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Haunted television: trauma and the spectre in the archive

Abstract

On television, the ghost enables a revisitation of traumatic histories and a revelation of injustice beyond death, in genres as diverse as the ghost drama and the public information film. In these texts, the ghost brings about awareness and acceptance of past trauma, or avoidance of the repetition of the mistakes of the past. However, if television haunts us – not only in Sconce's sense of a form of 'occult liveness' (2000) but in its ability to reanimate the dead – then the recent resurfacing of Jimmy Savile, a dead television celebrity and serial rapist, might be seen as a more troubling and problematic form of televisual haunting. This article explores the ideas that television itself can be 'haunting', that television companies and their archives might become haunted, and that the production of programming, from documentary to drama, can sometimes act as a form of exorcism, or at least a working through, of the traumas and hidden histories that the spectral figure represents. It explores the discourse of haunting that permeates the reception of Savile's posthumous image, and thinks about what viewing Savile as a spectre reveals about the television archive. The article not only looks at documentary programming about Savile and his crimes, but also thinks about how dramas such as *National Treasure* (Channel 4, 2016) and the *Sherlock* episode 'The Lying Detective' (BBC1, tx. 1/8/17) are haunted by his spectre.

Keywords

Haunting, television, archive, trauma, sexual abuse, Jimmy Savile, *Sherlock*

Television is full of ghosts. They appear on screen in a wide variety of programming, from serial drama to situation comedy and children's television, often enabling a revisitation of traumatic histories and the revelation of injustice beyond death¹. The television ghost frequently brings about awareness and acceptance of past trauma, or avoidance of the repetition of the mistakes of the past. This is seen starkly in their use in public service announcements, for example, where ghosts return to speak 'beyond the grave' to those who have caused their death, therefore righting injustice or challenging negligence.² In the 1966 advert 'Drive Safety', shown in a *Gunsmoke* (CBS, 1955-75) ad break, a ghostly cowboy disappears at the side of the road, next to a shattered headlamp, as the voiceover admonishes 'You just can't trust the other guy, but you can watch out for him'.³ More

recently, ad agency Oglivy and Mather produced the ads 'Ghost Office'⁴ and 'Ghost Subway'⁵ for the 2003 Superbowl advertising breaks, which featured confrontations by the mournful ghosts of those killed as a result of drug-related crime. In 'Ghost Office', for example, a ghostly girl fidgets as she says to an office worker, working at her desk: 'You killed me... There was a bomb, I was going to school... You bought drugs, you gave them money. They can't do things like that without money'. In the UK in 2013, Y&R London produced the public information film 'On Your Child's Life',⁶ which features a small boy wandering around a burnt-out apartment, speaking to the viewer as a parent who must remember to test their smoke alarm, before his ghostly body disappears into the soot covered walls. These everyday ghosts of television, sighted in the junctions between programming, in the very fabric of its 'flow', therefore act as classic Derridean spectres, with ethical and political potential to confront a traumatic history.⁷ As María de Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren note, Derrida "uses the figure of the ghost to pursue... that which haunts *like a ghost* and, by way of this haunting, demands justice or at least a response."⁸ In the above examples, the ghost demands justice in the narrative world of the advert and a response on the part of the viewer who is called on to change their behaviour, to act more ethically.

Following Derrida, the 'spectral turn' in cultural theory has become inextricably linked with trauma studies. As Cathy Caruth, Jeffrey Andrew Weinstock, and others have explained, haunting is often understood as the return of repressed trauma.⁹ To quote del Pilar Blanco and Peeren "To be traumatised...is to be 'possessed by an image or event' located in the past. To be 'possessed' – gripped indefinitely by an anachronistic event – also describes the condition of being haunted".¹⁰ Ghosts, then, "are part of a symptomatology of trauma as they become both the objects of and metaphors for a wounded historical experience," according to del Pilar Blanco and Peeren¹¹. Indeed, such is the extent of the linkage between ghosts and trauma that Roger Luckhurst argues that "the ghost as a figure

of trauma has become almost a cliché” (2008: 93).¹² So why turn back to this cliché? This article does so here because television in the UK has recently become a site of its own traumatic history, and to understand this, we must understand television as a medium which has become haunted by a spectral figure that epitomises the return of traumatic memory via the television archive. This article explores the ideas that television itself can be ‘haunting’, that television companies and their archives might become haunted, and that the production of programming, from documentary to drama, can sometimes act as a form of exorcism, or at least a working through, of the traumas and hidden histories that the spectral figure represents.

This work comes out of a bigger project on death and the dead on television I am currently undertaking.¹³ In this research, I am interested, amongst other things, in how television brings the dead back to life, and what is specific about watching the dead on television, extending the already extensive work on this in relation to film. Emma Wilson’s work on the filmed dead proposes that “lens-based art” is a “means of maintaining a sensory, amorous relation to the dead”¹⁴ and that cinema is “not a mausoleum, but... a wish-fulfilling, fevered, exotic space in which to live with the dead”.¹⁵ But what happens when this sensory relation to the dead is disturbing, rather than comforting or reassuring? And what about when the dead, or the haunting figure, *keeps on returning* via televisual flow, not sought out as in Wilson’s work or lovingly returned to in the home movie, a form of screening described by Sandra Gilbert as “a party to which the dead have been invited”¹⁶ keeping them “‘alive and busy’ – and seeming... still to be here among us.”¹⁷ What happens when these endless returns, and the sudden reappearance of the dead within the home, are the return of a predatory figure like the UK television personality and serial rapist, Jimmy Savile? If televisual flow, like the home movie, is a “party to which the dead have been

invited”, or if it traps us in a “sensory, amorous relationship” with the dead, like film, then surely television is truly haunted by the endlessly returning figure of Savile.

Jimmy Savile had a long career in British light entertainment television. He began his career as a radio DJ (first on the pirate radio station, Radio Luxembourg, and then on the nascent BBC station, Radio 1) and then as a presenter of music television in the early 1960s. Savile was a fairly-constant presence on British television from then on. He presented his long-running ‘wish-granting’ programme for children, *Jim’ll Fix It* (BBC 1), from 1975 to 1994, and following the end of its run, Savile made more sporadic appearances on television, as presenter, guest, and documentary subject, including in the documentary *When Louis Met... Jimmy* (BBC 1) in April 2000. Louis Theroux’s documentary positioned Savile as a troubling but ultimately ‘loveable’ figure, in which rumours about Savile’s sexual interest in children were raised, and dismissed. It was subsequently revealed, however, following Savile’s death in October 2011, that he was one of Britain’s most prolific sex-offenders and a serial rapist who used his position as a popular broadcaster and charity fundraiser to abuse and attack hundreds of women and children, including those he came into contact with whilst making programmes for the BBC and volunteering at Stoke Mandeville Hospital, Leeds General Infirmary, Broadmoor Secure Hospital and other hospitals, children’s homes and facilities in England.

In 2012, alongside the horror of the discovery of Savile’s crimes, a further scandal erupted when it was revealed that the BBC had pulled a report on this on their flagship news and current affairs programme, *Newsnight* (BBC2, 1980-) at the end of 2011¹⁸; for this move, the BBC was attacked for being cowardly (and possibly self-protecting). The BBC’s most long-standing rival broadcaster, ITV, then ‘broke’ the story of Savile’s crimes in their ITV1 documentary *Exposure: The Other Side of Jimmy Savile* in September of 2012. As Rowan Aust and Amy Holdsworth have shown, then, Savile has posed a particular problem for the

BBC in that the discovery of his crimes ‘presents a point where the history and memory of the BBC, popular history *on* the BBC and crisis *within* the BBC converge.’¹⁹ Savile’s spectre troubles the BBC, an institution already endangered by a hostile Tory government threatening its funding structures (the television license fee), and near-daily criticism in the Conservative press for excess and wastefulness, for being out of touch with people beyond the metropolitan elite, and for having a working culture which over-valorises (and over pays) its top ‘talent’. The discovery of Savile’s crimes (some of which took place on BBC property and during the day-to-day life of television production) truly haunted the BBC, *institutionally*, as I shall explore below; certainly, one of the Corporation’s responses to this was to set about trying to eradicate Savile from their archive of entertainment programming as Aust and Holdsworth have shown, though as they acknowledge ‘despite efforts by the BBC to eradicate Savile from its televised (and online) archive... full removal [was] impossible.’²⁰ In line with Dan Arav’s proposal that television is a “traumatic form” and that flow is a conduit of televisual trauma,²¹ I will argue that the constant reappearance of Savile’s image and the story of his crimes presents him as a traumatising television spectre extraordinaire: not just traumatising to his victims and to the wider audience but to the institution itself. This reappearance, this series of returns, occurs occasionally through television reruns, but also through documentaries that seek to understand his crimes and how they remained undetected for so long, and, indirectly, via television dramas that produce characters in his image. Both of these latter categories of programmes will be explored in the following article.

