

RESEARCH

Thematic Analysis of Research Mediums' Experiences of Discarnate Communication

ADAM J. ROCK

*Deakin University, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia
e-mail: rock@deakin.edu.au*

JULIE BEISCHEL

*The Windbridge Institute for Applied Research in
Human Potential, Tucson, Arizona*

GARY E. SCHWARTZ

The University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona

Abstract—Mediums claim to be able to report accurate and specific information about the deceased loved ones (termed discarnates) of living people (termed sitters) even without any prior knowledge about the sitters or the discarnates and in the complete absence of any sensory feedback. Despite recent experimental research investigating this phenomenon (e.g., Beischel & Schwartz, 2007a), no systematic qualitative studies have been conducted. Consequently, eight research mediums were asked to describe in as much detail as possible how they personally experience receiving communication from a discarnate, as part of a comprehensive nine-step subject screening procedure. Thematic analysis revealed seven comprehensive constituent themes that were used to formulate a fundamental structural definition.

Keywords: research mediums—discarnate communication—phenomenology—thematic analysis

Introduction

A growing public interest in the phenomenon of mediumship is clearly evident in the current rise of this topic in various aspects of popular culture. Numerous books, television shows, and movies featuring mediums—those who experience regular communication with the deceased—have moved from the obscure realm of the occult to the recognizable mainstream. The conventional scientific community has only just begun to recognize mediumship as a topic worth investigating when, in fact, the scientific study of mediums is over a century old.

Several comprehensive reviews of the history of mediumship methods (Beischel & Schwartz, 2007b; Burdick & Kelly, 1977; Fontana, 2005; Schouten, 1994; Scott, 1972) and findings (Braude, 2003; Fontana, 2005; Gauld, 1983) are available. In addition, several recent single-blind (Robertson & Roy, 2001; Schwartz et al., 2001; Schwartz & Russek, 2001), double-blind (Roy & Robertson, 2001, 2004; Schwartz et al., 2002), and triple-blind (Beischel & Schwartz, 2007a) studies producing positive results have been published. Also, one double-blind study that failed to obtain positive results (O'Keeffe & Wiseman, 2005) was published, but the protocol contained numerous methodological flaws (discussed in Beischel & Schwartz, 2007a,b).

These contemporary studies generally replicate and extend the observations of early mediumship research: certain mediums can report accurate and specific information about the deceased loved ones (termed discarnates) of living people (termed sitters¹) even without any prior knowledge about the sitters or the discarnates and in the complete absence of any sensory feedback. Moreover, the information reported by these mediums cannot be explained as a result of fraud or "cold reading" (a set of techniques used by psychic entertainers in which visual and auditory cues from the sitter are used to fabricate "accurate" readings) on the part of the mediums or rater bias on the part of the sitters (Braude, 2003; Fontana, 2005; Gauld, 1983).

The current state of mediumship findings may provide evidence for anomalous information reception by certain mediums but the studies do not directly address which parapsychological mechanisms are involved in that reception. In and of themselves, the data cannot distinguish among hypotheses such as (a) the survival of consciousness (i.e., the continued existence, separate from the body, of an individual's consciousness or personality after physical death), (b) super-psi (i.e., the retrieval of information through clairvoyance, precognition, and/or telepathy with the living, also called super-ESP; reviewed in Braude, 2003, and Fontana, 2005), and (c) the psychic reservoir hypothesis (i.e., that all information since the beginning of time is stored somehow and somewhere in the universe and mediums are accessing that cosmic store rather than communicating with the deceased; reviewed in Fontana, 2005).

The continued evaluation of the mediumship process is important for numerous reasons. First, the topic of the survival of consciousness is an issue of vital interest to the public. In addition, an understanding of the mediumship process may aid in determining which mechanisms may be at work during the processing of non-local, non-sensory information. For instance, if a medium's experience of communication ostensibly received from a discarnate during a mediumship reading is phenomenologically different from her experience of information received during a psychic telepathy reading for a living person (as has been anecdotally noted), that may lend more support to the survival hypothesis than to the super-psi or psychic reservoir theories; thus, further analysis is required². Finally, survival and mediumship studies provide unique evidence for an issue central to consciousness science: the relationship

between the mind/consciousness and the brain. That is, is consciousness (a) a product of the brain as theorized by materialist cognitive and neuroscientists such as Francis Crick and Christof Koch (e.g., Crick & Koch, 2003) or is consciousness (b) mediated, transmitted, transformed, guided, arbitrated, or canalized (Forman, 1998) by the brain as hypothesized by such scientists as Max Plank and William James? (This second theory is discussed, for example, by Clarke, 1995.)

