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# LIMITS AND MEANINGS TO THE CHALLENGING TERRITORY OF MEDIUMSHIP A QUALITATIVE STUDY WITH GRIEVERS

**Ines Testoni<sup>1\*</sup>, Sara Pompele<sup>1</sup>, Laura Liberale<sup>1</sup> and  
Patrizio Tressoldi<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> *University of Padova, Department of Philosophy, Sociology, Education and Applied Psychology (FISPPA), Via Venezia 14, Padova, 35131, Italy*

<sup>2</sup> *University of Padova, Science of Consciousness Research Group, Studium Patavinum, Via Venezia 8, Padova, 35131, Italy*

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## **Abstract**

The loss of a loved one causes great upheaval in people's lives, and the bereaved may turn to unconventional methods to feel closer to the deceased, such as relying on a medium. The aim of this study was to investigate this experience and its effects. A qualitative research design involving five participants was applied through interpretative phenomenological analysis. Four main thematic areas emerged: the motivations that led participants to seek support from a medium, their experiences during the encounter, friends' and relatives' views on mediumship, and changes in the grieving process. Despite the various reasons that led the bereaved to ask for a mediumistic consultation, almost all participants believe the experience helped them overcome their grief.

*Keywords:* medium, bereavement, continuing bonds, paranormal experiences, afterlife

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## **1. Introduction**

Contemporary Western society is simultaneously highly secularised and multicultural. On one hand, secularisation has caused (or been caused by) a major crisis in traditional religions. Inglehart shows that from 2007 to 2020, an overwhelming majority of countries became less religious [1]. This decline in belief was the strongest in high-income countries, especially because the moral imperatives typical of many religions, which limit individual freedom, i.e. contraception, abortion, divorce, homosexuality, bisexuality or any other sexual behaviour not intended for purposes of reproduction, although useful when societies had to face high infant mortality and low life expectancy, are no longer needed in countries that can, thanks to recent technological advances, safely guarantee population survival. Throughout history, religions that did not promote a high birth rate as a value gradually disappeared because of the

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\*E-mail: ines.testoni@unipd.it

extinction of their followers due to infant mortality and low life expectancy. At present, a higher quality of life and the discoveries of Medicine have drastically modified the situation, making these cultural norms no longer necessary [*World Values Survey Association 2020: Inglehart–Welzel Cultural Map*, May 14, 2021, <https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSContents.jsp>]. On the other hand, migrant human groups reinforce in the same territories a mixture of different faiths and beliefs. The complexity of this phenomenon gives rise to widespread practices aimed at making sense of the need for transcendence to manage the terror of death. The final effect is the search for new representations with which to entrust the spiritual dimension without having to suffer the frustrations that the rigid moral norms of traditional religions impose. As widely discussed by terror management theory, rituals and faith help individuals to cope with the anxiety that comes from thinking themselves mortal [2]. In particular, studies concerning ontological representations of death consider how, first, the representation of death as annihilation causes anxiety and how the enhancement of the idea that death is a passage to another form of existence is a source of resilience [3, 4].

The mediumship experience is related to this phenomenology. The word ‘medium’ indicates those people who claim to possess the ability to contact entities who exist beyond the common earthly life, generally spirits of deceased people [5]. In recent decades, this phenomenon has caught some researchers’ interest. Qualitative studies have explored mediums’ subjective conceptions of their own faculties [6, 7] and have evaluated mediums’ actual abilities in a controlled setting [8]. To assess the accuracy of the medium’s statements, preventing the sitter’s/mourner’s confirmatory bias (the tendency to accept particular information as correct even if it is wrong simply because the sitter needs proof that his/her loved one is still alive), such research adopted protocols with two anonymous readings to evaluate [9]. A very recent meta-analysis showed that the accuracy of the information was between 6% and 14% more than what is attributable to chance and was higher in mediums who had obtained a preliminary certification of their abilities [10].

However, scientific studies on this kind of experience are still scarce, despite the necessity, because many bereaved people seek a medium to communicate with their deceased beloved, thus obtaining some sort of confirmation of the existence of an afterlife [11, 12]. Grievers need to believe in an afterlife, and, as has been previously highlighted, literature has already reported how the way people imagine and represent the idea of death (either as total annihilation or as a mere passage towards another dimension) significantly influences the way they can cope with suffering, loss and death itself [4, 13].

