

**HUMANIZING THE DEAD: GHOSTS, SPIRITS AND
THE ROLE OF THE SPECIALISTS IN
SPIRITUALISM 1850 TO
THE PRESENT.**

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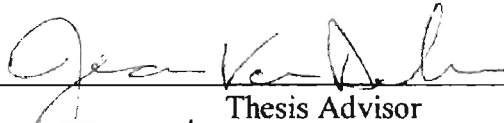
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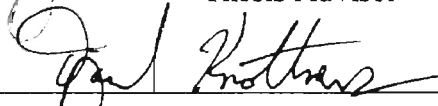
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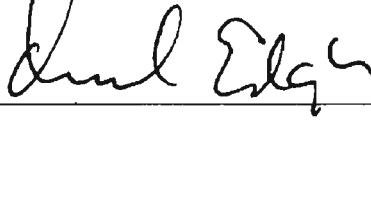
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Chapter One

Introduction

According to Owen Davies (1999:12) “during the late nineteenth century there occurred what has been described as the Occult Revival.” This was a renewed learned interest in ceremonial magic, encouraged by the popularity of spiritualism. Davies defined this Occult Revival as “the shift from solitary to collective magical practice, coupled with the formulation of a new magical tradition bringing together ancient pagan beliefs and the Christian occult philosophies of early modern Europe” (Davies 1999: 12). Spiritualism as defined by Guiley (2001), says that spiritualist phenomena fall into three main categories: mental mediumship, spiritual healing and physical mediumship. Mental mediumship includes trance work, automatisms, psychometry, and clairvoyance and other extra senses. Mental mediumistic skills include seances, which usually feature communications with the dead, psychic readings, spiritual healing and the teaching of psychic skills. Spiritual healing usually takes two forms: contact healing, which is the laying on of hands; and absent healing in which a medium works with spirit doctors and has no direct contact with the patient (570).

Physical mediumship involves the excrescence of ectoplasm from the medium as an interface with the spirit world, and is characterized by levitations, rappings, apports, telekinesis of objects, physical lights, music and smells, and other activities. Physical mediumship, very popular in the early days of Spiritualism is now rare (Guiley 2001: 570-571). Davies states that “though there had been a small number of erudite,

experimental magicians throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but the revival brought together large groups of individuals."

Bruce (1996) states this renewed interest in the occult was one reaction to modernity, where migration from the rural areas and population growth resulted in urbanization and industrialization. With the spread of mechanization and dehumanization this hurried social change coupled with a renunciation of religious belief as a means of salvation, all resulted in the tendency to be critical of the forming modern civilization. This vacuum created by modernity gave spiritualism a fertile setting to provide for the spiritual needs of large groups of persons that were dissatisfied with the direction that modernity was taking. This found expression in the form of turning to other worldliness, which in this case was the spirit world. This renewed spiritual interest expressed through the occult was a social phenomenon that affected ideas and beliefs from the late Victorian era into the present concerning the spirit world (Bruce 1996: 1-2).

This study examines the Spiritualist movement within the context of modernity and rationalization. Modernity here is defined as rationalization (bureaucratization). Because of this the increasing need for specialists and specialization concerning mediumship occurred. Through rational methods of professionalism spiritualists sought to legitimate their continued belief in the supernatural through communicating with deceased humans, rather than angels or deities with various superhuman qualities as spiritualist had done in the past. Thus, Humanizing the dead became the role of the specialists in Spiritualism. In modernity, the spirit world was no longer represented by deities, angels or demons, the communication with deceased human spirits or ghosts was consistent with the principles of science because ghosts

could be used as rational scientific evidence of the supernatural. According to Podmore (1963: 3) “the spiritualist relation to the occult associated with the occult revival differed from previous historical eras in that the relationship with the spirit world was based on departed humans rather than with demons or angels.” Spiritualism gradually incorporated Christian beliefs in communicating with deceased spirits. These spiritualist practices synthesized religious views and scientific ideas creating a bridge between old and new spiritualist beliefs as well as providing a mechanism to integrate the supernatural into an increasingly non-supernatural world (Bruce 1996: 1-7; Ford & Harmon Bro 1958: 26-27). This is a dynamic process, Spiritualist efforts to legitimate the supernatural led to the development of a model of professionalization for psychics and spirit mediums that is still evolving (Bruce 1996:214-215).

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to describe the process of rationalization and emerging professionalization by the spiritual specialists of psychics and spirit mediums. These specialists sought to professionalize in order to increase credibility and respect among the general public for psychic occupations. Weber (1958: 139, 155) looks on rationalization in general as a “deep-lying” tendency in modern society.” He further notes that the most significant aspect of rationalization as “ a process whereby life has become organized in terms of instrumental considerations: the concern with technical efficiency, the maximization of calculability and predictability, and the subordination of nature to human purposes.” Bruce (1996: 181-182, 214-219) concurs with Weber and further states that “Modern life is so fragmented for many people that they find it increasingly difficult to find a satisfying and fulfilling identity.” Given this world-view,

Spiritualists were forced to reconcile their beliefs to the rational scientific principles of the modern world. Codification and regulation are the beginnings of professionalization.

This study is organized using Freidson's (1984: 10) three-tenant model of professionalization as a theoretical "frame of reference." These are 1. expertise, 2. credentialism, 3. autonomy. This model will be used in this study. First I discuss the historical development of the current professionalization process. Second, I compare the similarities and inconsistencies of professional development with the professionalization experiences of alternative healing methods found in more traditional medicine. The comparison provided for a better understanding as to the importance and dominance of the professionalization in modern society among marginal groups such as psychics and spirit mediums (Wolinsky 1980: 291-302).

Statement of the Problem

This study discusses how psychics and spirit mediums adopted the ethics of and reconciled their practices to the area of professionalization and rationality and how are psychics integrating professionalization as an important part of their occupational experience? This study seeks to understand some of the answers to that question (Bruce 1996: 214-215).

The growing interest in the paranormal by the public in the 1970's and 1980's caused a resurgence of interest by academia for investigations into these social phenomena. This was largely because of the growth and organization of groups that promoted paranormal abilities. A brief review of sociological literature includes, Mehan and Wood (1975: 8-33) that wrote an article on the five features of reality that gives a comparison between paranormal beliefs and scientific beliefs in the formation of

incorrigible propositions of a reality which serve to judge others ways of knowing. This article provided an analytical means of understanding the life-world of groups with paranormal perspectives. Emmons (1982: 187-224) who wrote several studies on paranormal beliefs and experiences in China and made cross-cultural comparisons to the West. He looks at the close relationships between individuals, mediums as specialists and the spirit world to see what realities may exist independent from the influences of a particular culture. Emmons believes positive findings will provide better evidence that there is something to the paranormal that requires explanation by the scientific community. (1982: 249-255). Kollock (1995: 369-378) looked at paranormal beliefs and the construction of reality by individuals and groups. He put together an article on the social construction of reality, which included an essay concerning paranormal beliefs and how those were established among believers and internalized. The above articles provided insight into the world-view of the psychic and spirit medium by considering some possibilities on how their realities are constructed. This allowed for a better understanding of the problems faced by psychics and spirit mediums incorporating professionalization into the paranormal perspective.

Bruce (1996), has done extensive work on the sociology of religion in modernity. He draws historical analysis from past events and creates themes and patterns, which develop and apply to modern settings. He argues is that the popularity of the New Age Movement and Paranormal interest is an extension of individuality that has been occurring since the Protestant Reformation. He also briefly acknowledges the influence of the modern professional model on current New Age groups through the forming of professional associations (1996: 214-219,230-234).

Steward (1999), did a social movement analysis of groups involved in the metaphysical movement. He looked at psychic fairs and analyzed the paranormal beliefs established and reinforced by various means as individuals got involved in this social movement at the grassroots level. He sought to find what created solidarity in these groups (1999: 181-188). Goode (2000) has written a sociological text introducing paranormal belief systems from sociological perspectives. He approaches the topic from several levels and makes direct comparisons between belief systems in the scientific community and the paranormal community. He also acknowledges that paranormal beliefs have not received a great deal of sociological study. Goode portrays the inherent conflicts between these belief systems while maintaining an open objectivity concerning the truth of either one or the other.

Markovsky and Thye (2001: 21-41) take a social psychological perspective of paranormal beliefs and look at the impact of interpersonal transmission of paranormal beliefs using confederates in experiments in controlled settings. This was done to test social impact theory's three "source factors" strength, immediacy, and number. They found that first more subjects believed more strongly in pyramid power after hearing the credulous judgements of a confederate posing as a subject. Second influence was even greater when a high status confederate was used, indicating that the role of the specialist is important. Third influence was hardly diminished when the confederate was exposed to the subject by the experimenter. Removing paranormal implications heightened the confederate's impact.

Steward, Shriver and Chasteen (2002: 107-135), extended Steward's earlier study looking at solidarity and identity in a psychic community. They explored social

movement solidarity through the organizations at the grassroots level around metaphysical activities. They found that the movement's collective identity was predicated on several ideological commitments that help establish sociological boundaries and identities, which create collective consciousness. Hansen (2001: 423-430), has produced a text on the paranormal comparing paranormal beliefs and practices to the mythological archetype of the trickster in various cultures. He portrays paranormal beliefs as instruments for social change in society in an anti-institutional nature. He believes this aspect of the paranormal is embodied the myth of the trickster. His work is similar to Goode in that he makes comparisons between science and the paranormal on many levels.

These studies provided important conceptual considerations, first they indicated the importance of the professionalization of psychics and spirit mediums in the nineteenth century. Second they indicated the role of the specialist. The importance of professionalization and the role of specialists indicated two key modern rational principles found in other aspects of modernity and rationality.

Preview Of Remaining Chapters

This study is divided into five Chapters. Chapter II is a review of the historical background of Spiritualism and the emergence of specialists in the form of psychics and spirit mediums into various groups past to present. Chapter III Using Freidson's theory of professionalization the concepts of expertise, credentialism and autonomy are used to measure the professional development of the various categories of experience that emerged from the data used in this study. Chapter IV contains the methodology of this study, which is Ritzer's McDonaldization. Data collected includes the different groups of

psychics and spirit mediums, supplemented with observations of the current television psychic John Edward, then compared with other alternative healing practices. Chapter V is the analysis of the data and conclusions of the study, which summarizes the study in various categories of experience of the role of professionalization and the emergence of the specialists of psychics and spirit mediums. This final chapter analyzes the general motifs and themes that emerged from the literature that illustrate the process of professionalization including limitations and recommendations for further research.

Chapter Two

Historical Background

As defined by Wedeck Spiritualism is a cult devoted to the study of psychic phenomena. The belief is that such phenomena can be explained in terms of incarnate or discarnate spirits who are interested in the living. The inception of Spiritualism is assigned to the year 1848, when the Fox sisters gave fantastic exhibitions of their powers to contact the dead (1971: 324). According to Ford the National Spiritualist Association of America, defines Spiritualism as "the science, philosophy and religion of continuous life, based upon the demonstrated fact of communication, by means of mediumship, with those who live in the Spirit World." (1958:26). I suggest that the Spiritualist movement, which coincided with the onset of modernity, was a social phenomenon that was right for the time and place in which it began. The industrial revolution, which brought about so many changes in traditional society, suggested to those persons interested in spiritualism that change in older religious notions and beliefs might be possible as well; however, a tension continued to exist. Scientific understandings, which were driving the progress of modernity, discounted the beliefs of spiritualists because they were perceived to have no basis in rationality. But because science did not enjoy the hegemony that it has today, spiritualists did not concern themselves with the approval of the scientific community. Nevertheless, early modern psychics and spirit mediums found themselves in a difficult position. As they were opposed by both traditional religion and progressive science. In

some sense the spiritualists were caught in middle between religion and science (Goode 2000: 22, 40-42)(Bruce 1996: 1-7). Maple (1968: 13) argues that the profession of medicine developed as a process of emancipating medicine from the supernatural and transferring it to the laboratory of cause and effect. I argue that this same type of tension was a significant factor in the development of the role of specialist of psychics and spirit mediums from the turn of the 20th century to the present, into a professional organization similar to other professionals. The major difference being the Spiritualist tried to retain the supernatural element into modernity (Bruce 1996: 208-209).

Literature Review: The Emergence and Growth of Spiritualism

The literature review provided here is divided into two parts. The first part discusses the historical means by which society has passed down its ideas and beliefs about psychics and spirit mediums as well as the spirit world. Then, the second part, describes the more modern and scientific search for understanding of psychics and spirit mediums and the spirit world.

I will use a literary ethnography as my method of analysis. A literary ethnography is drawing on numerous literary works of various types written about or by psychics and spirit mediums. These works cover a range of phenomena associated with psychics and spirit mediums, including descriptions of the individuals themselves. There is also a broad range of experience among the authors as to education, culture and time periods. A literary ethnography lends itself to all the problems that are embedded in such a work. Within the collection of these literary works it is hoped that the relevant themes will emerge that create that composite portrait (Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994).

My thesis provides, in part a historical analysis of how modern spiritualism emerged from previous periods. The new understandings have often grown out of the old understandings concerning the world of the spirit. In this overlapping there is sometimes just a direct continuation of ancient ideas and beliefs; other times there is a growth of new and expanded versions of ideas and beliefs.¹ Sometimes there are fundamental changes in ideas and beliefs. Though the literature review is chronological in a sense here, there is also an effort at showing how various persons in various ways perpetuate some of these works into current efforts (Ford & Harmon Bro 1958: 23-29; Montgomery 1999: 9-20; Edward 1999:12-17).

Early Scientific Curiosity

At the turn of the 20th century, the ontological discussion of ghosts as phenomena began to be looked at as a possible reality with a determination to find scientific causes by scholars of science. According to Myers this began in the late 19th Century. It was during this process that psychics and spirit mediums began to be considered in terms of a profession (1903: 1-4). From the works of these scholars, the problems of this kind of study have become very evident. Allan Kardec's *The Spirits' Book*, published in 1857 described a philosophy and outlined some particular core principles of Spiritist doctrine, some of which would later be applied to the spiritualist religion.² This important early work expresses some of the professionalism concerns by explaining the inconsistencies

Some of the most ancient texts, which have affected mankind's beliefs concerning ghosts and the spirit world in general, are *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, *The Bagavad Gita*, *The Dhammapada*, *The Gilgamesh Epic*, *The Bible*, *The Torah* and *the Koran*. These texts and others have become a part of whole sets of ideas and beliefs in modern times. These ideas and beliefs provide the foundation belief systems.

² Allan Kardec was the spirit pseudonym for a Frenchman named Leon-Denizarth-Hippolyti Rivail. Rivail claimed the spirit wrote this work through him.

of statements made by various contemporary spirit mediums. *The Spirit's Book* is an obvious attempt to bring consistency to the Spiritualists movement (Kardec 1874: 9-11; 1996: v-vii).

A sequel published in 1874 by Kardec was an attempt to classify and codify mediums. Its "semi-rational" approach of using the five senses that various mediums use, such as sight, hearing or smell for communication with spirits or ghosts would set examples and framework for research that came shortly later (Kardec 1874: 201-218). According to Myers (1903) the British Society of Psychical Research would later perform the majority of research. They would frame many of their ideas concerning the senses along the lines established by Kardec/Rivail. Later, researchers of the British Society for Psychical Research would adopt Kardec's ideas about classifying mediums by which of the five senses they used to contact the spirit world. They also included the number of senses involved in the appearance of a ghost in determining the validity of the case. This "sense" framework became the official method to validate ghosts and hauntings as genuine. The reasoning was the more senses that were involved the more valid the case can be considered because several senses involved in observing the phenomena were harder to discredit than a single sense (Myers 1903: 19-20).

Myers stated that He and Henry Sidgwick are said to have considered research in this area of human survival as early as 1869 in his diary (Tyrrell 1961: v; Podmore 1963 ix). Myers established in *The Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death*, a foundation of terms and working theories to go with the case studies listed (1903: xiii-xivi). This work became an authoritative source for later researchers. Edmund Gurney, Eleanor Mildred Sidgwick, F.W.H. Myers and Frank Podmore (1886) classified and

categorized hundreds of case studies that became the standard for later publications as to methods and working theories for understanding and studying spirit manifestations and the appearance of ghosts (Sidgwick 1962: 23-30).

In these early works of the 18th century the specialists of the spirit world are simply labeled mediums or sensitives (Myers 1903: xviii). The authored works by Podmore in the 19th century termed psychics and spirit mediums as professional.³ Podmore never defines what is meant by the term “professional medium” in his writing. According to Podmore (1963:15) and Myers (1903: 5-6), Emanuel Swedenborg can be classified as the first modern spiritualist because he spoke of spirits as human departed rather than demons or angels.⁴ I found that all these works have contributed to the collection and categorization of data concerning ghosts, and further that the most famous and credible of the psychics and spirit mediums were beginning to be loosely labeled professional at this point. Often this only meant that mediumship provided their sole support as an occupation or that they were famed among the general public, and they had not been proven at any time to be frauds (Myers 1903: 238-239). F.W.H. Myers stated that “the educated world—that part of it, at least, which science leads—is waking up to find that . . . the great hope which inspired their forefathers aforesaid is insensibly vanishing away” (Vulliamy 1926: 178). According to Kardec (1996: v) In the Prologue of *The Spirit's Book*, this phenomena of spirit contact was happening allover the world and in need of being explained. I argue the two above statements express the tension felt by the scientist on one side watching the eroding of religious views by scientific ideas, and the

³ Frank Podmore's volumes were reprinted into the works entitled *Mediums of the 19th century*.

⁴ Guiley states “the Enlightenment, with its emphasis on science and intellectual thought, was a time when angels retreated to the realm of poetry and romantic fantasy, and mystics such as Emanuel Swedenborg.

Spiritualist on the other side seeking legitimacy on the other side through scientific methods to establish the supernatural in modernity (Podmore 1963:351; Bruce 1996: 206). Hudson (1893: 105-122) attempted a systematic study of hypnotism, spiritism, and mental therapeutics, and was one of the first to consider the healing possibilities connected with the phenomena.

According to Myers (1903:636-645) all of this information being gathered concerning ghosts was considered important because ghosts are the only tangible proof of the afterlife and immortality. I argue this search for the existence of ghosts was same engine driving both Spiritualist as well as the scientist in this effort to get at a better understanding of the spirit world (1903: 636-645; Tyrrell 1961: v).

In the United States William James, the American psychologist also was interested in the findings of the British Society of Psychical Research, led him to start a similar society called the American Society for Psychical Research in Boston. William James personally studied the famous medium, Mrs. Piper, which led him to conclude that there was more to the phenomena than was realized by the scientific community (James 1958:41).

A universal proposition can be made untrue by a particular instance. If you wish to upset the law that all crows are black, you must not show that no crows are; it is enough if you prove one single crow to be white. My own white crow is Mrs. Piper. In the trances of this medium, I cannot resist the conviction that knowledge appears which she has never gained by the ordinary waking use of her eyes and ears and wits. What the source of this knowledge may be I know not, and have not the glimmer of an explanatory suggestion to make; but from admitting the fact of such knowledge I can see no escape. So when I turn to the rest of the evidence, ghosts and all, I cannot carry with me the irreversibly negative bias of the "rigorously scientific" mind, with its presumption as to what the true order

Swedenborg called the souls of the dead "angels" and said he visited with them in the afterlife during his mystical trances" (Guiley 1992: 10).

of nature ought to be. I feel as if, though the evidence be flimsy in spots, it may nevertheless collectively carry heavy weight."

Podmore (1968: 334) did not believe that Mrs. Piper was legitimate. He felt that her abilities were all attributable to telepathy or other possible explanations such as gaining information before hand by gleaning them from public records or newspapers.

