acknowledging the divine power that resides within them.<sup>64</sup> Aune argues that this act of making the female body ‘whole’ again sometimes results in the reclaiming of ‘traditional’ aspects of femininity. However, they also actively encourage women – and some men – to stop “living life for others” and pay more attention to their own wants and needs.<sup>65</sup> In this way the feminist discourse on spirituality corresponds with Ahmed’s argument about selfcare as an act of warfare.<sup>66</sup> Spirituality is therefore another way for feminists to claim more space and time for their own wellbeing and to empower themselves.

Following Irigaray’s statement that women need to find the goddess within themselves in order to feel whole, there needs to be a big shift in the way they interact with the divine. Where the patriarchal masculine divine communicates his will through holy scriptures and priests, the feminine divine of feminist spirituality requires women to find all information within themselves. According to theologian Beverly Lanzetta, feeling and intuition are “primary tools of knowing” within holistic spirituality and feminism.<sup>67</sup> Education specialist Randee Lipson Lawrence argues that intuition is a way of experiencing things that are not accessible through our “conscious awareness.”<sup>68</sup> These experiences can be accessed through “dreams, symbols, artwork, dance, yoga, meditation, contemplation, and immersion in nature.”<sup>69</sup> In patriarchal society this intuitive way of knowing has been “devalued, silenced and dismissed” as merely “irrational, emotional and feminine”, because it was placed in direct contrast with masculine rationality.<sup>70</sup> By obtaining knowledge from bodily experiences like intuition and feelings, one resists the patriarchal idea that knowledge can only be found in reason and logic.<sup>71</sup> Feminist spirituality argues for a subjective form of spirituality that is based

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<sup>62</sup> Ingram, 55

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Aune, 125

<sup>66</sup> Ahmed, August 25, 2014.

<sup>67</sup> Beverly Lanzetta, *Radical Wisdom: A Feminist Mystical Theology*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 41

<sup>68</sup> Randee Lipson Lawrence, “Intuitive Knowing and Embodied Consciousness,” in *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, No. 134, Wiley Periodicals, 2012, 5

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Fee Mozeley and Kathleen McPhillips, “Knowing Otherwise: Restorying Intuitive Knowing as Feminist Resistance,” in *Women’s Studies: An interdisciplinary journal*. Vol. 48, No. 8, Routledge, 2019, 846

<sup>71</sup> Lanzetta, 41

on personal bodily experiences, as opposed to patriarchal spirituality, which is based on ‘objective’ information that can be found outside of oneself<sup>72</sup> (e.g. by attending a sermon or reading holy scriptures). Subjective spirituality allows every spiritual person to create their own truth,<sup>73</sup> regardless of what patriarchal society expects from them.

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Dawn Llewellyn, *Reading, Feminism, and Spirituality: Troubling the Waves*, (Springer, 2015)

## Methodology

My research material comes from one of the most popular social media platforms in the western world: Instagram. Instagram is valuable for this research, because this social platform makes it easy for users to communicate both through visual and verbal texts.

My social media research is one of a combined discourse- and visual analysis. As stated by rhetoric and linguistics professor Barbara Johnstone, discourse analysis focusses on ‘meaningful symbolic behavior’ and what this behavior tells us about social roles and relations, power and inequality, communication and identity.<sup>74</sup> A discourse is a “‘system of meanings’”<sup>75</sup> that is embedded in society, which makes it ‘readable’ to everyone, but still hardly visible. In my discourse analysis I look for words and sentences that correspond with the feminist discourses on empowerment and spirituality that I discussed in my theoretical framework. I am focusing on these two discourses because they appear most prominently in the posts of the Instagram witch. For the topic of empowerment I targeted words such as: empowerment, goddess, healing, selfcare, selflove and others. To research feminist spirituality, I highlighted words and expressions about: intuition, trusting your gut, inner wisdom, astrology, emotion. The reason why I counted these words and expressions specifically is explicitly explained in my research analysis. By counting all my markings, I can determine if and how the contemporary witch agrees with feminist discourses on empowerment and alternative knowledges.