Some mourners even report experiences of actual contact with the deceased because of intense feelings or perceptions (visual, auditory, olfactory or tactile) that seem to testify that the person is still present [14, 15]. A recent literature review has highlighted how such experiences for mourners represent a physiological occurrence in grief and how they are comforting and reassuring [16]. All this is in line with the phenomenology of continuing bonds (CBs), that

is, those intense relational bonds with deceased [17]. Literature concerning CBs is rather complex and sometimes contradictory [18]. The literature has described ‘externalised CBs’, relationships with the deceased accompanied by feeling their real presence in the world, and ‘internalised CBs’, indicating a mental relationship with the deceased [19]. Some classical studies have shown a correlation between internalised CBs with a better capability to overcome grief and externalised CBs with risk factors for a possibly complicated grief [15]. However, more recent studies highlight how it is impossible to determine their exact positive or negative outcome, since it depends on the mourner’s coping abilities [20, 21]. Other studies show that maintaining external or internal CBs may help mourners proceed more rapidly through grief and the acceptance of the loss, thanks to the reconstruction of existence meaning [22, 23]. From this point of view, therefore, anomalous experiences of meeting a deceased loved one, guided by a medium, could represent a way of maintaining positive CBs, with benefits for the process of elaboration of grief, as the literature is beginning to report [24, 25].

The present study is part of this framework that aims to explore the direct experiences of people who have lived the loss of a loved one in their life, found themselves in a moment of spiritual and psychological disorientation, and sought the support of a medium. During the mediumistic consultations the medium first identified the deceased loved one she perceived was willing to communicate with the person, describing him/her carefully and thus allowing the sitter to understand and confirm the person communicating was indeed the deceased loved one, and subsequently, she reported the deceased person’s direct words and messages. All participants but one took part in more than one mediumistic session, and during the following ones the medium continued to explore the relationship between the sitter and the deceased loved one, by allowing them to reach a contact and gradually express and elaborate their painful feelings, doubts, or unresolved issues. The precise objective of the study was to investigate the reasons that led these people to contact a medium, as well as the consequences this had on their grieving process.

## **2. Experimental**

### ***2.1. Participants and method***

Five female participants (age range: 43-66 years, mean age: 53, SD: 8.52), recruited following snowball sampling, took part in the study. They all lived in Northern or Central Italy and had previously contacted the same medium for a consultation. The first participant was identified by some mutual contacts between her and the researchers, and she was firstly contacted via e-mail for a description of the aims and methods of the research and to request whether she could be interested in taking part to it. After the first participant completed the study, she was asked whether she knew other people who had the same experience, and if yes, to contact them and suggest them, if interested, to

schedule a meeting with the researchers. Other participants were contacted in person at a public conference in Italy concerning the theme of mediumship. The number of five participants was considered enough for the present research aims and methodology (IPA), since a small number of participants allows the researchers to engage in an in-depth and careful analysis of each participant's interview, which would become more difficult with higher numbers.

The research aims and procedures were carefully described to all participants, and a written informed consent was signed by all of them before the beginning of the procedure. The study received research ethics approval from the Health Sciences and Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of Padova (reference no. 5315BAD04884B50A1C86FB139403C2B5).

The research adopted a qualitative methodology, and more specifically, it followed the principles of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) [26], since this approach can be considered an appropriate one to explore in depth this kind of experience, allowing to investigate the direct point of view of the people involved, without preconceived opinions or prejudices [7]. IPA provides for the creation of a semi-structured interview consisting of a series of open, non-standardised questions that can be modified during the interview, following the participant's interests and adapting to the themes they believe are the most significant to them.

The interview explored the meetings the participants had with the medium, their eventual religious faith and/or spirituality, whether they believed they had reached the fundamental objectives they had in mind while they decided to contact a medium, and the eventual changes in their cognitions, emotions, way of living and faith after having approached the context of mediumship.

Because of the covid-19 pandemic, data were collected via the internet. After participants gave consent to participate, each interview lasted about one hour.

The interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim and the textual analysis followed six main phases: engaging in preparatory organisation, reading the texts carefully, coding data, interpreting themes, searching for alternative explanations, and producing the final report [27].