These early works over time provided the intellectual foundation for future research and catalogued thousands of ghost stories. This occurred over a hundred year period from 1800 to 1900. The phenomena were categorized using the "sense" framework discussed earlier, which was number of senses involved during an encounter with the ghost. This scientific investigation lent some credibility to psychics and spirit mediums. I argue this "halo effect" extends credibility to current times and is a strategy still used by some groups of believers in various psychics and spirit mediums (Podmore 1963: 348-361). I define this halo effect as when the prestige and honor earned in one discipline lends credibility and legitimacy to another discipline that the individual is also associated with (Bruce 1996: 202). Warman (1914) did not accept the supernatural arguments of his colleagues, he believed that there were scientific answers for all of the phenomena being studied. Though he did accept telepathy as a working theory to understand some of the more unexplainable phenomena such as the obtaining of information by a psychic or spirit medium that was unknown to the individual but later confirmed. Warman often cites Hudson in his writings.

Flournoy (1911: 22-30) the early psychologist agreed with the idea that there were psychological reasons to explain the phenomena involved in spiritualism. He believed that there was a spirit world but that it not possible to contact it. He believed spirit guides were a part of the mediums own personality, and that the scientific community was afraid

that psychic ability threatened the immutable laws of the universe. Carrington (1908, 1957) wrote a number of books defending paranormal studies and at the same time attacking scientific criticisms of those same studies. He was one of the first to argue that Rationalism was based upon the fundamental conception that "religion is the opiate of the people," that survival in any form is a base superstition, and that Materialism is the only true philosophy upon which a system can flourish according to science. This in his opinion was a biased and reductionist argument (1947: 68). Carrington worked with the psychics Arthur Ford and Eileen Garrett and coached both of them on how to improve their talents for scientific research (Garrett 1968: 100). He felt that science was wearing blinders when paranormal studies were involved. G.N.M. Tyrrell (1953) differentiated apparitions from ghosts and psychical phenomena by arguing that apparitions are the unexplained appearances of living persons while a ghost is a dead person. An apparition then is a living person appearing to be at two locations at the same time.

Podmore (1963: 354) states, as these men died, so did much of their research efforts, as there was no one to carry on what they had started. This was especially true as men of science turned their attentions to more traditional scientific studies. Podmore further argues that death or retirement of its early champions led to decreased interest in Spiritualism without replacing them scientific interest gradually waned.⁵

All of these early scientific researchers assumed that Spiritualism was based on a set of observable phenomena, which if true gave Spiritualism a foundation in empirical facts, which could not be claimed by other faith based religions (Carrington 1947: 70).

⁵ There have been many authors over time that has touched on the ideas of human personality survival and immortality. A good anthology of these works can be found in Paul Edwards work *Immortality*, which covers the works spanning from Plato to more modern works like Antony Flew (Edwards 1997). As these

Mediums and Challenges to Science

Several psychics and spirit mediums began to professionalize their paranormal activities and professions as an alternative to science. Mediums pursued careers such as Arthur Ford, who set the standards of professionalism among mediums. Ford began his career as a trance medium in the 1920s. Ford had a powerful effect on later mediums in terms of being a conduit for communication for spirits, for working with scientific researchers and making detractors come clean with their facts concerning frauds (Ford & Harmon Bro 1958: 55). Julien Proskauer (1946) wrote a book on psychics and spirit mediums as frauds. It was a balanced work that emphasized fraud, but at the same time acknowledges that there are genuine psychics, spirit mediums and psychic phenomena research. The Late Harry Houdini inspired Proskauer. Houdini had exposed so many psychics and mediums through the 1920s and 1930s (Proskauer 1946: 92).⁶

Eileen Garrett (1968), also an early 20th century trance medium, was unusual in that she believed her spirit guides to be the symbolic creations of her subconscious mind. This subconscious creation was for the purpose of making the external knowledge acceptable to the conscious mind. However she believed the information that she received in trance was "valid" and from an external source. Through her work with researchers and parapsychologists, Garrett affected the ideas and beliefs of later mediums

men died so did much of their research efforts, as there was no one to carry on what they had started. This was especially true as men of science turned their attentions to more traditional scientific studies.

⁶ Mediumship is often seen as a mental disorder as well as fraud. It cannot be dismissed as a mere mental disorder however because of the control factor involved in mediumship. Schizophrenics have no control over their experiences. Mediumship is seen as a gift that the medium learns to control. Mediums use mediumship for spiritual growth and to help others. Schizophrenics lose their ability to function in normal reality (Guiley 1992: 221).

(Garrett 1968: 93-94). In the 1930s and 1940s Edgar Cayce introduced several ideas concerning the spirit world and reincarnation together in his sleeping trance like secessions which were primarily for healing purposes (Sugrue 1967: 341-351). Later, Jess Stearn (1967,1973) collected Cayce's transcripts and introduced Cayce to the general public. *Edgar Cayce, The Sleeping Prophet* published in 1967 became a virtual bible for later psychics and spirit mediums. Cayce's established this legitimacy by incorporating several of his own personal values into his professional practice. He was a Christian, and made that fact known. He did not charge his patients for his trance readings. Cayce devoted the majority of his work to healing others. He died in January of 1945. (Sugrue 1967: 354-359).

Beyond his own personal values there were other aspects of Cayce's profession that impressed the general public. Medical Doctors as well as patients came to Cayce about cases that were deemed incurable. His knowledge prescribed during a trance seemed to go far beyond his own personal knowledge of medicine in his every day life. All these factors contributed to the general consensus that Cayce's life was devoted to the benefit of others rather than any type of self-benefit. For these reasons it seems that Edgar Cayce is seen as a legitimate source by most if not all of those who study the spirit world. Many mediums from very different backgrounds make reference to his ideas and beliefs through his trance readings (Shermer 1997: 65-72). Cayce had met Dr. Rhine at Duke University and talked with him on about his abilities (Sugrue 1967: 342-346). Rhine (1937,1957) started researching the scientific causes of telepathy, Psychokinesis labeled "PK" and extra sensory perception labeled "ESP" at Duke University, this research showed that individuals could achieve results that were beyond what was

expected by chance. Here again scientific discovery bolstered beliefs held by the paranormal communities and lending credibility to their expertise (Rhine 1956: 154-156). I found this aspect of persons like Cayce the trance medium on one side of the public spectrum and Dr. Rhine on the other side led to leaving the question open to speculation in the mind of the general public. Rhine with William McDougal from 1920 till Rhine's death in 1980 made the study of psychic phenomena respectable in the academic world by bringing the study into the laboratory in experimental settings (Baker & Nickell 1992: 57-58).

According to Bruce (1996: 198-200) psychic and medium groups have passed down ideas about the spirit world through story telling, literature and theater. These narratives form the core of the literature used to transfer knowledge. This limited contact with spiritualists to social networks and personal friendships changed with the advent of science and technology, which brought new means of considering and viewing the spirit world as well as perpetuating its narratives have evolved especially since the inventions of radio, television, photography and tape recording. Bell (1997: 168), argues these inventions have dramatically expanded the numbers of persons that see and hear about a ghost story as well as the ability to study that same story. Technology also significantly changed the avenue of exposure from personal to an impersonal transmission of supernatural knowledge. This transmission of impersonal knowledge is consistent with modernity, where human interaction changes from closed kinship groups to open non-kinship groups (Bruce 1996: 198-200).

The 1950s: a New Era

A technical innovation was introduced in the 1950s called electric voice phenomena or (EVP). In his latest book Harold Sherman (1949, 1993) chronicled the use of electronic voice phenomena in ghost hunting. EVP is considered a cutting edge tool for the study of spirit voices on tape recordings. EVP is a tool used to acquire evidence of the spirit world. This tangible evidence of the spirit world has increased the credibility of psychics and spirit mediums. These incremental advancements established the groundwork for professionalization of psychics and spirit mediums (Sherman 1993: 3-5). It must be remembered however that this kind of proof is not to the satisfaction of those that hold to basic scientific principles, because there is no basis for understanding the evidence according to science because of the lack of hard data (Truzzi 1999: 11).

A career dating back to the 1960s, Ruth Montgomery (1966, 1999) has studied the spirit world. Before this however she was already established as a nationally known professional journalist. Her professional credibility and trust already established in Journalism lent credibility as a trance medium and her psychic automatic writing abilities in her new career. This pattern of thinking that an educated and professional individual is more likely to be genuine concerning a psychic career is often now used as a strategy by other modern psychics and spirit mediums. Montgomery has outlined future events predicted by her spirit guides from spirit world. She claimed one of these guides is the deceased medium Arthur Ford. Before her death in June of 2001 she had published a plethora of books about one a year concerning various aspects of the spirit world such as spirit guides, reincarnation, walk-ins, possession, and mediumship. She was a highly respected journalist before she started her work in the psychic field. Journalism provided

the halo effect for her in her psychic occupation. Ruth Montgomery often makes reference to many of the ancient religious text mentioned earlier and to Edgar Cayce in her books. She also makes reference to Arthur Ford as one of her spirit guides providing a lineage of thought. Her last book is in some ways a summation of all her other books (Montgomery 1999: 9-15, 23-25, 119-124).

1970 to the Present, Breaking Through to the Mainstream

By the 1970s Spiritualism came within the sphere of the medical profession through new scientific studies of death. In the 1970s there was a number of works published by medical doctors, psychologist and psychiatrist concerning near death experiences, past life regressions and spirit possessions. One of the earliest and most noted of these books was by Raymond Moody M.D. (1975) entitled *Life after Life*. In this work Moody gives several case studies of various individual near death experiences. Moody's book was a breakthrough for a topic that had been nearly taboo in the field of medicine. Melvin Morse M.D. and Paul Perry (1990) authored a book called *Closer to the Light* with a similar theme concerning the near death experiences of children. Brian L. Weiss (1996) a psychiatrist, authored *Only Love Is Real* in which he outlines several case studies on his patients past lives and possible reincarnations. Weiss also makes references to the ancient religious text mentioned earlier in his literary works. Elizabeth Hanley (1977) a journalist, wrote the book *Life after Death*, which outlined several cases of reincarnation in the mid-west. Michael Newton is a hypnotherapist that has written books concerning the life that persons experience as spirits between lives. He chronicles and compiles information learned from his patients under hypnosis.⁷ His book suggests a

⁷ There are many institutions of learning, which are currently involved with the teaching of new methods of alternative healing for mental health. These include schools of hypnotherapy. A good example of such an

system of stratification in the spirit world (Newton 1999: 103-105). Many of Newton's findings and case studies are in his latest books *Journey of Souls* and *Destiny of Souls*. In his books Michael Newton makes brief reference to many of the same ancient texts examined in the background information in this thesis (1999: 105). All of these persons in the fields of psychology and psychiatry mentioned here have again lead to a halo affect of lending credibility to psychics and spirit mediums from their own respective fields in mental health science. Hypnosis is the vehicle, which is used to gain the altered states to make use of the psychic techniques, which they are incorporating into their various practices. They also provide an example of professionals that are accepted somewhat in both the world of the psychic and the scientist, though scientists however couch their own discoveries in theories of hypnosis as an explanation for the various kinds of information that is obtained (Weiss 1993: 14; Goode 2000: 119-121). Hypnosis simply being a method to tap into the sub-conscious mind and memory (Korth 1958: 25). Others claim they do not understand the phenomena, but that something is happening (Weiss 1993: 14; Goode 2000: 119-121). Bell (1997: 168-172) suggests that psychology has provided a legitimate alternative in many cases to make the use of psychic and paranormal practices for effective treatment of patients with mental health issues okay for persons that do not wish to involve themselves with the occult.

In the late 1990s and now through 2002, John Edward (1999) a psychic and medium has authored several books and currently has a television series called crossing over in which he acts as a medium and makes contact with the spirit world for those in his viewing audience. John Edward's TV show and books provide systematic

institution is the Hypnotherapy Training Institute of Santa Rosa, California. This school is set up along very traditional educational lines of training with degree plans. Their web site is at:

instructions on how to make contact with the spirit world. His books are autobiographical in nature and record his development and psychic growth as well as several case studies(1999: 219-231). John makes reference to mediums Ruth Montgomery, Brian Weiss and George Anderson in some of his books (1999: 12,57,119,159). John Edward's book *One Last Time*, published 1999, also instructs others how to develop their own psychic abilities to contact the spirit world (1999::221-231). It becomes evident that in the literature lineages of thought have developed and been promoted and passed on over time. There is also a new development among some authors to see this new interest in reincarnation and psychic phenomena as a part of the development of human evolution of the senses. Art Bell, Robert Redfield and Peter Zukav all have suggested that evolution of the senses are often presented as a real alternative explanation to the rising beliefs in paranormal (Zukav 1990, 2000, 2001; Redfield 1994,1996; Bell 1997:162-178).

The literature review, through the development of a body of knowledge and growth of expertise, points to a trend toward professionalization over time. This study analyzes professionalization of psychics and spirit mediums that has resulted in their greater legitimacy and public acceptance, demonstrated by the current efforts being made by psychics and spirit mediums to incorporate more professional approaches to their professional fields of work (Bruce 1996: 214-215).

Research Questions were drawn from this literature are as follows. First, what kinds of patterns exist concerning early beliefs and ideas about psychic phenomena that led to psychics and mediums to seek professionalization? Second, from these patterns, I asked what determined the themes that related to different types of psychic groups? The

comparisons and contrasts were then found concerning ideas and beliefs among psychics and spirit mediums concerning professionalization. Third, I found how these patterns were viewed in both paranormal worldviews and the worldviews of science? Fourth what other groups or events impacted paranormal beliefs and development concerning professionalization over time. I found in the historic literature that professionalization for psychics and spirit mediums were formed in a crucible of Spiritualist, religious, paranormal and scientific belief systems. This synthesis took several forms, which created the need for different kinds of paranormal specialists. This process was concurrent with adopting the professional modern model for promotion and development of these forming belief systems.

I now turn to a discussion of this modern model of professionalism concerning psychics and spirit mediums. Thomas Haskell (1984), argues professionalism is a social product of the mid-nineteenth century. It was at that time that a critical mass of population and in terms of increased income making it possible for substantial numbers of people to earn a living selling advice and specialized services, rather than producing food or other tangible goods. Further he argues that the seemingly endless ranks of specialized experts we see about us today were brought into being by the enormous creation of the division of labor that occurred along with industrialization and the rise of the city (1984: xii-xiii). These actions that arose, with the steady growth and acceptance of the formal rational view, have led psychics and spirit mediums to formal rational organization model. This is to gain a larger consensus of ideas and beliefs internally that are consistent among themselves and externally to other similar respective organizations.

This push toward legitimacy and acceptance reveals the professionalization process in its infancy. Modern day psychics and spirit mediums are forming organizations, seminars, and retreats to codify their abilities and talents, and public attitudes appear to be more favorable toward psychics and spirit mediums than they were a century ago. This educational process appears to be more of a internalized way to transfer knowledge rather than a conscious effort to promote professionalism. Psychics and spirit mediums have become a pervasive aspect of mass media, and although they are not accepted as legitimate or professional by the entrenched professions (such as Law, Medicine and Education), they are moving toward greater public acceptance.

The primary vehicle through which psychics and spirit mediums are improving their public image is the process of professionalization. There are varied levels of awareness of this process of becoming professional among psychics and spirit mediums. Most appear to be directed towards professionalism by the external forces beyond their control such as competition and public expectations. Others, like psychic Eilene Garrett who worked with the researchers in parapsychology, became aware of the need for a professional stance for reasons of academic legitimacy. John Edwards is currently marketing his television show along with three books, videos and tapes on how to develop psychic abilities on both television and radio. He appears very conscious of professional needs in the development of his occupation for business purposes. It was the intent of this thesis to look at professionalism and see how it affected psychics and spirit mediums in their quest for legitimacy and acceptance by the public as an occupation. The application of professionalism by different psychics to their respective fields had consequences that were unexpected and dimensions that were unintended.

These kinds of concerns and tensions were also of interest to this research effort. By applying a conventional model of professions to the paranormal world, this research contributed to a better understanding of how all professions, not just the one described in this thesis, emerge, grow, and change over time in response to shifts in public opinion.

Summary

The Historical background informs this study in several ways. All of these have to do with the development of modern psychics and spirit mediums. First there was the development of Spiritualism, which led to the development of the early psychics and mediums as specialists. Second, from the early psychics and mediums came the development of a body of knowledge of psychic ways of knowing concerning mediumship. Third, this body of knowledge in text form later provided for the development of lineages of thought, which created several categories of experience for current psychics and spirit mediums. Different kinds of specialists arose from different categories of experience. The historic literature also provided insights into the influences on Spiritualism and its specialists from outside sources, which promoted scientific as well as religious principles and understandings into the paranormal perspectives. This is a synthesis, which is still occurring today.

A brief overview of this process is as follows, the rise of modernity brought on the erosion of religious values. This created a vacuum that provided fertile ground for the development of Spiritualism. This was largely due to the synthesis that Spiritualism provided between the values of the scientific community and those of the Christian community. With the rise in Spiritualism there also arose a need for specialists to communicate with the dead. These communications provided the necessary evidence for

survival beyond physical death. The rise in Spiritualism also sparked interest in some members of the scientific community and the resulting collaboration between these individuals created a halo effect that endures to the present. The experiences of the early researchers and psychics resulted in a body of literature forming that provided in text form the development of future lineages of thought concerning psychic ways of knowing. These psychic ways of knowing later developed into several categories of experience among psychics and spirit mediums. I found that these categories of experience have had different and direct affects upon the professionalization process of the various psychic and medium groups in the development of paranormal specialists. I further found that all of these specialists were adopting aspects of the professional model used by the dominate modern culture.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Concerns

This work is a descriptive account of four categories of experience among psychics and spirit mediums concerning the emerging professionalism in their occupations. The four categories of experience that emerged out of the data researched were, charismatic psychic groups, hierarchical psychic groups, technological research groups and professional researchers. The argument here is that rationality is modernity: Professionalism is one aspect of modernity. This study looks at how psychics and spirit mediums are swept up in professionalism. The psychic movement began as one reaction to modernity yet has taken on the characteristics of the very thing it sought to circumvent. Weber (1958: 155) argued that “the fate of our times was characterized by rationalization and intellectualization and, above all, disenchantment of the world.” He further stated that “A really definitive and good accomplishment is today always a specialized accomplishment.” This brought about the need for special disciplines in modernity, which resulted in professionalization (1958: 135, 152). Bruce (1996: 214) concurs with Weber and sees some New Age practitioners as embracing the professional model for preserving their knowledge, improving the training of others, and increasing the status and public acceptance of their skills. I argue that psychics and spirit mediums are caught up in this professionalization process in their role as specialists. Their experiences are set

here in this study, against the backdrop of Eliot Freidson's (1984: 10) three-tenant model of professionalization as a theoretical "frame of reference." These are 1. expertise, 2. credentialism, 3. autonomy. This model will be used in this study. First I discuss the historical development of the current professionalization process. Second, I compare the similarities and inconsistencies of professional development with the professionalization experiences of alternative healing methods found in more traditional medicine. This frame of reference is necessary to show the emergence and development of a drive towards rationality by these groups in the form of professionalization.

Theorists have taken several different theoretical approaches to professionalism. Magali Sarfatti Larson (1984) applied a class relevance to expertise. Larson sees experts as members of a class who acquire expertise because the groups to which they belong are favorably situated in society-wide systems of dominance. Though this is true of more established professions such as medicine, a class antagonist perspective is less relevant to the psychic and spirit medium professions, which are in their infancy. The psychic and spirit medium professions are marginal and still dependent upon the public for their continued existence, and do not constitute a dominant group themselves. Krause (1971) argues "that there is little persecution or prosecution of such individuals by organized medicine, which is not threatened by them." More entrenched professions that have acquired wealth and prestige can dominate in areas of expertise. For example, the medical profession can dominate through credentialing laws and license's and review boards leaving less powerful professions or individuals powerless to resist.

