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**WITCHES IN SWAMPS, SIRENS AT SEA, AND LEVIATHANS OF THE DEEP:
FEMINIST FIGURES THAT HAUNT OUR SOCIAL MEDIA WORLDS**

The figure of the monstrous feminine—a nasty woman who kills the joy of men—is not new.¹ She dwells consistently in literature, philosophy, media, games, film, and social media content. Appearing in different forms for centuries, she elucidates the threshold for what is deemed “the wrong side of socially acceptable,” becoming, in the process, an intoxicating beacon for those called to resist and refuse the demands of compliance tied to heteronormative models of femininity. In the last five years, we have witnessed a resurgence and reclamation of the monstrous feminine within feminist and queer social media networks; figures of witches, sirens, and other monstrous creatures clearly illustrate the resistant aspects of women’s identity, while simultaneously emphasizing the contradictory judgements placed on women for wanting too much, wanting too little, or for asking to just be in ways that exist outside the demands of capitalism. From this context, our investment lies in the recurrence of such monstrous feminine figures, looking towards the resurgent popularity of witches as well as their recently trending kin of sirens and older, bigger creatures like the leviathan within contemporary digital feminist and queer visual culture.

Beyond their connections through feminist online discourse, the witch, siren, and leviathan we consider here are tied through the ways in which they eclipse cultural norms of complacent femininity in the service of patriarchal systems. They do not uphold such systems but instead, through their mythical and at times magical actions, upend structures of masculine dominance. These figures are also united in their connections to water as habitation space beyond the imposing constraints of a sexist world, even as, paradoxically, human-induced

climate disaster and increasing plastics and pollutants threaten their existence. But, as Astrid Neimanis writes, “negotiating paradox is one of feminist theory’s best plays...the figuration of bodies of water might be one means for such experimentation.”² Indeed,

bodies of water undo the idea that bodies are necessarily or only human. [They] are certainly other human bodies (a kissable lover, a blood transfused stranger, a nursing infant), but they are just as likely a sea, a cistern, an underground reservoir of once-was-rain.³

Taking our cue from Neimanis, we understand water as a simultaneously distorting and clarifying medium, encouraging us to rethink what is made visible and how, materially and conceptually connecting (human and non-human) bodies, lands, and vessels to each other. As such, each water-dwelling and watery-embodied figure we follow deserves critical attention for the forms of *figural kinships* they offer: the embodied connections to past and present narratives of feminist response to patriarchal structures through the defiant uses of these same monstrous figures. Our conceptualization of figural kinships indexes the ongoing, intertextual, and entangled relationships that overdetermined figures like the witch, the siren, or the leviathan hold as they move in and out of our public focus over time. What holds them together is the multiplicity of favorable and critical meanings that they are ascribed by dominant culture, as well as the imaginings of resistance and refusal for those in search of their rebellious kin. Figural kinships describe these enduring images and figures found in tropes, myths, stories, and popular culture, and the overarching kindred connections and affinities that they represent across feminist space and place, advancing solidarities and activism.

In this article, we are guided by the ways these watery figures show up in the digital present. We dwell with their legacies through collected memes, hashtags, think-pieces, and

