Christine Jarvis

Becoming a woman through Wicca: Witches and Wiccans in contemporary teen fiction.

Abstract The article examines Cate Tiernan's 'Wicca' series. This series and the 'Circle of Three' books by Isobel Bird explore the experiences of teenage girls who embrace the pagan religion, Wicca. The texts reflect the growing interest in spirituality expressed by many young people and extend the literary representation of witchcraft. Tiernan produces stories of spiritual growth entwined with fantasy and romance. The series operates within a moral and religious framework that allows girls to feel positive about their bodies and their sexuality and acknowledges the complex moral decisions many young people face.
Key words Cate Tiernan, Wicca, witches, girls' spirituality, teen fiction

Fictional witches are usually represented as supernatural beings, or as a humans with supernatural abilities. There is, however, a small body of work for teenagers which presents witchcraft as a religious choice for human beings. Witches are identified as Wiccans, adherents of the contemporary pagan religion, who learn to be witches/ Wiccans. Although these texts represent a minor proportion of teenage fiction, they are very popular. The success of Isobel Bird's *Circle of Three* series, dealing with the experiences of three school friends when they begin to follow the Wiccan religion, led to fifteen books. The witch, Willow, in the TV series *Buffy the Vampire Slayer (BtVS)* has cult status; she also started life as an ordinary schoolgirl, who learned about Wicca, although Wiccan deities are not featured, as Winslade (2002) has noted. Cate Tiernan's *Wicca* series, (known as *Sweep* in the United States) also sold enough copies to warrant fifteen publications and has been reissued recently. The first book of the series generated 95 reviews on the Amazon web-site, with an overall rating of four and half stars from a possible maximum of five and the series has its own web-based fan sites. Tiernan has also written the *Balefire* series, focusing on teenage witches. I shall use her *Wicca* series as a case-study to make a detailed analysis of this phenomenon, but will draw on examples from Bird and *BtVS.*

Before looking in detail at the books, I want to present a brief overview of the Wiccan religion, without which it would be difficult to position these texts. I also want to touch on the cultural significance of the witch, particularly for feminists, as this has implications for potential interpretations of stories about teen witches.

Strmiska (2006) recounts a history of violence and repressive attitudes towards paganism from mainstream religions that may account for the relatively low profile maintained by most Wiccans. This, combined with the fact that the religion has no one orthodox form or leader, and has any number of solitary practitioners, makes membership hard to quantify. He draws on the 2001 American Religious Identity Survey, undertaken by City University of New York, to note that 307,000 Americans identified their religion as Wicca, Pagan or Druid. The anthropologist Margaret Murray posited a view of witchcraft's history that gained considerable popularity (Murray, 1921). She argued that it was the surviving form of a pagan religion that had been suppressed by Christianity. Her views were taken up by Gerald Gardner (1954) in his *Witchcraft Today.* Most modern versions of Wicca can be traced back to his work, which he claimed was

based on his links with a surviving coven based in England's New Forest. Murray's thesis has been widely criticised and some (Trevor-Roper 1970; Thomas, 1971; Kelly 1991) claim that Gardner created Wicca; that there was no survival from ancient times. Ronald Hutton (2000) presents a balanced, detailed view of this debate. He notes there is no good evidence for the existence of Wicca before the end of the 1940s and agrees that Gardner probably wrote some of the rituals and chants himself. He identifies many differences between Wicca and the pagan religions of ancient Europe. Nevertheless, Wicca, he argues, did not come from a vacuum, but draws on a 'rich and complex collection of cultural impulses and processes' (Hutton, 2000, p.115). He sees it as a continuation of four traditions: ritual magic, cunning craft, folk customs and classical art and literature. Modern witches practise many forms of the craft. Murray's thesis is one that still has some hold in the popular imagination. The notion of a secret survival of ancient knowledge, access to power and ritual and a rather romanticised history of oppression makes the religion an appealing topic for fictional treatment. The idea that witches and witchcraft have survived hidden for centuries is central to Tiernan's novels.