But why view Savile’s posthumous image as spectral? It will be argued below that this discourse about this figure has been circulating since the discovery of Savile’s crimes in popular culture and via social media in the UK; this is not simply a critical construct applied by an ‘expert’ reader after the fact, but rather a repetitive and tangible way of representing

Savile observed across media. It is, to use Iwona Irwin-Zarecka's phrase, a "framing" idea that guides our interpretation and understanding of the posthumous image of Savile.²² Irwin-Zarecka argues that

questions about framing direct our attention to the powers inherent in public articulation of collective memory to influence the private makings of sense.

Questions about framing are essentially about limits to the scope of possible interpretations. Their aim is not to freeze one particular 'reading' as *the* correct one, rather, it is to establish the likely range of meanings.²³

In Savile's case, this article will show that the framing of his posthumous image across a range of texts and media sites draws a repeatedly spectral picture of him as a threatening figure, and a figure associated with a form of collective trauma.

Following his death, a number of cultural commentators have used the language of haunting to describe the lasting impact of Savile and his crimes: the criminal justice blogger and broadcaster David Jessel described him as a 'ghost come to haunt us, leaving only his grandiose and shattered gravestone behind him like some cackling, demonic Ozymandias.'²⁴ Journalist Aiden Smith states that 'I cannot think about *Top of the Pops* now without being reminded of Savile. He haunts the show in memory like he used to stalk its dark recesses which it was a 15 million ratings smasher.'²⁵ Aust and Holdsworth similarly use the language of the supernatural in their analysis of the 'problem' of Savile in the BBC archive, describing him as presenting a "psychic horror", which "[lingers], unresolved, as a toxic asset within the corporation and the television archive" and whose "exorcism" from the archive and from cultural memory remains an "impossibility."²⁶ Whilst this language of haunting is frequently applied to Savile and his posthumous image, the significance of the designation of Savile as spectre has not yet been fully explored. What does it mean to describe Savile as a spectre, or the archive as an uncanny, haunted space? It is argued here

that the documentaries exploring Savile's crimes, and the dramas that depict him, or characters constructed in his image, present him as spectre and the medium as haunted by him, in very explicit ways. If, as Stephen Frosh has argued "every generation has something that haunts it,"²⁷ then maybe Savile, and the terrible crimes he committed, is ours. He haunts our "collective memory", to use Irwin-Zarecka's phrase to describe "a set of ideas, images, feelings about the past... best located not in the minds of individuals, but in the resources they share."²⁸ Irwin-Zarecka cautions us to be modest in our claims about collective memory and recognises that "Individuals are perfectly capable of ignoring even the best told stories, of injecting their own subversive meanings into even the most rhetorically accomplished 'texts' – and of attending to only those ways of making sense of the past that fit their own."²⁹ However, what I hope to show here is the uniformity of the framing of Savile as spectral within our collective remembering of him, and thus offer some reflections on the ways in which we are *being invited* to understand him and his role in television history.

Jeffrey Sconce's book *Haunted Media: Electronic Presence from Telegraphy to Television* has, of course, thought about television as one of a number of haunted media in relation to its 'occult liveness' and the larger cultural mythology about the 'living' quality of television as a haunted or possessed medium.³⁰ Sconce's history explores American culture's persistent association of new electronic media with paranormal or spiritual phenomena. By offering a historical analysis of the relation between communication technologies, discourses of modernity, and metaphysical preoccupations, Sconce demonstrates how accounts of the hauntings of "electronic presence" have shifted over time. However, in the introduction of his book, Sconce makes a rather throwaway comment about television sometimes serving as a "medium of the dead", an idea which is not fully explained by Sconce.³¹ Television is in many ways a medium of posthumous entertainment: the dead tell jokes on TV, they sing

songs, act, appear in studio audiences, and give expert opinion. They are simply present, as in life, in television's endless flow. However, in Savile's case, the recycling of his posthumous image and performances is remediated, recontextualised, in a way that often underscores a sense of spectrality. For example, montages of archive images and footage of Savile are frequently manipulated to make his return explicitly, texturally, spectral. In the Channel 5 documentary *Jimmy Savile: Britain's Worst Crimes* (tx. 18/11/15) images of Savile 'float' over stock images of archival materials (files, tapes, film reels, etc.) as well as props that refer specifically to Savile (a cigar, a union jack, a black and white photo of him in a frame), as if he was an apparition who had literally appeared in the archive. His leering face as spectral image appears as Paul Connew, former editor of the *Sunday Mirror* newspaper, describes the impact of the discovery of Savile's crime on contemporary policing, accompanied by mournful piano music which also demarcates this 'roughly archival' space on screen as haunted.

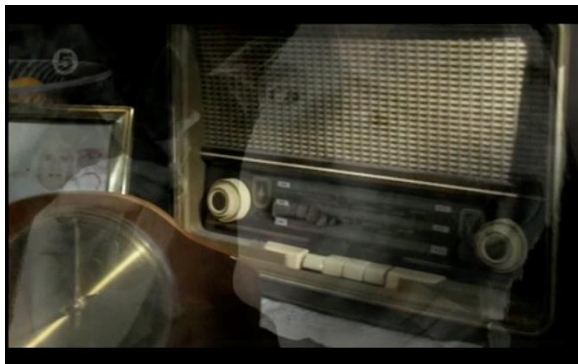


Fig. 1: The spectral image of Savile, *Jimmy Savile: Britain's Worst Crimes* (Channel 5, tx. 18/11/15)

It is easy to read Savile as a kind of malevolent ghost here; the still photograph of his grinning face floats around the screen ethereally as Connew speaks. Tom Gunning reminds us that "As revenants of things past, ghosts make vivid to us the pairing of memory and

forgetting.”³² In Savile’s case, no forgetting is allowed, and it is the drive to couple memory with an uncovering of hidden, rather than forgotten, aspects of his life which produces his constant resurrection on our screens.