The procedure was conducted by highlighting some particularly meaningful concepts in each text, creating adequate labels (codes) to describe their meaning, and subsequently comparing these elements with those found in the other participants' narrations. Lastly, broader, common themes to all the texts were identified and proper thematic categories to describe them were created. Therefore, the process adopted was a bottom-up one, since all the obtained categories emerged directly from the texts without pre-defined ones available at the beginning of it. The process was conducted by two researchers with a precise experience in qualitative analysis, who proceeded in parallel and subsequently compared the obtained thematic categories, to ensure an objective interpretation of the data. Their work was supported by the software for qualitative textual analysis *Atlas.ti* [28].

### **3. Results**

From the data analysis, four fundamental themes emerged: ‘reasons for meeting a medium’, ‘concrete experiences lived’, ‘relatives’ and friends’ viewpoints’ and ‘changes after the meeting’. The names of each participant are fictitious to respect their anonymity.

#### ***3.1. Reasons for meeting a medium***

Participants expressed different reasons for seeking a medium. The first one was to find support for their grief, as Bianca affirmed, a 50-year-old woman who had lost her husband: “My husband died in June, last year... when a real nightmare started. I did not want to accept that, and I did not do it, especially because I had already suffered many losses: my mother two months before, my father [a] few years before. My husband’s death, which has been the tragedy of all tragedies for my family, has been the loss that spurred in me the desire to meet a medium.”

Agathe, a 66-year-old woman, lost her daughter to brain cancer, and despite this, she was sceptical: “I was not the kind of person who believed in such things as mediumship. I’m German, I am very rational, however, over time, not immediately after my daughter’s death in March, but in April, I was desperate, so I started to search the internet. I found a lot of accounts of people who tell you mediums are horrible, thieves, scammers, then, during one of my sleepless nights, I had seen a private channel on television in which a woman was speaking. She was the medium who later gave me an appointment. She was very sweet, she seemed so much sensitive, and she was describing her experience.”

Another reason was to find a balance in life and an explanation for the very meaning of life and death, as Sara, a 43-year-old woman, reported. She lost her brother in 2009, and since that moment she had started to practice metaphony, a procedure that is considered a way to channel voices, typically of deceased people or other spiritual entities, through records obtained by electronic devices: “When I went to the meeting with the medium, honestly, I was most looking for an answer concerning my life, my everyday life. I had gone there exactly because... well, I will not say because I was curious but, I mean, I was trying practically everything because I wanted to get out of this depression I felt. So, I went there, although not light-heartedly, I was a little sceptical.”

Another motivation for seeking contact with a medium was genuine curiosity on the matter, according to Rosa, a 56-year-old woman: “At first it was just for curiosity, because I haven’t really lost anybody... well I lost my father, but I did not know him. I had tried to reach him through metaphony, and he had actually come many times; however, I had the desire to hear him from another person, since you always fear you might be more or less affecting the answers.”

### **3.2 Concrete experiences lived**

Many intense emotions have also been reported, both positive and negative. Rosa, for example, was very satisfied by the encounter with her deceased father: “I’m not someone who easily believes in anything, especially since there are so many deceivers. However, when you experience something like this, you have to believe. You have to, it’s impossible not to. The encounter went wonderfully, and I was taken aback since the medium indicated all the names of my relatives she could not possibly know since we were two complete strangers, and I did not tell her any relatives’ names. I told her I was looking for my father and she started to write. She wrote two lines, and then she asked me what my father’s name was. I said it, and she showed me what she had written, and it was: ‘I am here, I am G. [father’s name]’. It really moved me, it gave me goose bumps, because my father also told me beautiful things, I heard so many positive thoughts.”

Similarly, Agathe reported she was extremely moved by the possibility of speaking with someone who was not physically present anymore (her daughter): “The medium took my hand and said, ‘Let’s go, quickly, your daughter is here!’ I was feeling very emotional, and I had no idea how the process worked. She told me my daughter was there and to be quiet a moment since she would have used the automatic writing and then she would have read to us what would have emerged on the pages, she looked as if she was in a sort of trans. At a certain point she started to read [...]: ‘Hi, it’s me, N. [Agathe daughter’s name] Mom, how wonderful you and A. [her brother] are here! I’m happy!’ I will report the most important things she said that completely shocked me. She said, ‘I feel wonderful, I’m no longer suffering, I’m peaceful. I will never thank you enough, you took care of me with so much love, and I fell asleep in your arms mom. I did not suffer, I was serene, everything went well’. My son and I came out after one hour, we sat in the car, we looked at each other and we started to cry, because we felt relief. I think that was the first time I smiled after a long time, I realised that few days after the meeting. I sent messages to the medium to thank her, she changed my life.”