Thomas Bender (1984) shows the development of professionalism within a matrix of intellectual traditions. These traditions include things like family ties, philosophical

societies, colleges, library companies and the local community. These intellectual traditions preceded the modern university. With the onset of modernity, the modern university superceded these traditions. The University created a community of specialists. Bender argues this caused a narrowing of the focus that had pre-existed the university. The confusion was caused by the lack of integrated intellectuals, which had existed prior to modernity. This left cities unable to confront their problems as a whole. (Haskell 1984: xxv). Bender's theory also seems better suited for a later stage of professionalism that has already been established to some degree. Since psychics and spirit mediums did not develop expertise within the university system Bender's model does not apply to them.

Freidson (1984: 10-11) defines three major characteristics or traits of social institutions that are understood to be professions: (1) expertise, (2) credentialism and (3) autonomy. An example of "expertise" is a special knowledge or skill that when applied supplies some basic need of society. An example of "credentialism" is an educational system for formal training that allows for the transference of knowledge. Credentialism becomes a prerequisite for competent performance. An example of "autonomy" is the ability of the occupation to govern itself internally. Only a small proportion of credentialed occupations can be considered self-governed or autonomous. This work intends to look at these three traits of professionalism as they relate to psychics and spirit mediums. These traits should be evident in the development and continued growth of psychics and spirit mediums as accepted and respected occupations. While it is understood that psychics and spirit mediums have had to develop their own institutions and organizations to achieve occupational respect. It is argued that they are being

patterned after other professional models already in existence. A major contribution of this work, then, is that it applies a model of “rational” professions superimposed on the paranormal spirit world.

Though other theorists have approached professionalism in different ways, Freidson’s (1984: 10) model appears to be well suited for looking at the developing professionalism of psychics and spirit mediums in its infancy. This model considers the traits in an emerging process of professionalism. Freidson’s model runs smoothly from one stage to the next as it relates to psychics and spirit mediums. For example, beginning with the charismatic groups with special talents and abilities. Ideally that group’s expertise is developed in a very independent manner. This expertise then turns into credentialism as that leader shares insights with others within the leader’s group. This credentialism is formalized and institutionalized after the passing of the original founder into a method of training and transference, which leads to the second group as holders of this specific ability or talent. This becomes the hierarchical psychic group. If this knowledge transfer is regulated through its members code of ethics or other types of internal regulation then it achieves a measure of autonomy (1984:10-11). These stages are considered more in depth in the following four categories of experience, which emerged from the literary ethnography, observations and comparisons made in this study.

Expertise: Traditional and Modern.

When looking at the strategies that modern psychics and spirit mediums use to achieve professionalization, I considered four questions. First, how did individuals become psychics or spirit mediums in the four categories of experience? Second, how did the form of communication adopted to connect this world with the spirit world affect

their expertise or special skills? Third, what were the obstacles or assistance presented by the dominate culture to the expertise of psychics and spirit mediums? Fourth, what is the important social need or function that psychics and spirit mediums can provide to society such that society grants them professional status? All of these questions were considered against the backdrop of Freidson's (1984: 10) three tenants of professionalization 1.expertise, 2.credentialism, and 3.autonomy for each category of experience.

The atmosphere that surrounds the psychic and spirit medium in the role of the specialist starts with ideas of expertise in this paranormal worldview. In the first category of experience the charismatic psychic groups, the first pattern that emerges is that of "expertise." For these psychics and spirit mediums expertise begins with spontaneous personal experiences. Often this expertise is attributed to be hereditary (Edward 1999:162; Garrett 1968: 11; Ford & Harmon Bro 1958:3). Often both of these seemingly contradictory elements appear in the development of the individual psychic or spirit medium. These patterns appear to be the case across cultures. For the purposes of this work George Anderson's definitions of a psychic and a spirit medium will be used as the explanation of their respective differences. Anderson describes a psychic as one that learns information in an intuitive fashion. An example of this might be telepathy. A spirit medium is one that forms a conduit for communication between the spirit world and this world (Anderson 1999: 11). A spirit medium has a direct conversation with the spirit world. An individual can be a psychic or a spirit medium or both. This definition is broad enough to cover a broad spectrum of psychics and spirit mediums, and is related to professionalism because of the different types of communications happening here, which

divide these persons into two separate groups. The charismatic psychics expertise tended to be ascribed expertise at least in its beginnings. Because of some spontaneous event possibly combined with heredity they were born with this special psychic talent or ability. Later as they honed their skills it became an achieved expertise in the self-taught ability to interpret the symbolic communication involved in their particular skill.

A second question concerning expertise is also bound up in forms of communication that psychics or spirit mediums use for connecting this world with the spirit world. These forms of communication are either direct forms of communication such as a trance state where the spirit of the deceased speaks directly through the medium or indirect forms of communication such as use of physical objects such as tarot cards, crystal balls, ouija boards and other types of oracles. These different patterns of communication created sub-groups that vary in terms of acceptance and legitimacy among the public (Bruce 1996: 209).

Another paradoxical question concerns the relatively low status of the modern psychic or spirit medium. I argue that Christianity and Scientific views are responsible for this lower status. In the past in ancient cultures these persons were often highly respected. In the west psychics and spirit mediums had a running conflict with the Christian church and developing science. Expertise then went from a high point at the onset of modernity with the spiritualist movement and dropped accordingly with the gains of knowledge in science. Podmore (1968: 354) states that after 1870 the caliber of researchers in the area of psychical research began to wane as these persons began to die or retire till the turn of the century, which caused a paradigm shift. I argue that as belief in the professions established in science became the accepted sociological boundary, any

other beliefs contrary to scientific ones would become paranormal. Goode (2000:29) argues the worldview of the psychics and spirit mediums became a paranormal world as defined by the dominant culture of science. Goode (2000:178) further argues that this same fate happened to religion, which became tamed of its emotional and irrational quality as science became the dominating world-view. This hegemony of science has resulted in tension between scientist and the psychics and spirit mediums. Psychics and spirit mediums are forced to push the boundaries beyond those allowed by the accepted beliefs in science, this results in them being labeled as deviant. Until very recently, this has been a very real obstacle to the achievement of a professional status for psychics and spirit mediums (Goode 2000: 40-42). Haskell (1984: xiii), Krause (1971: 112) argue that the 1970s produced a public distrust of entrenched professions that had not occurred since the times of Andrew Jackson in the 1840s when elitism became virtually despised. I argue that this mistrust of professions in general allowed for alternative possibilities to arise in many professions with psychics and spirit mediums being just one of those alternative professions to benefit. Psychics and spirit mediums on the other hand accept scientific advances and try to use these same advances to their advantage whenever possible. Bell (1997: 168) states, "what is really interesting is how New Age spirituality has gained acceptance by the scientific community. Apparently, the quickening of spiritual matters involves a desire by many people in certain quarters to incorporate the spiritual with science in some way--perhaps to further legitimize their beliefs."

A final question concerns the social needs that this expertise of psychics and spirit mediums fulfills? Modernity has left several questions unanswered and created more in its wake concerning the purpose of human existence. Goode (2000:74) argues that

science is amoral, that it does not offer a plan for living the good life; it does not have an answer to all of society's problems. Science does not teach us to be decent to other human beings. Beyond that the disenchantment with modernity has created a niche, which psychics and spirit mediums can exploit. Carrington (1908,1957) makes many of these same arguments. I argue that it should emerge through this research that this is the major driving force behind the acceptance of paranormal expertise by the public. These careers are different that the typical utility (what's-in-it-for-me) based professions of the current materialist culture. Krause (1971: 203) argues that individuals can choose vocations that are value based as Weber noted, for an abstract or emotional regard for an ideal, which the ministry and military fields share in this phenomena. This general dissatisfaction with science is a reflection of the desire of the general public to incorporate the supernatural into modernity, thereby providing a place for psychics and spirit mediums to develop (Bruce 1996: 210).

I contend the strategies that emerged around the charismatic psychics were largely determined by their expertise. The better their expertise the more professional the general public considers them. Because they spent so much time trying to understand their abilities and talents to make use of those skills, credentialism in the form of knowledge transfer came later as an afterthought to this group. This usually occurred when they felt comfortable in the understanding of their abilities.

This has changed somewhat according to the observations made of John Edward the television psychic. Edward is a television psychic and medium that has gained a large following because of his abilities to put forth knowledge about his clients that under typical circumstances he should be unaware of. He has been able to develop his skills

faster than earlier psychics. Edward has also followed the same pattern as earlier psychics in first establishing and understanding his expertise, then working toward credentialism of his talents through seminars classes and workshops (Edward 1999: 221).

Expertise for the second group, hierarchical psychics, was often built and founded upon that established by the first group of charismatic psychics (Stein 2000: 8-15). The hierarchical often promote and expand upon the knowledge foundation established by the pioneer charismatic groups. This group's main concern was no longer expertise but that of credentialism. Expertise for the hierarchical psychics became a given quantity. It was something to be achieved from the example of the charismatic psychic and then passed down. Often the expertise is mixed and mingled with other expertise in areas such as alternative healing practices (Stein 2000: 2-5; Parrish-Harra 2001).

Expertise for the third group, the technological researchers, was based the most closely on scientific principles. This group's expertise was based in the hopes that technology would provide hard evidence for psychic phenomena. They are included in this study because sometimes in the process of their technological research they developed a psychic awareness that resulted in the researcher becoming a charismatic psychic in the first group of charismatic psychics (Sherman 1993: 27).

Expertise for the fourth group the professional psychic researchers, was effectively subsuming psychic techniques and incorporating these into their individual mental health practices. This group was the least concerned with Freidson's model of professionalization. This was because they had already achieved professional status through formal traditional means. They simply subsumed psychic techniques efficiently

to effectively heal their patients of their mental problems (Weiss 1993: 24-27; Fiore 1993: xi).

Credentialism:

I argue that credentialism is critical to professionalism psychics and spirit mediums at the current time. Though public opinion is important to determine credentialism, there are several questions, which affect credentialism. These questions are: 1. How is credentialism gained? 2. How does expertise affect credentialism? 3. How is credentialism maintained? 4. How does the mass media affect credentialism? 5. How does science directly or indirectly affect credentialism? 6. How does public opinion affect credentialism? A modern psychic may have genuine expertise but if they do not have credentialism then it would be impossible to be considered professional.

Members of the first group, the charismatic psychics were interested in some forms of credentialism but only after they had established their expertise. These took the form of publications, foundations, seminars, lectures, workshops, psychic fairs and media talk shows on both radio and television (Sugrue 1967: 320-322; Ford & Harmon Bro. 1958: 20-22; Garrett 1968:138-140,232-239).

The second group of hierarchical psychics, was the group most involved in credentialism. The hierarchical psychic groups that are established around a charismatic leader were the most concerned with the transfer of that leader's knowledge and talents. This was seen to happen within groups and in mystery schools and colleges established to promote psychic development and alternative healing practices. The strategies used were

often the same as those used in formal higher education. There were degree plans, seminars, and certificates of achievement (Parrish-Harrah 2001).

The third group the technological researchers provided for credentialism by establishing foundations and societies, which acted as clearing-houses for information of what other researchers were doing in different areas of interest around the world. This exchange of information provided for the sharing of techniques and up to date findings of fellow researchers in order to better coordinate their efforts (Sherman 1993: 6).

The last group, the scientific researchers achieved credentialism largely by their publications. This group has published a significant amount of works on near death experiences, hypnosis, past life regression, reincarnation, and spirit possession. This group also gives seminars and lectures (Weiss 1993; Fiore 1993; Newton 1999).

Autonomy:

Given that psychics and spirit mediums are currently in the developmental stages of professionalization there are few other individuals or organizations to judge them by. However there are some indications of autonomy among psychics and spirit mediums. These can be expressed as following questions; 1. Is their respective occupation full time work for the individual? 2. Do the groups that expertise is transferred to adopt a code of ethics to regulate their profession? 3. Is the group once established free from outside controls of other professions? 4. Does the general public exert the main force of autonomy for psychics and spirit mediums? Taking the modern psychic of John Edward for an example, He is occupied full time as a professional psychic. Though based in New York, Edward travels the United States doing individual readings. His expertise is so

respected that he has published four books, made tapes and videos showing other individuals how to develop their own psychic powers (Edward 1999: 221-231). I argue that he is currently laying the groundwork through marketing these products, which will later establish an informal code of ethics for others to follow in his profession. These ethics, such as not answering questions concerning material inheritance problems, could possibly later become institutionalized within his group of believers. So far the general public seems contented with how Edward has handled his professional and ethical dealings and allowed him control over his area of expertise. At this time he is the autonomy factor over himself. His example will provide guidelines to others and other groups in the future. Edwards is a good example for considering the autonomy of the charismatic psychics. Autonomy is a problem for this group because of the inherent problem of a lack of theoretical understanding surrounding psychic and mediumistic abilities. This has led to an independence of personal beliefs and understandings concerning psychic abilities and a multitude of working theories (Edward 1999: 88, 201). I contend that until psychic phenomena are better understood this inherent problem makes it hard to codify or regulate psychic talents in a traditional manner. Therefore it is hard to achieve autonomy for the charismatic group (Bruce 1996: 209).

The second group, the hierarchical psychics have achieved a certain amount of autonomy through establishing accreditation for their schools and colleges along the traditional lines of other educational institutions. They have done this in a round about way by getting accreditation services through religious outlets. Therefore the accreditation for psychic alternative healing practices are through religious accreditation

services rather than medical sources of accreditation. Through this means this group comes the closest to any of the groups to traditional autonomy (Parrish-Harrah 2001).

The third group of the technological researchers has not developed any institutions for autonomy. Their professional development is currently at various stages of credentialism. This group also suffers like the first group in that there is little understanding of how psychic phenomena works. Thus, there is a multitude of working theories of how the technology is gathering evidence concerning psychic phenomena (Sherman 1993: 35-49).

The fourth group is the least concerned with autonomy. They avoid the problems associated by the mental health regulations in their own fields by suggesting that they do not believe in psychic phenomena. Yet by incorporating the psychic techniques they are healing their patients. They argue that this is no different than many other areas of medical science where we do not know how or why something works but is still effectively used in treatments of patients (Bell 1997: 168-172).

When the themes were classified then the fifth step of the methodology was applied. The development of analytical constructs was then based upon the classified themes generating abstract generalizations concerning the phenomena. These constructs should provide greater understanding of the phenomenon by interpreting its distinguishing features in terms of abstract formulations usually employed in sociological analysis. These constructs should get at the essence of the themes that emerged from the literature. This is achieved by seeking out the qualities of the experience and its meaning for each group (Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus 1994: 74-75; Sanders 1982: 357). As stated before ghosts are the only tangible proof in the search for evidence of

immortality (see chapter two) (Myers 1903: 636-645; Tyrrell 1961: v). An example here is that for a paranormal belief system in ghosts to be established a system of communication has to be established and verified to be valid among believers for credibility. Without some type of symbolic communication spirits can not be validated as an evidence of immortality. The communication system becomes just as important as the belief system. There was a different communication system for each category of experience. A communication system then became a general motif for all the categories of experience examined. This results in a set of beliefs that were established around the form of communication in each category of experience, which over time were a sociological barrier against other belief systems in other categories of experience. Thus in the charismatic group there was a very independent attitude concerning which communications are valid and best among individuals in the group. The entrepreneurial spirit of the first category of experience considered was strong in the development of expertise but weak in other areas of professional development. It emerged that this was partly because of a lack of understanding as to how psychic phenomena works theoretically. This inherent weakness in the belief system lends to the strength of individual opinion and a multitude of working theories (Williams 1993: 72). I contend that until this problem is resolved then professionalization can not be achieved beyond the credentialism stage for this first category of experience consisting of both of the charismatic sub-groups. Autonomy can not be achieved here because there is simply no general agreement on what to codify or regulate. Even so the first category of experience was found to be developing the first two stages of Freidson's model along traditional

lines of professionalization. Especially concerning credentialism the second stage of Freidson's model (1984:10).

The belief systems surrounding the various forms of communications can be applied to seminars and psychic retreats to promote its transference in a professional manner in classes and seminars. These classified themes or motifs ranged from "independent and entrepreneurial" in the first charismatic group to "mentoring and paternal" in the second group of hierarchical psychics. The third group of psychic researchers was locked into scientific reasoning unless psychic abilities emerged from awareness that developed out of understanding, which evolved in the process of their research. They were a potential "seed pod" group for the other groups. The last group the professional researchers were the most practical and efficient. They were "subsumers" of the others groups techniques if they found those techniques useful in healing their patients. All of these groups developed expertise and credentialism in various degrees. Some even developed aspects of autonomy. Understanding these motifs or essences behind each of the classified themes leads to a better understanding of professional development within each group (Sanders 1982:357; Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus 1994: 74-75).

If the public accepts the transference then the group can claim a measure of professionalization (Bruce 1996: 222). All the motifs that emerged from the different categories of experience lent to the development of professionalization. This was done through a formal incorporation of rational means in some form. Through the different classified themes that were found in each group, elements of the rational model of professionalization were being utilized, developed and applied to their occupations. The

concepts then generated around these various themes provided for a better understanding of professionalization among these groups by providing an understanding how professionalization is crafted around the various belief systems (Van De Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994: 74-75).

From this overview of the three tenants of Freidson's model of professionalization looking at psychics and spirit mediums it can be noted that each of these groups are attempting to become specialists in their fields. The professional model is providing the vehicle, which allows this process to happen to each group to various degrees. Professionalization then as a pattern of modernity has been internalized to a point that it has become an accepted approach to achieve specialization. It is important here to appreciate the extent that this rational modern pattern has become compatible with these paranormal groups. The incorporation of the professional pattern then has become an accepted process even among non-rational groups to promote their belief systems to gain credibility (Bruce 1996: 210).

CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology

The methodology that was employed in this thesis concerning the professionalism of psychics and spirit mediums was first a literature analysis of secondary sources from 1900 to the present, and second observations of a televised psychic medium John Edward. From this analysis of comparisons and contrasts in the literature and observations, patterns should emerge which form an idea as to how professionalism is affecting psychics and spirit mediums. By using an approach known as “literary ethnography”, (Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus 1994) the analysis documented the three dimensions of professionalism within the psychic community these being expertise, credentialism and autonomy. These dimensions acted as a benchmark to measure their professional development using Freidson’s theoretical model of professionalization (1984: 10). The second part of the methodology was the observations of the current television psychic and spirit medium John Edward. There were twenty observations made by myself over a two week period of two half hour episodes back to back of this television series. The third part of the methodology was a comparison and contrast with other fields of alternative healing in the chiropractic and osteopathic disciplines. These three angles provided for a triangulation of perspectives for validity purposes. This was done looking at the sociological literature concerning

professionalization comparing with these psychic groups, and finally, comparing them with my observations of psychic John Edward and literature of the alternative-healing groups.

The method selected to accomplish the first part of the methodology was styled after the article by Van De Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus (1994) and I used the following six steps: Scope of literary sources, reading and interpretation of texts, identification of textual themes, classification of thematic elements, the development of analytical concepts, and contextual confirmation (Van De Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994:71-76).

