

# The Abduction of Credibility: A Reply to John Paley

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## SUMMARY

This response takes issue with John Paley's paper 'Satanist Abuse and Alien Abduction' (this issue) in a number of areas: his definition of satanic ritual abuse (SRA); the parallels he draws between SRA and alien abduction; his assertions that there is no evidence of SRA and that accounts of SRA can be viewed as urban legends; and his 'temporal lobe connection' conclusion.

It is difficult to know where to begin in responding to John Paley's paper. However, perhaps it is reasonable to start from his own admission that the piece is based entirely on library research, and question whether this is an adequate approach to an issue which has generated so much confusion, debate and distress. It is also worth noting at this early point that Paley makes little effort to explain what relevance his work has to social work practice: how the parallel he draws with alien abduction is expected to affect social work, and especially how it might benefit front line child protection workers and their managers.

Our own approach is based far more in our experience, yet we are not Paley's 'over-zealous therapists'. He appears to think that it is only these people who believe the testimonies of survivors of satanic ritual abuse (SRA); he is mistaken. We are, respectively, a law student and a researcher into child abuse and violence against women. We are, also, both feminists and atheists, who have worked within the rape crisis movement, and it was through this work that we first encountered adult

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women struggling to cope with memories of SRA. All of these women have had what Paley (and the psychiatric professions) term Multiple Personality Disorder (in DSM-IV it has been renamed Dissociative Identity Disorder), which we prefer to name simply as 'multiplicity'.

We should also make clear, at the outset, that we do not necessarily believe that all of the memories that these women have told us have literally happened. It is quite clear to us that these abusers are skilled in using trickery. For example, women and children speak of being raped by Satan, and by Father Christmas. Since we do not believe that either of these entities exists, this is clearly trickery. Indeed, as one of us has written elsewhere (Cook *et al.*, 1995/96), we believe that, in supporting survivors, it is important to enable them to recognize and unpick these deceptions, to help to diminish the 'supernatural' power they attribute to their abusers.

Our response to Paley's paper will concentrate on SRA, rather than alien abduction, since we claim no knowledge of the latter. In this piece we explore the vexed questions of definitions, evidence supporting accounts of SRA, and arguments which Paley himself develops. Before moving into these areas we wish to note at this point that neither Paley's central comparison nor (some of) his arguments are original; they feature in Jeffery Victor's (1993) book *Rumours of Evil: The Satanic Cult Scare and the Creation of Imaginary Deviance*.

## CONTESTED MEANINGS

Defining SRA (and any form of child abuse) is a contested issue. Paley appears to accept the definition used by La Fontaine (1994). This is a particularly restrictive definition, in which the motive needs to be primarily one of devil worship for the abuse to qualify as satanic, or satanist. Quite how one might deduce such clarity of motive from the accounts of children and adults is an open question which the supporters of this definition have yet to answer. The alternative position, to which we subscribe, defines SRA in relation to behaviour rather than motive, specifying elements in the abuse which distinguish it from other forms of sexual abuse. Even here there is no firm consensus, but the following is the definition used by the Manchester University research team which developed the database on which La Fontaine relied in part for her own work (see the section on evidence, below, for further discussion of their differing interpretation of the data):

situations in which the abuse was accompanied by ceremonies or trappings of the occult, witchcraft or Satanism. The ritual was either part of a belief system or behaviour designed to facilitate the abuse (Gallagher *et al.*, 1996, p. 217).

The New South Wales Sexual Assault Committee researched the issue of ritual abuse for a 1995 publication (NSW Sexual Assault Committee, 1995). Aware of the disputes surrounding the terms 'satanism' and 'ritual abuse' they opted for the term 'organised sadistic abuse', with the explicit intention of shifting the debate from the attribution of motive to the behaviours children are subjected to.

For many practitioners and voluntary sector workers, who have supported adults and children, it remains an open question whether any or all of these organized groups are primarily concerned with engaging in satanic religious practices, or have merely devised a powerful mechanism for exerting control over others and which may also heighten their own sense of pleasure (Lundgren, 1995). The far more pressing question for practitioners is how to support these children and adults, who clearly believe in the all-powerful nature of their abusers. In the face of their visibly expressed terror, it is difficult to retain rational scepticism, and one's priority is how to provide effective practical and emotional support.