tweets to map and document how forms of feminist resistance, or what we call *utopic refusals*, have emerged in the last decade as a response to the neoliberal and misogynist culture of “tech bro” industries and the capitalist platforms they have produced. These online networked spaces, like earlier forms of structural and institutional misogyny, are designed to stamp out technological, ideological, systemic, or social-cultural transgressions. This occurs daily either through coding biases that determine what makes it to the top of the algorithmic feed on any given platform, or through the blatant lack of consequences for the hateful discourse that further encourages trolling and forms of mediated misogyny to proliferate. The result is a networked, concentrated effort to discredit, silence, and harm queer, racialized, and feminist users, as well as other marginalized content producers and users, both on the Internet and off. These dominant platforms, including X (formerly Twitter), Instagram, and TikTok, directly shape the media ecologies of the Internet, which thrive on the “networked misogyny”,⁴ white supremacy,⁵ and polarization⁶ of their systems. As feminist data science and media scholars have pointed out, these systems of violence and inquiry have been embedded, intentionally or not, by their largely male and white developers. From within these conditions, we consider how the fantastical and mythical figures of witches, sirens, and leviathans fight back, offering resistance that transcends digital bounds. We pay particular attention to how the material and digital conditions of Internet subcultures reanimate these long-standing figures of resistance for contemporary purposes. Through dwelling⁷ with the resistant narratives that these figures reveal, we suggest that they enact utopic refusals; that is, they actively reject the current status quo, rife with the misogyny and racism of the world, in favor of conjuring a more equitable, feminist, and therefore utopian, future. In the face of the misogyny of digital culture and our social worlds at large, we argue that

each of these figures linger, haunting and calling us to their shores as they embody, ground, and serve anti-capitalist feminist resistance.

From the Shallows to the Depths: Witches as Resistance

During a 2018 interview with *New York Times* writer Nellie Bowles, Jordan Peterson, a self-described “traditionalist” with a background in clinical psychology, in an effort to validate his belief that men should dominate because they are inherently “better at it,” stated that, “it makes sense that a witch lives in a swamp.”⁸ This, he argued, is part of a “natural order of the world,”⁹ which includes the inescapable reality that incel violence reflects a man’s need for a wife and that “society needs to work to make sure those men are married.”¹⁰ In response to Bowles’s comment that witches do not exist, Peterson was quick to remark that witches exist in a way outside of how Bowles (and, ostensibly, you and I) might imagine them, that our current hierarchy is based on ancient tradition, and that suggesting that witches do not exist is akin to denying the reality of dragons, since “the category predator and the category dragon are the same category.”¹¹ As Davis Richardson observes, Peterson’s engagement with ancient myth and fairytale is used solely in service of “justify[ing] male hierarchies” and other predatory male behavior.¹² The valorization of this behavior by influencers of the manosphere extends into acts of offline hate. This was made abundantly clear to us recently at our own institution, the University of Waterloo, where a student stabbed a professor and two students in a course on the Philosophy of Gender that was held in the building in which we teach and meet often to discuss similar topics.¹³ These are real and violent consequences to the ideologies that Peterson and his followers espouse. Although for Peterson this shallow suggestion indicates a biological heteropatriarchy, in the face of such dangerous realities the trope of witches living in swamps,

shallow waters themselves, suggests, for us, the mythical possibility and realization of feminist resistance. And we are not alone in this.

Across the Internet, the statement of witches in swamps was quickly parodied, memed, critiqued, and actively debated by both followers and detractors of Peterson. On Twitter (now X) Toronto-based writer Tabatha Southey wrote:

@TabathaSouthey: Jordan Peterson Fan: Why won't any of you engage with his ideas!!!!

Me: I don't know. Let's ask Jordan.

Jordan Peterson: Witches are real. And live in swamps.

Me: ^ _(ツ)_/^-¹⁴

Responses to Southey's tweet joined in to comment on Peterson's logic:

@TwitterUser¹⁵: Wait. I have to park my dragon.

@TwitterUser: JP: And another thing, the only way to train your dragon is with enforced monogamy.

These responses reiterate the tension between Peterson's use of myth to validate his regressive views on gender and the lived reality of breaking free of such harmful constraints by those who live with marginalized sexual and gender identities. Beyond the shared dismissal of Peterson's ideas through the irony that Twitter users engaged, the image of witches living in swamps is evocative of a larger thematic lexicon that surrounds the use of the witch as both an icon and a code, especially in the feminist activism of the last ten years and its sexist media backlash. Here, it is not so much Peterson's belief in the existence of the witch that is concerning (we do not contest the existence of witches and witchcraft in the slightest). Rather, through Peterson's patronizing and misinformation-filled rhetoric, we should be concerned with how this figure of the witch is mobilized to demonize women, pointing to historical trends that make women's marginal status seem inevitable and natural, thus centering them as targets of patriarchal violence.