Studies of contemporary Wicca and witchcraft reveal considerable diversity of practice and belief (Scarboro and Luck, 1997, Greenwood, Harvey, Simes and Nye, 1995, Salomonsen, 2002, Greenwood 2000). Greenwood indicates that the term Wicca should only be used to denote those witches following the Gardnerian tradition. In practice the term is often used by others, probably to dispel some of the opprobrium still attached to the word witch. In this article I have used the terms Wicca and witchcraft interchangeably, to reflect the uses of Bird, Tiernan and the writers of *BtVS.*

Wicca is monistic rather than dualistic, so does not divide the world into polarised good and evil, seeing these instead as part of a totality; this is reflected in its treatment of common moral issues. It differs from the larger monotheistic religions in its attitude towards women and sexuality and in its eclecticism and egalitarianism. Although scholars raise many points of detail, the consensus generally is that Wicca is a nature religion that stresses the immanence of the divine rather than transcendence, which in turn leads to a strong emphasis on responsibility, rather than rules. It also leads to inclusive forms of organisation, in which there is no mediator between the individual and the Divine. It focuses on the holiness of nature and the earth and its festivals, sabbats and esbats follow the cycles of the year. It respects male and female principles and worships a god and a goddess, although in many forms of Wicca the goddess appears to be dominant and is occasionally the sole deity. Women's physicality is celebrated in contrast to the more equivocal attitudes towards the female body found in monotheistic religions. In its current form, then, it is compatible with a great many liberal, secular perspectives – particularly feminism and the Green movement.

Witchcraft has strong connections with the women's movement. Greenwood (2000) and Salomonsen (2002) both acknowledge that more traditional forms of Wicca polarise sexualities and are limited by what Salomonsen calls the 'conservative androcentric lineage of European secret societies' (2002 p.6). Nevertheless, in her in-depth study of the Reclaiming Witches of San Francisco, she argues that Wicca offered an 'exciting alternative' for 'religious women who had responded enthusiastically to the second wave of feminism' (6). Starhawk, founder of the Reclaiming Collective, writes:

> The image of the Goddess inspires women to see ourselves as divine, our bodies as sacred, the changing phases of our lives as holy, our aggression as healthy, our anger as purifying, and our power to nurture and create, but also to limit and destroy where necessary as the very force that sustains all life. (1999, p.34).

The feminist orientation of contemporary witchcraft may explain its appeal to teenage girls. In spite of the difficulty of quantifying participation in witchcraft, evidence from internet sites and general media sources suggests that the participation of teenage girls is growing (Denise Cush, p.46-47). As Cush notes, this has been criticised by orthodox religious groups (see for example, Linda Harvey's 'Heresy in the Hood', accessed 2007) and by witches and pagans themselves, who sometimes dismiss this phenomenon as commercialised and sensationalised. However, her interviews with teenage Wiccans revealed they were largely 'serious and well informed' girls who took a critical approach to wider social and environmental issues and adopted a broadly feminist orientation towards the world.

The presence of witches in teenage fiction has received attention from scholars (Mosely, 2002, Moody, 2005, Waller, 2004). Mosely, concentrating on material such as *Sabrina* and the film *The Craft* looks at the potential for transgression in images of witchcraft, but argues that in teen fiction this is largely controlled and conventionalised. Focusing on the dual meaning of the term 'glamour' she notes how acceptable use of power is largely confined to the domestic, 'glamorous, not excessive and bodily' (p. 422). Alison Waller's study of Margaret Mahy's witches makes a similar point. Mahy's witches, Waller argues, are placed 'firmly back into domesticity and reality as soon as they have become comfortable with their magic'(p. 85). Moody also notes a degree of conformity in the presentation of young witches in these commercially successful products. She argues, however, that they do provide scope for 'negotiating issues of consumption, feminism and alternative lifestyle' (p. 57) and that the fantasy elements in the story provide opportunities to 'subvert emerging and prevailing social norms' (p.57).