Paley, however, appears to be more concerned with respect for intellectual ideas and ideals. In concluding, he asks for our sympathy for La Fontaine, who is depicted as another academic 'caught in a war of words'. Academic ideas and ideals have, for centuries, been constructed by and for the benefit of an élite. They have frequently been used against outsiders; women and children are amongst those who have traditionally been relegated to the margins. A feminist standpoint involves beginning by listening to these excluded groups, respecting the testimonies of women and children before the book-based research of privileged academics.

This academic debate on definitions eventually becomes meaningless, since both La Fontaine and Paley acknowledge that 'ritual abuse' does exist. If we accept a definition based on behaviour rather than motive, the distinction between 'satanic' and 'ritual' abuse ceases to have the same significance. Ultimately, whether called 'satanic' or 'ritual abuse' the key issue is that children are being sadistically abused.

## SO WHAT IS THE ARGUMENT?

Most children know what it means to have 'butterflies in your tummy'. but perhaps only those who have been made to eat butterflies believe they are actually living there. However, all of us know how literally children take the things adults say—after all, they believe in Father Christmas and the tooth fairy, don't they? From this perspective, it is hard to see why professionals (and particularly those in the criminal

justice system) struggle to take children's testimony of SRA seriously. But these children tell of things we don't want to think any adult would make them believe. We find it too horrific, so we conclude that children's accounts cannot be true.

The same response was evident in relation to the holocaust; it was so intolerable, it simply was not possible. However, there is now a climate of belief in those inconceivable events, based on the evidence that is available and, crucially, on the testimonies of survivors. Some of these survivors have documented a nazi belief that the scale of their atrocity would mean that the world would never believe it had happened (Levi, 1987). And, indeed, there was at one time a danger that this could happen (Rittner and Roth, 1993).

It seems possible—even likely—that those who perpetrate SRA are using the same methods. They ensure that survivors' testimony is so 'unbelievable' that it is not credible. The more explicit stories come close to the nastiest horror movie one could imagine. This parallel has itself been noted as a reason to dismiss survivors' accounts. But, then again, might the connection be the other way round: that the fictional plots of horror movies draw on an obscured reality?

There are many detractors who do not believe that SRA exists. Paley however, wishes to distance himself from this position. He tells us at the beginning of his paper that he is 'reluctant to claim that satanist abuse does not exist', and that '[t]he similarities between satanist abuse and abduction do not, in themselves, demonstrate that reports of either are necessarily false'. However, he develops his argument in a way which leads him to conclude that it is '*very likely* that there are cases in which an apparent memory of satanist abuse is an artefact of the "retrieval" process' (p. 67 emphasis added). In other words, these are not literal memories of things that happened. At this point, the distinction between Paley and the many others who contest the existence of SRA becomes so indistinct as to be irrelevant.

### PALEY'S PARALLELS

As we have already indicated, we are not able to review these in detail, since we have no experience (direct or otherwise) of alien abduction. That said, some of the statements Paley makes about SRA do bear further investigation.

First, Paley draws a number of parallels of context, concentrating on a presumed common history of increased reporting following publication of key texts and in a similar time-scale. Other parallels could have been drawn with physical abuse of children (following Kempe's work

in the 1960s), and later on with sexual abuse of children. Then again, another available parallel is with domestic violence, following the beginnings of the refuge movement, in the UK and elsewhere, in the early 1970s. None of these is (of course) chosen as a 'parallel', since it is no longer acceptable to contest the reality of physical and/or sexual abuse of children and women.

Paley's next group of connections centres on the victims. They are generally female, they report repeated incidence, beginning in childhood with a 'clustering' in adolescence, and with cross-generational effects. The same can of course be said for the onset of menstruation. It happens to girls, it begins in early adolescence, and once the onset has occurred it is repetitious and there is a decided cross-generational effect with one parent almost always reporting similar experiences. Perhaps this rather foolish parallel illustrates how useful such connections really are. What they do is focus our attention on the construction of similarities between disparate things, and away from the differences between them.

### RETRIEVAL OF MEMORIES

Paley's next set of parallels concern the retrieval of memories of SRA and alien abduction, an area which warrants closer examination. Paley begins his section on retrieval by claiming that adult victims (of both phenomena) 'rarely have "natural" memories of the events they ultimately recall'. This claim is repeated in various forms throughout his paper, in suggestions that memories of SRA are generally retrieved through hypnosis and that amnesia of various forms is usual.

