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Modern Demonology: Ritual Abuse, Conspiracy and Cover-up

Abstract: *Revelations about Jimmy Savile's past resonate with a climate hospitable to conspiracy thinking. Conspiratorial thinking has led to the development of a secular form of demonology that resembles phenomena usually associated with a witch-hunt. Since the 1980s the disposition towards conspiratorial thought has been mobilised in crusades against paedophiles. Conspiratorial thinking also influences the workings of the criminal justice system. Police operations that trawl for allegations of abuse are but one example of the way that a crusading zeal leads to distortions of the system of criminal justice.*

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From the outset the dramatic revelations about Savile's past were presented as a story about a conspiracy of silence that protected him from public scrutiny. Hints of a conspiracy involving a shadowy network of powerful individuals signalled fears of a massive establishment cover-up. Conspiracy theories were in circulation within a few days of the story breaking. Some of these conspiracy stories implicated Downing Street, while others suggested that the British Royal Family had close connections to powerful paedophile rings.[1]

Until the discrediting of the charges of child abuse against Lord McAlpine the conspiracy theories regarding powerful Conservative figures were circulated in the mainstream media. The leading promoter of these theories was the Labour MP Tom Watson, who stood up in Parliament on 24 October 2012 and declared that he was in possession of 'clear intelligence suggesting a powerful paedophile network linked to parliament and No 10'.[2] Watson subsequently elaborated his claim and suggested that this secret cabal of abusers represented a mortal threat to anyone who crossed their path.

As a parliamentarian well known for his campaigning activities, Watson enjoyed considerable prestige among his peers. Consequently his claim was initially interpreted by numerous commentators as a statement of fact. But as he began to voice concerns about the personal danger he faced for exposing the network of powerful paedophiles, his story appeared to spin out of control. He stated that 'despite warnings that my personal safety is imperilled', he would continue with his crusade. Watson warned that he had put together a 'detailed log of all the allegations should anything happen',[3] and in a tone of defiance he asserted that he would continue to 'speak out on this extreme case of organised abuse in the highest places'. This was an 'abuse of power by some of the most powerful people', declared Watson.[4]

What is significant about Watson's conspiracy theories is that unlike those circulated by isolated figures on the margins of society, his version of events enjoyed respectability even in the mainstream of public life.[5] Very few questioned his letter to the Prime Minister boasting of his 'experience of uncovering massive establishment conspiracies'.[6] That is because claims about the existence of a secret network of paedophiles had become a well-established and recurring theme in popular culture and public life. By October 2012 it appeared that the mere assertion of a cover-up was likely to lead to a police investigation, if not an official inquiry.

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During October and November 2012 similar claims were made in a variety of contexts. Simon Danczuk, Labour MP for Rochdale, 'outed' Cyril Smith, the deceased former Liberal MP of his constituency, as a child abuser. He not only accused the dead MP of the crime of sex abuse, but also alleged that his deeds had been covered up by the British establishment, drawing public attention to 'suspicions that special branch, MI5 and the director of public prosecutions at the time may have covered up the seriousness of this alleged abuse'.[7]

Conspiratorial thinking assumes that nothing happens by chance and is therefore less interested in an act of abusive behaviour than in the networks and forces that are behind it. Behind the evil act lurk vested interests, a hidden agenda and maybe a conspiracy. That is why the story that shook Britain in October 2012 was not so much about Savile as about groups of powerful men and key national institutions – the BBC, the NHS and the police – who allegedly hid his misdeeds.

A self-fulfilling prophecy

Claims-makers about child abuse are frequently drawn towards conspiratorial thinking and even demonology. The unfortunate tendency to recast this crime in a moralised and quasi-religious form has encouraged the perception that what is at stake is not an individual criminal act but a conspiracy of evil. This doctrine was dramatically communicated by some cultural feminists in the 1970s, who claimed that the sexual abuse of children was an open secret among men who regarded it as an essential component of socialising their daughters to a life of submission to males. Advocates of this thesis insisted that young girls are routinely subjected to some form of sex abuse by family members.[8] Demonising men as sexual predators did not quite add up to an old-fashioned witch-hunt, but it has contributed to a climate of permanent obsessive paranoia about male paedophiles.