The literary sources, for the first step were a hundred plus works by various authors were selected covering a range of materials concerning psychics, spirit mediums and related phenomena that provided the scope of this research. The text were of the three following types, early scientific studies, autobiographies and biographies, including interviews of psychics and spirit mediums and materials from groups of believers devoted to different psychics and spirit mediums. These cover a range of decades from the 1880s to the present. The majority of these works have a central theme of immortality and life after death associated with various psychic phenomena. The works selected provided a good basic foundation for understanding and creating a social historical analysis of the development of professionalism among psychics and spirit mediums as well as the development of current ideas concerning professionalization. The scope of the literature that was considered for analysis was divided into four areas corresponding to the four categories of experience that emerged from applying the techniques of the literary ethnography. The types were usually easily discernable from their titles or authors. Very

early in the methodology the types began to emerge. All the texts had to be read because of the possibility that the last book considered could impact the themes that create these individuals. These themes created the classifications informally early in stage three of the methodology. When all the texts had been considered and notes compiled a formal set of classifications was established for the creation of the four categories of experience found in this research. From the notes four distinct groups emerged that were involved in the professionalization process. (Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus 1994: 70-71).

These four categories of experience were as follows: First was the charismatic psychics and spirit medium group. Second were the hierarchical psychic groups. The third was the technological research groups. The last group was that of professional psychic research groups. The first of the categories of experience was the individual charismatic psychics and spirit mediums group, which was by far the largest group of texts examined for any of the groups. A total of 58 texts were directly concerned with the experiences of psychics and spirit mediums. The first group was divided into two subgroups consisting of “mental” psychics and spirit mediums and a second subgroup of psychics and spirit mediums that used “inanimate” objects for communication with the dead. Forty-two texts were used to analyze professionalization practices of “mental” psychics and spirit mediums. Sixteen texts were used to analyze psychics and mediums that used “inanimate” objects to communicate with the dead. Second were hierarchical psychic groups. Eleven texts were examined and analyzed to consider the professionalization process emerging in this group. The third group was technological research groups. Nine texts were examined to consider the professional viewpoints and practices of the technological groups. The fourth group considered was that of

professionals in fields of mental health which, were interested in psychic techniques. Twenty-two texts were examined to consider the professionalization practices of this group. After the texts were divided into the four categories of experience the study went into the second step.

During reading and interpretation of texts in the second step of the methodology all of these texts were read and notes compiled concerning the contents of the works by the different psychic and spirit medium authors looking for aspects of professionalization in each category of experience. In an effort to be comprehensive I have selected the most famous and well-known works have been selected as well as some works not so well known. This should provide a broad base to discern patterns of developing professionalism. Often the various authors refer to one another in the various literary works selected. When the texts have been selected, read and a series of notes made concerning each work. An example might be noted that there are several areas of paranormal contact. It became apparent that several areas of paranormal experience in the various categories could influence a single individual as well as a group in their professional development. This overlapping of categories of experience was important in understanding professionalization, because each category of experience affected the professional development of individuals or groups in different ways. The texts were gleaned for any references to professional psychics or spirit mediums, professional influences and belief systems or strategies that could affect professionalization (Van De Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994: 71-72).

Identification of informal textual themes in the third step applied which was extracting textual themes, which show the emerging patterns common to all the various

works in each category of experience. This produced common categories of experience, which emerged from the literature for individual groups and in some cases created subgroups. These themes are the patterns of experience that created these individual's belief systems regarding the paranormal. An example might be that of the two types of paranormal contact with the dead. The most common types are direct and indirect contact, which involve different kinds of communication ability. This created two subcategories in the first group. The direct contact with a spirit through the psychic's individual's "extra senses" or mental processes that were different from indirect contact through an object like tarot cards or an ouija board as a medium. These different subcategories of psychic experience affected the stages of professional development in the various groups. This separation of categories of experience was done paying particular attention to expertise, credentialism and autonomy. These psychic categories of experience were then compared and contrasted for similarities and differences in the three tenants of professionalization of Freidson's model. The result was that general themes emerged that provided motifs for the professional development within the categories of experience listed. These motifs surfaced in numerous texts. For example it was noted that both of the subgroups tended to be highly independent in the development of their various expertise. This independence in turn led directly to a lack of autonomy within these groups, which affected their professional development differently from the other groups researched here.

Classification of thematic elements from the emergent textual themes the fourth step of classification was applied. These classifications directly represented the themes selected. This was especially true for those thematic elements, which had repeated

reference through out the texts considered. An example might be that there are “human trance mediums” and “inanimate mediums” such as table tapping, tarot cards or ouija boards to make contact with the dead. These were the two subgroups of the first category of experience. Each of these types of mediums providing a different kind of symbolic communication, which required a different type of expertise. The difference in expertise between these two subcategories was found to affect the professional development of each group differently but both subcategories developed very individualized expertise abilities in their various occupations. I found the first subgroup of mental psychics and spirit mediums were found to be able to go further in their development of professional expertise than the second sub-group because of public acceptance (Bruce 1996: 222). This was not the case however if the second sub-group developed mental abilities similar to the first subgroup of mental psychics and spirit mediums (Bruce 1996: 215). These kinds of classifications emerged out of the fourth step (Van De Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994: 73).

Therefore different motifs were developed from different themes concerning the professionalization that surrounded each individual or group selected. The charismatic group’s highly independent expertise for instance led a “entrepreneurial motif” in their attitudes toward professionalism. It was kept in mind as to the degree that a theme is expressed by different authors and the degree, which a theme is expressed in a particular literary work. For instance professional development is rarely referred to directly in the literary works, which are most commonly devoted to portraying the experiences of the individual or group involved. An example is the first subgroup of individual charismatic psychics and spirit mediums. The individualistic experiences of the subgroup within

group led them to be very entrepreneurial and independent in their professional development generally in all of the texts that were considered for this group. This entrepreneurial motif emerged as a general theme among the subcategories of experience of the first group examined. It was classified as general motif for the group and labeled as such (Van De Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994: 73-74).

Development of analytical concepts when the themes were classified then the fifth step was applied. This step applies theory to data. The development of analytical constructs were then based upon the classified themes generating abstract generalizations concerning the phenomena. The constructs found were independent and entrepreneurial for the charismatic psychic group. The constructs for the second group were paternal and mentoring for the hierarchical group. The construct surrounding the third group considered was found to be a seedpod group for the other groups. The constructs for the last group being the professional research groups, was that of subsumers of psychic ways of knowing for effective and efficient treatment of their patients. These constructs provided greater understanding of the phenomenon by interpreting its distinguishing features in terms of abstract formulations usually employed in sociological analysis. These constructs should get at the essence of the themes that emerged from the literature. This is achieved by seeking out the qualities of the experience and its meaning for each group (Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus 1994: 74-75; Sanders 1982: 357). As stated before ghosts are the only tangible proof in the search for evidence of immortality (see chapter two) (Myers 1903: 636-645; Tyrrell 1961: v). An example here is that for a paranormal belief system in ghosts to be established a system of communication has to be established and verified to be valid among believers for credibility. Without some type

of symbolic communication spirits can not be validated as an evidence of immortality. The communication system becomes just as important as the belief system. There was a different communication system for each category of experience. A communication system then became a general motif for all the categories of experience examined. This results in a set of beliefs that were established around the form of communication in each category of experience, which over time were a sociological barrier against other belief systems in other categories of experience. Thus in the charismatic group there was a very independent attitude concerning which communications are valid and best among individuals in the group. The entrepreneurial spirit of the first category of experience considered was strong in the development of expertise but weak in other areas of professional development. It emerged that this was partly because of a lack of understanding as to how psychic phenomena works theoretically. This inherent weakness in the belief system lends to the strength of individual opinion and a multitude of working theories (Williams 1993: 72). I contend that until this problem is resolved then professionalization can not be achieved beyond the credentialism stage for this first category of experience consisting of both of the charismatic sub-groups. Autonomy can not be achieved here because there is simply no general agreement on what to codify or regulate. Even so the first category of experience was found to be developing the first two stages of Freidson's model along traditional lines of professionalization. Especially concerning credentialism the second stage of Freidson's model (1984:10).

The belief systems surrounding the various forms of communications can be applied to seminars and psychic retreats to promote its transference in a professional manner in classes and seminars. These classified themes or motifs ranged from

“independent and entrepreneurial” in the first charismatic group to “mentoring and paternal” in the second group of hierarchical psychics. The third group of psychic researchers was locked into scientific reasoning unless psychic abilities emerged from awareness that developed out of understanding, which evolved in the process of their research. They were a potential “seed pod” group for the other groups. The last group the professional researchers were the most practical and efficient. They were “subsumers” of the others groups techniques if they found those techniques useful in healing their patients. All of these groups developed expertise and credentialism in various degrees. Some even developed aspects of autonomy. Understanding these motifs or essences behind each of the classified themes leads to a better understanding of professional development within each group (Sanders 1982:357; Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus 1994: 74-75).⁸

If the public accepts the transference then the group can claim a measure of professionalization (Bruce 1996: 222). All the motifs that emerged from the different categories of experience lent to the development of professionalization. This was done through a formal incorporation of rational means in some form. Through the different classified themes that were found in each group, elements of the rational model of professionalization were being utilized, developed and applied to their occupations. The concepts then generated around these various themes provided for a better understanding of professionalization among these groups by providing an understanding how

⁸ Patricia Sanders wrote an article on phenomenological studies, as a research method that complements the literary ethnography that was used in this research as well as provides a phenomenological perspective. The article entitled “Phenomenology: A New Way of Viewing Organizational Research” appeared in journal *The Academy of Management Review*, Volume 7, Issue 3 (Jul., 1982), Pages 353-360.

professionalization is crafted around the various belief systems (Van De Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994: 74-75).

Contextual confirmation the final step was a careful rereading of the works considered to determine if the comments that were made concerning them are correct and that the analytical generalizations determined were true to form when compared to the works a second time. This helped to determine if the narratives really fit the categories and constructs correctly or if they could be interpreted differently (Van De Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994: 75-76).

In each section comparisons and contrasts were looked at and viewed to determine patterns as well as inconsistencies, which have created the fabric of modern beliefs. Ideologies, culture, epistemologies, and ethnographies were emphasized in the understanding of this subject, which is still largely considered a realm of the unknown to the majority of mankind (Van De Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994: 76-77).

Next observations were made as to the affects of the modern media on communications such as radio, television, and the Internet; all of these influences will also be considered in their affect on modern audiences as the psychic and medium John Edward uses them for professionalization purposes. The observations will include the video taping of twenty hours of John Edward's television show "Crossing Over" for analysis to compare against the findings of the literature ethnography. The observations will seek the same references to professional psychics and spirit mediums, other professional influences and belief systems or strategies that affect Edward's professionalism. The observations also provide a rich descriptive example of Edward as a psychic that incorporated professionalism second to his paranormal philosophies. Then

the motifs that emerged were compared and contrasted to alternative healing professions such as Chiropractors and Osteopaths that are also on the road to professionalization (Wolinsky 1980). These observations showed how these individuals or groups incorporate aspects of professionalization into their occupations and belief systems through establishing expertise, credentialism and autonomy in various degrees in their various occupations (Van De Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994: 76-77).

These discoveries in other areas provide a halo affect especially if the discoveries come from other professional or scientific areas (Bruce 1996: 223-224). All of this was looked at through literature, observations, comparisons and contrasts. Checking the patterns found in literature against patterns observed and portrayed in the media, which are expanded by science and technology. This comparison and contrast of literature, observations and other occupations provided a methodological triangulation. This triangulation will hopefully corroborate and enhance the patterns found in the literary works. The goal of this methodology was to explain and organize ideas and patterns concerning the growing professionalism of psychics and spirit mediums (Van De Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994: 77-78).

CHAPTER FIVE: Data Analysis

Introduction

This chapter applies the theoretical framework outlined in chapter three to the psychic community in describing its quest to become a profession. Drawing on Documents and observations, the analysis will describe the tactics used by psychics and spirit mediums to achieve professional status. The analysis will also reveal the continued tension that is experienced by paranormal workers who operate in a “disenchanted world” dominated by rationality and legitimacy, while trying to establish the supernatural in an equal footing within that same world.

Literary narratives are main mechanism through which professionalization ideas are constructed and understood (Bruce 1996:197-198). In this research several recurring categories of narratives emerged from the study of the literature as significant tools for the construction of a professional identity for both individuals and groups. The texts that were analyzed were divided into main theme areas in the determination of the scope of the research. These categories of narratives provided individuals and group members with boundaries, which help distinguish them professionally from others. The four main narrative themes that emerged from the literature are charismatic psychic and spirit mediums. These individuals form the first category, hierarchical psychic groups form the second category, technological research groups form the third category and professional research groups form the fourth category. These four patterns emerged from the analysis of the literature during the application of the first and second steps of the literary

ethnography. These steps are described in the preceding chapter, which was determining the scope of the materials and the taking of notes concerning the patterns that emerged (Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus 1994: 71-72).

The analysis of the data is divided into these four categories of experience, which create the four sections of typologies regarding different aspects of professionalization among psychics and spirit mediums. I will show how these four categories of experience create and blend needs of professionalization within the various psychic communities. These categories of experience were determined as textual themes that were consistent to the individual groups being analyzed in the third and fourth steps of the methodological process. The third step of classification of themes allowed for a clearer understanding of the groups and subgroups in a category of experience. In the fourth step of the literary ethnography the four groups are developed and formally identified from the motifs or classified types of psychics and their subgroups. These classified types then could be analyzed according to those various motifs, which contributed to the professionalization within their group (Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus 1994: 72-74).

The fifth step called for the development of analytical constructs, which relate back to the theory as described in chapter three in this thesis. The fifth step then provides for the analysis of a sociological understanding of professionalization occurring among psychics and spirit medium groups in this research. It looks at the various motif present in each group and shows how these different perspectives affect professionalization from a sociological perspective. The sixth and last step of the methodology called for a rereading of the texts and a determination from a reconsideration of those readings if what has been found in this research was correct. This rereading provides an overview

which seeks to see if there is truly a consistency in the research and that the findings are genuine (Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus 1994: 74-76).

I divided the data analysis into four sections determined by the four different groups. The first section concerns the Charismatic Psychic and Spirit Medium Individuals as a group and contains the case study observations of John Edward, which shows the development patterns of professionalization within this group. Included is a discussion of a subcategory of this group, which are psychics that use inanimate objects. There is also a brief discussion concerning fraud in this section. The second section regards the development of hierarchical psychic groups that have developed beyond the charismatic leader into a group that patterns its professionalization along the line of established professions. The third section looks at technological research groups and considers their efforts at professionalization as well as the unexpected development of psychic talents that led to ties within other groups. The fourth section analyzes the adaptation of psychic ways of knowing and understanding into the mainstream health professions such as psychology, psychiatry and hypnotherapy. This section considers the development and acceptance for the first time of common knowledge and practices associated with the other psychic groups through hypnosis. In their efforts to make certain psychic ways of knowing into techniques of therapy in the various mental health practices this group portrays the blending of the two ways of knowing concerning the paranormal with that of the scientific community.

Section One:

Charismatic Psychic and Spirit Medium Individuals and Professionalization

Persons involved in this type of professionalization are individuals with the charismatic talents of psychic ability and or spirit mediumship. It is because of their outstanding talents and abilities they usually come into the public notice. The texts examined for this group was by far the largest for any of the groups studied. A total of 58 texts were directly concerned with the experiences of psychics and spirit mediums. The psychics and mediums in this section are mental psychics and spirit mediums. Van Paraagh (1997) defines mental psychics and mediums as those that utilize the mind, which means the intuitive or cosmic mind, not the rational or logical part. This type of mental mediumship falls into several categories clairvoyance, clairaudience, clairsentience, and inspirational thought in any combination (1997: 31). The notes compiled on this group showed that these outstanding natural abilities and talents are usually the spontaneous beginnings of their expertise. The public notice causes the need for professional identity. The trance mediums of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are a good example of this kind of individual. Persons such as Edgar Case, Eileen Garrett, Arthur Ford, and to a lesser extent Ruth Montgomery have followed similar patterns of professionalization with some minor variances. It is also interesting to note that all of these individuals knew or knew of each other. The general pattern is as follows, In the first step they develop their own particular area of expertise. Second the expertise is tempered with all the scientific knowledge that the individual can apply towards understanding their expertise and how it works. This second step usually involves coming into contact with psychic researchers and or parapsychologist that are

studying in their particular area of ability or talents. The Third step is to develop a career outside their psychic experience that complements their special talents and lifestyle. The Fourth Step is to establish an institution that will sustain and promote the individual's life work. I found this pattern appeared to be associated with all of those psychics that were most successful on a professional level. During the second stage of performing the methodology this pattern emerged while making notes from all the texts which were concerned with the charismatic group (Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus 1994: 71-72).

In discussing aspects of this process Arthur Ford believed that it was highly important, but also highly unusual for a young and eager psychic to have introductions and practical training in meeting psychic researchers and to sit with other mediums of repute (1958: 23). I would argue that the psychics that do get such practical training have a far better chance of being considered a professional psychic by the general public. This result is because such contacts with other psychics and psychic researchers with their training and experience broaden the individual's perspective and possibly develop their expertise to a greater extent.

A good example from this earlier set of trance mediums is Eileen Garrett. Garrett (1968) first developed her psychic abilities from spontaneous experiences. In the second step, she tempered that experience with all the scientific knowledge that she could apply towards understanding her individual expertise and how it worked. In this process parapsychologist trained her to become a trance medium. In the third step Garrett developed a career, which complemented her talents and abilities as an Editor and Publisher of a magazine and Books. This helped her as well as other psychics gain a

wider acceptance while providing her a living. It also created markets, which other publishers then followed. In the last step Garrett established an institution that sustained and promoted her life's work in the form of The Parapsychology Foundation. This foundation is carrying forward her ideals long after she has passed. It also has a professional journal, which promotes communication between psychics, mediums, psychic researchers and the scientific community (Garrett 1968: 22,67,138-140,169, 232,239).

The other exceptional example of a charismatic individual achieving a professional identity among the general public is Edgar Cayce. Cayce developed his expertise as a trance medium. He aligned himself with members of the medical profession and applied that expertise to healing. He started a medical clinic at Virginia Beach and He and his followers founded the Association for Research and Enlightenment (A. R. E.) to preserve and make available the readings of Edgar Cayce (Shermer 1997: 65-69; Sugrue 1967: 320-322). The other earlier trance mediums experienced similar professional development. The major differences resulted from the other occupations that they choose to supplement their incomes. Edgar Cayce for example established his own health clinic at Virginia Beach (Sugrue 1967: 276-277). Arthur Ford stayed in the area of Religion and did a lecture circuit as well as preached in Christian Churches (Ford & Harmon Bro 1958: 20-22, 228-245). Ruth Montgomery was a highly respected journalist (1999:9-12). I found all of these individuals accomplished to various degrees all of the tenants of Freidson's model of professionalization. For example beginning with the charismatic leader with special talents and abilities, which develop into expertise, which then evolves into credentialism as that leader shares insights, experience and

knowledge within the leader's group. This credentialism is then formalized into a method of training and transference to others. This in turn leads to the last stage autonomy of the group as holders of this specific expertise regulate through its member's code of beliefs and ethics or other types of internal regulation.

The research portrayed a pattern in the literature, which classified this group as separate from the other groups in the following respects. This analysis will show case study by case study how that lineages of thought merge with the individual's talent and evolve over time into the beginnings of expertise. This expertise then sets the psychic or spirit medium on the path of professionalization for continued success, which requires credentialism. If the individual then passes from the development of expertise into the second stage of credentialism, passing down expertise to others and establishing a group of believers, then credentialism then must be turned into autonomy to complete the process of professionalization. This analysis will show through case studies how this process has evolved over time and established a pattern of behaviors. First, lineage's of thought passed down over decades from one individual to another concerning their psychic expertise will be examined for the patterns of development which lead to credentialism in an internalized fashion that is combined with the individual's natural talents and abilities. One example of this could be the trance medium Edgar Cayce's statements, which have been accepted and carried on by Ruth Montgomery a automatic writer. One of Ruth's controls that helped her in writing is Arthur Ford a trance medium and now spirit guide for Ruth (1999: 12). Ruth's works have been in turn accepted and referred to by the psychic medium John Edward and the spirit medium George Anderson (Edward 1999:12,57; Anderson 1999).