Many documentaries, *Jimmy Savile: Britain’s Worst Crimes* included, begin with news footage of Savile’s funeral to remind us (and perhaps reassure us) of his death. These are some of the stock images of Savile’s story that television returns to time and again. The funeral also stands as a representative moment where masses of people, unaware of his crimes, gathered together to watch Savile ‘in the flesh’ for one last time, but in the posthumous documentary, this scene is the marker of a shift from public mourning to a kind of televisual trauma when presented, repeatedly, with the spectre of Savile. The funeral is a stark representation of *masses* of television viewers missing his crimes. Repeated resurfacing of his image or the story of his crimes as an abuser via television, not just in the numerous documentaries that explore the abuse that he perpetrated, but also in news programming, current affairs and magazine programmes, television dramas in which he is mentioned or in which characters representing a Savile ‘type’ appear, even in stand-up comedy shows, does not enable the ‘purposeful forgetting’ of mourning, but rather promotes a traumatic reencounter with Savile’s spectre. For example, in the two weeks at the end of November and beginning of December in 2016, when a scandal about the historic abuse of young footballers by coaching staff in the UK was revealed, Savile was mentioned or shown at least 44 times on news and current affairs programmes, at all times of the day and night. More recently in October 2017, when the news about the sexual misconduct of Hollywood mogul Harvey Weinstein broke, Savile’s crimes resurfaced again on UK TV news, being discussed fifteen times in a ten day period from the 5th to the 15th of October. Following the initial revelation of Savile’s crimes, TV satirist Charlie Brooker described watching the news as “like riding an endless looping ghost train with a creepy cadaverous monster perpetually

leering toward you through the gloom.”³³ These reappearances of Savile within the flow of television programming (not just in programmes explicitly signalled as being ‘about’ him), might represent what Frosh describes as the “temporal disturbance” of haunting, where that which ought to be safely in the past is rematerialised repeatedly in the present.³⁴

Accordingly, Frosh describes haunting as “something that is supposed to be ‘past’ [being] experienced in the present as if it is both fantastic and real.”³⁵ Writing about the presentation of trauma in the cinema, Julia B. Köhne, Michael Elm and Kobi Kabalek argue that film “repeats and re-enacts the experienced event, causing or actuating ‘trauma’ again and again on a cultural level... Apart from its potentially cathartic effects, the loop of traumatizing events [and] the production of filmic images and restagings of the past in film may in themselves create recurring patterns of ‘trauma’.”³⁶ Whilst the authors here think about the recirculation of traumatic images and events in film, surely the flow of television, and what Amy Holdsworth has called its “loopiness,” means that the endlessly unfurling loop of trauma, or in the case of Savile, the spectre appearing within the “endlessly looping ghost train” of television flow, is all the more present, the more invasive, and the more harrowing.³⁷

In their analysis of the ‘problem’ of Savile’s appearances in the archive, particularly in the issues related to rescreening his appearances in the BBC’s valuable *Top of the Pops* (BBC1, 1964-2006) back catalogue, and their account of the Corporation’s attempt to edit him out of this footage, Aust and Holdsworth argue that it is the press that pore over Savile’s image on screen, posthumously searching for clues of his crimes. Indeed, careful searching of this *Top of the Pops* archive has revealed footage of Savile groping a young popstar (Colleen Nolan) and placing his hand up the skirt of Sylvia Edwards, a member of the studio audience, whilst delivering a link to camera. These terrible discoveries in the television archive bring to mind Iwona Irwin-Zarecka’s discussion of “instant memory” –

memory gathered with the 'instant' imperative to remember (e.g. diarists in the Holocaust, but also family photography, television news reporting) – in which she argues that traumatic histories lack traces formed by 'instant memorialisation':

What makes the transition from 'instant memory' to remembrance different – and often difficult – in the case of traumas is that the existence of records is more the exception than the rule. The creation of records is then mostly a work of reconstruction, from a time distance, with all the mnemonic problems that this implies.³⁸

On the contrary, what is horrifying and different about the Savile case, is that the record of his abuse was hidden 'right there' in plain sight. These glimpses of him abusing young women on camera thus stand for a much larger hidden history of trauma and abuse. However, what Aust and Holdsworth don't really account in their description of this search through the archive by journalists looking for traces of Savile's crimes is what a televisual encounter, accidental or intentional, might do to his victims or indeed to other victims of historic sexual abuse (arguably, larger viewing groups than the journalists looking for this 'evidence'). Whilst they propose that the reframing of archival images of Savile "produce[s] an unpleasant affective change in response – from familiar nostalgic feeling to the suspicion of culpability just by the act of looking," they do not account for the feelings of *fear*, rather than guilt, or the re-experiencing of trauma that might be inspired by an encounter with Savile's televisual spectre, both when he was alive and then after his death.³⁹

It has been made plain in the press, and in the documentaries in which they appear, that Savile's victims have not been allowed to forget their abuse by his constant resurfacing on television. When footage of him on a rerun of *Top of the Pops* slipped by the BBC's editors, Liz Dux, the lawyer who represents a number of Savile's victims, stated: "You can't underestimate the amount of distress Savile's victims will have suffered if they have seen

this. It is a constant reminder of what they have been through... Seeing something like this reawakens their suffering.”⁴⁰ In his *Channel 4 News* blog, the news reader Jon Snow, himself a survivor of sexual abuse, describes the television appearances of Savile and fellow television presenter-cum-sex offender, Rolf Harris, as “haunting” their victims⁴¹, and this was also repeatedly articulated by Savile’s victims in many of the documentaries about him. The BBCI documentary *Abused: The Untold Story* from April 2016, documents the uncovering of the extent of his crimes following the broadcast of the ITV1 documentary *Exposure: The Other Side of Jimmy Savile* in 2012, when an unprecedented number of victims called a National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) helpline during and after broadcast. Following the section of the former documentary about this latter programme, over images of apartment blocks at night, we hear a recorded phone message in which a distraught viewer states: “I watched the documentary and I cried all the way through it because I was physically and sexually abused as a child”. The apartment block is clearly selected here as a visual signifier of collective viewing, or in this case collective viewer trauma. There then follows a shot of a call centre, over which a voiceover goes on to explain that “as the documentary was going out, helplines were deluged with calls, some revealing details of abuse secret for decades.” Here we see a clear account of television inspiring the return of the repressed via the spectral image of Savile and the reporting of his victims’ testimony. In the documentary, Kim Thandi of the NSPCC helpline says that this television programme “started to bring those triggers and those memories back up of [viewers’] own abuse. Our calls doubled, and then tripled,” and Thandi’s colleague, Louise Exton, goes on to state that “This documentary going out had... ripped something open [for many of its viewers].” The BBC documentary thus attempts to articulate the ways that television, and specifically the representation of Savile, might be seen as *haunting* the victims of historical sexual abuse.

We also hear an articulation of the position of 'haunted viewer' at the beginning of *Abused: The Untold Story*, when several of Savile's victims are shown in their living rooms, discussing the effect of a chance encounter with their abuser via television.

"I remember the funeral, just not watching it, which was bizarre because you would think that I'd be relieved that he was dead..."

"It was all Savile here, there, ALL the time. And you thought, 'When's this man going to go off?' Avoid it. That was what we did. Avoid, avoid, avoid."

"I couldn't watch it! I just spent the whole time like 'Why is... I can't listen to what anybody's saying because that face is there and there and there and there again..."

"The legacy of what he did bothers me every day."

Situating these people in their own living rooms during these interviews serves to emphasise their position *as television viewers* who have repeatedly encountered their abuser via TV.

Here, the desperation of the repetition of key words ("Avoid, avoid, avoid", "that face is there and there and there and there again") expresses something of television's cycles of repetition, its endless looping, and the ways in which an experience of this might be linked

to the cycles of trauma, for trauma in itself is a serialised experience which keeps on rerunning for those who suffer from it. We might question why we would want to see

people work through their abuse on television: does this enable a form of televisual

'exorcism' for the people who suffered at Savile's hands, or does this make them the

scapegoats of the broadcaster's own 'working through'? This is certainly a question that has

been raised by Karen Boyle's work on the Savile case, in which she argues that a

"problematic televisual history is set alongside a redemptive one as the documentaries both narratively and formally reference television's role in exposing Savile" in their focus on

victim testimony.⁴² Boyle goes on to argue that "It is right to be sceptical of the self-serving nature of this coverage for the BBC in particular, and there are questions to be asked about

whether returning to the same victim/survivors keeps them perpetually trapped in Savile's shadow."⁴³