The witch, both as a figure of misogynist hate and as a viable spiritual and political model has found a prominent place within fourth wave digital feminist activism, with practicing witches attending key political moments in large numbers over the last decade.¹⁶ In 2016, for example, following the election of Donald Trump as the 45th President of the United States, witches began trending in social media circles where the hashtag #hexthepatriarchy emerged in relation to protest rituals organized and circulated by self-described Witches of Instagram, Witch-Tok communities, and Facebook groups like “The Magic Resistance.” Not long after, on 21 January 2017, a group of over 300 self-proclaimed witches marched in the U.S. Women’s March to protest Trump’s Election and the misogynist, racist rhetoric he espouses. In their Facebook group called “Witches Contingent at Women’s March on Washington,” group members left celebratory posts congratulating each other for the lively spirit, intention, and vigour that attendees brought to the march. One group member wrote,

Facebook User: Sounds like due to the massive underestimation of the crowd size... most of us couldn’t get anywhere near each other in time. But that’s ok—we were unified by intention and collective presence! It was an honor to have you all, seen and unseen, marching with us (21 January, 2017).

Other group members who could not attend the march in D.C. left posts offering support:

Facebook User: With you in spirit. Sing loud and proud! (21 January 2017).

Facebook User: You all inspire me. I will be with the Witches Contingent in spirit. In my spiritual search, nothing has ever felt more like home, and it especially feels that way at this moment in history (20 January 2017).

Others posted links to articles discussing the symbolism and power of witches. One group member shared a blog piece by Peg Aloï called “Witchery and the Women’s March”¹⁷ that expressed gratitude for the witches who organized and attended, and also shared solidarity events that would be taking place leading up to the march. Another group member circulated an article published the same week of the march in *Bustle* by Catie Keck titled, “What Witches Can Teach

Us About Fighting Back Against Trump.”¹⁸ Presenting interviews with contemporary communities of witches, the article outlines how, for women marginalized by differing forms of exclusion, the symbol of the witch acknowledges these ranges of marginalization and offers an identity, a call to action, a symbol of power and community. The evening before the 2017 Women’s March, writer and co-founder of *Bitch Media*, Andi Zeisler, confided to *Elle* that she does “feel like this is the time for getting scary. We need to go *full witch*. We really need to scare some folks.”¹⁹ In short, what Zeisler was calling for was collective action, born of our witchy “feminist snaps.”²⁰

The lure of witches remained as #MeToo went viral on Twitter in October 2017, where “witch” was used as an insult to describe women who wouldn’t stay in the confines of their gender-socialized lanes. On 18 October 2017, articles in *Chatelaine*, *Maclean’s*, *The New York Times*, and *The Washington Post* were already highlighting the ways in which #MeToo was being shaped by detractors as a witch hunt, begging the question of who is hunting who. In response to this conjecture and, in particular, the use of the term “witch hunt” by Woody Allen in defense of Harvey Weinstein, Lindy West wrote: “The witches are coming, but not for your life. We’re coming for your legacy.... We don’t have the justice system on our side; we don’t have institutional power; we don’t have millions of dollars or the presidency; but we have our stories, and we’re going to keep telling them.”²¹ Given this history, including the long history of the persecution of witches and those accused of witchcraft, primarily women and other marginalized people,²² the attention paid to Peterson’s statements and the startled cries of #MeToo witch hunts by social media users and larger media outlets is very much warranted.