Both John Edwards and George Anderson have gained a greater understanding of their expertise from those psychics, which came before them by studying their lives and work. By the success established by their own initial expertise John Edward and George Anderson established credibility through slowly developing a body of believers. John Edward (1999:89,) also had a professional job in medicine, which gave him the added credibility of the halo effect. Both of these later individuals have used the benefits of the mass media to promote and extend their respective audiences giving them more credibility and occupational legitimacy the kind of which has not been seen for a century. This was done first through publishing books, tapes and videos for the development of other people's supernatural abilities and for grief resolution (Edward 1999: 111, 221; Anderson 1999:302). I turn now to the case study of John Edward to portray the importance of expertise to this group in the development of professionalization. For the charismatic group, psychic expertise is the important variable for their occupation. All other aspects of professionalization had to be carefully incorporated as additions to the individualistic expertise. This is best understood in the descriptive case of John Edward, which follows.

Case Study Observations of John Edward

A case study to be considered here is that of John Edwards. He presents the classical psychic that also happens to be a spirit medium. He was chosen for this particular research because he is the most articulate on what is actually happening to him during the communication process with those who have died. His case study is important

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in understanding the development of expertise in psychics and spirit mediums especially from their own perspective. For this purpose twenty episodes were taped and notes compiled to compare and contrast against the patterns that had been found in the literary ethnography. In the twenty episodes that were taped and observed Edward displayed psychic abilities as well as making contact with the spirits of deceased human beings. Some of his statements observed from his television series are also stated in his book. Where they are the same or similar I have included the book reference. In one of the episodes that were taped Edward said that his initial contact with psychic phenomena was through his family. He was raised in a household that believed in psychic phenomena and consulted psychics from time to time. At the age of 15 a psychic named Lydia Clar gave John a reading (1999:10). The reading raised his "awareness" and began his journey of psychic discovery. Edward states, "That's what I hope this (his television series) will do for others, that it raises their awareness." John Edward is the first to say he has no idea why he is one of the few psychics in world who can communicate on the spirit plane (1999: 88). I found this typical for psychics and mediums that were studied in this research. They do not have causes for their talents and abilities, just possible working theories. This epistemological problem was inherent to all the earlier psychics and spirit mediums. Edward also states in his book that he started by using tarot cards and giving readings at psychic fairs. It was here that the spirits of the deceased began to make communications through him to his clients. These voices, thoughts, and impressions were something above and beyond the tarot readings he was doing. The tarot readings had more to do with telepathy, which is a psychic ability. These other

influences that came through he took as communications from the deceased (Edward, 1999: 28-30).

This spontaneous occurrence began his expertise as a spirit medium. It was at that point that he began to read about the experiences of other spirit mediums (Edward 1999:24). His abilities put him in the position of an individual charismatic psychic. I found this first step in the development of Edward's expertise is similar to the earlier psychics and spirit mediums and was consistent with the overall established pattern of development, which tended to lead towards professionalization.

Step Two: The Influence of the Psychical Researchers

I argue Edward has taken a different course as far as the second step concerning the development of his own professionalization as compared to earlier psychics. Instead of being aligned with parapsychologist and psychic researchers John turned more to the works of psychics and spirit mediums of the past to understand his psychic way of knowing. Edward accepts and believes more in psychic philosophies and understandings of his talents and sees the scientific community as limited here. For example Edward does not believe in coincidences. He believes there is a purpose to all the experiences humans go through (1999: 12). Another of his beliefs is that when a student is ready concerning psychic matters a teacher appears (1999: 13). Arthur Ford as a fact of spiritual life, expresses this same idea concerning psychic teachers (1958: 27). Edwards believes in reincarnation and that he has lived many lifetimes (1999: 88-89). I found these and similar such beliefs put Edward at odds with scientific community's understandings of how the world works. Though some university testing has been done on Edward's special psychic talents and abilities Edward does not appear to seem to need

the approval of the psychic researchers as much as the earlier psychics did. The fact is however stated at the beginning of every episode of Edward's television series that "at fifteen he was told what university studies have now confirmed, that John Edward can make contact with those who have Crossed Over." I argue Edward sees the value in having the "university testing" as a point of credibility as well as the confirmation of another psychic to gain the confidence of the general public.

I argue Edward's special abilities and talents have provided him as an individual the resources to develop the expertise to become a specialist in the developing profession of mediumship. If his talents are genuine then they have to be understood in one of two ways. Either he is actually contacting spirits of the deceased, or he is reading his client's minds, or some combination of both. His ability to do any of these possibilities appears to be predicated upon the self-taught talent to discern the meanings of symbolic images that appear in his mind. He has developed the capacity through practice over time to take symbols that have meaning to him and relate those same symbols to the lives of the deceased or the living during his reading. This took years to develop and was largely self-taught expertise. In one of his television episodes he termed this symbolism "psychic sign language." The development of this special means of internal communication is central to his expertise (Edward, 1999: 28,29,43). If he can not correctly interpret the meanings of this symbolic language then his ability to communicate is distorted and the lack of the validity of the communications directly affects his credibility in the view of his clients and his television audience. Edward explained this process and admitted that "misinterpretations can and do occur from time to time." Edward tempered this by saying that when the symbols are clear then I am just

a “mail man” I just deliver the mail I don’t read it, meaning that he delivers the message “as is” when it appears clear to his clients. I would argue that this self-education replaces the second step experiences by earlier psychics and spirit mediums. Edwards did however have the advantage of reading and learning from the literary works of these earlier mediums that did have the benefit of the knowledge of psychic researchers and parapsychologist. Therefore I would argue that there was at least an indirect influence by the psychic researchers. This self-taught expertise has provided Edward with the first tenant necessary in Freidson’s (1984:10) model of professionalization.

According to some of his televised readings and his book Edward actually hears words and names in his mind this is (Clairaudience) clear hearing. He sees symbols in his mind, which is (Clairvoyance) clear seeing. He senses forms or spirits, emotions, etc. (Clairsentience) clear sensing. Edward also at times experiences smell and tastes during a session (Clairalience) clear smelling and (Clairhambience) clear tasting (Edward, 1999:45,46). His body tempers these psychic senses. For example he hears his own voice in his mind, but the thoughts and feeling are of the deceased (1999: 44). From the television episodes some of the symbols Edward sees in his mind and uses most often are listed below (1999:49).

A pink bouquet of roses.....means love to me.....Roses with thorns.....means love with problems.....white rose or white flowers.....means an upcoming birthday or celebration.....a badgehas something to do with law enforcement.....blood circulating through the body.....usually means that the person passed from a blood disorder....numbersusually means the month or day of the month something happened.

In many cases, spirits will show me things I will relate to but which are meant to represent something else to the person I’m reading. For instance , I’m often shown my own car. It might mean he sold cars for a living. It might mean that the person I’m reading is now driving the car of the person who has passed. I often need the client to help pin this down

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To understand this process better from a sociological standpoint I turn now and compare this process to classical theoretical ideas established by the Symbolic Interaction school of thought. I argue that the more of these senses one developed or had use of the better psychic medium a person would be because of the wider range of symbolic interpretations that would be available to that person for interpretation. It must be noted at this point that the process of symbolic interaction that is occurring here is horrendous if it is real. In classic symbolic interaction the meaning of "A" is found in the response of "B." These two in turn form "C" which is the joint understanding of meaning through interaction. From this it can be seen that the meaning of gesture flows out along these three lines (Mead's triadic nature of meaning): It signifies what the person to whom it is directed is to do; it signifies what the persons making the gesture plans to do; and it signifies the joint action that is to arise by the articulation of the acts of both (Mead, 1962:80-81; Blummer, 1969: 9). I argue that in Edward's case however there is a double "A" here in this model. This is because both the spirit entity and the medium (Edward) are trying to be validated by the audience. If Edward is able to accomplish this validation then his special "expertise" is established in the minds of his viewing audience. This process of "psychic" symbolic interaction then is the core of this group's expertise. All other aspects of professionalism have to be formed around this process. According to Edward he has all of these psychic senses and therefore he has great natural ability. According to Edward detractors say that John Edward fishes for information and then builds upon that information. That if he has any real psychic ability its only mind reading (telepathy). Edward does in fact admit that some of his ability is telepathy (1999: 201). Edward states however if his abilities are real then another process is happening here. In

at least two of the twenty episodes that were viewed John Edward made reference to zeroing in on the deceased person he is communicating with as well as the person in the audience that the deceased wishes to convey a message to. To Edward this is understandable if one considers that he may be in contact with more than one deceased spirit at a time. As for finding the person that the deceased wishes to contact John Edward states that it is as much a physical process as mental. He states that there is a physical pull towards the persons to be contacted in the audience. He feels this physical pull in his chest, and it directs him in the general direction of the person to be contacted. From the above descriptions it is obvious that there are several mental and physical processes going on at the same time that have to be interpreted correctly by the medium to convey the correct message to the correct person (1999: 63). I argue his credibility with his audience is directly related to his ability to interpret all of these mental and physical processes correctly. The legitimacy is established once he has established contact with the correct person and begins to convey messages from the deceased. If the messages are providing correct information there is usually an immediate "positive reactions" by the audience as well as the person receiving the message. I observe that it is at this point that the audience as well as the individual being communicated with considers Edward an expert in his field. He is an expert because he is able to take in all of this physical and mental data and then interpret it correctly and pass it on to his client.

Edward claims to have the benefit of spirit guides during his communications with deceased spirits. These have been with him since his youth (Edward 1999:10). Earlier trance mediums also used spirit guides called controls by Eileen Garrett and Arthur Ford. (Garrett 1982: 187; Ford & Harman Bro 1958: 32-33). Edward is different

from these trance mediums in that he does not go into trance. The passage below explains Edward's views.

Some mediums use what is known as a "gatekeeper" to funnel information. A spirit guide gathers the information from all the others and passes them on to the medium. I don't work that way. My guides are there to assist---they might jump in to help, saying, in effect, "Now show him this, tell him that"-----but the information is coming from the spirits of those on the Other Side trying to connect with their loved ones. It makes each reading unique (Edward 1999: 52-53).

Other ways in which John Edward establishes his credibility is to use the testimonies of past clients on his television episodes. These are of two types; the first is of persons of everyday life and all kinds of occupations and status. The second is the testimonies of celebrities. By doing this Edwards gets the benefit of two types of testimonies. I argue this is so the public can feel the association with persons similar to themselves as well as possibly trust those that they admire, which lends to Edward's credibility. Then if the reading provides information that cannot be confirmed just after the show, but is confirmed later on, then a follow up session is held at the homes of those person's and televised later. I observed Edward rarely considers the information that comes through from the deceased to be incorrect. Edward states, "approach this with an open mind but also with a healthy sense of skepticism." On another episode he states, skeptics say that psychics want you to remember the hits and forget the misses. Not this one." Edwards often hammers his clients with the same information over and over until they can remember or relate it in some fashion to their memories of the deceased. When they do remember this is a hit and confirms Edward's ability. If they cannot remember or relate the information he tells them to save it and that maybe it will be confirmed by someone else later when they get home.

Step Three: The Complementary Occupation to the Psychic Profession

The interesting point to make here is that the above talents and abilities are all of the charismatic nature. However John Edward takes this charismatic gift and wraps the package in elements of formal rational professionalism. The set of the television show is set up like a seminar room. He terms his televised secessions as "lectures" at times. Edward holds seminars in other states, and workshops to develop psychic abilities with groups of people (1999: 221-231). I argue that in this instance we see the beginnings of credentialism the second tenet in Freidson's (1984: 10) model of professionalization. John Edward is providing an educational service to transfer his own personal knowledge and experiences to groups of persons that believe in him. In my observations he associates a lot of the information he receives with health and or disease and passes on information from the deceased concerning the health of his clients. He is able to do this by the fact that he began a career in the field of medicine as a phlebotomist in a hospital, which is taking others blood for testing, at the same time he was still developing his psychic abilities (1999: 89). I argue this is line with step three in the pattern established by earlier psychics and spirit mediums. His knowledge from his medical career is often directly made use of in his televised secessions to individuals and complements his psychic abilities. I observed He discusses the health problems of the deceased just before they died or gives warnings from the other side to his clients from their deceased relatives concerning the health of the living. This knowledge of personal physical health problems is often used to confirm to the individual in the secession that he is indeed in contact with their deceased relatives.

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There is also a psychological health element that is utilized by Edwards. In his health-related career he often saw people die in hospitals and saw the need for grief resolution for survivors. He achieves this incorporation of grief resolution in a number of ways. In each episode he links his mediumship abilities to grief resolution. The person gets one last chance to communicate with the deceased to resolve issues and to feel the comfort that the deceased survives in another form. This is the major service he is providing to society, which he states on every episode that was observed. Edward says that "they (the deceased) are coming through for us, because they love us, and know the ultimate message is a vital one: in these modern, often cynical, times it is important to remember that we are all spiritual beings, as such we cannot die. We can only live and learn forever (1999: 220). On his television series he maintains a grief counselor as a service to his clients on the television set. In one episode the grief counselor was the person contacted by the deceased during the televised session. These uses of other professions in concert with his own expertise subtly lend credibility to his profession. I argue that Edward has skillfully blended the ideas concerning psychic phenomena and those concerning professional identity into an acceptable image for the general public.

The biggest difference between Edward and earlier psychics is that Edward is finding support in established social institutions of the mass media. Older psychics and spirit mediums often had to establish their own institutions to succeed in the development of their psychic abilities and talents as a profession. Eileen Garrett had to establish her own publishing firm to get her books and ideas published on psychic phenomena. Edgar Cayce had to establish his own health clinic to put his healing practices into use. Arthur Ford had to go on great cross-country lecture circuits and preach to Unitarian churches to

be able to make a living with his psychic abilities. John Edward is to a point in his career that he can make a living as a psychic full time. This is something that earlier psychics could not do as early as John Edward has done. Older psychics required other occupations to supplement their incomes. I argue that this emerging pattern of support by the mass media is a reflection of the public's change in attitude towards psychics and psychic phenomena. The public however has become accustomed to professional specialists and it is no different for psychics. John Edward conforms to the public's demands in his professional identity while at the same time incorporating elements of mental health and education into his lecture style of readings.

Fourth Step: Creating a Social Institution to Promote Your Life's Work

John Edwards has yet to really establish the fourth stage in the promotion of his knowledge and experience into the far future, except through his books, tapes and videos, which teach individuals how to develop their psychic abilities. In these various efforts he promotes the literary work of a host of other psychics and spirit mediums past and present. He has also begun to develop psychic workshops, which promote the development of psychic abilities in others (1999:12,119,221). This is credentialism according to the second tenet of Freidson's (1984: 10) model of professionalization. I found that the fourth stage remains largely incomplete for Edward due to the reason that his career has not reached that point yet. Unlike Garrett, Edward has not established a psychic foundation or a professional journal for future peer review, communications between all concerned parties, and the promotion of future research. However he does

appear to be on a professional path that is similar to earlier psychics. More than this however he is providing a professional role model for future psychics. Yet he has the epistemological problems inherent in psychic phenomena. Some of these problems he has worked out in his own mind by assuming paranormal beliefs and psychic ways of knowing and through his own experience (1999:24). I contend this as with other psychics has kept Edward from developing the last tenet of Freidson's (1984:10) of professionalization autonomy. The lack of a theoretical understanding, which is consistent among the charismatic group largely, keeps them from codifying and regulating their group as a whole. Too much is simply unknown at this time for formal rules that could lead to autonomy.

I now turn to another sub-category of psychic and or spirit mediums that falls in the charismatic group are those that use some form of inanimate object to focus their attention on to communicate with the spirit world. Sixteen texts were used in researching this sub-group providing an idea of the scope of the group. Examples of this would be individuals that use ouija boards, tarot cards, crystal balls, table tapping, automatic writing, pendulums, dowsing, I Ching divination, dice or dominos. Almost anything that can be read symbolically can be used in a divinatory manner. For most of these types of divination the process of communication is mental and the medium reads the symbols and interprets them according to some preexisting rules. It is much like the trance medium's experience in that telepathy as well as spirits of the deceased may help in the process of communication. In the example of the Ouija board for instance spirits assist in the movement of the pointer or the individual subconsciously moves the pointer. This is best expressed by the passage below.

There are two major theories. The spiritualist theory holds messages come from without: the automatistic (or "scientific") theory holds that messages come from within. Arguments can be made for both theories. The Spiritualist theory is the older. It maintains that the spirits of the dead use the Ouija board to communicate and occasionally interact with the living.

The other major theory maintains that the working of the Ouija board, along with several other psychological and psychic phenomena, is an automatism, which is an action performed without the doer's intention or awareness. In other words, while the Ouija operator's conscious denies controlling the planchette, it is really the muscles in the hand and arm, spelling out messages it needs or wants the conscious mind to hear.

There are other phenomena, like the Ouija, about which spiritualists and believers of automatistic theory disagree. These include automatic writing, table-rapping, the pendulum and, to some extent dowsing (Hunt 1985: 8-9).

I argue that these individuals are similar to the technological researchers to be discussed in the third section concerning psychic groups. They are similar in that the instrument, which they use to communicate, has become the medium to the spirit world for those that accept the spiritualist theory. Their expertise depends on the psychic or medium's ability to interpret the symbols or answers they receive through the inanimate object through which they are communicating, but there is no clear understanding of how the process works only working theories (Williams 1993: 72). I contend that these individuals have not developed the second stage of credentialism or third stage of autonomy in the professionalization of their respective fields to the same degree that the mental mediums of the charismatic group. I found none of the second category to be as successful or professional as the mental mediums in this research. It is interesting to note however that often other mental psychic talents develop from these beginnings and then the person goes on to different areas developing their psychic talents and then becomes involved in the professionalization process as a mental medium. John Edward started in

this way as noted by the passage below. The following responses are typical of this category of experiences.

When I first started doing (tarot) readings at the psychic fairs, it was always straight psychic work: what was going on in a person's life, what was coming up. I would use psychometry as my primary way to tune in, I still do. I'd ask my client for a personal object I could hold onto to help key into his or her energy. Or I'd use cards or numerology, which are other ways of helping to unlock the door. As I got more comfortable with the process and the energies I was feeling---as I got better at my job, in essence I began to feel I as being led in another direction, to the point where I felt as though I was being physically interrupted by a new force. I'd be talking about what was ahead for someone....when some other information would come in and just take over, something completely unrelated to what I was talking about, something very different from what I originally felt, as though I was tuning in two radio stations simultaneously (Edward 1999: 15).

A similar experience happened with Pearl Curran. She was the author of several books, which were reportedly through the dictations of the spirit named Patience Worth. Pearl also developed psychic abilities beyond her expertise with the Ouija board. The passage below portrays that development.

The use of the Ouija board often leads to further paranormal experiences. Pearl Curran and the development of her psychic powers is a good example. By the end of 1919, she had abandoned the Ouija board for direct voice mediumship. Patience began speaking directly through Pearl's body, a radical revolution.

Pearl had developed the ability to anticipate----first slightly, then entirely--what the Ouija board was going to dictate. After a great body of Patience Worth's literature was completed, the planchette increasingly failed pearl. The pointer would do nothing more than circle aimlessly about the board.