In this article I want to focus on something that has not been addressed directly – the intersection between fantasy and the socially and historically grounded portrayal of spiritual/ religious experience and practice. The texts are interesting because they reflect a growing interest in spirituality amongst young people. I show how these texts use religious awakening as a vehicle and a metaphor for exploring questions of teenage female identity and personal growth. By choosing Wicca, with its monistic rather than dualistic morality, the books model a sophisticated approach to morality, values and decision making, which reflects the moral complexities of young people's lives in postmodern, Western societies. I shall begin by considering the texts' portrayal of the impact of religious belief in three areas of teenage life – the family, learning and self discipline, and sex and sexuality, and then go on to look at how both romance and fantasy work alongside this social realism.

Family and religion – asserting identity

Tiernan's *Wicca* series follows the progress of fifteen year old Morgan Rowlands, a teenager from a Roman Catholic family in the fictional small town of Widow's Vale in the States. She and a

group of her friends are introduced to Wicca by Cal Blaire, a new senior at their high school. Becoming a witch means Morgan has to change religions from the one her family practises. Wicca is Cal's family religion. In this respect it could be a tale about a Jew who converted to Christianity or a Christian embracing Islam, after developing a relationship with someone of that faith. The stories have a didactic element; part of Tiernan's agenda seems to be to spread information about the Wiccan religion and correct misunderstandings.

Catholicism is central to family life and identity for Morgan's family. They go to church every Sunday, and share a family dinner out afterwards. Catholicism is presented positively initially, as something Morgan enjoys and finds beautiful. Morgan wonders 'if following Wicca means I really, truly couldn't ever come to church again. I knew that I would miss church, if I stopped coming' (*Book of Shadows*, p.166). Moving from Catholicism to Wicca is an assertion of independence and of an identity separate from the family. Wicca is not an exclusive religion, and accepts other faiths, so Morgan feels able to continue to go to the family church, but the inevitable confrontation arises. Her usually understanding parents are horrified that she participates in Wicca and cannot extend the same tolerance to it that it extends to Christianity. 'I'm telling you that we will not have witchcraft in this house. I'm telling you that the Catholic church does not condone this. I'm telling you that we believe in one God.' (*Book of Shadows*, p.107).

Her parents are not cruel or bullying, but loving, worried and confused. Because of this the book manages to offer a reasonably sensitive representation of the difficulties families face when a loved and loving child embraces beliefs that are different from those of the parents. Families and family life are valued; Cal himself acknowledges that Morgan is bound to feel miserable if she is at odds with her parents because 'you love them and want to respect their feelings' (*Book of Shadows*, p.102) and Wicca in general is shown to bring the generations together and to be a family religion, valuing family traditions. For all that Morgan wants to respect her parents and retain her close relationship with her younger sister, who also finds Morgan's involvement with Wicca hard to accept, she finds conforming to their wishes stifling. In the ninth book of the series they have a show down, when her parents try to send her to a Catholic school to break what they see as the damaging influence of Wicca. Her responses are couched in the language of individuation and respect for her separateness. In attempting to determine her beliefs, her parents are failing to acknowledge who she is. She argues:

> Wicca is in my blood. I couldn't change it even if I wanted to. But that's the point. I *don't* want to. I respect your beliefs. Why can't you live with mine?' (Tiernan, 2002, *Strife*, p.133).

When Morgan discovers in the second book of the series that she is adopted, the revelation crystallises her sense that she is separate and different. Morgan rebuilds her relationship with her adoptive parents, but continues to see herself as separate from them. The family/Wicca dichotomy is present in other works such as the episode '*Gingerbread*' from *BtVS* in which parents lead a campaign that draws out and sustains the persistent, underlying social prejudice against witches.

In effect Wicca/ witchcraft is a mechanism in these texts for exploring separation from parents and the significance of religion in family life. Wicca values and respects the relationships, whilst insisting on the rights of individuals to determine their own belief systems. This combination of

respect for quite conventional values combined with a firm commitment to self determination can also be seen in the treatment of another central facet of religious practice – self discipline and religious study.

Learning and self discipline

> 'The more you learn, the more you need to learn. …That's what life is. That's what Wicca is. … You thought you knew yourself, and then you found out one thing and then another thing. It changes the whole way you see yourself and others in relation to you.' (Tiernan, 2002, *Blood Witch*, p.127).