From Girl Boss to Girl Moss: The Witches are Coming

Moving from the shallows of Peterson’s mediated misogyny, we consider more directly the deeper pull of what figures like the witch hold for those seeking to resist. The draw towards witch imagery and practices reveals a purposeful move toward feminist visions of refusal that open us to more utopian, sustainable, equitable worlds. In dwelling across social and political media and literature with the symbolism and power of witches, we glean a sense of that utopian world in the practical ways that the witch, living in a swamp, has been taken up in a tongue-and-cheek manner by feminist Internet culture, particularly in the move to embrace the swirling swamps and the mossy forest floors wherein witches do their feminist bidding and resting. Prompted by the realities of the global COVID-19 pandemic, we’ve witnessed a turn towards the mystical world of #GirlMoss memes and tweets, as seen below, as a counterpoint to the #GirlBoss ethos that permeated the Internet in early 2020 with an idealized vision of “crushing” neoliberal grind culture while staying pretty (which we see as a nightmarish interpretation of Sheryl Sandberg’s 2013 lean-in phenomenon). Girl Boss culture values perfectionism in the form of thinness, whiteness, upper class luxury style, and an individualism that punches others down on the way to the top. As a witchy figure, Girl Moss rejects the premise of Girl Boss to instead be steeped in a return to the whimsical spaces of nature and a refusal of grind culture. Within this subcultural discourse, the swamp witch emerges as one way for living that contrasts the neoliberal femininity of Girl Boss culture. As one Twitter user writes:

@TwitterUser: me: bog mood
you: do you mean big mood
me, submerging myself in peat: no

Another tweet read:

@TwitterUser: I hate this whole “women can be sexy at fifty!” narrative. At what age will society stop demanding I try to be hot and just let me turn into an old swamp witch, as nature intended?

In these two tweets, we see a distinct move toward forms of refusal through witchy images. The appeal of “going big” as a #GirlBoss taking on the world, familiar from circulating inspirational neoliberal feminist slogans, is replaced with images of dropping out of society to be subsumed by peat moss, never to labour again. #GirlMoss signifies a decomposition of sorts, returning to the earth to reclaim our role in nature’s symbiotic cycle that has operated, and will continue to operate, outside of capitalism. Similarly, the relentless, toxic positivity of the cheery slogans and the imperative that women (not necessarily feminists) can stay sexy right past the age of 50 is countered in the second tweet with its declared desire to transition to a swamp witch state, “as nature intended.” Harkening back to Peterson and those who buy-in to these ideologies, it is “natural” for marginalized genders like non-binary people and women to exist in the peripheries. It is the norm to be excluded from public life, by force if necessary, if they will not abide by the set narratives of “how to be sexy at 50.” For feminists though, it is the reclamation of the supposed “natural order,” the agency to choose to embrace the life of swamp witch and the autonomy, solitude, magic, peace, and liberation from the demands of society that this figure embodies. Both tweets thus hold a refusal of neoliberal femininity with its reliance on a white heteronormative vision of beauty, wellness, and success. Instead, we yearn to choose the peatmoss of the swamp.

The articulation of feeling out of step with the overarching dominant goals of femininity reflects an ongoing “disdain for social norms” and a celebration or “joy of non-conformance”²³ found in feminist meme cultures. Pointing to a historical, pop cultural, and spiritual tradition, Sady Doyle suggests that “the witch has always been the feminist monster of choice.”²⁴ When Lindy West rolled her eyes at “the pathetic gall of men feeling hunted after millenniums of treating women like prey,” she urged, “sure, if you insist it’s a witch hunt. I’m a witch, and I’m

hunting you.”²⁵ As West foretold both the power and the magnitude of the collective snap that had been decades in the making, she cast out a siren call: “the witches are coming.”²⁶ However, this siren call is not diabolical, nor will it lure unsuspecting travelers to their watery death (unless, of course, these travelers are intent upon violence). Instead, this siren call is a beacon, calling out “here lies kinship, community, and solidarity” to others who seek to resist patriarchal logics. If we listen closely, we hear in the siren’s song an invitation to the island where powerful forms of refusal can begin to be imagined.