My visual analysis is based on iconography. As explained by linguistics professors Theo van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt, images always consist of multiple layers.<sup>76</sup> The first layer is the ‘representational or denotive meaning’ and behind it lies a “‘connotative or symbolic meaning’”.<sup>77</sup> This second layer shows the ‘ideas and values’ that the representation carries as ‘hidden meanings’.<sup>78</sup> As the contemporary witch employs a lot of symbols in her pictures and texts, my analysis focusses on returning symbols and images. After I identify the popular symbols (by counting them) and find out what these mean in witchcraft, I will see if they correspond with the feminist discourses as discussed in my theoretical framework. By

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<sup>74</sup> Barbara Johnstone, *Discourse Analysis*, (John Wiley & Sons, 2018), 2-3

<sup>75</sup> McIntosh and Cuklanz, 265

<sup>76</sup> Theo van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt, *The Handbook of Visual Analysis*, (SAGE, 2001), 2-3

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 92

examining this connection between the contemporary witch and feminism, I intend to demonstrate the bigger societal relevance of the cultural obsession with the witch-identity.

I have selected the 12 most popular witches I could find on the Instagram platform. These witches are popular because many people resonate with their content. By focusing on popular witches (i.e. witches with many followers and likes) I get a broader insight in what kind of content resonates with the online witch community. From each of these witches' pages I picked 10 posts, giving me 120 posts in total for my analysis. My selection consists of the most recently uploaded posts that met the following requirements: the posts should have both a visual text and a written text in the caption. This is important in order for me to analyze the visual and the verbal discourse that Instagram witches employ. In addition, the owner of the page must be explicit about them identifying as a witch, either through their username, bio, or in their posts.



## Research Analysis

As I mentioned before, women can achieve empowerment by resisting the oppression that is inflicted upon them by patriarchal structures.<sup>79</sup> This empowerment can occur on multiple levels.<sup>80</sup> In my analysis I found that many Instagram witches claim to empower themselves through their spirituality.

Spiritual empowerment, for the Instagram witch, is inseparably connected to selfcare. As I discussed in my theoretical framework, taking care of the self can be a feminist act of warfare.<sup>81</sup> As stated by Irigaray, women need to embrace their bodies as sacred and holy in order to feel whole.<sup>82</sup> In the 120 posts that I analyzed for this research, I detected 239 references to selfcare/selflove.<sup>83</sup> In addition, the word ‘heal(ing)’ was used 148 times.<sup>84</sup> This makes the subject of selfcare the most popular topic to talk about by the Instagram witches in my analysis.

This caretaking and loving the self (both physically and mentally) by the Instagram witch is often achieved through spiritual means. An example of this is a post by @thehoodwitch (460.000 followers). In her post she explains that the moon can teach us how we can nurture ourselves.<sup>85</sup> Here we see that a spiritual practice such as astrology is used for selfcare. Another example of this is @crystalreikihealer (128.000 followers), who states that planet Venus can help us heal from old relationships and be more loving of ourselves.<sup>86</sup> Other ways of selfcare/selflove through spiritual practices that these Instagram witches employ are: ritual

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<sup>79</sup> Peterson and Lamb, 758

<sup>80</sup> Facio, 1

<sup>81</sup> Ahmed, August 12, 2014.

<sup>82</sup> Ingram, 55

<sup>83</sup> See Figure 1. in Appendix

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Bri Luna, thehoodwitch. “Mama Luna.” *Instagram*, May 11, 2020. Accessed May 12, 2020.

<https://www.instagram.com/p/CAA9ybMDMXs/>.

<sup>86</sup> Athena Bahri, crystalreikihealer, “Venus Retrograde in Gemini.” *Instagram*, May 13, 2020. Accessed May 14, 2020. <https://www.instagram.com/p/CAGQzi0n-qy/> .

baths<sup>87</sup>, chakra balancing<sup>88</sup>, moon rituals<sup>89</sup>, meditation<sup>90</sup>, and tarot readings.<sup>91</sup> As claimed by these witches, abovementioned selfcare practices can make a witch feel empowered, because she can do them alone and without interaction with anyone else. Therefore this type of empowerment should be gathered under the term ‘personal empowerment’. The Instagram witch seeks to change her position in the world by changing her own attitude towards herself.