But this was no great loss. For by that first time in 1919, Pearl was not only able to anticipate what the Ouija board was going to say, but she was also developing the ability to see vivid pictures (clairvoyance) of the subject matters under discussion. Her psychic development was rapidly escalating. By February of 1920, she was displaying direct voice mediumship---that is Patience Worth was making actual use of Pearl's vocal cords, speaking aloud and directly through her (Hunt 1985: 36).

William S. Burroughs

Ruth Montgomery also had similar experiences happen to her. Montgomery used the technique of automatic writing. Her experience developed from a pad and pencil to the typewriter. She claims,

One morning I overslept, and noting that it was time for my daily session with the Guides, I reached for a pencil and pad and sat on the side of the bed while the writing began. But suddenly it was as if a giant hand was placed over mine; it wrote so heavily and emphatically that I opened my eyes and read: "WE SAID GO TO YOUR TYPEWRITER." I then read the previous writing, which explained that it was getting difficult to read the scrawl, because it was coming so fast, and that they felt they had now developed the power to type through me. I dutifully crossed the hall to my home office, sat at my typewriter, flicked on the power, placed my fingers in touch typing position. The clicking of the keys told me writing was coming through, and from then on the messages flowed much more rapidly (1999: 12-13).

I found the individuals that use inanimate objects are often at the beginning level of psychic awareness and later can develop more skills as time goes along. As their expertise increases, then the possibility for a more professional identity as a psychic or medium becomes possible. Otherwise it appears from the literature that they seldom get beyond the expertise level of Freidson's model of professionalization. Further I contend that there are simply not enough extra psychic senses, abilities and talents for the individual to become a noted psychic or medium on the professional level unless they develop other mental psychic abilities beyond simple reading of the inanimate objects they are using.

In summary for the charismatic group I found that in the application of the fourth and fifth stage of the application of the methodology that the charismatic psychic and spirit medium individuals are in their developing stages of Freidson's model of professionalization. They do develop areas of psychic and paranormal expertise

according to their own understandings and psychic ways of knowing. Therefore they have a great deal of independence in the development of their expertise. It is at this point in the research I determined this group to be very entrepreneurial in their professional development and classified them as such. This group was the most independent of any of the other psychic groups researched.

It is in the last two stages of professionalization, that of credentialism and autonomy that the charismatic group's professionalization process is not as clearly defined as expertise. The charismatic psychic group did develop strategies to develop credentialism and autonomy to various degrees. Those that have been most successful with the most psychic talents and abilities have made efforts to transfer their knowledge to others. These efforts range from workshops and seminars to the establishment of foundations devoted to the study of psychic phenomena. Some like Edward associated his readings with grief counselors, which blended the paranormal with medical perspectives. I found that these strategies are promoted along modern patterns of professionalization found in other occupations. Those least successful have been those charismatic psychics that are associated with inanimate objects as mediums to the spirit world. Until they have developed some mental psychic abilities they tend to only achieve expertise, the first tenet of Freidson's (1984: 10) model of professionalization. The last tenet, that of autonomy is the weakest and most incomplete stage in the development of the individual psychic and spirit mediums. Of all the literature that was researched for this thesis only Eileen Garrett and Edgar Cayce come close to the establishment of institutions, which have the semblance of professional self-regulation. Garrett established the Parapsychology Foundation, which supports impartial scientific inquiry,

sponsors international conferences on the subject of psychic phenomena and promotes the *International Journal of Parapsychology* (Garrett 1968: 157, 169-170). Arthur Ford was instrumental in founding the Spiritual Frontiers Fellowship in order to bring psychic phenomena back into the church where it has started originally. The fellowship boasts membership from more than five thousand religious leaders, representing every major faith (Wedek & Baskin 1971: 324). Cayce and his followers founded the Association for Research and Enlightenment (A.R.E.). The association preserves Cayce's readings, maintains a library, they are also a publishing company for paranormal topics. They provide lectures and seminars on a multitude of psychic topics and training. Much of their efforts are directed towards alternative healing (Shermer 1997: 65-69).

Employment of the rereading of the texts (as suggested in step six of the methodology) on this group confirmed these findings that the charismatic group is very independent and entrepreneurial. I contend that this independent aspect of their expertise directly creates a weakness of development in the last two stages of Freidson's (1984:10) model of professionalization.

Haskell says that only a small proportion of credentialed occupations can be considered self-governed or autonomous (Haskell 1984: 10). I contend that since these charismatic individuals have only begun to follow the path of professionalization as outlined by Freidson's (1984: 10) model the underdevelopment is understandable. I further contend that since the patterns exist in the two earlier psychics and trance mediums in the persons of Eileen Garrett and Edgar Cayce it is very possible that institutions of autonomy could very easily develop as psychic ways of knowing become more universal among different groups. As the need for more uniform efforts toward

codes of ethics develops and the understanding of psychic abilities and how they work become clearer, institutions of autonomy will be necessary.

In comparing the charismatic group to other groups seeking the professionalization process, I found that currently they are similar in their professional development to that of Chiropractors in the following ways. Wolinsky (1980) says that Chiropractors are highly questioned by traditional medicine, and remain an alternative healing art pretending to be related to medicine. Because of the AMA (American Medical Association) the practice of chiropractic is illegal in some states and restricted in others. They have developed associations but these associations are quite different from the professional associations of physicians in that they exercise little if any autonomy over their sphere of expertise. They (like the charismatic psychics) are highly independent.

The Question then becomes what is it that makes chiropractors so popular? The answer lies in the social organization of chiropractic. Because there is no autonomy no true professional association, and no colleague referral system, this type of alternative medicine is totally patient dominated. As a result the way chiropractors succeed is that they satisfy their customers in two ways. They are more personal and they cost less than traditional medicine (Wolinsky 1980: 296). I contend that psychics and mediums are successful for similar reasons. They satisfy their customers needs spiritually and emotionally as much as physically. Psychics and spirit mediums are very personal with their clients and the costs are no higher and often lower than that of therapist. Autonomy then is related to public demand for this group of individuals just as it is with the chiropractors (Bruce 1996: 222).

I turn now to a brief discussion concerning fraud in psychic occupations. It must be noted at this point that in the above we are discussing psychics and spirit mediums that are noted for their integrity and honesty and have not been found to be fraudulent. Recently the television personality of Madame Cleo a reputed psychic that uses tarot cards for divining person's lives was in the television news involved in lawsuits regarding her business practices and abilities. I argue this type of bad press gives this group a negative label and can suggest that all of these individuals are fraudulent. There have been examples in the past and present where persons that claimed to be psychics or mediums have combined their supposed psychic talents while also aping the manner of reliable medical practitioners to con their clients out money with a fake diagnosis of an illness or condition. A good example of this is Dr. Gilbert of the 1940s that used his supposed psychic powers (by contacting deceased Doctors) to give patients a second opinion concerning their medical problems. It turned out Gilbert was neither a psychic nor a doctor (Proskauer, 1946: 1-8). I would argue that just because frauds exist however, that not all psychics, like not all doctors are fraudulent. Sociologically this remains an open question (Mead 2001: 140). This does not mean that there is not a large body of literature on fraudulent psychics and spirit mediums for a good understanding of this perspective Michael Shermer's work entitled *Why People Believe Weird Things* published 1997 is a good example. Fraud has done a lot of damage to the credibility of psychics and spirit mediums. I contend that this idea that all persons that are psychics and spirit mediums are fraudulent is changing in part due to the increase of the incorporation of professionalization among those psychics and spirit mediums.

Professionalism has created more confidence in psychic ways of knowing among the general public (Bruce 1996:222).

Section Two:

Hierarchical Psychic Group Professionalization

Psychics and mediums are achieving a new level of status using other methods as well. In other case studies different patterns emerged and different strategies are used. These include such things as psychic fairs, psychic retreats, psychic seminars, modern mystery schools and alternative methods of healing. At these meetings there is the transference of special expertise, which grants a specific credentialism in various ways and later gives the group a general consensus of beliefs including the aid of spirit guides, which lead to autonomy of practice as applied to the general public. Bruce (1996:214) notes that that these kinds of New Age practitioners seek and are in favor of codification and regulation of their expertise. He found this to be the case with astrologers, individuals involved in Aroma Therapy, Iridologists, and Radionics that are being influenced by the modern professional model.

Eleven texts were examined to research this group in this study. I limited my research to those groups, which involved spirit guides in their various practices. This group could include a variety of persons involved in New Age practices from herbalist to all sorts of alternative healers if they also felt that spirit guides aided them. The pattern I found that emerged from the notes taken on this group of texts was most often an expansion on some individual in the charismatic group's expertise. This group was not so concerned in the development of expertise but rather in taking that expertise that already existed and putting it to practical applications often combined with other New

Age belief systems. An individual that would be a member of the first group of charismatic psychics had usually pioneered the psychic expertise used by this second group of hierarchical psychics (Stein 2000: 8-15; Truzzi 1974: 15). I found that credentialism the second stage of Freidson's (1984:10) model of professionalization was more important overall to this group. A good example of this group are Reiki healers which have spirit guides and go through certain rites for the symbols of healing to be transferred from one individual to another through a hierarchy of levels. The teachers give certificates of achievement to those who go through the rites and work as an apprentice for a certain period of time (Stein, 2000: 17). It was at this stage that I classified this group as hierarchical psychics according to the steps 3 & 4 of the literary ethnography (Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus 1994: 72-74).

Reiki is the special expertise. The knowledge of Reiki healing came through a Charismatic healer in Japan by the name of Mikao Usui. Through a vision Usui received a vision in which he was given the symbols and understanding of Reiki healing. In the simplest of terms Reiki healing is the ability to harness the life-force of the Universe draw the energy into one's body and redirect it through the hands into the person needing healing in some aspect of physical, mental or spiritual need. The seminars provide the means of transfer of knowledge through what are called attunements and training, which results in the establishment of credentialism. The autonomy is established once the public accepts this credentialism and allows these individuals to become full time Reiki healers as an occupation whose methods are self-governed by a self-established hierarchy within the group where a traditional training is maintained. There are other types of psychics and spirit mediums that use similar methods (Stein, 2000: 12, 16-18).

In this group the special healing expertise of the original charismatic leader has already been handed down to the hierarchy within the group and accepted (Truzzi 1974: 15). Generally there are three levels of attainment of Reiki power and abilities. Stein categorizes these as Reiki I, Reiki II and Reiki III. The knowledge and understanding is passed down in attunements at each level. Upon receiving the first attunement the receiver becomes a channel for universal healing energy and is then socialized into the psychic way of knowing and understanding through the use of symbols that are passed from teacher to student. Stein says that the experience is similar to plugging in a lamp in a house that is wired for electricity. The attainment does not give the receiver anything new, it simply opens and aligns what was already a part of that individual. The level of Reiki I is for mainly physical healing. The level of Reiki II is for mostly emotional and mental healing. The level of Reiki III is for spiritual matters and teaching (2000: 17-18). I found that this socialization through training within the group is in line with Freidson's model of Credentialism. The individual imbued with the training and symbols is subtly taught that knowledge is healing power. That knowledge is kept and maintained by the hierarchy, which has the ability to transfer it in increments. I contend in this way the credentialism of the group is established in the minds of its members.

The Autonomy of Freidson's model and the last step of Professionalization is provided by the Reiki Healers in the following two methods. The first method is economics and the second is a selective discrimination as to who can achieve Reiki III, which are the adepts and teachers. Training in Reiki I attunements cost according to Stein about \$150. Reiki II attunements and training cost \$600 dollars and the training and attunements in Reiki III cost about \$10,000. These prices are from the early 1990s

(Stein, 2000: 2). Though costs can vary over time and place it can be seen that the attainment of Reiki III training and attunements is much more prohibitive and would require a much greater commitment on the part of the individual seeking that training. I would argue that it is also an exclusionary tactic on the part of the hierarchy of the group for the establishment and maintenance of their profession. Through this tactic the hierarchy can self-regulate the group. The official certificates at levels granted by only those persons that have achieved the Reiki III level of training and attunements insure the hierarchy as the ones who will train and lead future Reiki healers and in what directions in teacher and student relationships. I argue that this is unusual among psychic groups. The reason for this is that most individuals and groups with psychic knowledge tend to share that knowledge with other interested like-minded individuals. In fact charging money for that knowledge can conflict with the spiritual beliefs of individual or group involved. I contend that Reiki healers understand that charging money lends respect and credibility to their healing practices as a profession. This coupled with a traditional established hierarchy carefully selected has put this group on a pathway that leads toward professionalization in a way that other individuals and groups have not been able to achieve.

This particular hierarchical group of Reiki healers is important to this research because they also have the belief that they have reincarnations, spirit guides, guardian angels, and Reiki spirit guides. The belief is that Reiki spirit guides are assigned from the receivers first attunement and training in Reiki I. Furthermore it is believed that these spirit guides help and assist in the individual's training and later assist the individual in healing. Here again the ability to develop special skills of communication with the spirit

guides only enhances one's ability to heal and gain information about those being healed. Examples are clairaudience, clairvoyance, etc (Stein, 2000: 74-75). I contend that this uniting the living and the deceased in healing efforts suggests that a similar hierarchy exists with the deceased. This belief in the ability to work with the spirit world brings to life the group's psychic way of knowing for the individual and reinforces the individual's socialization into the group's belief system. The supernatural element then is the life breath of the paranormal phenomena (Bascom 1887: 101). The sacred ideas become healing realities for the individual that believes.⁹ I would argue that this perhaps more than any other social force creates the solidarity of the group and allows the hierarchy to maintain autonomy over the group (Bruce 1996: 205).

Another social phenomena that has occurred in recent years along with development of psychic ways of knowing combined with healing is that of college like institutions for the purpose of psychic training. A good example of this type of institution is the Sancta Sophia Seminary at Tahlequah, Oklahoma. The seminary has been open for twenty-four years. Carol Parish-Harra is the academic Dean. The purpose the school is stated as follows in an admissions brochure,

The seminary is continuing what mystery schools have done through the ages, but as a contemporary mystery school for the 21st century, Sancta Sophia presents an esoteric interfaith Christian message. Our broad and unique approach blends ancient spiritual techniques and Aquarian transpersonal concepts. Providing a distinctive approach, Sancta Sophia welcomes individuals seeking personal growth in spirituality or those preparing for a spiritually oriented vocation.

⁹ Since ancient times there is evidence that much of the credibility of psychics and spirit mediums came from preexistent cultural and religious beliefs concerning the spirit world. It is very common to find references to ancient religious texts from all over the world in the literary works of modern psychics and spirit mediums. In this effort one can see the attempt to incorporate the ancient supernatural elements of belief systems into the modern settings. This belief of making the supernatural element into a working useful reality is what Bascom (1887: 101) is talking about when he calls the supernatural the life breath of paranormal phenomena as well as religion.

I argue the brochure suggests that the school is both ancient and modern. That it has a Christian base, which I argue protects it somewhat from the basic fundamentalist Christian groups that are prominent in the community and the state, that tend to be absolutist in their religious beliefs. At the same time Sancta Sophia provides an institution for the development of psychic abilities and talents. I further argue that Freidson's second tenant of credentialism in professionalization is exemplified by the next claim in the brochure as shown here,

The completion of the transformational process guided by the dean and facilitated by a personal advisor earns certification, ordination, or post-graduate degrees in keeping with the goal of the seminarian. Santa Sophia is accredited through the ACI, Inc., the world's largest accrediting society serving religious institutions, Bible colleges, and seminaries (Parrish-Harra 2001).

I contend here that the language used is aimed at giving the impression that the school's curriculum is just like that of an ordinary college in format and presentation of degree plans. The type of credentialism is patterned after that of the formal accepted professions, in order to be more acceptable to the general public. This establishes a pattern that they know and understand. The brochure further emphasizes the personal development and change of the individual as shown in the next passage,

Sancta Sophia Seminary is for all who seek guidance in their personal development. While the seminary embraces an esoteric understanding of Christian Theology, it finds merit in both Eastern and Western practices. At Santa Sophia you will find students and faculty involved in healing arts, music, counseling, dowsing, regression, therapy, teaching, meditation, spiritual dance, and esoteric studies. Seekers are provided guidance, growth, and transformational experiences through weekend and week-long classes. Others who are called are preparing for soul-satisfying vocations. Seminary classes are offered to seekers interested in a particular class or subject. Come and join others from around the world at

Sancta Sophia where energy vortexes accelerate personal and interpersonal evolution (Parrish-Harra 2001).

I argue that the above statement provides a focus on the non-traditional studies that Sancta Sophia provides, while at the same time suggesting that spirituality and psychic abilities promote spiritual evolution in an elitist form through education. This is very similar to the elitism found in traditional professions through exclusionary education. I further argue that the blending of psychic abilities, healing and health are promoted in the admission brochure as follows,

Students at Sancta Sophia Seminary become caregivers as a part of their developing ministries. Specialties are chosen that "fit" the student's psyche. Skills may be developed in such disciplines as Reiki, Reflexology, Esoteric Healing, Ayurvedic Healing Touch, Psychography, and others (Parrish-Harra 2001).

I argue that blending the idea of healing with psychic talents gives the persons with psychic abilities a belief in the practical and useful purpose to their profession. In other words they are providing a real service to society. Furthermore these services are "fitted" to the individual according to their special psychic talents. I argue this tie to healing is a direct effort to tie into the respectability of the medical profession. There is also an element of spiritual transcendence expressed in the promotion of the school through its brochure literature. Carol Parrish-Harra states the following in an introductory letter in the brochure packet,

This place of power and beauty has a purpose well understood by current members of the Friends of Sancta Sophia. It is a place where individuals redefine their relationship to the Creator as Father and Mother, enhance their love for self and others, and deepen their honor and respect for Mother Earth and for the younger kingdoms. The Friends of Sancta Sophia help offset some of the expenses of training new world servers (Parrish-Harra 2001).

I found that through the statements above and other typical similar promotions that the college is being portrayed as a new modern mystery school. This goes beyond the imparting of knowledge but teaches psychic experiences which are supposed to transcend the ordinary and place the individual on a spiritual evolutionary path. Though the college degree plan is ordinary the training and experience is extraordinary. The form is traditional professionalization the substance is paranormal training and expertise.

I argue these examples can be compared against other occupations such as alternative medical practitioners that have had similar experiences in the development of their respective occupations along professional lines. These are examples of how professionalism is being adapted for new occupational status among psychics and spirit medium groups in a diversity of areas. How much communication and sharing between these groups and individuals exists is hard to measure, but there is some awareness and it appears to be growing. Yet they do provide a clear indication of what is occurring in the medical field as a unique social phenomena at the present time. I argue the Reiki healers are good examples that are similar in professional development to Osteopaths. Wolinsky says that Osteopaths are clearly the most physician-like of the alternative healers for the following reasons. They have a unifying principle as to the cause of all disease and illness as the result of dislocation of the bones in the spinal column. Second, like physicians osteopaths receive extensive training, which is university based and results in the receipt of the Doctor of Osteopathy degree. Third Osteopaths have developed professional associations, such as the American Osteopathic Association to serve the same purpose as the AMA does for physicians. It took a long time but as early as 1953

the AMA began to recognize and co-opt osteopathy as a "specialty of medicine". As a result of this osteopaths enjoy the same rights and privileges as physicians, though they remain a lower type status of physician. (1980: 294). I argue that the hierarchical groups seem to be closest to achieving the same kind of alternative associations in medicine though they have not achieved the autonomy of osteopaths groups like the Reiki healers are being co-opted in hospitals for terminal patients with diseases like aids (Stein 2000: 3). I also contend as this continues the hierarchical groups can develop professionally just as the osteopaths did. Wolinsky notes however that modern osteopathy is nothing like it was originally in the early nineteen hundreds when it came from a divine revelation to Andrew Sill. It became more fully credible when it imitated traditional medical techniques and allowed itself to be subsumed by traditional medicine (1980: 295). The hierarchical psychic group is not to the point of being subsumed. They are however using the various strategies based on those found in higher education and in professional hierarchical organizations to organize their group to further their goals and credibility. It was at this point that I found this group to be mentoring and paternal towards their members in developing and expanding psychic ways of knowing. I developed these analytical constructs in the fifth stage of the methodology for the following reasons: First because they accept the working theory of their original charismatic leader they do not have the inherent problems with codification and regulation as do the first group of charismatic psychics. Second they build belief systems around those working theories and then apply modern education strategies and economic exclusionary tactics to form first two stages of professionalism of expertise and credentialism. Third the hierarchical psychic group then circumvents the traditional

system of achieving autonomy by using religious credential services rather than other educational or medical sources.¹⁰ If the public accepts the transference then the group can claim a measure of professionalization (Bruce 1996: 222). I contend that the hierarchical group is achieving a certain measure of professionalization at all three stages of Freidson's (1984:10) model of professionalization expertise, credentialism and autonomy by application of the above strategies. A rereading of the texts as required in the sixth stage of the methodology that were researched for this group confirmed that this pattern of mentoring and paternal strategies are being applied by various organizations. This is achieved by forming foundations, associations, societies and organizations for these purposes of professionalization (Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus 1994: 75-76).