These suggestions link Paley with the proponents of so-called 'false memory syndrome' (there is no such recognized 'syndrome' or diagnosis), who make similar claims. We have yet to see any evidence that these memories do 'generally' surface in this way, and have a good deal of experience to the contrary. We have both worked, for example, with adult women who have had memories spontaneously, and in circumstances quite unlike the relative safety of a therapist's office. The records of telephone helplines, made available after the broadcast of programmes on SRA, also demonstrate that therapy is not required to trigger memories or prompt accounts of SRA (see for example, Snelling *et al.*, 1993). Many of the arguments in support of 'false memory syndrome' (and some of Paley's more unpalatable suggestions) rest on the assumption that the 'over-zealous therapists' (whose over-zealousness is defined in terms of their belief in the existence of SRA) implant 'memories' of events that have not really occurred, or at least encourage

interpretation of real events through a lens that assumes they are/were parts of satanic ceremonies. 'Hypnosis is very frequently used in assisting recall for . . . satanist abuse . . . victims', states Paley (p. 50) Whilst not disputing that this is the context in which some memories surface, it is none the less the case that some victims never experience hypnosis (or even therapy) during their retrieval of memories. There are adults who have 'natural' memories of SRA, and many of the children volunteer their stories, not only without hypnosis or therapy, but also in 'naturalistic' settings.

Paley conflates these discussions of memory retrieval with comment on the extreme dissociation experienced by many survivors of SRA. He appears to wish to suggest that this dissociation might in itself cast doubt on the reliability of retrieved memories. However, it is possible to turn this argument around, and to view extreme dissociation as evidence which supports the memories of abuse.

Multiplicity is an extreme form of dissociation, and, with other forms of dissociation, it can be viewed as a rational and creative coping mechanism for dealing with unbearable events which the victim (commonly a small child) cannot ward off in any other way. Since knowing what has happened is threatening to the child's sense of self and relationships with others, she simply forgets what has happened. Later in life, perhaps in adulthood, she may remember, and her memories may be triggered by any number of events—perhaps by living in safety, or by having her own child, or by the death of an abuser.

In multiplicity, the process is slightly more complex. Using the same scenario—a small child trying to cope with abuse—it can be illustrated thus. Instead of simply forgetting what has happened, the child wishes she wasn't there. So, she 'goes away' (inside herself, but with no consciousness) and, instead, another part of her is present. These parts can ultimately be many, and can co-exist, retaining apparently separate consciousness. Life can be very fractured and incoherent for adults who are multiple; however, this does not indicate that their memories are not reliable. Indeed, the women we have met have an extraordinary ability to remember detail (including being able to quote back, verbatim, conversations which we have had weeks or months previously). Paley states that the accounts of SRA survivors 'often contain contradictions, inconsistencies and apparent impossibilities' (p. 50). He goes on to list possible explanations for these, omitting that the sheer trauma of their experiences, and the distress which accompanies remembering, may account for some of these difficulties.

It should be made clear that living with multiplicity does not have to be chaotic. Once connection and co-operation between the fragmented parts has been re-established, it is possible for adults (and children)

who are multiple to live very 'normal' lives (Cook *et al.*, 1995/6; Hocking and Company, 1992).

So, if dissociation is understood as a reasonable way of coping with abuse, then perhaps we can begin to see the appearance of extreme dissociation as indicating that memories of abuse are likely to be true, rather than the converse. American psychiatrists, well versed in the field of multiple personality, suggest that this is so of multiplicity, reporting incidence of some form of child abuse in around 90 per cent of the cases of MDP they have seen (Braun and Sachs, 1985). In contrast, and interestingly in terms of Paley's parallels, he acknowledges that there are 'no documented cases of MDP among [alien] abductees' (p. 56).

### HOW MUCH EVIDENCE WOULD BE ENOUGH?

Few of the sceptical commentaries are written these days—and Paley's is no exception—without the assertion that there is minimal, or even no, evidence to support the testimonies of children and adults who recount stories of extreme sadistic abuse. The requirement for irrefutable material evidence sets standards of proof far higher than those currently required in civil court child protection proceedings. It is also a different criterion to the one that applies in criminal courts. The standards of evidence demanded are far more stringent, too, than in social research, where it is not accepted practice to demand forms of corroboration additional to the responses (testimonies) of participants. We are profoundly concerned about the implications of this position for *all* cases of sexual abuse. The simple fact is that sexual abuse is different from physical abuse and neglect, in so far as there is frequently no evidence beyond the child's testimony. Quite what would constitute proof that perpetrators really believe in the devil/satanism/the occult, and how do we expect children to provide it? At issue here is not only why these additional requirements apply in relation to SRA, but also what the broader implications and (unintended) consequences may be for children and adults who have suffered any form of sexual abuse, and potentially any woman or child who reports being victimized.