The *BTVS* series and the books of Tiernan and Bird assert the importance of hard work and self discipline. Witches are expected to learn through private study, regular practice, work with knowledgeable older people and regular participation in group circles. In the first book Cal embarrasses three friends who messed about during a ritual when he tells them, 'you're not invited to our next circle' … 'You didn't do it right' (p.56). Morgan and her friends form a coven and are informed that commitment and regular attendance is important if the individual is to grow in their religion, just as it would be with any more conventional faith. The girls in Bird's series have weekly circles at the Magic shop. This counterbalances popular images of witches exercising power easily, changing the world by twitching their noses or waving a wand.

Older adults are educators and advisors in Wiccan communities. Bird's schoolgirls meet women from a local coven, who run the magic shop. They explain that Wicca is a religion, but are not evangelists; they discourage the girls from practising until they have had time to learn and think. They urge them to read a wide range of books to see what really interests them. This approach contrasts with that of the monotheistic religions, which focus on one sacred text, whilst sharing their requirement for study and self discipline and an emphasis on intergenerational learning and support. Morgan and her friends also meet older witches (David and Alyce), who act as a source of information and support, but again the emphasis is on the young person to initiate the encounter. Willow in *BtVS* learns from adults, especially librarian Rupert Giles, but her studies are primarily self-directed, or shared with same age partner, Tara, which leads to dangerous problems relating to self discipline and control. Eventually, she goes to England to work with an established coven.

An emphasis on extensive study also counterbalances glamorous images of witchcraft. Willow, Morgan, and Annie from the *Circle of Three* series, are studious high achievers. Willow (*BtVS*) undertakes intense research with books and the internet. Morgan's studies are as dry and demanding as any other form of scholarship. Even as a new witch, her studies are extensive if undirected:

> I was working my way through about five Wiccan related books at one time, reading a bit each day. This one was … dry going sometimes. … only a determination to learn everything about everything Wiccan kept me going.' (Tiernan, 2002, *Dark Magic*, p.96).

As the quotation opening this section suggests, this learning effects profound, often disorienting, shifts in perception and demands sacrifices. Morgan forgoes sleep, leisure and family time. It is

indicative of the power attributed to study that her initial dispute with her parents focuses on the presence of Wiccan books in their home.

Tiernan's plot draws on the idea suggested by Murray and Gardner of the hereditary witch and introduces the notion of the 'blood witch'. Once Morgan discovers that she comes from a long line of 'blood witches' her study intensifies and is supported more directly by the Wiccan community. The witch, Hunter, outlines the vast amount of learning she has to acquire:

> …you've got a hell of a lot of catching up to do. Most blood witches are initiated at age fourteen after studying for years. Witches need to know the history of Wicca and the Seven Great Clans; … herbalism; the basics of numerology …; the proper use of minerals, metals, and stones … . The full correspondences; reading auras; spells of protection, healing, binding and banishment. … . (Tiernan, 2002, *Awakening*, p.47).

Morgan's regular Wicca lessons interfere with her school studies. By this stage, she is not a schoolgirl exploring a religion, but a hereditary member of a religious minority. The idea of additional, demanding schooling to learn about that religion, is reminiscent of the practices of religious minorities in many communities, where children are given instruction to ensure that their culture and traditions are maintained in the face of a non-believing mainstream.

Re-evaluating sexual moralities

Young adult fiction often tackles issues of sex and, to a lesser extent, sexuality. The values conveyed may be liberal or they can be conservative and imply that girls in particular will be harmed if they are sexually active. I think it is fair to say that the three main Western religions, Christianity, Judaism and Islam, in spite of their differences, are similar in their promotion of the patriarchal family. All advocate a legal and spiritual union between one man and one woman, which, it could be argued, serves to protect male lineage by controlling female sexual activity. Their various branches oppose premarital sex and same sex relationships with differing degrees of intensity. The evangelical, more extreme versions of the religions, which frequently proselytise and attract young people, tend to be especially strict about sexual matters. Young people who are drawn to a religious/ spiritual way of life therefore, may find this goes hand in hand with a rigid code of sexual values, one which may make them feel guilty and sinful about their own sexual nature and assert some form of female subordination.

