

AN EXAMINATION OF RITUAL ABUSE LAWS:
AN INTEGRATIVE CONFLICT MODEL
ADAPTATION FOR A CONTEMPORARY
ANALYSIS OF LAW FORMATION

By

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Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
December, 2006

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Purpose of the Study	2
Contributions of the Study	3
Preview of the Remaining Chapters	3
II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	
Social Construction of Evil	6
Western Concepts of Evil	8
Christian Concepts of Evil	11
From Satan to Witches	13
U. S. Experience in Witchcraft to Modernity	29
The Modern Context and Setting for Ritual Abuse Laws of the 1980s & 1990s	33
III. REVIEW OF LITERATURE	
Demonic Perspectives and Structural Bases	37
Origins of Law	43
Structural Bases & Traditional Theory	45
Vacuums of Legitimacy	46
Pivotal, Antecedent, and Triggering Events	52
Counter Triggering Events.....	55
Inherent Conflict	56
IV. THEORETICAL CONCERNS	
Discussing Integrated Conflict Theory and Its Development	61
Constructionist Approach	67
Inductive Logic and Grounded Theory	70

V. METHODOLOGY

Discussion the Content Analysis of Documents	72
Development of Themes	74
Establishing Categories.....	76
Application of Data to Theory	76
Content Analysis of Interviews.....	77
Research Plan Submitted to OSU-IRB	78
Phenomenology as Methodology	80

VI. ANALYSIS

Introduction	85
The Modern Historical Emergence of Ritual Abuse	86
The Case Study of California	95
Ritual Abuse Associated with Youth Culture	96
Ritual Abuse Associated with Child Abuse	99
Mental Health Experts Alliance with Parent Groups	103
The Medical Profession Reaction	109
How the Media ties up Loose Ends.....	112
The Political Process	116
The California Ritual Abuse Law	130
Summary of the California Case Study	133
The Case Study of Idaho	135
Why Mental Health Professionals Supported Ritual Abuse	138
The Idaho Ritual Abuse Law	144

VII. A VIEW FROM THE EXPERTS

Interviews and Insights from Experts past and present	153
Experts for Ritual Abuse Laws	153
Experts against Ritual Abuse Laws	159

VIII. APPLYING THE INTEGRATED CONFLICT MODEL

Introduction	164
Legitimacy and Fear Factors	165
Summary of the Idaho and associated California Case Studies	168
Layers of Legitimacy	173
Groups and Fear Factors	180

IX. CONCLUSIONS & INSIGHTS

Limitations of the Study.....	192
Contributions and Implications for Future Research.....	197

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	199
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LIST OF DOCUMENTS

Documents	Page
1. The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders Definition for Multiple Personality Disorder.....	104
2. The First Bill Analysis in California aimed towards a Ritual Abuse Law	117
3. The Second Bill Analysis in California aimed towards a Ritual Abuse Law	120
4. The Ritual Abuse Law for the State of California	130
5. How to accomplish Ritual Abuse Legislation by Larry Jones	142
6. The Ritual Abuse Law for the State of Idaho	144

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures	Page
Figure #1, The Integrated Conflict Model	63
Figure #2, Application of the Integrated Conflict Model to Ritual abuse Concepts	64
Figure #3, Associated experiences of Ritual Abuse, Repressed Memories and Multiple Personalities.....	112
Figure #4, Application of the Integrative Conflict Model to Ritual Abuse Concept and Thought in the Case Studies Used in this research	170
Figure #5, The Cycle of the Layers of Legitimacy applied to Ritual Abuse	174
Figure #6, Charismatic Groups and Associated Legitimacy in the Emergence and Social Construction of Ritual Abuse	176
Figure #7, The Process of Charismatic Legitimacy found in the Case Studies researched	177
Figure #8, Primary Fear Factors that Ritual Abuse emerged from	179
Figure #9, Summarization of Groups and Various Positions concerning Legitimacy and Fear Factors	188

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge Dr. John R. Cross the chair of my committee and the rest of my committee members, Dr. Gary Webb, Dr. Beth Caniglia and Dr. Jason Kirksey for all of their assistance, suggestions, and professional advice on the completion of this research project. Dr Cross was one of the best possible mentors a graduate student could possibly have when taking on a research project of this nature. I also wish to acknowledge my parents Horace and Betty Hodges for their support in whatever path in life I have taken. I also wish to acknowledge my friends; Adam Dasari, Meghan Probstfield, and Joseph Robert Richardson for all of their moral support, throughout this entire process. Also I wish to thank Dahlia Molloy for the editing of the grammar and, last but not least a special thanks to David Maxwell for the miracle of formatting that he performed on this dissertation. This has been the result of many efforts, and it has been a wonderful experience. I appreciate the privilege to advance my education.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Social Construction of Ritual Abuse and Ritual Abuse Law:

This research looks at the social construction, formation and development of ritual abuse laws. It is a look back to the decades when ritual abuse was considered a social problem, so much so that laws were enacted to contain and protect society from ritual abuses. One researcher in the topic area, Margaret Smith, (1993), states:

“If there is even a small chance that one ritual abuse claim is true, we owe it to all potential victims to explore the problem of ritual abuse in greater depth.

Why immediately discount those who say they were ritually abused when history reveals that religious and political obsession often leads to violence? Innocent women, children, and men were tortured during the Inquisition because of religious obsession. Adolf Hitler, in the name of political obsession, turned a whole country into a murdering nation by killing innocent Jews and other minority groups. Recently, near Waco, Texas, we once again saw how the obsessive spiritual beliefs of a group led by David Koresh who said he was the second coming of Christ, led to violence. Ritual abuse survivors say they were violently abused in religious rituals by groups that were using them as magical tools or that was trying to indoctrinate them into the belief system of the group. They say the groups are extremely violent and secretive, and hence do not live in communal settings, as was the case in Waco, Texas. Are claims of ritual abuse really that bizarre after we reflect upon the historical acts of groups that were obsessed with religion and politics?” (Smith 1993: vii).

The above statement is a good example of the proponents of ritual abuse law. It is this social dynamic of the fear of ritual abuse as a social construction and the resulting formation of law to prohibit ritual abuse that this author is interested in researching. At least five states currently have or have had ritual abuse laws that specifically prohibit

ritual child abuse. These are California, Idaho, Illinois, Texas and Louisiana. Other states have considered passing such laws. It is the social dynamic of why these states felt it was necessary to enact laws against ritual abuse in current modern times that led the author to consider this topic specifically. Does ritual abuse still exist? Or are innocent persons at risk because of the existence of ritual abuse laws? The passage of laws against ritual abuse seems to warrant the conclusion that ritual abuse is a public concern and a social problem. Another possibility is that this is part of a general trend of the re-emergence of the sacred.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study looks at elements such as legitimacy and other cultural aspects that were “fear factors” in the formation and latter creation of types of ritual abuse laws. Specifically it considers the events surrounding the social construction of ritual abuse and how those social constructions assisted the formation of ritual abuse law in those selected states, and in general and within a couple of those states for a more in-depth consideration for comparison and contrast purposes. The study should help to understand what happened and why. It should help to answer the following research questions: Who are making these claims of ritual abuse? Why are they making them? What social structures do they represent? What do they say? And finally, how do others respond? What are the catalysts or fear factors and processes involved that promote these social constructions into law? For those who make claims of ritual abuse, what are their motives? And finally, why are they successful? Why do we need ritual abuse laws when criminal sanctions already exist against the abuse of children in the form of other laws

already on the books? These issues are important because innocent individuals can be hurt and wrongfully convicted without empirical evidence to establish guilt.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

This study is relevant for two reasons. First, though there is no lack of studies and research regarding ritual abuse, there is a lack of research on the formation of ritual abuse law. Furthermore to this author's knowledge there has been no research on ritual abuse law from the theoretical perspective of Integrated Conflict Theory. This theoretical lens should provide a more comprehensive examination of laws associated with ritual abuse. Second, this study should add to general sociological understandings surrounding the social construction of ritual abuse laws and any similar legal social constructions formulated in fear and in times of emotional distress and during periods of social change. The reason for this is that Integrative Conflict Theory makes use of the best part of all the major root theories in sociology and therefore provides several perspectives.

PREVIEW OF REMAINING CHAPTERS

The author begins this research by dividing the study into six more chapters. The second chapter will focus on a general discussion of the concepts of evil and their affects on the origins of laws and specifically the historical background concerning the evolution and development of ritual abuse and ritual abuse laws. This chapter is mainly concerned with the historical pre-rational influences that have affected ritual abuse law before the onset of modernity.

The third chapter is a literature review and will focus on the sociological literature surrounding ritual abuse and ritual abuse law. This section will begin with notions of demonology in sociology up to more modern works concerning situations and

circumstances surrounding ritual abuse and ritual abuse law. This chapter should lay the foundation for the sociological lineages of thought that come out of theoretical demonology that later influence and impact ritual abuse laws and their formation. These structural bases coming out of demonology are further enhanced by issues of legitimacy and the public's perceived need or legal action against criminal acts. All of these levels come to a critical mass in the triggering events that arise out of the inherent conflict that exists in the total social environment of the era. Examples will be drawn from the historical background for each of these levels that help explain the need for the theoretical lens selected.

The fourth chapter will focus on the theoretical perspective that will be employed throughout the research process as an analytical tool providing a lens to make sense of ritual abuse sociologically. The theory to be applied will be a constructionist approach using a version of the Integrated Conflict Theory by McGarrell & Castellano (1991). This work allows us to get a theoretical understanding of how and why ritual abuse laws develop and form. This theory will consider structural foundations, triggering events and perceived criminal acts with corresponding demands for punishment leading to crime legislation and policy. Integrated Conflict Theory will portray the real life consequences of the social constructions generated by fear and social change affecting the dominant culture.

The fifth chapter is the methodology that will be used to organize the research. A triangulation will be employed here using 1. documents, 2. a content analysis of news papers, and 3. interviews of individuals. The content analysis will be a version of content analysis as designed by Babbie (1998) consisting of an analysis of literature, legal

documents, newspapers, and legislative committee minutes concerning the formation of ritual abuse laws. This data will also be supported by some interviews of lawmakers associated with the formation of ritual abuse laws. This will be a qualitative approach using rich descriptions and quotes to support analysis and arguments made in the conclusions as suggested by Denzin & Lincoln (1998:10,11).

The sixth chapter is the analysis section where the data will be applied to the theoretical perspective and analyzed for patterns forming elements, themes, and categories that lead to the development and social construction of ritual abuse laws. This will be accomplished by using the content analysis methodology of the preceding chapter producing data for comparison and contrast.

The seventh chapter is the conclusion that will discuss the findings of the analysis and will be dedicated to the final arguments regarding the development, evolution and formation of ritual abuse law. It will consider specific states in comparisons and contrasts with other states looking for generalities and unique differences as well as various levels of analysis. The last part of the conclusion chapter will present limitations of the study and also make some suggestions concerning the possibilities for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY & BACKGROUND INFORMATION

INTRODUCTION

Social Constructions of Evil:

The first problem in understanding ritual abuse law and its development from a sociological perspective is that of understanding cultural notions arising around the concept of evil. A brief historical survey is necessary to understand later sociological significance of patterns and their foundations. The problem here is one of definition.

Stanford Lyman (1978) argues that a major deficit in most sociological studies of deviance is the lack of any perspective by which to judge the evils of the modern world.

Lyman contends:

Evil is a term that is rarely found in a modern sociology text.....To the extent that sociological thought embraces the study of evil today, it does so under the embarrassing, neutered morality of “deviance.” Adopting for the most part an uncritical stance toward the normative structure of any given society, the . . . sociologist of deviance takes his cue from whatever the forces of law and restriction define as evil. Hence, the concerns of the vocal and powerful elements of a society become the resources for a sociological investigation of evil (1978: 1).

The concept of evil is important to this study because it directly affects belief systems that determine norms and values that become codified into law. Sociologically, Pfohl (1985) argues that the demonic perspective is the oldest known perspective of deviance. Its cures and solutions to deviance are found in the supernatural. Deviance

and or crimes are equal to sin. The demonic perspective differentiated little between various types of deviants. This was because all deviant actions were seen to be demonically inspired (1985: 20,25). There are several designations that define evil from Biblical to ethically relative ideas about evil and associated concepts across cultures and across time (Chandler 1991). The choices selected concerning the elements that define evil will greatly affect the results of any analysis. The concept of Evil involves epistemologies, or ways of knowing and systems of meaning and understanding along with accompanied explanations. In the West as with several other cultures these ways of knowing usually extend out of the society's religious social structures, belief systems and worldviews. Pfohl (1985) notes:

“From the demonic viewpoint deviant acts are believed to harm more than a particular or immediate victim. Each act of sin or deviance is also a transgression against God. Beyond that, it is also an act against the whole order of nature itself, against the entire cosmos. Every creature in the cosmos—all plants, rocks, animals, and fellow humans—is affected by the deviant behaviors of others. In this sense of deviance as “cosmic disruptions” is found in numerous religious and literary depictions. Deviance brings the storm or the shadow over the whole of the earthly world and human community” (1985: 21).

A conception of evil, for instance, as a powerful force in the form of an entity that is external to an individual which is destructive and chaotic with influence and power over mankind can be incorporated into a belief system. These belief systems can evolve into and be associated with behaviors, rituals and actions. The resulting possession is however often expressed in an individual, as an internal and psychological phenomenon. Ben-Yehuda (1990) states:

“In this respect, it is interesting to note that in the 1662 Salem witch-hunt, a witch who *confessed* was not executed. In these cases, the motivational accounting systems that “explained” witchcraft shifted responsibility from the conscious individual to external and uncontrollable elements” (1990: 26).

Pfohl (1985: 21) notes that it was a problem for the demonic perspective concerning whether or not an essentially good or innocent person ever become possessed? According to Pfohl it is unclear but may on occasion be possible. The dynamic of evil embodied as an external force in tension with individuals is a philosophical question that is debated currently and goes unresolved and depending upon which ideologies, worldviews, and social structures one consults, different answers emerge. Conceptions of evil can also change over time within the social structures that they become incorporated into and associated with. These same conceptions of evil internalized into a society become influential in social constructions of reality. These concepts can then be used and or manipulated by the forces of social control. (Turner & Edgley 1974; Norris and Potter 1986). Briefly these types of influences as well as others are presented here from various sources.

Western Concepts of Evil:

This research is concerned mainly with conceptions of evil in Western societies and later in the United States in particular. From these notions of evil come the associated concepts, rituals, and actions of social control that have been adopted over time to prohibit “evil” behavior. It is these rituals that are discerned as evil by the dominant culture that have caused laws to be formed that prohibit such behaviors and actions that are deemed evil. This in turn, as Turner and Edgley (1974: 28) note, provides for many a legitimate justification for certain questioned behaviors and actions for deviants and for the forces of social control. This notion according to Becker (1991) has resulted in abusive treatment of other individuals that are deemed “outsiders”.

“When a rule is enforced, the person who is supposed to have broken it may be seen as a special kind of person, one who cannot be trusted to live by the rules agreed on by the group. He is regarded as an “*outsider*” (1991: 1).

“But the person who is thus labeled an outsider may have a different view of the matter. He may not accept the rule by which he is being judged and may not regard those who judge him as either competent or legitimately entitled to do so. Hence, a second meaning of the term emerges: the rule breaker may feel his judges are outsiders (1991:2).... At the extreme, some deviants (homosexuals and drug addicts are good examples) develop full-blown ideologies explaining why they are right and why those who disapprove of and punish them are wrong” (1991:3).

From the above statement one can discern the conflict that arises and is inherent in these conflicting social constructions concerning evil. This is consistent with the work of Oaks (1938) that noted it was not only necessary to account for the disconcerting existence of the “other,” but one is also obliged to account and explain why such differences in the moral values of Europeans and the “others” had arisen. The various perspectives of others challenged the monopolistic claim on legitimacy and truth of the doctrines of the Judeo-Christian belief system. Such practices as infanticide, cannibalism, human sacrifice and what at first appeared as promiscuity reopened the problem of contradictions among cultural values and the inquiry into how these contradictions might be both explained and resolved. Many Western concepts concerning evil stem from Biblical sources. De Vries (1981: 182-183) notes that: “in both the Hebrew and Greek usage “evil” has primarily a pragmatic and qualitative sense. As judged by its appearance or effects, something is evil when it is worthless, corrupt, displeasing, ugly and sad. Other contexts portray evil as painful and injurious. As an extension of the latter “evil” means the trouble the distress and calamity which mankind and particularly Israel must endure. Evil in this sense is often spoken of as punishment or chastisement sent from God. Because under his providential control God uses evil for his

wise but severe purposes, he is spoken of as the author of evil. Israel's struggle with the theological meaning of evil constitutes one of the leading problems of the Old Testament. Often the Old Testament, and predominantly in the New Testament "evil" has moral and spiritual connotation. Thus it indicates the wrong men do to one another. It also indicates the moral badness, maliciousness, and perversity of the sinful heart. "The doers of evil" are therefore the wicked. The expression "good and evil covers the whole range of moral and spiritual possibilities, with their necessary consequences" (1981:182-183).

Dinkler (1981: 183) expands upon these ideas and notes that "the evil one" is a way of referring to Satan. The term occurs several times in the New Testament. There is no Old Testament equivalent. In the Old Testament, Satan is seen as an accuser and a tempter of mankind. In the New Testament these concepts are expanded and Satan is seen as the evil ruler of this world. This author contends that from these Biblical concepts derived the first ritual abuse laws for Europe and later in the United States. Ben-Yehuda (1980: 2) notes that actual Biblical verses became interpreted to be understood as ritual abuse laws such as "thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" and became norms and values that later were codified into religious European law. Holzer (2000: 558) contends that these verses used for the legitimacy of witch trials were actual mistranslations of scripture. This author further believes that these cultural ideas have become deeply rooted and meshed into the social fabric of society and exist in spite of all the gains of rationality in modern culture to the contrary. The possibility that these moral concepts laid the foundations for later ritual abuse laws is consistent with Oesterreich (1974) who states:

"The Book affording to us inhabitants of the European zone of culture our earliest glimpse of the states called "possession": is the New Testament. Bible

stories often give, in fact, an accurate picture of these states, which were extremely frequent in the latter days of the ancient world. To the authors of the new testament they were evidently very familiar, and their accounts, even should they be recognized as of little historical value, bear in themselves the stamp of truth. They are pictures of typical states exactly reproduced” (1974, [1921]: 7).

“Finally, as regards the artificial extinction of possession, it has always been suggestive in character and has even resulted from “exorcism,” that is to say, the emphatic ordering of the so-called demon to leave the possessed person. The stories of the Gospels are in this respect typical of the procedure of exorcism at all times. It has never varied, either in the time of Jesus or during the millenaries before or since. The exorcists always speaks to the demon and tries to induce him, by contingent threats and in the name of the deity (Jesus, etc.), to leave the possessed. The most frequent procedure has been one of threats and commands” (1974, [1921]: 100).

The above statement refers to the psychological state of possession. This author argues that it is not too much of a leap however to relate the same cultural understanding of the Biblical concepts of possession and exorcism by evil entities as the historical bases of understanding leading to ritual abuse laws in western civilization. The reason for this is that evil is seen as a force that is in direct opposition to mankind and related to all the ills, obstacles and pain that humans face in an earthly existence. Possession is the crowning victory in this struggle of evil against mankind. The elements of social control in Western societies had to develop the means to avert this possibility. These concepts developed out of Christian beliefs.

Christian Concepts of Evil:

Pagels (1995) contends that Christians went from being a persecuted minority to a persecuting majority as the Christian religion became the religion of the Roman empire. The conversion of the Roman Empire made Rome no longer the enemy but rather the actual head of Christian faith. From that point onward the Christian Church consolidated

its power and framed all other religions by law as heretic and or evil. Pagels (1995) contends:

“The evangelists’ various descriptions of the devil correlate with the social history of Satan—that is, with the history of increasing conflict between the groups representing Jesus’ followers and their opposition. By presenting Jesus’ life and message in these polemical terms, the evangelists no doubt intended to strengthen group solidarity. In the process they shaped, in ways that were to become incalculably consequential, the self-understanding of Christians in relation to Jews for two millennia” (1995: 111).

The idea expressed above portrays the social relevance between groups of believers and their religious struggles for legitimacy. The struggle for legitimacy also produced patterns of thought that established the social identity of Christians in relation to others that are non-Christian beyond that of the Jews. These norms and values once established would be applied to other groups with different religious belief systems. Wilber (1995) notes that,

Tellich (1967) believes, “This meant that the person who breaks canon law of doctrines is not only a heretic, one who disagrees with the fundamental doctrines of the church, but he is also a criminal against the state. Since the heretic undermines not only the church but also the state, he must be not only excommunicated but also delivered into the hands of the civil authorities to be punished as a criminal (Wilber 1995: 353).”

Wilber (1995) suggests that what Tellich states above is still a contemporary problem for religious segments of modern Western society. This is especially the case when it involves issues surrounding morality. It is interesting to note that concepts of evil and the struggle against evil are the social forces that bind together the church and state in early European development. Bloom (1995) suggests that this is consistent with aspects of human nature. Bloom argues:

Poetry, science, ideology, and religion—the blindmen’s canes with which we feel out the invisible world, the glue that binds us together as a collective creature whose cells are individual souls—help stir the social beast to a pecking – order –inspired cannibalism. And once the battle is over, the meal complete, and the rival society is no more, poetry, ideology, and religion serve a new purpose: They often become the torch that welds the citizens of the swallowed loser into a new pecking order. They help turn captive chunks of the vanquished group into parts of the newly enlarged superorganism (1995: 210).

This author believes this was a critical pattern of thought for Western Europe right up to the end of the witch trials in the late 1690s. The onset of modernity with the accompanying rationality may have diminished these notions of evil, but has never completely replaced them as a means of making sense of the world when it comes to understanding and explaining evil. In fact it can be debated that in some religious segments of modern society these notions supersede concepts of rationality.

From Satan to Witches:

With the fall of the Roman Empire, the Christian Church was still a social institution that could fill at least part of the void which was left. Old pre-Christian European religions were designated as Satanic and evil. As the Christian Church grew in power and influence with the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire the pressure against other groups was increased including other groups of Christians. Social institutions, such as the infamous Spanish Inquisition, were established to effectively deal with what was left of any competition. Ben-Yehuda (1980: 10) & Goode & Ben-Yehuda (1999: 153) contend that for this to take place six centuries of earlier church policy had to be re-framed. The prior policy had been that witchcraft among pagans was an illusion. This had been clearly stated in the Canon Episcopi which had to be neutralized before a new framework could be established. This was accomplished by attacking the validity of

the documents and that the contemporary witches were different than those of the past that were discussed in the Canon Episcopi. Greer (2004) notes in the case of Pagan religions of Europe the “orthodox” institutions were supported with later publications of witch-hunting books like the *Malleus Maleficarum*. This era became known as the “burning times” which lasted roughly from the 1400s to the 1700s (2004: 75). This author points out that the implications suggested here concerning the social construction of reality first through literature and then translated into actions are immense. This pattern of behavior which translated into actions out of religious belief systems was developed over centuries. It would become embedded into the culture and internalized into Western understanding and social structures.

According to Greer (2004) “the *Malleus Maleficarum*, which is Latin for the “Hammer of Witches” is a Witch-hunting manual written by the German friars Heinrich Kramer and Jakob Sprenger, first published in 1486. The most popular of all the witch-hunting manuals of early modern Europe. The *Malleus* provided a detailed account of official Catholic beliefs about witches, their actions and motives, and the proper methods for identifying them and obtaining confessions through torture (Greer 2004: 296; Pfohl 1985: 39; Harris 1989: 217; Ben-Yehuda 1980: 3, 11; Goode & Ben-Yehuda 1999: 143, 146). Oesterreich (1974: 101) notes “like so many other things in the Catholic Church, the growth of exorcism came to an end at the time of the Counter-Reformation. This was due to the publication in 1614, consequent on the repeated request of Paul V, of the *Rituale Romanum*. The rite of exorcism formulated therein has remained the accepted one up to the present time. James (1986: 116) notes that such works “became part of the body of European jurisprudence for three hundred years. They were on the bench of

every judge, the desk of every magistrate, and were accepted by both Catholic and Protestant legislators.”

This author believes these old literary works are important to this study because though they are not based on rationality, they are a form of ritual abuse law in its’ primordial state. They provide lineages of thought and precedence for future decisions and actions. Precedence has been of particular importance in the development of English law. Furthermore, they established patterns of thought in the forms of norms and values that are still held by some segments of society even in current modern times. This author contends that these types of concepts of evil were further enhanced by the poets like Dante (1993) and Milton (1975) whose works clarified the person of Satan, the conception of evil, and the conception of hell to the Christian west. Dante’s work *The Inferno* came out at roughly the beginning of the witch craze, and Milton’s work *Paradise Lost* came towards the end of the era. This literature was picked up by artists that later portrayed the concepts through images in the symbolic imagery of the arts. Furthermore the author contends that literature and art provided frameworks for the social construction of new and different realities concerning evil that were separate from the realities of the past. The arts and literature then indirectly gave support to new theologies and frameworks surrounding the concepts of evil, Satan, and hell. Ben-Yehuda (1980) notes that “the total ideological transformation in the perception of the witch, however did not take place until the 15th century, when it was crystallized, authorized and accepted. Greer’s definition above is consistent with definitions in the works of Robbins (1959: 337-340) and Spence (1968: 265-266). During the period of the burning time witch-hunts waxed and waned. Greer (2004) notes:

“While witch-hunting went on through most of Europe over a span of more than three centuries, individual hunts were a far more sporadic affair. Some areas suffered only a single outbreak of witch-killing during the entire period, while others underwent hunts three or four times in as many decades. Some hunts involved one or two trials, while others spun out of control into massive panics in which hundreds of people were arrested, tortured, and burned. The age and sex of the victim varied widely: while the majority of victims across Europe were women, and elderly unmarried women were especially at risk, some countries executed more men than women, and in the most extreme panics, men, women, and children from every level of society might be put to death” (Greer 2004: 76).

This is consistent with Ben-Yehuda (1980: 3) who notes that “the witch hunts did not affect all the areas of continental Europe in the same way and varied greatly in different countries and localities.” According to Harris (1989: 207) and Greer (2004) this heresy involved individuals making pacts with the devil in exchange for worldly wealth and power to do harm by magic. As the hunts spread, further details took their place in an expanding mythology; it was held that the Devil’s servants met at regular intervals in isolated places to feast, fornicate, and worship their master. This author notes that this notion of selling one’s soul to the devil for material gain has not been forgotten, and is in fact a part of our common language in the form of phrases such as “selling out” or “dancing with the devil” that are used when anyone ignores their higher convictions for the sake of materialism. Goode & Ben-Yehuda (1999: 143) note that consorting with the devil was an invented form of deviance. This is consistent with Erikson’s (1966) statement that:

“the idea of witchcraft, of course, is as old as history; but the concept of a malevolent witch who makes a compact with Satan and rejects God did not appear in Europe until the middle of the fourteenth century and does not seem to have made a serious impression on England until well into the sixteenth century (1966: 153).”

According to Greer (2004: 77) this was a new phenomenon, and not remnants of an old religion that had never been completely stamped out. Greer further notes:

“Wherever claims of witchcraft were subject to judicial oversight, wherever actual evidence was required or torture was barred, witch hunts tended to fizzle out quickly. This strongly suggests that the evidence for witchcraft as an organized religious movement simply didn’t exist” (2004: 77).

In any case the hunt for witches did turn up rituals and traditions that had survived from Pagan times (Greer 2004: 76-77). This author contends, it is these rituals as well as those admitted to under conditions of torture that became associated with evil that could rip the fabric of society and bring misery, destruction and death that were internalized by the dominant culture’s imagination. The social reaction was to create norms and values against these rituals and then later socialize those reactions into laws against witchcraft, Satanism or any other similar type of belief system. Though these laws were originally adopted for the protection of society against evil, they could also be manipulated in a number of ways to deflect attention to other venues. Greer (2004) contends that:

“Religious heresy, on the other hand, had been treated with the utmost savagery ever since the Roman Empire became Christian and the church first gained the power to back up its edicts with the legal machinery of the state. When Church officials came to believe witchcraft was a heresy—an organized system of religious belief opposed to Christian orthodoxy—this made any evidence of magical practice look like a sign of heretical beliefs, and brought the full power of the church and state to bear on the supposed heretics. In the process, theologians and intellectuals throughout Europe transformed the image of the witch from a superstitious and deluded old peasant to a secret participant in a diabolic conspiracy against the entire world” (2004: 76-77).

The above statement is very similar in notion to Durkheim’s (1984) rejection of the concept that criminal acts are condemned by society because the deviance was harmful or evil in and of itself. Rather he believed that integrative function of law was

the most important element instead of individual deviant acts. In other words laws against evil went from being just a form of protection for society to another form of creating social solidarity through the maintenance of social boundaries (Ben-Yehuda 1980: 14). Correcting the individual then provided guidance and direction for the rest of society. Ben-Yehuda (1980) argues:

“Dominican theory portrayed witchcraft and witches as the negative mirror image of the true faith. This made it possible to attribute all the undesirable phenomena associated with the anomie of the age to the conspiracy of Satan and the witches against Christianity. By associating everything negative with witchcraft, the ideal components of the true faith were positively highlighted. In this sense the witch craze could be called a “collective search for identity” (Klapp 1969) and the authors of the atrocious *Malleus Maleficarum* can be seen as “moral entrepreneurs” (Becker 1963: 147-163), taking part in a “moral crusade” (Gusfield 1967), striving to restore the integrity of the old religious-moral community. Witches were the only deviants who could be constructed as attracting the very core of the social system through anti-religion” (1980: 15).

Thus began the thought patterns that have persisted up and into modernity concerning evil, magic and associated rituals and behaviors. Cohen (1993: 62-63) notes that the conservatives of almost any era studied see this stage of the process as a sign of the times and equate it in terms of a disease that is encompassing the whole of the society that is affected. According to Pfohl (1985) the theoretical understanding behind the torture went as follows:

“Trial by ordeal quite frankly meant trial by torture. Such trials were presided over by priests or other ordained representatives of the divine will here on earth. Admissions of deviance were literally produced by the disembodiment of deviants from their present sinful state. The reactions of suspected deviants to the searing pain of inquisitorial torture were studied as a sign from above as to whether the accused was guilty of a particular act. While the guilty eventually cried out admissions, it was believed that God fortified the innocent to persevere during the ordeal of their diagnosis. Thus it was entirely possible that the innocent might ultimately be vindicated only by the steadfast endurance of pain.”

“While such torturous diagnostic practices may today seem horrific, during the demonic period there was nothing particularly sacred about the body, In a world which gave primacy to supernatural imagery there was little profit in preserving the body at the expense of the soul. The ordeal of subjecting the body to religious authority was symbolic of the true supernatural order of things. Thus, divinely ordained inquisitioners were carefully trained to “find the tenderest point through which to assail the conscience and heart” (1985: 23).

Pfohl notes that these types of actions were deemed to be justified in the scriptures by means of *lex talonis*, or an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. This principle was used for the justification of torture. In fact such apotropaic rituals of torture kept evil spirits from lingering around the condemned and provided practical protection to those seeking just solutions against such supernatural forces of evil (1985: 26). These fears though primordial in nature appear to lie just below the surface of rationality in modern industrial society, and re-appear in times of drastic social change. Erikson (1966: 153) states “ perhaps no other form of crime in history has been a better index to social disruption and change, for outbreaks of witch mania have generally taken place in societies which are experiencing a shift of economy, industrialization, and religious focus—societies, we would say, confronting a relocation of (social) boundaries.” The forces of social control in such situations attempt to alter or stop social change. Sakheim and Devine (1992) contend:

“Although the contention of modern neo-pagans that witchcraft was a survival of pre-Christian European religion does not appear to be borne out by current research, “witches” appear to have been engaged in meeting their needs and the needs of others that were not being met by licit social structures. Among these needs was the need for a belief system that would sanction rebellion against the established church and state and need for relief from the double binds that church and state sometimes placed on people in, particularly the dilemma of unwanted children”.

“Taken this way, the persecution of witchcraft fits a time when the Church was desperately attempting to maintain social discipline, both within its own ranks and in society as a whole, a time when the environment was forcing change

on Europe but a doctrine that allowed social change had not evolved. The Inquisition comes to be seen as a police force, perhaps no worse than the KGB, attempting to investigate and bring to justice criminals, some of whom were not only criminals under the laws of the medieval Church, but under the laws of any modern society. The problems that the Inquisition faced, of reliability of evidence, overzealousness, and political pressures, are also the problems of modern police forces and serious investigators of contemporary Satanism” (1992: 7).

Russell (1972) also supports this conventional point of view that witchcraft itself was a form of social protest against dysfunctional social structures. Russell states that witchcraft, mysticism, the flagellants, and popular heresy all belong to the same category. These practices were reactions to and rejections of institutional structures that were not functioning to meet individual needs. The works of Ben-Yehuda (1980: 2-3) & Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1999: 145-146) lend credence to this idea in that witchcraft as a technical force manipulated by individuals could become associated with power and control was then seen as an alternative possibility for social change. Harris (1989: 234) however, refutes this idea believing that elites representing social structures socially constructed witches and witchcraft to deflect the ills of society away from themselves or the real sources of the problem and direct it towards others. This is consistent with the ideas of Goode & Ben-Yehuda (1999: 143) & Erikson (1966) in that consorting with the devil in the form of witchcraft was a socially created form of deviance. In other words elites used current perceptions to create a group to blame for social ills affecting the society rather than themselves or other causes that they directly benefited from. Goode (2000) notes similar patterns of maintaining basic social control currently among Christian basic fundamentalist with creationist beliefs as follows:

“Strongly committed creationists believe that evolution is foundation of secular humanism, which is attempting to corrupt American society. Secular

humanism encourages a flood of social ills, including materialism, atheism, communism and socialism, feminism, sex education, fornication, illegitimacy, abortion, homosexuality, prostitution, pornography, incest, violence, crime, rape, drug abuse, alcoholism, and Satanism” (2004: 218).

Heil (2006: 42) quotes James Hunter in that these notions of “causality” among televangelist and evangelical Christians in the current culture wars are nothing new. Abraham Lincoln thought the Civil War was God’s punishment for the sin of slavery. But Hunter adds that such extreme views are increasingly outdated, even within the evangelical wing of the Christian faith. These concepts serve other purposes, which utilize fear to mobilize individuals. This is to create solidarity in their ranks, to gain financial support—that’s the name of the game. This is also consistent with the work of Becker (1975: 15) who notes, “there is no valid difference between religion and magic, no matter how many books are written to support the distinction. As Holcart pointed out so succinctly, magic is the religion we don’t believe in, and religion is the magic we believe in.” This author contends that this includes modernity with its notion of science and rationality. Science can become a religion in the way individuals approach existence and make sense of life. This is consistent with William James (1983, [1896]: Lowell Lectures) that notes:

History shows that mediumship is identical with demon possession.

But the obsolescence of public belief in the possession by demons is a very strange thing in Christian lands, when one considers that it is the one most articulately expressed doctrine of both testaments, and. . . reigned for seventeen hundred years, hardly challenged, in all the churches. Every land and every age has exhibited the facts on which this belief was founded. India, China, Egypt, Africa, Polynesia, Greece, Rome, and all Medieval Europe believed that certain nervous disorders were of supernatural origin, inspired by gods and sacred; or by demons—and therefore diabolical, When the pagan gods became demons, all possession became diabolic, and we have the medieval condition (1983 [1896]: 94 Lowell Lectures).

“The refusal of modern ‘enlightenment’ to treat ‘possession’ as a hypothesis to be spoken of as even possible, in spite of the massive human tradition based on concrete experience in its favor, has always seemed to me a curious example of the power of fashion in things scientific. That the demon theory will have its innings again is to my mind absolutely certain” (1983, 1896: Lowell Lectures; Oesterreich 1974: title page).

In the above statement James correctly notes that science as a belief system can support, ignore or deny concepts as readily as religion according to the fashion of the day. This possibility of this bias in the social structures of religion or science has to be kept in mind when one is considering all the alternative possibilities that have been promoted as causes of the phenomena. James’ own bias is that the phenomena is potentially real from a social constructionalist standpoint. Other authors see the phenomena as socially constructed or attributed to some other rational cause. Morgan (1999: 397) contends that it is astonishing how quickly the discovery of natural laws bred a confidence that everything had a natural explanation. The realm of magic, of witches and spells, was abandoned by the educated. Within a generation of 1640 the prosecution of witches almost ceased. This was not because the people at large ceased to believe in curses and in magic, but because it was impossible to secure convictions from skeptical judges and jurors. It appears this notion of rationality ebbs and flows within different periods of time. Ben-Yehuda (1980: 6) states that:

In their most disastrous form, the witch-hunts lasted until shortly after the end of the Thirty Years war in 1648. Although there are records of sporadic witch trials and executions until 1750 in some places, 1650 marked the end of the worst and most remarkable aspects of the witch craze. During the whole period, between 200,000 (the most conservative estimate) and half a million people were executed (burned, drowned, beheaded, strangled, or hanged) on accusations of witchcraft. (Currie 1968: 10; Kittredge [1929] 1972; Robbins 1959: 16-17)....Germany was almost completely occupied in building bonfires Switzerland had to wipe out whole villages in order to keep them down.

Travelers in Lorraine may see thousands of thousands of stakes. . . . (Trevor-Roper 1967: 152) (Ben-Yehuda 1980: 6).

Whatever the cause, the more rational approach seems to hold sway from the end of the witch craze until the emergence of the occult revival of the 1970s. This author contends that much of our popular culture and thought in the West became compartmentalized, notions of evil were still deeply embedded in the areas of religion, while rationality took over other areas as an epistemology to help make sense of the world. The work of Rawcliffe (1959) is a good example of the rational and or scientific approach that was used to explain paranormal or supernatural phenomena in the 1950s and 1960s before the occult revival of the 1970s. These explanations based in rationality usually consist of attributing any such phenomena to the powers of suggestion, hysteria, hypnotism, multiple personalities and placebo effects. This author contends that sometimes these “rational” explanations require more imagination and faith than do the supernatural or paranormal explanations. Other cultures see this faith in rationality as a cover for our own ignorance of a spiritual world that is real and, for them, exists. This is because rationality and science are bounded. This creates natural limits to scientific and rational understandings. Going beyond such limits requires faith in science. At such a point, a leap of faith in science and rationality is not much different than faith in some other belief system without empirical evidence.

Several sociological works have been devoted to witches, witchcraft and witch-hunts of ancient and modern varieties. Erikson (1966) saw the witch trials as an index of social disruption and social change. As a structural functionalist viewing this process he believed that individuals representing social structures were in a desperate bid to maintain

social control. Szasz (1970: 95) contends that witches were scapegoats that were blamed for the ills of society. In essence this is labeling and blaming the victim. He states that homosexuals are a good example of similar treatment today. Furthermore he thinks that this practice is still used effectively today by the medical establishment and other social institutions. Pfohl agrees with Szasz's assertion concerning the moral control of gays and lesbians who are believed to be demonically inspired or even possessed by some individuals and by some segments of society (1985: 33). Pfohl (1994) notes the close associations that were maintained by the forces of social control during the time of the witch hunts that were directed against those accused of both witchcraft and sexual deviance, especially in the form of homosexuality as portrayed in the following quote:

The wrath of Christian inquisitors was also directed at gay men, lesbians, and others who refused to honor the heterosexist inequalities of "blessed family life". Indeed, large numbers of men whose "sin" involved nothing but the sharing of sexual intimacies with other men were also tortured and burnt at the stake. This is the tragic origin of the association between the term "faggot" and male homosexuals. In the name of the Christian God, gay men were often bound together as kindling or "faggots" and used to ignite the pyres used to burn witches. This link between gay men and pagan women was no accident. In the religion of the Great Mother both were afforded a freedom of respect subsequently denied them by the Christian authorities from the late twelfth century onward. Indeed, it was not uncommon for Christian judges to combine charges of witchcraft with accusations of lesbianism and male homosexuality (1994: 38).