Bianca reported similar relief from hearing her recently deceased husband: “The first thing my husband told me immediately after the medium contacted him was: ‘How about R.?’ R. is our son’s nickname, so I was certain it was really him, there with us. [...] The medium was an essential support since she gave me some information, general news, only she could have known... she was really a person who was talking with another person’s soul and who was able to convey its essence, not a common person for certain.”

A positive experience was also reported by Rachele: “I had immediately some positive feedback, since that July one of my mother’s sisters had died. However, I had not mentioned her to the medium, and yet she said her name and told me she was there, and she was saying hello and she was fine... and she even mentioned her husband’s name and told me he was sad and that I had to try to cheer him up. [...] I felt extremely light, comforted, it did me so good! [...]”

Rachele also described a rather unexpected feeling she sometimes had during subsequent mediumship sessions, which she described as some sort of intuition: “I can tell you that, in general, the encounters with the mediums, not just the ones I had with her [the previous medium], lead me to suddenly have a different thought, a different voice in my head that gives me a different solution to a certain problem, a different point of view. It is as if you would hear one side of your head talking, something different from what you are currently thinking, and conveniently, that is the right solution.”

On the contrary, a negative experience was narrated by Sara, who was not satisfied with her meeting with the medium: “She started to talk to me in a very generic way, talking about my brother... and I had not even asked her to do it, so I didn’t like that. And she mentioned my boyfriend, and I asked her what my boyfriend’s problem was and she answered: ‘The most serious one’. At that point, I started to become angry, and I said, ‘What are you saying... You have to tell me what his problem is! You are a medium... if you are in contact with what you say is a millenary entity...’. At a certain point she was in a trance, and I told her, ‘That’s enough!’ I told her exactly that, and she looked at me and asked, ‘What happened?’ and I told her, ‘Look, honestly, you are not giving me what I was looking for. So, please, just tell me how much I owe you [...] since I am leaving’.”

### ***3.3. Relatives’ and friends’ viewpoints***

Participants’ close relatives’ and friends’ varying points of view on mediumship have been reported. Rosa explained that her sisters and son, who had a very harsh reaction towards her, did not accept her meetings with a medium, while her friends always seemed to support her: “My son, who is 21 years old and saw the medium from the beginning, said: ‘You are crazy! You simply dream all you feel and hear’. He has always considered me crazy, me and all those who supported me. My sisters are half sceptical and half not. Anyway, they do not care about it at all and never ask me anything about it. My friends instead know perfectly what kind of person I am... so if I say something, they perfectly know it is real, they believe in it. Most of my friends believe in it.”

Sara said that she trusted this experience only to friends who could understand her: “Concerning my friends, for example, some of them know, others don’t... only those who can understand know it, with the others I do not speak about these themes... I am different with them, as if I am another person.”

In Sara’s words therefore emerges once again, as has happened for Rosa, the clear fear of being considered rather weird or even mentally unstable, and many prejudices from both family members and friends.

A positive experience with a relative was narrated by Bianca, who, after a while, decided to tell her son about her meeting with a medium and her contact with her deceased husband: “I told it to a few, trusted people because I know there is a lot of scepticism and, allow me to say it, also a lot of ignorance on the matter, people can judge you and consider you crazy. My son knew absolutely

nothing because [...] at the time he was tormented, devastated. [...] However, when I told him I was very happy because I found so much openness on his part... honestly, I did not expect that from a young boy who is very concrete, down-to-earth, but instead he told me he profoundly believed there was something else beyond this earthly life. I was not expecting to hear those words from him. And now our relationship has changed, there is much more openness, complicity, even though we remain both very concrete, down-to-earth.”

### ***3.4. Changes after the meeting***

Another significant issue concerned the fundamental changes participants have noticed in their lives since meeting with the medium. Almost all the participants reported some significantly positive changes, especially related to their increased ability to elaborate on their grief for deceased loved ones and find relief from its pain, as, for example, Agathe described: “Well, she [the medium] has certainly helped me [...] she gave me so much strength and confidence, a sense of peace... she has been a gift for me. I do not have the doubts I used to have now, and I feel free to say what I want because she is sincere, and she made me feel better. I still have some very painful moments of course, that’s how it is, since right after I hear my daughter, I feel so much better but after a while I feel depressed again, but then I find my balance again.”