The Siren Song of Feminist Refusal

In Greek mythology, sirens have been depicted as either bird-women or beautiful mer-women, living alone on their island, calling sailors to their death with their songs. Sirens have been culturally coded as a “seductive female predator...whose enchanting voices invite men to their deaths,”²⁷ spelling out trouble for the men who catch their eye—or men who go out of their way to seek them out, like Odysseus. While we see the shift from ancient imaginings of sirens as half-bird to half-fish in the Middle Ages, across both embodiments the danger of the siren “lies in their having a voice...thus encapsulating the male fear of allowing women to speak in public.”²⁸ Similar to the threat, and thus hatred, of witches living in swamps for Jordan Peterson, the threat of the siren is that of “fluidity and hybridity,” characteristics that in Ancient Greece were “associated with the female body, whose reproductive capacities posed both a mystery and a threat to the male social order”²⁹ and that promoted their presence as monstrous.³⁰ Comparably, the swamp witch provokes this reaction from Peterson and his followers because of the uncertainty and mystery she poses, neither divulging her secrets nor participating in patriarchy

by removing herself from society. This is clear in feminist memes surrounding witches in swamps and recent viral TikTok trends of sirens at sea.

As the #GirlBoss was being fired, other TikTok responses, like #GirlMoss, also came to the fore, seeking ways to recover from the grind. #TradWife, or “traditional wife,” for example, turns drastically away from both Girl Boss and Girl Moss, reimagining the nostalgia of the idealized traditional femininity of softness and submission to a patriarchal order, very much aligned with Peterson’s calls in his defense of incel behavior and the “natural order of the world.”³¹ The danger of #TradWife lies not in the move away from #GirlBoss, but in the turn back towards the secluded, private realm of the home, of child bearing and rearing, under the command of the patriarch and in opposition to the feminist mandate of the right to choose. The option to give up choice only stands as a viable option for those to whom most choices have already been afforded: white, heterosexual, able-bodied, middle-class women. As abortion rights and access to gender affirming health care continue to be clawed back at an alarming pace, especially for racialized, poor, and disabled people, choosing to give up choice begins to feel like not much of a choice after all.

In response to this retrogressive fantasy of womanhood and femininity, a parallel trend, one that evokes the femme fatale, has arisen that points towards other forms of nostalgia to counter #TradWife. This is seen in TikTok makeup tutorials instructing viewers in step-by-step fashion how to achieve what content-creators are calling siren eyes—a dramatic, smudged cat-eye-esque aesthetic that mixes eye shadow and eye liner—as a way of tapping into their dark feminine energy. The long-standing link between women’s power and sex appeal reflects a sense of empowerment for those who use sexuality, image, and identity as a form of negotiating power in the face of a trend like #TradWife. The #TradWife trend aims to remove agency, and in

particular sexual agency (think of the emphasis on wife in the term) from women as a counter to working #GirlBoss. As a counterpoint, #SirenEyes reclaims this sexual agency, calling in viewers who refuse such constrained roles for women as sexual agents through its siren call. Like the fantasy of the swamp witch dwelling and reveling in her bog life, blissfully removed from societal expectations, these femme siren eyes refuse patriarchal norms for the promise of self-empowered joy, pleasure, and agency. What these social media phenomena have in common is a refusal of expected forms of femininity, agency, and action through creative expression and self-identity. They imagine women's roles in the world otherwise, opening the possibilities for what constitutes feminine experience.

The collapsing of the siren and the #SirenEye make-up trend have a longer Internet history that is worth dwelling with, as it brings us other possibilities found within the siren's call—not as one of certain death, but of invitation and belonging. On 27 September 2018, journalist Aida Chavez tweeted:

@aidachavez: ladies what's your makeup routine? I'm looking for a new foundation, preferably liquid but still matte and now that the men have stopped reading we riot at midnight.