Section Three:

Technological Groups Professionalization

Technological groups are those that have taken the technological advances in various areas as tape recording, photography, heat sensors and other mechanical devices and devoted them to the gathering of evidential proofs toward the confirming of ghosts or other psychical phenomena. These individuals have formed from individual researchers in earlier times to formal associations, foundations and clubs of ghost hunters currently. Nine texts were examined in researching this particular group. Harold Sherman was one of the first to chronicle electronic voice phenomena in 1949. Sherman had been involved with the research since 1938 (1993: 319). The notes taken for this

¹⁰ I contend since ancient religious texts support various themes concerning the spirit world such as immortality through ideas of life after death, reincarnation and possession of spirits psychics and spirit mediums find these religious texts important at the very least for the conformation of their own personal abilities and talents. Some of the texts may even provide examples from the distant past, which are similar

group show that since that time there have been several advances in technology that have led to tracking down the deceased in a more efficient and effective manner. Some of these advances are listed as follows: infrared photography, heat sensors, electro-magnetic sensors. The expertise for this group was based more closely on scientific principles and technology (Sherman 1993: 36). I found the use of technology was the one textual theme for this group that bound them all together as a group regardless of the instruments used. This made the group the most easy to classify as technological researchers. They were important to this study because some individuals that start out as technological researchers develop psychic abilities. Then they move to one of the other first two groups (Sherman 1993: 27). The persons usually involved in ghost hunting have often experienced some spontaneous phenomena, which began their curiosity and led to seeking out information as well as other like-minded individuals. In the process of their research there has been a recent surge of written guides and how to books written concerning technological ghost hunting. These works range from tools and technique guides to how to conduct a ghost hunt to guides of haunted locations. Alpha Books has even produced a text *The Complete Idiots Guide to Ghosts and Hauntings*. These types of guidebooks have become popular in recent years on a multitude of topics and are usually directed at the general public's interest. That such a guide is produced on the topic of ghosts and hauntings I would argue suggests the rise in interest in the psychic phenomena in general. I further contend that the search to find tangible evidence of ghosts is driven from questions the researchers have concerning survival of the human personality and immortality. The technological researchers have not accepted the

to the individual or group's current experience. In this way religion justifies their beliefs and they are then justified in getting religious accreditations from this psychic group's perspective

scientific community's views in these areas and wish to use technological tools to prove their own perspectives. One of those perspectives is that the deceased wish to communicate with the living as much or more than the living hope to communicate with the dead. In the following passage the perspective of the technological researcher becomes clearer.

Those on the other side want to communicate with us for several reasons. They are anxious to let us know that death is not the end. From man's earliest history, this is a question, which to many has been unanswerable. In the past, they have tried to show us this through miracles, which have chiefly originated in a religious context. Although for a number of people this was sufficient, for more it was not. Trance mediums have claimed to be in contact with the spirit world. In some cases, evidence suggests they were. Many times though, it has been difficult to be sure whether their claims were genuine and so we remained unconvinced. Now we have the miracle of electronic voices on tape, and to me it is just that, a miracle. How appropriate it is! Those on the other side should meet us through our electronic equipment (Sherman, 1993: 40).

I would argue, from the passage above the technological researcher wants a more scientific concrete type of proof to establish the facts of the reality of ghosts and the spirit world. There is also a note of mistrust here concerning the evidence of trance mediums as questionable. The main point is that evidence gathered through technology is factual, non-biased and far less questionable in the minds of these researchers. The expertise of the researcher then rests firmly on the credibility of the technology being used to support the evidence that has been gathered as well as the ability of the researcher to make use of the technology. This is different from those with paranormal talents and abilities. Here technology becomes the medium. Rather than the number of special abilities and talents one has and can apply towards understanding the spirit world such as a medium. The number of technologies that can be applied to various situations and circumstances where psychic phenomena are occurring enhances the technological researcher's expertise. I

argue this is another draw to this field of research. A typical individual with no paranormal abilities can still communicate with the spirit world. This allows an ordinary individual to look into spirit phenomena.

The credentialism of the group is established in a number of ways. Much of the knowledge is passed on through the literature and Internet information being produced by individuals and clubs, which are active in ghost hunting. Harold Sherman, founder of the world renowned ESP Research Associates Foundation, devoted nearly seventy years to an active and extensive research experimentation pertaining to various phases of psychic phenomena popularly referred to as Extra Sensory Perception (1993: 319). The passage below portrays how credentialism is occurring among researchers according to Sherman.

Our ESP Foundation is acting as a clearinghouse for many independent researchers who are experimenting with the tape recording of spirit voices. There is much work to be done. Everyone is trying to reduce the volume of sound interference so the voices can come through with greater clarity. These investigators are checking with each other and exchanging helpful suggestions about methods they are using to help improve reception (Sherman 1993: 6).

I would further argue that in the establishment of this and other foundations the path has been cleared for the future autonomy of these types of researchers. The sharing and transfer of information will lead to informal regulation of the group's efforts and if these are successful certain codes will be established within the group for credibility and standards of ethics in this research. The scientific community has already provided many of the guidelines for this group. Now all that has to be done is to establish that the evidence produced by their technology is credible. This is much like the scientific discovery of voice transmission across the telephone. At first many thought Alexander Graham Bell was just a very good ventriloquist (Sherman 1993: 18).

It is interesting to note that the technological researchers are similar to those mediums that use inanimate objects in that both of these groups can develop further psychic abilities beyond their established expertise. The following passage portrays this development (Sherman 1993: 11-12).

Some time later A. J. phoned to report that he had caught the interest of scientifically minded spirits who said (recorded on tape) they were responding to his expressed interest to improve the means of communication. They wanted A. J. to know that they were trying to help him develop a "psychic ability" to communicate with the Other Side by telepathy---thus avoid all the static that was interfering with good reception. "If I could ever do that," said A. J., "I believe we'd really begin to get somewhere.!"

One day, in January, 1977 it happened! A. J. heard Wilma's voice (his deceased wife) speaking to him over his left ear, as though through a telephone receiver. Her voice came through usually in loud whispers, not very plainly but there was no mistaking the words. No one else could hear Wilma's voice but he could instantly relay what she was saying to him . . . and she could answer questions put to her. It wasn't long before A.J. was able to establish two-way telepathic conversation.

I argue that the idea being put forth here is that simple awareness and the resulting change in consciousness can result in the beginnings of psychic development. In this instance one expertise begins to lead into another.

Another similar technological group but older than those that use E.V.P. are those that use photography to find evidential proof for ghosts. It began as an accident and then slowly evolved into an attempt to be used as a potential tool to photograph the dead under conditions that carefully exclude trickery in an effort to gather evidence to make the argument for survival stronger (Holzer 1997: 741).

Despite the evidence collected over a hundred years that the spirit photographs are genuine in the cases where the motive for fraud was absent researchers in the scientific community as well as some in the psychic communities kept rejecting them, as they still

do. The problem is that it is still unknown as to what conditions make the photographs possible. Taking pictures of ghosts are rarely subject to human schedules and plans. The psychic and medium Eileen Garrett refused for years to consider any psychic photographs as genuine until she produced some of her own. (Holzer 1997:743).

One of the greatest breakthroughs came for spirit photography with the advent of Polaroid film. To create a double exposure on this type of film is not a simple matter. Under controlled conditions it is considered virtually impossible. However since most psychic photography occurs unexpectedly it is still ignored most often or accepted only as supporting evidence along with other physical evidence at a ghost sitting (Holzer 1997: 742).

I argue that Psychic photography is important to this research because like E.V.P. it has led novice researchers on to further discoveries of their psychic talents. This discovery of psychic talents and abilities leads the individual researcher to other psychic experiences, which have led to notoriety and professionalization. The example considered here is that of John Myers. Holzer (1997: 744-746) says that Myers started out as a researcher that had his photo taken with the English psychic Emma Dean. Often persons photographed with her would have other images turn up in the photo, these were often identified as deceased relatives of the person being read. During the reading with her Dean told Myers that he would take her place someday. Though he did not believe her at the time he did later take over her studio. Myers discovered much to his surprise that he had developed psychic abilities in photography and healing. The psychic healing profession became a full time occupation. Myers developed a new area in psychic photography. Researchers could take a package of undeveloped photographic paper and

set it in his presence and when he told them the paper was ready they would open the package and place the sheets in developing solutions. The paper should have been blank but often had images of symbols, persons, or imagery appear on the photos. The only explanation is that he mentally imposed the images somehow on the photo paper. Sometimes someone else assisting with the experiments knew the images of persons as deceased persons. This experiment was conducted many times and was even televised twice (Holzer 1997: 745-749).

I argue that the blending of different types of psychic expertise lead to the success of Myers as he developed a new expertise out of older psychic ways of understanding. Though his psychic talents in photography have not been transferred to the credential stage of Freidson's model they have led Myers into a other areas of psychic discovery. Psychic photography can go no further than this expertise stage because the understanding of what is happening and how it happens does not currently exist. Until It is better understood it is impossible to develop the next stages of professionalization for these types of technologies.

I found the technological research group then is unique in that they first attempt to learn about the spirit world through technology and then some develop psychic abilities, which place them in the charismatic or hierarchical groups of psychics. This observation from the texts examined led to the development the analytical construct of this group as being a seed pod group for the other groups in step five of the methodology. The fact that they as a group generally do not wholly trust the findings of other types of psychics made this groups experiences in psychic development stand out from those groups that actively seek psychic experiences.

The strategies used by this group compared against Freidson's model of professionalization are stronger in the first two areas of expertise and credentialism than in autonomy. The technological researcher's expertise is based on technology, which is based on scientific principles. Their knowledge is transferred through informal associations and foundations to keep each other aware of individual findings. This forms an informal credentialism among the group. Autonomy is plagued with the same epistemological problems that the charismatic psychics have. The understanding from scientific perspectives of what they are finding has yet to be achieved. Therefore it is hard to codify and regulate this group's activities until classical theories can be formulated. A re-reading of the texts as proscribed in the last stage of the methodology used for this research confirmed that the findings for this group were correct and almost accidental development of psychic abilities individuals in this group was an occurrence regardless of the technology involved.

Section Four:

Professional Research Groups Acceptance

The semi-professional psychic groups are those that have pursued educational degrees in established professional occupations, and then branch out to various aspects of psychic healing and research that is then incorporated into their professional occupations. Examples of this kind of professional would include psychologist, psychiatrist and hypno-therapist. These individuals are incorporating psychic ways of knowing into their medical practices and using psychic understandings to help their clients. This is done largely through hypnosis. Twenty-two texts were examined for the study of this group. In the notes taken I found these professionals are incorporating ideas concerning

reincarnation; spirit lives between reincarnations, spiritual evolution in human spiritual development and possession as causes of their client's current mental and or physical problems. I contend that these individuals are at the opposite end of the spectrum from the charismatic mediums of the first group. The notes taken for this group revealed that the professional researchers as a group are immersed in the beliefs of the dominant culture of the scientific community, yet they are incorporating belief systems of psychic ways of knowing. This is just the opposite of the individuals like trance mediums and psychics, which are immersed in the beliefs of psychic understanding and incorporate science as it is useful to them. This understanding led their classification in the third and fourth steps of the methodology as the professional research group.

This change in paradigm understanding began in the 1970s and was first suggested by persons like Raymond Moody M.D. that wrote the classic on the near death experiences of his patients (1999:1-3). Moody was followed up through the 1990s by such individuals as by Brian Weiss a psychiatrist, Edith Fiore a psychologist and Michael Newton a hypnotherapist. All of these individuals wrote a series of books, which outlined case studies of individuals, which came to them for help in a professional medical capacity. In each case through a spontaneous occurrence during a secession of hypnosis they experienced a client with a past life reincarnation, a spirit life in-between carnations or a client that was possessed by another entity. This spontaneous event triggered their continued research into psychic phenomena (Wiess, 1993: 13). Moody states: "During the past twenty years or so, and so gradually that we have hardly realized it, we in Western society have undergone a kind of revolution in consciousness. There is now a whole generation of young people who have grown up regularly hearing and

reading of near death experiences, past life regressions out of body journeys, apparitions of the deceased and a host of other remarkable phenomena of the spirit life.” Moody too noted that this change in consciousness had begun in the 1970s and at that time he thought it was only a fad. Now over twenty years later he believes that we are on the verge of becoming a historical society in which the visionary capacity of human beings becomes widely accepted (Moody, 1999: 1-9; Wiess, 1993: 13).

Moody attributes this to the research being done by Dr. Brian Weiss, Dr. William Roll, Dr. Ken Ring, Dr Bruce Greyson, Dr. Melvin Morse and a host of other physicians and psychologists In the United States and Europe and elsewhere. This research will lead to the point where intense psychic experiences can be facilitated in psychologically normal individuals (Moody, 1999: 137-138; Weiss, 1993: 14). I found that in this research process these men of the scientific community are developing an expertise using psychic ways of understanding and knowing outside of their respective professions. This development of psychic expertise goes along with Freidson’s (1984:10) first tenant of professionalization. Weiss says, that at the same time these professionals in the field of medicine and mental health realize that there are those on both sides that resist this new consciousness. Some traditional persons will resist this idea of change due to religious convictions, such as hypnosis is a sin and of the devil, while others in the scientific community will resist the change as an anomaly. To be able to accept a new view point one has to come to grips with the fact that what one was taught earlier just isn’t true (1993: 144-147). It is interesting to note that Weiss gives lectures on these topics to college students and holds workshops to teach the techniques of hypnosis (past life)

regression to individuals, much in the same way the psychics teach their techniques (1993:171).¹¹

I also found that though these men of the scientific community have obtained their professional position through the formal process set down by the dominant culture. They are true to form creating their own credentialing process outside of that system when it comes to passing on the knowledge concerning psychic phenomena. This credentialing process goes well with Freidson's (1984: 10) second tenant of professionalization. The main strategies used for credentialism are their publications on various subjects of the paranormal, lectures, and seminars. I contend that it will be only natural for these researchers to follow the patterns of further credentialism and autonomy if future research grants them some scientific basis to establish their practices in scientific theory. In the mean time they are on a path of discovery regardless of prior knowledge and learning, which they feel may just be wrong. Raymond Moody states in the forward of Dr. Edith Fiore's book *The Unquiet Dead*:

"Frankly, I have no idea whether "possession" is ultimately "real" or not, but I do know two things. First, I like many other psychiatrists, have encountered in my practice a small number of very troubling cases in which the person involved seemed to be suffering from some peculiar alteration in consciousness which did not seem to fit in any category of mental illness known to me. And yet which resembled the description of "possession" found in medieval literature. Secondly, it is fairly clear that persons who are treated as though they were suffering from a "possessing entity" sometimes report dramatic resolution of their symptoms after these procedures. Obviously, neither of these facts necessarily implies that possession is "real" in a factual sense. But together they do suggest that we may be dealing with an unusual variety of human consciousness which is distinct from mental illness and which is worth investigating in its own right (Moody, 1993).

¹¹ The International Association for Regression Research and Therapies, Inc. will send out lists of licensed, certified, or unlicensed practitioners in your local area that use past life regression techniques. Their web site is at: <http://www.iarrt.org> and pastlife@empirenet.com They are located in Riverside, California.

I argue this new ability to on the part of members of the scientific community to be able to say, I don't know what's happening but that something is happening, and it is a drastic change is the beginnings of a paradigm shift for these persons of the scientific community. To say it is worth investigation in spite of the fact it has no basis in current scientific theory or understanding is a totally new phenomenon in the scientific community. This is especially true as far as the study of psychic phenomena is concerned. In the past the response would have been that one could not even assume that psychic phenomena exists. I argue that this is not much different than someone like John Edward saying I don't know why I can communicate with the spirit plane; I just know that I can (Edward 1999: 88-89). According to Moody (1999: 138) Dr. Stanislav Grof has helped to organize and establish psychotherapists into the Transpersonal Psychology Association. Its members are mindful that psychological issues concerning paranormal experience aren't ontological, but are clinical and phenomenological. By using this perspective they can justify the study and use of paranormal techniques.

A good example of this perspective is Dr Edith Fiore. Fiore (1993) is a psychologist whose literary works on spirit possession have become classics in the field. Fiore uses hypnosis as a technique and does past life regressions as well as works with those that believe they are possessed. In each case she does not know if either exist, but the therapy she has designed as a technique has helped several of her patients. Fiore states that her current practice now consists of hypnosis to get to the problem, whether it is from repressed memory of an event in this life time, past lives, or the presence of one or more possessing entities (1993: 7-11). After all the work she has done in this area Fiore still does not know if possession is a fantasy or not. She is not convinced that

possessions are figments of imagination. For now she leaves the question open. Fiore sees dispossession as a growing therapeutic tool, largely because it is extremely effective and efficient. Because of that fact alone she states she has taught hundreds of therapists in the United States her techniques and at least sixty persons in Brazil (1993: 153-155). I contend Fiore is a good example of the expertise being developed and the credentialing process that follows in the new field of research happening in this group.

Michael Newton a hypnotherapist has also been doing research in a similar area but his research regards the existence of individuals between lifetimes and reincarnations in the spirit world. Newton uses hypnosis to take an individual's memory back to times before physical reincarnations (1999: 55,120). He has published two books of case studies. Newton sees his work as grief recovery and grief resolution. Newton is one of the few among this group that believes in the narratives that his clients produce under hypnosis. His research created an awareness and acceptance of the spirit world. In his works Newton describes to his readers how to develop psychic awareness to his audience (Newton 1999: 12-13, 396-399). I contend that Newton is another good example for this group. He has turned his psychic techniques into a type of grief therapy, which is the expertise he has been able to develop out of his psychic research. He has followed that up with publications for credentialing purposes. Those publications lead to lectures, radio and television interviews (2001: xi). I further contend that Newton is different from some of the others in this group in that he is a believer in paranormal phenomena. He can afford to claim this however because he is retired and not concerned with the censure of his professional colleagues (2001: xii). He is similar to others in his group because he

uses the same professional strategies based on modern educational patterns and the media for credentialing.

Dr Phillip Morse, M.D. has written books on near death experiences of his patients and especially the near death experiences of children. Morse says that the research has changed everything in his life, his view of medicine, the way he sees society, and even the way he deals with his family. He further states that the research that he has done for a generation on this subject has led him to a belief in a human soul. The reason for this is that it is the simplest explanation for the cause of the phenomena he has observed in the case studies he has witnessed. Before he had done this research he felt that drugs or some other explanation was responsible for the near death phenomena. After a generation of research he has been convinced otherwise (Morse & Perry, 1990: 168-169). I contend that the literary works he has produced have added to the body of knowledge and supported the findings of others in this group.