However, it is questionable how empowering this spiritual selfcare really is. Even though these posts resonate with the feminist discourse of personal empowerment by encouraging selfcare, it is crucial to add a critical note: by assigning to planetary bodies the power to influence life on earth, the witch cedes her own power (at least partly) to an external force. The same argument can be made about practices such as ritual baths, moon rituals and tarot readings. These practices do not allow the witch to empower herself from the inside out, they rather require her to change something in her environment first (e.g. drawing a bath, lighting a candle or laying out a deck of cards) This notion of being at least partly dependent of external forces to achieve empowerment links to Peterson and Lamb’s argument in my theoretical framework. Peterson and Lamb argue that the focus on personal empowerment within feminism puts minimal pressure on patriarchal structures and therefore allows them to persevere.<sup>92</sup> The feminist can empower herself to a certain extent, but as long as patriarchy exists, she will be negatively influenced by this oppressive system. The same dynamic can be found with the witch: no matter her efforts and magical rituals, the witch demonstrates that she never has full autonomy, because her fate is inevitably influenced by external forces, whether this be the moon, planet Venus, or society.

In this sense the Instagram witch does not empower herself or her followers by explaining how to control the course of their life, but rather provides tools and advice on how to use astrological events to their advantage, or at least limit their damage. This is understandable, since it would be challenging to alter the orbit of planetary bodies for the sake

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<sup>87</sup> Bri Luna, thehoodwitch. “Cleansing aura bath.” *Instagram*, May 8, 2020. Accessed June 6, 2020.

[https://www.instagram.com/p/B\\_7zviWjIJa/](https://www.instagram.com/p/B_7zviWjIJa/)

<sup>88</sup> Athena Bahri, crystalreikihealer. “Chakra balance,” *Instagram*, May 26, 2020. Accessed June 6, 2020.

<https://www.instagram.com/p/CAqWX0OJZsU/>

<sup>89</sup> Valeria Ruelas, themexicanwitch. “Waxing moon in Leo,” *Instagram*, May 27, 2020. Accessed June 6, 2020.

<https://www.instagram.com/p/CArZXlwHiwr/>

<sup>90</sup> Lovelace, Amanda, ladybookmad. “Your Venus Retrograde Reading.” *Instagram*, May 13, 2020. Accessed May 15, 2020. <https://www.instagram.com/p/CAI38jmJNz2/>

<sup>91</sup> Claire Goodchild, Blackandthemoon, “Daily Reading,” *Instagram*. May 13, 2020. Accessed May 15, 2020.

<https://www.instagram.com/p/CA0BzIMJkm3/>

<sup>92</sup> Peterson and Lamb, 759

of personal empowerment. If we take in account the unchangeable character of astrology, the advices these witches give are at least empowering in the sense that they make their followers aware of what is happening in the astrological realm and of how they can deal with it personally.

Astrology plays an important role in the practice of the Instagram witch. From all 120 posts in my research material, 22,5 percent discussed astrological events. The most popular astrological phenomenon for these witches is the moon. My analysis shows that the moon appears 165 times in my material, either in words or as an image.<sup>93</sup> Although other planets are mentioned in some of these posts as well, the popularity of the moon is impeccable. According to popular astrology website [cafeastrology.com](https://cafeastrology.com), the moon represents the emotional world, the unconscious and intuition.<sup>94</sup> As I discussed in my theoretical framework, intuition and feeling are important tools within feminist spirituality to obtain spiritual knowledge. The witches' obsession with the moon shows a correspondence between their practices and feminist discourses on spirituality. Traditionally, the moon also represents the mother-archetype and feminine energy in general. The fact that the Instagram witch is focused on a feminine instead of a masculine planet (the Sun is the masculine counterpart of the moon and was only mentioned 8 times) hints at a feminist approach in their practice.