The power of a modern secular narrative of demonology was evident during the Cleveland child abuse panic of 1987 when 121 children were forcibly – and in the vast majority of cases, wrongly – removed from their homes by social workers on the ground that they had been abused by their parents. Since the 1980s there have been numerous attempts to uncover networks of abusing parents and rings of paedophiles in Britain. The panic over the mass abuse of children in Cleveland overlapped with

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another alarming development – the allegations of Satanic Ritual Abuse of children.[9] An eruption of such allegations led to major investigations into paedophile rings in Rochdale and the Orkneys around 1990. Despite the flagrant miscarriages of justice and the proliferation of false allegations the fantasy of highly organised paedophile rings came to be internalised by the child protection industry and policy-makers. As Jean La Fontaine observed, what began as an 'evangelical campaign against satanism' was transformed into a child protection issue.[10]

One of the most expensive attempts to uncover a paedophile ring was the investigation into care homes in North Wales in the 1990s. The investigation and subsequent inquiry into Bryn Estyn, a former children's home in the region, was fuelled by the conviction that a paedophile ring of staff were systematically abusing those in their care. Press reports, which began to appear in 1991, hinted at a vast conspiracy of abuse which subjected young people to a regime of violence and brutality. Despite a massive police operation there were only six prosecutions, leading to two new convictions for sexual abuse. After the trial in Chester Crown Court in 1995, one Detective Superintendent was quoted as saying that 'we thought at first that there was a paedophile ring' but 'now we know that it was just two evil men'.[11]

The original rumours concerning paedophile rings persisted and were subsequently coupled to rumours of a police cover-up. In 1996 the Conservative government set up the largest tribunal of inquiry in British history, under Sir Ronald Waterhouse. This tribunal, which reported in February 2000, found that there was widespread abuse of children in care homes in North Wales – but it did not find evidence of a police cover-up or of a conspiracy. What it found was not a plot but a number of cases of individual staff members abusing children in their care.

A highly moralised discourse on child abuse encourages a disposition towards conspiratorial thinking. Moreover the assertion that rings of powerful and well-connected paedophiles and abusers have been responsible for the large-scale victimisation of children helps moral crusaders to gain attention for their claims. Hints of institutional complicity and cover-ups intensify the sense of moral outrage. The launch of a new inquiry into the North Wales homes, announced in the wake of the Savile revelations, indicates that rumours of conspiracy often acquire a life of their own.

The power of conspiratorial thinking is demonstrated by its influence over the workings of the criminal justice system and the police.

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Operation Yewtree, the Metropolitan Police investigation into abuse linked to Jimmy Savile, has followed the inquisitorial model of the trawling operations that are usually associated with suspected cases of mass victimisation. Such operations have as their objective the uncovering of large numbers of unreported acts of abuse. Police investigations into events that occurred as long ago as the 1960s are unlikely to find evidence that meets acceptable standards of proof. In these circumstances the case for the prosecution rests entirely on 'the credibility of victims, recounting traumatic events from decades ago'. As one news report about Operation Yewtree stated, the 'chances of prosecutions being brought will be boosted by similar accounts and details being given by victims, where ideally their recollections can be shown to be independent of each other'.[12]

In other words the case depends on the volume of allegations for its credibility. When the prosecution relies on the quantity of evidence, the police are likely to discover large numbers of allegations. Within a week of launching Yewtree the police were claiming to have been contacted by hundreds of witnesses.[13] Their efforts were assisted by legal firms advertising for clients interested in claiming compensation.[14]

The dramatic reorientation of policing indicated here, from solving reported crimes to searching for crimes that have not been reported, is rarely commented upon. Yet large trawling operations such as Yewtree can be interpreted as an exercise in crime construction. It is, of course, likely that such operations will from time to time uncover genuine cases of horrific criminal behaviour, but they will do so at a very high cost to the system of justice.