With the above caveat in mind, it is also the case that the repeated assertion that there is no evidence to support accounts of ritual abuse has become impervious to modification. This position now has the status of an orthodoxy amongst sceptics. Presumably, convictions for SRA might be evidence sceptics would accept. This is, however, an impossible test since there is no jurisdiction where such a crime exists. Summit (1994, cited in NSW Sexual Assault Committee, 1995, p. 8) comments: 'while a number of cases have gone to trial in the US and other places,

and even though a number have resulted in convictions, the convictions are on charges related to conventional sexual abuse of children'. We cannot do justice here to the evidence which does exist, but offer some examples to challenge the notion that there is none.

Many of the early cases of ritual abuse in Britain were not found by therapists, nor were they the product of the use of hypnosis. Rather, they emerged in the context of routine child protection cases: cases where action had been taken or investigations initiated in relation to familiar situations—sexual abuse in families. The Nottingham case is a prime example. Eight children were taken into care as part of a joint social work and police investigation of incest in an extended family (seven other children from this family network were already in care, and the grandfather had been imprisoned for incest in 1975). A special social work team dealt with the case, and a total of twenty-five children were eventually removed. In February 1989, nine adults pleaded guilty to 53 charges and were imprisoned for a combined total of 150 years; three adult witnesses who had not been charged corroborated the children's accounts and admitted they had been coerced to take part in the rituals. At this point, before the media circus began, the social workers were praised for their management of the case by the Judge and by the Prime Minister (Dawson, 1990).

It was in this context, of an investigation that initially proceeded relatively routinely, that the children began to reveal more details about their experiences. This occurred in the everydayness of their lives with their foster mothers. The stories the children began to tell—separately and independently from one another—perplexed the foster mothers and the social work team; they literally found them 'incredible' and inexplicable.

We do not know for certain what these children experienced. We do know that the abuse was so horrific, and that they were so terrorised, that the effects on them were like those reported by victims of torture. All who met the children testified to a level of fear they had never encountered before (Dawson, 1990, p. 13).

Rather than grasping on to SRA quickly, all of the adults struggled with a range of ways to make sense of these accounts, but none fitted either the accounts or the behaviour of the children. They knew nothing about ritual abuse when the children began to talk of animal sacrifice, the ritual aspects of the contexts in which they were abused, and much more. They discovered 'ritual abuse' through trying to make sense of the reality of a number of distressed children. As the social workers began to take some of this evidence more seriously, the police withdrew their co-operation. Solicitors' advice was not to raise any of this material

in the criminal cases, but some was presented in wardship hearings where the Judge described some of what the children had experienced as 'satanic', and his unequivocal belief in the children's reality was confirmed on appeal (NSW Sexual Assault Committee, 1995).

As Judith Dawson (1990), the social work team leader at the time, concludes 'Even if they have not suffered each thing in physical detail, for somebody to have made them believe that they have is torture all the same' (p. 14). These social workers and foster parents were (like many before and after them) initially sceptics: individuals who had no reason (such as religion) to believe in ritual abuse. They became 'believers' through a process of trying to support children whose accounts they could neither wholly believe nor wholly dismiss.

Paley refers a number of times to La Fontaine's study but fails to mention the research done by a team at Manchester University (Gallagher *et al.*, 1996) which generated the dataset (and an additional one) on which La Fontaine's study was based. There is disagreement between the two sets of researchers as to what was found, and this is in no small part due to the fact that they worked with different definitions of ritual abuse (see earlier section). The Manchester team reports that, in the national survey of police forces and social services departments (based on self-report and respondent-completed questionnaires for all organized abuse cases in their areas for the previous 12 months), ritual abuse formed the largest single category of forms of organized abuse cases (29 per cent,  $n = 62$ ). The second dataset involved detailed record searches by the researchers—of 20,000 police and social services case files in eight local authority areas. The second method revealed that respondents to the national survey had underestimated the extent of organized abuse in their caseloads by a factor of more than nine. In the second dataset, ritual abuse comprised 8 per cent of cases; a lower figure than the survey,<sup>1</sup> but none the less significant, and considerably higher than that suggested by La Fontaine's study. It should be remembered at this point that these files related to child protection cases; all of these accounts of ritual abuse came from children.