Previous mediumship research has been primarily *proof*-orientated; that is, it has been concerned with demonstrating a specific effect (e.g., anomalous information reception) in a laboratory setting. However, by delimiting one's scope to proof-oriented research, one might be neglecting important phenomenological processes underlying anomalous information reception. Phenomenology refers to the study of one's experience or perception of happenings, events, occurrences, and so forth (Reber & Reber, 2001). Consequently, phenomenology is subjective and, thus, "internal, personal, not available for public scrutiny" (Reber & Reber, 2001: 720). As a qualitative methodology, phenomenology "addresses how human 'consciousness' forms what we understand of the world. It is *the study of* ('ology') *what appears to us* ('phenomena,' [as opposed to 'noumena'—things in themselves])" (Fischer, 1998: 114). The phenomenological researcher, thus, engages in *process*-orientated research investigating "the way things are experienced by the experiencer, and . . . how events are integrated into a dynamic, meaningful experience" (Hanson & Klimo, 1998: 286). Previous research has used phenomenological analysis to investigate, for example, the experience of meditation (Gifford-May & Thompson, 1994), being unconditionally loved (Matsu-Pissot, 1998), and shamanic journeying (Rock, 2006).

However, to date and to the best of our knowledge, there has been no published systematic qualitative research addressing modern-day mediums' phenomenology pertaining to anomalous information reception. Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge that numerous—arguably unsystematic—qualitative studies were conducted during the first half of the twentieth century³. The resulting publications often included descriptions of individual mediums or readings (e.g., Newton, 1938; Saltmarsh, 1929; Thomas, 1928) and reports about groups of mediums (e.g., Assailly, 1963; Carington, 1939). It is perhaps noteworthy that these early studies tended to neglect mental mediumship in favor of physical mediumship (e.g., Besterman, 1932) and mediums in trance states (e.g., Carington, 1939; Thomas, 1928). This is consistent with Fontana's (2003) assertion that mediumship has gone through various developmental phases: "Initially it was rappings, table turning and ouija boards, then came more sophisticated physical phenomena, after which the focus shifted to trance work, then to automatic writing, and then to mental mediumship and channeling" (p. 16)⁴.

The aim of the present study, therefore, was to use the principles of phenomenological methodology to systematically investigate modern-day mental mediums' experiences of purported communication with discarnates. The subset

of research mediums who participated in this study remain conscious and aware during readings and their abilities to report accurate and specific information have been repeatedly demonstrated under controlled conditions in the laboratory. Thus, the sample of participants in this study is not representative of claimant mediums in general or of the extensively observed historical trance and physical mediums, but rather of modern-day, American, mental mediums⁵ whose abilities have been documented.

Methods

Participants

The participants in this study ranged in age from 41 to 57 ($M = 46.25$, $SEM = 2.17$, median = 44, $SD = 6.14$) and included seven females and one male. Participants were recruited from all over the United States by word of mouth and through the research program's website (veritas.arizona.edu).

Materials and Procedure

Before participating in research with the VERITAS Research Program at the University of Arizona, prospective research mediums were screened over several months using a unique and intensive nine-step screening and testing procedure. The nine screening steps consisted of the following items:

Step 1: Written questionnaire. Initially, each prospective research medium completed a brief written questionnaire about factors including family history, medical history, culture, education, personal experiences, and training.

Step 2: Personality/psychological tests. Prospective research mediums completed four standard personality tests: the NEO Personality Inventory (NEO PI-R), the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator, the Tellegen Absorption Scale, and the Openness to Spiritual Beliefs and Experiences Scale.

Step 3: Phone interview (with a research medium). The prospective research medium participated in a phone interview in which s/he discusses his/her mediumship history, process, and goals with a current research medium.

Step 4: Phone interview (with a VERITAS investigator). A second interview took place with a researcher about the prospective research mediums' experiences and any factors that affect discarnate communication.