Trawling for victims and searching for retrospective allegations represents a disturbing development in the way that the criminal justice system operates. Instead of solving crimes the police attempt to uncover them in order to reinforce and strengthen evidence against the targets of an investigation. A trawling operation is not a response to an allegation of abuse voluntarily made by an individual. It is an invitation to people to reinterpret their experience of the past as one of victimisation.

An operation designed to uncover unreported acts of abuse is frequently justified as a sensible and compassionate attempt to help those who, as vulnerable children, were reluctant to come forward in the past. Advocates insist that since it is difficult for adults who claim that they were abused when they were young to make people believe them, contacting their peers to verify their experience helps to ascertain the

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facts, and that if large numbers of trawled individuals echo each other's allegations, then the case becomes far more solid. The conviction here is that if many people allege they were abused by the same individual, they probably were.

This sentiment is expressly conveyed by the first Operation Yewtree report, published in January 2013, which concludes that the 'volume of allegations' paints a 'compelling picture of widespread sexual abuse by a predatory sex offender'. Consequently the authors of the report have decided to refer to 'victims' rather than 'complainants' and are 'not presenting the evidence they have provided as unproven allegations'.[15] This casual rebranding of an unproven allegation as evidence represents a radical revision of the relationship between accusation and fact.

Unfortunately allegations obtained by trawling often provide an unreliable version of events from the past. Richard Webster suggests that during the trawling operation carried out by the investigation into care homes in North Wales, police officers and social workers unwittingly steered witnesses in a direction that confirmed what they wanted to hear.[16] Offers of financial compensation sometimes influenced economically insecure individuals to make an allegation, although in most cases false allegations of abuse are not necessarily consciously or systematically fabricated. In a climate in which the media promotes sensationalist accounts of unimaginable horrors, and in which individuals are incited to interpret their current emotional and social problems as a consequence of what might have happened to them in the past, many are driven to embrace the status of a victim.

The moral affirmation of the status of the victim provides young people from a troubled background with a new-found respectability. A powerful account of the 'witch-hunt' surrounding Bryn Estyn argued:

> People who have previously felt overlooked and insignificant may suddenly find themselves the centre of attention, concern and sympathy. At the same time the idea that they are now engaged in a battle against evil, in which many other people, including counsellors and social workers, are fighting alongside them, can be a source of great emotional energy. It may give people both a *raison d'être* and a feeling of strength and solidarity which they did not previously have.[17]

Of course not all the allegations dredged up in a trawling operation will be false. However, the imperative of expanding the number of allegations makes it difficult for police officers to assess the quality of the evidence obtained.

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The problem that the police may have in sorting genuine from false allegations is compounded when the allegations are tested in court. There the sheer volume of allegations of violent depravity may well have a significant impact on the jury. When numerous allegations are examined simultaneously, the quality of the evidence may well not come under serious scrutiny. The unreliability of the evidence gathered through trawling operations could be magnified in the case of Operation Yewtree. The approach is justified on the ground that in some situations, if crimes are similar to one another they may be tried together under procedures governing 'similar fact' evidence. Thus evidence offered about one case can be used to corroborate another. In this case 'similar fact evidence' is likely to be influenced by the allegations that people read about in the newspapers and see on television. Those asked to corroborate what others have said may well incorporate the highly publicised experiences into their own narratives.

Cases pursued on the basis of the information gathered by trawling operations rely on the argument that large numbers of allegations speak for themselves. Corroborating evidence serves to reinforce each claim, and the use of what is called the 'similar fact principle' transforms repeated allegations into incontrovertible facts. The use of this procedure has been paralleled by the relaxation of standards of evidence. A report by the House of Commons Home Affairs Select Committee in 2002, titled *The Conduct of Investigations into Past Cases of Abuse in Children's Homes*, cautioned against the increased use of the similar fact principle:

> Whilst we accept that the criminal justice system needs to be more sensitive to the needs of victims and witnesses, we are concerned that the proposed removal of safeguards for the defendant ... may further prejudice the defendant in historical child abuse trials. We are particularly concerned about the proposed relaxation of the rules of evidence, which may allow for greater admission of 'similar fact' evidence. In our view, given the sensitive and difficult nature of investigating allegations of historical child abuse, there is a strong case for establishing special or additional safeguards for the exclusion of prejudicial evidence and/or severance of multiple abuse charges.[18]

As the Select Committee's report anticipated, since the North Wales children's home scandal the law has been gradually moving further in the direction of relaxing the legal safeguards that presume defendants to be innocent, in order to secure the conviction of sexual abusers whom it would otherwise be very difficult to convict.