More broadly, the general viewing public, viewers who had not directly experienced abuse at the hands of Savile, reported feeling traumatised by a reencounter with his spectre, repeatedly articulating their discomfort at encountering Savile on TV as 'haunting' and thus reinforcing the framing idea of spectrality which we have seen in Savile's media representation; this is a discourse that recurs on social media discussions of Savile and his after-image.⁴⁴ Critical work that thinks about the intersection of trauma and film or TV viewing would account for this as a form of "secondary trauma", in Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub's terms⁴⁵, or "shared, cultural trauma" according to Allen Meek⁴⁶, or, for E. Ann Kaplan, "mediatized trauma."⁴⁷ Kaplan argues that "viewers of the media, like therapists working with trauma victims, are often vicariously traumatised"⁴⁸ and she later states that "being vicariously traumatised invites members of a society to confront rather than conceal catastrophes."⁴⁹ The experience of vicarious trauma is dramatized in the first of the Savile documentaries, *Exposure: The Other Side of Jimmy Savile*, when, at the end of the documentary, Esther Rantzen, fellow television presenter and the founder of the charity Childline, is shown watching the interviews with Savile's victims in her kitchen on a laptop, presumably for the first time. As we see her watching the testimonies, she shakes her head, covering her face and averting her eyes, openly performing the trauma of viewing material that she pronounces "Very painful, very distressing." Whilst Anne Rothe has warned against the conflation of what we might see as primary trauma (of those who have experienced abuse themselves) and the secondary trauma of those who view or read accounts of this, cautioning against a much wider sense of trauma as a "floating signifier of the postmodern condition" (2016: 193), we might see Rantzen's actions here as those of a diegetic stand-in, modelling the actions of an imagined viewer in confrontation with the spectre of Savile and

his crimes.⁵⁰ Savile thus becomes a kind of psycho-cultural projection of the living, and the compulsion to repeatedly return (and return to) this spectre sees us rehearsing our very worst fears. In exploring why we might want to repeatedly come back to a vision of Savile, we might turn to the work of Barbie Zelizer, which reminds us of the multivalence of traumatic images in her writing about the news coverage of death. She explores, via Freud, the fact that

engagement with memory objects associated with mourning could help ease the trauma and grief involved in loss... trauma theorists have established that the persistent engagement with a traumatic event in need of resolution can either fix an individual or group in a stage of acting out... or facilitate the process of working through, by which the individual or group carries on in a posttraumatic stage of development.⁵¹

Here we see the collective ‘working through’ of a community ‘memory’.

In *Louis Theroux: Savile*, the 2016 BBC I programme in which Theroux returned to his original Savile documentary, *When Louis Met... Jimmy*, and its rushes, to examine Savile as subject once more, and to ask why the original production had ‘missed’ the terrible secrets about Savile’s past, the presentation of Savile as spectre is quite explicit, and the representation of the documentarist as a haunted figure is made plain. The opening shot is of Theroux cycling around his own living room, calling out “Jimmy, what are you up to?” as Savile lurks somewhere off screen in his house. In many ways, this is the perfect visual metaphor for the traumatised documentary filmmaker who is haunted by his association with Savile, and his responsibility for bringing him ‘back into the homes’ of his viewers, riding in circles as Savile hovers out of shot. The circular motion suggests a form of compulsivity – a visual representation of Theroux’s compulsive return to Savile’s story as a site of trauma, perhaps? – and speaks of the link shown in psychological research between compulsive

behaviours and recovery from trauma.⁵² Savile cuts a shady figure in Theroux's house, just as he has done metaphorically in our own. As this sequence ends, and Savile leaves Theroux's house, his taxi is chased down the road by a gaggle of joyful children calling his name, an image which, like much of the footage of Savile in this documentary, is haunted by the 'what might have been'. A seemingly innocent moment in the rushes presumably filmed by Theroux for a future follow up documentary, this brief sequence captures the everyday occurrence of a predatory paedophile coming into close contact with potential victims who actively seek him out, allured by his famous image.⁵³ It is then, in some ways, similar to the CCTV footage with which we become achingly familiar during a criminal investigation, an 'ordinary' moment which is laced with the threat of what is to come next. In the case of a murder, disaster or accident, this CCTV footage is imbued with the frisson of seeing someone transformed into the figure "about to die", to use Barbie Selizer's phrase.⁵⁴ For example, discussing the CCTV footage of Jill Meagher, an Australian woman who was raped and murdered in 2012, Janine Mary Little considers the "haunting presence of the woman on screen in 'Jill Meagher CCTV' [as] a disembodied subject of representation, a ghostly persona transfigured by the narrative she now inhabits."⁵⁵ Here, the children chasing Savile's taxi are not necessarily about to be abused by him, but this image is haunted by the potential of this happening, and we therefore experience a similar kind of dread as we do when confronted with the CCTV images discussed above.

This documentary continues, like so many ghost stories, with Theroux searching through a box from his attic, searching for clues in order to better understand the particular spectre that haunts him. Throughout this programme, we get the sense of a filmmaker who is both haunted by his own missed opportunities to confront Savile, as well as being haunted by the spectre of Savile himself. The tone of the music in the sequence in which Theroux pulls the box out of his attic and takes it down into his kitchen to examine it suggests a

haunting, as do the selected sequences of Savile which are intercut with this scene. As Louis walks down the stairs with the box into darkness in his own house, Savile opens the door in darkness in his apartment, the match on image drawing connections between these two domestic spaces and thus suggesting that Savile continues to 'haunt' Theroux's own home. We then cut to footage of Savile expansively performing his 'Sir Jimmy' persona in his own living room. As Theroux asks "How are you feeling?", Savile responds "Regularly, as it happens" and then continues to say he is as fit as a butcher's dog, which he describes as a beast that thrives on "all the scraps, all the bones, all the hair", a grotesque metaphor for a figure we now understand as predatory and repugnant. At the close of this sequence, Savile speaks to Theroux from the other side of his letterbox, and his face hovers at an unexpected angle, behind a closed door.



Fig. 2: Savile hovering behind closed doors: *Louis Theroux: Savile* (BBC 1, 2016)

Again, it is hard not to read these sequences as presenting Savile as intentionally spectral, as a predatory ghost once 'hiding in plain sight' and now haunting via its televisual reappearance. Later, as Theroux reads an article about their "strange friendship", audio clips of Savile's gasping laugh and images of him swinging on a chair are intercut with Theroux reading out Savile's denials of inappropriate sexual interest in children. Here, and

elsewhere in the documentary, clips from the original documentary and its rushes are haunted by Savile and the knowledge of his crimes; to draw on Caterina Albano's phrase, describing Eva Braun's home movies of Hitler, they offer the "thorny banality" of a once "innocuous" image now haunted by, in this case, the potential for abuse.⁵⁶

Whilst this documentary forms its narrative around a series of investigations of 'haunted houses' (old footage from Savile's flat, new footage from his secretaries' and victims homes) – and it never investigates the children's homes, hospitals and television studios which might expose further culpability for Savile's crimes and move this documentary away from being a story about a lone spectre – we see Savile's spectre 'hang over' a number of domestic spaces (perhaps a metonymic image of the haunting he enacts via television)⁵⁷. This is particularly well-illustrated in the final sequence of the documentary, where we are shown an extended, static exterior shot of the house of Samantha Brown, one of the women who was abused by Savile in her teens. Following her interview, the camera lingers on Sam's back garden for nine seconds, as first diegetic noise, and then the haunting, ethereal sound of a vibraphone is heard, playing in a minor key.