Step 5: Two blinded e-mail and two blinded phone readings. The test-reading portion of the screening process was completed to ensure that each prospective research medium was able to report relatively specific, accurate, consistent, and scorable information under various experimental conditions. The test readings also ensured that a prospective research medium was able to convey accurate information while following specific experimental instructions. This step

established whether a prospective medium had the skills to function as a research medium.

Step 6: Mediumship research training. Prospective research mediums were required to read *The Afterlife Experiments* (Schwartz with Simon, 2002) and complete a take-home examination about the book. The purpose was to educate prospective research mediums about the early history of the research conducted by the VERITAS Research Program, some of the key research questions, and the implications of evidence for the survival of consciousness after death. It is noteworthy that this step did not indoctrinate prospective research mediums with regards to the kinds of responses the present study aimed to collect. That is, the Schwartz with Simon (2002) work does not discuss the subjective experiences of mediums; it focuses on their ability to obtain quantifiable information such as names, historical factors, personal descriptions, and so on. The mediums' knowledge of basic research design and findings does not impinge on the question of their personal experiences or what takes place when they engage in mediumship.

Step 7: Human research subjects training. Prospective research mediums completed a portion of the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI)'s online "Course in the Protection of Human Research Subjects" to gain an awareness of and appreciation for the legal and ethical constraints of doing research in a university setting.

Step 8: Grief training. To acquire some basic understanding of the psychological aspects of the grieving process that each sitter is experiencing, prospective research mediums were required to read one of several published texts describing the grief process and to write a brief summary and a description of what s/he found most interesting and helpful about it.

Step 9: Autobiographical statement. The final screening step involved writing a short autobiographical statement for distribution to the VERITAS Research Program investigators and for publication on the VERITAS Research Program website (the latter only upon the medium's written request). This statement could include descriptions of how long the prospective research medium has been experiencing communication with discarnates, how s/he experiences the information, the part of the country where s/he is located, and any comments about her/his mediumship. In addition, this statement could include information about the prospective research medium's age, family, hobbies, clients, goals, publications, etc.

Upon successful completion of the nine steps, the medium was termed an Integrative Research Medium (IRM). The term "integrative" was used to indicate how the mediums integrate spirituality and science: the spirituality of their personalities and practices with the science of controlled laboratory methodologies and experiments. Each IRM agreed to donate a minimum four hours per month to assist in various aspects of the research and to uphold a code of spiritual ethics as well as to embrace a strong commitment to the values of scientific mediumship research.⁶

Thematic Analysis of Original Protocols

As part of the detailed 11-item written questionnaire (Step 1), each prospective research medium provided his/her answer to the following question: "Please describe, in as much detail as possible, how you personally experience receiving communication from a discarnate. How do you receive the information (hear, see, feel)? Describe each of your five senses during a reading."

The original protocols of the eight mediums who have completed all nine steps and become IRMs to date constituted the data that were analyzed using the principles of a phenomenological research methodology originally developed by Giorgi (1975) and subsequently expanded on by, for example, Colaizzi (1978) and Elite (1998) (as cited in West, 1998). Standard phenomenological inquiry stipulates that a real-time, face-to-face dialogue between researcher and research participant is the most effective method of eliciting the essential aspects of an experience (e.g., Giorgi, 2000). However, due to the considerable geographical distances separating prospective IRMs and the researchers, we opted to collect data via an electronic survey (i.e., a text file provided and returned by email). Consequently, in a strict technical sense, the present study did not use a phenomenological methodology but rather used the principles of phenomenological methodology (e.g., Elite, 1998; West, 1998) to thematically analyze qualitative data concerning the IRMs' experience of communication with discarnates.

In accordance with standard phenomenological inquiry (e.g., Elite, 1998; Matsu-Pissot, 1998; West, 1998), our analysis consisted of the following procedural steps:

1. Each original protocol was read and reread in order to develop an understanding of the subjective experience associated with communication with a discarnate.
2. The salient statements, phrases, or sentences were extracted *within* each original protocol.
3. The *extracted significant statements* with the same meaning were integrated and translated into *constituent themes* where we translated the participant's "words in a way that remained true to the underlying essence of the experience itself without severing any connection with the original protocol" (Elite, 1998: 312). This allowed us to formulate comprehensive themes for each participant (i.e., IRM).
4. The constituent themes were subsequently examined *across* original protocols. Those constituent themes judged to have the same meaning were pooled into *comprehensive constituent themes*.
5. A *fundamental structural definition* was then formulated by integrating comprehensive constituent themes into a "final definition paragraph" (Matsu-Pissot, 1998: 325). This definition provides a succinct description of the essential constituents of the experience.