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Back in 1998 Jean La Fontaine noted that 'among many who work in the field, believing the victim has become an unquestioned dogma that disregards any need for corroborative evidence'.[19] Sadly since the late 1990s this 'unquestioned dogma' has gained powerful influence over the way that crimes involving child protection are investigated and prosecuted. One of the consequences of the tendency to lower standards of evidence in cases of multiple allegations of sexual abuse is that the safeguards traditionally used to protect defendants have been undermined. Sir William Utting, a former Chief Inspector at the Social Services Inspectorate and a past President of the National Institute for Social Work, stated in a television discussion of the Waterhouse report that 'it may be that innocent people are convicted but we ought to be more worried about the guilty that might get away'.[20] From this perspective a trial is no longer about weighing up the evidence but about acting upon an allegation. The implicit presumption of guilt indicates that prejudice has considerable influence over the conduct of trials involving multiple cases of sex abuse.

In such trials there is a strong likelihood that many innocent defendants will be convicted along with those who are guilty. For some people this collateral damage is a small price to pay for the cause. It is worth noting that apologists for the Cleveland panic still regularly comment that the fact that 27 of the original 121 children diagnosed by the paediatricians as having being abused were ultimately taken into some form of care somehow justifies the events, even though in 96 of the 121 cases the courts dismissed the allegations.

Large-scale trawling operations like Yewtree are always likely to find confirmation for their initial assumptions. The American sociologist Robert Merton developed his concept of the 'self-fulfilling prophecy' to account for the tendency for people's definition of what is real to be experienced as real in their consequence. Merton argued that initial assumptions and beliefs about a situation played an important role in establishing the meaning that those assumptions had for its outcome.[21] It is evident that Operation Yewtree is influenced by the conviction that its investigation of the past will uncover more than just the criminal acts of an individual. Consequently it is soliciting witnesses and allegations of sex abuse against individuals whose only connection to Savile is that they worked together or that they may have incidentally known one another.

The arrests of a number of well-known pop stars, radio personalities and celebrities and entertainers, and constant hints that others are being

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investigated, have fostered the impression that what is at stake are not the acts of individual predators but the institutionalisation of a culture of abuse. Some of those targeted have been arrested not in connection with child abuse but – in the case of the comedian Jim Davidson (who denies any wrongdoing) – in response to allegations dating back 25 years made by two women who were then in their mid-twenties. In this way it is inevitable that connections between the different cases will be made and networks imagined.

Twenty-first-century demonology

The meaning of evil has changed with the passing of time. As one important study points out, in previous times 'evils were divided into matters of nature, metaphysics, or morality'. Since modernity evil has been confined to what was called 'moral evil', which is the product of human will; it is intentional, malicious and meaningless.[22] Behind evil lurk vested interests, a hidden agenda and maybe a conspiracy. That is why the story is not so much about Savile as about groups of powerful men and important institutions who bear a share of responsibility for his misdeeds. As Webster argues, 'once child abuse had been redefined not simply as a social ill, which it undoubtedly was and is, but as the supreme evil of our age, it was perhaps inevitable that ancient demonological fantasies would be mobilised again'.[23]

The 'discovery' of Satanic Ritual Abuse (SRA) shows how the ideology of evil constructed around child abuse can draw on the resources of pre-modern demonology. In the US since the 1980s Satanic myths have been internalised by sections of professions such as psychotherapy, social work and law enforcement. One American survey of 2,272 clinical psychologists found almost 3,000 cases reported by 802 psychotherapists who claimed that they had encountered at least one case of SRA. A 1995 national survey of a sample comprising 706 district attorneys, 1,037 social service workers and 2,912 law enforcement agents found that 302 respondents had encountered at least one SRA case.[24]