The above quote gives an amazing insight into a strategy that is still current among the new religious right. This notion of the bundling together of the perceived social ills to deflect attention away from real sources and causes of the problems in a society is consistent with the quote of Goode (2004: 218) made earlier concerning creationists and James Hunter's (2006: 42) observations concerning televangelist and basic fundamentalist. This strategy allows for the amplification of perceived deviance for

increased legitimacy to move against the perception with increased power. Nugent (1971) traces when witchcraft began to be of rising interest again from the late 1950s through the 1970s. He notes several historical studies that were conducted in this time period. His article provides a bibliography of such works. These have been expanded upon with some of the work discussed as follows.

Truzzi (1971) contends that the rise in the interest in witchcraft in the 1970s was part of an occult revival of the era that he labeled “a widespread boom of the occult.” Harris (1989; 225, 237), suggests that the witch craze was created and sustained by the governing classes as a means of suppressing waves of Christian messianism that reoccurred throughout Europe from time to time, as well as gave authorities the right to confiscate valuable property. It also deflected the exploitation of lower classes by the elites by directing the public’s attention elsewhere. Harris goes on to state that witch hunters actually socially created witches to promote and continue such efforts. Harris is consistent with Szasz (1970) in this notion to create witches and witch hunts to deflect attention. This author notes that this could in fact be similar to drug enforcement today by the (DEA) which prosecutes and can also confiscate property of drug dealers and deflect attention away from white collar types of crimes in the process. Richardson and Bromley (1991) analyze the phenomena from several different levels historically and socially up to modern times from a constructionist perspective. Hill (2004: 218) felt that “Puritanism’s legacy to the Yankee world of self-help, individualism, and personal ambition was vast. It bequeathed self-discipline, self-denial, and moral and intellectual rigor. However, it also bequeathed a tendency to separate evil from good and place evil outside the self and outside the group, in the enemy. With that tendency came another: to

regard such an enemy as deserving destruction.” In other words the era has helped to mold our national notions about these kinds of deviance and how we respond to them. Witches have been included in the texts concerning “moral panics,” a term coined by Cohen (Cohen 1993 [1972]: 191-204; Ben-Yehuda 1980, 1990; Goode and Ben-Yehuda 1999; Harris 1989: 236). Ben-Yehuda states:

“I illustrated that when the medieval Inquisition found itself without heretics to pursue it had an interest to find, or invent, a new type of heretic to justify the continued existence of its machinery. Thus, the Inquisition set about to introduce and develop a new form of heresy—that of witchcraft. A few Dominicans, and the Inquisition, fabricated a negative detested and fearsome moral universe—that of demonic witchcraft. That symbolic-moral universe was diametrically opposed to the positive symbolic universe of the true believers. There can be little doubt that, based on this negative moral universe, the Inquisition was very successful in creating a devastating moral panic that lasted for a very long period of time” (1990: 123).

Cohen (1993: 62, 198) and Ben-Yehuda (1980; 1990) above further notes that the issue of moral panics is intimately linked to contests of power and morality between different symbolic-moral universes. As such, moral panics involve a moral crisis. The societal reaction to moral panics has dynamics that could result in either re-affirming stability or helping create a process of social change. For example the fourteenth to seventeenth century European witch craze were moral panics aimed originally to preserve stability and social order and not to promote change (1990: 90, 99). This author contends that it was during this time period that Satanism and witchcraft (which were two different ideologies and belief systems), were merged into a single evil belief system according to the dominant Christian culture. This merger has been effectively and continually maintained up into modern times by some segments of the dominate culture. This is consistent with the works of Ben-Yehuda (1980: 2-3) & Goode & Ben-Yehuda (1999:

146) that state that the good that the older pagan religious belief systems achieved for society during these eras was systematically ignored or denied, and in its place all associations other than Christian were attributed to the devil and dangerous to society. The witch became completely divested of her powers with nature and deities and instead was seen as totally subordinated to the devil. Ben-Yehuda (1980) argues:

These changes in the conceptualization of witchcraft are of crucial importance. Because witchcraft was regarded as a routine, day to day (almost personal) technology until the 14th century, witches were classified as good or bad, depending on the objective of their magic. After the 14th century, a whole systematic theory was devoted to witchcraft: books were written on the subject, and experts specialized in its theory (“demonologists”) and practice (“inquisitors,” “witch-hunters,” and the like). This analytical shift to the “new” eclectic demonological theories was precisely what was needed to enable the inquisitors, and other individuals, to persecute legitimately hundreds of thousands of witches (1980: 3).

Oesterreich (1974) notes that this also led to a confusion concerning the definition of mental states, that had not been framed in the same ways earlier. He states:

“According to Esquirol, the famous French psychiatrist of the early nineteenth century, possession was often the subject of legal proceedings at the time of the Reformation. The devil was summoned “before the court of law, and the possessed were condemned to be burnt on a pile. Doubly victims of the prevailing error, demonomaniacs were burned both as bewitched and as possessed, after a confession had been wrung from them that they had made a pact with the devil.

This quotation is surprising. In the history of witchcraft, so far as I have studied it, I have met with no case of possession. Can it be that the explanation lies in a mere confusion between witches and possessed persons, permissible in the lay writer, but which we would not be asked to tolerate in a scholar such as Esquirol? His remarks on witchcraft trials and the battles against them transform this presumption into certainty. Moreover the case of “demonomania” which he has reported are not all cases of possession in our sense of the world, but often mere hallucination and delusion. The only connection between witchcraft and possession lies in the fact persons believing themselves bewitched often seem forthwith to have presented symptoms analogous to those of possession” (1974: 191).

The above statement portrays the mixture and merger of concepts of possession, witchcraft and pagan belief systems into one all encompassing notion of evil. There are suggestions of individual agency, involved in temptation and pacts with the devil, as well as social organization of counter cultures and other religions against organized Christianity. Wilber (1995: 357) argues that if the West had been able to develop a concept of transcendence over both good and evil the dichotomy of behavior as being either good or evil might have developed differently. The West might have been able to develop a more relative approach to concepts of evil. There are psychological and sociological elements involved in the concepts of possession and witchcraft. James (1983: 94) felt that possession was becoming more rational at the turn of the century and had been all but subsumed by mediums and spiritualists. All of the above noted authors have taken various sociological approaches, perspectives and theories to explain why society, during various times and places, resorts to persecution of this marginal group. These are all important to this study because they potentially portray re-occurring patterns of behavior in the dominant culture and provide possible clues for explaining and understanding that behavior and associated phenomena through several alternative possibilities. However, Ben-Yehuda (1981: 331-332) notes that there are still problems with a comprehensive understanding of the witch-craze. This is true from any perspective or discipline that has attempted the study of this phenomena and era. These problems involve First: timing. Why did the witch hunts take place in the 14th through the 17th centuries? Why so long? Second: is content, Why was witchcraft and witches selected for persecution from the many agendas of that medieval society? Third are the targets; why were women the most likely chosen victims? As Cohen (1993) suggests:

“It is not enough to say that witches should not have been burnt or that in some other society or in another century they might not have been called witches; one has to explain why and how certain people get to the stake now (1993: 204).”

This author suggests that hints of these same questions exist into modern times concerning Ritual Abuse Laws. These continuing concerns suggest the need for a more comprehensive theory for truly understanding this type of phenomena.

The United States Experience in Witchcraft to Modernity:

Several of these authors dealt with the witchcraft trials in the United States. The witchcraft mania that gripped Europe also affected the colonies that later formed the United States and have left patterns of thought that were internalized to some extent and affected law development particularly in the area of ritual abuse laws. Oesterreich (1974:198) who wrote in the 1920s, notes that much of the ideology surrounding witchcraft in Europe corresponds with the ideologies found in Europe. The exception was the American Spiritualist movement which he felt was a form of voluntary possession (1974: 210). Erikson (1966: 56-57) notes that the early English colonies in the United States were theocracies and laws were based on sacred scriptures from the Bible. Pfohl (1985: 23) notes that “the facts” of the Salem case are clear evidence of the continued dominance of the demonic theorizing right up until the end of the seventeenth century. With the rise of rationality the belief in Satanism and associated witchcraft as well as orthodox Christian religion diminished as belief systems that helped to make sense of the world. Pfohl explains this in the following way:

“Judged by the naturalistic standards of the secularized modern world, the demonic perspective is very inadequate. It relies on belief rather than observable fact and is thus said to be totally un-testable. Stated more correctly, one might say that the demonic perspective relies on beliefs that are no longer believed as

much as other beliefs. That is to say that a belief in the primacy of the supernatural explanation has been superseded by a belief in the primacy of naturalistic explanations. This has not happened worldwide. Indeed there are numerous places in the world where supernatural or demonic explanations still prevail” (1985: 36).

Rational belief systems have made inroads into many various belief systems in some instances. Yet the pull between belief and reality is the same for some and altered for others. This author contends that from the perspective of those who did actually still believe in a demonic world view the rational belief systems are very inadequate as they ignore the reality of religious experience and supernatural phenomena. This is what Bascom (1887: 101) refers to when he calls the supernatural the life breath of religion. Hodges (2002: 85) states that these kinds of experiences compounded with belief systems translate into strong forms of group solidarity regardless of ontology. Currently this re-emergence of the sacred has taken on many forms in modern society, from creative design versus the theory of evolution to the denial of gay and lesbian rights. This opposition between those who believe in a demonic belief system then also has inherent conflicts with those of modern rational view points. Holzer (2002: 552-555) contends that in modern times there are several approaches to possession such as medical, religious, spiritual, popular, traditional, naturalistic, empirical, and parapsychological. This author contends it is not a great leap to state that these same approaches can be applied to notions of witchcraft, Voodoo, Satanism and other belief systems as well. Truzzi (1971: 1974) stated that we are currently in the midst of a great occult revival. This author contends that this revival has not abated. Bruce (1996: 1-2) notes the differences in the various levels of cults, religions and belief systems that have flourished since Victorian times up to the current era with little or no impact by concepts of

rationality. It is understandable then that each social structural base will have to develop an approach to account for the phenomena within the parameters of its own belief systems. This author contends that, rather, these older belief systems have simply subsumed selective portions of modernity for their own purposes. Truzzi (1974) was one of the first researchers to categorize different levels of belief as well as different types and degrees of religions like Satanism in modern times. Truzzi contends:

“Membership in the Church of Satan can be on many levels, from that of the lowly contributing member, who may only pay an annual fee, plus the effort needed to pass an entrance examination, to the exalted status of Satanic Master, who oversees a whole region of geographical membership. The important point about the Church of Satan is that it now has decentralized fellowships, called “grottos,” in many cities of the world. There is more than one grotto in at least one United States Midwest city (many grottos remain private affairs that shun publicity and encourage secrecy). Since the Church of Satan is hierarchical in structure and no longer exclusively depends upon the charisma of its founder, it is technically a church, not a cult like most of the other organizations of black or white witches” (1974: 15).

The ideology and worldviews of modern Satanism are much different from those in the past. The changes brought on by science have led to an adaptation of modern ways of knowing. From a sociological perspective these verge on what is termed social Darwinism intermixed with Satanic rituals and beliefs. Of course this varies in degree among various groups but the point is that modernity has greatly affected the religion and its worldviews. The Church of Satan is one of the best examples. Truzzi (1974) contends:

“Satan is not seen as a spiritual being. The Church of Satan rejects all supernaturalism and is thoroughgoing in its complete materialism. Magic is redefined into modern naturalistic terms, as getting things done in accordance with one’s will. Or as something that works but science has not yet been able to fully explain. Satanism preaches a philosophy of “survival of the fittest” and “might makes right” (or at least determines what will ultimately be accepted by most as being right). Satanism preaches an acceptance of the world the way it is,

with all its horrors and problems, and urges an adaptation to such realities by any means available. Ritual Magic is one of the available means, and such magic is not defined supernaturally but totally pragmatically” (1974: 15).

These understandings of ideologies and worldviews such as the one expressed above are important to this study because they potentially lay out the conflict that arises between the religions such as Satanism and Christianity. The philosophy expressed above is the anti-thesis to the philosophy of the Christian religion, or is it? Sakheim & Devine (1992) note that “as the political influence of religious Calvinism declined in the United States, the doctrine of predestination was grafted onto the half-understood science of genetics, often in the form of “Social Darwinism.” Thus, instead of hell-bound, people with economic, emotional, or physical problems were considered the products of “bad genes,” and thus equally irredeemable.” The notion of Christian Eugenics and religious materialist notions of God’s blessings upon those who help themselves is strangely compatible with Satanic materialist pragmatism in the modern setting blended within rational belief systems. Both groups can come to similar conclusions though they come from different perspectives. These concepts mixed with history and popular culture provided part of the setting for the decades that saw the rise of satanic panics and resulting ritual abuse laws.

The popular culture of the 1970s however was mostly devoid of any of these kinds of understandings of contemporary Satanism. The popular conception was often molded by Hollywood productions and popular literary publications relevant to the era. Cuneo (2002: 47-51) notes the examples of the movie and book *The Exorcist*, Malachi Martins publication *Hostage to the Devil* and Peck’s *People of the Lie* as being major influences of the time. The suggestion here that the media helps to mold and shape

popular notions concerning paranormal events is consistent with Hodges & Ulsperger (2005b :100) that come to similar conclusions in their research.

The Modern Context and Setting

for Ritual Abuse Laws of the 1980s and 1990s:

Sakheim & Devine note the magical world offers some people an explanation to make sense of the world they find themselves immersed into. “More than that, those who see the modern world in terms of power, can be drawn to a system that helps them overcome a sense of helplessness due to a lack of power. Magic then becomes a way to realize potential. Satanism provides a justification for identification with the oppressor. Satanism provides a theology that explains how and why the professed norms of society actually differ from those that are acted on in reality.” (Sakheim & Devine 1992: 24). For example, Christian Ethics versus Capitalist business practices could be seen as a conflict of interest. Satanist see themselves as living by real rules instead of those professed in society that are not truly applied. Note that both Truzzi and Sakheim & Devine come to these same conclusions but by different routes in their research. Both argue that extremes at either end of the spectrum between Satanism and Christianity tend toward Social Darwinism when mixed with modernity, science, and or materialism. From a different perspective, Cuneo (2002: xiv) notes that exorcism is alive and well in contemporary America and is a booming business. Cuneo states:

As if by alchemy, the dramatic (and seductively grotesque) arrival of demons on the screen and the bestselling page resulted in demons rampaging through the bedrooms and workplaces of Middle America. The pop culture industry cast its spell, so to speak, and an obliging nation fell into line. New exorcism ministries were brought into being to deal with the sudden onslaught of demonism, and older ministries were rejuvenated and found themselves with more business than they could possibly handle.

In subsequent years, moreover, it was much the same story. With its incessant demon-mongering, the popular entertainment industry was sometimes responsible for directly stimulating the exorcism market during the 1980s and 1990s, and sometimes (rather more modestly) for fostering a cultural climate conducive to the performance of exorcisms. One way or another, whenever (and wherever) belief in demons and exorcism cropped up during these years, Hollywood and its accomplices in the culture-capitalism field were almost certain to be somewhere on the scene (2002: xv).

The above statement is chronologically consistent with the same time period that ritual abuse laws began to appear on the books in the states of California, Idaho, Texas, Louisiana, and Illinois. It was in this same cultural climate that these laws formed. Cuneo (2002: 51-58) notes that in the years that followed the publication of Scott Peck's (1983) *People of the Lie*, American interest in the occult of the 1970s gave way to a full fledged cultural fascination with Satanism. He argues that the ten year stretch from 1983 to 1993 "seems to have been Satan's decade in America". This differed from the past in the sheer pervasiveness of the threat. In the 1980s and early 1990s it was seen as a vast conspiracy, with hidden networks across the nation. Cases of recovered memory in psychotherapy sessions concerning ritual abuse occurred at a tremendous rate in the late 1980s. Frankfurter (2001:352-353) notes that in this same time period alarm spread through numerous communities in the United States that Satanic cults were preying on children and adults.

Exorcism and possession became in some instances associated with therapy. This is consistent with the research of Frankfurter (2001); Hodges (2002) and Hodges and Ulsperger (2005: 43) that noted the techniques of psychics and spirit mediums were being subsumed by mental health professionals and applied to their clients via hypnosis for the retrieval of memories. This was done because these techniques were considered to be

effective and efficient by the mental health professionals that were incorporating them into their practices. This author contends, that it is interesting to note here that while traditional belief systems are subsuming aspects of science, there is at the same time a subsuming of aspects of traditional belief systems by some members of the mental health profession. For a list of examples and cases see Hodges (2002: 97-107). Cuneo (2002) states these recovered memories often were of a satanic nature and included all levels of society. It was also thought at this time that America's adolescents were being seduced into Satanism by the popular entertainment industry. Heavy metal music for instance was thought to contain subliminal messages of evil and destruction. Those involved in ritual abuse were also thought to be involved in various forms of human slavery. All of these kinds of actions were considered to be kept so secret that it was hard to get real numbers to determine the gravity of the situation (2002: 55-59). Ellis (1995: 80, 91) was the one of the earliest researchers to suggest that Sociological studies of the Satanism panic have identified networks and organizations that informed the crusade during the 1980s and 1990s. His study was also one of the earliest to suggest that to understand this panic one had to study the related literature and folklore, which generated ideologies that helped to generate these networks in the 1950s through the 1970s. He contended that these were learned concepts that extended back to the witch trials. This literature that kept these ancient religious notions in Christianity alive and then promoted through evangelicals into institutional traditions underlies the Satanic ritual abuse panics.

It is in these various contexts of history, religion, science, ideologies, popular culture, politics, and worldviews that ritual abuse laws emerged. This author contends that there occurred in the 1980s and 1990s some sort of critical mass of these elements

that combined with an increased awareness of child abuse (this is addressed more fully in the analysis section of this research). This ultimately made citizens in rational modern societies in five states of the United States feel compelled to create laws against ritual abuses when the right triggering events occurred.

CHAPTER THREE LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

This chapter should lay the foundation for the sociological lineages of thought that come out of theoretical demonology that later influence and impact ritual abuse laws and their formation. These structural bases coming out of demonology are further enhanced by issues of legitimacy and the public's perceived need for legal action against criminal acts. All of these levels come to a critical mass in the triggering events that arise out of the inherent conflict that exists in the total social environment of the era. Examples will be drawn from the historical background for each of these levels and help explain the need for the theoretical lens selected in the chapter of theoretical concerns following.

The Demonic Perspective and Structural Bases :

Certain approaches to deviance and criminology from sociological perspectives become important analytical tools in considering the development and origins of ritual abuse law. These give one the roots of theoretical lens to explain and understand the various aspects that impact law formation such as structural bases, triggering events and perceived or real notions concerning situations and circumstances surrounding the interactions of all the elements that had an impact. One such sociological perspective in criminology is the demonic perspective that could be applied to individuals, groups, social organizations or social institutions.

Pfohl (1985: 20-21) states, the Demonic Perspective is the oldest of all known perspectives of deviance. The causes and cures are in the realm of the supernatural. There are two paths to demonic deviance. First: the concept of temptation, here there is some choice, we can say no to Satan for example and reject temptation, or we can submit to sin. This is a limited idea of individual free will. Second: the concept of demonic possession, here a possessed person is believed to be literally taken over by the devil or some evil spirit. The person is considered no longer responsible for their actions as they can no longer choose between good and evil.

In summary, there are two roads to demonic deviance---temptation and possession. The first is less deterministic than the second. Yet, in neither does a deviant ever act entirely on his or her own. Behind every act lurks the devil. Deviant acts from this perspective harm more than just the victim. Such acts are a cosmic disruption and are transgressions against God. Deviance then can bring disruption over the whole of the earthly world and the human community as well (Pfohl 1985: 20-21; Greer 2004: 76, 77). Goode & Ben-Yehuda (1999: 159) note that the witch craze's extended length of time and the large number of victims, create some very disturbing issues. Why did no one successfully challenge the basic moral theory, that is, its demonology, which lay behind the witch craze for nearly three centuries? Many researchers rightly insist that without widespread popularity and intellectual support the phenomena could never have happened. Why did a people who for centuries had rejected demonological theories, suddenly lend their support to witch hunts? Lanning (1992) is consistent with Pfohl when looking at the similar issue of ritual abuse. Lanning notes:

For those who know anything about criminology, one of the oldest theories of crime is demonology: The devil makes you do it. This makes it even

easier to deal with the child molester who is the “pillar of the community.” It is not his fault: it is not our fault. There is no way we could have known; the devil made him do it. This explanation has tremendous appeal because, like “stranger danger”, it presents the clear-cut, black-and-white struggle between good and evil as the explanation for child abduction, exploitation, and abuse (1992: Part 2: 7).

This author suggests that similar questions can be equally addressed to the creation of ritual abuse laws. This author argues that the reason for this is that the demonological perspective was absorbed into all of the structural bases of the middle ages in the areas of religion, politics and economics and to some degree have remained into the modern era. This is reflected in classical theories of behavior and in the psychological theory of the “id.”

In modern times similar arguments have been directed at prohibition of abortion, elimination of welfare programs, retreats from civil rights, particularly the rights of women, gays and peoples of color, and the advocacy of a foreign policy dedicated to opposing communism (Pfohl 1985: 33). Quinney suggests that the material problems of capitalism are multiplied by its “sacred” (i.e., spiritual) void. He and several others suggest we temper the naturalistic analysis of deviance and social control with an awareness of the moral, spiritual, or cosmic nature of our subject matter. According to Pfohl deviance is and has always been a moral battle (Pfohl 1985: 41-42). Phillips (1991) states that:

“Demonology both sanctions and gives impetus to the persecutory social-cleansing movement or witch hunt. A demonology can be an awful, powerful thing, snowballing and engulfing people far beyond its cultural source. It generates rage, which wedges its way into culturally prescribed norms of reasonable behavior, obscures whatever was considered due process, and motivates people into mob-type actions. When the rage dissipates and reason returns—suddenly, as most often happens, it is followed by general shock and remorse, and almost always by a change in the social order. Demonologies and the social movements they generate can change the course of history” (1991: 22).

The above statement represents some of the most extreme of possibilities that go beyond individuals and can extend deep into societies, but these are real and historical in their potential consequences and consistent with the works of Erikson 1966; Szasz 1970; Harris 1989; Richardson & Bromley 1991; Hill 1995. These authors suggest that these types of social constructions can take on a life of their own with grave consequences for society in which such possibilities are unleashed. Phillips further notes:

“Certain elements in the satanic demonology, specifically blood, cannibalism, and child murder, are ancient, have widespread cultural parallels, and are indicative of deep subcultural human drives. Each of these topics has received lengthy anthropological and psychological treatment. Each is at once symbolic, metaphorical, and real. Each can express deep cultural values, evoking awe and fascination—or absolute horror and revulsion. All three are found together in countless demonologies created by people about others; in these contexts they are intertwined, and so our discussion of each must make reference to the others” (1991: 24).

This research should find similar factors as well as others that lead to the formation of ritual abuse laws during times of social stress and social change. It is ironic however that these social constructions may have their psychological roots in all of humanity extending from sociological sources into individual realities and then back again from individuals into social realities. This author contends that the interaction between individual agency and social structural forces in this instance can be viewed from both directions especially over extended time periods. Sociologically this suggests that the division between agency and structure is at times a false division. Wilber (1986) notes:

“The witch hunt is the precise and formal inverse, or mirror image, of the witch Sabbath. Both the witch and the witch hunter suffer from the same dissociation of mind and body, but they take up stances on opposite sides of the boundary (the actual boundary, of course, is within their own organisms), the witch is obsessed with the typhoon, (the primitive mind), the witch hunter is terrified of it. The witch hunter, unable to transform and integrate his or her own

typhonic (primitive) drives, is horrified at their very existence, and thus is dedicated to the extermination of any individuals who—in actual fact or not—appear to be typhonically (primitively) driven “by Satan.” Modern Protestantism owes much of its existence to the alienated satanic fantasy produced by European dissociation, for without that neurotic schism the whole motivation for their proselytizing fury would evaporate. But witch hunting is not an exoteric Christian monopoly—it is part of everything from scapegoating to prejudice: proof of the axiom that one hates in others those things, and only those things, that one hates in oneself” (1986: 212).

This is consistent with Pfohl (1985) in that the contemporary political clout of groups organizing around a demonic perspective on deviance is having a direct impact on national politics. In other words this kind of thinking can take on a life of its own and be randomly applied as a way of knowing for explaining and understanding almost anything the a religious group does not like or does not believe in. Pfohl (1985) states:

“Consider the recent impact of the so-called Moral Majority. In the late 1970s and early 1980s this group, spearheaded by Rev. Jerry Falwell, was instrumental in the political defeat of numerous liberal-leaning legislators and in the election of conservative President Ronald Reagan. For he extremely well financed Moral Majority such things as homosexuality, abortion, and sexual permissiveness and even the rights of women are viewed as demonically inspired deviance. . . . The political objectives of this curious blend of “old-time religion” and new-time electoral politics are described by critics as a “New Prohibitionism.” Much of its theological base is rooted in a selective use of the Scriptures. According to the editors of the periodical *Christian Century*, while using the Bible to attack gays and women and to defend the free enterprise system, the new religious right conveniently overlooks scriptural references to matters such as social justice. “They are not accurate and they are not fair. But they are effective” (1985: 34).

From the review of the historical background it can be seen that Demonology has an impact upon all kinds of social structures as well as individuals and groups. As a perspective it has a powerful influence and impact upon the structural bases, the real and perceived demands for punishment and the triggering events as they are discussed in the following chapters. The process of going from demonological ideologies, worldviews,

ways of knowing and theoretical perspectives found in society to the formation of ritual abuse laws is complex and multifaceted. Some of the authors for instance see the phenomena of both Satanism and witchcraft as real and according to intent possibly dangerous. Others see it as a “socially created” phenomenon for various reasons. For the sociologist the ontology of these belief systems does not matter in the most direct sense as a neutral stance is required for objective research. What does matter however is an understanding that all of these other social forces both for and against these various belief systems have a multitude of approaches and various levels and degrees of associated belief by individuals and groups. As W. I. Thomas (1928) stated, “If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences.” Each reality has a different impact on the ways ritual abuse laws are viewed and approached and ultimately created. Pfohl (1994) reflects this understanding in the following statement:

In different ways the writings of Lyman, Quinney, Tifft and Sullivan, and various pagan and feminist theorists remind us to temper the naturalistic analysis of deviance and social control with an awareness of the moral, spiritual, or cosmic nature of this subject matter. . . . After all, the demonic perspective informs us that control of deviance is a battle between good and evil. It is a battle over who gets to name the good and control the bad. This is often overlooked (or perhaps covered up) by neutral-sounding language of some of our more “modern” perspectives. Let us not be fooled by this “devilishness.” Deviance is and always has been a moral battle in which winners are declared saints and the losers sinners (1994: 55).

Beyond this the researcher should be aware of influences from the era being researched, interest groups, public opinion, local culture, history and pivotal events in the region that is being studied.

Because of this complexity Integrated Conflict Theory was selected as a theoretical lens to understand and explain the interactions that occur in the formation of ritual abuse law. It is a diverse and comprehensive theory that has been applied to many

topic areas. A brief discussion of these areas will be considered in the formation of the theory before the theory itself is discussed as it applies to this research. Other topic areas that have considered Integrated Conflict Theory as an analytical tool are examined as follows below that contributed much to this theoretical development.

Origins of Law:

The origins of law are an important concept to this study because it shows why and how a law came about. This process is different for different times and different places. McGarrell & Castellano (1991: 174,175) note that Integrated Conflict Theory arose out of the inadequacy of more traditional approaches to criminological and sociological perspectives concerning the origins of law. The theory has three major sections that make up the working interrelated elements that are used in the understanding of law formation. The elements consist of structural bases, triggering events and the perceptions of crime that demand punishment and result in the formation of law. Finally there is the inherent conflict that runs like a current through all of the levels. Integrated Conflict Theory has been used in the study of the formation of gun control laws by Kukla (1973); Spitzer (1995, 1998); Godwin & Schroedel (1998, 2000). The development of drug & alcohol prohibition laws in different states by Gusfield (1986 [1963]); Becker 1963; Duster (1970); Galliher & Basilick (1979); Galliher & McCartney (1974) . It has also been used in looking at criminal code reforms and the Death penalty in different states by Berk (1977); Barlow & Barlow (1995, 1996); Stolz (1984); Galliher, Ray, & Cook (1992) Galliher (1997). Hate Crimes legislation has also been considered from the Integrated Conflict perspective. Juvenile Court Reform is another area the theory has been found useful by Chambliss (1964); Cross (1991) Galliher & Cross (1985

[1983]), and also similarly in Court Correction & Reform by Berk & Rossi (1977); McCoy (1993). The theory has also been used in the study of sex offences by Galliher & Tyree (1985); Berk & Rossi (1977); Windlesham (1998). It has been used in the study of legislator and Gubernatorial ideology by Berk, Brackman & Lesser (1977); McGarrell (1998). It has also been used in the understanding in the formation of ideologies and cultural conflict involving status and social change in general by Gusfield (1986 [1963]); Hodges & Ulsperger (2005). Integrated Conflict Theory has been used for understanding media reporting and participation in the political arena by Berk Brackman & Lesser (1977); McGarrell (1988). It has also been used for a more comprehensive look at structural conditions (social, economic, cultural, and historical) by Berk, Brackman & Lesser (1977); Galliher & Basilick (1979); Galliher & Cross (1983); Cross (1991); Galliher & Tyree (1985); Gusfield (1986 [1963], 1967); McGarrell & Castellano (1991, 1993); Hadwiger & Cross (2004). It has also been useful for the study of “symbolic crusades” by interested parties like moral entrepreneurs and symbolic politics by Duster (1970); Gusfield (1986 [1963], 1967, 1981); McGarrell (1988); Galliher& Basilick (1979); Galliher & Cross (1982, 1983); McGarrell (1988); Galliher (1997). In the sections that follow these four interrelated elements of Integrated Conflict Theory: structural bases, perceived and real crimes and need for law, triggering events, and inherent conflicts are considered separately in the various articles that describe and portray the importance of each component part. Together they form the critical elements of Integrated Conflict Theory stemming out of all of the root theories of sociology. These elements are considered in more detail especially in regards to ritual abuse in the following sections.

First Level: Structural Bases and Traditional Theory:

This author contends that, as the term suggests, structural bases are related to social structures and social organizations derived out of theoretical perspectives of Structural Functionalism as well as cultural factors. These expanded structural notions are often varied and specific to the era of time and location with corresponding elements of class structures, racial, religious or gender compositions. The influence of social structures and culture in the formation of law as important in the sociological theoretical understandings extend, back to classical sociology of Marx, Durkheim and Weber. The strengths and weakness of each traditional approach as related to social structure are discussed in McGarrell and Castelano (1991: 175-177; 1993: 347-349). Their argument against the moral structural functionalist perspective is basically that there is really no consensus in a nation of interest groups. Furthermore the functionalist approach by itself tends to ignore conflicts in society.

McGarrell & Castelano's (1991: 175-177; 1993: 347-349) argument against the moral conflict theory is that there is little or no evidence of elites in conspiracy against other classes. In fact there is often dissensus among elite classes. Both traditional arguments ignore or downplay other important elements such as culture and history. Out of the need for a more comprehensive approach the traditional perspectives were integrated to get a more dynamic understanding of law development. They contend that an understanding of both structures and processes are needed to adequately understand law formation. They further argue that Scheingold (1984) showed how necessary elements of culture needed to be added along with structural elements to strengthen the theory. Chambliss & Seidman's work (1982) showed the need for historical

understandings of economy, politics, and ideological spheres within a particular historical period. This is consistent with Cohen (1993) who terms the specific time period “biography.” He also acknowledges the importance of structure and culture and carefully defines each of these terms of levels of analysis as follows:

(i) Structure refers to those aspects of society which appear beyond individual control, especially those deriving from the distribution of power, wealth and differential location in the labour market. These are the structural ‘constraints’, ‘conditions’, ‘contingencies’ or ‘imperatives’ which the new theory identifies in general terms – and then applies to the group most vulnerable to them,In old sub-cultural theory, these conditions constitute the ‘problem’ to which (ii) culture is the solution. More broadly, culture refers to the traditions, maps of meanings and ideologies which are patterned responses to structural conditions; more narrowly subculture is the specific, especially symbolic form through which the subordinate group negotiates its position. Then (iii) there is biography: broadly, the pattern and sequence of personal circumstances through which the culture and structure are experienced. More narrowly: what the subculture means and how it is actually lived out by its carriers 1993: v).

Gusfield (1986: 77, 140) notes that cultural conflicts reflect the social bases and ideologies of conservatism and progressivism, traditional versus modernity of the populations involved. This involves ensuing struggles for power and status. This author notes that the thread of the demonological perspective can be seen to run through all of these elements as portrayed in the historical background of this research and that similar understandings can be applied to the study of ritual abuse laws that involve a reflection of clashes and conflicts between rival cultures, social systems and status groups. All of these social forces find themselves immersed in conflict over differing ideologies and the struggle for status and power.

*Second Level: Vacuums of Legitimacy
And the demands for Punishment.*

This author contends that notions of what is perceived and what is real have their antecedents in Symbolic Interaction and the Interactionist perspectives. The very use of

descriptive wording such as “symbolic laws,” and “symbolic crusades” suggests the social construction of reality in the application of such laws that are applied only when useful or in situations of stress in society by the forces of social control. Cohen (1993: 194) notes that public reactions and moral panics are often formed out of exaggerated social constructions. The behavior is presented and perceived as something more than what is ordinarily deviant. The individual becomes a folk devil when their actions become more political, more visible, and more threatening. McGarrell & Castellano (1993: 350-352) drawing heavily on the works of Scheingold (1984) contend that public perceptions often merge with culture to produce demands for punishments for certain crimes. There is a certain overlapping here with the notions of culture found in structural foundations mentioned earlier. Culture is associated with fear, and in this case how a society actively deals with the fear of crime both actual and perceived. From the historical context of this study it can be seen how fear can be socially constructed. Gusfield (1986) in particular notes the conflict that arises out of cultural polarization when the dominant culture fears a change in its dominant status in society. This cultural response to fear of crime is noted to result in policy and law making responses. Culture shapes how crime and victimization are translated into the public’s fear and concern, the extent and intensity of associated legitimization deficits, and appropriate symbolic and instrumental responses to crime. Scheingold states:

If we are to make sense of the weak and inconsistent relationships between victimization and fear, on the one hand, and between fear and punitive dispositions, on the other, it is less important to understand crime itself than the images of crime conveyed by the culture. And our reaction to these images depends on who we are and what we believe in (1984: 52). Similarly, whether we respond punitively or nonpunitively to our fears is culturally determined—attributable, that is to the values and emotions which we bring to our thinking about crime (1984: 56). Crime is, moreover, a convenient symbol for focusing

more general concerns about unwelcome changes in the social order. Given a broad social malaise, crime draws our attention because of the consoling lesson provided by culture, which teaches us that punishment is a necessary and sufficient response to a fundamental problem. Punitive responses are liberating because they are so simple. We yearn to believe that seemingly intractable social and personal problems are actually responsive to direct and forceful action (1984: 226).

McGarrell & Castellano (1993: 351) note “that the links between crime, fear, individual and collective adaptations to crime, and associated public demand for governmental action have been the subject of considerable research. The patterns and interrelationships discovered among these variables are very complex and inconsistent with the relatively simplistic notions presented in mainstream consensual interpretations of crime-fear-policy linkages.” This inconsistency leads to the need for a case by case study to be fully comprehensive. Gusfield (1986: 24) notes that there are great differences in the dichotomies of good and evil across cultures. Foucault (1995) agrees with this concept for the need to understand history and culture to explain the public’s reactions to crime. Foucault contends:

The division between permitted and the forbidden has preserved a certain constancy from one century to another. On the other hand, ‘crime’, the object with which penal practice is concerned, has profoundly altered: the quality, the nature, in a sense the substance of which the punishable element is made, rather than its formal definition. Undercover of the relative stability of the law, a mass of subtle and rapid changes has occurred. Certainly the ‘crimes’ and ‘offences’ on which judgment is passed are judicial objects defined by the code, but judgment is also passed on the passions, instincts, anomalies, infirmities, maladjustments, effects of environment or heredity; acts of aggression are punished, so also, through them, is aggressivity; rape, but at the same time perversions; murders, but also drives and desires. But, it will be objected, judgment is not actually being passed on them; if they are referred to at all it is to explain the actions in question, and to determine to what extent the subject’s will was involved in the crime (1995: 17).

This author understands that most of the alternative elements Foucault discusses above are relative to history and culture, that it pertains to certain eras and time periods

just as Chambliss & Seidman's work (1982) suggested earlier. Each era has norms and values that each individual is immersed in and socialized into until the internalization is often taken for granted. Yet the norms and values are different for different individuals and different groups. When looking at the extent that a subject's will was involved in a crime, the modern rationalist will have a completely different view point compared to the person that uses the demonic perspective. This can result in culture shock and or cultural conflicts that are inherent when these groups interact as they come into contact and struggle for suprememacy. Hall (1989) suggests:

The reason man does not experience his true cultural self is that until he experiences another self as valid, he has little basis for validating his own self. A way to experience another group is to understand and accept the way their minds work. This is not easy. In fact, it is extraordinarily difficult, but it is of the essence of cultural understanding. A by-product of such acceptance is a glimpse of the strengths and weakness of one's own system (1989: 213-214).

The core of the problem may be that Western philosophies and beliefs are pictures in men's minds as to the nature of what is. Because of extension transference, the pictures taken for reality when all they are is an idea or explanation. Such pictures and explanations are real in one sense, because they are constructions of the human mind and they tell us a lot about how that mind works as a product of a given culture. But they are not the mind and they are not the real world either. They are, in Poincare's term, "conventions." Such conventions are nevertheless essential models on which some behavior can be based. If, one treats them as reality, they are impossible to transcend or even examine except in their own terms (1989: 214).

The correlations between fear, crime and law are often based on cultural conventions as expressed above. These conventions are compounded when there are conflicts between structural belief systems such as the philosophical differences between rationality and demonology. This is one of the reasons that the constructionist perspective is such a valuable analytical tool for understanding and explaining something as complex as the formation of ritual abuse law. It allows us to examine the phenomena

on its own terms. The same is true for the example of the witch trials. Harris (1989) provides one of the best examples of this type of manipulation as follows:

This leads to a crucial question concerning what happened as distinct from what people thought happened. Is it true that the Inquisition was devoted to the suppression of witch heresy? The assumption that the main business of the witch hunters was the annihilation of witches rests on the professed lifestyle and consciousness of the inquisitors. But the contrary assumption—namely, that the witch hunters went out of their way to increase the supply of witches and to spread the belief that witches were real, omnipresent, and dangerous—rests on very solid evidence. . . . The situation demands that we ask not why the inquisitors were so obsessed with destroying witchcraft, but rather why they were so obsessed with creating it. Regardless of what they or their victims may have intended, the inevitable effect of the inquisitorial system was to make witchcraft more believable, and hence to increase the number of witchcraft accusations.

I suggest that the best way to understand the cause of the witch mania is to examine its earthly results rather than its heavenly intentions. The principle result of the witch-hunt system (aside from charred bodies) was that the poor came to believe that they were being victimized by witches and devils instead of princes and popes.

The practical significance of the witch mania therefore was that it shifted responsibility for the crisis of the late medieval society from both Church and state to imaginary demons in human form (1989:236-237).