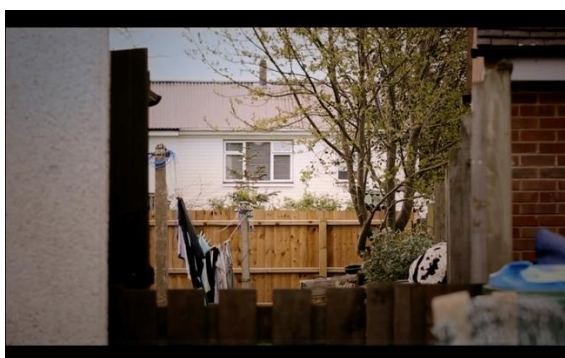


Fig. 3: The haunted house: *Louis Theroux: Savile* (BBC1, 2016)

This music is significant: it lacks harmony, giving it a feeling of emptiness and creating a sense of uneasiness. It thus also draws on a recognisable musical motif from the filmic ghost story,

marking this out as a haunted space. The eerie music then extends into the next shot, which is of Savile in his own living room, asking “What you doing here? Straight punter. Boring! Don’t do booze, don’t do drugs, don’t do none of them foolish things that I see on your programmes.” Here the cut between these two domestic spaces, linked by the dissonant vibraphone music, emphasises their congruence and the horror of Savile’s once-presence in Sam’s everyday life. The documentary thus makes an audio-visual point about the spectre of Savile, via the television image. As the programme closes on slow-motion, and then freeze framed, footage from Savile’s past programming (here *Jim’ll Fix It*), we have a clear sense of the uncanny nature of the spectre in the archive, the horror of this spectral return rendering the once familiar, once banal, horrifying, haunting.

Whilst this article has focused largely on televisual ‘hauntings’ via documentary and news footage of Savile, we might also consider the ways in which Savile’s name and his crimes have haunted a range of television dramas, both in direct reference to him, in the presentation of characters who are designed to resemble him, and sometimes a combination of both strategies of reference. In such dramas, Savile has repeatedly ‘resurfaced’ and been regularly referred to in narratives as a marker of the appalling and the depraved.⁵⁸ In “Dissonant Voices,” (series 15, episode 7) a 2013 episode of *Law and Order: Special Victim’s Unit* (NBC, 1999-), Jackie Walker (Billy Porter) a singing coach and popular TV personality is accused of sexual abuse by his students. Halfway through the episode, ADA Rafael Barba (Raúl Esparza) asks Detective Olivia Benson (Mariska Hargitay) whether Walker is accused of abusing both boys and girls, to which Benson answers “It’s not unheard of. In England, Jimmy Savile.” Barba then replies “I know, I know, Hundreds of boys and girls with a wide range of ages. Tell me that’s not what we’re looking at.” This example is interesting as it suggests that Savile’s spectral presence across televisual flow extends beyond national broadcasting boundaries.

In the UK, the Channel 4 drama *National Treasure* (2016), in which Robbie Coltrane played Paul Finchley, a TV entertainer accused of historic sexual abuse, also made direct and indirect reference to Savile's crimes. In the first episode of the series, following his arrest, Finchley moans "They think I'm fucking Jimmy Savile! No-one liked him. Always kept well away from him at parties... Everybody knew he was dodgy. Everybody." This piece of dialogue thus loudly announces that the story of Savile 'hangs over' this drama, and whilst we initially see this character trying to distance himself from Savile's crimes, acknowledging that there was tacit awareness of them in the television industry, there are numerous details in this drama, including the abused fan at the centre of the narrative and the artist's trailer as a site of abuse, that suggest that the narrative is haunted by Savile's crimes. Finchley's daughter and wife are depicted as haunted figures, survivors of trauma from whose psychic point of view we see snatches of flashbacks to the moments that may or may not contain his history as an abuser. It is thus impossible to watch this series without the spectre of Savile at hand, and this was reflected in the press coverage surrounding *National Treasure*. Robbie Coltrane gave numerous interviews which inevitably touched on the legacy of Savile at the time of the drama's broadcast. He repeatedly echoed his character's line about the 'creepiness' of Savile or the sense of the uncanny that surrounded him in life: "I never liked him, I always thought he was creepy wee shitebag. You could tell, couldn't you?... I wouldn't have let him in the house. So many people felt like that."⁵⁹ In another interview, the drama's writer, Jack Thorne, stated that "The fact that we let not just an evil man but an actual monster onto our television sets for that amount of time and then discovered what he was so late on... that seems to have affected us all I think."⁶⁰ These interviews thus reflect on Savile's 'haunting' across a range of genres, and *through* televisual flow, a fact which speaks of the inescapability of this particular spectre as expressed by his victims and more casual viewers alike.

In January 2017, the BBC broadcast another dramatic rendering of a Savile-esque narrative in an episode of the long-running crime/detective series, *Sherlock* (BBC1, 2010-). 'The Lying Detective' (tx. 1/8/17, season four, episode two) centres on the abusive and murderous Culverton Smith, played by Toby Jones, a television personality and charity worker designed very much in Savile's image, and focuses particularly on the idea of trauma as a form of haunting. It is significant that this was the first attempt by creative personnel at the BBC to work through the problem of Savile and his relationship to the Corporation via a television drama, and the fact that the BBC chose to greenlight this episode in one of their most high-profile dramas is perhaps both brave and surprising. *Sherlock* is a BBC/WGBH Boston co-production that is exported to over 200 territories around the world; it is therefore one of the Corporation's most widely seen, and most profitable, dramas.⁶¹ Reviewers described Savile's shadow as "looming large" over the episode, and Neela Debnath in the *Daily Express* explained that the similarities to Savile were traumatising for its audience: "The details rang eerily close to the abuse carried out by Savile... Many people were left shocked by the episode after drawing on the parallels between the story and the Savile case, leading to the former *Top of the Pops* presenter's name to start trending on Twitter along with *Sherlock*."⁶² In relation to these reflections, this article closes by thinking through the textual strategies employed in this episode of *Sherlock* to deal with Savile's spectre and to work through the issues surrounding television's capacity to 'haunt' its viewers.

From the outset, Sherlock Holmes (Benedict Cumberbatch) and his friend John Watson (Martin Freeman) are both depicted as being traumatised *and haunted* by the death of Watson's wife, Mary (Amanda Abbington), who was murdered in the previous episode. Watson blames Holmes for his wife's death (she jumped in front of a bullet that was heading for him) and they are estranged from each other. The episode begins with Watson, initially

shot in extreme close-up in the near-dark, from a variety of angles. He is the epitome of a haunted figure, staring off into the dark, and these shots are accompanied by ethereal singing. This scene is then interrupted by his therapist's (Sian Brooke) voice asking "Tell me about your morning", and in the ensuing scene, we see that Watson is in therapy, exploring his feelings about his wife's death (he is clearly struggling with grief, suffering from insomnia, and not coping with his responsibilities as a parent). During Watson's description of his morning, we see the scenes he is describing to his therapist in flashback, but he repeatedly fails to mention the woman we see him lying with/talking to in his descriptions. It is subsequently revealed later in the scene that Watson is being haunted by his wife, who stands in their kitchen asking if he will talk to the therapist about her, and reminding him that she is dead. Following this, she appears behind the therapist's left shoulder, silently weeping as Watson speaks, distracted by her presence. This episode thus opens with a ghost that reminds us of the link between vision, trauma, and state of being haunted.

Immediately following the credit sequence, we are introduced to Culverton Smith, the Savile-esque villain of the episode. He stands in the dark in a high-end office looking over the Thames, as a board meeting is prepared behind him. We then see him in reflection against the night-time London skyline; here he is quite intentionally insubstantial, a spectre gazing out over the city that recalls the ghostly images of Savile discussed earlier.



**Fig. 4: Toby Jones as Culverton Smith as Savile: *Sherlock* – ‘The Lying Detective’
(BBC1, tx. 1/8/17)**

As he regards himself, there is a flash cut to his psychic point of view, a form of flashback in which he sees himself via a television news bulletin. This sequence thus offers an intradiegetic television haunting, whereby the Savile-esque Smith experiences his own television spectre through an excerpt of television flow. The connections to Savile are plain in the following sequence – the Yorkshire accent, unsavoury crooked teeth, and the ways he lays his hands on his daughter, Faith (Gina Bramhill), who sits at the table he hovers around all call Savile to mind – and are chilling as it becomes apparent that he is asking the members of his board to take a memory wiping drug which will enable him to divulge his sadistic tendencies to them, only to be forgotten. It is not difficult to view this scene as the BBC exorcising the spectre of Savile when Smith addresses the board, saying “Civilisation has always depended on elective ignorance” and the scene cuts again to a televisual psychic point of view/flashback shot of Smith laughing during a TV interview. Here, the episode approximates an archival image of Smith’s televisual persona which dramatizes the haunting potential of encountering past televisual images in the knowledge of threat or trauma. It also positions the broadcaster as a haunted institution

Television images of Smith continue to punctuate the narrative.