In the 1990s, a significant proportion of Americans believed that SRA accusations were 'real and serious'. One 1994 survey reported by *Redbook* magazine found that 70 per cent of Americans 'believe that at least some people who claim that they were abused by satanic cults as children, but repressed the memories for years are telling the truth'.[25] Other surveys

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indicated that a significant percentage of American and British psychotherapists, social workers and counsellors accepted that 'SRA accusations are more or less accurate accounts of Satanic cult crime'. A small survey conducted in a county in southern California among 53 child protection social workers who held master's degrees and had 3–15 years' work experience found that 45 per cent of the respondents agreed with the claim that 'satanic ritualistic abuse involves a national conspiracy or network of multi-generational perpetrators where babies, children and adults are sexually assaulted, physically mutilated, or killed'.[26] As one 1998 American sociological study of this phenomenon noted, 'This research means that thousands of professionals who claim authority in understanding human behaviour believe that there exists a real threat from satanic cult abusers.'[27]

In Britain claims-making about Satanic abuse gained respectability when the NSPCC circulated 'Satanic indicators' to help social workers to recognise the profile of a likely Satanist.[28] In the 1980s many child protection professionals were convinced that organised groups of Satanists were preying on youngsters, and numerous children were taken into care. A network of child protection 'experts', therapists and social workers were instrumental in promoting the idea that SRA was a significant threat to British children. Nottinghamshire Social Services played a leading role in promoting the crusade against Satanist child abusers, helping to launch RAINS (Ritual Abuse Information Network and Support), an organisation designed to publicise the perils of Satanism.

A series of inquiries ultimately concluded that the claims of SRA made by Nottinghamshire Social Services were without substance. But by that time numerous families faced the nightmare of their life being destroyed by zealous witch-hunters who took their children away. Others faced long jail sentences for crimes that were figments of the scaremongers' imagination. And although in many of the legal proceedings prosecutors failed to make the charges stick, many innocent parents – in the UK and especially in the US – were framed for a crime that they did not commit and that did not exist.

It is important to recall that scaremongering about SRA was uncritically internalised by the mainstream British media. *Community Care*, one of the most influential professional magazines for social workers, carried an article titled 'When the Truth Hurts' in March 1989. It reported on a case in Nottingham in which children had been used as a 'tool for the promotion of ritualistic acts that could only be described as satanic'.[29]

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What the enlightened social worker readership of *Community Care* made of allegations of children being abused by 'adults in strange costumes; being forced to eat excreta, drinking blood from animals' is far from evident. But over time the reporting of dreadful Satanic abuse cases in social work publications must have had an impact on these professionals' imagination.

Credence to the danger posed by ritual abuse rings was also provided by an article that denounced those who were sceptical about this threat, published in *The Guardian* in 1990.[30] In the same year an article titled 'Vortex of Evil' in *The New Statesman* warned of this dark peril.[31] This was followed up by an article titled 'Satanic Claims Vindicated'.[32] An article in *The Independent* titled 'Former High Priestess Tells of Her Satanic Life' reported that she 'makes her living at "Devil busting", visiting schools throughout Britain to warn of the dangers of Satanism'.[33] And in October 1990 the Channel Four documentary series *Dispatches* attempted to prove that Satanic cults existed and were active.

The belief that SRA was widespread persisted well into the 1990s. The belief justified the veritable witch-hunt waged by moral crusaders against what they perceived as organised rings of Satanist parents and adult collaborators. It was not until 1994, when a government-commissioned research report, *The Extent and Nature of Organised Ritual Abuse*, was published, that this crusade was discredited. The author of this report, the anthropologist Jean La Fontaine, reviewed 84 alleged cases of ritual abuse and found that, in fact, 'there was no evidence of Satanic abuse'.[34] The then UK Secretary of State for Health, Virginia Bottomley, declared that La Fontaine had 'exposed the myth of Satanic abuse'.[35]

Echoing Bottomley, the sociologist John Pratt wrote of a similar pattern at work in Canada. He described how some of the alarmist themes associated with the idea of organised child abuse had been 'largely discredited', how 'there are, after all, no paedophile rings; there is no ritual abuse; recovered memories cannot be trusted; not all victimization claims are legitimate'.[36] However, the exposure of the myth of one conspiracy theory does not necessarily negate the power of conspiracy thinking as a whole. And of course the fears of the past do not disappear from the imagination.