Erikson (1966: 22) notes that “it is not always easy to know whether fear creates the deviance or deviance the fear, the affinity of the two has been a continuing course of wonder in human affairs. McGarrell and Castellano (1993: 351) note that key works on fear and crime includes: (Dubow, McCabe, and Kaplan, 1979; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Lewis 1981; Maxfield, 1984). A synthesis of these findings, and the implications they have for a model of political responses to crime, requires attention to the images of crime within our culture past and present. Ben-Yehuda (1980) notes an example of this in the witch craze example as follows:

What made the demonological theory so attractive to the masses was that it had all the characteristics of what could be considered an effective ideology. The concept of ideology referred to is Geertz’s (1964). Although he limits his discussion to situations in which the need for cognitive and moral reorientation is

the result of the emergence of “autonomous polity,” namely, the differentiation of the political from the religious sphere, widespread need for such reorientation is caused by every process of significant institutional differentiation. Such processes create a disturbing discrepancy between what is believed and reality. The function of ideology is to provide authoritative concepts capable of rendering the situation meaningful and “suasive images” by which the meaning can be “sensibly grasped” and which can arouse emotions and direct mass action towards objectives which promise to resolve existing strain (1980: 16).

The ideology suggested above is referring to the need to form new realities when the church is separated from the state. This strain was emerging during the witch craze. The ideology surrounding witches and Satan provided a bridge for this separation. They maintained respect for the church while promoting political & economic institutions for the enforcement of social control. The ideology of demonology allowed both social institutions to function smoothly at a time when they were beginning to separate. Witches provided a need and a reason to believe in the church doctrines, moral boundaries, and mythology while at the same time legitimizing the state for protection of society. In effect they maintained what was believed according to the religion with what was real according to the needs of both the church and the state at the time. This author maintains that these concepts and patterns are still especially true in a modern society. In this research these findings are closely associated with moral panics. Victor (1998) defines moral panics as follows:

In brief, a moral panic is a form of collective behavior characterized by suddenly increased concern and hostility in a significant segment of a society, in reaction to widespread beliefs about a newly perceived threat from moral deviants. Careful, empirical examination at a later time, however, reveals that the perceived threat was greatly exaggerated or nonexistent. A moral panic often gives rise to social movements aimed at eliminating the threatening deviants and may generate moral crusades and political struggles over use of the law to suppress the dangerous deviants. Local rumor-panics, riots and ethic programs may occur in reaction to belief in the threat. However, such dramatic behavior is not an essential element of the collective behavior. Belief, not emotion is the motivational dimension of a moral panic. The essence of a moral panic is that

significant segments of a society are reacting to a socially constructed threat from moral deviants. The main observable behavior during a moral panic is the communication of claims, accusations and rumors (1998: 543).

These types of concepts are examples of what kinds of elements can affect notions of what is perceived and what is reality in a society concerning crime and criminal acts. These elements of falsehood and fear in turn can have a direct impact on the next section considered termed triggering events.

Level Three, Pivotal, Antecedent, and Triggering Events:

Triggering events are a broad set of concepts that describe the many things that can trigger the formation of public policy. Cohen (1993: 194) early on noted that the way in which a single dramatic incident – or, at least, the reporting of an incident was of major importance in creating and confirming the actor's deviant identity. Before the event the surface condition for this reaction was latent and just below the surface of public consciousness. This could spark into what Cohen (1993) described as a moral panic defined as follows:

A condition, episode, person or group emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnosis and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerge or deteriorates and becomes visible (1993 [1972]: 9).

McGarrell and Castellano (1993: 353) note that a slight dislocation, a random event, a vocal political opportunist, or a disgruntled governmental bureaucrat can trigger events that mobilize the political arena to consider the enactment of crime legislation and policy. Spitzer (1998) uses a similar term he frames as pivotal events. They can encompass a wide range of things like media campaigns, election year politics,

sensational crimes, the U. S. Supreme Court decisions or almost anything that sets in motion a chain of events leading to legislation of policy and law. The agents of triggering events can be individuals or groups such as interest groups. Triggering events allow for the agency of individuals or groups that more traditional macro theoretical approaches ignore or deny as of any major importance. This author contends that triggering events can actually provide a bridge between structure and agency that is missing in other more classical theoretical perspectives. It therefore provides a fluidity to the perspective that is absent in other approaches.

Triggering events can have their antecedents in either a Structural Functionalist group or Interactionist individual perspectives that are usually short term. They certainly are Interactionist in nature when they help to create and form a reality to a point of critical mass. For example Harris, (1989: 225-227) suggests that the period from the middle ages to the early 1700s was a time of great stress. It was the time of the passing of feudalism, great plagues, emerging nation states, the rise of reformation and the end of the dominance of the Catholic Church, the Crusades, the expansion of Islam, the poor were pauperized and alienation increased. This is also consistent with arguments by Goode & Ben-Yehuda (1999: 144-145). Harris (1989) believes that all of these were important structural bases that occurred in a critical mass towards establishing the triggering events concerning the need for the creation of witches and witchcraft trials to deflect blame from existing social structures that in the process could in turn act as defenders of the good by protecting the poor from the “supernatural” evil causes of their problems. In other words all of this was socially created and socially constructed to suit the agendas of those in power (1989: 225-227). Ben-Yehuda (1980) suggests:

It is evident by the 17th century there was a demarcation among science, magic, and religion. There were also recognition of autonomy of government and economy in England, and a settlement of relationships elsewhere in a way which recognized the supremacy of the political sphere. A new social order had visibly and triumphantly crystallized with trends and expectations stabilized, especially regarding family, cognitive maps, initial separation of church and state, and the rise of science, all of which were now coming into their own (1980: 23).

Hall (1952) and Galliher & Basilick (1979) note that the primary difference between structural bases and triggering events has to do with issues of time. Triggering events usually happen during a short period of time. Structural bases are phenomena that are common and recurring events that occur in society over long periods of time. Structural bases are the foundations that make it possible for triggering events to occur (Galliher and Cross 1985: 22). McGarell & Castellano (1991: 181) note that triggering events can include the tactics of moral entrepreneurs, Ben-Yehuda (1980: 15) argues that the authors of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, and the Inquisitors themselves were moral entrepreneurs during the witch craze as described by Becker (1991 [1963], 147-63). This author suggests they are also a good example of a triggering event as described by the authors of Integrated Conflict Theory. This is consistent with Victor (1990) that notes the following concerning what he terms antecedent events:

The function of a “triggering event” of a rumor-panic is to act as a catalyst for the release of social tensions, which may have been building for many previous months. This triggering event is not the cause of the panic behavior, even though people may consciously point to that event as the event which caused the fear. Instead the fear is a response to the collective definition of social reality embedded in the rumor stories (1990: 74).

Victor (1990: 57) argues that the process above is primarily an Interactionist interpretation of rumor panics. The key insight the Interactionist perspective provides is “that persons interact with their environment through social and cultural meanings. The stories of rumor panics such as satanic cults embody cultural symbols, which a group of

people can use to give meaning to their social reality. The rumor stories become “real” through the interaction process of the consensual validation of reality.” Victor (1998) further notes:

The actions of special interest groups are not necessary to promote moral outrage directed at the newly perceived dangerous deviants. The mass media and social control authorities basically reflect public opinion about the reality of the threat. The key argument of the grass roots model is that these agencies cannot fabricate public concern where none previously existed. However, particular triggering events, or catalysts, may provoke sudden outbreaks of the moral outrage. The role of a contemporary legend in the grass roots model of a moral panic is its function as a catalyst for a sudden outbreak of collective behavior, such as in an aggressive mob (1998: 549).

This author notes that the example of the social construction of witches and corresponding witch trials were relatively quickly manifested and effectively maintained for several centuries against a marginal group to contain and restrain social changes that were occurring at the structural levels of society. The fear of individuals against others that were believed to have power over the forces of nature became the fear factors that were turned by triggering events into realities that deflected and directed the inherent conflict of the time to these individuals and other groups for blame. This is consistent with the works of Hall (1952), Erikson (1966), Galliher & Basilick (1979), Ben-Yehuda (1981), Galliher and Cross (1985), Gusfield (1986), Levack (1987) and Ellis (1995).

Counter Triggering Events:

In this study the concept of triggering events is expanded. There are also “counter” triggering events. Basically “counter” triggering events are the events that happen in response to the triggering events that tend to dispute and or neutralize the triggering event by an opposing group or organization. One example of this is the Lanning (1992) FBI report done to study the phenomena of ritual abuse incidents during

this time. The Federal Bureau of Investigation found absolutely no evidence for a mass nation wide conspiracy of Satanist that were committing illegal and criminal acts upon others. Lanning was unable to identify even one documented satanic murder in the United States (1992, Part 8: 4). Another example was Qin, Bottoms, & Shaver (1998) who did a four year study in the 1990s that found the allegations of satanic ritual abuse to be without merit. These kinds of reports tended to neutralize the beliefs and tactics that were being promoted by groups that were demanding legal protections through the formation of law. This is a good example of the inherent conflict within the theoretical level of triggering events in general. In the last section of the historical roots of Integrated Conflict Theory there is a discussion of inherent conflict that potentially exists in and between all of the interacting levels so far considered.

Level Four, Inherent Conflict:

As shown Integrated Conflict Theory has some of its genealogical roots in Conflict Theory, Structural Functionalism, and Symbolic Interaction. This in and of itself makes Integrated Conflict Theory a fluid and comprehensive perspective. Most authors do not include this fourth level of inherent conflict in the general discussion of the evolution of Integrated Conflict Theory except in passing. It is an aspect that is simply understood and in some ways taken for granted as part and parcel of this perspective. This author however believes that the connection to Conflict Theory is important to note because it is also a major element in the makeup of this theoretical approach. Conflict is often an inherent possibility that runs throughout the process of the interactions of all of the other levels. Conflict can occur within levels or among the other levels of structural bases, real and perceived elements and triggering events. It can be the

most important element in understanding how all the levels are connected to one another as well as against each other. Concerning structural bases, notions of what is perceived and real, and triggering events. McGarrell & Castellano (1993) state:

Moreover, it should be recognized that the criminal law itself tends to generate additional fundamental contradictions that fuel rather constant demands for further governmental action to control crime and related dysfunctions. These demands have resulted in a growing accumulation of ineffectual and conflict-spawning legal reform (1993:347).

The above statement is consistent with Cohen's (1993) perspectives about moral panics. Cohen states:

More fundamentally, a theory of moral panics, moral enterprise, moral crusades or moral indignation needs to relate such reactions to conflicts of interest – at community and societal levels – and the presence of power differentials which leave some groups vulnerable to such attacks. The manipulation of appropriate symbols – the process which sustains moral campaigns, panics and crusades – is made easier when the object of attack is both highly visible and structurally weak (1993: 198).

In our example of witches and witchcraft trials, there were conflicts between the structural bases of different types of religion (Pagan & Christian) and later religion and science. Those who actually believed in witchcraft were obviously in conflict with the belief system and cultural status of Christianity. This type of debate is continuous and ongoing over centuries. Similar conflicts exist in the development of ritual abuse laws as these are only one aspect of this same debate and revolve around issues of knowledge and trust. According to Shibutani's (1966) Interactionist theory, rumors are created in a collaborative attempt to find an explanation for an ambiguous and disturbing set of events. The most often arise when persons do not trust "official" sources of news, or when people have little confidence in the authorities whose job it is to provide information. When persons lose faith in their authorities they will regard bizarre and

strange rumors as plausible, such as those about satanic cults, because it would seem dangerous to disregard them. This then becomes a symbolic construction of false consciousness involving fear and mistrust.

There were also conflicts between what was perceived and what was real by individuals that represented and had faith in those respective belief systems at several levels of analysis. For example were the judges at witchcraft trials really interested in opposing the devil in order to maintain social control, or were they interested in obtaining valuable property of the accused? Perhaps they were interested in both the opposing of evil and the acquisition of scarce and or valuable resources. These were often face to face conflicts during a witch trial. Yet the trials also involved conflicts involving social change in society, issues of social control and possibly individual considerations.

There were also possible conflicts in the various ways triggering events could be interpreted at other levels in this model. It is interesting to note that when the elite classes began to be accused of witchcraft in the Salem trials clearer heads began to prevail. In H. C. Midelfort's study of 1,258 witchcraft executions in Southern Germany only three instances of accusations of witchcraft were made against the nobility, and not one of those so accused was executed (Harris 1989: 238-239). This author contends that in this instance, class was the structural base, and when the noble classes began to be considered as potentials for the witch trial victims, it triggered a reaction among the forces of social control to end the witch craze and associated trials. Again as Pfohl (1994) notes:

After all, the demonic perspective informs us that control of deviance is a battle between good and evil. It is a battle over who gets to name the good and control the bad. This is often overlooked (or perhaps covered up) by neutral-sounding language of some of our more "modern" perspectives. Let us not be fooled by

this “devilishness.” Deviance is and always has been a moral battle in which winners are declared saints and the losers sinners (1994: 55).

There are also conflicts between the classes as suggested by traditional conflict theory. An example from the witch craze era is class conflict caused by the Black death during the same time period. Ben-Yehuda (1980: 19) notes:

During the 14th century, Europe experienced severe demographic changes which bear directly on the concentration of women as victims of the witch-hunts. . . the devastating Black Death (1347-50). The mortality rate was particularly high in the cities. After the plague had passed the wage-laborer survivors found themselves in a highly advantageous position: as a result of the shortage in manpower (Spengler 1968: 433) their real income was tremendously increased, food improved, and job security magnified. In addition, many survivors had inherited large amounts of wealth from their deceased relatives (1980: 19).

As Harris (1989) suggests, the above situation created conflict with the ruling elite trying to maintain classical moral boundaries in feudal society. This author expects that there are also similar patterns and issues of inherent conflict in the development of ritual abuse laws that reflect the inherent conflicts in contemporary social structures, ideologies, worldviews, life worlds, actions, and behaviors of individuals. All of these elements extend back into historical, cultural, political, economic, psychological, and social, aspects of society. These elements can be studied from any of the basic root perspectives of sociology. Ben-Yehuda (1981: 331-332) notes that there are still problems with a comprehensive understanding of the witch-craze. This is true from any perspective or discipline that has attempted the study of this phenomena and era. These problems involve First: timing. Why did the witch hunts take place in the 14th through the 17th centuries? Why so long? Second: is content, Why were witchcraft and witches selected for the many agendas of that medieval society? Third are the targets; why were women the most likely chosen victims? This author suggests that hints of these same questions exist into modern times concerning Ritual Abuse Laws. These continuing

concerns suggest the need for a more comprehensive theory for truly understanding this type of phenomena.

For these reasons a comprehensive theoretical perspective is necessary for the understanding and explanation for the development and formation of ritual abuse law. In the next chapter of theoretical concerns Integrated Conflict Theory is selected and considered for this purpose.

CHAPTER FOUR THEORETICAL CONCERNS

INTRODUCTION

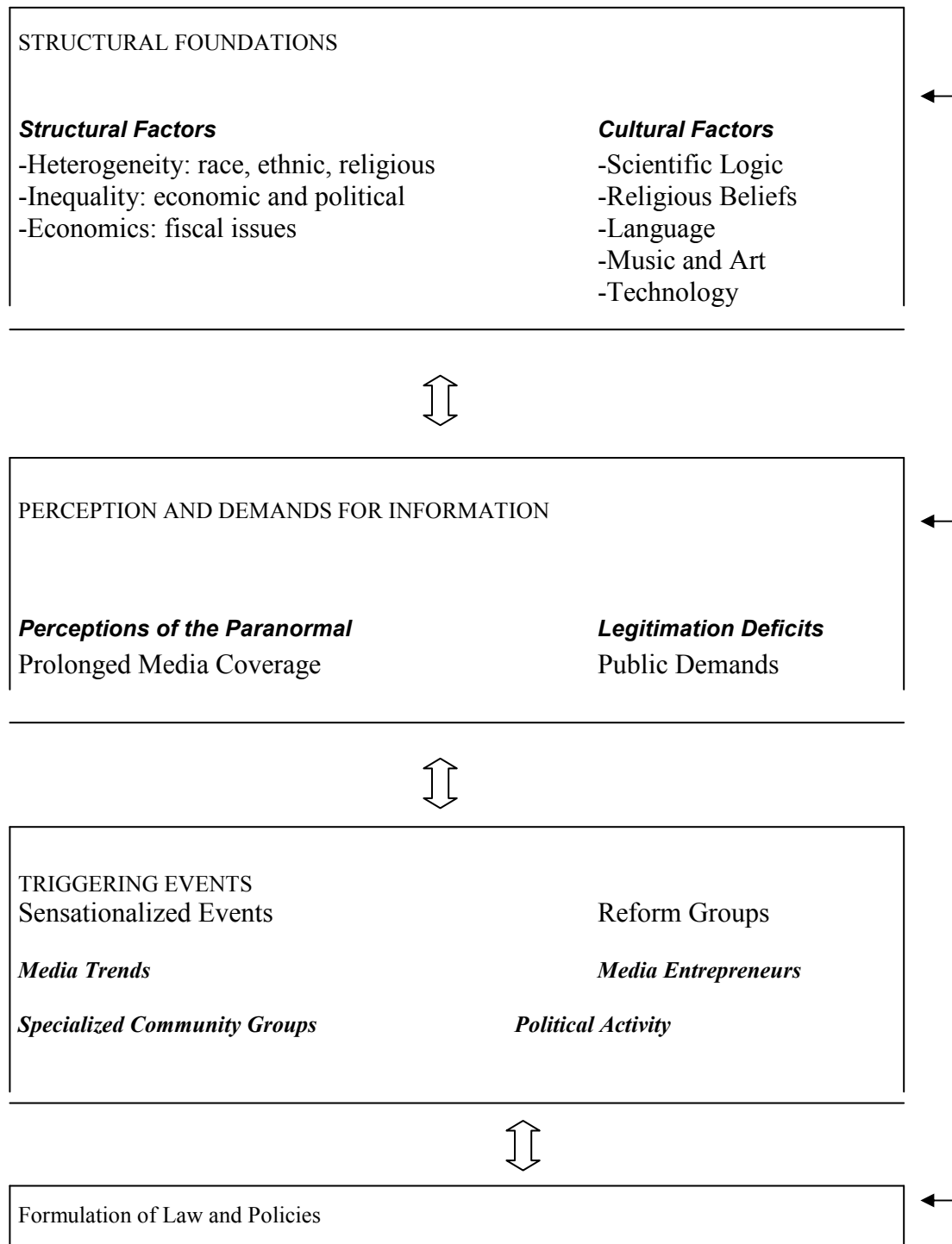
Integrated Conflict Theory:

The complexity of the formation of ritual abuse law will involve elements of structure, individual agency of persons and groups and inherent conflicts among all the parties involved. The theoretical perspective used as an analytical tool and guide in this research is an expanded version of the Integrated Conflict Theory designed by McGarrell & Castellano (1991). This Meta theory looks originally at the development of laws and is well suited for this particular study of the formation of ritual abuse law because it will provide a theoretical guide line as an analytical tool, and because this is exactly the type of research it was designed for (Hodges & Ulsperger 2005b: 94-95). The version used in this study contains all of the same elements of the original theory. The elements consist of structural bases, triggering events and the perceptions of crime that demand punishment and result in the formation of law as well as the addition of the consideration of inherent cultural conflicts or conflict that are deeply embedded in the structural streams of a society. Galliher & Cross (1985: 20) define structural foundations as the “economic, racial, or religious composition of a society and the consequent potential or actual social conflict.” Sociologically structural foundations can be structural or cultural. Galliher & Cross define triggering events as “the tactics, power, and motivations of legislative

interest groups or individuals who sponsor or oppose legislation (1985: 21). McGarrell & Castellano (1991: 181) note that triggering events can include the tactics of moral entrepreneurs, Ben-Yehuda (1980: 15) argues that the authors of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, and the Inquisitors themselves were moral entrepreneurs as described by Becker (1991 [1963], 147-63) during the witch craze. This author suggests they are also a good example of a triggering event as described by the authors of Integrated Conflict Theory and provide a pattern for similar moral entrepreneurs involved in the social construction of ritual abuse laws in the 1980s and 1990s.

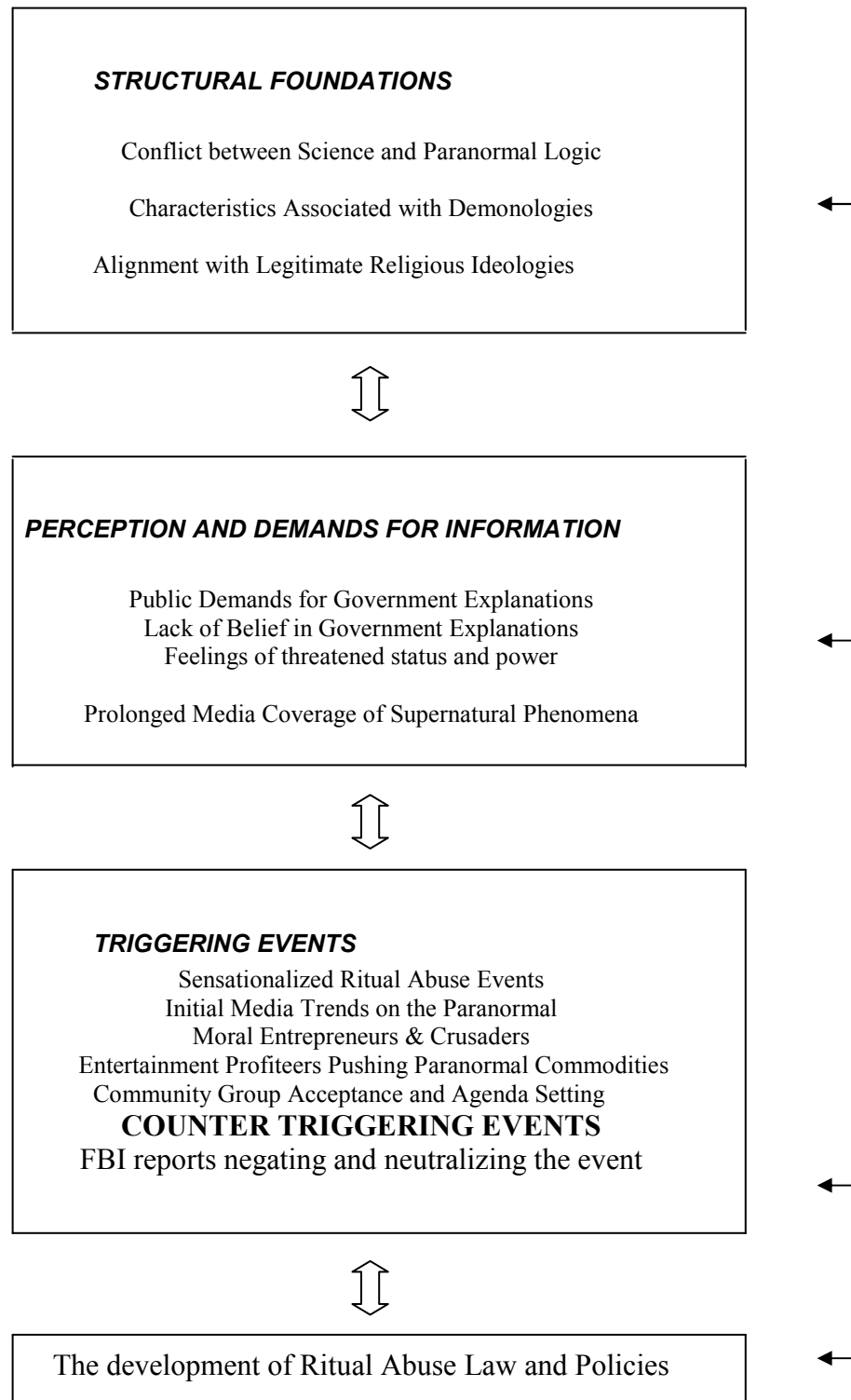
Hodges and Ulsperger (2005b: 99) note the Integrated Conflict model provides us with a better understanding of this type of process. This work uses the core components of the theory in modified form. This includes structural foundations, perception and demands for information and protection, and triggering events that lead to the formation of law that lead to ideological shifts formed out of social constructions. It is not necessary that the levels occur in a sequential order, just that all are present. Figure 2 on the next two pages outlines the modified version of the theory (see for elaboration of the original theory McGarrell & Castellano 1991). This work is also an expansion of the work of Hodges and Ulsperger (2005b) towards the development of the Integrated Conflict model in that belief systems, ideologies and world views are an extremely important aspect of this study, since they provide the core norms and values for the structural population bases involved in the formation of these laws. In this study, however, competing ideologies are not always in conflict but at times also complimentary and work in concert with one another. The diagrams on the next two pages provide a simplified version of this fluid system as follows:

Figure 1: The Integrative Conflict Model



Note: Figure adapted from McGarrell and Castellano (1991) and Hodges and Ulsperger (2005b: 94).

Figure 2: Applying the Integrative Conflict Model to Ritual Abuse Concepts & Thought



Note: Figure adapted from Hodges and Ulsperger (2005b: 98)

The main difference in this study is that the triggering events are grounded in the ritual practices of various semi-religious and religious organizations and groups. These ritual practices generate concerns and fears that influence the creation of ritual abuse laws by various concerned groups. The structural bases are the social institutions of philosophy/religion, science and law. These structural bases through their ideologies help western society make sense of its world through different ways of knowing. Each structure has an ideology that is in opposition to the other structural base. The structural bases respective ideologies are symbolically represented by and through the religious and ritual practices being performed by certain groups, (for example Satanists, witches or practitioners of voodoo) and those social forces in opposition to those same group's ritual practices.

Those ritual practices promote fear and violate norms and values of the dominant culture. The violations can be perceived or real violations. In this study, perceptions are expressed by some authors as more important than what was real as far as the actual rituals that were being performed compared to the greater number that was being perceived as being performed in reality. This results in the rise of opposition forces. Most often these forces of opposition are represented by legal elements in our society in the forms of social control groups and organizations. This perceived aspect of ritual abuse is a major reason why the constructionist approach was chosen as an analytical tool to get at the formation of ritual abuse law. The social construction of the "other" as suggested by Becker (1991), and Vidich & Lyman (1998: 46-72) appears to be a common

human trait across cultures and time that can be expanded and even take on a life of it's own when incorporated into structural bases.

Summary of Integrated Conflict Theory:

This author contends the use of Integrated Conflict Theory in this research is important because it provides the basic elements and guidelines for understanding the development of ritual abuse laws in the following ways. There is a creation of conflict in society which these laws attempt to address. Integrated Conflict Theory allows one to consider the “causes” of the conflict, the “contexts” of the conflict, and finally it provides a look at “inherent conflict” at all of the levels of analysis. Causes can be associated with structural bases which are often the universal, generalizeable, structural streams that have long existed in society. Context can be ideological and cultural aspects of society that are relevant to a time period and a local geographic area involving the phenomena being researched. Context has to do with the perceived and real notions held by that society. These are often localized and different across geographic boundaries. Triggering events are those events and phenomena that bring conflict to a point of critical mass. These events are often affected by structural bases and in turn can affect change in structural bases. Inherent conflict is addressed because there are various kinds of conflict in a society that in different conditions can be interpreted in various ways. For instance, are ritual abuse laws the result of cultural conflict between different segments of society or are they symbolic of a result “to conflict” between segments of society engaged in a power struggle for dominance in a society. These questions of inherent conflict come out of understanding different levels of analysis. Integrated Conflict Theory then seeks to bridge the gap between micro and macro theoretical approaches. It builds on the

strengths of all of the root theories of sociology in a comprehensive way. In this research it is an analytical guide to a constructionist approach of grounded theory. These are discussed in the following sections.

The Constructionist Approach:

According to Hester & Elgin probably the earliest Interactionist work on the connection between (perceived) accounts and conduct is that of C. Wright Mills and Sutherland, though what they had to say was rather brief. Hester & Elgin (1992) further note:

“Mills (1940) referred to socially defined and available “Vocabularies of motive” as permitting the “release” of the energy required to perform an action. These “vocabularies” were good reasons, justifications, excuses, etc., in terms of which action could be said to make sense both prior to and after its occurrence. Sutherland (1939) made use of a similar notion in his theory of differential association and, in particular his theory of white collar crime (Sutherland 1949). In the former he proposed that a person becomes delinquent because of excess definitions favorable to violation of the law over definitions unfavorable to violation of the law. These definitions referred not only to techniques of committing crime, but also to a collection of motives, rationalizations excuses and justification for committing crimes. In his study of white-collar crime Sutherland indicated that an “ideology” for illegal business practices is learned which helps the novice to accept the illegal practices and provide rationalizations for them” (Hester & Elgin 1992: 189-190).

It is this author’s contention that fear factors become “vocabularies of motive” and evolve into ideologies that work in a similar fashion for a society in the grips of fear, anxiety and social change. Gusfield (1986: 87, 125) suggests that inherent cultural conflicts arise and take form in symbolic crusades in which particular social actions codified into law help to maintain the status of the dominate culture. In a time of social change this leads to cultural polarization. Vidich & Lyman (1998: 42) note this type of study requires a certain detachment to all parties being researched. This allows the researcher to examine the actions and conduct of the each entity involved to comprehend

and explain why both actors and processes are the way they are. This is similar to and consistent with the constructionist work on Satanism by Richardson and Bromley (1991:3-5) and expands upon their original work from a constructionist perspective towards a more comprehensive approach. This approach allows the researcher to get an understanding of the social construction of reality in this topic area theoretically to real life situations and circumstances. Richardson and Bromley note that the constructionist approaches contrast with more traditional orientations in sociology. “Traditionally, researchers took for granted the objective reality of their subject matter—say crime. That is they made an assumption that the real world contained crimes and criminals, objective phenomena that could be studied. . . . never questioning why something was designated a crime or someone was called criminal”. “Constructionists criticize objectivism on the ground that our world is socially constructed. There is no natural phenomenon “crime”; all crimes are identified through social processes. . . . These processes of social construction are the focus of constructionists’ attention, as they try to understand the social construction of reality” (1991: 4). This question of what is real is important to this study because the formation of ritual abuse laws deal with several realities of various groups that all determine what is real differently. Berger & Luckman (1966) note that:

Sociological interest in questions of “reality” and “knowledge” is thus initially justified by the fact of their social relativity. What is real to a Tibetan monk may not be “real” to an American businessman. The “knowledge” of the criminal differs from the “knowledge” of a criminologist. It follows that specific agglomerations of “reality” and “knowledge” pertain to specific social contexts, and that these relationships will have to be included in an adequate sociological analysis of these contexts. . . . Beyond this, however, a discipline calling itself by this name will have to concern itself with the general ways by which “realities” are taken as “known” in human societies. In other words, a sociology of “knowledge” will have to deal not only with the empirical variety of “knowledge” in human societies, but also with the processes by which any body of “knowledge” comes to be socially established as reality (1966: 3).

Gallagher and Cross (1985) contend that origins of crime control legislation are found in the research of both structural foundations and triggering events. They argue that many of the disagreements over interpretation of prior research stem from a lack of understanding and failure to distinguish structural foundations from triggering events as discussed in the theoretical section (McGarrell & Castellano 1991: 181). These time related aspects apply to the concepts of constructions as discussed by Guba & Lincoln as discussed below. This research will require observation, insight, interpretation and the communication of the analysis through the theoretical lens to the reading audience. The properties of social constructions can be further elaborated as follows by Guba & Lincoln (1989):

1. Constructions are attempts to make sense of or to interpret experience, and most are self-sustaining and self-renewing (1989: 71).
2. The nature or quality of a construction that can be held depends upon “the range or scope of information available to a constructor, and the constructor’s sophistication in dealing with that information” (1989: 71).
3. Constructions are extensively shared, and some of those shared are “disciplined constructions,” that is, collective and systematic attempts to come to common agreements about a state of affairs, for example, science (1989: 71).
4. Although all constructions must be considered meaningful, some are rightly labeled “malconstruction” because they are “incomplete, simplistic, uninformed, internally inconsistent, or derived by an inadequate methodology” (1989: 143).
5. The judgment of whether a given construction is malformed can be made only with reference to the “paradigm, out of which the constructor operates,” in other words, criteria or standards are framework specific, “so for instance a religious construction can only be judged adequate or inadequate utilizing the particular theological paradigm from which it is derived” (1989: 143).
6. Ones constructions are challenged when one becomes aware that new information conflicts with the held construction or when one senses a lack of intellectual sophistication needed to make sense of the new information (1989: 143); Schwandt (1998: 243).

Schwandt (1998: 243) also makes use of the abstracted articles above and notes that for Guba & Lincoln, the question of which or whether constructions are true is sociohistorically relative. Truth is a matter of the best-informed and most sophisticated construction on which there is consensus at a given time. This constructionist perspective will come out of an approach of grounded theory. This author knows little about the states being studied. A grounded theoretical approach allows the data surrounding the topic to emerge unvarnished from the sources before it is analyzed and interpreted through the selected theoretical lens.

Inductive Logic and Grounded Theory:

According to Charmaz (2004: 501) the hallmark of grounded theory studies consists of the researcher deriving the analytic categories directly from the data, not from pre-conceived concepts or hypotheses. Grounded theory and inductive logic methods force the researcher to attend closely to what happens in the empirical world that is being studied. Charmaz contends that grounded theory is complimentary to constructionist, interpretative approaches. From a constructionist, interpretative perspective, the grounded theory researcher must then study the meaning, intentions, and actions of the research participants. This is true in any type of source materials that are being used from literature to in-depth interviews with respondents. The first question for the researcher becomes “What is happening here?” Charmaz (2004: 497) states that the researcher starts with individual cases, incidents, or experiences and develops progressively more abstract conceptual categories to synthesize, to explain and to understand your data and to identify patterned relationships. This is consistent with and complimentary to the needs of Integrated Conflict Theory for understanding localized

occurrences and their affects on structural bases. Charmaz (2004: 502-503) contends this is done through rich, thick descriptions and analysis of the data. Data, methods and theory then weave together in an intricate and complimentary fashion. Aspects of all of these approaches will be used as theoretical guides to explain and understand the formation of ritual abuse laws. Though previous works focus on important issues, there are several questions that are important to this research.

This author contends that from a constructionist perspective coming out of techniques used in grounded theory and Inductive Logic, the Integrated Conflict Theory will provide a substantial analytical tool to answer the following research questions: Who are the people making these claims of ritual abuse? Why are they making them? What social structures do they represent? What do they say? And finally, how do others respond? What are the catalysts or fear factors and processes involved that promote these social constructions into law? For those who make claims of ritual abuse what are their motives? And finally, why are they successful? Why do we need ritual abuse laws when criminal sanctions already exist against the abuse of children in the form of other laws already on the books? Using an integrative conflict theory, this work examines these issues.

In the next chapter, Integrated Conflict Theory will be applied in the last stages of each the methodologies used in this research to show how this study is to be conducted and how this theory will be applied to the collected data for analysis through the various steps and procedures as outlined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

Step One, Content Analysis Of Literature and Documents:

The primary method for conducting this study was the use of a content analysis used in a triangulation of two types of literature complimented with interviewing of individuals that were involved in the law making process concerning ritual abuse laws. Flick (1992) & Silverman (1997: 25, 90-91) state that triangulation has been generally thought of as a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation. But, acknowledging that no observations or interpretations are perfectly repeatable, triangulation serves also to clarify meaning by identifying different ways the phenomenon is being seen by different sources. Babbie (1998: 293-302), Stone & Weber (1992: 290-295), Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus (1994: 67-78; 2002), (Silverman 1997: 90-91) and Sanders (1982: 355-357) note that a content analysis can be a very useful tool for providing evidence of what is being researched especially in the form of literature analysis. A traditional content analysis is a “quantitatively oriented technique by which standardized measurements are applied to metrically defined units and theses are used to characterize compare and contrast documents” (Manning and Cullum-Swan 1998: 248). Babbie (1998) & Silverman (1997: 80-96) provide a detailed description and guide of how a

successful content analysis should be conducted. In each section this author applied a version of it to this research, and finally, the author addressed the relevance of using this particular method. The content analysis contained rich descriptions and quotes to support the theory and corresponding analysis as suggested by Denzin and Lincoln (1998b: 11). Later interviews with persons involved in the law making process lended further support to analyzed data gleaned from the literature sources.

Scope of Analysis:

The first stage in this process was to determine the subject that one will study and to determine its units of analysis. Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus (1994: 70-71; 2002), Babbie (1998) & Sanders (1982: 356) explain that the researcher must decide what precise topic(s) the individual chooses to investigate. These topics include what subject matter were studied, what group(s) were looked at, and what experiences were analyzed and studied, etc. Once these topics were established, the researcher explored the scope of the literature that is available in these areas. This research looked at ritual abuse laws generally in the five states that have passed such laws. Then, more specifically, within a large state and a small state ritual abuse laws were examined in more detail for reasons of comparison and contrast. The states selected as case studies for this purpose were those of Texas and Idaho. Yin (1994: 18-31) suggests case studies are a good way to narrow the scope of one's research and at the same time provide good possibilities for generalization if the case study selected is representative of broader patterns existing in society.

The topic being researched in this study was the formation of ritual abuse law. For this reason the document sources for ritual abuse laws that were considered in the

content analysis were researched back for several years before of the formation of the law and it's enactment. In the chapter of theoretical concerns Integrated Conflict Theory was presented as the desired theory for a theoretical lens and an analytical tool to get at this topic area. As suggested in the theoretical section, Integrated Conflict Theory looked at structural bases, triggering events and conflicts in the formation of law. In determining the scope of literature, the laws, newspaper accounts and committee minutes were located that deal with at least one of the characteristics of interest. The author did conduct several in-depth reviews of this literature type that pertain directly to ritual abuse and ritual abuse laws and their formation using a version of Denzin and Lincoln's (1998c: 110-129) ideas concerning the interpretation of documents and material culture. These articles did not have to focus directly on technical law formation, but rather have to focus on some concept of the social forces that led to the formation of ritual abuse law in the past. Often this will be in the form of key buzz words or phrases that emerge often in the literature sources (Stone & Weber 1992: 291; Silverman 1997: 83). Ritual abuse law then emerged out of and was formed in the past by these social forces acting upon one another. All the literature sources that were surveyed were considered from this point of view out of the case studies selected.

Development of Themes:

From these readings it was suggested that a full analysis with rich description can be gleaned from the variety of sources and authors selected through the reading and interpretation of the documents Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus (1994: 71- 73) and (Denzin and Lincoln 1998b: 11). As discussed below these readings came from published books, magazine articles, newspaper articles, peer-reviewed journals, and in

the second part of the methodology for this study, interviews of persons that were directly involved in ritual abuse law formation helped to obtain samples for themes.

This primary stage required the researcher to develop a representative sample. Furthermore, the literature was not limited to only works of well-respected authors. Less well known works were also included. Out of the hundred plus pieces of literature that were considered there were also many legal minutes and documents. The discrepancy in the amount of literature reviewed can be justified because the books, peer-reviewed journal articles and other forms of literature paint an overall idea of situations of ritual abuse and surrounding circumstances that lead to the formation of ritual abuse law in the past forming patterns and themes. The documents provide the actual evidence of the results of those circumstances that lead to the formation of ritual abuse laws.

The second stage of the content analysis required coding of the data. As Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus (1994: 72-74); Silverman (1997: 142-143) and Babbie (1998) point out that after reading the text, themes emerged that deal with experiences and perceptions. Notes of these patterns were taken and a classification of themes formed. Several themes emerged from this process. At least one theme was present in each of the articles considered that compares and or contrasts with the other literature, documents and interviews that was considered in this research. These themes were at times overlapping to some extent, which required definition and interpretation. These in turn lead to the establishment of categories out of the case studies that were selected. In this research reasons for individual behaviors such as fear factors coupled with the established legitimacy of their various professions proved to be the emergent themes.