However, a critical note must be made. As I discussed earlier in this chapter, the Instagram witch ascribes a strong influence to external entities such as the planets in the sky. I discussed whether this dependence on external forces is, in fact, empowering. In the case of the moon a similar question arises, as one could argue that this fascination with the moon and the wisdom it can bring resembles the devotion to a goddess. As argued by Irigaray, honoring a goddess is not enough for women to empower themselves. They need to find the goddess within themselves.<sup>95</sup> So how is this fascination with the moon empowering the contemporary witch?

The answer to this lies in the fact that many of these witches feel a strong connection to the moon, both physically and emotionally. The special connection that women have to the moon is an idea that has existed for centuries and has often been substantiated by the fact that women's menstrual cycle is ruled by lunar cycles. In this way, the moon is a planetary representation of the female body. The position of the moon is believed to have a direct influence on women's bodies. The lessons that the moon teaches have to be felt and sensed from one's own bodily experience. Therefore, the moon does not necessarily represent an

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<sup>93</sup> See Figure 1. in Appendix

<sup>94</sup> Café Astrology, The Moon. Accessed June 15, 2020. <https://cafeastrology.com/moon.html>

<sup>95</sup> Ingram, 55

external goddess-like figure, but the goddess within. Even though the moon resides on 384.400 km distance in the galaxy, for these women it feels as close as their own body.

The popularity of the moon is not the only indication that intuition, emotions and inner wisdom are important for the Instagram witch. The witch frequently refers to these words in her posts. (I counted intuition 13 times, emotions/feelings 53 times, and inner wisdom 75 times.) As I mentioned in my theoretical framework, emotion, feeling and intuition in patriarchal structures have always been seen as typically feminine and inferior<sup>96</sup>. By (re)claiming this traditional image of the woman and using it to get a better understanding of themselves, the Instagram witch opposes this oppressing structure. They learn that qualities such as intuition and emotion are not weaknesses, but rather a source of strength. This strength is accessed by the witch through different ways, for example through tarot cards, astrology, rituals, etc. This notion of (re)claiming essentialized feminine traits relates to Peterson and Lamb's critique on personal empowerment:<sup>97</sup> these witches remain within the binary male/female contradiction that is maintained in a patriarchal society. Yet they do not only invite their female followers to get more in touch with their femininity. Everyone, no matter their gender, benefits more from following their intuition and listening to their bodies.

So far I have shown that the Instagram witch seeks to empower herself in different ways; either by taking better care of themselves, finding divinity within themselves, or by (re)claiming their femininity. Apart from the many references to selfcare, healing and the moon, I found that the posts in my analysis contain the words 'empowerment' or 'empowering' 94 times<sup>98</sup>. 60 Of which can be ascribed to @thecosmicfeminist (94.100 followers), who is also the most out-spoken feminist witch in my research.

In one of her posts @thecosmicfeminist refers more directly to empowerment by encouraging her follower to "find yourself."<sup>99</sup> She states that one's true self is "buried under cultural conditioning, other people's opinions, and inaccurate conclusions you drew as a kid that became your beliefs about who you are." The witch can find their true identity by "unlearning" those beliefs and "remembering who you were before the world got its hands on

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<sup>96</sup> Philipa Rothfield, "Alternative Epistemologies, Politics and Feminism," in *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Anthropology*, no. 30, December 1991, 54