Figs 5-7: Smith's televisual memories: *Sherlock* – 'The Lying Detective' (BBC1, tx. 1/8/17)

After the following scene, in which Smith's daughter appeals for Sherlock Holmes' help in figuring out who her father wanted to kill (she is struggling with a partially retrieved memory of Smith's boardroom confession), we see another flash to a Smith speaking direct to camera in a party political broadcast (Fig. 5). After this, we see Mycroft Holmes (Mark Gatiss) learning that his brother has left his apartment for the first time in a long time, to which he responds "Was it on fire?," leading to a further cut to an advert in which Smith sits behind a flaming wok, extolling the virtues of 'quality food' (Fig. 6). Again, when Mycroft is tracking Sherlock's movements around the city, there is a sudden cut to Smith on a panel show, delivering a catch phrase to camera, and later, we see him being interviewed on *Newsnight* (BBC2, 1980-) by regular presenter Evan Davis, giving the added frisson of lifting Smith out of a fictionalised televisual world and into a recognisable, long-running BBC programme (Fig. 7). Of course, significantly he appears on the very programme which failed to uncover Savile's crimes in the aftermath of his death, as discussed above. Most of these sequences are also heavily marked as 'televisual' by the fact that they seem to have been shot off a TV screen (we see lines, pixels, a bluish glow, which all suggest this), thus reminding us that Smith's 'haunting' comes via television flow. The range of genres in which he is portrayed point to the fact that, like Savile, this predatory figure is woven into the very

fabric of television broadcast, across television's flow; in this fictional narrative, Smith is just as inescapable as Savile was in reality.

Despite struggling with grief and an addiction to opiates, Holmes agrees to take on Faith's case and investigate Culverton Smith (though it is still unclear whether he has actually met her, or simply imagined meeting her). As he fights to piece together his thoughts about who Smith wanted to kill (the secret divulged at the strange board meeting), he experiences a series of flashbacks to characters talking to him, from this episode and the last, all pieces of dialogue which include the word "Anyone" in them. These visions seem to be causing him physical pain – he writhes on the floor, screaming, whilst experiencing them – and as the scene progresses, his vision and hearing grow increasingly distorted, the street scenes filmed from his point of view shot through a fish-eye lens which 'bends' the edges of the image, and the sound echoing as if being heard from his aural position. This montage of images can be understood as a visualisation of a televisual haunting, the collection of images from past episodes stitched together to represent this character's struggle to understand or unlock some past trauma. Here Holmes is enacting the position of the traumatised viewer, simultaneously drawn towards and repelled by images that resonate with the traces of abuse; as someone who solves crimes through an intense form of empathy, Holmes slips in and out of his own subject position and that of Culverton's victims (specifically, his daughter Faith) here. As the scene progresses, the board meeting from earlier in the episode is restaged in the middle of a street, as if the temporal boundaries of the linear television narrative are being broken down by the intensity of the trauma of re-viewing. Sherlock is then found in a confused state by his live-in chemist/drug supplier, Bill Wiggins (Tom Brooke), who takes them both inside their apartment where Holmes starts to 'put the pieces together' of Smith's crimes. Here, faux-archive footage, of the kind which was previously flashed on screen during the introduction to Smith's character, securely figures

television flow as a form of traumatized haunting. Holmes' mental breakdown, which is aligned with his processes of deduction, is presented as a horrifying form of television channel hopping where every programme leads us back to Smith. Later in the episode, in the middle of his mental breakdown, Holmes' apartment is shown full of pictures of Smith, tacked to every available surface, as if he has become overwhelmed by the ever-presence of Smith's image as it abounds in popular culture.



Fig 8: Sherlock's apartment is overwhelmed by Smith: *Sherlock* – 'The Lying Detective' (BBC1, tx. 1/8/17)

In his association with the figure of Jimmy Savile, these moments of horror dramatize the television viewing described by Savile's victims at the beginning of *Abused: The Untold Story*, as discussed above.

As the narrative progresses, Smith's televisual omnipresence continues to be played upon: when Sherlock meets him for the first time, after publically accusing Smith of being a serial killer, he is shooting a commercial for a type of muesli with the tag line "You all know I'm a cereal killer!," bringing to mind the notion of "hiding in plain sight," a phrase often associated with Savile's brazen ability to avoid the detection of his crimes for so long.⁶³ This episode also self-referentially refers to the BBC as an institution that is haunted by the serial crimes of Smith (and, by association, Savile). We are informed early on that there is a

representative of a prominent national broadcaster on the Board that Smith confesses his crimes to, and when Holmes and Watson accompany Smith to a public engagement at Saint Caedwalla's hospital, the exterior of this fictional building bears more than a passing resemblance to the exterior of the BBC's Broadcasting House.⁶⁴ When Sherlock confronts Smith in the mortuary of this hospital he exclaims "You've maintained an impressive façade! I think it's about to break." Whilst it would be problematic to argue that this single episode of an on-going serial drama might successfully exorcise the figure of Savile for or by the BBC, it can be asserted that what we see here is a creative "working through"⁶⁵ or a "worrying at"⁶⁶ the history of Savile, and his association with the Corporation, and ways that emphasise the framing spectral qualities of a Savile-esque character and figure (television) viewing as a form of traumatised haunting.

The BBC itself has frequently been figured as a haunted institution following the revelation of Savile's crimes. For example, in 2013, the *Evening Standard* newspaper ran the headline "The BBC is still haunted by the ghost of Savile" in an article about the Corporation's failure to respond to Freedom of Information requests in a timely way, while Savile is referred to as the 'ghost of Broadcasting House' by the radio industry blogger Paul Bailey.⁶⁷ The discourse of the haunted institution is also seen in an episode of the *Channel 4 News* (Channel 4, 1982-) from January 21, 2016, in a story about the uncovering of Savile's abuse at the BBC in Dame Janet Smith's review for the BBC Trust.⁶⁸ As reporter Paraic O'Brien announces that "the abuse took place in virtually every one of the BBC premises that Savile worked in", shots of the soon-to-be redeveloped Television Centre are shown, including the inside of Studio One, with various images of Savile's face floating, or 'haunting', over the top of it.