6. Each of the participants were contacted via email and invited to provide feedback and verification with regards to the comprehensive constituent themes.

Results and Discussion

Comprehensive constituent themes

The analyses revealed seven comprehensive constituent themes:

1. Multi-modal “sensory” impressions pertaining to the discarnate.
2. Visual images of the discarnate in the medium's “mind's eye.”
3. “Hearing” information from the discarnate in the medium's “mind's ear.”
4. Feeling discarnates' ailments/cause of death.
5. Experience of fragrances associated with the discarnate prior to his or her bodily death.
6. Alteration of affect.
7. Empathy.

1. *Multi-modal “sensory” impressions pertaining to the discarnate.* Typically, the term “modal” or “modality” refers to “a sensory system” and is used “to specify the sense intended, e.g., *visual modality, kinaesthetic modality*” (Reber & Reber, 2001: 440). In contrast, we are using the term to denote whether an *experience* is visual, auditory, gustatory, olfactory, or tactile irrespective of whether physical stimuli are present. All IRMs stated that the experience of communication with a discarnate is not restricted to any *single* modality. That is, the experience is multi-modal in the sense that anomalous information is received via a minimum of two modalities. For example, one IRM stated that visual, auditory, and tactile modalities tended to be functional during a typical discarnate reading:

During a reading, I receive information in many different ways; I see images, pictures, scenes, what the person looks like, I sometimes hear words, names, initials etc., or I feel the energy of the spirit and sense their personality.

2. *Visual images of the discarnate in the medium's “mind's eye.”* The visual images reported in the present study did not appear to originate from the medium's sensory apparatus. That is to say, the visual system was purportedly not involved in the production of these visual images and, thus, the images may be considered mental representations pertaining to either a “nonpresent object or event” (Solso, 2001: 292) or a present but subconscious event, rather than a present object or event in the external world. Consequently, one may conclude that these visual images are not retinal images, that is, “the (approximate)

point-by-point picture of an object cast on the retina when light is refracted by the eye's optic system" (Reber & Reber, 2001: 341), but are instead mental images. As one IRM stated:

I do not visually see discarnates, although I do see images in my mind's eye – and can describe [the discarnate] from that.

Another IRM referred to seeing "images in the mind's eye" as spiritual vision:

I visually see them write their names in the air or on the wall or floor and, to get my attention, they might drop objects such as cigarettes, which I see through spiritual vision.

3. "*Hearing*" information from the discarnate in the medium's "mind's ear." Consistent with the previous theme, IRMs' conventional sensory pathways do not appear to be invoked when auditory information is received. Thus, the information is perceived as an auditory mental image rather than an auditory sensory impression referentially linked to a stimulus in the external world. For instance, one IRM succinctly stated:

I hear by thought but not auditory.

Another IRM's account emphasized that the auditory mental images tended to consist of names:

I can hear in my own head voice the beginnings of names, sometimes whole names, sometimes the sound is in my ear or vibrates in my throat chakra (feels guttural).

Furthermore, one IRM suggested an ability to distinguish between auditory mental images associated with his/her internal monologue versus those associated with discarnate communication. The IRM stressed that the latter were bereft of personal meaning:

I am able to hear them in my mind when they are talking to me. I know these are not my words for they have no meaning to me.

4. *Feeling discarnates' ailments/cause of death.* During a reading, it would seem that the discarnate's primary objective is to provide information that reveals his/her (i.e., the discarnate's) identity to the IRM and, thus, the sitter. The identification process is often facilitated by the IRM receiving information pertaining to the discarnate's experience of "passing." For example, one IRM suggested that bodily sensations experienced during communication readings often corresponded to "pain or sickness" experienced by the discarnate prior to bodily death:

I feel their pain or sickness or death occurring at the time; for example, I might receive a headache from a discarnate with a brain tumor.

Similarly, another IRM stated that he or she could “feel” both the cause of death and the actual dying process:

I can feel the cause of how this person died: cancer, illness, accident, shot, etc., and what their passing was like.