The McMartin day-care case is invariably used as the paradigmatic example of the failure to find evidence. What is seldom noted about that case is that many of the child witnesses were cross-examined by up to seven defence attorneys (one ten-year old was in the witness box for 16 days), and that both trials resulted in hung juries. Virtually never referred to, either, is the fact that the parents never gave up their belief that something particular had happened to their children. In 1990, some years after the trials, when the site of the day-care centre was sold, the parents arranged for an archaeological excavation. The tunnels which the children had spoken of repeatedly were discovered<sup>2</sup>, as were various

animal bones (Summit, 1994, cited in NSW Sexual Assault Committee, 1995, p. 10). The site was then bulldozed by developers. The reports by independent academics remain, which confirm aspects of the children's stories that were (and have continued to be) presumed to have no evidence to support them.

Another revealing case involved the Presidio day-care centre, located on a US air base (NSW Sexual Assault Committee, 1995). The adults implicated were a teacher at the centre, Lt. Col. Michael Aquino, who was stationed on the base, and his wife. When reports of abuse emerged, investigations revealed that Aquino was a founder member of a satanic order, the Temple of Set, and was involved in the study of psychological warfare and brain-washing. A room was found on the base in which satanic messages and an inverted pentagram had been painted. The case was settled out of court, with the army paying damages to the parents of children involved.

Daniel Ryder, an investigative journalist, has undertaken lengthy research to discover documented cases of SRA which include a number of court cases and crime reports. For example: the body of John Doe no. 60, a drifter, was found in May 1988 in San Francisco with a pentagram carved in his chest, wax in his eyes, and his body virtually drained of blood. The investigation led to Clifford St Joseph who, when police arrived at his apartment, was involved in ritually abusing a 19-year old male who was hand-cuffed on the floor, unconscious, and surrounded by candles. This young man later gave evidence of the sexual abuse he had been subjected to for three days, and that he understood St Joseph had intended to sacrifice him to Satan. St Joseph was convicted on a number of counts (Ryder, 1995).

Civia Tamarkin, also an investigative journalist, has begun documenting the investigative failures of police officers in cases involving the possibility of SRA (1994a ; 1994b). In the second paper, she provides some detail on the 'Finders' case. Police evidence uncovered during the investigation included the following:

in one area of the warehouse according to the investigator's report, there appeared to be an altar. Jars of urine and faeces were located nearby. The search warrants also turned up nude photos of children. . . . An album contained a series of photos of children dressed in white sheets and participating in the execution, disembowelment, skinning and dismemberment of goats. . . . In fact the goat's head and goat skins were recovered by Virginia state police during a search of a farm belonging to the Finders group (Tamarkin, 1994b, p. 7).

Beyond these contemporary cases is a range of documentary and historical accounts which suggest that SRA and satanism have a past as well

as a present, something which cannot be argued with respect to alien abduction (see Hill and Goodwin, 1989; Boyd, 1991; Tate, 1991, for more details). In the light of all of this, we have to ask how much evidence would be enough for some of the sceptics to acknowledge that there is a case which requires answering.

URBAN LEGENDS

The attribution of accounts of SRA to urban legends—alongside references to the notion of ‘moral panic’—has been another familiar response, which Paley replays. In such attributions, there is seldom any detailed engagement with the meaning of either ‘urban legends’ or ‘moral panics’; rather, they are used as a convenient (and potent) shorthand to cast doubt. Contemporary examples of urban legends might be stories of sightings of the Loch Ness monster, or claims that such-and-such famous person is a lesbian or gay man because a friend of a friend of a friend knows them. George Greaves (1992) notes seven ways in which accounts of ritual abuse differ from the accepted understanding of urban legends. We summarize them in Table One.