Our moral universe continues to be framed through ideas about good and evil. Myths of pure evil from the distant past are sometimes refracted through the cultural idioms of modern society. That is why it was possible for Satan to come alive and frighten ordinary folk in some

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of the most modern Western societies. As one observer noted, Satan's comeback was achieved through the 'transfer of his story to children and child sexuality'. With a note of sarcasm, he stated that this was effected by 'boldly redrawing his whole act' and 'ditching the Faustian stage effects and emerging as a child molester'.[37] The emergence of Satanic Ritual Abuse as a source of public fear occurred through the cultural adaptation of the Devil to late twentieth-century anxieties about child abuse, demonstrating how an ancient superstition could be revitalised and turned into a very modern panic by fuelling apprehension about the molestation of children. According to one study there were more than 60 North American Satanic rumour panics between 1982 and 1992.[38]

There is little doubt that this heightened sense of insecurity about Devil-worshipping cults was a by-product of an unprecedented climate of paranoia about child molestation. Outwardly these rumour panics appeared as merely the updated version of an old theme. One observer stated that depictions of these Satanic rituals were 'like identikit pictures, slightly varied combinations of precisely the same elements found in the charges against heretics, Jews, witches and their scapegoats of the past'.[39] But such similarities notwithstanding this was a panic that was fuelled by apprehensions and concerns whose meaning is quite distinct from the frenzy that sometimes captured communities in the late Middle Ages. It is the obsessive regime of child protection characteristic of our era which has fostered a climate hospitable to fantasies about Satanic cults.

Conspiracy theories built around medieval themes of Satanism were always likely to invite scepticism from secular quarters. But more secular variants of organised child abuse, such as Internet paedophile rings and organised networks of predators, continue to communicate the message of conspiracies. The belief that abuse is organised by a carefully orchestrated conspiracy of child abusers explicitly devoted to this cause is widespread. Such conspiracist imaginings have influenced official reaction to the Savile scandal. This disposition was demonstrated by David Gray, one of the authors of the first Operation Yewtree report, when he stated that although there was no evidence to suggest that Savile was part of a paedophile ring, he might have been part of 'an informal network' of predators.[40] Speculative comments of this nature are sadly likely to be interpreted as facts.

One possible reason contemporary society continues to be unusually hospitable to conspiratorial thinking is that it is experiencing what I

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have described elsewhere as a 'crisis of causality'.[41] The certainties of the modern era of scientific thinking have given way to a time when society finds it difficult to manage uncertainty. Consequently the world is perceived as a perilous, out-of-control environment that we find difficult to grasp. Without the guidance of knowledge world events can appear to be random and arbitrary acts that are beyond comprehension.

This crisis of causality does not simply prevent society from grasping the chain of events that has led to a particular outcome. It also diminishes the capacity to find meaning in what sometimes appear to be series of arbitrary events. One of the most important ways in which the sense of diminished subjectivity is experienced is as the feeling that the individual is being manipulated and influenced by hidden powerful forces. That is why we frequently attribute unexplained physical and psychological symptoms to unspecific forces in the food we eat, the water we drink, an extending variety of pollutants and substances transmitted by new technologies and other invisible processes.

The crisis of causality is experienced as a world where most important events are shaped and determined by a hidden agenda. Conspiracy theory constructs worlds where everything important is manipulated behind our backs, and where we simply do not know who is responsible for our predicament. In these circumstances we have no choice but to mistrust.