Establishing Categories:

The third stage was to develop categorizations based on the themes and patterns that emerged from the literature. Here, the themes were classified and various frequencies of a particular theme was noted. Babbie (1998), Silverman (1997: 142-143) and Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus (1994: 73-75), and Sanders (1982: 354-355) note that a content analysis resulted in categories that were manifest and latent. Manifest categories or visible thematic elements were more direct in this research (the formation of law) than were latent categories that required some interpretation of how the social forces present were important to that same formation.

The themes, patterns and categories varied in frequency and importance. For instance the comparison of legal documents with literature obtained by media sources formed a part of the triangulation of this research, which was then compared to the transcripts obtained from interviewed sources. There was the possibility that each source had different motivations, agendas, perspectives and other considerations. Therefore the themes varied in frequency and importance in each case. There was also some overlapping of categories. It is also acknowledged that these categories were not mutually exclusive and that other categories could exist that may not have been covered in this research.

Application of Data to Theory:

The fourth stage demanded that the researcher construct an analysis. This was basically the application of theory to the data that was compiled and categorized (Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus 1994: 75-76; Hodges and Ulsperger 2005b: 95-96). In this research it was the application of Integrated Conflict Theory to the arising themes and categories found in the literature pertaining to ritual abuse and ritual abuse laws that

portrayed the real life affects of the social constructions of the various elements that were formed into ritual abuse law. The constructionist approach then was a backdrop to the Integrated Conflict Theory in this research. The data supported the theoretical approach that was used. The content analysis in the form of a literary ethnography provided this study with a base understanding of the phenomena of paranormal thought in this instance and its depiction in the media in the past. It also puts the notion of ritual abuse into a historical social context with the existing conflict between scientific and supernatural ideologies and worldviews. This is very similar to the variation of methods used by Hodges and Ulsperger (2005b: 95-96).

*Step Two, Content Analysis
Of Interviews:*

Interviewing was the mainstay of participant observation, used both by participant observers and by researchers who made no pretense of being a part of what was being studied. We use interviews in our daily life, and there are special techniques that move this activity from a casual form of interaction to a powerful scientific tool according to (Babbie 1998: 282); Silverman (1997: 142-143) & Sanders (1982: 356). This research used a version of Sanders' and Babbie's technique of interviewing. The interviews were conducted by selecting twenty-four respondents. This research was primarily a content analysis taken from interviews obtained from individuals concerning their knowledge, experiences and involvement in the passage of ritual abuse laws in their respective states during this historical era.

These persons were determined by and from the original content analysis of newspapers and or legal documents from the time period that the laws were passed. Cover letters were sent out to locate these individuals at their former work places,

associated agencies or offices. If they accepted the opportunity to participate, the format of the interview was four open-ended questions. The focus of these questions was on why the passage of ritual abuse laws were important. Names of individuals involved were removed as soon as copies of transcripts could be made and a numerical system was designed to replace the names for the confidential protection of participants. A research plan was submitted to the Oklahoma State Internal Review Board along the following lines for the above stated purposes. It is included here because it provides many of the details of the planned methodology and its procedures. The plan was as follows:

Research Plan submitted to the O.S.U. Internal Review Board:

The research is and will remain anonymous and confidential. Any audio tapes will be destroyed once the interview from any respondent is transcribed. Important to note is the fact that no identifying information will be placed on the transcription. Names, if given, will be given pseudonyms. The data will be stored in a locked file cabinet in the researcher's office. He will be the only one with access to the key to the file cabinet. The data will be kept until it is no longer needed (i.e. the dissertation is complete and approved). Because some exact quotes will be used in the final analysis, there is a possibility that somebody could identify the participant by the remarks that were made. However, the researcher will do all that he can to protect participant identity.

The interview will begin an initial statement telling the individual that the interviewer is an OSU researcher, and the interviewer is currently conducting research on ritual abuse law and that the interviewer would like to know if they would be interested in answering a few questions for me for research purposes. The interviewer will also tell them that quotes from their interview may be taken from their responses from the

transcripts generated by the interviews and used in the research paper. Furthermore participants should be at least eighteen years of age.

This statement can be cut and pasted into the beginning of each email conversation and sent back to me via regular mail. Or sent by mail to the individual before any phone interviews are conducted if email interviews are not an option.

(Note) An honest attempt will be made to use only participants that were involved in the legislative process in the formation of ritual abuse laws. Since this occurred around twenty years ago, it may be hard to find such persons. For this reason the interviews conducted could be very few in number.

The four open-ended questions to facilitate discussion are listed as follows:

1. What was happening in your state during the passage of ritual abuse laws?
2. Why do you feel the ritual abuse laws were important at the time?
3. Was there a deeper meaning expressed in the passage of these laws beyond public protection?
4. Do you feel these laws are still important today?

It is hoped that these four questions will be enough to establish a discussion that leads to further insights concerning the topic of research. Any discussion from the questions will be primarily from the participants and their perspectives of the research topic. If this is not enough to facilitate discussion by the participant then I will end the interview and go to the next participant. Chats will be held on a one on one basis as much as is possible. That is, chats will be in private email situations or over the phone. The interviewer wants the participants to be fully aware of the purpose for the research. The interviewer is only concerned with their honest opinions. If participants ask questions concerning the nature of the research project, the interviewer will answer their questions to the best of his ability letting them know this research is for the purpose of

creating an article for a peer review research academic journal as well as for a Doctoral dissertation research project. This plan was accepted by the Internal Review Board. This Plan of Research was accomplished through a qualitative methodological process. This process was guided by a version of Sanders phenomenological approach to methodology which is described briefly as follows:

Phenomenology as Methodology

The methodology used for this part of the study was a version of the phenomenological approach designed primarily by Sanders (1982). This approach was similar to and compliments the content analysis used in the first stage of the methodology used for this study. Phenomenology looked at experiences as important in creating and constructing perceptions of reality rather than only the literature sources. Participation in the formation of ritual abuse laws was an experience for individuals and the group involved. For this reason a version of the phenomenological approach was considered to be the most appropriate. This was a qualitative method of analysis that contains three basic components listed as follows:

1. Determining the limits of what and who were to be investigated.
2. Collection of data.
3. Phenomenological analysis of the data to theory.

The first two components listed were common to many qualitative methodologies in the social sciences (Sanders 1982: 356). The description of how these methods were applied to the interviews conducted is listed in the steps below.

Step One, Scope of the Investigation:

This study looks at a half a dozen persons that were involved in the formation of ritual abuse laws in the states of Idaho and California. They come from various economic-socio classes, ages and race. The factor that bound them together in this research was that they were directly involved in the formation of ritual abuse laws in their respective states and they were prominent or influential in the literature that was also a source for this study.

Step Two, Collection of Data:

The data collection consisted of three types or ways of gathering information described as follows:

1. In-depth semi-structured oral history interviews with the six subjects that were tape-recorded and transcribed. This technique was used in this research. A half-dozen persons were interviewed. They answered a set of four open-ended questions. Their tape-recorded answers or email responses were then transcribed and finally organized into documents by the specific question being asked to look for key words and phrases to determine and develop themes, from all of the responses to that specific question (Stone 1978; Sanders 1982: 356; Stone & Weber 1992: 291; Silverman 1997: 135-142).
2. A documentary study in which the writings of the subjects are reviewed to derive “meanings” from them. This technique often is used in conjunction with the first type listed. (This technique was not used in this case study.)
3. Participant observation techniques, that was, observing the subjects in an actual situation in which they engaged in behaviors related to the phenomena under investigation. This also led back to some interviewing to explore

particular behaviors in greater depth (Stone 1978; Sanders 1982: 356). This technique was not used in this research. Beyond this the survey with four open ended questions was administered to each of the respondents from those selected by snowball sample selected from the literature or as suggested by other respondents questioned for this research.

From the data collection of responses, certain keywords, phrases and themes or patterns emerged. These were then categorized and separated very generally according to the Integrated Conflict Theory and Constructionist concepts of the theory being used. They were collected and applied to step three, which is application of the data to theory. In order to respect the privacy and confidentiality of the respondents, whenever the name of the individual or the individual's title was used by the other responders or literary sources it has been replaced by the words such as public official, state official, police officer and so on. It was admitted that as public and political officials they might be inadvertently recognized by others that were involved in the formation of ritual abuse laws in their geographic region from their quotations depending on how widely their opinions and statements were known. Every attempt was made to respect the experiences and privacy of all those persons interviewed for this research.

Phenomenological Analysis of the Data to Theory:

This final stage of the analysis considered the subjective reflections of the emergent themes and then considered what the essences were, that were present in those themes and subjective reflections (Sanders 1982: 357). The author acknowledged that these themes were not mutually exclusive. This is especially the case since the sources were searched for indicators of McGarrell and Castellano's (1991) three benchmarks of

“structural bases”, “perceived and real needs for law” and “triggering events” as defining aspects of ritual abuse law formation. Certainly other elements were considered as well such as inherent conflicts at the different levels of analysis.

In a pure form of phenomenology there are no preconceived ideas or presumptions of theory. Findings are grounded and emerge from the data. The experiences reveal the socially constructed reality (Sanders 1982: 355). Our research varies from this in that we used McGarrell and Castellano’s definitions of Integrated Conflict Theory as benchmarks against the individual’s experiences. These theoretical definitions only provided the general guidelines for the categories that were formed out of the participant responses to the open-ended questions. The questions were divided between the determined three areas of defining interest. McGarrell and Castellano’s (1991) definitions of community then provided a casual theoretical benchmark for an analytical tool to base our assumptions of community within the group being researched. This research then was a synthesis of the phenomenological approach for the methodology with other theoretical considerations providing guidelines for understanding and meaning of the human experiences being considered here.

Finally as a measure of validity we reread our transcripts and compared them to the findings to see if what we found was truly reflected in what our respondents expressed about their experiences in the formation of ritual abuse laws, and to see if those experiences reflected McGarrell and Castellano’s (1991) definitions of the elements of Integrated Conflict Theory.

This was the full extent of the research plans for this project and a survey that was taken that included four open-ended questions. The answers from those respondents were

turned into transcripts and a content analysis was performed upon those transcripts, looking for common themes, patterns, and categories subject to each question asked (Silverman 1997: 118, 142-143). These steps were similar to the content analysis performed upon the literature in step one. These interviews were conducted via telephone and email. The only real difference was the use of transcripts of interviews instead of documents and literature. The analyzed interview data supported the information obtained from the content analysis of literature in step one of the methodology.

SUMMARY

The use of these methods as presented in this chapter was used in this research and is beneficial to understanding the formation of ritual abuse laws. This version of a content analysis with the in-depth reviews of a hundred plus articles of literature combined with supporting interviews provided by significant individuals involved in the law making process of the time provided a basic understanding of the general process and the factors involved in the development of ritual abuse law. It also was compatible with the theoretical approach selected for this research.

In the following chapter, Integrated Conflict Theory was applied to the collected data extracted by means of the methods used in this research. The analysis chapter provided an explanation and understanding of process surrounding the formation of ritual abuse laws through the analytical lens of the theory selected that made use of all the root theories in sociology.

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS

THE TWO CASE STUDIES

INTRODUCTION:

Social Context of the Two Case Studies:

This section begins with the social context in which the two case studies presented herein were immersed and which ritual abuse laws arose out of through a social process. The analysis begins with a discussion about what other authors have researched in the area of ritual abuse within this social context. This information could have been placed in the literature review but was deemed to be important for understanding the case studies from a constructionist perspective. This is followed with a discussion of the data that emerged from the content analysis from the last stages of the methodology reviewed in chapter five. It will begin with the literature sources and be followed by the individual interviews. All of this information is considered through the theoretical lens of Integrated Conflict Theory as discussed in chapter four. Babbie (1998) & Silverman (1997: 142,143) contend that a content analysis can produce very helpful themes and can lead to a fruitful analysis of categories to apply a theoretical lens towards an empirical understanding of social interactions. Ritual abuse laws are an expression of social constructions that are generated in numerous ways. They come out of the interaction of social structures, perceived and real “realities of criminal acts” and triggering events that set all of these elements into motion through a process that results in the formation of law as discussed in the theoretical concerns of chapter four.

These elements often arose out of a satanic cult scare that was in itself a form of deviant behavior which emerged from the preconceptions of the group's norms and values into a created and socially constructed reality. Fear factors generated actions that formed and codified these same norms and values into ritual abuse laws. Out of the five states that have ritual abuse laws on the books, the two states of California and Idaho were selected as examples for this study. These states were selected for the following reasons. First were the differences in the states geographic sizes. Second were the differences in the states cultures and diversity. Third were the differences in the states populations as case studies involved in the formation of ritual abuse laws. These examples were selected because they are believed to be good for comparison and contrast reasons to understand and explain this type of law formation.

The Modern Historical Emergence of Ritual Abuse:

Lanning (1992, Part 2: 3-7) notes a stage by stage development across decades portraying different ideas about child abuse in general. In the 1950s and 1960s the idea was that of stranger danger. Strangers were seen as potential abusers. Children were taught to avoid strangers as a protection against abuse. In the 1970s the emphasis switched to looking at intra-familial child sexual abuse. The family was seen as a potential source of abuse through family members. Notions of incest were incorporated into ideas concerning abuse largely through the influence of the women's movements. The 1980s saw a return of the stranger danger which incorporated that a potential molester could and most often was an acquaintance. The 1990s culminated in Satanism being viewed as a new form of stranger danger with a rise in teenagers as missing children. Victor (1991) notes that "rumors of satanic cult ritual abuse also arose from the

“survivor” stories of multiple personality disorder (MPD) patients, beginning with the publication of *Michelle Remembers* in 1980 by Smith & Pazder, (1980). Allegations of the sexual abuse of children by Satanists operating in institutions such as day care centers followed shortly thereafter, as part of the societal reaction to public awareness of physical and sexual child abuse in the early 1980s (Finkelhorn 1994: 31-32; Frankfurter 2001: 352-353; Ellis 1995: 77-78).

By the end of the 1980s, the label “ritual abuse” had become accepted as a distinct pattern of behavior by many police, journalists, therapists, and social workers. The prefix “satanic cult” was quickly dropped from the term “ritual abuse” in order to make the concept more acceptable to secular audiences, such as trial juries and newspaper readers, who might reject satanic cult conspiracy theories as “being too bizarre to be credible” Victor (1991: 5; 1998: 545, 550;). The 1980s through the early 1990s then began the era that concerns this research on ritual child abuse and the resulting laws that emerged out of that era. It was an era of increased awareness of child abuse in general and of ritual child abuse in particular. This is consistent with and confirmed by the following authors, Victor (1990, 1991, 1994, 1996, 1998), Hicks (1991), Jenkins (1992), Finkelhor (1994), Ellis (1995), Bottoms, Shaver & Goodman (1996), Frankfurter (2001).

The authors Bromley & Shupe (1981: 3-20) were two of the first social science researchers to consider the whole era of the Satanic scare and new religions and cults from the point of view of a conflict of interests, false allegations of danger and a conflict between interest groups of pro cult and anti cult. Their research stated that the whole phenomenon was “a hoax” very early in this era. Much of their work is consistent with the research of Gusfield (1986). Bromley & Shupe’s study is important to this research

because they used elements of Integrated Conflict Theory for their analysis. These predated the theory and are stated in different terms. Furthermore other studies expanded upon their early findings. Bromley and Shupe's (1981) research is also important historically because their study was done at the beginning of the time period of the ritual abuse scare. They portray the religious culture wars that were taking shape as follows:

Anyone who has followed the newspapers for the past decade, or even the past few years, knows that America is presently preoccupied with one of the bitterest and most significant religious conflicts of the twentieth century. Involved are a number of unconventional "new" religious and quasi-religious groups, often referred to as "cults," such as the Unification Church, Transcendental Meditation, Hare Krishna, the Church of Scientology, and the People's Temple. At stake may not only be their fates but also the shape of religious freedom and civil liberties in the future (1981:1).

Set against the new religions is a coalition of groups known as the "anticult" movement. Like the new religions (which make up a diverse lot), the anticultists are divided into a number of organizations. Best known to the public are groups composed primarily of family members of converts to the new religions with names such as Individual Freedom Foundation, Love Our Children, and Citizens Freedom Foundation. Closely related to these family-based groups is a loosely organized network of deprogrammers who act as agents of the parents to remove converts from new religions, by force if necessary. Finally, there is a rather autonomous set of fundamentalist Christian organizations with names such as Spiritual Counterfeits Project, Cult Exodus for Christ, and Christian Helping Resist Insidious Satanic Teachings (CHRIST) that condemn the new religions on a variety of theological grounds. While they rarely condone deprogrammings, they and the other groups are nevertheless united in their opposition to cults (1981: 1-2).

Victor (1990;1991), Bottoms, Shaver & Goodman (1996), and Frankfurter (2001) researched ritual abuse from the perspective of allegations and related reactions and behaviors. Roper (2000) studied imaginings and fantasies concerning child-witches and the end of the witch craze. This historical perspective uses psychological perspectives to attempt to understand the era. Capps (1992) considers child abuse as sanctioned in various ways by the dominant Christian religion. It is important to this study because it portrays how some abuses are sanctioned while other abuses are criminalized.

Bourguignon (1989) studied the similarities between multiple personality, possession trance, spirit mediums and other psychic states that were sometimes associated with childhood abuse. Other authors looked at ritual abuse from the perspective of a moral panic as developed by Cohen (1993: 191-198). Victor (1990, 1991) considered ritual abuse from the viewpoint of a moral panic. Similarly Ellis (1995) looked at panics that involved ritual abuse from a modern historical perspective starting in the 1950s. He considered influential fundamentalist religious beliefs as a repository of older lineages of thought that are “adapted” as needed to current events involving ritual abuse. Ellis also indicates the need for the study of the witch craze and local folklore to understand the current Satanism panic of the 1980s and 1990s (1995: 80). His research confirms much of the historical background (in a condensed form), of this present study as well as contributes to it by connecting the demonology of the past to ritual abuse panics of the 1980s and 1990s. His work suggests this is a consistent pattern found in Western civilization. This is also consistent with Hill & Goodwin (1989), they also argue that ritual abuse is a modern resurgence of satanic enactments which have a long tradition stretching back into at least the middle-ages. Lotto (1994) notes that similar accusations concerning witchcraft and Satanism were made in the United States in the 1830s and 1840s in several works of literature written by alleged former nuns that had escaped from the convents. This occurred during the anti-catholic movement against the immigration of the Irish during these times.

Ellis (1995: 80-81,91) contends that the works Kurt E. Koch and others like him carried forward Christian evangelical notions of evil, many of which extended back to the witch craze era. These became published works in the 1950s and 1960s that influenced

several lineages of thought in Christian circles and in popular culture in the 1970s, 1980s and into the 1990s especially during the Satanic ritual abuse panic. Ellis notes that Koch is frequently cited authority in the first generation of emerging demonologists beginning in the 1950s. Koch was critical in creating and developing a “demonic” clinical psychology. Koch’s system combined psychology with a demonology to construct a theory of mental illness caused by demonic oppression. Koch’s ideas were picked up by several authors of the 1970s. Ellis (1995) notes:

The two major British discussions of demon possession, Michael Harper’s *Spiritual Warfare* (1970) and John Richardson’s *But Deliver Us From Evil* (1974) repeatedly cite Koch’s case histories as authoritative. In the United States, Koch was endorsed by fundamentalist theologian Merrill F. Unger in his *Demons in the World Today* (1971). Unger’s work led the following year to two popular books: Gary Wilburn’s *The Fortune Sellers* and the best seller *Satan Is Alive and Well on Planet Earth* by Unger’s student, Hal Lindsey. Lindsey later became a patron of Lauren Stratford, a controversial “survivor” of satanic ritual abuse during the 1980s (see Passantino et al. 1990 et al.), (1995: 91).

Practical manuals soon followed: Kent Philpott’s *Manuel of Demonology and the Occult* (1973) and Peter Anderson’s *Talk about the Devil* (1973) applied Koch’s ideas to show Christian counselors how to recognize and exorcise demons caused by occultism. And Koch inspired respect from professionals. When John Warwick Montgomery organized a symposium on demon possession at the University of Notre Dame under the auspices of the Christian Medical Association (1976), participating clinical psychologists were often skeptical of demonization as a diagnosis. Nevertheless, they cited Koch and his mentor Alfred Lechler more frequently than any other resources (1995: 91).

This strange blend of demonology, science in the form of psychology, and evangelical Christianity during this era are part of the structural bases that pertain to this study especially in the dominant popular culture. These ideas were being absorbed in social institutions for a period of thirty years by the 1980s. Ellis (1995: 91) notes that Koch’s works did not directly lead to the satanic panic scares of 1980s and 1990s, rather he was only one of the many individuals responsible for creating the institutional tradition that underlies the recent satanic ritual abuse panics. Lanning (1992) notes:

When, however, therapists and other professional begin to conduct training, publish articles, and communicate through the media, the consequences become greater, therefore the level of proof must be greater. The amount of corroboration necessary to act upon allegations of abuse is dependent upon the consequences of such action. We need to be concerned about the distribution and publication of unsubstantiated allegations of bizarre sexual abuse. Information needs to be disseminated to encourage communication and research about the phenomena. The risks, however, of intervener and victim “contagion” and public hysteria are potential negative aspects of such dissemination. Because of the highly emotional and religious nature of this topic, there is a greater possibility that the spreading of information will result in a kind of self-fulfilling prophesy (1992: Part 1: 3).

This parallels the earlier witch craze in the development of literature and ideology first, which later develops into fears and reactions in a moral crusade. Cuneo (2002: 41, 285) argues that once the public interest was recognized the pulp publishing industry and the Hollywood film industry ran with the topic for as far and long as it was profitable. He notes that after the success of the popular film *The Exorcist* a plethora of films were produced to satiate the curiosity and interest that was being generated in the popular culture. Cuneo (2002) notes:

The two sequels are *Exorcist II: The Heretic* (1977) and *The Exorcist III* (1990). Other exorcism-related movies of the period include *Abby* (1974), *Night Child* (1975), *Kung Fu Exorcist* (1976), *The Possessed* (1977), *The Child* (1977), *God Against Evil* (1977), *Beyond the Living* (1977), *The Coming* (1980), *The Entity* (1982), *Dead of Night* (1987), and *My Demon Lover* (1987)...For an insightful discussion of movies of this genre, see Stanly Rothman’s (1996) *Is God Really Dead in Beverly Hills?* (2002: 285).

Cuneo (2002: 50-51) contends that the book and film industry had an enormous capacity for shaping everyday beliefs and behaviors, which include religious belief systems. He suggests that this was compounded when a significant number of Americans seemed anxious for some evidence and some confirmation, that the supernatural was still a potent force in the modern world. From this plethora of cultural and social constructions emerged the concepts and notions surrounding ritual child abuse in this

particular era. Lanning noted that much of this became incorporated into the thinking and epistemologies of groups involved in social structures that was implicitly ignored or denied by the general public that was indoctrinated into blaming the victim. Lanning (1992) notes for example:

“The Rock band Judas Priest was recently sued for allegedly inciting two teenagers to commit suicide through subliminal messages in their recordings. In 1991 Anthony Pratka of the University of California at Santa Cruz, who served as an expert witness for the defense, stated the boys in question “lived troubled lives, lives of drug and alcohol abuse, run-ins with the law...family violence, and chronic unemployment. What issues did the trial and the subsequent mass media coverage emphasize? Certainly not the need for drug treatment centers; there was no evaluation of the pros and cons of America’s juvenile justice system, no investigation of the schools, no inquiry into how to prevent family violence, no discussion of the effects of unemployment on a family. Instead attention was mesmerized by an attempt to count the number of subliminal demons that can dance on the end of a record needle” (1992, Part 8: 3-4).

It is to be understood however that these concepts had not crystallized into a well defined and consistent meaning in general and for ritual abuse law in particular. This diversity of understanding is considered in the next section below.

What exactly is “Ritual” Child Abuse?

This author contends that sociologically, ritual child abuse is different things to different groups. For that reason, the precise meaning depends upon the group being addressed. For example, Lanning (1992) notes:

Dr. Lawrence Pazder, coauthor of *Michelle Remembers*, defines “ritualized abuse of children” as “repeated physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual assaults combined with a systematic use of symbols and secret ceremonies designed to alienate the child against itself, family, society, and God” (presentation, Richmond, Va., March 7, 1987). He also states that “the sexual assault has ritualistic meaning and is not sexual gratification” (1992, Part 4: 4).

This definition may have value for academics, sociologists, and therapists, but it creates potential problems for law enforcement. Certain acts engaged in with children (ie. Kissing, touching, appearing naked, etc.) may be criminal if performed for sexual gratification. If the ritualistic acts were in fact performed for spiritual indoctrination, potential prosecution can be jeopardized, particularly if the act can be defended as constitutionally protected religious expression. The

mutilation of a baby's genitals for sexual pleasure is a crime. The circumcision of a baby's genitals for religious reasons is most likely not a crime. The intent of the acts is important for criminal prosecution (1992, Part 4: 4).

The above concepts concerning ritual abuse are important to understand when considering ritual abuse law because not all religious/ritual based activity with a child is a crime. Much of what is considered Satanic by some Christian standards is protected by religious expression. For instance Rebecca Brown, M.D. (1987: 84) in a book titled *Prepare For War*, has a chapter entitled "Is Roman Catholicism Witchcraft?" She also notes that other portals to satanic power and demonic infestation involve the following: fortune tellers, horoscopes, fraternity oaths, vegetarianism, yoga, self-hypnosis, relaxation tapes, acupuncture, biofeedback, fantasy role-playing games, adultery, homosexuality, pornography, judo, karate, rock music, etc. However, few of these phenomena ever fall within the realm of criminality. Lanning (1992) states that this is even more confusing when cultural, religious, sexual, and psychological rituals overlap. Misguided religious beliefs have been used to justify such social behavior as the Crusades, the Inquisition, Apartheid, segregation, and recent violence in Northern Ireland and other places as well. Lanning contends:

The fact is that far more crime and child abuse has been committed by zealots in the name of God, Jesus, Mohammed, and other mainstream religion than has ever been committed in the name of Satan. Many people, including myself, don't like that statement, but the truth is undeniable (1992, Part 4: 8).

Lanning (1992, Part 4: 2) further notes many individuals define Satanism and ritual abuse from a totally Christian perspective; this epistemology is using this as a way to describe the power of evil in the world. This ontological understanding of reality is quite different from other secular ways of knowing. With this definition, any crimes, especially those which are particularly bizarre, repulsive, or cruel, can be viewed as

Satanic in nature. This author notes that it is interesting that much of what is considered evil that was originally designed in the middle ages from the Christian perspective of lumping all things non-Christian as evil, is now having to be separated and redefined according to more secular standards of modernity. Yet as Lanning contends, it is just as difficult to precisely define Satanism as it is to precisely define Christianity or any complex spiritual belief system. Much of this confusion surrounds what is meant by the word ritual.

What is Ritual?

Lanning (1992, Part 4: 2) states that ritual in its broader meaning refers to a customarily-repeated act or series of acts. The need to repeat these acts can be cultural, sexual, or psychological as well as spiritual. This overlapping of different types of intent can cause great confusion in a legal justice system that relies upon intent to help determine the degree of criminality of the accused. The type of abuse being directly tied to the type of ritual and type of intent creates major room for debate in a court of law especially in a case involving ritual abuse. Lanning notes there are cultural rituals, sexual rituals, and obsessive-compulsive disorder rituals as discussed in *The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. There are also rituals that stem from psychotic hallucinations and delusions. The important point for the criminal investigator is that most ritualistic criminal behavior is not motivated simply by satanic or any religious ceremonies; rather, the ritual behavior most often fulfills other basic criminal needs. These concepts being interconnected the way they are, tend to make the term ritual abuse very hard to operationalize for both researcher and forces of social control in any society.

This has to be kept in mind when one considers the events that led up to the formation of ritual abuse laws.

In the next sections, the case studies of California and Idaho will be considered from the stand point of the literature that was emerging at the time the phenomena of ritual abuse was believed to be occurring. These sources will be considered chronologically as they occurred in each respective study. California was selected first because ritual abuse was first noticed as a criminal activity there, even though a ritual abuse statute was passed there later than several of the other states that have ritual abuse laws.

THE FIRST CASE STUDY

The Case Study of California

INTRODUCTION

How, When and Where it all started:

According to Police Officer Sandi Gallant (1984) of the San Francisco Police Department, 1984 was a key year for the rise of ritual abuse. Gallant notes in a police report entitled *Stoners and the Occult* that :

In January 1984, the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, East Los Angeles Gang Unit "Operation Safe Streets", was involved in several unusual criminal investigations. Facts uncovered revealed the emergence of several non-traditional gang groups. The initial investigations led to contacts throughout Los Angeles County and several surrounding counties which are experiencing a similar phenomenon.

These groups most often call themselves "stoners" to differentiate their groups from traditional street gangs. Stoner philosophy and motivation differs greatly from traditional street gangs but their criminal potential and propensity for violence are at least as great. Stoners make up a greater percentage of students in the Los Angeles schools. They have media systems and Heavy Metal fad popularity to spread their sub-cultural philosophy.

This report is an attempt by gang investigators to define this phenomenon and provide intelligence which could be used in an early pro-active way to prevent the spread of this new gang problem (1984: 1).

This report is very important to this research because many of the components found in Integrated Conflict Theory are also overtly found in this particular police report at a very early time period. The report discusses the subcultures born of music styles, dress styles, and occult philosophies in length. In other words there are elements of a total new sub-culture that are discussed here. Furthermore this “Stoner” culture is seen as dangerous to the dominant culture in a direct and criminal fashion. The police report goes to state that currently the groups involved are not “perceived as a serious problem” but that in reality they are. Part of the reason for this is that the groups are emerging out of white, middle class areas outside East Los Angeles. In fact there is a tone of urgency in the report because of this fact. The report also goes on to list what it terms are “Occult Crimes” these are listed as animal sacrifice rituals, ritual rape and child abuse, graveyard and or church desecrations, and suicides and murder. Finally it is interesting to note that this sub-culture is already in place and according to the report has been forming in the last ten years out of a number of elements found in youth culture that exist in a wide spread area of several surrounding counties. The suggestion here is that this sub-culture formed in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. (Gallant 1984: 1-3).

Ritual Abuse associated with Youth Culture:

From the sources studied in this research it appears that by 1985 concepts about Satanic ritual child abuse began to crystallize in the case study of California and other states as well. As early as 1985 the New York City Interfaith Coalition of Concern about Cults established and copyrighted a list concerning the “Ritualistic Cults Methods to Induce Children’s Involvement.” The list contained basically eight items to look for. Rev. Earl Minton of the Christian Catholic Church of Zion, Illinois issued an unpublished

manuscript on the topic of *Occultism and Satanism* that was widely circulated among those concerned about the rising influence of cults upon young people. Rev. Minton (1986) notes:

Last October, (1985) at the Cult Awareness Network Annual Seminar in Dallas, Dr. Margaret Singer stated that one of the three fastest growing cults is Satanism. She also mentioned that though Satanism is not new, yet as a YOUTH SUB-CULTURE CULT, it made its appearance only about five years ago. There has not been a lot of information about Satanism available until more recently, and of course, Satanists because of the nature of their activities, seek to keep their practices secret.

Our interest in Satanism is because it probably is the most destructive of cults, emotionally, mentally and physically—in the way of homicide or suicide. Officer Sandi Gallant of the San Francisco Police Department, also noted for her investigations and research on Satanism, states that between 1% and 5% of our young are involved in Satanism to some degree.

As Dr. Singer stated, it is a fast growing cult, and though it seems more concentrated in areas like Los Angeles, yet it is surfacing everywhere. “In virtually every state in the nation, authorities are investigating some form of Satanic activity. In 22 municipalities in Los Angeles County alone, detectives and social workers are enmeshed in investigations of child-porn rings with ritualistic overtones (1986:1).

Rev. Minton’s statements are a fairly typical perspective of the literary sources view of the problem in the early 1980s researched in this study. All of the articles reviewed mention the early to mid-1980s as the beginning of the problem of ritual abuse. Again, the problem of Satanic-cults associated with youth is believed to have begun about 1980 and crystallized by 1984. Note that by 1985, some form of the “problem” concerning Satanic-cults, especially associated with youth, is suggested to exist in every state of the nation. California is providing “experts” on the situation by 1985. California is perceived as the place where the “root” of the problem exists. Los Angeles is considered a particular hot bed of criminal activity. This criminal activity is specifically bundled with and attributed to this Satanic-cult activity. The climax of this criminal activity culminates in “homicides and suicides” of youth. Minton (1986) further notes:

Now, in getting back to Satanism, Sandi Gallant describes three types:

- (1) The Organized type, such as the Church of Satan
- (2) The Dabblers. These are fringe people who use Satanism, not as a spiritual force, but merely as a justification for criminal activity they are conducting; and
- (3) The youth sub-culture, which includes those from age 8-20. This will be our interest today.

What is it that influences kids towards Satanism? Evidence that keeps turning up at police departments indicates that the two main factors are (1) HEAVY METAL MUSIC, and (2) FANTASY ROLE PLAYING GAMES LIKE DUNGEONS AND DRAGONS. Also, a generalized interest in the occult from films, books, friends, et cetera, also may play an important role in leading kids into Satanism (1986: 3-4). . . .

Officer Sandi Gallant and many others have seen a lot of evidence linking the Fantasy Role Playing games like Dungeons and Dragons to Satanism. Some kids get so lost in the game that they lose sight of where fantasy ends and reality begins, and the fantasy will then bridge over into reality (1986: 6). . . .

Heavy metal music, and the rebellion it fosters, Fantasy Role playing games and other occult curiosity may influence a person into Satanism, but they usually join a group to fulfill abnormal urges prohibited by society. Once in, the only way out is usually death, either by murder or suicide. It's horrible. In the group they may practice ritual murder of babies or young children and carry on other kinds of practices that I won't even mention (1986: 7).

This author contends that all of this perceived criminal activity associated and driven by alleged Satanic philosophy provided the critical mass for concern by the forces of social control especially in the case of California. W. I. Thomas (1928: 572) noted that "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences." This author further contends that in many instances this is exactly the argument of Rev. Minton (1986) in his views and writings on Satanism in the 1980s. Minton believes in Satanism and its evil potential. This belief of making the supernatural element into a working useful reality is what Bascom (1887: 101) and Hodges (2002: 85) are talking about when they term the supernatural as the life breath of religion as well as paranormal phenomena.

It creates reality. It is this author's contention that it is this reality that creates meaning, understanding and power for alternative belief systems. This is very different from the dominant religious belief systems that are often based in more intellectual pursuits of study. Again it is a reemergence of the sacred into modern ways of knowing.

Ritual Abuse associated with Child Abuse:

Norris and Potter (1986) note several occurrences of alleged ritual abuse in California as well as other places in the United States in their article that was published nationally in *Penthouse* magazine. Norris and Potter note:

But by far the most insidious and best publicized example of possible ritual terrorism against children is the alleged torture of students at the Virginia McMartin Pre-school in Manhattan Beach, California. A single case of child molestation in January 1984 started an investigation that closed the school and resulted in seven people being charged in 208 counts of child sexual molestation. Three hundred eighty-nine former pupils of this school were interviewed at the prestigious Children's institute in Los Angeles. All of them told of sexual abuse. The institute found that 80 percent of the children had physical evidence to document their abuse (1986:50).

The above statements concerning this particular Mc Martin case, as well as several others, had an enormous impact on their reading audiences nation wide. This author believes this case to be the major triggering event in California and provided patterns of understanding for similar social constructions across the United States. The graphic descriptions that were included in this adult magazine were keeping this story and it's images alive that had been televised two years before as well as several other accounts in other states. Furthermore it built the story on continued occurrences nation wide over several preceding years and made several attempts to link these occurrences together where such an opportunity to do so appeared to exist. Shocking and sensationalized details are always included in these accounts. These work on the

imagination and fears of the reading public. Introvigne (1994) also noted the importance of the McMartin Preschool case as follows:

Another development took place in the same years. Survivors in treatment for multiple personality disorder began relating events that took place decades before their memories surfaced again. Influenced by the survivor's stories, some therapists reasoned that the Satanic cults were probably still operating, and that many of the children's sexual abuse incidents (unfortunately common in the United States and elsewhere) may include an undetected Satanic element. The first and most famous case involved the McMartin Preschool in the affluent Los Angeles suburb of Manhattan Beach. The McMartin case began in 1983, when the principals and a number of teachers of the respected pre-school, were accused of operating an underground Satanic cult, which ritually abused and tortured children. Mental health professionals involved in the case were later accused of having "planted" the stories in the children (some of them were only two or three years old) based on their own persuasion that a Satanic conspiracy exists. The McMartin trial was the most expensive in United States legal history and ended in 1990 with no convictions. The Mc Martin case had an enormous media impact and it surely had something to do with hundreds of subsequent similar accusations of sexual ritual abuses in both day-care centers and in family settings. Although complete statistical data is lacking, it is possible that as many as two thousand cases of Satanic ritual abuse of children have been investigated in the decade of 1983-1992 (1994: 5).

This was not only occurring in sensationalized accounts in adult magazines but also in more formal legal journals. Hilda Taylor, an attorney writing for the *Youth Law News* compiled several of the same and similar cases of ritual abuse nation-wide in an article that discussed the debate that was beginning to occur over the alleged link between Satanic rites and child abuse. Taylor (1986) notes:

A debate is underway among professionals working in the area of child abuse over the validity of charges linking certain cases of abuse to the rituals of satanic cults. Many of the stories sound far too incredible to be true. But a growing number of law enforcement officials and therapists around the country are taking the charges seriously.

Although there were few allegations of satanic abuse prior to 1983, since that year there have been more than 100 reports nation wide of child abuse in connection with Satanic rituals. And each incident is likely to involve a group of children rather than a single child. Those that accept that such abuse is occurring believe that Satanists abuse children in their rituals because they are easy to manipulate and manage (1986: 12).

Taylor (1986: 12), even at this early date, notes that “So far, no court anywhere has found a satanic cult responsible for ritualistically killing children, and prosecutors have consistently lost cases involving Satanism and child abuse. The article begins to sound like a source that could be considered a “counter triggering event” that is beginning to discredit the alleged phenomena of ritual abuse; however, as the article continues, the reader gets the sense that the jury is still out on this question. This is consistent with Leyva (1987) and Lanning (1992, Part 10: 1-2).

Taylor (1986: 12-13) systematically begins to quote several other seemingly reliable sources in this same article to explain why the legal system may be failing. The article suggests insufficient evidence, lack of police and prosecutorial experience in handling these cases experience in dealing with ritual abuse cases, this involved such things as a lack of familiarity with satanic rites and symbols that causes investigators to miss evidence, and poor interviewing techniques involving children that compound the problem. There are also claims from experts that Satanists use hallucinogenic drugs and visual tricks on children to trick and or confuse children. Furthermore it is stated that the simple element of disbelief by authorities destroys many court cases. This is consistent with Truzzi (1991: 53-56) that put forth the idea that much of the refusal to accept ways of knowing other than are what are considered logical and rational by the dominant culture is based upon philosophy. Without a scientific or legal rational basis those who adhere to the strictest scientific principles cannot accept other ways of knowing. Truzzi believed this went so far as even witnessing strange phenomena empirically before their own eyes. This then becomes a philosophical problem for the limitations especially looking at validity versus looking at utility and practicality as the anti-cult groups

consider their own views to be practical and realistic (Truzzi 1991: 53-56; Hodges 2002: 104). As suggested in the quote above the stories are just too fantastic. Yet Taylor (1986) notes:

There is no question that the children in the cases where charges of satanic abuse have come out have been made victims, whether of Satanists or of well-meaning but overzealous therapists and prosecutors. If those involved in investigation and prosecution of satanic abuse can learn from the mistakes made in prior cases and if reforms in interviewing techniques and approaches to investigation can be thoroughly implemented, it should be possible to move closer to determining the truth in this highly charged debate (1986: 13).