Wicca has its roots in fertility religions, and sees sex as a sacred activity. Its morality is almost a reversal of that of the monotheistic faiths, in that it sees the kinds of sexual coercion and repression that characterise a patriarchal morality as immoral, lacking in respect for the body. Wicca is critical of any form of sexual activity that appears to commodify or debase the human body and this generally includes compulsory heterosexuality or marriage based on ownership of the partner's body. Greenwood (2000) identifies divergent tendencies within Wicca – the emphasis on fertility in traditional forms of the craft has sometimes led to a rejection of same sex relationships, whereas feminist Wiccan traditions may celebrate lesbianism.

Tiernan's books chart Morgan's developing sexual awareness and link this closely with her religious development. From the beginning, the books show alternative sexualities in a positive light. The first chapter of the first book reveals Morgan's relaxed acceptance of her classmate's

homosexuality. In order to foreground issues of sexuality, Tiernan makes one of Morgan's most important relationships the one she has with her gay aunt, Eileen. The aunt's new partner is presented positively and their relationship is loving and loyal. Their relationship is accepted without question by Morgan's parents, but not by the entire family. The perspective we see and are meant to identify with, however, is that of the gay couple and their supporters. Wicca's opposition to sexual intolerance is shown symbolically when, in *Awakening*, Morgan blasts thugs who threaten the couple in their new home with 'witch fire'. Tiernan also presents the behaviour of the thugs as aberrant for the neighbourhood, reinforcing the idea that gay and lesbian couples are welcome and valued members of communities.

Morgan's parents and her friends' parents 'would have a cow' (Tiernan, 2002, *Blood Witch*, p.181) if they thought their children were having sex and have various rules to prevent this. On the other hand, the Wiccan parents are far more relaxed. Morgan learns that sex outside marriage is not wrong, but neither is it trivial. Cal summarises his mother's attitudes:

> 'In Wicca, making love doesn't have the same kind of stigma it does in other religions. It's seen as a celebration of love, of life – an acknowledgement of the God and Goddess' (Tiernan, ibid).

Neither the novel nor Wicca promote promiscuity however. Bakker, the boyfriend of Morgan's sister, is vilified for being too forceful in his sexual attentions. Morgan is intensely in love with Cal Blaire but does not have sex with him, because she does not feel sure that she wants to. The rightness of her decision is dramatically reinforced when it is revealed that both he and his mother have been trying to exploit and harm Morgan. Exploitation and coercion are the sins, not sex. This contributes to a subtle moral perspective with respect to sex – the idea that whether it is right or wrong depends on the meaning of the specific act at that time and in that context, not on a set of external absolutes. Indeed, it is part of the broader moral compass of the book, one which suggests to young people that they will have to make difficult moral judgements and that there are no rulebooks.

Fantasy and Romance

So far I have concentrated on those aspects of the 'Wicca' series that are distinctive in that they focus, unusually for teenage fiction, on developing a religious and spiritual identity. Two much more popular genres, romance and fantasy, also shape these books but are entwined with the theme of religious awakening. Tiernan's style incorporates some elements found in 'chicklit' and its teen manifestations, such as the work of Cathy Hopkins and Kathryn Lamb, but she employs a wider range of stylistic devices. Like them, she uses first person narrative, but introduces different voices, through 'Books of Shadows', witch diaries kept by other characters. These add new perspectives and, because the diary writers' identities are not immediately obvious, create reading challenges. She makes extensive use of dialogue, which includes some examples of the exclamatory style characteristic of the teen romance, and she focuses on descriptions of feelings and on emotional development. On the other hand, the stories include descriptions that attempt to create more substantial pictures of character and location than is usual in teen romance, the sentence structure tends to be more complex and she makes greater use of figurative language. This stylistic hybridisation corresponds with the way some fairly ambitious subject material is blended with more familiar aspects of popular teen fiction.