Agathe’s experience was very peculiar, since her husband and son were initially very sceptical and did not approve of her decision to encounter a medium; however, after the meeting, her son, who had accompanied her, changed his perspective: “I sent the medium an e-mail and my son told me to be careful and not to do this kind of things since he believed mediums are impostors ready to deceive other people. He told me he would come with me; he did not want me to go there alone because I was too vulnerable. After I booked an appointment, I told my husband too and he said I was crazy. However, when the meeting ended after one hour my son and I sat in our car, we looked at each other and we started to cry... but it was a cry of relief.”

Bianca reported how her meeting with the medium helped her manage the extreme pain of her grief, thinking that death is not the end of everything: “Well, it is to be expected, as the medium also told me, no one can take your pain away, but I realise that I live my days with a different awareness and even though a tear might fall, because I miss my everyday life with my husband, the physical contact is missing, a hug, a gesture, even getting angry at each other because that is part of a relationship too, however, now I talk to him, I ask him for help as if he was here with us and I do receive some feedback that signals he is present. [...] I have always had hope in something after death... And now I also have a more concrete vision of that, perhaps not precisely of what will happen after my death, however, this experience has allowed me to understand something more. The afterlife is not that distant from us... the dead ones and our loved ones are in a life of light, peace and eternal joy.”



Rosa was also satisfied with her experience. She explained her personal spiritual belief, stirred by her concrete experiences with mediumship, which is not completely coincident with a traditionally Catholic view: “Oh yes, yes, absolutely. I am satisfied and very happy, and I could also obtain some very deep insights from the experience. I am a believer; however, I do not go to church, I absolutely do not believe in the Church. [...] I believe something exists that is certainly superior, but I do not believe in everything the Church says, those are silly, false things and you realise this only when you are part of this world of mediumship. So, there is a belief, but it is a different belief, a completely different spirituality. It is one of those things you experience directly, not those things they impose on you, and you have to believe because of your faith.”

#### **4. Discussion**

The fundamental reason that led participants to meet a medium was the need to find a way to cope with their grief after a painful loss and the hope they could speak with their loved one(s) once again, as Bianca and Agathe reported. Although all participants had experienced at least one loss in their life, some of them did not report the desire to contact a deceased person as the main reason for seeking the support of a medium. Some of them instead, like Sara, felt a broader need to find a new balance in their life and receive insight into what living really means. The last two participants, Rosa and Rachele, reported other reasons as well, such as genuine curiosity about mediumship.

These reasons are in line with findings of other studies in literature that highlight how most bereaved people seek an appointment with a medium hoping to be able to speak with a deceased loved one once again, since the pain of grief is too intense to bear, while other people are simply drawn to mediumship due to curiosity, the desire to explore the deeper meaning of existence, and its position as an alternative way of perceiving spirituality [29, 30]. Concerning the consequences of the mediumistic reading, participants reported that it helped them find deep comfort and gave them the strength to proceed with their lives even without the deceased loved one, since, according to their narrations, they were sure that the person was still present somewhere and watching over them, especially as Agathe and Bianca reported. Bianca's and Agathe's narrations showed how their relationships with a beloved deceased have changed thanks to the mediumistic experience, and how they managed to maintain a renewed bond with them, an externalised CB, which helped them face and slowly recover from the pain of grief. Therefore, even though mediumship was not conducted as traditional therapy, during the progression of the different mediumistic sessions, participants, in particular those who were in need of a support because the loss of a loved one was still affecting them (Bianca and Agathe), had the possibility to gradually explore and express their thoughts, emotions, doubts and eventual unresolved issues concerning their relationship with their deceased loved one. This therefore allowed them to slowly find the strength to face their pain and

better adjust to the loss, in a non-formal but still therapeutical way. The potentially beneficial effects of an encounter with deceased loved ones guided by an expert medium have been highlighted by other studies [11, 31]. Some researchers seem to consider this strategy as a possible alternative grief therapy for people who do not find solace from the more traditional methods [32, 33]. Following these suggestions from recent literature and considering the findings of the present study, it is therefore possible to hypothesize that mediumistic consultations could indeed develop into innovative kinds of therapeutical interventions, especially for griever, that could be integrated into more traditional ones.