The above quote is interesting because it portrays the reluctance to discredit the groups that believe that Satanism and child abuse were linked. At the same time, however, questions were beginning to emerge concerning the validity of the two phenomena being associated. The article is also important because it suggests that specific training will solve the problem. This notion opened the door for several “experts” on Satanic rites and child abuse to begin seminars and training classes to try to help solve the problem or at least reach some kind of conclusion concerning this ever increasing debate. For instance, the Warnke Ministries was established by Mike Warnke, a self-styled ex- high-priest of an alleged Satanic group and later a converted Christian. The Warnke Ministries began to create tapes, seminars and publications on topics like *The Philosophies and Practice of Satanism* (1986). It is interesting to note that the bias expressed here by Taylor (1986), Warnke (1986) and others could be viewed as a belief that the two phenomena are possibly related even if inadvertently. The suggestion is that increased knowledge could prove the phenomena are real. This author suggests that learning more about Satanism and its rituals, unless interpreted properly, could have the adverse affect on the forces of social control. In other words, police could go looking for

Satanic ritual influence and socially create and enhance a perceived problem, much as was similarly done in the middle ages.

Using a supernatural knowledge base to achieve a rational means of understanding a modern social problem has the potential for disaster. This author contends that since ancient times, there is evidence that much of the credibility of both Satanists and Christians came from pre-existing cultural and religious beliefs concerning the supernatural. It is very common to find references to ancient religious texts from all over the world in the literary texts of both religions to support their beliefs. These beliefs become realities and at least mentally bring their religions alive and real to the individual groups. It is this author's contention that this very thing often occurred at times and in some places. In other words what are sacred concepts and ideas to believers become translated into realities no matter how modern or rational they are. This is one of the rips in the fabric of western civilization and a paradox that we all live with to various degrees. The Taylor article is interesting because of the early concerns about the reality of the phenomena of ritual abuses.

Mental Health Experts ally with Parents Groups against Ritual Abuse:

Catherine Gould (1986), a Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology in Brentwood California and a self styled expert, came up with two lists concerning Satanic Ritual Abuse in 1986. One list was entitled: "Symptoms Characterizing Satanic Ritual Abuse Not Usually Seen in Sexual Abuse Cases", which contained 29 items to look for. The other list was entitled: "Symptoms Characterizing Satanic Ritual Abuse and Sexual Abuse" (Preschool Age Children), which contained 33 items to look for. These were designed for professional investigators. It is interesting to note that these types of lists are growing in

number and in length as to what should be watched for by suspecting parents, counselors, and law enforcement authorities. Furthermore, these lists are coming from mental health professionals and this give them increased legitimacy among the general public and among the forces of social control. This is consistent with the “halo affect” as discussed by Hodges and Ulsperger (2005a: 40; 2005b: 100) in which the endorsement by a profession or a professional can help establish the legitimacy of an irrational or non-scientific belief system. A similar pattern is apparent to this author throughout the social construction process of ritual abuse and ritual abuse law by all of the groups that were involved in the process at its different stages. This alliance to the mental health profession is vital to the process of the social construction of ritual abuse. The mental health experts were the first profession to give anti-cult groups support from a respected social institution based on rationality. Though their epistemologies were vastly different from the evangelical Christian based groups, the mental health profession was able to label the end result of ritual abuse and its affect upon individuals as a dissociative disorder of the hysterical neuroses, dissociative type. From the description in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, DSM-III-R (1987) this diagnosis is extremely close in description to the symptoms classically understood as possession by the anti-cult groups. This can be seen in the section of the DSM-III-R quoted below:

300.14 Multiple Personality Disorder

The essential feature of this disorder is the existence within the person of two or more distinct personalities or personality states. Personality is here defined as a relatively enduring pattern of perceiving, or relating to, and thinking about the environment and one’s self that is exhibited in a wide range of important social and personal contexts. Personality states differ only in that the pattern is not exhibited in as wide a range of contexts. In classic cases there are at least two fully developed personalities; in cases, there may be only one distinct personality and one or more personality states. In the classic cases, the personalities and personality states each have unique memories, behavior patterns,

and social relationships; in other cases, there may be varying degrees of sharing of memories and commonalities in behavior or social relationships. In children and adolescents, classic cases with two or more fully developed personalities are not as common as they are in adults. In adults, the number of personalities or personality states in any one case varies from two to over one hundred, with occasional cases of extreme complexity. Approximately half of recently reported cases have ten personalities or fewer, and half have over ten. (In the text below, both personality and personality states will be subsumed under the term personality.) (1987: 269).

At least two of the personalities at some time and recurrently, take full control of the person's behavior. The transition from one personality to another is usually sudden (within seconds to minutes), but, rarely, may be gradual (over hours and days). The transition is often triggered by psychosocial stress or idiosyncratically meaningful social or environmental clues. Transitions may also occur when there are conflicts among the personalities or in connection with a plan they have all agreed upon. A transition may also be elicited by hypnosis or an amobarbital interview (1987: 269-270).

Often personalities are aware of some or all of the others to varying degrees, and some may experience the others as friends, companions, or adversaries. Some personalities may be aware of the existence of other personalities, but not have any direct interaction with them. Some may be unaware of the existence of the others. At any given moment, only one personality interacts with the external environment and none or any number of the other personalities may actively perceive (i.e., "listen in on") or influence all or part of what is going on. The personality that presents itself for treatment often has little or no knowledge of the existence of the other personalities.

Most of the personalities are aware of lost periods of time or distortions in their experience of time. For example, the person may be aware of periods of amnesia or periods of confusion about his or her experience of time. Some admit to these experiences if asked, but few volunteer such information because they fear being called liars or being considered "crazy." Others are unaware of their amnesic experiences, confabulate memories to cover the amnesic periods, or have access to the memories of the other personalities, which they report as if they were their own (1987: 270).

The individual personalities may be quite discrepant in attitude, behavior, and self-image, and may even represent opposites. But they may also differ only in alternating approaches to a major problem area. For example, a quiet, retiring spinster may alternate with a flamboyant, promiscuous, bar habitué; or a person may have one personality that responds to aggression with childlike fright and flight, another that responds with masochistic submission, and yet another that responds with counterattack. At different periods in the person's life, any of the different personalities may vary in the proportion of time they control the person's behavior (1987:270).

Associated features, One or more of the personalities may function with a reasonable degree of adaptation (e.g., be gainfully employed) while alternating with another personality that is clearly dysfunctional or appears to have a specific

mental disorder. Studies have demonstrated that various personalities in the same person may have different physiologic characteristics and different responses to psychological tests. Different personalities may, for example, have different eyeglass prescriptions, different responses to the same medication, and different IQs. One or more of the personalities may report being the opposite sex, of a different race or age, or from a different family than the other personalities. Each personality displays behaviors characteristic of its sense of its stated age (1987: 270).

One or more personalities may be aware of hearing or having heard the voice(s) of one or more of the other personalities. Or may report having talked with or engaged in activities with one or more of the other personalities. These internal conversations and the belief that one has engaged in activities with another personality when the latter is actually a dissociated aspect of the person must be differentiated from other forms of hallucinatory and delusional experiences (1987: 270).

The personalities often exist in groups of two or more, all of whom represent the same period of life (e.g., adolescence.) When this occurs, one or more may have the role of protector of another member or members of the group.

Most often the personalities have proper names, usually different from the first name, and sometimes different from both first and last names, of the individual. Often names have symbolic meaning, for example, "Melody" as the name of a personality that expresses itself through music. Occasionally, one (or more) of the personalities is unnamed, or is given the name of its function, for example, "The Protector," (1987: 270-271).

The quote from the DSM-III_R provides an excellent insight as to why the anti-cult groups found such a ready ally in the mental health profession in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The survivor stories from the individuals that had suffered ritual abuse tended to fit the multiple personality disorder description accepted by the profession. This author contends that the new ally strengthened the anti-cult groups and parent groups and their perspectives concerning ritual abuse and its credibility as a reality. The bureaucratic structure expands to being part of the profession of social control. It provides new typologies for the police and new treatment strategies for the health authorities. Parents of ritually abused children were quick to form groups that demanded more attention be given to the phenomena by the forces of social control. A good example is noted by Kam (1987) in a newspaper article from the Burrell's paper in

Fairfield, California entitled “Parents put up a fight,” which notes the efforts of Leslie Floberg whose three year old son was allegedly ritually abused in 1983. Floberg according to the article dissatisfied with the response of the local authorities formed a group known as “Believe the Children,” originally of Manhattan Beach, California. At the time She was president of the group of 300 members consisting of parents and counselors dedicated to informing the public about ritualistic abuse. According to Kam (1987):

A single parent, she said the group was created after several parents of children claiming ritualistic abuse became frustrated about a lack of support.

“Kids were saying the same kind of stories,” She said in a phone conversation. “It became clear we needed to unite to disseminate public information and support each other.

Originally the parents considered joining sexual abuse groups already formed, but decided against it.

“We were going to take a risk,” Floberg said. “We were going to talk about ritual abuse. We weren’t going to say there’s sexual abuse and then say later, “And then there’s this other thing.”

The organization has made presentations throughout the country (the United States) to parents, psychologists and law enforcement agencies. It also is gathering statistics and developing a library.

The group incorporated a year ago (1986) and chapters now exist in California, Illinois, Nebraska, New Jersey, and Louisiana and Ohio according to Floberg (Kam 1987: Nov. 8th, Sunday Paper).

It is interesting to note the lack of confidence in local forces of social control and perceived need for this group and its “public” information as providing a real resource where none existed. The clinical psychologist Catherine Gould mentioned earlier helped the Believe the Children Organization in forming pamphlets and materials for the dissemination of training materials and is acknowledged in those materials for her contributions. Floberg not only discusses the expanding organization in this newspaper article she also discusses psychological effects that she noticed in the case of her own son. Kam (1987) contends:

“The hardest part is listening to him describe how they confused his value system,” Floberg said, She claims that her son was forced to be an active participant. “The way he describes it is, “I got to do it because I was good that day, because it was my reward.” It’s manipulation of the child’s sense of self and knowledge of right and wrong,” (1987: Nov. 8th Sunday Paper).

The Quote above is interesting in that it uses terms that sound professional and informed. These professional terms such as “value system,” “active participant,” “sense of self.” are instantly recognizable by psychologist and sociologist alike and give a sense of academic legitimacy to Floberg’s argument. Floberg also suggests that trust in teachers should be limited. This conception is supported in the same article by Dan Sexton of Child Help Los Angeles, a national child abuse hotline as suggested below.

Kam (1987) notes:

Floberg recommended that parents withhold giving a caretaker or teacher 100 percent trust.

“That’s difficult because you don’t want to leave your kids with people you don’t trust,” She said. “But once you give that 100 percent trust, you don’t question anymore.”... And if a child does begin disclosing odd goings-on, Floberg urged, “don’t always look to the adults to explain.

“Confronting the teacher is the natural thing to do,” she said. “You think the child is confused, that he really doesn’t know what’s going on. You always rationalize.

Experts advise parents suspecting ritualistic abuse to remove their child immediately and to submit the youngster to a medical exam and psychological evaluation.

Then file a police report.

But don’t push the system too hard, advised Don Sexton of Child Help-Los Angeles, a national child abuse hotline.

“Its more important to remove the child from the violence than to shove it down the social service departments throats,” he said. “They’ll begin to think your crazy and stop investigating,” (Kam 1987: Nov. 8th, Sunday Paper).

The above quote is important to this study because it suggests the mistrust that should be established and maintained towards both the social structures of education, & social services as well as law enforcement agencies by parents. This author contends that this could be the very beginning of an inherent conflict emerging between the parents

interest groups and established social structures involving conflicts about concepts surrounding ritual abuse. This emerges out of each side believing the other is misinformed.

Leyva (1987) confirms much of what Taylor suggests and adds the dimension of the medical profession in this mix of interest groups versus social institutional structures and social organizations. Leyva contends:

Prosecution of child molestation cases is being derailed around the country because young victims are lacing their testimony with macabre tales of satanic rites, authorities say.

Although sexual abuse is medically proven in many of these cases, the charges frequently crumble when preschoolers tell of druggings and assaults in bloody occult ceremonies says San Francisco Police Officer Sandi Gallant, (1987: B4)...Dr. Roland Summit, psychiatry, professor at UCLA, added "People tempted to come forward fear they will be labeled as crazy or paranoid. And to some degree they are right. Usually charges are dropped at the intrusion of the bizarre (1987: B4).

The quote above suggests that the lack of credible information is a direct result of the age of the children and contaminated results due to drugs, as well as non-belief in non-rational religious systems by rational authorities.

The Medical Profession Reaction verses Mental Health :

Social structures are being directly affected and are being forced to take a stand on the issue of ritual abuse during this time. The medical profession in particular found ritual abuse hard to deal with for both rational and scientific reasons. Leyva (1987) further suggests that the medical profession in particular has taken a standoff approach to the phenomena. Leyva states:

The medical profession has maintained a scientific distance from ritual abuse allegations, and that frustrates pediatrician Gregory Simpson of Carson, near Los Angeles.

Ritual scarring in patients prompted Simpson to research the issue in 1985-86 during his residency at Martin Luther King Hospital in Los Angeles, where he now teaches.

In addition to studying police files, he cared for children who had ritual scars and exhibited behavior indicating they'd been abused rather than sexually assaulted. One dead girl's chest was carved with a pentagram, he said.

"The conclusion I reached is that satanic abuse of small children does exist. And it's something that needs to be dealt with by the medical community," he said (1987:B4).

The Leyva (1987) newspaper article presents many diverse opinions concerning ritual child abuse, and is a good example of the confusion of the era. It is interesting to note that the experts associated with mental health appeared to be much more prone to accept ritual abuse as a real phenomenon and social problem than did the medical profession in general. Gregory L. Simpson mentioned in the quote above wrote an open letter to be disseminated among interested groups about some of the problems with child victims from a medical perspective. Excerpts from Simpson's letter portray a large amount of sexual abuse taking place in the Los Angeles area. Simpson (1987) notes:

I am a pediatrician practicing in the Los Angeles area. Since 1983, I have been examining children who were alleged or proven victims of child abuse (in all of the forms of child abuse). In Los Angeles those physicians who do these exams routinely have formed a study group. The purpose of this group is to standardize the diagnosis of child abuse.

One fact is clear, children who are the victims of sexual abuse do not always have grossly apparent lesions. This has been confirmed by others who examine these children, and by my own personal clinical experience from examining at least 2,000 to 3,000 alleged victims in the last four years.

Developmental pediatricians and psychologists can confirm that prepubescent children do not understand the concept of depth of penetration. So while it is a common practice to ask an adult victim of sexual abuse questions about penetration, this practice is useless in a child. Coitus in a prepubescent child probably involves the introitus rather than full vaginal penetration. The concept of the child to the act and the psychological damage to the child is the same regardless of the depth of penetration. In these children with penetration of the introitus, the findings may be subtle if any (1987: 1).

Though Simpson's statements above are concerning mainly child abuse and sexual abuse, they lend credibility to those like Taylor (1986: 12-13) that suggests that children require special interviewing techniques. The huge number of children involved in four years time is also amazing and shocking according to Simpson's 1987 letter. The letter inadvertently addresses ritual abuse as part of child abuse in the statement that: (in all of the forms of child abuse) includes ritual abuse. This author believes that at this early date mental health professionals were believing their patients and becoming "self styled" experts in the field of ritual abuse. This was also occurring in other states during a relatively close time period. Maddox (1991) did a survey in Virginia of law enforcement agencies, educators, social service departments, and licensed mental health practitioners as to the incidence of ritual crime and ritual abuse in Virginia. All 174 chiefs of police, 87 sheriffs, 145 school district officials, and 155 mental health practitioners received a copy of the survey. 36 were returned.

Among the mental health practitioners who reported clients involved in ritual crime, most incidents involved violent crime. While evidence in support of organized ritual crime was found almost exclusively in the mental health community, many mental health practitioners rejected the existence of a broad-based criminal conspiracy, but accepted the existence of more limited ritual crimes. Whether a therapist accepts a patient's claim of ritual abuse depends upon the pathology for which the patient is diagnosed. Many mental health practitioners felt that some of the patients reporting ritual abuse were being misdiagnosed as sufferers of multiple personality disorder as defined in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders-III-revised (1987: 269-272). The Simpson letter also confirms Los Angeles as a major problem area. This author

contends that mental health professionals had the three concerns of ritual abuse, tied to repressed memories and multiple personalities that all seemed to be associated clinically. This led them to believe in their patients and or clients that were survivors as expressed through their individual abuse experiences. The chart below puts this into a simplified form as follows in figure #3:

Ritual Abuse	Repressed Memories	Multiple Personalities
Described as stemming from Satanic or other religious beliefs in abuse of various types in exchange for power and or material gain.	Hidden memories resulting from the effects of the trauma associated with ritual abuse, often discovered through hypnosis.	Developing from the dissociative effects of the trauma associated with ritual abuse, often discovered through hypnosis and associated with repressed memories.

This association of overlapping experiences then often led to the diagnosis of dissociative disorders that these experts understood and empathized with.

How the Media Ties Together all of These Loose Ends:

By 1988 knowledge of the phenomena has spread to diverse parts of the United States. The Dallas Morning News reported a series of criminal acts that were believed to have satanic ties. These were tied in the article to the California cases. Hancock (1988) a staff writer for the Dallas Morning News goes so far as to quote the sociologist Richard Ofshe to explain the California connection as follows:

A University of California-Berkley sociologist and expert on cults said current interest in deviant occult religion may be rooted in the same social currents responsible for the New Age movement.

A weakening of traditional religion coupled with the reach of television and other mass media communication has created a virtual supermarket of ideas in which seekers are free to pick elements of belief systems as obscure as shamanism, paganism and Egyptian magic, said expert, Richard Ofshe.

“And something that catches on in California can spread instantaneously, fueling institutions and organizations in the business of promoting what has become a New Age market,” he said. “On the dark side of this, the opposite side

of New Age, you have an identical ability to spread ideas instantaneously (1988: 3C).

This quote and others similar to it continue the building process established by connecting with other earlier phenomena and promotes as well the notion that there is a connection between ideas and concepts due to technology in modernity even if a nation wide conspiracy does not exist driving Satanist practices this is consistent with Hodges & Ulsperger (2005b: 102). Ofshe, quoted above, is also suggesting there is an in-balance in the social structure of traditional religion (Christianity) and the economic forces of the New Age capitalist market. The suggestion here is that there is a postmodern supermarket selection and combination of religious belief systems going on at the time. It is also interesting to note that many of these articles quote the same experts (in the form of psychologist and sociologist) along with certain police officers. For instance quotes from Police officer Sandi Gallant of the San Francisco Police Department show up with other experts in the articles of Minton (1986), Taylor (1986), Leyva (1987), Hillard (1988), Hancock (1988), Ryckman (1988) and others. This author believes this is direct evidence of the social construction of the creation of ritual abuse as a national social problem concerning child abuse and child sexual abuse. This is being accomplished inadvertently if not overtly. Each of these authors are using similar sources for legitimization if not the exact same sources in their newspaper reporting. And this is happening across large geographical areas in the United States. Each of the sources used by the media has a clear bias according to their own current personal experiences involving ritual abuse. A good example of this pattern of reporting is found in Ryckman (1988) as follows:

“Three years ago, nobody wanted to hear it, nobody believed it was real,” said San Francisco police Detective Sandi Gallant, now receives four calls a day from around the country on crimes with satanic or occult overtones. “Now I’m seeing them tuning into it, looking to see it is a reality and facing it head-on.”

The Satan of “Paradise Lost” was a favored angel cast from Heaven for defying God. In the 1980s, a small but growing number of fallen angels has pushed accepted adolescent rebellion into the realm of the bizarre.

“The paranoid fantasy is becoming a major social problem,” said Carl Rashcke director of the Institute of Humanities at the University of Denver. “If you’re not looking for it, you don’t see the evidence. But when your looking for it, you see it everywhere (1988: 9).

The above quote indicates that by 1988 ritual abuse was being perceived as emerging from a local problem in California to a National Social problem according to some segments of society. The above newspaper article is from Oklahoma. The suggestion by Carl Rashcke above makes one wonder is the evidence real or is this some form of self-fulfilling prophecy as Lanning (1992) suggests. This pattern has remained consistent from 1985 through 1988 and beyond. Hillard (1988) states:

The perceptions that Susan Joyner of El Paso recently shared with me were frankly too bizarre to be believed. After a recent interview, I was tempted to discard her story in the mental circular file reserved for tales of communion with little green men and UFOs. Then I stumbled upon an account by Sandi Gallant, an intelligence officer for the San Francisco Police Department, and another from Lt. Larry Jones of Boise, Idaho Police Department. What these law enforcement officers and apparently an increasing number across the nation share is a newly aroused belief in the growing criminal power of Satanic cults. Their adherents have been implicated in ritual murders and mutilations, child abductions and even one documented instance of human sacrifice (1988: 9A).

The above newspaper article from The Dallas Morning News is interesting because it connects both of the case studies used in this research through influential police officers. The connection also happens to be police officers that are highly visible in several other sources. Furthermore, it was being socially constructed through the media reports as a consistently growing problem increasing in intensity year by year. The problem is based in fear. Yet this fear is based on beliefs. The fear concerns the

very primordial protection of the young in society. It involves protection from the worst aspects of the imagination concerning deaths of individuals. This growing problem appears to require an increasing amount of knowledge concerning Satanism and Satanic rituals.

This knowledge often tends to be knowledge by association through a number of sources. It is often knowledge that is intangible. The knowledge comes from experts in several fields that rely heavily on personal experiences. This knowledge by association is often gleaned out of the most extreme cases in criminal activities bundled together with homicide and suicide situations and other criminal circumstances. All of these perceived structural fear factors then become triggering events when they are manifested into reality by a single case that brings them all together in sensationalized instances. The reality then requires immediate reactions. Yet by 1990 in California, there was also a growing backlash against the anti-cult groups by other groups of individuals. They began to question and research what others had said and done. In the quote from the letter below, officer Sandi Gallant (1990) replies to some of these types of complaints as follows:

Upon reading the article I noted that the author wrote “The first British story of Satanic abuse appeared in the Colchester Evening Gazette in January 1988 in the form of an interview with “Satan’s Cop”; Sandi Gallant from San Francisco Police Department was in England on a conference circuit to issue warnings that in the US Satanic cults were sacrificing animals and killing children, and it was likely to happen here.”

First of all, I have never been to England. Secondly, although I do many interviews I have never “issued warnings” nor stated that “satanic cults were sacrificing animals and killing children.” A review of any article in or out of the States that I have been quoted in will clearly establish that I have never made this type of comment. I have worked in the field of “alleged ritual crimes” for over ten years and although I am the first to admit that my early opinions were not objective I have worked extremely hard over the past five and a half years to present information on the subject in an objective manner. More importantly, it has become clear through much research that earlier interpretations of where ritual abuse was emerging from, was highly tainted. Rather than re-hash this

subject matter, I have enclosed for you two articles written in 1988 regarding ritual abuse. One was written for the California State Attorney General's Office and the other to: Believe the Children in Manhattan Beach, California. I have also enclosed items from my training manual breaking down information on Ritual Abuse (1990: 3-4).

The above quote is important to this research because it portrays how the social construction of ritual abuse can begin to take on a life of its own and spread through fear and misinformation. It also shows that questions were beginning to arise about the credibility of those involved in the social construction of ritual abuse and that those involved were beginning to reshape and reframe ideas concerning ritual abuse in general. This author believes this was a very formative time for concepts surrounding ritual abuse that would later be converted into ritual abuse law.

It must be kept in mind that California's neighboring state of Idaho passed a law against child ritual abuse in 1990 and the state of Illinois passed a similar law against child ritual abuse in 1993 (Robinson: 2001: 4-6). This passage of legislation was often a grass roots organizational effort largely spear headed by Lt. Larry Jones of the Boise, Idaho Police Department (Jones: 1990: 1-2). This author contends that what happened in Idaho and later in Illinois gave a certain amount of legitimation to the legal push for similar legislation in the state of California by 1995. Again, this is similar to the halo affect suggested by Hodges and Ulsperger (2005a: 40; 2005b: 100). In this case, however, instead of looking at notions of professionalization, it is legitimacy that is being transferred by association from individual professional levels all the way to social structure of government levels.

The Political Process and Ritual Abuse:

Senator Russell of California emerges as the champion of ritual abuse law in California. In 1993 he starts guiding legislation through the legislature. His first actions were to garner support of the Attorney General's office through the following investigative bill analysis:

BILL ANALYSIS
SENATE COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY
Bill Lockyer, Chairman
1993-94 Regular Session

SCR 8 (Russell)
As amended March 9
Hearing date: March 23, 1993
PAW

RITUALISTIC CHILD ABUSE: ADVISORY COMMITTEE

HISTORY

Source: Author

Prior Legislation: SB 1771 (Russell) - held in Assembly Committee
on Public Safety

Support: Attorney General's office; Ritual Abuse Project, Survivor
Group; San Francisco Child Abuse Council; California
State PTA, numerous individuals

Opposition: No known

KEY ISSUE

SHOULD THE ATTORNEY GENERAL CONVENE AN ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON
§RITUALISTIC CHILD ABUSE?

PURPOSE

Under current law it is a crime to willfully cause or permit any
§child to suffer, or to inflict upon a child unjustifiable physical
§pain or mental suffering under circumstances likely to produce
§great bodily harm or death, or to willfully inflict upon any child
§any cruel or inhuman corporate punishment or injury resulting in a
§traumatic condition. (Penal Code Section 273a.)

This bill would request the Attorney General to convene the Ritual
§Child Abuse Advisory Committee to make recommendations to the
§Governor and Legislature.

SCR 8 (Russell)

The purpose of this bill is to establish an advisory committee on ritual child abuse.

COMMENT

1. Need for legislation

This bill was introduced as a result of a 1991 report issued by the Committee on Child Abuse Prevention, State Social Services Advisory Board called Ritualistic Child Abuse in California. That Committee held hearings in San Francisco and § San Diego to determine the extent of the problem and were overwhelmed at the response. It suggested that a Task Force be established to take a careful, scholarly, scientific look at the problem and report back to the Legislature.

2. Legislative findings

This bill would make the following legislative findings and declarations:

- (a) there is an urgent need for a comprehensive examination of the issues of ritual child abuse;
- (b) there is concern about the prevalence of ritual child abuse but no reliable data about the extent of this problem;
- (c) the investigation and prosecution of ritual child abuse can be difficult;
- (d) efforts to investigate and prosecute these cases is often hampered because the victims' statements describe bizarre and unusual activities which are not readily believed;
- (e) the issue of ritual abuse can be controversial due to concerns about potential conflicts with constitutional rights to free association and exercise of religion;
- (f) the purpose of this resolution is to improve the understanding and scope of ritual child abuse, improve investigative procedure in order to protect child victims, improve the truth finding process, and define "ritual child abuse."

The bill would state that it is the intention of the Legislature to accomplish this purpose by establishing the Ritual Child Abuse Advisory Committee, under the auspices of the Attorney General, to study the issue of ritual child abuse and make recommendations to the Governor and Legislature.

3. Composition of Advisory Committee

The Advisory Committee would be appointed by the Attorney General and would be composed of 14 members from the following categories:

SCR 8 (Russell)

- (a) Attorney General or representative, who will be the chair of the Committee;
- (b) California Peace Officers' Association, with experience in criminal child abuse;
- (c) California District Attorney's Association, with experience in child abuse cases;
- (d) Juvenile Officers' Association, with extensive investigative experience in child abuse cases;
- (e) State Department of Social Services, with expertise in child abuse issues;
- (f) a psychiatrist or psychologist, with experience treating victims of child abuse;
- (g) the California Medical Association, who is a medical doctor with experience in diagnosing and treating child abuse cases;
- (h) a trial judge, with experience presiding over child abuse cases;
- (i) an employee, with welfare services with extensive experience in child welfare;
- (j) a member from academic institution, with research experience in child abuse;
- (k) the religious community;
- (l) a children's advocacy group;
- (m) the California Ritual Crime Investigators Association.

4. Purposes of the Advisory Committee

The advisory committee would have the duties of defining ritual child abuse and studying the prevalence of ritual child abuse, with special attention to reviewing problems with investigating and prosecuting ritual child abuse offenses.

5. Report to Legislature and Governor

The Advisory Committee would be required to study and develop recommendations on the issue of ritual child abuse. The Committee would be required to make recommendations on its findings to the Governor and the Legislature no later than 18 months after the appointment of the advisory committee.

6. Termination date

This bill would not include a date on which the Advisory Committee would terminate.

Retrieved from California Archive site: http://info.sen.ca.gov/pub/93-94/bill/sen/sb_0001-0050/scr_8_cfa_930625_160118_asm_c...

Russell's efforts paid off, and this analysis did set in motion legislation against ritual abuse. This document is important because it does many things; it is a direct attempt to take in the Attorney General's office as an ally. It suggest the need for the

legislation as well as the overwhelming support for the legislation and lists of professional supporters for the legislation and perhaps, more importantly, suggests there is no opposition to this needed legislation. This would smooth the way for the future ritual abuse legislation. This was amended in April of 1993 as follows:

BILL ANALYSIS

SCR 8

Date of Hearing: June 29, 1993
Counsel: Judith M. Garvey

ASSEMBLY Committee ON PUBLIC SAFETY
Bob Eppe, Chair

SCR 8 (Russell) - As Amended: April 12, 1993

ISSUE: SHOULD THE ATTORNEY GENERAL CONVENE AN ADVISORY
COMMITTEE
ON RITUALISTIC CHILD ABUSE?

DIGEST

Under current law:

- 1) It is unlawful for any person to willfully cause or permit any child to suffer or to inflict on any child unjustifiable physical pain or mental suffering, or having the care or custody of any child to willfully cause or permit the child or its health to be injured, or to willfully cause or permit such child to be placed in a situation that its person or health is endangered. (Penal Code section 273a.)
- 2) If the above crime is performed under circumstances or conditions § likely to produce great bodily harm or death, it is an alternate felony/misdemeanor, punishable by two, four, or six years in state prison or up to one year in the county jail. (Penal Code section 273a(1).)
- 3) All other circumstances under which the above crime is committed are a § misdemeanor, punishable by up to six months in the county jail. (Penal Code section 273a(2).)

This resolution:

- 1) Requests the Attorney General (AG) to convene the Ritual Child Abuse § Advisory Committee to make recommendations to the Governor and Legislature no later than 18 months after the appointment of the Advisory Committee.
- 2) Terminates the Ritual Child Abuse Advisory Committee upon the § submission of its final report to the Governor and the Legislature.

3) Provides the Advisory Committee would be appointed by the AG and would
§ be composed of 15 members from specified categories including the
AG.

4) Provides that the Advisory Committee would have the specific duties of
§ defining ritual child abuse and studying the prevalence of ritual

SCR 8
Page 1

child abuse.

5) Makes legislative findings and declarations.

COMMENTS

1) Purpose. According to the author:

In 1991 the Committee of Child Abuse Prevention of the State Social
Services Advisory Board held two largely attended hearings in
San Francisco and San Diego to look into the frequently reported
cases of ritualistic child abuse. The Committee recommended
that information produced by a careful, scholarly project
investigation of ritual abuse was necessary to address the far-
reaching scope and ramification of this heinous problem.

2) Method of Appointments - Comparison with Last Year's Bill. SB 1771
(Russell/92), as it passed the Committee on Public Safety, established
a Task Force on Ritualistic Child Abuse. SCR 8 is substantially
different as shown below. SB 1771 was later amended to pertain to
hospital districts only.

SCR 8	SB 1771 (1992)
Chair: AG	Chair: AG
14 members	12 members
AG appoints 14	Attorney General appoints four Senate Rules appoints three Assembly Speaker appoints three Governor appoints two

3) Composition - Comparison with Last Year's Bill.

SCR 8	SB 1771 (1992)
CA Peace Officers' Assn.	CA Peace Officers' Assn. CA State Sheriff's Assn.
religious community	religious community
psychiatrist or psychologist	psychiatrist or psychologist
medical doctor/CMA member	medical doctor/CMA member

state social service state social service

1 judge/Superior Court criminal 1 judge
1 judge/Superior court juvenile

academic institution research college professor

SCR 8
Page 2

Composition - Comparison with Last Year's Bill, Continued.

SCR 8 SB 1771 (1992)

welfare services	Child Protective Services
care	community based non-profit child
	contractor
	private day care provider
	mental health worker who deals with

CA District Attorney Assn.
CA Public Defender Assn.

Juvenile Officers' Assn.

childrens' advocacy group

CA Ritual Crime Investigators
Association

4) Legislative Findings. This bill would make the following legislative findings and declarations:

- (a) there is an urgent need for a comprehensive examination of the
- § issues of ritual child abuse;
- (b) there is concern about the prevalence of ritual child abuse but no
- § reliable data about the extent of this problem;
- (c) the investigation and prosecution of ritual child abuse can be
- § difficult;
- (d) efforts to investigate and prosecute these cases is often hampered
- § because the victims' statements describe bizarre and unusual
- activities which are not readily believed;
- (e) the issue of ritual abuse can be controversial due to concerns
- § about potential conflicts with constitutional rights to free
- association and exercise of religion;
- (f) the purpose of this resolution is to improve the understanding and
- § scope of ritual child abuse, improve investigative procedure in order
- to protect child victims, improve the truth finding process, and
- define "ritual child abuse."

5) Purposes of the Advisory Committee. The Advisory Committee would

§ have the duties of defining ritual child abuse and studying the prevalence of ritual child abuse, with special attention to reviewing problems with investigating and prosecuting ritual child abuse offenses. Additionally, the Advisory Committee would be charged with studying and developing recommendations on developing a protocol for investigations to determine the truth or falsity of reports. Why does the Attorney General need this resolution?

6) Report to Legislature and Governor. The Advisory Committee would be §

SCR 8

Page 3

required to study and develop recommendations on the issue of ritual child abuse. The Committee would be required to make recommendations on its

findings to the Governor and the Legislature no later than 18 months after

the appointment of the Advisory Committee.

Could not the Assembly Office of Research or Senate Office of Research accomplish the purposes set forth by the author instead of delegating the authority to the AG? Should this Committee and/or Senate Judiciary Committee conduct an interim hearing studying ritual child abuse?

Should additional authority be given to the AG to conduct hearings with a report to the Legislature when the Legislature can accomplish this on its own?

7) Termination Date. This bill does not include a date on which the §Advisory Committee would terminate.

8) Examples of Child Abuse. According to the author, in the majority of § reports written by survivors, counselors, social workers, law enforcement, child abuse prevention groups - from all over the United States indicate all the children report a variety of the types of abuse set forth below:

- a) Threats of punishment, torture, mutilation or death of victim, victim's family or pets....occasional carrying out of threats by killings of animals or human beings in the presence of the victim.
- b) Threats against property - burn down your house.
- c) Made to believe that parents know what is happening and want it to happen.
- d) Child told family not their "real" family or that they are no § longer wanted by their family and will be given to cult.
- e) Tied up or confined to a cage, closet, basement or confined space. Some have been laced in coffins.
- f) Tied up or confined in space with insects or animals that they are told will harm them. Confined or hung upside down in a hole with a dead body or the mutilated parts of an animal or human.
- g) Humiliated or degraded through verbal abuse, forced nudity in front of group, body smeared with urine or feces, made to eat urine, feces or semen.
- h) Photographed in provocative poses or while being physically or

- SCR 8
Page 4

- 124

SOURCE: State Social Services Advisory Board

SUPPORT: California Medical Association
San Francisco Child Abuse Council
Survivorship, San Francisco
California Psychological Association
Hon. Doris Shockley, Judge of the Municipal Court, Yolo County
Fresno Police Officers Association
Children's Advocacy Institute
California Ritual Crime Investigators Association
Adam Walsh Center - California
Rape Crisis Center, San Luis Obispo County
The Spiritual Dimension in Victim Services
Capitol Resource Institute

SCR 8
Page 5

Humane Society of Sonoma County
Rape Crisis Center, San Luis Obispo County
Doris Tate Crime Victims Bureau
Paul Kelly, Ph.D, San Diego County Department of Health
Services, Adolescent Inpatient Unit
Evalena Rose, M.A., MetaTherapist
Pamela Hudson, M.S.S.W., A.C.S.W.
Nancy Donkin Young, Ph.D
Steven Sultan, Ph.D.
Philip McInay, Ph.D
Gwen L. Dean, Ph.D
Patty McWilliams, MS, RN, MFCC

Paul Summers, Battalion Chief/Chief Investigator, Fountain Valley
Dale McCulley, Cavalcade Productions Inc.
Patricia Antolino, Executive Director, Healing Our Memories
Over 800 statewide signatures on petitions (author's office)
247 letters of support from private citizens (author's office)

OPPOSITION: California Attorneys for Criminal Justice
Martha Rogers, Ph.D

This author contends that the amended bill analysis has, by this point, been largely expanded. Not only is there a clearer purpose, there is now a refinement of who is to be on the research committee, and there is now, also a small group of opposition noted. This bill analysis clearly marks out definitions of child ritual abuse, and this author finds them to be very much like statements made by the children in the sensational McMartin case discussed earlier. The whole notion of ritual abuse is being normalized, moralized and, for all appearance, the forces of rationality are now in control. Mark

Sauer (1994) notes in his article in *The San Diego-Tribune*, that the public perceptions of the Satanic cult scare and ritual abuse have changed for the dominant culture. However he also notes that there are some segments that want legislation for protection against ritual abuses especially for children. Sauer states:

Claims that a secret network of Satanists is abusing children in rituals featuring blood, urine, feces, etc., seem to have finally gone the way of the Red Scare in the 1950s and the Salem Witch Hunts of the 1690s.

After a decade of digging, the FBI could find nothing to indicate the existence of a satanic conspiracy anywhere in the United States; in San Diego this month, the county grand jury declared it “found no evidence of satanic ritual child molestation” here.

But state Sen. Newton Russell is not convinced.

In each of the past two years, the conservative Glendale Republican has sponsored legislation that, if passed, would have placed the state of California’s imprimatur on the highly controversial notion of ritual abuse (1994: Thursday June 16th).

This year Russell came back with SB 1997. It sought to add three years to the sentence of anyone convicted of molesting a child “as part of a ceremony, rite or any similar observance” (1994: Thursday June 16th).

It is apparent that Sauer (1994) believes that Senator Newton Russell is a moral entrepreneur because of the lack of proof involved in this phenomena. By the title of Sauer’s article: “Zealous Senator Pushes Law Adding Ritual-abuse Penalties,” as well as its content, Sauer suggests there is a definite lack of proof involved in this phenomena in a scathing article. This becomes clear in the following example:

Arlene McElhenney, legislative aide to Russell, said the senator’s staff has been researching ritual abuse for 3 ½ years. “Law enforcement people have come to us and said there is a valid need for such a bill, McElhenney said. She was referring to a handful of district-attorney investigators from Orange, Monterey and Butte counties who insist the ritual-abuse threat is real.

But when pressed to cite a single case of verified ritual abuse in California, McElhenney said: “None that I could talk about.”

Russell himself could not be reached for comment. . . .

But in a recent speech before the National Crimes Against Children Conference in Washington D. C., the state senator stated that he has “read many reports of physical/sexual abuse of children, which included being urinated and

defecated upon, made to eat feces and drink blood, put in cages, forced into sexual contact with other children, adults and animals and babies.”

He did not cite any specific case in his speech however. . . .