Notes

1 See, for example, 'David Icke Identified Savile as a Procurer of Children for the Royal Family Years Ago', *Before It's News* website, 14 October 2012, http://beforeitsnews.com/eu/2012/10/david-icke-identified-savile-as-a-procurer-of-children-for-the-royal-family-years-ago-2455358.html (accessed 28 January 2013).

2 See a well-documented analysis of Watson's role in 'Is Tom Watson in Danger of Fuelling a New Paedophile Panic?', Nelson Jones, *The New Statesman*, 9 November 2012, http://www.newstatesman.com/nelson-jones/2012/11/tom-watson-danger-fuelling-new-paedophile-panic (accessed 21 January 2013).

3 '10 Days That Shook My World', Tom Watson, *Tom Watson MP* blog, http://www.tom-watson.co.uk/2012/11/10-days-that-shook-my-world (accessed 21 January 2013).

4 'Threats Will Not Stop Me Digging, Vows Tom Watson', Tom Watson, *The Star on Sunday*, 4 November 2012.

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5 For a more extreme version of conspiratorial thinking, see David Icke's 'Jimmy Savile ... Doorway to the Cesspit', 3 November 2012, http://simianpress.com/tag/harold-wilson (accessed 24 November 2012).
6 Tom Watson's letter is reproduced on his website at http://www.tom-watson.co.uk/2012/11/letter-to-david-cameron-regarding-child-sex-abuse-investigation (accessed 28 January 2013).
7 'Cyril Smith Rumours Were Known to Liberal Party', Robert Booth, *The Guardian*, 30 November 2012.
8 See discussion in Webster (2005) p. 570.
9 La Fontaine (1998) p. 58.
10 La Fontaine (1998) p. 169.
11 Webster (1998) p. 12.
12 'Throwing the Net Wide – Jimmy Savile: How the Police Investigation Grew', Vikram Dodd, *The Guardian*, 28 October 2012.
13 'Throwing the Net Wide – Jimmy Savile: How the Police Investigation Grew', Vikram Dodd, *The Guardian*, 28 October 2012.
14 See, for example, 'Stockport Solicitors Launch Appeal for Jimmy Savile Abuse Witnesses', Quality Solicitors website, http://www.qualitysolicitors.com/abneygarsden/news/2012/10/stockport-solicitors-launch-appeal-for-jimmy-savile-abuse-witnesses (accessed 3 December 2012).
15 Gray and Watt (2013) p. 4.
16 Webster (2005).
17 Webster (2005) pp. 131–2.
18 Home Affairs Select Committee, *The Conduct of Investigations into Past Cases of Abuse in Children's Homes*, Fourth Report (HC 2001–02, 836-I).
19 La Fontaine (1998) p. 103.
20 Quoted in Webster (2005) p. 549.
21 Merton (1948).
22 Neiman (2004) pp. 267–8.
23 Webster (1998) p. 39.
24 Victor (1998) p. 545.
25 Ross (1994) p. 88.
26 Victor (1998).
27 Victor (1998) p. 545.
28 Jenkins (1992) pp. 189, 192.
29 'When the Truth Hurts', Christine Johnston and Judith Dawson, *Community Care*, 30 March 1989.
30 'Secret Lives', Valerie Sinason, *The Guardian*, 3 November 1990.
31 'Vortex of Evil', Judith Dawson, *The New Statesman*, 5 October 1990.
32 'Satanic Claims Vindicated', Bea Campbell, *The New Statesman*, 9 November 1990.
33 'Former High Priestess Tells of Her Satanic Life', *The Independent*, 2 October 1990.

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34 La Fontaine (1994).
35 'Satanic Abuse Dismissed as "Myth" by Government Inquiry', Rosie Waterhouse, *The Independent*, 3 June 1994.
36 Pratt (2009) p. 70.
37 Kincaid (1998) pp. 175 and 176.
38 Cited in Kincaid (1998) p. 176.
39 Briggs (1996) p. 410.
40 Cited in 'Savile Spent Every Waking Minute Thinking about Abuse', Martin Robinson, *The Daily Mail*, 11 January 2013.
41 Furedi (2005) ch. 4.

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