Tiernan elaborates significantly on the idea of the 'blood witch', creating the idea of four witch 'clans'. In Tiernan's mythology, clans are found across the globe, living discreetly amidst non-witch communities. They rear their children to practise Wicca and welcome non-blood witches. Morgan discovers that she has telepathic powers, can light fires with her mind, cast powerful and effective spells, heal the terminally ill, throw witchfire, see in the dark, scry into the present, past and future and shape shift. Thus, interwoven with the realistic story, is a fantasy about epic struggles with evil forces, that adds a powerful metaphorical dimension to reinforce the story of maturation, identity formation and spiritual development. Each element of Morgan's magical progress is linked to her spiritual and personal growth. For example, Morgan's biological father, a powerful witch who draws readily on dark magic to achieve his ambitions, tries to control her through a combination of threats, affection and demands for loyalty – classic patriarchal power plays. Eventually the threat is such that she holds him in a binding spell until he can be stripped of his powers. This symbolic act marks not only her independence, but her moral and spiritual maturation. Throughout she has been concerned about her own temptation to exploit her powers, to appeal to darker forces. In destroying her father's power, she casts aside that part of herself, resolutely refuses to use that side of her nature. Indeed, this dramatic demonstration would lend itself to an interpretation using feminist psychoanalysis.

Tiernan's occult/fantasy novels contain many elements of classic romance formula. They have a standard romantic hero and heroine; plain, flat chested, boyfriendless Morgan meets stunningly dark, handsome older male with a mysterious past, Cal Blaire. Again, as is typical in the popular romance, he is desired by her friends but chooses Morgan, because he 'sees' her true inner beauty in a way no-one else ever has. What he 'sees' is her power as a witch and through this device the novel fuses the idea of validation through love and desire that characterises the romance, with the idea of validation through spiritual self-discovery. It is only because she has this new self, the witch, that she finds love. The stereotypical romance also has a 'rival', a more experienced and sophisticated female; this part is played by Morgan's best friend, Bree. The romance often uses the idea of the one and only – the soulmate, running against the grain of the contemporary notion of serial partners. The witches in Tiernan's books believe in the highly romantic idea of the 'mùirn beatha dàn' the one true love for whom each is destined.

The tales also employ a stock device found in what Joanne Russ (1973) called the 'modern gothic'. In the modern gothic the hero is suspected of trying to harm the heroine. This device is now commonly found in teen horror stories, such as Point Horror (Jarvis, 2001). Often such romances have two possible heroes, and the heroine (and usually the reader also) does not know which to trust. Tiernan's story plays with the reader as we watch Morgan's doubts about Cal grow, and her initial fears of his half brother, Hunter, subside. Cal tries to burn Morgan to death. It is difficult to escape the polysemic symbolism of this, with its strong connotations of witch persecutions. We know she can light fires with her mind and scries with fire and that she is a powerful but unlearned witch. We see she is overwhelmed by desire for Cal that clouds her judgement. She, a young woman, perhaps too young for the fiery intensity of this relationship, is almost burned to death by it, just as she, as a young and inexperienced witch, is almost burned to death because of the forces of jealousy and hunger for power that her ill controlled and fiery powers unleash in others. Yet, importantly, in the end she is rescued from this by her friends. Many traditional aspects of the romance are conservative, promoting the need for a boyfriend, showing non-romantic friendships as peripheral and female desire as dangerous. The *Wicca* series is more subtle. Friendships, family and the Wiccan community are central to well-being and in

spite of the mùirn beatha dàn concept, happiness is not located in one exclusive relationship.

Conclusion

These texts offer girls the opportunity to undergo a fictional experience that takes religious and spiritual conversion and commitment seriously. Youth can be a time when religious feeling is particularly intense; the texts meet a need for religious experience and a connection with something greater than the self. The girls at the centre of the stories engage with a religion that challenges them. They feel empowered through a connection with an immanent pantheistic divinity; the experiences described are intense and life changing. In some respects this version of Wicca offers a counterbalance to youth culture; through their religion the girls are integrated with tradition, with ancient beliefs and with a community of older people who are not their guardians, just believers with more experience.