Perplexing to prove

A 24 page report on Russell’s proposed legislation, prepared by the Assembly Office of Research, notes the “perplexing matter of proof.” “No courts have found evidence of the existence of ritual child abuse,” the report says, adding that the phenomena owe entirely to anecdotal reports from psychotherapists, parents, children, religious zealots, certain law-enforcement personnel and preachers (1994: Thursday, June 16th). . . .

Critics of Russell’s push for legislation not only complained about a lack of proof, but also complained about the abuses that such laws could create among the court systems and the creation of excessive criminality in general. They are clearly concerned that this type of legislation could get out of control. This was very evident in the example listed below as Sauer (1994) states:

Critics of Russell’s indefatigable efforts to pass ritual-abuse legislation say that not only are California’s myriad child molestation laws sufficient to protect children but also that validation of a dubious phenomenon could lead to hysterical prosecutions.

“When crimes are on the books, district attorneys tend to charge people on those offenses,” said deputy public defender Kate Coyne, who led the successful defense of Dale Akiki last year in San Diego’s longest and costliest criminal trial.

Jeffrey Victor, author of “Satanic Panic: The Creation of a Contemporary Legend,” said such a law would “provide government sanction and credibility to the unfounded faith of those who believe ritual abuse exists.”

“I believe that public opinion and that of the authorities has finally shifted toward extreme skepticism,” and Victor, a professor in sociology at the State University of New York. . . .

But Victor predicts that “People with extremist beliefs about this will be promoting it till the end of the century, although they will essentially be ghettoized” (1994: Thursday, June 16th).

The above quote from Victor in the article is important to this study because it suggests that a shift in public attitude has occurred by 1994 against the idea of ritual abuse as a conspiracy or even a limited reality. Also notice that Victor is an expert from the east coast, so this suggests a fairly national trend. Yet, at the same time, you still have

Senator Newton Russell attempting to pass legislation against ritual abuse concerning children and being supported by other groups that are still believers in ritual abuse in anti-cult movements. Again Jeffery Victor, a sociologist and author of several works on ritual abuse, is being portrayed in this article as the “expert” and final arbiter in this on-going debate by this particular reporter with a particular agenda. This author found that Sauer and his newspaper were one of the few critics of the Anti-cult groups at this time. Anti-cult groups and groups of professional therapists took the opposite stance as is evident in the next example. Hart (1995) wrote about many groups that believed in, at the time, stories of individuals with repressed memories. These groups like “The American Coalition for Abuse Awareness” sought broad based alliances to support national legislation to protect children. Hart notes:

California State Senator Newton Russell from Glendale has worked long and hard to develop a Ritual Abuse Taskforce in California that will be based out of the Attorney General’s office. He recently addressed the National Conference on Crimes Against Children in Washington D.C. which included law enforcement and medical speakers from around the United States. This conference addressed ritual abuse directly, and will hopefully begin the slow, tedious process of acknowledging and halting these crimes against humanity. But they can’t do it alone. We must help.

To quote Edmund Burke, “All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing.” Perhaps a task Force in our country would help to respond to the needs that are being addressed by therapists. It is one thing to help survivors after abuse has occurred. Would it not make more sense to find out where the attacks are occurring and identify the problem at its origin (Hart 1995: 8)?

Note that the same senator and the same National Conference are being used here in the Hart (1995) article, which were used in the Sauer (1994) article. However, these same facts are being framed in a totally opposite way nearly a year later. Senator Russell is seen here as a crime fighter (Hart 1994). The National Conference on Crimes Against Children is seen as an attempt to get at evidence and proof concerning ritual child abuse

as a criminal reality existing in current society. Furthermore they present reasons that ritual abuse is being ignored by classic forces of social control and social structures that are supposed to prevent these types of abuses from happening. Hart (1995) notes:

Most horrifying of all, child and adult survivors of cult abuse tell of being currently abducted from their homes, sedated and forced to attend terrible events on an on-going basis. They go to the police and clergy and are turned away for various reasons. What police set up a clever stake-out to find evidence, or follow a named perpetrator to see where he goes on high Satanic holidays? Instead, the overwhelmed legal and child protection systems turn away and leave the children unprotected, allowing the abusers to continue these practically perfect crimes.

What pastor unites his congregation in prayer at specific ritual times to ask for divine help in protecting the innocent victims? What good people unite to shelter the victims? How many of us donate therapy funds to help with treatment for victims? What community organizes an investigation into these matters? We seem as a nation to focus on problems in far away places, rather than on crimes that are being committed right under our noses.

The therapists listen and believe. They sometimes receive, for their trouble, threats, lawsuits. What therapist knows how to even begin to cope with such trauma and danger? These are the unsung heroes, who persist in treating survivors of human induced trauma, despite the difficulties. And more and more survivors are presenting themselves for treatment each day (1995: 7).

The quote above portrays and clearly states that social structures of protection have broken down and are not effective in dealing with the problem especially for the protection of children. The suggestion here is that rationality in this particular instance is a liability rather than a benefit, and that it actually aids these criminals in getting away with their criminal acts. Finally it is suggested that individuals in the mental health fields are the front line in these efforts to combat ritual abuse. Only they are truly aware of the gravity of the situation and what is truly happening as far as to what extent ritual abuse is occurring in modern society. These perceptions of a real need for the protection of children against ritual abuses led to the following law which was passed by the California Legislature in 1995. This author contends that, at the time, the logic seemed to be that if this was only a possibility these protections needed to be enacted for the sake of the

children according to most accounts found in the literature. This addition to existing child abuse law reads as follows:

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA DO ENACT AS FOLLOWS:

SECTION 1. Section 667.83 is added to the Penal Code, to read:

667.83. (a) When a person is convicted of a felony violation of Section 207, 261, 264.1, 273a, 273d, 286, 288a, or 289 committed against a child under the age of 18 years or a violation of Section 288 committed against a child of the age designated in that statute, where the offense was committed as part of a ceremony, rite, or any similar observance, the person shall be punished by an additional term of three years in addition and consecutive to that violation.

(b) For purposes of this section, a "ceremony, rite, or any similar observance" shall mean any of the following:

(1) Actual or simulated torture, mutilation, or sacrifice of any mammal.

(2) Forced ingestion, or external application of human or animal urine, feces, flesh, blood, or bones.

(3) Placement of a living child into a coffin, open grave, or other confined area containing animal remains or a human corpse or remains.

(c) This section shall not apply to:

(1) Lawful agricultural, animal husbandry, food preparation, or wild game hunting and fishing practices and specifically the branding or identification of livestock.

(2) The lawful medical practice of circumcision or any ceremony related thereto.

(3) Any state or federally approved, licensed, or funded research project.

(d) The enhancement charged in violation of subdivision (a) shall be proven by the testimony of two witnesses, or of one witness and corroborating circumstances.

(e) The following provisions govern the imposition of this enhancement:

(1) Only one enhancement shall be imposed per victim per incident.

(2) If there are two or more victims, one enhancement may be imposed per victim per incident.

(f) The Department of Justice shall submit to the Legislature on or before January 1, 1998, a report compiling data from the Department of Justice form 8715 containing information relating

to this section that has been reported into the Department of Justice automated criminal history system and is available on the longitudinal file.

(g) Persons responsible for the completion of the Department of Justice form 8715 shall submit the form to the Attorney General in a timely manner. In addition, those persons shall record all cases in which enhancements are charged under this section and the disposition of those cases.

(h) This section shall not be construed to infringe in any way upon the rights and practices of legitimate religions.

(i) This section shall remain in effect only until January 1, 1999, and as of that date is repealed unless a later enacted statute, that is enacted before January 1, 1999, deletes or extends that date.

Robinson (2001) notes the law is interesting in and of itself because (as noted by this author as well) much of the wording is very reflective of the statements given by the children in earlier sensational cases of ritual abuse that resulted in trials in California. This law is also clearly styled and written after the wording of the Idaho statute displayed in the next case study. It is different from the Idaho law because as Robinson (2001: 3-5) notes, “it took the form of a ritual abuse “sentence enhancement”. A person who is convicted of child abuse under certain other sections of the code would have their sentence automatically extended by three years if the offense was committed as part of a ceremony, rite or any similar observance.” Furthermore, Robinson feels that the California statute appears to be a cut-down version of the Idaho legislation. He notes the California statute was repealed by Section 10 of Chapter 817 of the statutes of 1997, which would have extended the life of the law. However, no other section was enacted; therefore, the law is no longer on the books. One of the authors of the Web site Religious Tolerance . Org, Robinson (2006) notes, in fact other laws which indirectly supported the passage of this ritual abuse law were being repealed nation wide in 1995 and 1996. For instance it was at this same time that laws concerning repressed memories (often tied to

ritual abuse) were being struck down in the courts in the states of Maryland, New Hampshire, Michigan, Minnesota, California, North Carolina, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Rhode Island. In Oct. of 1995, the California Superior Court excluded repression memory testimony. They found that “the phenomenon of memory repression is not generally accepted as valid and reliable by a respectable majority of the pertinent scientific community and that the technique and procedures utilized in the retrieval process have not gained general acceptance in the field of psychology or psychiatry (Robinson: 2006: 2-3). This is interesting when one considers that according to the National Center for Victims of Crime (1998), 28 states had adopted an extension of the time limitation by 1997, based on the “discovery” of child sexual abuse or its effects due to repressed memories. California was one of these states but was already having problems with this legal statute in the court systems. Legitimacy then runs both ways concerning what other states pass or repeal or simply don’t enforce. When other states are repealing a set of laws other states take notice. The repressed memory laws were an important part of understanding how ritual abuse fell within the dissociative neuroses disorders among psychologists. This author contends that it does not mean the question is resolved. Believers in the Satanic conspiracy still feel that the authorities are working in concert with those committing ritual crimes or being blinded by rationalistic thinking and simply don’t understand how powerful, evil and connected these persons are. Ryder (1996: 3-4) states that the works of Newton (1993) are good examples of this mistrust and frustration with the authorities in Newton’s book *Raising Hell*, Newton notes:

“While some cult apologists may be forgiven their ignorance of current events, (FBI) Agent Lanning—with access to nationwide police files—should know better. As this volume amply demonstrates, related killers stand convicted of murder in 23 states and at least nine foreign countries. Numerous other occultists are now serving time for

practicing their “faith” through acts of arson, rape, assault, cruelty to animals, and similar crimes” (Newton 1993; Ryder 1996: 3-4).

Newton (1996) goes on to list several cases that he deems are proofs in various states and nations that are ignored and or denied by the authorities as ritual abuse crimes. This notion of the continued debate is further discussed in the Idaho Case Study in the next section. It is to be noted that the events that the polarization between groups for and against ritual abuse began early on in California. The Idaho case was affected by the California case in a variety of ways as will be noted.

Summary of the California Case:

The California case study is important because it affected all of the other states involved in the formation of ritual abuse laws. Analysis of this case study through the lens of Integrated Conflict Theory as a guideline, provides the following insights. The structural population base involved in this study fell into two major groups. The primary group in the dominant culture was those individuals forming groups with a Christian belief system, along with the corresponding notions of good and evil. The secondary structural base population group was the relatively small body of experts in the dominant culture with a rational and professional belief system that included theories surrounding multiple personality disorder, with the corresponding predisposition to accept the biased experiences of the primary structural base group. The coalition of these two ways of knowing embedded deep in modern culture allowed the ideas concerning ritual abuse to spread even with little or no physical evidence. The primary structural base population perceived the threat of satanic ritual abuse as a very real and substantial ontological possibility. This followed the age old cultural understandings deeply embedded in the various populations with the Christian based belief systems. This then took on the form

of a self-fulfilling prophecy surrounding the perceived phenomena. Insidious satanic beliefs and rituals for all manner of evil purposes were being committed and performed resulting in all manner of crimes that the general public should be protected against.

This was compounded by media sensationalism especially concerning the ritual abuse of children. In California, in particular, several cases involving child care centers using children for supposed Satanic purposes brought the situation to a point of critical mass. This was compounded by individual stories of survivors concerning ritual abuse they had suffered that was confirmed by various professional experts of the secondary structural base. It was argued that chances could not be taken with our children. This involved training of the forces of social control concerning the phenomena with biases similar to the professional expert perspectives. This soon bled over into the political and legislative arena. Political and moral entrepreneurs were the triggering events that pushed through legislation even though counter triggering events such as the FBI report and numerous sociologists denounced the phenomena of satanic ritual abuse as a hoax. This climate of allowing the anti-cult movements the benefit of the doubt did not prevail long, and the legislation was allowed to lapse in California when the theories surrounding multiple personality disorder began to be refuted by other professional in the field. However this does not mean the debate is over concerning ritual abuse. Lacter (2002) an expert in the mental health field as a psychologist and president of the California Association of Play Therapy, continues to push for ritual abuse protections for survivors. Lacter states:

Over the past eight years, I have become increasingly involved in the problem of ritualistic abuse, as a treating psychologist researcher, and victim advocate. I have conducted in-depth interviews with numerous survivors and experts. Reluctantly and with much sadness, I have been forced to recognize this problem

as widespread. Child and adult victims often receive psychotherapy for years, with their ritualistic abuse undetected. My mission is to share some of the painful knowledge I have acquired, to help all of us more quickly discern the truth and provide proper treatment to these hurt children and adults.

My clinical experience, and interviews with many other survivors and experts, indicate that Satanism and witchcraft are the two most common belief systems in North America associated with the perpetration of sexual and physical abuse of children and adults in spiritually-involved rituals (2002: 1).

In the above quote we see the exact same arguments concerning ritual abuse from nearly twenty years earlier. Many among the mental health professionals refuse to believe that ritual abuse does not exist and that the problem is widespread and in dire need of remedy. Obviously this debate is not over in California.

THE SECOND CASE STUDY

The Case Study of Idaho

INTRODUCTION

The Efforts of Moral Entrepreneurs:

A review of the literature revealed that Idaho actually passed a ritual abuse law five years ahead of California as briefly noted in the California case study. The Idaho law was passed in 1990; the California law was passed in 1995. This was the case even though ritual abuse appeared in the State of California before it appeared in Idaho. The early sensational cases of child ritual abuse in California in the early 1980s affected Idaho and were influential in getting ritual abuse training for police officers started. One officer in particular, named Larry Jones, was moved by this ritual abuse training to organize individuals into social networks for the dissemination of information and political lobbying against ritual abuse. His local organization was named Cult Crime Impact Network, Inc. or (C.C.I.N.). Officer Larry Jones, a Lieutenant of the Boise Police Department, started a newsletter that was very influential in this endeavor. The

newsletter was entitled: FILE 18 NEWSLETTER and was sent to several states and police departments for cross referencing purposes (Jones: 1986 a; 1986b; 1987; 1988; 1990). This author contends that the efforts of Larry Jones not only affected the state of Idaho but were influential across the United States. Larry Jones (1988) notes in the February 1988 issue how this all began as follows:

1. WHY BOTHER? Early in 1986, I attended my first police training about cult crimes, the first of its kind during my 15 years in police service. Yet the crimes and motives were so heinous and apparently longstanding that I marveled that we—as a profession—I pondered—had not identified them before. Only a handful of States even broached the topic in formal training. Law enforcement in the United States as largely ignorant of “non-traditional motives” for crimes—and thus largely ineffectual in solving them. Response to a teletype request for contact from interested officers was literally overwhelming. FILE 18 NEWSLETTER was born as we attempted to self-teach these topics and pass information along. From FILE 18 came the seeds for a national organization to initiate and support the new education and intelligence net-working effort. C.C.I.N. is private, free-standing and outside of governmental control; it is unhindered by jurisdictional ‘turf barriers’ or governmental restrictions about intelligence flow, it is funded ONLY by YOUR GENEROSITY. We have no sponsors other than FILE 18 readers who feel C.C.I.N., Inc. provides critical service (1988: 1).

The above quote is important to this study for several reasons. It notes the year 1986 in which Larry Jones began to be concerned about ritual abuse and when he began to organize others. He acknowledges an overwhelming response which suggests a social structural base of belief that was held by numerous persons and particularly law enforcement individuals which held the same types of, or similar to, suspicions concerning Satanism. There is an emphasis on the lack of knowledge and the necessary self-training that was taking place. It is also interesting to note that this organization emphasizes its lack of connections to the social structures of government and the forces of social control in the form of agencies. This is somewhat paradoxical by retaining a

professional appearance as if the newsletter is a resource for police officers. There is almost a sense of a belief of ineptness on the part of the government to handle this matter. This was a grassroots organization and corresponding network efforts to bridge a gap. Yet at the same time Larry Jones tries to retain the professional appearance by making the newsletter appear as if it is for a police only audience. This was accomplished by the statement under the newsletter title that read: "Confidential, Restricted Access Information For Law Enforcement Use Only. However, the newsletter was sent to several anti-cult groups. Again this is consistent with the idea of legitimacy by association discussed by Hodges (2002: 62) & Hodges and Ulsperger (2005a: 40; 2005b: 100). The newsletter provided training, reviews of literature, information and mailing lists that became directories from other networks across the nation. These mailing lists provided the nerve center for all of this effort, as Jones (1988) notes:

Besides our intelligence-sharing and educational benefits, one of C. C. I. N.'s primary goals is to encourage LOCAL NETWORKING by each of you in and around your home jurisdictions. UPDATED MAILING LISTS (now with over 1000 names!) are available just for writing and requesting one from us—NO CHARGE! IF you want to network, the lists are vital. You can also "network" nationally by being a contributor. Send the Editor a synopsis of your cult case or intelligence data or request for help or upcoming cult crime seminar...these will usually appear in the next FILE 18 issue.

WHY BOTHER? ... To save the babies, to stop arrogant perpetrators who have "skated" up to now, to shine the light of the law into dark corners, to listen when the victims talk... (1988:1-2).

This author contends that through efforts like those described above, this networking became a large social organization and a political force as well. One can sense the crusader mentality in the lines of the newsletter articles. The reference to victims that are ignored or denied access to due process is nearly always referred to by these emerging forces of the anti-cult movement. This is published only two years after

officer Jones has had his ritual abuse training and four years after the first police reports in California. This author further notes that Larry Jones' and his associate's actions were consistent with the research done by Mulhern (1992: 230-232) that reviewed research showing how satanic ritual abuse training seminars proposed to mental health professionals between 1987 and 1990 constituted a form of proselytizing. Such presentations were designed to convert clinicians before they began listening to patients to believe in the plausible existence of satanic blood cults. Diagnostic and treatment techniques recommended in satanic ritual abuse seminars, as well as postulated explanations for patients exacerbated clinical symptoms, presupposed the facticity of networks or organized groups of perpetrators. In conclusion, Mulhern felt that patients' best interest were not served well when their therapists' "educated" ears have been deafened by uncritical belief (1992: 230-232). This author contends that officers like Larry Jones were being trained and socialized in a similar manner that only compounded the belief systems that they already held. This training formed and created a socialization towards ritual abuse and ritual crime that biased these individuals towards their already pre-conceived ideas concerning Satanism that are long held structural foundations in western society. They believed they had an esoteric knowledge about a group conspiracy, that for all appearances, did not exist anywhere except in their own minds.

Why the Mental Health Professionals supported Ritual Abuse Allegations:

Cultural religious beliefs being blended with scientific understanding in a pseudo rationalistic fashion took shape in the mid-1980s and formed much of the expert opinion of the era. This is consistent with the findings of Mulhern (1994) that explored the underpinnings of the current epidemic of patients in treatment for multiple personality

disorder who have recovered early childhood traumatic memories of ritual torture, incestuous rape, sexual debauchery, sacrificial murder, infanticide, and cannibalism perpetrated by members of clandestine satanic cults. She found that because of the professional inside view held by the mental health professionals that multiple personality disorder was logically compatible with neo-dissociative, traumatic theory of psychopathology, conspiracy theory could and did emerge as a consistent pattern of contemporary clinical interpretation. In other words these traumatic memories if they were real could cause the dissociative behavior, the causes of which could be revealed by repressed memories retrieved by hypnosis. Because this was one possibility it was often interpreted that way because there was a professional and cultural predisposition to do so. Yet other possibilities existed as well and should also have been considered. This was supported and consistent with the work of Ofshe (1992) that researched a case of a 43-year old male who, after induction of a dissociative state followed by suggestion during questioning developed pseudo-memories of raping his daughter and of participation in a baby-murdering satanic cult. The pseudo-memories coupled with influence from authority figures convinced him of his guilt for six months. During this time the witness and all of the evidence in the case were studied. No evidence supported the individual's guilt. Substantial evidence supported the conclusion that no crime had ever been committed. A further experiment demonstrated the individual's extreme suggestibility. It was concluded that the cult did not exist and the individual's confessions were coerced internalized false confessions. It is interesting to note that during the investigation, two psychologists diagnosed the individual as suffering from a dissociative disorder similar to multiple personality (1992: 125-156). This author contends that when Larry Jones and

others based their facts on these kinds of incidents they were bound to make mistakes concerning the reality of the phenomena. This then could easily become the basis for a self-fulfilling prophecy towards a non-existent or nearly non-existent phenomenon.

It is interesting to note, however, that this debate continues to rage (currently in 2006), among mental health professionals many of which refute the findings of the research of Ofshe (1992) and Mulhern (1992; 1994) and others with their own research and their own differing findings. Rockwell (1994: 443-460; 1995: 312-328) for instance in his case studies suggests that the false memory syndrome is a sham invented by pedophiles and sexual abusers for the media. Furthermore, he suggests that the memories of his patients are real and were not obtained under hypnosis. He even argues that perpetrators of ritual abuse and organized satanic movements exert control over law enforcement, legal processes, and the media to distort the facts of satanic ritual abuse.

Introvigne (1994) notes that the one event in 1989 that galvanized Idaho concerning ritual abuse and went on into 1990 was the Baby X case of 1989 in combination with interviews of a ten year old boy discovered in 1990. Introvigne (1994) states in a paper delivered to the Annual Conference of the Mormon History Association that:

In early November of 1989 in Minidoka County, Idaho, the dismembered and burned remains of a 4-to-8 weeks-old female Hispanic infant were discovered in a garbage dump. Forensic experts ascertained that "Baby X" —whose identity was never discovered—had been disemboweled and mutilated before she was burned. Rumors of Satanic sacrifice started almost immediately. In March 1990 a 10-year old boy, "Timothy" (his name was not released by the authorities for privacy reasons,) entered therapy for disturbing dreams of sexual abuse and torture. He began drawing pictures which, although open to multiple interpretations, suggested that "Timothy" had witnessed Satanic rituals including sexual abuse. "Timothy" told therapists and later police detectives that his experiences had taken place in Rupert, a Southern Idaho town close to where Baby X's remains had been found. Shortly thereafter, "Timothy" claimed that

during a Satanic ritual he had witnessed the sacrifice of an infant who may well have been “Baby X”. “Timothy’s” recollections were later published in the South Idaho Press and included a graphic description of a Satanic ritual. “They put me on a table with a Bible.—“Timothy” reported—The devil is there. They pray to the devil. 18 people stand around. The devil makes these people hurt me. They hurt me so bad. They hurt me in the private parts. They have hurt me so many times. The devil makes bad people. They have sacrifices. It’s done in the real Bible. The devil is there. 18 people are there. They sacrifice cats. They put them on the table and pray and sacrifice and give them to the devil. They do this all the time, even in the winter when it’s cold. They sacrifice all animals. They even sacrifice babies. (Where do they get the babies?). From humans. They lay them on this table and give them to the devil. They pray to him from the real Bible. The Bible is on the table. Where do they get the babies, I don’t know. The babies don’t have any cloths on. They just put them on the table and pretty soon the devil makes a fire and they are on fire (1994: 10-11).

The above cases had an immediate and powerful impact on the citizens of Idaho culturally, religiously, and politically. Siegel (1992) notes this impact in an article in the Los Angeles Times Magazine, his article also has nearly the same interview of “Timothy” in it’s pages. It is interesting to note that now information is going back to California from Idaho, and returning from California to Idaho in a circular fashion thus indirectly confirming for some segments of the population in both states of the wide spread occurrence happening in both states. Siegel notes the powerful effect of these combined incidents in Idaho as follows:

All the same, plenty of responsible folks the sheriff, the police chief, the mayor, the prosecutor, ministers, teachers—in time felt compelled to do some reading about Satanism. That reading generated various insights. Four months after Baby X’s death, a therapist in Burley and a sheriff’s deputy in adjoining Cassia County began warning that local satanic cult activity was growing at “an alarming rate.” Reports surfaced of grave desecration at the Rupert cemetery. Investigators were said to have come across alters, candle drippings, ashes, small bones, capes, daggers. Prosecuting Attorney Creason, addressing the Rupert Rotary one at lunch, spoke about the history and characteristics of satanic worship. The state Legislature, watching from Boise, was inspired to adopt a new law making it a felony to commit certain acts “with, upon, or in the presence of a child as part of the ceremony, rite or any similar observance” (1992: 4).

This author contends that for the state of Idaho the incident of the death of Baby X coupled with the interviews of “Timothy” brought about the critical mass surrounding the phenomenon to a head and resulted in the formation of law. By 1990 four years after from his initial ritual abuse training by experts, Jones is announcing that: “Ritualized Child Abuse Legislation Passed!” in his File 18 newsletter. He actually gives a step by step process of how this act of legislation was accomplished. The speed at which this occurred emphasizes the importance of Jones and his associates organizational efforts.

Jones (1990) notes:

In the wake of much recent publicity centered on Idaho concerning the abortion issues, the Editors are very pleased to announce a major legislative milestone concerning the investigation of Ritualised Child Abuse (R.C.A.) in Idaho. On April 3, 1990, Governor Cecil Andrus signed House Bill 817 into law. This bill, which passed unanimously through both the Idaho Centennial Legislature’s House and Senate, will be Idaho Code in July. The bill creates two new types of felonious crimes, punishable by substantial prison terms, and – most importantly – defines “new” criminal investigation areas, provides the basis for opening Ritual Child Abuse cases based upon probable cause, and will provide a framework for extensive R.C.A. investigation training throughout the state (1990: 1).

A Layman’s Guide to a Successful, First-time Legislative Effort.

By Larry M. Jones

Most File 18 Newsletter readers have not had the opportunity to actively participate in the lawmaking process in their state’s assemblies or legislatures; neither had we. It was new, confusing, and sometime a frustrating prospect. Armed with a compelling issue, good legislative guidance, and proper preparation success for this kind of issue was nearly a certainty.

Consider these suggestions for mounting a similar campaign in your state:

1. Collect background information and make an appointment with a legislator who is likely to be interested, sympathetic to the issue and knowledgeable about the inner workings of the state legislature. Give yourself plenty of lead-time; your bill will probably need to be revised a number of times, re-typed, re-evaluated, etc. Contacting at least one member in each house to carry the bill forward will be important.
2. Provide the sponsor with a roughed-out draft for consideration. Don’t expect the sponsor to have your perspective, understanding, or time to do the writing. (Our first draft was

long complex, and destined for failure because we raised too many ambiguous issues).

3. Make personal contact with someone in your legislative Council (the full-time employees of the legislature who do the bill research, formatting, word processing, and ‘legalese’ wording. Maureen [not our Maureen. . .] was an indispensable part of the legislative team who worked closely with Rep. Elizabeth Allan-Hodge, HB 817s sponsor. The legislative Council also has the ability to survey the laws of other states which may provide ideas, suggest topics you haven’t covered and lend credibility to the presentation of your bill.
4. Take your semi-final draft to the influential leaders in the house in which the bill will be first introduced. Give the major Committee Chairpersons and the best parliamentarians a shot at tearing your draft apart and offering their criticism. . . A number of other experienced ‘bill-crafters’ helped us clarify wording and put the polish on the final draft...
5. With your final draft in hand, make yourself available to meet with key small groups of legislators from the committees which will be likely to consider your bill. Condense your briefing in to a 15-20 minute format. . . you probably won’t be able to capture these busy folks for much longer than that. This is the time-consuming part; plan to spend lots of time waiting for ‘pick-up meetings’ during the legislative breaks, and for committee to end. Your sponsoring legislator must be aggressive, but tactful, in button-holing lawmakers and pulling them into impromptu briefings. We personally briefed over 30 legislators this way and left each a packet of printed, explanatory information with them for later reading.
6. Testimony before the House Judiciary and Rules Committee was our first experience at formally presenting support for the bill. We scheduled speakers from law enforcement, treatment, survivor groups and a general abuse survivor, after a brief introduction by our sponsor. Due to a full agenda, the Chairman cut our time to about 20 minutes, requiring last minute (changes) in our panel. We had met prior to the hearing to practice the ‘protocols’ of a committee hearing, and to work the bugs out of our presentations.
7. The House Jud./Rules Committee unanimously passed the bill to the floor with no changes. This testifies to the solid preparation we did before the hearing, as well as to the effectiveness of the presentations. When the House passed HB 817, it was on its way to the Senate where a mirror image process occurred.
8. Your presence (and the presence of other interested parties) at each stage of the proceeding helps make the point that citizens

are aware of such legislation and want to see it succeed. In addition, we collected endorsement letters (from a broad base of agencies including: school districts, counselors, police and sheriffs, the Idaho dept. of L.E., and treatment hospitals) which were distributed to all the lawmakers on the committees. Of course calls and letters from private persons always help (1990:1-3).

The above quote from Jones portrays the importance of gaining the support of an influential person in the legislature to guide the law through the legislative process. It was also interesting to note the massive amount of work to get the first draft made up and then the credentials necessary to make the draft appear legitimate as well as supported by a broad base of voters and social institutions. There is also the “halo effect” of looking at other State’s laws that are similar and possibly incorporating those into the draft for increased legitimacy. This type of legitimacy by association is again consistent with the works of Hodges & Ulsperger (2005a: 40; 2005b: 100) described as the halo effect, while neutralizing any appearance of deviance. These efforts were combined with sensationalized incidents that were at the same time occurring in the state of Idaho. All of these efforts resulted in the passage in 1990 of the following legislation in the State of Idaho:

TITLE 18
CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS IDAHO STATUTES
CHAPTER 15
CHILDREN AND VULNERABLE ADULTS

18-1506A. RITUALIZED ABUSE OF A CHILD -- EXCLUSIONS --
PENALTIES --

DEFINITION. (1) A person is guilty of a felony when he commits any of the following acts with, upon, or in the presence of a child as part of a ceremony, rite or any similar observance:

- (a) Actually or in simulation, tortures, mutilates or sacrifices any warm-blooded animal or human being;
- (b) Forces ingestion, injection or other application of any narcotic, drug, hallucinogen or anaesthetic for the purpose of dulling sensitivity, cognition, recollection of, or resistance to any criminal activity;

- (c) Forces ingestion, or external application, of human or animal urine, feces, flesh, blood, bones, body secretions, nonprescribed drugs or chemical compounds;
 - (d) Involves the child in a mock, unauthorized or unlawful marriage ceremony with another person or representation of any force or diety, followed by sexual contact with the child;
 - (e) Places a living child into a coffin or open grave containing a human corpse or remains;
 - (f) Threatens death or serious harm to a child, his parents, family, pets or friends which instills a well-founded fear in the child that the threat will be carried out; or
 - (g) Unlawfully dissects, mutilates, or incinerates a human corpse.
- (2) The provisions of this section shall not be construed to apply to:
- (a) Lawful agricultural, animal husbandry, food preparation or wild game hunting and fishing practices and specifically the branding or identification of livestock;
 - (b) The lawful medical practice of circumcision or any ceremony related thereto; or
 - (c) Any state or federally approved, licensed or funded research project.
- (3) The penalty upon conviction of a first offense shall be imprisonment in the state prison for a term of not to exceed fifteen (15) years. Upon conviction of a second or subsequent offense, the penalty shall be for a term not more than life imprisonment.
- (4) For the purposes of this section, "child" means any person under eighteen (18) years of age.

Again one must note the similarities of the graphic descriptions listed above and the similarities described by children in the sensationalized trials of ritual abuse by child care facilities (Robinson 2001: 3-5). With all of the media attention and the passage of law in Idaho the cases of ritual abuse seem to increase in the newspapers. Introvigne (1994) states that:

On November 8, 1991, with national TV networks in attendance, 300 to 500 persons attended a candlelight vigil for victims of Satanic ritual abuse, including Baby X, in Rupert. Apparently, "Several busloads" of "survivors" and advocates from Salt Lake City came to Rupert for the vigil. In the same month the Idaho Attorney General's office took over the investigation of the case. A noted pathologist, Dr. William Brady, re-examined the remains of "Baby X", and a noted psychologist, Dr. Charles W. Gamble of Boise, examined "Timothy". In 1992 the Attorney General's Office released his report. Dr. Brady reported that, although he could not tell exactly how Baby X had died, he ascertained beyond a

doubt that there was: “1) no evidence of mutilation with a knife or other sharp instrument, almost certain to be present had some person dismembered the body; 2) teeth marks on the body consistent with damage by small predators such as rats, mice or birds; 3) evidence of pneumonia in the infant’s lungs”. The prevailing theory was that poor Baby X died of pneumonia and her illegal alien parents try to dispose of the body through amateur cremation, with animal predators later attacking the infant’s remains. The Attorney General’s report also noted that no member of “Timothy’s” family was in the Rupert area “anywhere near the time of the infant’s death and disposal”. As for “Timothy” himself, Dr. Gamble concluded that he “had never witnessed a Satanic ritual and (...) may have invented the whole story”. Randy Everitt, an investigator working for the Attorney General’s Office, told the press that authorities were “fairly well convinced that the little boy didn’t see anything. We believe the boy jumbled what he’s been read [in Jehovah’s Witnesses’ literature], and other folks interpreted that as they wanted”. Although the Attorney General’s Office told the press that the case was not closed and investigations continued on the possibility that “Timothy” had in fact been victim of sexual—but perhaps not Satanic—abuse, and reporter Christopher Clarke of the South Idaho Press embarked on a personal crusade arguing that a Satanic cult may in fact exist in the Rupert area, no charges were ultimately filed.

An interesting part of the Baby X case is the candlelight vigil held on November 8, 1991 in Rupert. This episode proved that a network of moral crusaders promoting the Satanism scare existed in Mormon country, and that “survivors” from Salt Lake had already formed a small lobby trying to persuade the public that their stories and those of children like “Timothy” were basically the same, equally deserving public belief (1994: 10).

Again this author contends that the Baby X case, combined with the “Timothy” interviews with experts, brought together all the elements of the cultural fear factors into a critical mass that ultimately helped produce the ritual abuse law in Idaho. It also brought into direct conflict the forces of social control and the forces of the anti-cult movement and their believers. The above quote also suggests that there was a religious cultural population structural base of Mormons and Christians in southern Idaho where these events occurred. Both Mormon and Christian believers have a predisposition to believe in the power of evil and especially evil in Satanic groups. This is consistent with Siegel (1992) that contends:

Minidoka County, after all, was settled largely by people who are particularly sensitive to intimations of evil. A uniquely diverse ethnic mix came streaming out of the Midwest into southern Idaho at the turn of the century, and again after World War II, when sprawling reclamation projects and generous homesteading acts turned this barren high desert into irrigated farmland. They brought with them a polyglot of potent faiths: A third of Minidoka County is Mormon, but the telephone book for the Rupert-Burley area, which has a combined population of about 13,000, list 50 other churches as well, many of them fundamentalist-Apostolic, Assemblies of God, Baptist, Baptist American, Baptist Conservative, Centro Christiano, Christian & Missionary Alliance, Church of Christ, Foursquare Gospel, Jehovah's Witnesses, Nazarene, Pentecostal, Seventh-day Adventist. These are people equally inclined to bust a living out of sagebrush and raise their voices in prayer (1992: 2).

Introvigne (1994) states, that not all of the professional academic experts were on the side of the anti-cult groups. Introvigne notes:

The most visible conflict was not, however, between "rationalist" and "post rationalist" groups against the "cults". Sociologists and other academics specialized in the new religious movements were united in their militant opposition to the theory of the Satanic conspiracy and did much to ridicule the stories of survivors. The publication of the collective work *The Satanism Scare* in 1991 by noted sociologists and anthropologists was a crucial blow to the survivors' credibility. By 1991 even some psychiatric specialists of multiple personality disorder were harboring doubts on the factual truth of the survivors' stories, and the difficult decision to allow skeptic anthropologists and psychiatrists to propose alternative points of view in the yearly Chicago conference on multiple personality disorder was made, much to the disappointment of militant survivor's organizations such as *Voices in Action* and others (1994: 6-7).

This author notes that these expert accounts seem to have little or no affect on the circumstances as they unfolded in local rural areas. It takes a substantial amount of time before rational belief systems with tests and experiments to overcome the Christian based structural belief system that supports the anti-cult group's ways of knowing and understanding and interpreting the incidents. Lee (1992) notes in an article entitled: *"Satanic Rumors of Darkness: No Proof of Cults found in Kamiah, but Expert Warns Parents not to Stand Back,"* that Satanism is alive and well in Idaho. The article states:

“The rumors of Satanism devil worship began several months ago, centering around a small band of teen-agers. They had taken to wearing black. They were into heavy metal music, the kind with lyrics about death and violence. And they carved letters into the flesh of their own arms.”

“Multigenerational satanic cults are the ones where abuse and sacrifice most often occur. These groups attract adults with promises of sex with children. It is here that children may be bred for sacrifice, or witness sacrifice of loved pets or even friends. Here, they may be buried alive by their parents and rescued by satanic priests to encourage bonding away from the family and with the group.”

“Many of the documented instances involving blood and sacrificial rites and sexual and physical abuse were decided to be unsuitable for printing in the Lewistown Tribune (1992: A1, June 7th).

In the quote above the graphic descriptions now follow descriptions found in the new Idaho ritual abuse law. The start of the problem here is similar to known patterns of teen-age culture that began in California. Hidden multigenerational cults are also suggested to exist in Idaho. This article appears to draw off of many sources and themes that have been developed in the recent past especially in California. Here again, other criminals and there crimes are being brought in by association. Johnson (1993) notes:

“In the taped confession played in court on the second and final day of his sentencing hearing, Wood remembers thunder in the sky as he methodically dismembered the body of the girl he had kidnapped from a Pocatello neighborhood June 29 and murdered the next morning on the banks of the Snake River in Idaho Falls. Wood said he paused before he threw Jaralee’s body into the river. He remembered the rain beating on his face as he held part of her above his head. “I felt like it was as an offer to Satan,” he said” (1993: Dec. 9th).

The above quote makes one believe that this is all a part of similar activities that are taking place nation wide. These are incidents that occur among individuals and in groups. At the same time however there is a growing division among Christians concerning the validity of the whole Satanic scare phenomena. Introvigne (1994) notes:

Christianity Today, the most influential voice of American Evangelicalism, recommended “skepticism” in a June 1993 article authored by two Evangelical university professors, noted that while for nearly a decade, American law enforcement has been aggressively investigating the allegations of victims of ritualistic abuse”. So far, there is no evidence for the allegation of

large-scale baby breeding [i.e. “producing babies whose birth is not registered with public authorities for sacrificing them in Satanic ceremonies], human sacrifice, and organized conspiracies”. We cannot fall victim—the Evangelical professors concluded—to sloppy thinking or judgment based on a mixture of fallacies, non-evidence, and subjectivism. “He who chases fantasies lacks judgment” (Prov. 12:11). In March 1994 the same *Christianity Today* even recommended the ultimate skeptic book on the Satanism scare, *Satanic Panic* by (secular) sociologist Jeffery S. Victor. The reviewer confirmed, once again, that “to date there has been no investigation that has substantiated the claims of alleged Satanic abuse survivors” and quoted John F. Kennedy to the effect that “The great enemy of the truth is often not the lie—deliberate, contrived, and dishonest—but the myth—persistent, pervasive, and unrealistic (1994: 6).

