goal the explanation of the poltergeist. Both theories attempt to answer the question, "What causes the poltergeist?" In other words, they ask, "How do we explain the poltergeist?"

A more relativistic and anthropological perspective would substitute the question of "Can we explain the poltergeist?" with "How do we interpret the poltergeist?" In other words, what does the poltergeist mean to the people whom it afflicts? In what ways is it serving as an "idiom" (Crapanzano, in Case Studies in Spirit Possession, New York: Wiley, 1977, p. 17) for the articulation of condicts, needs, dilemmas, and both personal and cultural meaning? From this point of view, both the RSPK and the sorcery interpretation become not endpoints but starting points; they become pathways to the discovery of the meaning of the poltergeist to the afflicted. If parapsychologists who research poltergeists wish to avoid the series of difficult methodological questions that a comparative perspective raises, they might do well to heed Clifford Geertz's famous dictum for anthropology, that the analysis of the poltergeist should be "not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning" (The Interpretation of Cultures, New York: Basic Books, 1973, p. 5).

[I wish to thank Patric Giesler (Anthropology Department, Brandeis University) for his comments on an earlier draft of this paper, especially regarding the possibility that the "poltergeist itself" might vary across cultures and that the two theories considered here might represent "culturebound theories."1

POLTERGEISTS AND HAUNTINGS: A PSYCHOCULTURAL **APPROACH**

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This paper presents an alternative approach to poltergeist and haunting cases that draws on recent theoretical developments at the interdisciplinary frontiers of anthropology and psychiatry. This framework brackets the question of the

evidentiality of ostensible paranormal phenomena and instead investigates the meaning of the disturbances to the afflicted persons and the efficacy of different intervention strategies. These strategies -- which include psychotherapy, religious intervention (e.g., exorcism), and the separation of family members -- are contrasted in order to determine which strategies work best in which circumstances. A preliminary hypothesis relates differential efficacy to the afflicted family members' interpretation of the intervention strategy and to the ability of the strategy to address psychodynamics among family members.

Even if the question of evidentiality continues to dominate the parapsychological research agenda in "spontaneous case research," psi researchers should consider the type of questions raised by this alternative framework. Even if they decide not to substitute these questions for the more traditional questions of the proof and process of ostensible paranormal phenomena, they might pay more attention to both the interpretations of the "percipients" and to the relative efficacy of the intervention strategies. Attention to these questions might facilitate more dialogue between psi researchers on the one hand and ethnologists and clinicians on the other hand.

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MEMORY AND THE LONG BODY

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The Self and the Other

I have suggested (RIP 1987, pp. 131-134) that the human

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self is not restricted to the body studied by physiology and behavioral psychology. The experienced self is a larger self, a "long body" to use a Native American metaphor (Aanstoos, Theta, 1986, 49-51), that includes significant other people, places, and objects. Psychoanalysis gives a similar description. Freud proposed that parents, siblings, and others with whom the person identifies are incorporated into the ego and superego. This provides an extrasensory link between self and non-self in the unconscious and leads to a theory for telepathy: "Psychoanalysis by inserting the unconscious between what is physical and what was previously called 'psychical' has paved the way for the assumption of such processes as telepathy" (Freud, "Dreams and Occultism," in J. Stracey [Ed.], The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, London: Hogarth, 1964, p. 55).

Reports of cases of ESP in natural settings often involve close friends and relatives and concern life-changing crises in their lives, such as accidents and death. Sybo Schouten (EJP, 1979, 408-455; EJP, 1981, 9-48) has examined two major case collections and concludes that the tendencies for close rather than remote friends and relatives to be involved and for the experience to concern significant crises cannot be attributed to sampling errors.

From this perspective, the human mind and the human body are a synthesis of many minds and bodies. Some are our ancestors in the near and distant past, others are living people, some close to us in space, others distant. In our daily lives, when we act as one single-minded body, the many voices are joined into one. This joining forms the basis of our individuality and of our corporeal existence. It also is the paranormal core of our normal existence. As a rule it is only at times of injury or death that the separate strands of this fabric may stand out and that we may experience "a case" of ESP.

Mind and Memory

Remembering is part of the ESP process insofar as the ESP response consists of revived memory images (Irwin, Psi and the Mind, Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1979; Roll, International Journal of Neuropsychiatry, 1966, 505-521).

The memory record and the associated brain structures may then be said to be a "sense organ" for ESP.

Memory may also provide the link in ESP. When a person from our past comes to mind during an ESP experience, this appears in the form of a memory of that person; we remember or reconnect with a part of our long body. Here memory is more than a reflection of something gone by; it is a representation of the past in the literal sense of presenting the past relationship. We see, hear, or sense the remembered person as he or she now is. These "presenting memories" often relate to significant others, that is, they are also "self memories."

ESP Amnesia

In exploring ways to control or predict ESP, it is important to take into account the two ways in which memory may be involved, namely as part of an ESP sensory system and as a link to the target.