Another remarkable example is that of Dr. Ian Stevenson professor of psychiatry at the University of Virginia. Dr. Stevenson is the only example here that did not use hypnosis. His research was with the spontaneous waking memories experienced by very small children. He reportedly has documented hundreds of cases all over the world in the last forty years of children that remember living past lives. These are case studies that are difficult to explain on any other grounds besides reincarnation. Stevenson states “why do main stream scientist refuse to accept the evidence we have for reincarnation (Shroder, 1999: 14, 26, 224)?¹² Although Stevenson’s life work has been in the area of

¹² Tuzzi (1991: 53-56) puts forth the idea that much of the refusal to accept psychic ways of knowing by the scientific community is based upon philosophy. Without a scientific basis those who adhere the strictest to scientific principles can not accept that paranormal phenomena is real even if they witness it

reincarnation he has tried to link his work to other areas of the paranormal. He believed that the human personality after death could communicate through mediums, interact with the world as a poltergeist, or manifest as an apparition, before it reincarnates (Guiley 1992: 325).

I contend that as more professionals from the dominate culture of the scientific community take on this kind of perspective that they are coming closer all the time to finding common ground with parapsychologists, psychic researchers, psychics and spirit mediums. In accepting these psychic ways of knowing they are at the same time lending credibility to other more traditional types of psychics and researchers. The major problem with this new incorporation of psychic knowledge is that none of it is understood enough to be sure of what is truly happening. Some of the professionals that believe in possession as an example would say that reincarnation is simply the thoughts and memories of an entity that is in possession of the individual and not really the memories of a past life. I contend therefore epistemological problems plagues this group as much as the other groups in the development of any codification and regulation of psychic abilities. Yet the psychic researcher group seems the least concerned with Freidson's (1984:10) last tenant of autonomy for professionalization. They have developed strategies that circumvent their professional regulations and use the psychic techniques for practical purposes for now (Bell 1997: 168-172).

I contend that these individuals that have already achieved a professional status wish to incorporate these new psychic techniques with as little collateral damage as possible to their current careers. This group of individuals is the least interested in

empirically before their own eyes. This then becomes a philosophical problem for science looking at the validity and utility of paranormal phenomena. He concludes that we simply need more data in this area.

professionalization, since they have already achieved that status. They are more interested in the practical application of aspects the psychic expertise to their own occupations. I would argue that they are similar to the traditional physicians that subsumed osteopathy into a medical specialty for traditional medicine as discussed in the professionalization of hierarchical psychic groups in section two (Wolinsky 1980: 295). The difference between these two groups is that the hierarchical is a group that believes in psychic ways of knowing that subsumes professional medical appearances. The Professional group is a group with professions based on scientific principles subsuming psychic ways of knowing. This subsuming motif surrounds this group and I used it for the analytical construct to understand the professionalization process occurring within the professional research group in stage five of the methodology employed in this research (Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus 1994: 74-75). If this professional group continues to be successful in subsuming psychic techniques into their practices then this group will be the first to be truly professional according to Freidson's model. They may still be second-class physicians to traditional mental health physicians. But nonetheless they will have the same rights and privileges as those traditional physicians. Wolinsky states this is a slow process. It took fifty years for the Osteopaths (1980: 295). I found that since this movement to incorporate psychic techniques started in the 1970s thirty years of consideration has already begun a similar process for acceptance of psychic ways of knowing. From the standpoint of professionalization among various categories of experience among psychics and spirit mediums there has been a determined effort at leaning towards and imitating the medical profession. Now through the efforts of this last group there is also a adopting of psychic ways of knowing by the medical profession.

How this may alter and change psychic ways knowing long term is too early to tell. Osteopaths changed and altered their practices by borrowing and including many traditional medical techniques. This changed them to the point of Osteopaths being subsumed into traditional medicine (Wolinsky 1980: 295). Psychics and spirit mediums may also very well experience similar changes in their belief systems.

In Summary the professional group compared to Freidson's (1984:10) model of professionalization of autonomy credentialism and expertise is the group least concerned with autonomy since they are already professionals by traditional standards. Their credentialism is achieved largely through their publications. This concurred with Bruce's understanding that the psychic group's research is largely text based (1996: 209). The professional group also uses the modern professional strategies of giving seminars and lectures (Weiss 1993, Fiore 1993, Newton 1999). The professional group also seems the little concerned with autonomy. They get around epistemological problems by stating that they do not know how or why some psychic technique works. Yet by incorporating the various psychic techniques they are healing their patients. They argue that this is no different than many other areas of medical science where we do not know how or why something works but is still effectively used in treatment of patients (Bell 1997: 168-172). Until some scientific understandings can be applied however epistemological problems exist keeping codification and regulation of psychic practices at a minimum. I found this to be a great obstacle for autonomy of this group.

Chapter Five: Conclusions.

This study through case studies of various types of psychics has demonstrated that professionalization has become a common aspect in the development of multidimensional psychic occupations (Truzzi 1972: 28). The descriptive analysis has shown that professionalization is being incorporated into psychic ways of knowing. This rational process has become a necessary part of their occupations for credibility. The strategies used are borrowed from the traditional patterns established by the professions of education and medicine (Bell 1997: 168-172). The professional strategies used to promote and transfer knowledge like classes; seminars, lectures, publications and the media were found in all of the groups researched. It was in the area of autonomy that most of the groups fell short of becoming a profession according to the benchmark of Freidson's (1984:10) model of professionalization.

The study has contributed to the sociological literature by providing insights into the modern rational process of professionalization and showing how that process has become accepted and necessary to occupations that are not based on rationality. The study has contributed data and broadened the area of professionalization to marginal groups that have not been much attention in the past. I contend that this research shows

that a body of literature has developed over the last hundred and fifty years largely through the efforts of psychics and spirit mediums that has established the basis of a psychic way of knowing. This knowledge laid the basis for a specialization among psychics and spirit mediums that is continuing in its growth and development today.

Further I argue that in this process there is coming about a slow change in understanding in elements of both the psychic communities and the scientific community toward a synthesis in borrowing what is useful from either communities' way of knowing. In this summary I contend that the effects of one system on the other is causing a blurring of lines and boundaries. This research portrays the tension here between the paranormal worldview of psychics and spirit mediums that are trying for reasons of credibility to incorporate elements of formal rational professionalism into their respective belief systems. It also portrays the tensions in the scientific community to incorporate useful elements from the psychic community's ways of knowing to heal their clients effectively and efficiently (Fiore 1993: 7-11, 153-155).

This was an unexpected twist in the research. The idea that members of the scientific community would embrace aspects of psychic ways of knowing for effective and efficient therapeutic techniques is an indication that the change in consciousness runs deeper and broader in more circles than I had previously suspected. I found that this is an indication that there is for the first time the possibility that the established medical professions have started incorporating psychic ways of knowing for practical reasons rather than excluding them as scientifically unsound as was done in the past. The tension here between the psychics and spirit mediums want to help with and the professionals in the mental health fields that both address the disenchantment with

modernity that is felt by the public. Though they may not be aware of that sociological consideration formally, They achieve this by casting their expertise in areas which provide relief for grief resolution, various alternative methods of healing and reformation of beliefs in immortality they are dealing with aspects of life that are often still unresolved by modernity. Yet at the same time they want to be considered formal and rational in the sense of professionalism (Bell 1997: 175-178; Bruce 1996:197-204).

Application of Freidson's (1984: 10) theoretical model as a benchmark during the fourth and fifth stage of the methodology showed each group of psychics was in different stage of development concerning professionalization (Van De Poel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus 1994: 74-75). These classified themes ranged from "independent and entrepreneurial" in the first charismatic group to "mentoring and paternal" in the second group of hierarchical psychics. The third group of psychic researchers was locked into scientific reasoning unless psychic abilities emerged from awareness that developed out of understanding, which evolved in the process of their research. They were a potential "seed pod" group for the other groups. The last group the professional researchers were the most practical and efficient. They were "subsumers" of the others groups techniques. This group was the least concerned with professionalization. (Wolinsky 1980:294-295).

The Charismatic individual psychics and spirit mediums in section one were most concerned with developing their expertise. The later stages of professionalization as designed by Freidson (1984: 10) were almost an after thought in the individual psychic's professional identity. However a professional appearance was found to be useful in the development of credibility with the public. The Charismatic psychics and spirit mediums were most similar to the Chiropractors in that though they have some associations and

foundations however these have little or no effect on the group's autonomy. However like Chiropractors they are still popular with the public. I argue that this is because they are providing a service both spiritual and mental to their clients. It is spiritual in that it gives the client a belief in survival beyond death, and mental in the form of grief resolution. Like Chiropractors the psychics and mediums are more personal and less expensive than other alternatives that can't address spiritual questions (Wolinsky 1980: 294-295). I argue that the development of the third stage of Freidson's model will probably not happen in this group unless it becomes a necessity at some future date.

Expertise for the hierarchical groups in section two was not the main concern; the second stage of Freidson's (1984:10) model credentialism was the more important element. The expertise for these groups was already established and taken for granted element (Stein 2000: 8-15; Truzzi 1974: 15). The expertise was more complex in that it incorporated learned psychic abilities with help and assistance from the spirit world in the development of healing arts. For this group the professionalism came into play largely through the incorporation of the models of Freidson's (1984:10) tenant of credentialism found in traditional higher education. Using college and university patterns in degree plans and certifications for the establishment of credentialism within the group. There is an indication of autonomy as a need by the accreditation of their degree plans in the traditional ways of higher education. The autonomy is through religious sources rather than medical for these alternative-healing arts. I found this allows them to keep their paranormal belief systems intact, but this makes their credentials questionable to traditional physicians (Wolinsky 1980: 294-295). This could change however if the professionals in the fourth category of experience succeed in subsuming some psychic

ways of healing into their practices. Currently however their paranormal belief systems are more important than professional approval.

The technological research groups in section three were different in their approach and more aligned with the scientific community in their research for concrete evidential proof through the use of technology (Sherman 1993: 27). Their expertise depended upon their technology. There are some aspects of credentialism within their research groups by the creation of foundations which act as clearing houses for the information that different individuals discover concerning psychic phenomena (Sherman 1993: 6). This does to some degree provide for Freidson's (1984:10) model in the development of credentialism. However due to a lack of understanding of how the technological process works, I argue that they have been unable to go on to the last stage of autonomy. These researchers needed more theoretical understanding of what processes are happening before they can codify and regulate their efforts. However the further development of unexpected psychic abilities and talents in this group that led to connections to the charismatic individuals suggests that the technological researchers can develop insights in other areas, which can lead to professional status. They were similar in this aspect to the psychics and mediums that make use of inanimate objects to communicate with the deceased (Sherman 1993: 11-12).

In both cases either the inanimate object or the technology becomes the medium for communication with the other side. I found that from this first type of contact an initial awareness of validity of this communication can open up other possibilities for other types of communications. Through psychic means of communications these individuals are led to other avenues of development. This in turn leads the individual to

becoming a psychic, medium or some combination. According to their abilities and talents they then follow professional paranormal occupations (Hunt 1985: 36).

The professional research groups in section four were not as concerned with any of the stages of Freidson's model of professionalization as the other groups. I argue this is largely because they have achieved professional status through traditional means in medical mental health professions and therefore are more concerned with the practical application of psychic techniques to their professional medical practices. This groups biggest concern professionally would be the attacks by colleagues in the medical community for incorporating paranormal techniques (Wiess 1993:24-27; Fiore 1993: xi). I contend that this has been hard to do however because of the placebo effect that works and is used by traditional medical practitioners on patients. Because the professionals of this group can claim that incorporating psychic techniques are not much different than a placebo they avoid coming into conflict with scientific community. According to the literature I did not find one of the members of this group that did not lean towards belief in the psychic ways of knowing in how these techniques worked (Moody 1999: 138). Many openly stated that the question was now open to them and that the scientific communities understandings of these issues may just be wrong. I found this attitude among the professionals of this group leads directly to credibility in a halo affect to the other categories of experience by the general public. These professionals are very similar to the physicians that subsumed osteopathy as a special branch of medicine for their own purposes. I argue that in this kind of synthesis the attitudes and beliefs of both groups will evolve and change through the knowledge and experience that they glean from each other (Bell 1997: 168-172; Bruce 1996: 223-224; Wolinsky 1980: 295).

This research considers if this effort is possible and attainable by psychics and mediums. If so a concern is that something may be lost in the process. The key to all of these possibilities is the consensus of general public. The public is the driving force that makes the occupation of psychics and spirit mediums possible as a full time line of work. The public obviously has a need due to the disenchantment with aspects of our current culture. It is making place for psychics and spirit mediums because of this social need. Psychics and spirit mediums are seeking a more professional appearance for the sake of that public. I found that the psychic and spirit mediums are subtly aware that professionalization is a pattern that the public has come to trust and therefore realize that aspects of that professionalization must be incorporated into their respective occupations. The professional success or failure of psychics and spirit mediums as more than a marginal occupation will ultimately depend of what that public decides to accept or reject (Bruce 1996: 222). I contend that a part of that acceptance will be determined by the incorporation of professionalism.

Limitations of the study

The point of the study was to gain an understanding of how the incorporation of professionalization currently occurring among groups of psychics and mediums is affecting their occupations. In this process I established four categories of experience in an effort to compare and contrast the different groups. The data suggests that these differences are determined by their different experiences with paranormal phenomena. These differences established boundaries for each group. One of the first and most important limitations would be that there are possibly more categories of experience that were not included in this study due to the time constraints and resources available for this

research project. As an example I could include police officers as a subcategory of the charismatic psychics. Police officers at times do make use of psychics in their investigations. This contact could create an awareness of their psychic abilities (Truzzi 1999: 10-11). I did not find any reference to a police officer that later developed psychic and or mediumistic abilities or talents, which lead to them becoming professional psychics or mediums. Therefore they are not included in the categories of experience. That is not to say that some police officers have not developed such abilities or talents, only that none were found to do so in the scope of this research project. If such individuals were found to have had this experience then they would need to be included in these arguments.

A second concern is that the research is largely observations of John Edward and gleaned from literature and documents. A more in-depth study would extend this research to a larger number of interviews with actual mediums and psychics to get more of an insider's viewpoint of professionalization and its affects on their life-world. Without their viewpoints the study may be biased in the results. A more comprehensive study would include interviews from known mediums and psychics as well as the other experience categories that were considered. Those interviews might portray more negative or positive aspects concerning professionalization that hinder or inhibit professionalism as a future possibility for occupational improvement.

A third concern is that the research does not include any information from the clients of psychics and mediums concerning professionalization and its effects upon paranormal occupations. Interviews with actual clients of psychics and mediums may also provide insights concerning professionalization that are not included in this study.

For I argue that it is the general public that is most comfortable with the idea that the psychic community professionalize to be more credible (Bruce 1996: 222). The public's wants and needs concerning professionalization among psychic groups could bring added dimensions that are absent in this research.

A fourth concern is that the theory of professionalization established by Eliot Freidson (1984:10) is a classical view of professionalization. This is only one sociological theoretical perspective, which is used as the analytical tool for this research. There are other equally valid theoretical approaches that could be taken with this study. An example could be a postmodern perspective that sees the rise in psychic interest in the general public as a failing of modernity in its promises for the general betterment of humankind. From the foundation established in this research other studies could apply other sociological theoretical perspectives that could give insight into professionalization of these marginal groups that has not been fully considered. In the postmodern perspective for instance professionalization may have come to a point that it is really null and void a mere formality rather than a necessary contribution to occupational status.

Contributions and Implications for Future Research

The research contributes directly to the research on the psychic communities and those groups associated with them. It can directly benefit them in the need assessments of professionalization within their various occupations. In some cases it can benefit the body of psychic literature by providing a different point of view. The research provides a sociological point of view, which is different from other disciplines. This perspective takes professionalization an aspect of modernity and looks out how that portion of rationality is incorporated into a non-rational belief system for the sake of credibility.

Modern professionalization being an external social force to these groups, which they find necessary to prosper in the dominate rational culture (Bruce 1996: 181-182).

This research takes a detached and objective approach looking simply at psychic belief systems and seeing how those belief systems are trying to achieve professionalization. It is not considering the reality or truth behind the claims of the paranormal community or the scientific community. However it does attempt to view aspects of how each psychic group views professionalization. It provides a viewpoint that these psychic groups may not be aware of and can benefit from by being more informed. If this research provides them with better understanding of themselves as groups then they can adjust accordingly to the needs of their clientele in a professional manner, which would could give them greater credibility and confidence by the public.

The research also contributes to the theoretical domain of professionalization to Freidson's theory through the addition of empirical data concerning emerging psychic professions. The world of the paranormal is not usually considered from the standpoint of modern professionalization. This is in spite of the fact that certain professional patterns are emerging in various psychic groups benchmarked against Freidson's theory. This study applies the three tenants of Freidson's (1984:10) model of professionalization of expertise, credentialism and autonomy and confirms them as emerging aspects of many psychic occupations. The study also shows how symbolic interaction can be applied to understanding the interactions between psychics and their clients especially among the charismatic group researched here.

This research gives a better understanding of professionalization within marginalized groups as a whole by increasing the amount and kind of data to be

considered (Truzzi 1999: 11). All theories require data to prove them valid. This study adds to the data for Freidson's model. I contend that it broadens the theory of professionalization by looking at groups using professionalization that are not based on the rationality found in modernity. This research establishes a classical understanding of professionalization for these groups from which further research from other sociological theoretical perspectives can explore other aspects of professionalization that are not included here. As discussed earlier a postmodern theoretical perspective could give insights into professionalization that portray it as a dying formality to occupational status. Further research would be needed to establish such perspectives through a postmodern lens or any other theoretical approach.

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APPENDIX

Classifications Of Professionalization

Informal Classifications	Formal Classifications	Analytical Constructs
(Informal Themes)	(Formal Themes)	(Theory applied to themes)
<p>Group with problems in theoretical development. Working theories extend from personal experience. This group is most concerned with expertise.</p>	<p>Charismatic Psychics and Spirit Mediums. A sub-category of this group is the psychics that use inanimate objects in their mediumistic practices.</p>	<p>Individuals in this group are highly independent and entrepreneurial. General lack of autonomy in this group because of epistemological problems.</p>
<p>Group that has passed beyond their charismatic founder and developed a hierarchy of believers concerning paranormal beliefs. This group is most concerned with credentialism.</p>	<p>Hierarchical Psychic groups that often mix a variety of occult practices with mediumistic practices. These groups often establish mystery schools and colleges.</p>	<p>Individuals in this group tend to be paternal and act as mentors resulting in student and master relationships. Credentialism is often established through religious accreditation.</p>
<p>Groups most interested in hard scientific evidence gleaned from the use of modern technology. The experience often leading members in this group to develop psychic abilities.</p>	<p>Technological research groups that use different types of modern technology in combination to prove the existence of paranormal phenomena.</p>	<p>Individuals in this group tend to be seedpods for potential development into the psychic groups mentioned above.</p>
<p>Groups most interested in the utilitarian and practical effective and efficient psychic techniques for healing their patients. The group least interested in professionalization because they are already professionals.</p>	<p>Professional Research Groups. (Most usually psychologists and psychiatrists.) The vehicle to make use psychic ways of knowing usually being hypnosis involving reincarnation and spirit possession.</p>	<p>Individuals in this group are the least interested in professionalization. They are subsumers of psychic ways of knowing for the effective and efficient treatment of their patients.</p>

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