At the local level Siegel (1992) contends that there are two camps formed in the Rupert area of Idaho. Siegel notes:

Those in Rupert who long for clarity and purpose, of course, do not find this outcome entirely satisfying. Desiring not a contradiction but an inflation of the story, they faithfully await an alternative ending. The Rev. Oglevie continues to explain the Baby X situation is “only a microcosm” of what’s going on “all over the country.”

Coroner Hansen now officially classifies Baby Xs death “homicide.” Not long ago, Chris Clark welcomed a psychic from California named Bernadette Schultx, who soon after arriving announced that she’d beheld images of rituals while visiting the Minidoka landfill, then produced two computer composite drawing of possible witnesses to Baby X’s death. And on a gray overcast Monday in mid-March, some half dozen citizens among Noel Croft, Steve Oglevie, Arvin Hansen, Chris Clark and a self-described ritual abuse survivor named Patty gathered at the Rupert Cemetery to finally lay Baby X to rest (1994:13).

Roberts (1994) brings in the alliance with mental health experts in his article concerning ritual abuse survivors, in the *Modesto Bee* as follows:

“They film children being abused or tortured,” Ann said. The victimizers are so clever they are never caught. “You have to understand they have a lot of contacts,” Ann said.

She recalled hearing that films were shipped out of the country, duplicated, then sent back in. That way, if the films were apprehended it would seem they were filmed outside the United States.

Like Belinda, Ann never confronted her adoptive parents. Only her mother is still living. Both Ann and Belinda said they witnessed numerous sacrifices, animal and human. Local therapists Pam Clare and Bob Robinson believe clients like Belinda and Ann actually experienced those events they

describe. Robinson has been treating ritual abuse cases since 1984, and is dealing with about a dozen clients who say they were victims.

Clare has worked with about 50 victims of satanic ritual abuse since 1987.

Robinson said survivors are “usually female, multi-gifted and talented . . . multiple personality . . . with unusual strength.” Outwardly, he said victims may look normal, even perfect. They may attend private schools. Their parents are often professionals with plenty of money. They may even be influential church members” (1994: Jan. 15th).

Again professional therapists are supporting their clients who are deemed survivors, and by so doing these professionals are giving the halo of legitimacy to the social problem of ritual abuse. The conspiracy suggested here is at the international level. The problem then is local and global. The problem is also insidious and secretive. Your honorable neighbors can be evil and Satanists unknown to you or your family. All of these concepts are being supported by trusted mental health professionals. These organizational efforts by anti-cult groups created a reaction by non-traditional religious groups to organize themselves in their own defense. For the general public it becomes hard to know which group of experts or authorities to believe in. Cuhulain (2002) of the Pagan Protection center notes:

Beginning in the eighties there was a concerted effort on the part of Satanic conspiracy theorists to recruit law enforcement officers to support their cause. Most police officers didn't involve themselves in this crusade. Many of those who did gave up on it after a while. They couldn't find any evidence to support the theories of the Satanic Conspiracy myth supporters.

There are always a few, however, who cling to a belief no matter what happens. They continue on in the face of mountains of contradictory evidence, struggling to keep fellow officers involved in supporting their cause. Some act as private consultants on “occult crime” in their own time. Others retire from police work to open consulting firms in this subject area.

If I was asked to name the number one police officer supporting Satanic Conspiracy myth, my answer would have to be Lieutenant Larry Jones of the Boise Police Department. Following the development of the news letter that Jones publishes is a typical case study in the thought processes of people like him who embrace Satanic Conspiracy Myth and then try to defend it in the face of mounting evidence to the contrary and increasing questions as to their credibility.

Jones attacks anything non-Christian from behind a facade of police respectability.

Jones founded an organization called Cult Crime Impact Network Inc (C.C.I.N. Inc) with the backing of his Trinity Fellowship Church. It was incorporated in the State of Idaho April 14, 1987. The purpose of this organization was to develop a network of police officers to combat the International Satanic Conspiracy that Jones perceives. Over the years Jones has backed nearly every supporter of the Satanic Conspiracy myth, using his newsletter as a forum for their views. He has backed nearly every notable “fraudulent survivor”, including “Doctor” Rebecca Brown, Lauren Stratford, Michelle Pazder, Michael Warnke, and many others. Jones is an avid lobbyist for the introduction of State Laws on ritualistic and Satanic crime (2002:1).

The above quote is interesting because its author is also a police officer and a former child abuse investigator, as well as a member of the Pagan community. Kerr Cuhulain also known as Constable Charles Ennis of British Columbia has written several articles on the related topics of child abuse and the Satanic myth. The article above still portrays the fear that was generated by Larry Jones and his organization some twenty years before among non-Christian religious groups. It also confirms again the halo effect of being associated with the respectability and legitimacy of the police departments. The difference is this time it’s the Pagans that have a policeman defending their position. This article also embraces the idea that the myth is based on false information combined with a bias against non-Christian groups. The experts that were used are portrayed as having false credentials and giving out false information. This sense of a false perception for a need to protect the public is one of the major tenants discussed in Integrated Conflict Theory. The Idaho case is very similar in this element to the California case study. Here again the allegations are based on the words of children much like the witch trials of the 1600s.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A VIEW FROM THE EXPERTS

INTRODUCTION, **Interviews & Insights from Experts Past and Present:**

This section contains interviews taken in September 2006 from individuals that were connected to and involved with one side of the ritual abuse debate or the other. These persons are still involved and concerned with the current aspects that surround these social phenomena. These interviews have been taken from prominent individuals in the vanguard of their respective positions concerning ritual abuse. They have in the past and are currently providing defining boundaries and frames of thought towards their particular viewpoints. These fall into two main groups. Basically there are those that are for ritual abuse laws, and there are those that are against ritual abuse laws. These two concerns are given voice in the following interviews and portray the unresolved issues that surround the ritual abuse phenomena and ritual abuse laws.

Experts for Ritual Abuse Laws:

A typical response from a high ranking official in the police department in a Mid-Western city had a moderate response relative to the other interviews in regards to questions about ritual abuse laws. He stated the following concerning these types of laws, past and present:

“AIDS and HIV were just becoming known; the US was boycotting the Olympic games; the telephone company was being broken up; home computers were being developed and really considered for the first time. There was a significant decrease in traditional marriages and increase in divorce rates.

These laws provided a sense of “normalcy” to otherwise turbulent and uncertain times. . . . Many of these laws have been struck down on the basis of religious freedom. At the same time, many of these laws are useful for the prevention and prosecution of abusive situations.”

The ideal expressed in the former quote suggests that the laws are just another tool for the forces of social control and society in general to protect individuals from abusive situations. This was a common argument in the past as well as the present concerning ritual abuse among those that are for ritual abuse laws. More aggressive perspectives are also presented here. A leading expert currently for training and local, state and federal officials concerning ritual abuse practices is Dawn Perlmutter, Director for the Institute for the Research of Organized and Ritual Violence. From a sociological standpoint her approach to the subject is from an Interactionist symbolic and cultural perspective. The quotes used here are from her presentation at a conference for the Oklahoma Division of the International Association of Identification. It was the 2006 Annual Training Conference entitled “Saints, Sinners, and Cops!” held Sept. 11 & 12 at the University of Central Oklahoma at Edmond, Oklahoma and attended by this author (Oklahoma Division of the International Association for Identification 2006). Dr. Perlmutter’s name is used in the following quotes because she made them in a public form as a keynote speaker for the conference and as an instructor and expert in ritual abuse and ritualistic crime.

Perlmutter makes many of the same arguments made by the self styled experts of the 1980s and 1990s. She also presents much of the same materials as those experts. The author has been able to compare her presentation materials against those of Dr. Claudia L. Green MD. from the 1980s. This author was given all the materials and papers concerning ritual abuse from the deceased Dr. Green’s estate. Much of the symbolism

and materials on alternative religions is exactly the same as those currently used by Perlmutter. There are some differences, though. Perlmutter admitted in the presentation that it is hard to determine for instance “who are Satanist and criminal and who are criminals and say they are Satanists.” Perlmutter stated at the conference:

“It is hard to determine the extent of ritualistic crimes, but it is everywhere because of the Internet. For law enforcement purposes don’t bring up Satanism in court. There is a lot of satanic crime, but it is not tried that way. We do not know to what extent it exists but there are two cases that I am aware of. This becomes an argument between psychopathologies and religious beliefs. As far as I am concerned these people made a rational choice to join a violent religion.”

From the above quote one can determine that Perlmutter is a definite proponent that ritual abuse exists and there is a predisposition towards criminal acts because of the violent philosophy and ideologies that can be associated with alternative religious beliefs. The culture clash concerning alternative religious beliefs is still very evident among the proponents for ritual abuse laws. This concept is further elaborated in her presentation materials as follows:

Crimes entailing ritual violence are generally perpetrated by practitioners of occult belief systems inclusive of Satanism, Syncretic Belief Systems (Santeria, Palo Mayombe, Brujeria, etc.) and the Vampire/Goth scene. . . . Forensic evidence such as occult writings, specific use of symbols, objects, etc. are common indicators of ritual crimes (Perlmutter 2006: 1).

The idea here is that belief systems provide motives for crimes. Perlmutter notes that occult crimes often do not involve passion, emotion or fears. Such crimes “are often perpetrated for the assimilation of individual power.” Later in the same document there is a sort of disclaimer provided concerning ritual abuse as a form of ritual crime as follows:

Ritual Abuse: This is a particularly heinous and controversial crime, which is known as ritual abuse, ritual child abuse or more specifically Satanic ritual abuse. The alleged perpetrators of such abuse are most often Satanists. In

the broadest sense, ritual abuse of children, adolescents and adults involves repeated physical, sexual psychological and/or spiritual abuse, which utilizes rituals. Currently, there is probably no more divisive issue within the criminal justice community than that of Satanic ritual abuse. While no one disputes the existence or increase of ritualistic abuse, few agree about several other aspects; the extent of ritualistic crimes committed specifically by Cult Satanists; the motivations of perpetrators; and the veracity of the victims who claim to have survived ritual abuse at the hands of Satanists (Perlmutter 2006: 2).

In the above quote Perlmutter is acknowledging the lack of definitions and knowledge surrounding ritual abuse. This author is well aware that there are few empirical studies, little or no statistics let alone any type of consensus concerning ritual abuse. Yet in her presentation Perlmutter promoted the idea that ritual abuse crimes are currently a problem and going to become a major criminal problem in the future. This is the same type of fear factors that were being created in the satanic panic of the 1980s and early 1990s. Another area of criminal activity that is mentioned and associated with occult belief systems according to the conference handouts is that of suicide and ritual homicide. It states:

Suicide: Occult related suicide appears to be the primary domain of juveniles and young adults involved in Satanism who are often true believers, but sometimes dabblers. Satanic related teenage suicide is a major concern among many criminal justice practitioners and therapists.

Ritual Homicide: Probably the most controversial crime allegedly committed for occult purposes is murder perpetrated for spiritual reasons and sometimes as a human sacrifice. Sacrificing a human being has occurred in almost every culture throughout history and there have been contemporary incidents documented. Currently, both Palo Mayombe practitioners and Satanists are often linked to human sacrifice. There is evidence that juvenile and young adult Satanists who have become true believers commit murder for sacrificial reasons required of their spiritual beliefs (Perlmutter 2006: 2).

It is interesting to note that the above quotes are written in such a factual manner, yet it is acknowledged that the extent of such crimes is unknown, and if individual cases are truly associated with a Satanic or other similar groups. Again these are the same type

or at least similar arguments that were made in the 1980s and 1990s concerning ritual abuse.

The next day of the conference Sept. 12th 2006, was followed up by a presentation entitled “The Occult” by Chuck Goode, a detective and technical investigator for the Edmond Police Department of Edmond, Oklahoma (Oklahoma Division of the International Association for Identification 2006). Goode is a specialist in the field and assisted the author Tony Kail (2003) in writing *A Cop’s Guide to Occult Investigations*. Goode presented the alternative religious systems in a similar fashion to Perlmutter’s presentation but his emphasis was directed more towards the cultural and forensic aspects that could be associated with Santeria and Palo Mayombe religious practices. Goode’s perspective at this conference is that most of these belief systems are fantasy. For the criminals involved in ritualistic crimes, fantasy takes over their entire lives at some point. Goode stated at the conference these religions are successful because of the following:

“All of these groups have answers, where Christianity does not. We are taught to just accept God’s will in some cases. These other religions provide answers and therefore it’s a practical response by their followers.”

He sees the influx of alternative religions regionally and points to the Hispanic migrations as the reason for the increased ritual abuse problem in the Southern United States. He honestly and sincerely believes there will be a clash of cultures in the future that will require new ritual abuse laws especially tailored for these religious belief systems that have the potential for dark and violent criminal acts as a part of their religious make-up and interpretation. Furthermore he believes knowledge of these occult belief systems provide forensic clues about a crime scene as to what the criminals may

believe and who they are associated with religiously. According to his presentation handout:

The importance of understanding religious culture

1. Can explain evidence and actions at the scene
2. Culture affects subject behavior
3. Culture can be analyzed to anticipate behavior
4. Understanding the culture can assist investigators in avoiding “culture shock” at the scene (Goode 2006: 3).

He also thinks that such knowledge can also possibly lead to individual motives for ritual abuse crimes, which is consistent with Perlmutter (2006: 1). This author found number three to be interesting seeing religious culture as a predictor of criminal behavior, yet at the same time Goode in his presentation notes that a postmodern phenomenon is occurring as “subcultures such as the vampire community in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma are assimilating Palo Mayombe belief systems into their own belief systems.” That being said, his presentation handout had the following disclaimer:

While the religions of Santeria and Palo Mayombe may appear as deviant practices to Westerners, these traditions are valid spiritual paths that serve to meet the needs of several million adherents worldwide. Although certain elements have used these belief systems to promote and protect criminal activities, these religious traditions in themselves do not promote criminal activity. African religious traditions are practiced by millions of followers throughout the world that do not indulge in illegal activities. This workshop does not promote any specific religious worldview but serves to educate non-practitioners in the history, mythology, aesthetics and practices of these religious cultures (Goode 2006: 2).

To his credit Goode suggested that ritual crimes were an “individual act”, and rarely associated with group involvement. In his presentation Goode stated:

“These are mostly individual acts, occasionally there is some group involvement. If they are going to do something really bad, it is by themselves. Power is the goal.”

His handout notes that an emic perspective will give investigators insight into the groups and individuals (Goode 2006: 5). The disclaimer is clearly designed to try to avoid the claim that this is just an attempt by the dominant religious culture to place its ideology into the legal system to maintain its dominance and power. When asked if he thought ritual abuse laws were important' Goode answered as follows:

“Ritual beliefs can provide an outlet for criminal activity. Ritual abuse laws would help because you can't currently bring this up in court. I think it would help a great deal.”

The quotes listed above see ritual abuse as a real social problem that still exists in current society. There appears to be a move towards a more individualistic prosecution of such crimes instead of looking towards group conspiracy. There is also a concentrated effort to train police and civil authorities just as there was in the late 1980s and 1990s. The themes that emerged from the interviews are similar to the themes and fear factors found in the literature and documents. Ritual abuse is seen as a threat to individual lives, a threat to the dominate societies' religious and cultural beliefs, the corruption of youth, and the cause of an increase in violence and crime. Against this back drop ritual abuse laws provide stability, normalcy and protection and prosecution of abusive situations.

Experts against Ritual Abuse Laws:

In response to the positions taken by the above listed persons others have been interviewed here that are against ritual abuse laws. One high official of a police officer's organization that is pagan, stated the situation concerning ritual abuse law as follows:

“Ritual abuse laws have *never* been important. There is so little criminality that might be classified as “ritual abuse” that creating special laws to deal with it is simply playing into the paranoid fantasies of a vocal minority of extremists. Existing laws governing violent crime are perfectly adequate. Ritual abuse is largely an urban legend.”

Ritual abuse as described by people that want such laws is an extremely rare event. There is absolutely no reason to create new laws to deal with it. The existing laws are more than adequate to deal with the few isolated cases that turn up. We don't need a new category of homicide laws. The hype and hysteria concerning ritual abuse made up the phenomena which ran throughout the 80s and 90s which sociologists have referred to as "the Satanic Panic". The "Satanic Panic" was largely created by individuals hoping to create the impression there was an epidemic of Satanic crime out there in order to offer their religion/church as a solution to this "problem". It was an attempt to scare people into the pews through "inquisitional" fear mongering. Ritual abuse laws such as those created in Idaho were the work of paranoid religious fanatics such as Lt. Larry Jones of the Boise PD who bought into this hysteria. Fortunately cooler heads prevailed in most other states. It was not a true indication that "ritual abuse" was prevalent. It was and is a perfect example of hate crime against minority religious groups such as my own."

The individual just quoted has long been acquainted with ritual abuse issues and has written numerous articles. The perspective towards ritual abuse as previously quoted forms a core of understanding for those who are against the formation of ritual abuse laws. The answers are repetitive and form a consistent framework and ideology. It is also notable that this individual's ideas about the case study of Idaho are consistent with the findings of this author. He even mentions Larry Jones and portrays him as a moral entrepreneur in his answer. When asked, if there was a deeper meaning expressed in the passage of these laws beyond public protection the same individual responded as follows:

The whole ritual abuse hysteria is simply an attempt by a vocal minority of paranoid individuals to create the impression that there is an epidemic of ritual/Satanic abuse in order to scare people into the pews of the people who created the idea in the first place. Ritual abuse laws stemmed from the activities of people that to this day attempt to label any form of religious expression besides their own "Satanic." It grows out of intolerance and people's desire to power over others by any means. It is a part of a modern day "Witch hunt." What we need is better hate crimes laws to deal with the people that created the urban legends about Satanic ritual abuse, not ritual abuse laws. There certainly is an abundance of hate crime in today's society. I know. I've been on the receiving end of it."

It is interesting to note that this perspective is almost exactly the opposite of those expressed by individuals that are for ritual abuse laws. When asked if ritual abuse laws are still important today this individual stated the following:

Ritual abuse laws are totally unnecessary. The existing laws are more than adequate to deal with such situations should they arise, and they rarely do. The concept of ritual abuse isn't about criminal activity: It is an attempt by certain religious fanatics to create a modern version of the Inquisition."

Another author and noted sociologist at the time of the satanic panic, had similar views and expressed his ideas about ritual abuse laws past and present as follows:

"I never believed that the new ritual abuse laws were important."

"I believed that the new laws concerning "ritual abuse" were nothing more than a political publicity stunt by law-makers seeking votes, and still believe it. They didn't know what to make of all the rumors, claims and accusation about satanic crimes. They felt compelled to give the impression of doing something useful about a perceived social problem. Many of them were probably ideologically predisposed to believe the false stories; particularly fundamentalist Protestants in states where they are a powerful political influence (now called "red" states)."

"I believed the laws against murder, child abuse and other violent and coercive behaviors were already in place and were sufficient. Moreover, I always believed that a focus upon the "rituals" that accompany some violent crimes distracted attention from the harmful behaviors in violent coercive crimes."

"I fully acknowledge that some psychologically disturbed individuals commit violent or coercive crimes accompanied by ritualism, and so do some criminals who copy-cat contemporary legend rumors. But, the distinction should be recognized between individual criminals and non-existent criminal organizations."

When asked if there was a deeper meaning expressed in the passage of ritual abuse laws beyond public protection the same author answered:

"The new laws didn't provide an iota of new protection for the public. I regarded the new ritual abuse laws as attempts in part to invest ideology in laws and give those ideologies more public credibility."

The above author is consistent with Gusfield (1986 [1963]) that a dominant culture would invest its ideology and culture into laws to maintain authority, dominance

and power over other belief systems. He also expressed the idea that the legislators are moral entrepreneurs, passing laws for votes rather than adding any real protection to the public. The laws then were only symbolic at best. This is also consistent with the findings of this author concerning legitimacy and fear factors at the political level. A chief of police from a Midwestern city stated the following in a similar vein of thought:

I actually had to research Ritual Abuse Laws to have some understanding of the concept. I read the Ritual Abuse Law passed in Idaho in the 1990s. My answers to your questions are based on a limited knowledge gained from the above research. It might be pertinent to tell you I have thirty years experience in law enforcement and your inquiry is the first time I have heard of ritual abuse laws.

“(My state) has no “Ritual Abuse Laws” and to my recollection, no effort to pass such laws has been made here by (our legislature). I also have no recall of any cases where ritual abuse law could have been utilized.

I do not think ritual abuse laws to be important. Existing laws would easily provide for prosecution of individuals committing an offence at which ritual abuse laws are aimed.

It appears to me the behavior which these laws are intended to impact was feared by the state legislatures in those states who passed ritual abuse laws.

As indicated above, current law would provide a means to deal with offenses described in ritual abuse laws. I see the ritual abuse laws as a duplication of existing statutes. I hope this is helpful to your project.”

The above quotes all frame the notion of ritual abuse laws into themes such as an open and overt attack upon religious freedom by the social forces of intolerance and often by the forces of social control. Not only are ritual abuse laws unnecessary according to this viewpoint they are in actuality a hate crime. Those against ritual abuse laws consider the laws already current on the books as sufficient for public protection. Ritual abuse laws are simply a duplication of existing legal statutes as well as an overt attempt to incorporate Christian ethics and beliefs into the legal system. All of the interviews both

pro and con still largely take the respective positions that they did nearly twenty years ago. Furthermore all of the agendas that existed in the 1980s and 1990s still exist today.

CHAPTER EIGHT

APPLYING THE INTEGRATED CONFLICT MODEL

INTRODUCTION,

Why the Integrated Conflict Model is Comprehensive for this Study:

Again the allegations of no proof of any of these crimes taking place is confirmed by the research and studies of Gross et, al. (2005) they note:

Finally in one major set of false conviction cases the patterns of injustice are so complex and murky that we can hardly ever say that specific defendants were “exonerated,” even though there is no doubt that most were falsely convicted. We’re referring her to the epidemic of child sex abuse prosecutions that swept across the country in 1980s and early 1990s. focusing especially on child care centers, and frequently including allegations of bizarre satanic rituals.

In almost all of the exoneration cases that we consider in this report there is no question that the murder, rape or other crime did occur. The problem is that someone other than the defendant did it. In these mass child molestation prosecutions the identity of the perpetrators is not an issue. The question is: Did the crimes really happen at all? . . . Needless to say, no physical evidence ever corroborated any of these unlikely claims. In other cases, the accusations were merely implausible, and appear to be generated by over-eager prosecutors and therapists who demanded that the young children they examined tell them that they had been molested, and would not take No for an answer.

Overall, more that 150 defendants were initially charged in at least ten major child sex abuse and satanic ritual prosecutions across the country, from 1984 to 1995, and at least seventy-two were convicted. It is clear that the great majority were totally innocent; almost all were eventually released by one means or another before they completed their terms. It is possible however that some of these defendants did commit some acts of sexual molestation, incidents that later grew into implausible and impossible allegations as the children were interviewed repeatedly by prosecutors and therapists. We included only one of these cases in our database, a case in which we know that all of the supposed victims now say that they were never molested in the first place—that the crime never occurred. Otherwise, none of the wrongfully convicted victims of this terrible episode in American legal history are included on this list because they have not been officially exonerated (2005: 539-540)

The results of ritual abuse laws gone wrong are evident in the above example. This author contends that the conception that the mere accusations of children, supported by expert selective theoretical interpretations, could wrongfully convict an individual are reflective of the witch trials of the 1600s in the worst kind of way. The lack of evidence, the hearsay convictions and sheer paranoia of these cases is truly amazing in what we believe to be a modern rational era.

Discussion of Legitimacy and Fear Factors:

This is a deeply embedded fear in Western society extending from a centuries old cultural background of fearing evil and or the devil. However as Robinson (2001) notes, there is an unusual twist to the enactment of the Idaho law since it could be legally interpreted against Christians. Robinson contends the following:

One positive (although probably unintended) aspect of this law is that it could be used to charge perpetrators of Christian Ritual Abuse. This abuse normally takes the form of extreme emotional or psychological and physical abuse during exorcisms in order to drive demons from the victims body. The rationale followed by many amateur exorcists is that if you abuse the victim sufficiently then the indwelling demon will feel so uncomfortable that they will leave the victim's body. Such treatment could be considered a form of ritual torture, and is used on both adult and child victims. There do not appear to be any statistics on the frequency of these crimes. In most cases the authorities never learn of the abuse. But the occasional Christian ritual abuse incident escalates to actual murder. From 1995 to 1998, three such deaths have been widely publicized. There was a beating death of a young woman in California, a similar murder of another young woman in New Jersey, and the torture death of a young child in Ontario, Canada by her Grandmother (2001: 3).

This of course could not have happened during the witch trials of the middle ages. Ritual abuse at that time applied only to the "other" never to the dominant Christian culture. If the law was interpreted against Christian practices it could ultimately backfire against anti-cult groups. In the above quote the cure of the possessed individual resulted in the person's death. According to this author, this is a paradox that gets at some

profound philosophical and religious questions surrounding ritual abuse. For those who believe evil is a real entity and an external force outside the individual and society beyond the pale of rationality, the above actions make sense in their world. For those that believe evil is just another aspect of human nature that is found in greater and lesser degrees in individuals, the above actions border on the barbaric. The former was current thought in the era of the witch-craze, the latter is current thought now in the modern era. However both types of thought or ways of knowing continue to exist regardless of which one is currently used by the dominant culture. Though the notion of satanic types of ritual abuse and corresponding conspiracy are currently out of vogue, they seem to be just under the religious cultural surface in modern society ready to reappear when needed to explain some new evil in our world. These arguments have remained present in the current modern culture. Wikipedia (2006) notes:

The Exorcism of Emily Rose is a 2005 film directed by Scott Derrickson. The film is based on the true story of Anneliese Michael, a young German Christian woman who died in 1976 after unsuccessful attempts to cure her from an alleged state of demonic possession with the means of psychotropic drugs. Also, church approved exorcism was performed upon her according to her wish. According to the court, her death was caused by medical neglect at the wishes of the priest watching over her. The story of her short life, strong faith and exhausting struggle with what seemed to be supernatural powers served as the basis for this horror movie (2006: 1).

This author contends that a set of questions surrounding the nature of evil are raised by this film that remain unanswered for the general public. Though the ritual abuse scare of the 1990s may only be a bad memory the philosophical basis for what caused this conflict in our society still remains largely intact. The arguments between religion and science are portrayed largely the same as they have always have been. The

discussions between what are facts and what are other possibilities and explanations are unresolved by the general public. This is made evident in the next example.

Recently, after the 9-11 incident and the destruction of the two world trade center towers in New York, the social problem of ritual abuse has been associated with terrorism the new evil in the world. Perlmutter (2004) has written a new book entitled: *Investigating Religious Terrorism and Ritualistic Crimes*. The book features signs and symbols to look for at crime scenes and includes background investigation techniques for crimes involving religion based terrorism. It details domestic and international terrorist religions, with a complete chapter covering Islamic fundamentalist extremists. It provides organizational structural understandings of large clans and covens, membership and recruitment policies, and homicide case studies. The text also offers intelligence strategies indoctrination techniques, negotiation and prosecution strategies, and advantages of understanding religious violence. It's contents also examine types of criminal profiling and provide a crime classification system to distinguish between types of ritual homicide. This author contends that all of this is very similar to the things that were discussed by anti-cult groups of the late 1980s and early 1990s. The difference is that Perlmutter's (2004) work is much more global and international in its scope. It is important to this study because it portrays the importance and relevance that religious belief systems, philosophy and worldviews have in relationship to criminology, especially in the mind of believers. These incidents still have a relevant social impact upon believers that is still current today. The notions that these belief systems have concerning evil at the core of several types of phenomena constructed with courtroom beliefs as "rational" structurally internalize those same belief systems as being superior in

the forms of norms and values to others that are socially constructed as evil or in league with the forces of evil.

Summary of the Idaho Case and associated California Case:

The Idaho case study is different and at the same time similar to some of the elements found in the California case. The California Case set the tone for the Idaho case study in many ways, such as providing the beginning of the Satanic ritual scare, resulting in the first professional experts with expertise in this new criminology and the corresponding criminal activities surrounding ritual abuse. Here again the author uses the Integrated Conflict Model as a guideline for analysis. As stated earlier, the integrated conflict model provides one with a better understanding of the processes that were going on during the ritual abuse scare. This work uses the core components of the theory in modified form. This includes structural foundations, perceptions and demands for protection through law formation, and triggering events that lead to ideological shifts and social change. To generate social change it is not necessary that these levels occur in a sequential order, just that all are present (see for elaboration McGarrell & Castellano 1991; Hodges & Ulsperger 2005b). The Idaho case has the same primary and secondary structural bases as did California. It seems at first odd that these two radically different ideological structural bases could come together in this way. Hodges and Ulsperger (2005b) contend that this may be the result of some postmodern influences as follows:

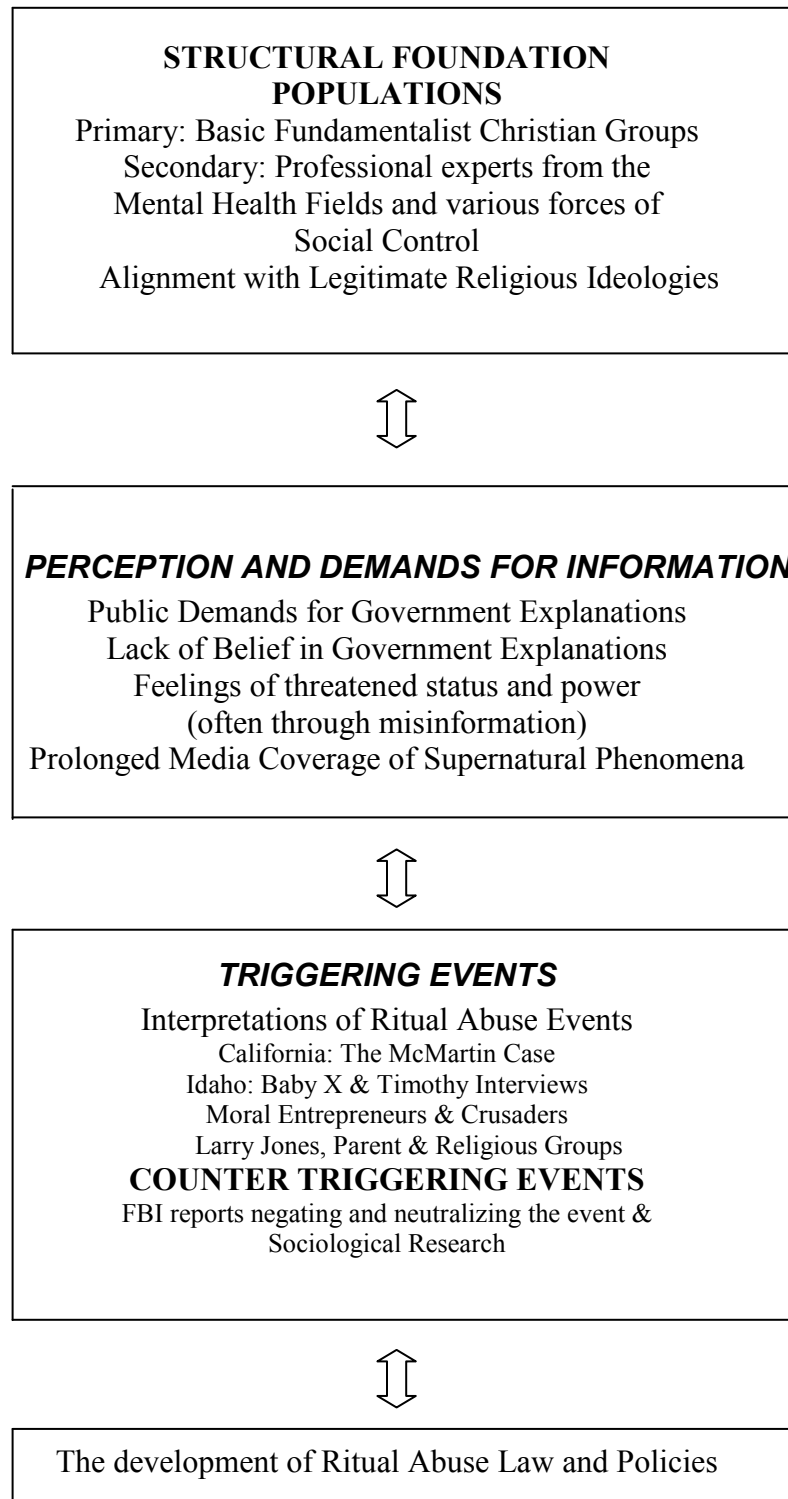
In terms of structural foundations, it is important to discuss Western culture's recent alteration. Scholars argue that the quality of it changed considerably over the last few decades. In this new phase, what some discuss as postmodernism, cultural products such as art, movies, and architecture follow a different path than those of the modern era. These emerged in the 1960s, around the same time that Jung (1958) proposed the divide between scientific logic and paranormal thought. The heart of the change involves irrationality, multiple realities, a blurred line between what is real and what is simulated, the

consumerism of image, and the rejection of authority all brought on by the rapid rise of technological innovation (2005b: 99).

This author contends that the above suggested pattern seems to explain at least some of the elements on both the cases of California and Idaho. Idaho began largely as a reaction to the California case. The two states were connected by the “Timothy Interviews” and Idaho in particular responded rapidly to the perceived threat that had been socially constructed both inside and outside of that state. The political battle in California was fought longer between opposing parties and resulted in that state passing an extension to their existing laws five years after the state of Idaho had passed their ritual abuse law in 1990. There were some generalities between these case studies. Both states had concerned citizens groups, mental health professionals, forces of social control and legislative entrepreneurs. This author suspects that some similar patterns found here at the macro and micro levels existed in other states that passed ritual abuse laws. California as a case study supplies the general template which is then applied to various state models. The early states, like Idaho that passed ritual abuse laws lend credibility to the further passage of ritual abuse laws in other states. Individual and group fears have a snowball affect when they incorporate the legitimacy of professional groups that are trusted and respected at the legislative level of law making. This social phenomenon then is a process that occurred in time and space and varied only in the social context of each state involved. The case studies researched here shared many cultural contexts. They differed in the structural and cultural bases of their populations. They were similar in the sensationalized triggering events that started a building process nation wide.

Figure #4 shows some of these similarities in the case studies researched here.

Figure 4: Applying the Integrative Conflict Model to Ritual Abuse Concepts & Thought



The incidents portrayed in (Figure #4) that were happening in California started police training and promoted self-styled experts on Satanism in both states. The incident that triggered the scare quickly to the point of critical mass was the finding of Baby X in conjunction with the “Timothy” interviews in Idaho. Here again the primary and secondary structural bases came together in response to the perceived criminal threat of Satanic ritual abuse. Many journalists, law enforcement personnel, and mental health professionals tended to believe that Satanic ritual abuse existed along with the religious structural population base. This professional support from the secondary structural base of expert professionals gave credibility to moral crusaders like the policeman Larry Jones and journalist Chris Clark to pursue their anti-cult agendas. They established networks and support groups. All of this activity generated a lot of literature and media attention. Passantino & Passantino (1992a) suggest this had a specific affect on the religious structural base as follows:

Christian tabloidism such as that found on syndicated radio talk show host Bob Larson’s Talk Back show, articles such as Moody Magazine’s “Evil in the Land,” and books such as the novel *Dead Air* and the purported autobiography *Satan’s Underground* actually form a much smaller body of “literature” than do secular SRA stories.

The Smaller volume and more restricted distribution of Christian literature on the subject, however, seems to have a wider degree of acceptance on the part of its target audience, evangelical American Christians, than does the non-Christian sensational SRA literature on its target audience, the general population. While no field research has been done to pinpoint the reasons for this disparity, we speculate that it is due primarily to the fact that Christians share a common world view that in some ways is congruent with the claims of SRA sensationalists. This world view includes belief in the depravity of man, the existence of Satan and demons, and the existence of evil (1992a: 299-300).

The above authors acknowledged that the above quote may not be generalizeable to all Christian groups yet it does apply to many evangelicals. They suggest that the three elements of that combined to form the fear Christians felt was the notions of subjective

personal experience, invincible conspiracies, and satanic ritual abuse (1992: 299-305).

This was important primarily for the following reason as noted by Passantino &

Pissantino (1992b):

Accused perpetrators are given non-lethal for of the same kind of guilt or innocence test given to suspected witches during medieval times: If the witch didn't confess once charged, that proved he or she was unrepentant and should die; if one did confess, the rightly deserved punishment was death. Today's true believers don't kill those they accuse, but they leave them with no way to affirm their innocence—a protestation of innocence becomes a tautological “proof” of guilt (1992b: 11).

Again survivors lent their individual experiences and the media sensationalized all of these incidents to the point that legislators felt compelled to respond for the protection of the public in general and for children in particular if there was even a chance that any of this phenomena could be proved to be true. Again in both the cases of California and Idaho, the W. I. Thomas theorem applied when individuals or groups believed that something was true then it became true in its consequences. In these cases this was true for the religious believers even though there was no physical evidence to back any of the allegations up with proof. Again this type of action became a self fulfilling prophecy for both primary and secondary populations. Idaho responded much more quickly to the ritual abuse scare. There are most likely complex reasons for this. One of the reasons is that the religious structural base was implied to be stronger in Idaho by some of the literature reviewed. The Rupert area, it can be argued, was much more rural and religion oriented than neighboring and more secular California. This is consistent with Hodges and Ulsperger (2005b) that note:

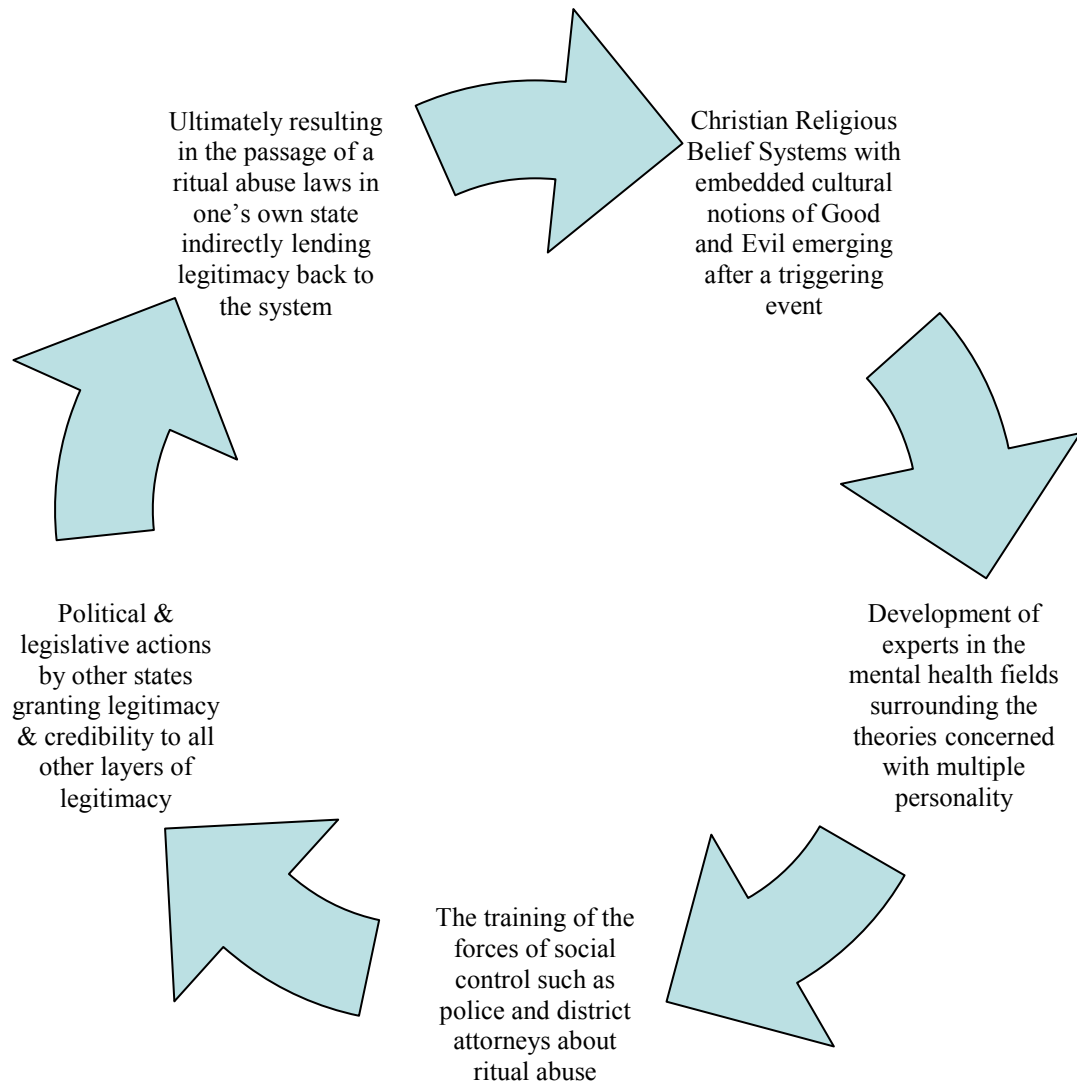
It appears an increase in the acceptance of paranormal thought is the result of a frame alignment with religious ideologies. Literature implies that religious thought is another aspect of socially constructed paranormal thought (Berger 1967). However, religion maintains a high degree of credibility in the Western

world, especially Judeo-Christian beliefs. Hence, the alignment of religious belief and paranormal thought is a logical occurrence (2005b: 100).