TABLE 1. *Differences between SRA accounts and urban legends*

| SRA accounts  | Urban legends   |
|---|---|
| First person or eye witness accounts. Stories are told with accompanying emotions of terror, shame. There are forms of proof, such as scars on the body or medical corroboration of physical and/or sexual abuse. | The story is told second or third hand. The ‘hook’ of the story is told for its shock/enjoyment in the listener. There is seldom any supporting evidence. |
| The story is not linear, involves many events, and the telling takes place over time.   | The story is linear, complete in itself, and refers to a single event.  |
| SRA stories <i>do not</i> ‘circulate in general culture in the detail in which they are told’.  | Urban legends <i>do</i> ‘circulate in general culture in the detail in which they are told’.  |
| The stories are not brief, a complete telling would take many hours.  | As urban legend is designed to be told relatively quickly in company.   |
| There is no fun or delight in story.  | Depends on a ‘hook’ or punchline.   |

Source: Greaves, 1992.

## A 'SCIENTIFIC' SOLUTION?

Under the heading 'The temporal lobe connection?', Paley then turns to an apparently scientific explanation of how people might believe they remember things that have not in fact occurred. This, he claims, can apply both to experiences of alien abduction and to memories of SRA. The detail of his argument is not within the realm of our experience or expertise. Nevertheless, we do wish to venture comment on it.

The gist of the argument appears to be that people who experience temporal lobe epilepsy often have 'extraordinary' experiences during attacks, which they subsequently forget. Paley then suggests that people with no clinical diagnosis of temporal lobe epilepsy (and who do not have the associated indicative brainwave pattern) might have similar experiences. The assumption made is that these experiences are merely chimera, and that they might explain the memories which survivors recount.

However (from the perspective of two lay-women, at least), it would appear that this evidence can be looked at quite differently. Perhaps these experiences are not in fact delusions, but memories. And perhaps temporal lobe epilepsy, or at least the high degree of temporal lobe alpha activity which Paley suggests accompanies these experiences, is a brain function response to abuse and/or memories of it, rather than a biological quirk?

There is, also, the more vexed question of how this explanation can be applied to very young children, who also provide accounts — in their own words — of SRA. From where can they access information with which to 'create' these bizarre stories/experiences? Suffice to say, we are not convinced by his conclusion.

## FINAL THOUGHTS

Paley claims to be an uninterested observer who has happened across a set of links which he considers it his duty to inform us of. However, on closer examination he appears much more likely to be someone who has an opinion (that SRA does not exist), around which he then shapes his arguments.

During the course of his arguments, he mentions two other factors which we want to draw together. However, this needs to be prefixed with a story. As long ago as the 1860s, Tardieu told of a little girl who was subjected to cruelty, neglect and sexual abuse. She often told stories of falls or accidents which accounted for her injuries. Most unusually, for his day, Tardieu did not accept these excuses at face value (Tardieu,

1860). Paley claims, first, that 'patients diagnosed as having MPD are particularly susceptible to suggestion' (p. 50), and so vulnerable to the wiles of the 'over-zealous therapists'. Secondly, he comments that the 'false memory' lobby has recently produced a number of 'retractors': people who said they were survivors of SRA, and who have subsequently withdrawn their claims (p. 48). Given that survivors' accounts clearly tell us that SRA is often inter-generational, and that survivors' lives can be deeply embedded in networks of abusers, it is just as possible that the retractions were the outcome of suggestion (made to susceptible individuals), as that their original accounts were untrue. However, the sad truth is that there are plenty of people, and Paley is just one of these, who (unlike Tardieu) are far more willing to believe the retractions of adults and of children than they are to believe that the abuse really happened. In the process, they deny credibility to a much larger group, who do not retract their accounts of horrific and repeated abuse and degradation. Rather than remain at the level of sterile academic debate, would not the 'scientific' approach be to investigate whether there are grounds for credibility? As Ruth Shaffer (1993) points out: 'At this stage, it seems more responsible scientifically to investigate claims of ritualistic abuse than it is to ignore or deny them' (p. 208).

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## NOTES

1. The researchers suspect that this anomaly arose because ritual abuse cases were more 'memorable' for the respondents to the national survey and because, in the second dataset, individual abusers who abused several children concurrently were included as an additional category of organized abuse.
2. Interestingly, the children in Nottingham also talked of tunnels, but this was never investigated by the police. Tunnels were actually found and documented by investigative journalist Bea Campbell and filmed for the Channel 4 *Dispatches* documentary *Listen to the Children*, broadcast in October 1990.