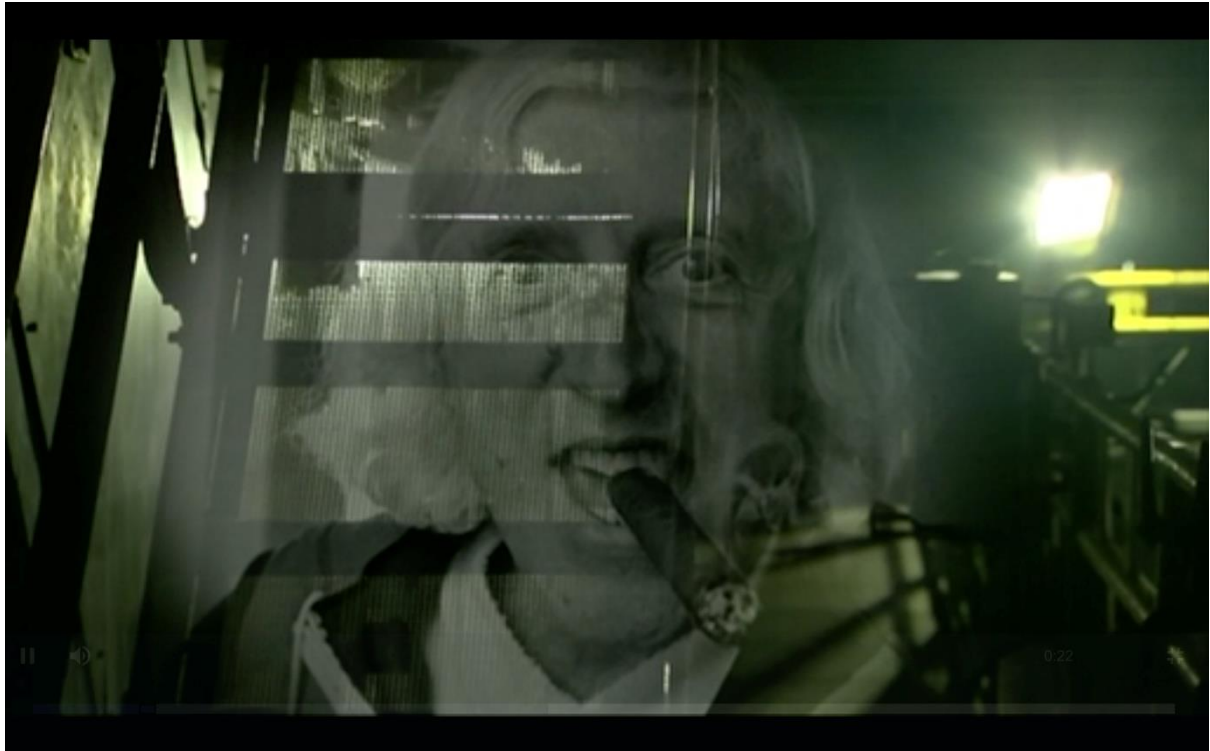


Fig 9: The haunting of Television Centre: *Channel 4 News* (tx. 1/21/2016)

The sound of Savile presenting the last episode of *Top of the Pops* is distorted, to make it sound as if his voice is echoing through the studio, and then O'Brien confirms "Today, the ghost of Savile's twisted legacy returns once again to haunt the Corporation." This image of the haunted institution is often used to taunt the BBC. However, viewing Savile as a spectre that *can* be exorcised enables us to envisage a future for the BBC in UK broadcasting, though only if its past is confronted and fully explored. The Corporation is caught in something of a double-bind here: archival footage of Savile (and sometimes its approximation) haunts his victims by its constant reappearance via television flow, and thus must be handled responsibly. However, Savile's appearance in the archive, across the history of BBC programming, also *must* be worked over, or worked through, to draw on the properly therapeutic understanding of this term, in order to reach some kind of resolution for the Corporation in relation to Savile's role in its troubled past.

Whilst this article has focused on the singular example of Savile as a television spectre, his is sadly not the only case of a figure whose televisual presence is associated with forms of trauma. Television companies in the US and the UK have recently had to move swiftly to deal with the traces of other on-screen figures associated with trauma and abuse, for fear of producing other images with the potential to 'haunt', as in the case of Bill Cosby and Kevin Spacey, for example.⁶⁹ However, what distinguishes Savile's case from these examples is that his posthumous status opens him up to be framed in a more obviously spectral way; on one hand, this enables him to be more 'safely' presented as monstrously haunting both viewer and broadcaster beyond life. Karen Boyle brings into question the representation of Savile as monstrous because she feels that it disguises the fact of his once popularity and ubiquity (and what this represents about the endemic abuse at the heart of the British broadcasting establishment): "there is a danger [in depicting him as monstrous] that we forget the cultural conditions which enabled Savile to get away with abusing women, girls and boys for decades – conditions which find a contemporary echo in the Weinstein case"⁷⁰ However, the spectrality of Savile's image might also be seen as a visual representation of his status as a classic horror figure *with a purpose*: not the haunting spectre that returns of its own volition to demand justice, to right a wrong (as discussed in the introduction of this article), but a more sinister apparition, brought forth via the process of exorcism, to stand accountable for its crimes. As Iwona Irwin-Zarecka acknowledges, collective memory is "imbued with moral imperatives – the obligations to one's kin, notions of justice, indeed the lessons of right and wrong – that form the basis of normative order."⁷¹ Here, those producing or framing this collective memory call upon the spectral image of Savile to speak exactly to these moral imperatives.

Savile's spectre is a problem for the BBC as a public service broadcaster which must serve (and, arguably, protect) all elements of its viewing public. In this context, television's

potential to haunt means that there is still a sensitivity around the presentation of this posthumous celebrity's image, and archival programmes (and programmes that draw on the TV archive) that feature Savile might rightly be considered as "in distress, harbouring secrets of which they are unaware", to use Colin Davis's description of the haunted text.⁷² If, as Jeffrey Weinstock argues, the ghost is a symptom of "repressed knowledge" that "calls into question the possibilities of a future based on avoidance of the past", then perhaps the constant, perhaps even compulsive, return to a spectral Savile, in news, documentary and television drama, on the BBC and elsewhere, represents a productive confrontation with a troubled history and a desire to avoid future repetitions of Savile's awful crimes, particularly via the production of future television.⁷³

¹ Helen Wheatley, *Gothic Television* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2006).

² Known as public information films in the UK.

³ "1960s TV-PSA 'Drive safety' (1966, United States, Public Service Announcement)" YouTube video, 0:43, posted by "MattTheSaiyan," January 19 2010, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8Df61OZXE30>.

⁴ "ghost office - Anti Drug PSA" YouTube video, 0:30, posted by "Emmanuel Goldstein," July 14 2007, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0cLYJf42d5I>.

⁵ "ghost subway - Anti Drug PSA" YouTube video, 0:30, posted by "Emmanuel Goldstein," July 14 2007, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DbDSksPqO_8

⁶ For the Communities and Local Government Fire Safety campaign, *Fire Kills*. "On Your Child's Life," YouTube video, 1:02, posted by "FireKillsCampaign," March 5 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lr2bekewg-8>.

⁷ Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York and London: Routledge, 1994), 75.

⁸ María del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren, "Introduction: Conceptualizing Spectralities," in *The Spectralities Reader: Ghosts and Haunting in Contemporary Cultural Theory*, ed. María del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren (London, UK: Bloomsbury, 2013) 9.

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- ⁹ Cathy Caruth, "Introduction," in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, ed. Cathy Caruth (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press) 5; Jeffrey Andrew Weinstock, "Introduction: The spectral turn," in *Spectral America: Phantoms and the National Imagination*, ed. Jeffrey Andrew Weinstock (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004) 5.
- ¹⁰ Del Pilar Blanco and Peeren, "Introduction", 11.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 12.
- ¹² Roger Luckhurst, *The Trauma Question* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2008) 93.
- ¹³ Helen Wheatley, *Television: Death* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, forthcoming 2023).
- ¹⁴ Emma Wilson, *Love, Mortality and the Moving Image* (London: Palgrave, 2012), 13.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.
- ¹⁶ Sandra M. Gilbert, *Death's Door: Modern Dying and the Ways We Grieve* (London: W.W. Norton, 2006), 210.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 219.
- ¹⁸ Anon., "BBC criticised for Newsnight axed Jimmy Savile report", BBC News Online, December 19, 2012, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-20778261>.
- ¹⁹ Rowan Aust and Amy Holdsworth, "The BBC Archive Post-Jimmy Savile: Irreparable Damage or Recoverable Ground?" in *The Past in Visual Culture: Essays on Memory, Nostalgia and the Media*, eds. Jilly Boyce Kay, Cat Mahony and Caitlin Shaw (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2017), 175.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 171.
- ²¹ Dan Arav, "Television: A Traumatic Culture," in *The Interdisciplinary Handbook of Trauma and Culture*, eds. Yochai Ataria et al. (New York: Springer, 2016), 41.
- ²² Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 1994). Irwin-Zarecka borrows this term from Erving Goffman's *Frame Analysis. An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1986).
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 4.
- ²⁴ David Jessel, "Salem comes to Salisbury", *The Justice Gap*, January 19, 2016, <http://thejusticegap.com/2016/01/proof-magazine-s/>.
- ²⁵ Aidan Smith, "Jimmy Savile too big a demon for Top of the Pops to overcome", *The Scotsman*, December 7, 2015, <http://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/culture/music/aidan-smith-jimmy-savile-too-big-a-demon-for-top-of-the-pops-to-overcome-1-3969265>.
- ²⁶ Aust and Holdsworth, "The BBC Archive Post-Jimmy Savile", 175; 180; 181.
- ²⁷ Stephen Frosh, *Hauntings: Psychoanalysis and Ghostly Transmissions* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 1.
- ²⁸ Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance*, 4.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁰ Jeffrey Sconce, *Haunted Media: Electronic Presence from Telegraphy to Television* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