The anti-cult networks were portrayed zealous in their pursuit of ritual abuse protection. The triggering incident of Baby X and the “Timothy interviews, were full of misinformation in the reports of both the police and media. The perceived threat escalated quickly. As incidents combined and compounded, the layers of legitimacy formed in a process around the emerging social constructions.

Layers of Legitimacy:

The four major groups considered in this research are (1) the Evangelical Christians and Anti-cult groups that were involved in ritual abuse law formation, as well as (2) Mental Health Professionals, (3) Forces of Social Control and finally (4) Political and Governmental Groups that influenced legislation. The overall actions of the state are also noted for their influence upon other states. Also included are (5) Counter triggering events & the media along with their proponents in this discussion of legitimacy. This author contends that there was a process emerging here that was critical to the development of ritual abuse laws. It is acknowledged that this process may not be mutually exclusive, but was the pattern the author found in the literature researched. These are portrayed in a simplified version in Figure #5:



The above diagram (Figure #5) shows the corresponding layers of legitimacy as they developed in the emerging process of the formation of ritual abuse laws. The Christian groups provided a “traditional” legitimacy. This author contends that the Christian belief system provides the traditional moral foundation for much of the cultural assumptions behind rational law. The mental health profession provided a form of legal rational legitimacy for their authority based on professionalism. This is also similar for the legitimacy and authority of the forces of social control and political individuals and groups. These tended to be tied to structural bases inherent in the social system of the era

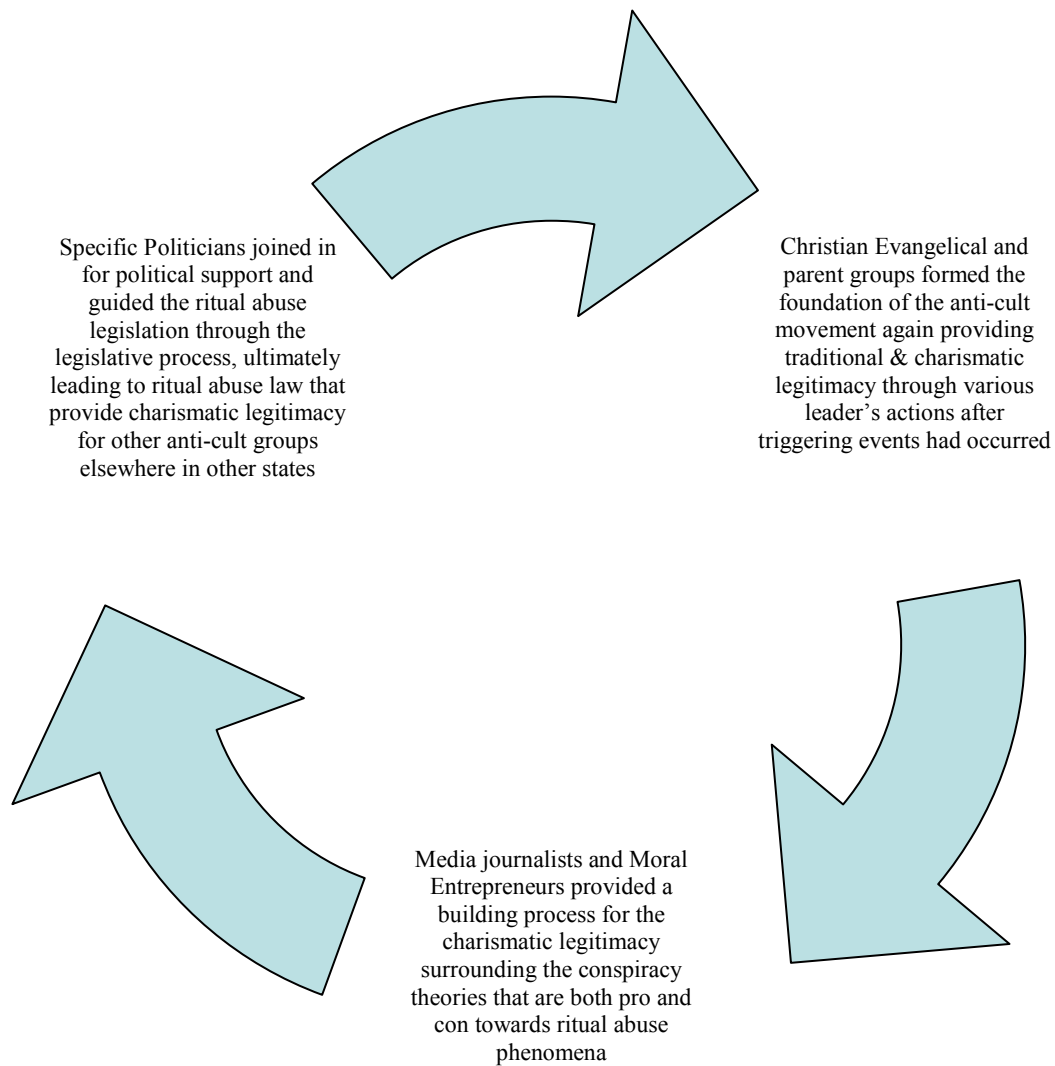
such as religion, medicine, law enforcement and government (For elaboration see Weber 1978: 220-241). The media and moral enterprisers and entrepreneurs are not included in this diagram because they are considered later on by the author to be providing a more charismatic type of legitimacy to this process. This traditional / rational process providing layers of legitimacy was very similar for both the states of California and Idaho.

Legitimacy is important here because the passage of law requires legitimate reasons. Another reason that legislation occurred faster in Idaho is that information concerning incidents in California were socially constructed patterns that were already worked out and only had to be expanded upon and disseminated by moral entrepreneurs like Larry Jones into their nation wide networks. In other words California had provided a knowledge base and foundation for others to build on. These networks then provided a telescoping process for nation wide grass roots anti-cult groups. The media also played into the building and sensationalizing ritual abuse by promoting the idea of a national and international conspiracy. This was often exploited by moral entrepreneurs from the following categories noted in figure #6 on the next page:

Figure # 6 Charismatic Groups and their associated Legitimacy and Emergence in the Process of the Social Construction of Ritual Abuse.

Clergy & Christian Evangelical Groups / Anti-cult groups and Parent Groups acting as Moral Entrepreneurs for their grassroots organizations.	Media Journalists, and some Law Enforcement & Mental Health Professionals acting as Moral Entrepreneurs for their clients and the general public.	Key Politicians that guided ritual abuse legislation acting as Moral Entrepreneurs for their political constituency.
Traditional and Charismatic Legitimacy	Legal Rational and Charismatic Legitimacy	Legal Rational and Charismatic Legitimacy
Emerged after triggering events surrounding alleged cases of ritual abuse especially involving children.	Emerged after triggering events and often supported by rational explanations from mental health experts that legitimized survivor stories.	Emerged after coalitions formed from the prior mentioned groups networked and became social movements.

Charismatic legitimacy is more often delineated by individuals that are influential among the involved groups at the micro level of analysis. This author found that these were also linked in various ways and involved in various parts of the legal process as shown in Figure #7 below:



The above diagram (Figure #7) portrays some of the charismatic processes of legitimation involved in the case studies of California and Idaho. This author contends these charismatic individuals and groups tended to be much more tied to triggering events that helped to create perceived needs for ritual abuse laws and were more indirectly tied to the structural bases already inherent in the social structures of the era through individual actions. These individuals and groups tend to be more directly tied to fringe or marginal elements of social structural bases within the society. Their status waxed or

waned with the belief in the phenomena of ritual abuse within the dominant culture of the general public. Victor (1998) notes:

Crouch and Damphousse (1992) carried out a content analysis of satanic cult scare stories in eight major city newspapers in the U.S. They concluded that the newspapers provided a forum for purported experts who claimed to be able to identify the symptoms of satanic cult crime (local police, clergy, and psychotherapists). However, the newspapers did not deliberately try to inflame rumors about these crimes. In my own research, I came to a similar conclusion about the role of the mass media. The moral panic involving SRA spread widely only after some segments of mass media popularized the claims authorities who lent credibility to rumors and accusations about satanic cult crime (1998: 553).

Generally speaking the power and dominance of these individuals and groups, was more dependent on the social construction and continuance of the phenomena as an ontological possibility. When ritual abuse began to be no longer perceived as a reality, their influence, power, authority and charisma diminished. This was also similar for other laws such as those surrounding repressed memories. As these laws began to be repealed support for ritual abuse laws began to wane as well (for elaboration on legitimacy and legitimate authority see Weber, 1978: 241-245). As Victor noted above, segments of the media amplified this process in the social construction of ritual abuse. Hodges and Ulsperger (2005b) note this pattern with the media in other areas involving supernatural topics as well. They state:

This increased media exposure of supernatural phenomena is influencing the way people think about the paranormal. Even if it is not changing their view on the validity of paranormal thought, it is exposing them to alternative ways of thinking and increasing the popularity of ideologies competing with rational, scientific thought. . . . Therefore, media coverage of conspiracy or paranormal events creates an elevated sense of public awareness. With the segments of the public being skeptical of the government's official position on many other issues, the public cries out for information from those in power. When people do not get it, a shift toward competing ideologies slowly starts alongside of elevated media coverage. . . With skeptics questioning scientific reasoning and past actions of the government based on rational logic, the increased acceptance of competing, paranormal ideologies emerges giving them greater validity (2005b: 101).

The above quote is consistent with Richard Ofshe's comment stated in Hancock's (1988) newspaper article that: "A weakening of traditional religion coupled with the reach of television and other mass media communication has created a virtual supermarket of ideas in which seekers are free to pick elements of belief systems," This author contends that in both cases social structures are being questioned concerning their legitimacy and authority indirectly through the media while enhancing other ideologies. Ofshe, hints at post-modern notions taking hold of the general public in the quote above. He suggests there are no overarching truth systems at this point. The media can swing the other way if the winds of social change merit it.

This author contends, the important point here is that the macro and micro levels of analysis are connected and are having an impact upon one another. This legitimacy of ideologies in professions and groups is a key element in allowing the various fear factors held by various groups to translate into ritual abuse law. The development of fear factors in the various groups is discussed in the next section. There are two primary cultural fear factors which ritual abuse emerged out of. From there other fear factors arose in different groups over time, incidents, and circumstances. The first cultural fear factor is simply the fear of evil and those things which embody evil. The second cultural fear factor is fear for the safety of our children from abuse by others. These combine in the next chart to form a third fear factor. These fear factors are either directly or indirectly related to all of the fear factors that developed in all of the involved groups surrounding ritual abuse.

First Cultural Fear Factor	Second Cultural Fear Factor	Third Fear Factor combining the first two factors
Fear of Evil in the form of Satan and Satanism	Fear of Child Abuse in the form of Strangers	Fear of the Ritual Abuse of Children, especially from Satanists and other cults

Figure #8 above shows the primary fear factors that the concept of ritual abuse emerged from.

The telescoping of fear factors followed two cultural fears imbedded in United States culture. The first cultural fear listed here is that of evil embodied in Satan and Satanism. The second cultural fear is that of child abuse. These combined through different ideologies and worldviews current at the time into the third cultural fear that was emerging into the social construction we now know as ritual abuse. These three fear factors then are much of the basis for other fear factors that developed over time in the late 1980s and early 1990s that were influential in the development of ritual abuse law. This is discussed in more detail in the categories below of the groups that were directly involved in that social construction.

Groups and Fear Factors:

Again, the four major groups considered in this research and studied by this author are (1) the Evangelical Christians and Anti-cult groups that were involved in ritual abuse law formation, as well as (2) Mental Health Professionals, (3) Forces of Social Control and finally (4) Political and Governmental Groups that influenced legislation. Also included are (5) Counter triggering events & the media, along with their proponents in this discussion of fear factors. It is acknowledged that these groups are not mutually exclusive. Other groups may have been equally as important in the development of ritual abuse laws in the cases studied here. However these were the groups that emerged from the literature sources that this author encountered. In the next sections each of these groups and their associated fear factors will be considered individually. Each group provided some type or legitimacy towards the formation of ritual abuse law, and each group was driven by fear factors along the process. The groups are delineated as follows:

Evangelical Christians and Anti-cult groups:

These groups strongly believed in Christian concepts of good and evil resulting in a belief system involving the fear of Satan, and or the Devil, and Demons, as powerful external forces committed to the destruction of mankind along with groups that worship them. This promoted the idea that all Satanists and associated groups were evil and to be feared. As Melton (1986) notes:

The satanic tradition has been carried almost totally by the imagination literature of non-satanists – primarily conservative Christians, who describe these practices in vivid detail in the process of denouncing them (1986: 76).

This manifested into fear concerning all kinds of youth associated culture as well as fear associated with other religions and traditional groups associated with the counter culture perceived as ideologically against the dominant cultural belief system. This structural foundation of predisposed cultural fear in the Christian / Anti-cult groups set the stage for the emergent social construction surrounding ritual abuse. (Further elaboration on this topic can be found in Passantino & Passantion (1992a: 5-9) as to the reasons for this currently.) Briefly they state them as follows: (1) It fit into the Christian Worldview, (2) Christians accept what they are told, (3) Christians base knowledge on common sense, (4) Christians place too much faith in experts, (5) Christians think seeing is believing, (6) Christians can draw conclusions from faulty evidence, (7) Similarly Christians can draw faulty conclusions from good evidence, (8) Christians believe what makes them feel comfortable, (9) Christians see the world as we would like to see it to be rather than as it really is, (10) Christians base much belief on personal experiences. This author contends that many of the other groups listed here, acted as they did for several of the same reasons as listed above.

Mental Health Professionals:

The professional predisposition of mental health professionals was to believe in survivor stories, and at the same time attribute the affects of those experiences to the development of multiple personality disorder. This was often, though not always, determined by repressed memories that were discovered by hypnosis. The Mental Health Professionals did not necessarily believe in the Christian concepts of evil, but they did believe that those who did had performed such horrific acts as to cause multiple personality disorders in their clients as described in the *DSM-III-R* (1987) and supported by the American Psychiatric Association. This indirectly supported the fear factors of Christian and anti-cult groups and their concerns. It also created a new fear in the mental health professions that secretive anti-social groups were out there conscientiously creating mental health problems in the general public in an insidious way. This further added to the social construction of ritual abuse that was taking place. The phenomena of ritual abuse, it was believed, now had scientific reasons and evidence in individual cases that created the perception of a true reality and problem in society. According to Passantino & Passantino (1992b: 3) this caused the mental health community to undergo shifts in perspective and membership. These authors note:

The mental health community underwent shifts in perspective and membership from that of the instructors of society to a general feeling that mental health professionals should reflect and explain society as it was to their clients. This was a shift from intervention to reaction, leaving many mental health professionals with inadequate critical apparatus to test their client's sometimes inaccurate perceptions of reality. The concept of counseling also broadened considerably, collecting under its opened umbrella licensed therapists, social workers, lay counselors, peer counselors, support group members and leaders, and pastoral counselors, as well as the traditionally included psychiatrists and psychologists. This diminished the minimum requirements for professional training and allowed for a wide diversity of belief and practice (1992b: 3).

From the above quote, it can be seen that the mental health profession was going through a period of rapid change during this era that was setting the stage for some of the problems that would arise around the emerging social construction of ritual abuse. This is similar to Perrow's (1986) idea of loose coupling in a social structure of an organization, that "self styled" experts began to emerge from this socially constructed environment. They had various degrees and kinds of training as well as being from several backgrounds and disciplines. This lack of uniformity in approach in this case led to multiple interpretations that were not always objective and led to problems later in legitimacy and credibility as a profession. It also helped in creating the social construction of ritual abuse concepts on a false foundation. This is very consistent with the findings of the criminologist Elliot Currie (1968) that stated when deviant acts are imaginary, such as in case studies involving witchcraft there are four elements that cause the phenomenon to be supported by the forces of social control. Briefly these are as follows: (1) a widespread belief in witches and witchcraft practiced for harming others. (2) a gradually emerging new occupation involving experts for finding witches. (3) The use of ambiguous tests to discover the witches. And finally, (4) a traditional ideology such as the Christian religion concerning evil fueling the search for any kind of deviant that fits the deviant description. This author contends this is very close to what happened during the ritual abuse scare, which resulted in ritual abuse laws. This creation of professional experts surrounding ritual abuse was a major key in getting other professions involved in the ritual abuse scare. Their fear factors were considered rational and justified. They began a chain of credibility that other professions found hard to dismiss.

Their influence is felt throughout the rest of the emerging process and ultimately into the creation of ritual abuse laws.

Forces of Social Control:

These same Mental Health Professionals in turn that became “self styled” experts, were training the forces of social control in the form of law enforcement officials, as to what to look for and, to some extent, as to how extensive the problem was. This implied indirectly, that the forces of social control were not doing their job of protecting the public from ritual abuse. In fact the police and District Attorneys were often portrayed as ignorant and inept in dealing with this problem and needed proper training in some cases to better deal with ritual abuse crimes. This questioned their legitimacy and authority as protectors of the public. One result was that certain individuals out of both of these groups of Mental Health Professionals and the Forces of Social Control became moral entrepreneurs and started networks, newsletters, support groups and political movements that spread the emergent social construction of ritual abuse far and wide. This author contends that at this point the groups had formed a social movement. Social movements are often involved in the process of creating reality. This is the social construction of reality. Social problems, then, are often what we define as social problems. Social movements and social problems are often seen as inseparable. Something has to push the problem. It is at this point that the anti-cult groups began to crystallize and turn political. This idea is not new. Social movements have been seen as politics via other means by several authors such as Oberschall (1973), Tilly (1978), and Gamson (1990). The emergence of these various segments of society with a common goal and with growing power and support naturally began to turn their protest efforts towards political means to

achieve their intentions to the formation of law to protect their interests. In the cases researched here, this strategy worked. As Lotto (1994) notes:

By the mid 1980s ritual abuse became an accepted and established reality in the professional and law enforcement communities. A key factor that led to this development was the government funded study done under the supervision of lead investigator David Finkelhor, a sociologist at the University of New Hampshire. His work was published in 1988 in the book *Nursery Crimes: Sexual Abuse in Day Care*. The study found 36 cases of alleged ritual abuse. The criteria for including these in their research sample were that allegations were “substantiated”. The criteria for substantiation were quite weak (1994: 3).

When these forces organized, they turned to political ways and means to further their cause. This brought the next set of groups and organizations into the arena of ritual abuse. This author contends that Finkelhor’s (1988) work mentioned above did create an over-reaction in many professional venues and should have been followed up with additional research. The terror of the times did not allow for this; rather, it became one more match on the fire. Often reports and research such as Finkelhor’s work was read and used selectively by other groups for their own purposes and agendas.

Political and Governmental Groups:

These combined forces of Anti-cult groups, Mental Health Professionals and Law Enforcement Officials bringing to bear their respected and professional views, provided reports and experiences from these important groups. This gave the phenomena of ritual abuse a legitimacy that it had not had before until this combination came about. In fact it provided legitimacy for all the fear factors of all the involved groups either directly or indirectly. This emergent process had a powerful impact upon the media that was active at all levels of reporting incidents of the perceived phenomena. All of this in turn affected political social structures and forces which, began to buy into the growing social construction that was continuing to emerge out of this process. They ultimately drafted

legislation that became ritual abuse laws. Certain individual politicians were moral entrepreneurs that guided the legislative efforts for their own political and personal beliefs that were also in accordance with these groups. Once a law had been drafted and passed in one state it lent further legitimacy to such legislative efforts in other states as well. So the legitimacy of entire states was indirectly placed behind the reality of ritual abuse and gave tremendous credibility towards the social construction of this social problem. Similarly other laws could give credibility and legitimacy to ritual abuse laws, as was the case with the repressed memory laws associated with child abuse in general in the 1990s and later came to be associated with ritual abuse law.

Counter Triggering Events and Groups:

Other groups, notably sociologists and agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation had provided research, studies and reports that countered all of the claims of the above groups citing specifically the finding no physical evidence or proof of any kind to support the accusations. This author contends that over time these counter measures seemed to have had an impact on ritual abuse laws and resulting legal cases resulting in allowing the actual laws to lapse in some cases and the freeing of individuals incarcerated for ritual abuse crimes. In other states, where the laws are still on the books, they appear to be there now in symbolic form only to placate those segments of society that still entertain the fears of ritual abuse conspiracy. Finally, the notion set in that made the public wonder if these crimes had ever occurred in the first place. According to the testimony of some of the supposedly abused children that became adults years latter, they stated that these crimes had not happened. This made the fear factors of the Counter groups appear to be well founded. Ofshe (1995: 21) calls the notion of “recovered

memory” therapy the lobotomy for the 90s, which was a reference to the pre-frontal lobotomy surgery procedure used by the medical profession in the 1940s. During the era there were three large scale studies which strongly supported the skeptical position against the reality of ritual abuse. These were; Goodman et. Al. (1994) who found that after looking into 12,264 accusations of ritual abuse they were unable to find a single case that had any evidence of an organized cult committing these types of ritual crimes. The second was Bottoms et al. (1995) that found little evidence that there were large numbers of persons were involved in ritual abuse. And finally that of Coons (1994) that looked at the medical records of 29 persons that were “survivors” of ritual abuse at dissociative disorder clinics. There was no evidence of any kind for these persons’ claims that could be substantiated. Also there were several research and clinical psychologists that raised serious concerns that the techniques of some in the mental health profession were fostering the creation of false memories and beliefs that were doing harm to innocent individuals (Frankel 1993; Hochman 1994; Lindsay & Reed 1994).

The debate, however, as stated earlier still continues surrounding the issues of the reality of repressed memories, multiple personalities and ritual abuse. It is interesting to note, the author was not aware of this fact at the beginning of this research. I thought that at least currently the issue had been clearly decided as a fabrication for the most part, based largely on misinformation and fear. This is clearly not the case among large segments of mental health professionals. This author contends that overall, however, the groups researched for this study had various forms of legitimacy and a variety of fears.

These groups and their various positions can be briefly summarized in the table listed below as Figure #9 as follows:

Christian and Anti-cult groups	Mental Health Professionals	Forces of Social Control	Political and Governmental Groups	Counter Triggering Groups
Traditional Legitimacy of the Judeo-Christian culture	Rational Legitimacy of the Scientific Culture	Rational Legitimacy of the Scientific and Legal Culture	Legal-Rational Legitimacy of the Legal Culture	Rational Legitimacy of the Scientific Culture
Cultural Fear Factors Inherent in the Christian Belief Systems, concerning notions of Good and Evil as well as Satan and Demons as an external evil force.	Professional & Cultural Fear Factors based on beliefs in survivor stories concerning ritual abuse associated with multiple personality disorders, often discovered by repressed memories achieved through hypnosis.	Professional Fear Factors based on individual beliefs & training received from Mental Health Experts, and a professional fear of incompetence and growing risk of mistrust among the general public.	Professional Fear Factors based on a growing lack of public trust in the legal system to protect them from the growing risk of ritual abuse crimes. Other States and Other laws also contributed to the legitimacy and credibility or not	Professional Fear Factors based on knowledge of past Moral Panics and lack of physical evidence surrounding alleged crimes of ritual abuse.

The above table (Figure #9) portrays many of the ideological and philosophical differences that existed between and among the various groups researched here. This author also contends that there are inherent conflicts between these groups for various different reasons and sociological barriers inherent in the social fabric of Western belief systems. Yet the four groups of Christian and Anti-cult groups, Mental Health Professionals, Forces of Social Control and Political and Governmental Groups came together largely generated by their respective fears to sustain the social construction of ritual abuse, and lend it their respective traditional and professional legitimacy to form

legislation and ultimately guide that legislation into ritual abuse laws. This was an amazing alliance sociologically. This occurred in spite of segments of opposition found in the memberships of all of the groups researched. Even the media was pro and con in its coverage, though it must be admitted, there was much more positive coverage that ritual abuse existed, than negative coverage against the notions of ritual abuse as a reality overall.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS AND INSIGHTS

This author contends that the unusual blend of legitimacy of various groups in concert with the unique fears of each involved group led to the social construction of phenomena that came to be known as the social problem of ritual abuse happening unchecked in society. This had real and negative affects upon individual lives when the phenomena was perceived as such a threat that actual laws were passed and put into place for the public's protection. Integrated Conflict Theory used as a guideline and benchmark allows the reader to understand many if not all of the various component parts and elements that came together in a critical mass that allowed this peculiar social construction to happen in the particular era of the late 1980s and early 1990s. From this unusual blend of belief systems, personal experiences, group actions, fear factors, professional legitimacy, and legislative efforts emerged the formation of ritual abuse laws. James O'Conner (1973) wrote a book called "The Fiscal Crisis of the State" which identifies the two basic functions of the state, which are in conflict. These are accumulation and legitimatization.

Accumulation is where the state is obligated to maintain conditions for capital expansion. To do this the state must constantly seek input in corporate interests. There is direct lobbying. They all benefit through increasing profits. The problem is legitimatization.

Legitimatization is where the state has to maintain and protect the public. So the government is caught between these two contradicting functions and torn between the two. (Sort of a State Ego and Id battle, without the State Super-Ego). In other words, it was O'Conner (1973) who first noted that Government is often caught between the roles of protector of the public and promoter of the economy. This research is similar in that the forces of social control via law enforcement and the Government were caught between the roles of protector of the public, defender of religious and civil freedoms and enforcers of the law between the various involved groups. The basis for each of these roles comes into inherent conflict depending upon the ontological reasons for each role and why it is important. This is important to understand and master because, as Perlmutter's (2004) work portrays, the problem can go global.

This notion and example of applying old solutions to new problems is an amazing resurgence of the ritual abuse anti-cult perspective. This author contends that a post-modern twist could result if for instance the Islamic fundamentalists apply the same reasoning to the Western world by selecting ideologies and ways of knowing in a shopping cart fashion. This seems to be occurring currently due to the current crisis in the Middle East. As a society we may have to learn how to decipher other ways of knowing before we can apply rational applications towards solutions. The application of a faith based way of knowing to determine solutions for a state in the modern world dealing with the rational Western worldview suggests an inherent conflict of modern norms and values with those of a more traditional venue. This debate continues unresolved and at least currently seems to be only a part of a much larger trend. The struggle between what is secular and what is divine in society, creates a much deeper paradox in the Western world

more often than we honestly wish to realize. This author contends that this study could be a microcosm of a social phenomenon that is a backlash against Western rational and scientific thinking. This conflict is inherent in the social structures of our society. This is internalized by different groups and triggering events will continue to bring this conflict to the surface as a social problem when these conflicts between social structural bases clash.

Limitations of the Study:

A major limitation of this study is an understanding of the role of economics as a major influence involving ritual abuse. There is no doubt that some elements in the mental health professions made money and are making money off of all of their various services surrounding ritual abuse. It has been beyond the scope of this research to look into this area of interest. It would be, however, an insightful area to consider in future research. This author contends that there are social structural bases in our society that are inherently conflicting with one another at many levels. This study has revealed many aspects of deviant behavior by individuals and groups involved in the social constructions of ritual abuse arising out of those structural bases that are not isolated instances. Some of these patterns were so common place that they became widely accepted and condoned as legitimate and acceptable for a time. They were moralized, normalized and viewed as acceptable behavior, so much so, that they became codified into ritual abuse laws. This was the case with no physical evidence. A major limitation of this study then is, primarily, the absence of a way to understand the possibilities present surrounding this particular phenomenon that provided the grains of truth, which in turn provided the foundation for the fear that ultimately promoted the formation of ritual abuse law. This is

was hinted at by some of the author's involved in the various texts considered. Lanning, (1992) for instance, suggested that some ritual abuse is possibly going on. However, it is not at the level of a nation wide or global conspiracy. The degree of criminality in these cases then is minor compared to the beliefs and fears of segments of society.

This unfounded fear and the ontological reasons for its causes are a major limitation of this study because of the differences between science and religion and their associated epistemologies. Hypothetically science does not believe in or consider any rational beliefs in external evil in the form of Satan, the Devil and or legions of Demons. For these reasons, it places whole areas off limits for study. Yet, if this proved to be an error in the scientific way of knowing, then the way we now look at those who promoted ritual abuse laws would be altered. Science and rationality are bounded. Some things we simply currently don't know. When we can not find evidence for something, does that mean it is not real? This is an age old limitation for science. The same logic could be applied to religion in a similar fashion. This author acknowledges that limitation and allows for other possibilities as suggested by William James earlier in this study.

Though for now, in the current time frame sociologically, it appears that a social construction of society got out of hand and took on a life of its own and persisted in the form of law until rationality and lack of evidence for these actions created an entirely new reality based more on rational thinking and notions of proof. Was this a sign that society was under stress and strains of social change? As Rasmussen (1959: 54) noted "We do not know whether the world is getting better or worse, perhaps, the best answer is to say the possibilities for good and evil have been vastly multiplied." This author contends that this certainly seems to be the case in postmodern realities as they arise and

emerge currently with the advances in rationality with science and technology especially when these come into contact and or conflict with religion and other older belief systems. From an organizational theoretical perspective, researchers like Diane Vaughn (1996; 1999: 273) contend that there are an inevitability of mistakes – mistakes that are socially structured. People aren't perfect and neither is technology, or as found in the case studies of this research, neither are professions, law enforcement or government social structures that resulted in the creation of laws with “suboptimal” outcomes and wrongful convictions. Often these can be understood as an “incremental descent into poor judgment” (Vaughn 1996: xiii; Lofquist 2001: 192-193).

Similarly Perrow (1999 [1984]: 90-99; 1986) suggests certain organizations will fail according to “normal accidents.” As they grow in complexity the potential for failure grows at the same rate. Furthermore this is consistent with Perrow (1984, /1999) in that the system in both case studies of this research was loosely coupled. This aided in the making of mistakes, however it also aided eventually in finding a remedy for the system failure. The feedback loops of information that were originally ignored, such as the FBI reports, were finally engaged back into the system and responded to accordingly. Outcomes were emergent and shaped by the complex interactions of numerous decision makers and their larger environments at every stage of the process. Lofquist (2001: 189) applies both of these organizational perspectives to law and the study of wrongful convictions. His research notes the ripple effect that occurs once a bad decision is made and carried on through a legal system. This appears to have happened in the case studies researched in this study.

The research presented in the analysis chapter fits within the structural approach taken by Perrow (1984; 1986), Vaughan (1996: 1999) and Lofquist (2001). Similar to Lofquist (2001: 177) and these other researchers of the organizational perspectives, this research challenges the conventional, rationalistic view of identifiable misconduct as a starting point for wrongful social constructions that developed into law. The experts were guided by paths of thought that they were predisposed to trust in as legitimate and credible ways to deal with their fears. That being said, it still does not account for this entire situation surrounding ritual abuse being repeated in some new version. This author contends, if the ways of knowing ingrained in the structural bases continue on as they always have in conflict and mistrust inherently towards one another, then the problem will reoccur. This goes all the way back to an understanding of evil by the structural bases researched here. The following questions emerge out of this study. Is evil internal to individuals or is evil an external force to be reckoned with by mankind? Or is it some combination of both? The answer to these questions will alter the outcome to solutions reducing the inherent conflict between the structural bases that this entire social construction of ritual abuse was based on.

This author contends that until the answers for these questions are better understood and accepted, the potential for a reoccurrence of this kind of fabricated social construction along with the resulting social problems is not only possible but fatefully probable. To avoid the reoccurrence of this kind of social problem, Drucker (1993: 19-47, 73, 210-218) suggests that in the future, individuals must transform from persons of knowledge to persons of knowledges. Specialists will need to become more versatile, flexible and educated in many areas in a cross disciplinary fashion. This he believes

would transform social structures and society to another level not yet achieved. This author agrees and believes that this would tend to make society more tolerant and better equipped to understand other points of view beyond their own respective world view.

This is echoed by Schaeffer (1968) that states concerning Christians the following:

Each generation of the church in each setting has the responsibility of communicating the gospel in understandable terms, considering the language and thought forms of that setting . . . The reason we often cannot speak to our children, let alone other people's, is because we have never taken the time to understand how different their thought forms are from ours (1968: 94).

Strangely enough Dunn (2005: 26-34) in his work *Postmodern Magic* suggests similar ideas to Drucker suggesting that the postmodern individual needs to be competent in at least four paradigms to manage to make sense of the postmodern world. These are four paradigms beyond those of science and technology of the dominate culture. The four paradigms he lists as possibilities are: the Spiritual paradigm, the Energy paradigm, the Psychological paradigm and finally the Information paradigm. The idea here is that one must be a master of knowledges or several ways of knowing beyond what is currently used to master one's world. This author contends that from a sociological standpoint both the arguments presented above come from an expanded Interactionist theoretical perspective. Re-socialization through better communication and education can perhaps avoid the reoccurrence of a social construction such as ritual abuse. Though they may not provide a solution to the inherent conflicts in the structural bases of society they may at least provide a start towards better understanding of the problems involved and "others" perspectives. This could then possibly avoid the damage done to individuals who are stigmatized and or wrongfully convicted out of patterns of fear and misunderstanding.

Contributions and Implications for Future Research

This research study could be expanded in the future to include other states with ritual abuse laws. These then could be compared and contrasted with the findings determined here in this study. Other states may provide different and varied insights to why phenomena such as the satanic ritual abuse panic developed into ritual abuse law. This could be even further expanded to consider international affects of ritual abuse and see if such laws were considered in Europe.

The area of paranormal sociology in general is an area that is neglected by sociologist and could provide far greater insights into beliefs, ideologies, worldviews, and human nature in general than is being done currently. It is an area rich in human imagination and central to giving meaning to life for a multitude of believers around the world. Furthermore in a post-modern world of ever diminishing overarching truth systems it may even be necessary to get a better understanding of other ways of knowing that exist and help to make sense of individuals and groups life worlds as a pluralistic part of modernity that we can not simple ignore or deny. The modern phenomena surrounding ritual abuse needs to be looked into with further research.

The theoretical base of Integrated Conflict Theory could also be used in a more expanded sense in other studies that are similar in nature to this kind of study. It is this author's contention that Integrated Conflict Theory can be used looking at virtually the formation of any social phenomena, especially where conflict is an integral part of the phenomena being researched. Yet Integrated Conflict is not mutually exclusive to this kind of research. Other theoretical perspectives could also be applied to the topic researched here and provide additional insights to what this study found. The typical

topics of class, race and gender could be further investigated through various sociological perspectives concerning law development and formation in more detailed specific areas. Furthermore, a cross disciplined approach could be used to a greater advantage as well as cross cultural perspectives.

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Appendix

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date: Wednesday, May 03, 2006
IRB Application No AS0692
Proposal Title: An Examination of Ritual Abuse Laws: An Integrative Conflicte Model
Adaption for a Contemporary Analysis of Law Formation
Reviewed and Processed as: Expedited

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved Protocol Expires: 5/2/2007

Principal
Investigator(s)

Stan Hódges
627 Fir St.
Perry, OK 73077

John Cross
004 CLB
Stillwater, OK 74078

The IRB application referenced above has been approved. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

☒ The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period of one calendar year. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of this research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved protocols are subject to monitoring by the IRB and that the IRB office has the authority to inspect research records associated with this protocol at any time. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Beth McTernan in 415 Whitehurst (phone: 405-744-5700, beth.mcternan@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,



Sue C. Jacobs, Chair
Institutional Review Board

VITA

Stanley H. Hodges

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: AN EXAMINATION OF RITUAL ABUSE LAWS: AN INTEGRATIVE
CONFLICT MODEL ADAPTATION FOR A CONTEMPORARY
ANALYSIS OF LAW FORMATION

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Waxahachie, Texas, On June 12th, 1957 the son of
Horace Thomas Hodges and Elizabeth Joyce Simpkins.

Education: Graduated from Midway High School, Council Hill, Oklahoma in
May of 1975: received Bachelor of Science degree in (a Double Major
of) Political Science and Humanities of Religious Studies and a
Certificate of Native American Studies from Oklahoma State University,
Stillwater, May of 1981. Completed the requirements for the degree of
Master of Science, at Oklahoma State University in December 2002 &
completed the requirements of Doctor of Philosophy with a major in
Sociology at Oklahoma State University in December of 2006 at
Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Experience: Raised on a farm near Council Hill, Oklahoma: employed as a farm
laborer during the summers; after graduation from Oklahoma State
University in 1981, employed as a factory worker by Charles Machine
Works for seventeen years; employed by Oklahoma State University,
Department of Sociology as a graduate research assistant and a graduate
teaching assistant 1999 to present.

Professional Memberships: Alpha Kappa Delta, International Sociological
Society.

Name: Stanley H. Hodges

Date of Degree: December, 2006

Institution: Oklahoma State University

Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: AN EXAMINATION OF RITUAL ABUSE LAWS: AN INTEGRATIVE
CONFLICT MODEL ADAPTATION FOR A CONTEMPORARY
ANALYSIS OF LAW FORMATION

Pages in Study: 215

Candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Major Field: Sociology

Scope and Method of Study:

The method used for the purpose of this study was a content analysis of literature, a content analysis of legal documents and a content analysis of interviews of persons that were important to the framing of the topic in the 1980s and 1990s. Methods techniques were also borrowed from phenomenological perspectives for the interviews with individuals. Inductive Logic was used for the content analysis of literature and documents.

Findings and Conclusions:

The findings of this research found that ritual abuse laws were formed and passed through a process that involved fear factors among several different groups and parties with various perspectives and agendas. These fear factors coupled with the legitimacy of these different groups led to the eventual passage of ritual abuse laws in some states. The two specific case studies in this research are California and Idaho. These laws were found to be social constructions that emerged from belief systems and ideology rather than any hard empirical proofs of large scale conspiracies of groups such as Satanists that were believed at the time by some segments of the population to exist among the general public. This social construction of reality is ongoing and the debate still continues among involved parties.

This research is important because individuals were wrongfully convicted in the past and the potential still exists in the future if sensationalized triggering events bring all the social structural elements to a point of critical mass. It is for this reason that understanding of human behaviors and patterns of actions in similar conditions are important for dealing with this type of phenomena as it arises. It is believed by this author that these patterns are deeply embedded in Western cultures and societies.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: Dr. John R. Cross