<sup>97</sup> Peterson and Lamb, 760

<sup>98</sup> See Figure 1. in Appendix

<sup>99</sup> Zulfa, thecosmicfeminist, "Find yourself," *Instagram*, May 7, 2020. Accessed June 6, 2020. [https://www.instagram.com/p/B\\_5IidLnmgo/](https://www.instagram.com/p/B_5IidLnmgo/)

you.”<sup>100</sup> She concludes her post with hashtags such as: #girlpower, #womenempowerment, #femaleboss and #innerhealing.<sup>101</sup> Unfortunately this Instagram witch does not explain how exactly one can “unlearn” cultural conditionings. Just like the witches I discussed before, @thecosmicfeminist acknowledges the influence of external forces on an individual. However, this witch argues that one can find a way to detach oneself from these influences. The fact that this witch calls herself ‘the cosmic feminist’ makes it easy to conclude that with “cultural conditioning”, she is also referring to patriarchal structures. However, after establishing that the outside world can limit women’s empowerment, she immediately places a woman’s responsibility for her empowerment fully on herself. Instead of demanding significant changes in society, she tells the woman to find herself, without specifying how to do that. Because of this, @thecosmicfeminist implies that the woman has to take responsibility for her own empowerment, but is also responsible for finding out how to achieve it.

@thecosmicfeminist is not alone in discussing female empowerment more directly. For example, @wildwoman\_witchcraft (76.400 followers) adds to the discussion by saying: “witches supporting witches is the realest thing ever”<sup>102</sup>. On the empowerment spectrum of on the one hand subjectivity and on the other hand solidarity, this witch evidently positions herself more towards solidarity. @wildwoman\_witchcraft concludes her post by saying she feels “blessed to be in a community that knows the table is big enough to seat us all.”<sup>103</sup> Although she makes it seem like she is referring to all witches on Instagram, this witch does not specify who is included in her ‘community’ and more importantly: who is excluded. However, she does make a clear statement that she wants this community to be inclusive. This is demonstrated by another one of her posts that reads: “Cancel culture is toxic to the witchcraft community and exposes the fakes and spiritual bypassers.”<sup>104</sup> In this post @wildwoman\_witchcraft states that the witch community cannot accept people who create divisiveness by cancelling other witches (again, the term ‘community’ is not defined). According to this witch, the ‘witch-community’ is supposed to learn and grow together instead of ‘cancelling’ people who make mistakes. She then asks those who “are not part of the growth” to unfollow her.<sup>105</sup> By speaking up for other

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Temperance Alden, wildwoman\_witchcraft, “Witches supporting witches,” *Instagram*, May 22, 2020. Accessed June 9, 2020. <https://www.instagram.com/p/CAfe1TSnkg0/>

<sup>103</sup> Ibid. Temperance

<sup>104</sup> Temperance Alden, wildwoman\_witchcraft, “Cancel Culture,” *Instagram*, May 13, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020. <https://www.instagram.com/p/CAIWGMMyHk7Q/>

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

witches who have been unreasonably 'cancelled' and excluding the people who do the cancelling, she allows her community to be more inclusive.

## Conclusion

Before I make my conclusion, I want to note that although the Instagram witch belongs to an international online community, all witches in my research are located in Europe, North America and Australia. The reason for this could be the fact that I only targeted English speaking accounts. Access to internet, time, and resources to build a successful Instagram page could also be a factor. Therefore, my analysis is not a representation of popular witches worldwide, but only of those in the western world.

In conclusion, it is evident that the Instagram witch is seeking empowerment through discourses that relate to feminism. The commitment these witches make to selfcare and honoring their body as ‘sacred and holy’ can improve the way they value themselves. Spiritual practices give them a sense of power and control over their life. The witch uses spiritual practices such as astrology to get a better understanding of herself and the world around her. By obtaining spiritual knowledge from her emotions and intuition, the witch resists the patriarchal standard of obtaining knowledge through logic and reason. Through their commitment to the feminine divine and recognizing the goddess within them, the witch detaches themselves from the patriarchal concept of a single masculine God. However, my analysis has shown that in their resistance, the Instagram witch does not reject the patriarchal binary between men and women. As the feminist debate on personal empowerment shows, it is challenging to step out of the dichotomic man-woman paradigm. As a result of this, the Instagram witch often chooses to (re)claim their femininity, which provides them with a personal feeling of empowerment. Even though the word ‘empowerment’ is frequently used by the witch and her practice can in a way be empowering, she does not explicitly state that she is resisting patriarchal standards. As stated by Peterson and Lamb this form of personal empowerment has minimal impact on the collective empowerment of women.<sup>106</sup> Furthermore, the Instagram witch often remains quite vague in their arguments about who belongs to their community, or how to ‘find yourself.’