A person's memory record is not a collection of disjointed images but includes a structure into which these images are woven. This structure has been laid down by culture and is expressed in language. It is a set of interwoven schemata that determines what we experience and what we remember. Insofar as the ESP response is constituted by memory, it is affected by its schemata. Some languages, such as Native American and native African languages, are psisupportive because their concepts provide for psi processes, whereas most Western languages may be psi-inhibitory because they exclude the possibility of psi. When we learn to speak, we learn sharply to distinguish the self from the other and to separate here from there, now from then, and real from unreal. Experiences that bring together events distant in space or time then become paranormal, unnatural, and unreal.

If our cognitive schemata obscure ESP awareness, it should be possible to increase ESP awareness by relinquishing the schemata. ESP studies of young or learning-impaired children, in whom the cognitive schemata have not taken hold, and studies of adults in dissociated states (or who dissociate easily) suggest an inverse relationship between ESP sensitivity and the extent to which the person's mentation is determined by concepts that prohibit ESP.

The reduction of cognitive impediments may increase awareness of the self and its world, and hereby ESP awareness, but it may not necessarily improve results in an ESP test. This entails another step, according to the present model, namely that the purpose of the test and the way this is conducted is meaningful to the subject. The ESP test must provide the kind of relationship with significant others that is found in natural ESP occurrences.

Place Memory

The human mind is embodied and the body is emplaced. This means that memory too is embodied and emplaced. Edward Casey (Remembering, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987) says that: "To be embodied is ipso facto to assume a particular perspective and position ... a place in which we are situated.... As embodied existence takes place in place ... so our memory of what we experience in place is likewise place-specific" (p. 182). This leads to the observation that place is selective for memories. That is to say a certain place will invite certain memories while discouraging others.

This is familiar enough: Places where we have been evoke memories of events there. But the things that surround us may also have surrounded others. This leads to the further expectation that I might remember events from the life of another by occupying his or her space. H. H. Price (PSPR, 1939, 307-343; Philosophy, 1940, 363-385) suggests that "localized images" and "place memories" may account for ESP, including psychometry and haunting. This also amounts to a theory for survival after death.

Place Memories and Life After Death

Past events and past lives may continue as place memories associated with objects, places and people. Apparitions of the dead are usually experienced either in the areas where the deceased person occupied when living or in proximity to individuals who knew the deceased in life. L. E. Rhine (JP, 1957, 13-46) coined the phrase "bystander" cases for the latter because the apparition is seen near an individual who knew the deceased. It is probably this tendency of the dead

to be seen in their physical or social environment that has led to the legend of haunting ghosts. The same characteristics may hold for deceased individuals who seem to communicate through mediums and for ostensible reincarnation memories. It is a little-known fact of great interest that in most of the reincarnation cases which actually checked out, the deceased person had lived in the social or physical environment of the subject (e.g., I. Stevenson, "Twenty Cases Suggestive of Reincarnation," PASPR, 1966, 1-362). In other words, rebirth cases in that respect are similar to mediumistic cases and to apparitions of the deceased. In all three the information about the deceased is obtained or, we might say, remembered near the places and persons where the deceased lived.

Conclusion

The lived body is not restricted to the small or physiological body. The latter is an abstraction from a larger field of experience. The lived body is a long body that stretches beyond the place and time of the small body to encompass significant others, people and things that we are close to physically and psychically. When the members of the long body are distant in space, the long body bridges spatial separation. It stretches into the past because it is enfolded in the places where we have been, it is projected into the future in precognition, and it acts on the physical environment in psychokinesis.

The reach of the long body is the reach of mind and memory. Memory then defines the limits of the long body and of psi interactions. What you cannot remember, you cannot consciously connect with. The reach of memory, however, may be increased if the preconceptions that limit the self are set aside.

The long body view sees the traditional evidence for survival in a new light. Apparitions of deceased individuals may be potentially present in the places where they lived, and all homes may be "haunted" by their past occupants and might affect those who now live there. Similarly, those to whom we are close, whether they are living or dead may continuously "channel" their emotions and intentions to us. Reincarnation, too, would not be reserved for the person who can recite a

stream of memories from a previous life. Through the people and places where our lives are lived and where they are embedded, these lives continuously become flesh, carno, again.

This perspective gives a new meaning to the concept of self-interest and a basis for an ethics that is intrinsically transpersonal. If our lives are interwoven in the people and places around us, our intentions and actions by affecting others affect ourselves.

REMOTE VIEWING*

THE DISCOVERY OF AN AMERICAN BRIG: FIELDWORK INVOLVING APPLIED ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMOTE VIEWING

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This paper reports the latest development in a 10-year program exploring the efficacy of applied remote-viewing methodologies and their integration into a balanced combination of electronic remote sensing, visual inspection, and intuitive functioning. It argues that although we may not possess a universally accepted explanatory model for remote viewing (Jahn, Proceedings IEEE, 1982, 136-170), the accumulation of research on this combined approach offers a faster, more efficient, and more cost-effective search procedure for intentionally seeking out and finding marine sites, particularly those buried deeply beneath the seafloor. A previously unknown site is presented as a case study to illustrate this.

Design

Participants

There were five categories of personnel involved in this study: (a) Mobius research and management personnel, (b) archaeologists and archivists, (c) geophysicists, (d) divers and ship's personnel, and (e) Mobius respondents.

^{*}Chaired by Marilyn J. Schlitz.