This post and the 32,000 responses it rallied parody the consumerist impulses of postfeminism to mask participants' riotous rage. The rage in this moment was directed at the confirmation of Brett Kavanaugh's appointment to the US Supreme Court in the wake of testimony of his history of sexual assault by Dr. Christine Blasey-Ford earlier that month. It was a difficult reckoning for many, as it was almost a year after #MeToo had gone viral in October 2017 and felt like not only a step but a jump in the wrong direction from the conversations opened by the movement when it was created by Tarana Burke in 2006. This tweet and the "we riot" meme genre it inspired engage in a critique of the labour required by postfeminist neoliberalism for individual women to

be perfectly beautiful, replacing it with an online performance of collaborative and collective resistance. What we consider here is how it also allows for a siren song to emerge that calls like to like, drawing together those who find resonance and recognition within the tweet's humour and rage. In contemplating the evolution of the "we riot" meme, it is also worth considering a more recent version that ties these strands of our conversation together. In a tweet from 7 September 2019, Alaska-based blogger Libby Bakalar begins by discussing the sartorial merits of the classic ballet flat before turning to a siren-call:

@libbybakalar: No wardrobe is complete without a black ballet flat. You can dress up this versatile shoe for work or pair with skinny jeans for drinks with girls & now that the men have stopped reading the bog witches are having a membership drive under the next full moon bring cauldrons.³²

Here, we see a revisiting of the earlier meme of riot, merging it with a more specific call for community and unity via the "cauldron drive" reminiscent of feminist membership drives of past eras.³³ Reflecting on figural kinships, we might look towards how this post uses the earlier playful performativity of Chavez's tweet, which uses accepted forms of femininity as subterfuge. Like Chavez's post, this tweet takes advantage of the fact that such a performance of femininity renders women unthreatening within a patriarchal space, as it confirms both the desires and the expectations of that culture for women to be frivolous and concerned with their image alone. By performing what is expected, that is, a desirable image for male consumption, the siren uses their femme fatale signifiers to dissuade and distract away from the real purpose of calling out to other feminist resisters to refuse, join, and riot.

The Depths of Transformation: Leviathan's Collective Resistance and Fury

Following the feminist call of the siren, the sea witch reveals itself as a figure that brings us from the shallows of the swamp to the depths of the ocean. In a tweet that builds on the popularity of

siren-core and the 2023 live action remake of *The Little Mermaid* (dir. Rob Marshall), Twitter influencer Stabbatha Christy wrote:

@LoveNLunchmeat: There are really only two stages in a woman's life; the early years where you want to be Ariel, and the later years where you want to be Ursula. That's where I am. I'm in the sea hag years.³⁴

Like many of her other tweets, this post was quickly memeified and reposted on Instagram, where #SeaHagSummer circulated. *The Little Mermaid*, a fairytale associated with sirens, ends with the normatively feminine mermaid Ariel giving up her voice and, in the original Hans Christian Andersen version, her life for the human man she loves, is rejected by this hashtag in favour of an alternative way of being—the excesses of the powerful, chaotic sea witch Ursula. Worth briefly noting here is the politicization of the 2023 remake, which was highly anticipated and on feminists' radar because of the racist hate the film received for casting a Black woman, Halle Bailey, as Ariel. In this story, Ursula (who, in some versions of the story, is the sister of Triton and the daughter of Poseidon) represents non-normativity and feminine difference. Based on the drag queen Divine, Ursula is full-bodied, older, sexual, and full of dynamism and attitude as she refuses to abide by the patriarchal sanctions imposed upon her. What then happens when, even in jest, we begin to contemplate the dark feminine energies projected and imagined in the depths of the sea? To conclude, we go deeper with one final vignette of our witchy figural kin.

On the cusp of the 2022 Winter Solstice, feminist queer Jewish theologian Dori Midnight (@dorimidnight) posted a carousel on Instagram detailing the Jewish story of Leviathan. She writes:

Tomorrow is Winter Solstice, which is known in Hebrew as Tekufah Tevet. There is a midrash/Jewish story that says that on the Winter Solstice (or some say on the First of Tevet) the Leviathan, a majestic, terrifying sea creature/serpent/monster, rises from the deep & roars a mighty roar.