The discourse that the witch employs is on the one hand focused on the inner world and bodily experience, but emphasizes on the other hand the influence of the outer world on the individual. This is shown by the many instances where witches inform their followers on astrological events or messages from their tarot cards, but at the same time tell their followers

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<sup>106</sup> Peterson and Lamb, 759

to trust their gut and find themselves. This tension is also present within feminist debates; discourses on personal empowerment often encourage women to focus on themselves instead of trying to bring forth bigger collective changes. However, it does not matter how personally empowered a woman is, as long as patriarchal structures remain in place, she will always be negatively influenced by it. Even though there are some external forces that the witch simply cannot change (the orbit of the planets) she does not encourage her followers to change the changeable either. (@Thecosmicfeminist tells her followers to “find yourself” instead of fighting the cultural conditionings that harmed them) Therefore I conclude that the discourse employed by the Instagram witch is closely connected to feminist discourses on empowerment and spirituality. The Instagram witch employs discourses that can help women in finding an individual feeling of empowerment. By prioritizing their wellbeing and recognizing feminine divinity within themselves, Instagram witches display a discourse that corresponds with feminist discourses on personal empowerment<sup>107</sup> and feminist spirituality.<sup>108</sup> It is however up for discussion whether these feminist practices are effectively contributing to the empowerment of women collectively.

My approach of counting words and expressions that relate to my research question has been very effective, since it has given me the statistics from which I have been able to draw grounded conclusions. However, since my time was limited, it was not possible for me to record every word or expression in my statistics. For this reason I might have overlooked relevant discourses in my research material. These discourses could be identified in a deeper analysis of the contemporary Instagram witch.

Due to the limited scope of my research, I have made tough choices regarding my research material and content. In future research it would be interesting to see if there are smaller witch communities on Instagram who employ a different form of feminist discourse. For instance, are there groups of witches who employ a feminism that is more political? If so, this might tell us more about what kind of feminism resonates most with social media users, since the most popular Instagram witches all employ a similar kind of feminism.

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<sup>107</sup> Peterson and Lamb 756

<sup>108</sup> Ingram, 55



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## Appendix

Figure 1.: Overview of popular words and expressions from the Instagram witch's posts.

Account	Post	Healing	References to selfcare/love	empowerment	Goddess	Intuition	References to inner wisdom	moon	Sun	emotion	expressions of subjectivity	Total
thehoodwitch	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	11	0	2	0	16
thehoodwitch	2	5	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	17
thehoodwitch	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	5
thehoodwitch	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	9
thehoodwitch	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	6
thehoodwitch	6	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	5
thehoodwitch	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
thehoodwitch	8	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
thehoodwitch	9	1	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	12
thehoodwitch	10	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	8
rightmew	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
rightmew	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
rightmew	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
rightmew	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	4
rightmew	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
rightmew	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
rightmew	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
rightmew	8	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	4
rightmew	9	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3
rightmew	10	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	3
crystalreikihealer	1	7	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20
crystalreikihealer	2	9	15	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	30
crystalreikihealer	3	5	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	7
crystalreikihealer	4	11	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	22
crystalreikihealer	5	11	10	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	1	27
crystalreikihealer	6	10	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22
crystalreikihealer	7	11	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	32
crystalreikihealer	8	12	4	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	19
crystalreikihealer	9	8	4	0	1	0	2	13	1	1	5	35
crystalreikihealer	10	6	4	0	0	0	0	16	0	0	2	28
thethriftywitch	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2