Moreover, the texts explore various moral and personal dilemmas within this spiritual framework, without imposing the rigid morality and intolerance about other religions, women and sexuality that characterises many religions. At the same time, they make it clear that the characters live in a moral universe, where they have to take responsibility for their actions. The religious community they join may not share the dualistic morality of the patriarchal monotheistic religions, but it demands equally high levels of moral commitment. The girls discover that its adherents are expected to be self disciplined and respectful of nature and each other. Whilst a sexual morality built around heterosexual marriage is not enforced, cruel and casual approaches to love and sex are equally derided. The Wiccan Rede 'Do what you will an it harm none' is shown to be difficult to live by, because the characters discover that there are few choices that have no harmful consequences for anyone. By recognising these challenges the books reflect the experiences of young people negotiating the moral complexities of contemporary life in which right and wrong are not always clear.

.

Reference List

Bird, I. *Circle of Three* Series. New York: Avon Books, 2001 onwards.

Buffy the Vampire Slayer, created by Joss Whedon, aired on Warner Brothers, then UPN, 1997-2003.1

Cush, Denise. "Consumer witchcraft: are teenage witches a creation of commercial interests?" Journal of Beliefs and Values, 2007, 28:1, 45-53.

Gardner, G. Witchcraft Today. London: Rider, 1954.

Greenwood, S. Magic, *Witchcraft and the Otherworld*. Oxford, New York: Berg, 2000.

Greenwood, Susan, Harvey, Graham, Simes, Amy, and Nye, Malory. "Paganism and witchcraft in Britain," Journal of Contemporary Religion, 1995, 10:2, 185-192.

Harvey, Linda. 'Heresy in the Hood 11:witchcraft among children and teens in America.' Missionamerica.com, www.missionamerica.com/witchcraft.php?articlenum=8. accessed Oct.12th 2007.

Hutton, Ronald. "Paganism and polemic: the debate over the origins of modern pagan witchcraft," Journal of Contemporary Religion, 2000, 103-117.

Jarvis, Christine. "School is hell; gendered fears in teenage fiction," Education Studies, 2001, 27:3, 257-267.

Kelly, A. *Crafting the Art of Magic: A History of Modern Witchcraft*. St Paul MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1991.

Lewis, C.S. *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe.* New York: HarperCollins, 2005.

Moody, Nickianne. "Modern apprenticeships for girls: the teenage witch convention in young adult fiction" in *Children's Fantasy Fiction*, Nickianne Moody and Clare Horrocks eds. Liverpool, Association for Research into Popular Fictions, John Moores University Press, 2005 pp.56-74.

Mosely, Rachel. "Glamorous witchcraft: gender and magic in teen film and television," Screen, 2002, 43:4, 403-422.

Murray, M. *The Witch Cult in Western Europe.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921.

Rowling, J.K. *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone.* London: Bloomsbury, 1997.

Russ, Joanna. "Somebody's trying to kill me and I think it's my husband," Journal of Popular Culture, 6, 666-691.

Salomonsen, J. *Enchanted Feminism.* London and New York: Routledge, 2002.

Scarboro, A., and Luck, P. "The Goddess and power: witchcraft and religion in America," Journal of Contemporary Religion, 1997, 10:2, 69-79.

Starhawk. *The Spiral Dance*, Special 20th Anniversary Edition, New York: HarperSanFrancisco, *1999.*

Strmiska, M. *Modern Paganism in World Cultures: Comparative Perspectives*, ABC-Clio Ltd. 2006.

Tiernan, C. The Wicca Series. New York, London: Puffin Books, 2001-2.

Thomas, K. *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England.* 1971, London: Penguin.

Trevor-Roper Hugh. "European Witch-craze and Social Change," in *Witchcraft and Sorcery*. M. Marwich (ed), Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970.

Waller, Alison. " 'Solid all the way through': Margaret Mahy's ordinary witches," Children's Literature in Education, 2004, 35:1, 77-86.

Winslade, Jason, "Teen witches, wiccans and 'wanna-blessed-Be's', pop culture magic in Buffy the Vampire Slayer, Slayage, 1, 2001, www.slayageonline.com, accessed August 7th 2007.