5. Experience of fragrances associated with the discarnate prior to his or her bodily death. The IRMs tended to perceive the characteristics exemplified by discarnates prior to their bodily death. Thus, it might be argued that the discarnate's self-sense remained “bound-up” with its prior corporeal existence. One IRM described “the spirit” in terms of various personal attributes:

I can smell the spirit. If they liked to smoke cigars, I can smell the cigar, their cologne, a special fragrance they may have enjoyed, a certain flower, etc.

Another IRM remarked that

I pick up smells associated with them; for example, I smell cancer, blood, hospitals, perfume, cigarettes, and the like.

6. Alteration of affect. IRMs tended to report a change in mood during communication with a discarnate. Some IRMs experienced a shift between positive and negative emotions. Alterations in affect appeared to be associated with a variety of functions (e.g., communicating messages to sitters, communicating the discarnate's prior corporeal experiences to the IRM to aid the IRM's identification of the discarnate). One IRM suggested that alterations in affect may be positive or negative depending on the message that the discarnate is attempting to communicate to the sitter:

A warmth can take over me when they are sending their love to a loved one or a coolness to let me know they are around.

7. Empathy. This comprehensive constituent theme underscores that a medium is, quite literally, an entity that performs the function of allowing a discarnate to express itself to a sitter or loved one. Indeed, all IRMs reported an ability to empathize with discarnates. Empathy tends to be exemplified by the IRM adopting the behavioral predispositions, personality traits, and idiosyncrasies of the discarnate:

I can also take on mannerisms of them. Some call it shadowing. The spirit may be nervous and I will feel the need to pace the floors then finding out the spirit [used] to pace the floors. I will use their tone of voice when they are being direct. At times it will be the tone and their words together that they [used] to say when they were alive.

Fundamental Structural Definition

The fundamental structural definition that may be extrapolated from these comprehensive constituent themes is this: the essential aspects of the medium's

communication with a discarnate were (1) the functioning of multiple modalities, (2) visual and (3) auditory mental images pertaining to the discarnate, (4) feeling the discarnate's ailments or cause of death, (5) smelling fragrances associated with the discarnate prior to his or her bodily death, (6) alterations of affect, and (7) empathy. These themes are in line with historical qualitative observations of mediums' experiences. For example, in a study of the information reported by five mediums published in 1963, Alain Assailly writes: "I believe we can distinguish between mental images and verbal thoughts. The mental images appear in various forms: . . . as visual translations of mental images; olfactory translations; [and] tactile translations" (Assailly, 1963: 366).

Participants' feedback and verification

As previously stated, the eight participants were contacted via email and invited to provide feedback and verification with regards to the comprehensive constituent themes. All IRMs stated that the comprehensive constituent themes captured the essential aspects of communication with a discarnate. For example, one IRM remarked: "Perfect! This is how I feel about your Comprehensive Constituent Themes. I like how you listed each and then described what you meant. Great job!" Similarly, another IRM stated, "I verify the seven comprehensive themes that you have listed. I believe you have covered the most common ways a medium experiences communication with a discarnate."

Methodological Shortcomings and Suggestions for Future Research

It is arguable that the present study's sample is too limited to capture the varieties of mediumistic experiences corresponding to the different levels of mediumistic trance and is, thus, not representative of all mediums. It is noteworthy, however, that while the sample size is small, the sample is highly select. As previously stated, the IRMs were carefully screened and tested. That is to say, the IRMs in this study are not a group of individuals claiming to be mediums, but rather a unique group of people who have documented mediumship skills and regularly participate in controlled research. In addition, as the trend continues to shift away from the trance and physical mediumship of the early twentieth century and toward mental mediumship (Fontana, 2003) in which the mediums remain fully conscious and aware, this small but select sample may indeed be more representative of American mediums in general than not. Consequently, the collective experiences of these modern-day mental mediums are worthy of analysis and reporting.

Due to the often substantial physical distances separating IRMs' residences and the research institution, the present study collected data using an electronic questionnaire. As previously stated, however, standard phenomenological practice considers a synchronous, face-to-face conversation between researcher and participant to be the most effective method of eliciting the essential components of an experience (e.g., Giorgi, 2000). Indeed, unstructured face-to-face

interviews may have elicited other important constituents of the IRMs' experience of communication with discarnates.