In this legend, it is the monster's roar from the depths on Winter Solstice that restores the power imbalance, humbles the bigger fish, and protects the most vulnerable, which is all part of Tiquun, the Divine Work of Repair. Leviathan is descended from Sumerian deity Tiamat, a Goddess whose name is also thought to be the root of the word, Tehom—the salty primordial deep, the place creation is birthed from. In the scripture, the word tehom is often cast in a negative light, feared: the wild feminine dark, the genderless wombspace, the disordered nothing/everything.

I love the possibility that the Leviathan is a beast of collective resistance & fury who brings about balance in the salty deep. I also love imagining/feeling in my own body this luminous monstrosity swimming from the darkest, deepest place towards the light, breaking through the surface of the water with a thunderous roar on the solstice.³⁵

For Midnight, the Jewish story of Leviathan is interpreted to contemplate “collective resistance and fury” and the sacredness of rage. This rage is a ripple under the water that brings about change and lets us see what was already there below the surface. Midnight's post offers one example of how the monstrous feminine—the dark, chaotic, salty beasts of cultural cautionary tales—are often misaligned in dominant culture. There is value, as Midnight illustrates, in their recovery and in reimagining these figures as kin for our current time. Her followers add celebratory revelry to the discussion, creating a collective set of incantations on how to be as community going forward. As one user comments, “Bring on the sea change!”

This hope of sea change, of a renewed, deeper, and more fulsome tomorrow, is precisely the note upon which we wish to bring this narrative to a close. Not in the shallow waters of networked sexism, reinscribed through binary code, algorithms, and the misogynists they elevate, but in the depths of our collective rage, called forth by our digital siren songs of resistance and feminist joy. In these depths, new forms of refusal and reimagining emerge. It is our hope that the traces of our figural kinships with witches, sirens, and feminine monsters of the deep uphold these possibilities and show us the path forward toward the sea change we are bringing into being, gaining momentum under the surface. Beyond the shallows of the swamps, towards the shores where sirens draw us in, we also have the sea.

Notes

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- 3 Ibid., 3.
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- 8 Nellie Bowles, “Jordan Peterson, Custodian of the Patriarchy,” *New York Times*, May 18, 2018.
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- 10 Ibid., para. 31.
- 11 Ibid., para. 28.
- 12 Davis Richardson, “Red Pill Ringleader Jordan Peterson Believes Dragons and Witches Exist,” *Observer*, May 18, 2019.
- 13 Lexi McMenamin, “University of Waterloo Gender Studies Stabbing Ends in 3 Hospitalized, Attacker in Custody,” *Teen Vogue*, June 29, 2023.
- 14 See <https://twitter.com/TabathaSouthey/status/997563336232333312>.
- 15 Because of the realities of doxing, death, and rape threats against people who speak out against misogyny and other forms of discrimination, we anonymize the names of Facebook, Instagram, or Twitter users unless those users are known public-facing people who have previously spoken to the media about misogyny or related topics.
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- 18 Catie Keck, “What Witches Can Teach Us About Fighting Trump,” *Bustle*, January 17, 2017.

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- 20 Sara Ahmed, “Snap!” *feministkilljoys* (blog), May 21, 2017.
- 21 Lindy West, “Yes, This Is a Witch Hunt. I’m a Witch and I’m Hunting You,” *New York Times*, October 17, 2017.
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- 24 Doyle, “Monsters, Men, and Magic,” para. 4.
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- 31 Bowles, “Jordan Peterson, Custodian of the Patriarchy,” para. 21.
- 32 See <https://twitter.com/libbybakalar/status/1170571995513147393>.
- 33 Such drives harnessed the mantra of the personal is political to raise feminist consciousness and shift resources and autonomy to impacted communities, bringing feminists and those interested in feminism together for support.
- 34 See <https://twitter.com/LoveNLunchmeat/status/1432547746259607554>.
- 35 See <https://www.instagram.com/p/CmZSodsOMkj/>.