A possible way to implement these kinds of support could be for example by having professional mediums receive formal training in psychology and in particular in the fundamental aspects of grief elaboration, so that they could be able to possess a deeper and more complete understanding of the condition and needs of griever, thus offering them a more complete kind of support. Moreover, mediums could work together with psychologists and psychotherapists, exchanging knowledge and insights concerning the people they support, and hypothesizing together adequate ways to provide grieving people with a flexible and faceted intervention that could adapt as much as possible to their personal needs. This way, indeed, a grieving person could therefore benefit from both a more traditional kind of therapy, generally focused on cognitions, emotions and behaviours consequent to the loss of a loved one, and from mediumistic sessions, which could instead, complementary, focus on elements that are typically not explored in depth in traditional therapy, such as the necessity and possibility to contact the deceased and a person's own perception of the meaning of life and death, of the afterlife and the development of his/her own spirituality.

Moreover, even those participants who were only moved by simple curiosity rather than an actual need to elaborate on grief (Rosa and Rachele) reported positive experiences and referred to having been fascinated by the process of mediumship. All participants except one (Sara) narrated how the medium was able to provide information concerning a deceased family member or relative she could not possibly have known, and Agathe and Bianca were also able to speak through the medium with their respective loved ones.

As mentioned, only one participant, Sara, did not perceive her experience with a medium in a positive way. She had the desire to find a new balance in life after her brother's death, and she was also interested in exploring the world of mediumship and acquiring more knowledge on the specific theme of astral travel, which she reported being able to experience sometimes. However, she did not find what she was looking for and reported that she was very disappointed with the medium, who went into some sort of trance and was unable to give the precise answers she was seeking. This is in line with other studies, which have reported that despite the majority of mediumistic experiences being described as optimistic, there are also people who report unpleasant experiences [31].

Another aspect that has emerged from the present research has been the fact that participants' family members were usually rather sceptical concerning the world of mediumship, as opposed to their friends who tended to be more open-minded, which many times led participants to avoid talking about it, as Rosa, Rachele and Agathe reported. This appears to be in line with other findings in the literature, which highlighted how not all family members always believe a mediumistic reading to be real, and this can create some difficulties in the relationship with the person who believes and desires to see a medium [30].

However, sometimes the possibility to assist the mediumistic reading, as happened to Agathe's son, was enough to make them change their mind and begin to believe what the medium had to offer was authentic. Sometimes the experience of a mediumship reading also improved the relationship between a participant and her family members, as happened with Bianca and her son after hearing from Bianca's deceased husband via a medium. This aspect represents an important positive effect of mediumistic sessions as well, that should be taken into consideration for the near future, since, as previously suggested, a professional mediumistic support could be combined with the one of a psychologist to help people elaborate and overcome eventual relational difficulties that could arise between family members after the death of a loved one disrupts the typical previous balance in family life.

Three participants (Agathe, Bianca and Rosa) described how this experience was extremely powerful and stirred intense emotions in them, and how their views of life, death and the afterlife changed significantly. More specifically, Agathe and Bianca found confirmation that the afterlife existed and that gave them hope and faith in the possibility to meet their deceased loved ones, while Rosa reported that the experience helped her consolidate her own spirituality, since she is a believer, but she does not follow religion and believes people's way of living their spirituality should not be decided by an external entity such as the Church. Literature has confirmed that people who had a mediumistic experience felt reassured concerning the existence of an afterlife, giving them the strength to face life with less fear of death and increased serenity [24].

## **5. Conclusion**

The study explored the reasons that led people who had lost a loved one to seek the help of a medium and the related emotional and spiritual consequence. The desire to find support that could help overcome grief together with the intense curiosity to discover whether an afterlife exists and to explore paranormal phenomena were the reasons that led participants to contact a medium. For almost all of them, the mediumistic reading represented a positive experience that confirmed the presence of life after death and, for those still grieving, helped them elaborate the loss and find the strength to go on with their lives, without having to sever the bond with the deceased person but rather modifying it in a positive CBs perspective.

## 6. Limitations and future research

This study has several limitations. The first is that it does not allow the results to be generalised or inferences to be made due to the method used, which, a priori, does not aim to do so. It was not possible to go into further detail on the development of the relationship with the deceased given the context in which the IPA dialogues took place. It would have been important to be able to carry out a follow-up after a few months to detect how and whether the CBs have changed. This kind of objective could be considered in future research. Future studies could also look more closely at the relationship between the objective ability of the medium to respond to accuracy tests, the content made available, and the effects on the sitter grieving over time in relation to CBs.

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