Another inherent limitation of the methodology used in the present study was that it did not constitute a controlled evaluation of mediums' phenomenology during communication with a discarnate. For example, the present study did not control for the duration of time lapsed between the medium's last discarnate communication reading and the completion of the questionnaire. It is arguable that by collecting data directly after mediums' readings, incomplete self-reports due to memory loss may be minimized. Furthermore, the present study's methodology could not control for the environmental settings where the discarnate communication readings occurred or mediums' mental sets prior to the readings. Consequently, all of the caveats associated with drawing conclusions from data collected using non-experimental methodology apply.

Future research may wish to use a 53-item retrospective phenomenological assessment instrument referred to as Pekala's (1991) Phenomenology of Consciousness Inventory (PCI) to quantify the intensity and pattern of phenomenological elements (e.g., visual mental imagery, altered experience, rationality, positive affect, volitional control) experienced by a medium whilst communicating with a discarnate. That is to say, the PCI would allow one to operationalize the "state of consciousness" experienced by a medium during anomalous information reception.

Furthermore, future research might use the PCI to quantify the intensity and pattern of phenomenological elements experienced by mediums during discarnate communication readings compared to psychic telepathy readings for the living. This may address whether the underlying phenomenological processes associated with "simple" psi (i.e., psychic telepathy) are quantitatively different from discarnate communication.

Conclusion

The present study identified seven essential aspects of contemporary research mediums' experiences during discarnate communication. In contrast to previous research which has been proof-orientated and, thus, concerned with replicating an anomalous information reception effect, the present study constitutes an initial step towards isolating the phenomenological processes underlying discarnate communication readings. A detailed understanding of these processes may, in turn, assist researchers with regards to determining the source of the purportedly non-local, non-sensory information mediums receive. That is to say, the phenomenological elements underpinning discarnate communication readings might include the medium's sense of whether the discarnate is imaginal (i.e., a projection of the medium's mental set) or exosomatic (i.e., independent of the medium's mind-body complex), and whether or not discarnate communication is experienced as arising by the same mechanisms as does telepathic information for the living.

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Notes

¹ Mediums performing readings with proxy sitters provide information for (and sometimes about) living people who are not present at the reading. Consequently, “sitter” would be more completely defined as a living person who requested a reading from a medium and who has a desire to receive information about one or more deceased people with whom s/he had an emotionally close relationship, irrespective of whether or not s/he is present for or hears the reading as it takes place. Conversely, a “proxy sitter” is a living person who is present for the reading, but is not the person for whom the information reported during a reading is intended. A proxy sitter may or may not have knowledge about the absent sitter or the deceased persons contacted during the reading.

² An early example of the recognition of the importance of mediums'

experiences can be found in an “Editorial Note” introducing a paper titled “The *modus operandi* of trance communication according to descriptions received through Mrs. Osborne Leonard” by C. Drayton Thomas in a 1928 issue of *Proceedings of the Society for Psychological Research*, in which the editor states: “Most of our papers concerned with mediumistic communications deal mainly with the question of the sources of such of the impressions received by mediums and automatists as appear to be beyond their reach in the normal state. The *modus operandi* now under discussion has no direct bearing on this question. Indirectly, however, it may throw much light on it, and in any case it is obviously a line of enquiry which those interested in psychical research are bound to pursue” (p. 49).

³ Schouten (1994) states: “The first extensive studies of verbal statements of mediums appeared about 100 years ago in the publications of the British and American psychical research societies. These studies were purely descriptive. Hundreds of pages were devoted to transcripts of readings of mediums and discussions of interpretations and the validity of the mediums' statements The subjective estimation of the significance of data became less acceptable and was gradually replaced by the application of quantitative and statistical evaluations” (pp. 222–223).

⁴ The modern shift toward mental mediumship is also apparent in the larger prospective medium subject pool: of close to 300 mediums from around the United States who had volunteered to participate in research, the vast majority do not experience trance states during their practices.

⁵ Mental mediumship “occurs in a conscious and focused waking state” (Buhrman, 1997: 13). In contrast, trance mediumship occurs in a “sleep-like state” and involves amnesia (Sher, 1981: 108). Mediumship can also include physical phenomena such as independent voices, paranormal lights, apports (objects that inexplicably appear), the levitation or movement of objects, ectoplasm, and raps on walls or tables (Fontana, 2005: 244).

⁶ The screening of research mediums no longer takes place at the University of Arizona. Similar screening procedures, under the direction of Dr. Julie Beischel, now take place at the Windbridge Institute for Applied Research in Human Potential (www.windbridge.org).