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- ³² Tom Gunning, "To Scan a Ghost: The Ontology of Mediated Vision" in *The Spectralities Reader: Ghosts and Haunting in Contemporary Cultural Theory*, ed. María del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren (London, UK: Bloomsbury, 2013), 232.
- ³³ In *Charlie Brooker's 2012 Wipe* (BBC2, tx. 1/1/13).
- ³⁴ Frosh, *Hauntings*, 2.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Michael Elm, Kobi Kabalek and Julia B. Köhne, "Introduction: The Horrors of Trauma in Cinema" in *The Horrors of Trauma in Cinema: Violence, Void, Visualisation*, eds. Michael Elm, Kobi Kabalek and Julia B. Köhne (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 5.
- ³⁷ Amy Holdsworth, "French and Saunders are a girl's best friend" Paper presented at *Television for Women: An International Conference*, University of Warwick, May 2013.
- ³⁸ Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance*, 165.
- ³⁹ Aust and Holdsworth, "The BBC Archive Post-Jimmy Savile", 179.
- ⁴⁰ Anon., "BBC Apologises for Jimmy Savile Clip", *Ariel*, September 22, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/ariel/29310706>.
- ⁴¹ Jon Snow, "How Savile and Harris must have haunted their victims" *Channel 4 News Blog*, July 1, 2014, <https://www.channel4.com/news/by/jon-snow/blogs/savile-harris-haunted-victims>
- ⁴² Karen Boyle, "Television and/as testimony in the Jimmy Savile case", *Critical Studies in Television*, forthcoming.
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ For example, Twitter user @sallyD20 said, in November 2014: "Must the media show his pic whenever there's an item on Jimmy Savile in the news? It's as if he still has to haunt everyone #JimmySavile", and @mollyneilsonxo worried: "Watching a programme about jimmy savile and getting scared he will haunt me in my sleep."
- ⁴⁵ Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).
- ⁴⁶ Allen Meek, "Cultural Trauma and the Media" in *The Interdisciplinary Handbook of Trauma and Culture*, eds. Yochai Ataria et al. (New York: Springer, 2016), 29.
- ⁴⁷ E. Ann Kaplan, *Trauma Culture: The Politics of Terror and Loss in Media and Literature* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 2.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid., 21.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid., 87.
- ⁵⁰ Anne Rothe, "Irresponsible Nonsense: An Epistemological and Ethical Critique of Postmodern Trauma Theory" in *The Interdisciplinary Handbook of Trauma and Culture*, eds. Yochai Ataria et al. (New York: Springer, 2016), 193.
- ⁵¹ Barbie Zelizer, *About to Die: How News Images Move the Public*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 336.
- ⁵² Jonathan D. Huppert et al. "The Relationship Between Obsessive– Compulsive and Posttraumatic Stress Symptoms in Clinical and Non-Clinical Samples" in *The Journal of Anxiety Disorders*, 19 (2005) 127–136.
- ⁵³ They were shot after the 2000 documentary was broadcast.

⁵⁴ Barbie Zelizer, *About to Die*.

⁵⁵ Janine Mary Little, "Jill Meagher CCTV: Gothic Tendencies in Narratives of Violence and Gender Justice", *Feminist Media Studies*, 15:3 (2015): 397-410.

⁵⁶ Caterina Albano, *Memory, Forgetting and the Moving Image* (London: Palgrave, 2016), 151.

⁵⁷ Karen Boyle has pointed out that this lack of focus on the institution, and the emphasis placed on his female victims rather than the men that supported Savile and his career for so long, at the BBC and elsewhere, is highly problematic in this new Theroux documentary: "Louis Theroux's new Jimmy Savile documentary is a horrible misstep", *The Conversation*, October 3, 2016, <https://theconversation.com/louis-theroux-new-jimmy-savile-documentary-is-a-horrible-misstep-66421>

⁵⁸ For example, in an episode of *Power Monkeys* (Channel 4, 7/6/16), a character discussing the unpopular politician Michael Gove says "you might as well elect the corpse of Jimmy Savile, he is so full of hate and negativity", and in the comedy drama *No Offence* (Channel 4, 1/25/17) a pedophile is referred to in the following terms: "On the nonce spectrum, he's looking more Polanski than Savile."

⁵⁹ Caroline Frost, "Robbie Coltrane Explores Jimmy Savile 'Toxic Culture' Of Abuse In Channel 4's *National Treasure*," *Huffington Post*, September 7, 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/robbie-coltrane-national-treasure-jimmy-savile_uk_57cfed60e4b0ac5a02dccc53.

⁶⁰ Lydia Willgress, "People accused of sex crimes cannot be given anonymity because we have to protect victims, says Robbie Coltrane", *The Telegraph*, September 5, 2016, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/04/people-accused-of-sex-crimes-cannot-be-given-anonymity-because-w/>.

⁶¹ Claer Barrett, "Sherlock a big winner for BBC's finances", *Financial Times*, August 26, 2014, <https://www.ft.com/content/3cc9afc4-2d0e-11e4-911b-00144feabdc0>.

⁶² Paul Jones, "The shadow of Jimmy Savile looms over Sherlock as it introduces a 'diabolical and disgusting' new villain," *Radio Times*, January 8, 2017, <http://www.radiotimes.com/author/pauljones/>; Neela Debnath, "Sherlock viewers left unnerved by Jimmy Savile parallels," *Daily Express*, January 9, 2017, <http://www.express.co.uk/showbiz/tv-radio/751759/Sherlock-Jimmy-Savile-series-4-Culverton-Smith-Benedict-Cumberbatch-BBC-Toby-Jones>.

⁶³ This idea is referenced in the title of Dan Davies biography of Savile, for example: *In Plain Sight: The Life and Lies of Jimmy Savile* (London and New York: Quercus, 2014).

⁶⁴ St Caedwalla is the patron saint of remorseful serial killers.

⁶⁵ John Ellis, *Seeing Things: Television in the Age of Uncertainty* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1999), 79.

⁶⁶ Wheatley, *Gothic Television*, 127.

⁶⁷ Anonymous, "The BBC is still haunted by the ghost of Savile", *Evening Standard*, June 24, 2013, <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/londoners-diary/the-bbc-is-still-haunted-by-the-ghost-of-savile-8671077.html>; Paul Bailey, "The ghost of Broadcasting House", *Radio Survivor*, June 14, 2016, <http://www.radiosurvivor.com/2016/06/14/ghost-broadcasting-house/>

⁶⁸ Dame Janet Smith, "The Dame Janet Smith Review," *BBC Trust Website*, http://www.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/dame_janet_smith.

⁶⁹ Karen Boyle has called for an examination of the connections between the Savile case and the representation of men like Harvey Weinstein, Kevin Spacey, Johnny Depp or Dustin Hoffman, or in a British TV context, with convicted celebrity sex offenders including Max Clifford, Stuart Hall and Rolf Harris, which is beyond the scope of this article in her article "Television and/as testimony in the Jimmy Savile case".

⁷⁰ Boyle, "Television and/as testimony".

⁷¹ Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance*, 9.

⁷² Colin Davis, "État Présent: Hauntology, Spectres and Phantoms" in *The Spectralities Reader: Ghosts and Haunting in Contemporary Cultural Theory*, ed. María del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren (London, UK: Bloomsbury, 2013), 55.

⁷³ Jeffrey Andrew Weinstock, "Introduction," 64.