## The Season of the Witch

Account	Post	Healing	References to selfcare/love	empowerment	Goddess	Intuition	References to inner wisdom	moon	Sun	emotion	expressions of subjectivity	Total
thethriftywitch	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
thethriftywitch	3	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	6
thethriftywitch	4	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	5
thethriftywitch	5	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
thethriftywitch	6	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
thethriftywitch	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
thethriftywitch	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
thethriftywitch	9	3	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	4	16
thethriftywitch	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Ladybookmad	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	5	0	1	0	8
Ladybookmad	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	6
Ladybookmad	3	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	7
Ladybookmad	4	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Ladybookmad	5	1	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	6
Ladybookmad	6	0	2	0	0	0	6	0	0	2	1	11
Ladybookmad	7	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	3
Ladybookmad	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ladybookmad	9	0	5	0	0	0	4	6	0	1	2	18
Ladybookmad	10	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
blackandthemoon	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	3
blackandthemoon	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
blackandthemoon	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
blackandthemoon	4	0	0	0	0	2	1	7	0	1	0	11
blackandthemoon	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
blackandthemoon	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
blackandthemoon	7	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5
blackandthemoon	8	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	6
blackandthemoon	9	0	2	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	1	11
blackandthemoon	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3
Durgadasallonduriel	1	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Durgadasallonduriel	2	1	1	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	8
Durgadasallonduriel	3	1	1	1	0	0	1	6	0	0	1	11
Durgadasallonduriel	4	4	11	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	17
Durgadasallonduriel	5	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	6
Durgadasallonduriel	6	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Durgadasallonduriel	7	3	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	4	0	11
Durgadasallonduriel	8	3	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	9
Durgadasallonduriel	9	3	12	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	17
Durgadasallonduriel	10	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2

The Season of the Witch

Account	Post	Healing	References to selfcare/love	empowerment	Goddess	Intuition	References to inner wisdom	moon	Sun	emotion	expressions of subjectivity	Total
												0
Shiningmoonstudio	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5
Shiningmoonstudio	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	4
Shiningmoonstudio	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shiningmoonstudio	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Shiningmoonstudio	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Shiningmoonstudio	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Shiningmoonstudio	7	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	6
Shiningmoonstudio	8	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3
Shiningmoonstudio	9	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	5
Shiningmoonstudio	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wildwomanwitchcraft	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Wildwomanwitchcraft	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Wildwomanwitchcraft	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Wildwomanwitchcraft	4	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	3
Wildwomanwitchcraft	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
Wildwomanwitchcraft	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Wildwomanwitchcraft	7	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Wildwomanwitchcraft	8	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	5
Wildwomanwitchcraft	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
Wildwomanwitchcraft	10	0	1	3	1	0	2	2	0	0	1	10
The_book_of_moons	1	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	1	6
The_book_of_moons	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	4
The_book_of_moons	3	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
The_book_of_moons	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
The_book_of_moons	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	1	0	6
The_book_of_moons	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	3
The_book_of_moons	7	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4
The_book_of_moons	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The_book_of_moons	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The_book_of_moons	10	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	1	5
The mexican witch	1	4	5	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	12
The mexican witch	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	7
The mexican witch	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	5
The mexican witch	4	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	1	3	9
The mexican witch	5	1	1	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
The mexican witch	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	1	1	11
The mexican witch	7	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	4
The mexican witch	8	1	4	2	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	12

The Season of the Witch

Account	Post	Healing	References to selfcare/love	empowerment	Goddess	Intuition	References to inner wisdom	moon	Sun	emotion	expressions of subjectivity	Total
The mexican witch	9	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	4
The mexican witch	10	2	3	0	0	0	0	8	0	1	1	15
Thecosmicfeminist	1	1	4	6	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	15
Thecosmicfeminist	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Thecosmicfeminist	3	1	3	6	0	0	7	5	0	2	1	25
Thecosmicfeminist	4	1	3	6	0	0	2	8	0	0	0	20
Thecosmicfeminist	5	1	3	6	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	14
Thecosmicfeminist	6	1	3	8	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	13
Thecosmicfeminist	7	1	4	8	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	17
Thecosmicfeminist	8	1	3	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	11
Thecosmicfeminist	9	1	3	6	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	13
Thecosmicfeminist	10	1	3	7	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	14
<b>Total</b>		<b>148</b>	<b>239</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>906</b>