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What's Belief Got to Do with It?

A Quantitative Examination of the Tarot, Paranormal Beliefs, and Fantasy Proneness

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The tarot's history dates back to the mid-15th century in Italy where it originated as a playing card game; however, as it traveled across Europe and into America, it became a tool for divination within Western occultism (Farley, 2015; Sullivan, 2008; Tyson, 2020). Decks like the Tarot de Marseille and the Rider-Waite have historically been utilized for cartomancy (Jodorowsky & Costa, 2009; Waite, 1966). However, with the New Age movement, a diversity of decks and practices associated with the deck have emerged to meet a rapidly expanding consumer market (Johnson, 2023; Rindfleish, 2005). While it may seem intuitive that engaging with tarot, like other occult tools (e.g., Ouija Boards, pendulums, crystal balls), would require some degree of paranormal belief, the researchers argue that due to the commodification of spirituality via the New Age movement, the tarot has become a secularized and disconnected from its esoteric origins. The present research reports the findings of a study conducted to assess the relationship between paranormal belief, fantasy proneness, and perceptions of a tarot reading from a group of participants immediately after receiving a reading. The findings suggest that no such relationship exists, which supports the notion that the tarot has indeed lost its mystical essence in the popular imagination.

Keywords: tarot, paranormal belief, fantasy proneness, New Age, occult

The tarot is situated within the New Age model of spiritual consumerism and has become detached from its historical roots in occult and esoteric origins. According to Rindfleish (2005), the late 20th century saw the rise of the New Age consumer market, which centered psychoanalytic theory and practices within the context of social secularization post-World War II. The market is dominated by self-proclaimed gurus and spiritual leaders who commodify spirituality into a self-centered marketplace for consumers to purchase peak and mystical experiences for the purposes of enlightenment. Roof (1999) argued that the New Age was a marked shift in Western religiosity, as it centered the individual's experience of spirituality through consumption. While past research has constructed spiritual consumerism as being superficial or trite, the New Age has represented a poignant example of how capital promotes the "sacralisation of the secular" (Belk et al., 1989, p 13), and facilitates the consumption of diverse cultural products unmoored from their initial context (Possamai, 2003, 2007; Redden, 2016). Ezzy (2006) provided evidence for this process through an examination of witchcraft products which have become centered around capitalist values of consumption, thus replacing the social and divine connectedness with narcissistic, unrelenting optimism. And like traditional witchcraft items, other spiritual or religious artifacts, such as the tarot, have become another commodity for secular consumption.

The contemporary New Age market is widely successful, as seen in the Statista data showing consistent growth in "psychic services" (Johnson, 2023). In 2023, the market was valued at \$2.3 billion, and has experienced an average, annual growth of 4.8% between 2018 and 2023 (NAICS, 2024). Davies and Freathy (2014) reported that the New Age market consists of a wide diversity of products, which includes both online and in-person retailing, services (e.g., tarot reading, reflexology, and palmistry), as well as workshops, seminars, and retreats. In the 2020s, tarot and other psychic services are widely popular via social media platforms where readers will either livestream their work and answer questions for viewers who send them money and tips; or they will conduct general readings for their audiences (e.g., a three-card spread for people with the sun sign of Virgo). In terms of the content, mainstream New Age content reproduces the dominant values of the culture in which it is situated; for example, Chinese tarot readers reinforce state-approved values (Fu et al., 2022) while Western readers will promote capitalist values of growth, productivity, and optimism (Ezzy, 2006). Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the tarot has undergone a similar "mainstreaming" in the 21st century, which has detached it from past associations with occultism in the same way that Ezzy argued that "white witchcraft" has flattened the complexity of traditional witchcraft practices.

For the purposes of the present study, the tarot was investigated as it represents an area of New Age commodification which has seen a rapid growth in popularity over the past fifteen years and is one of the more understudied metaphysical practices. Thus, it is important to consider how public perceptions of the tarot may

differ from their esoteric origins and document the perceptions of tarot readings to find empirical support for Belk and company's (1989) notion that the sacred has become secular. Thus, the present study investigated the relationship between paranormal beliefs, fantasy proneness, and perceptions that a tarot reading was accurate and helpful.

Reading the Cards

Tarot decks vary widely in terms of the number of cards and their particular theological orientation; however, the Rider–Waite deck, the most widely used deck in the United States, is composed of 78 cards, divided between the major arcana and the minor arcana (arcana, meaning "secret"). The major arcana are composed of 22 cards which act as trumps and have close ties to astrological and kabbalistic systems of occult knowledge (Waite, 1966). Tarot readers use the major arcana to analyze holistic and karmic aspects of their inquiry, such as the influence of different astrological signs on a situation or the role of major archetypes in a querent's life. Alternatively, the minor arcana are composed of four suits (e.g., swords, wands, cups, and pentacles), each made up of 10 numerical and 4 court cards, which represent elemental forces and concern the mundane life events which humans navigate. Often these cards are used to investigate how the querent personally feels about a situation, what work they need to do to earn a promotion, or avenues for expressing their creativity. More often than not, a tarot reader will shuffle the major and minor arcana cards together to analyze the relationship between the mundane and karmic influences on the querent's question.

To read the tarot, one begins with a question which needs to be answered. Practitioner literature on the tarot tends to advise that open-ended questions, rather than questions with forced binary responses, are ideal (Nichols, 1980). For example, an effective question might be, "How does my romantic interest feel about me?" rather than, "Does my romantic interest like me?" After the question is selected, the tarot reader determines the appropriate spread, or a pattern in which to lay out the cards with specific spatial significance (e.g., *The Celtic Cross*); after which, they will shuffle and deals out the cards. The interpretation process then commences whereby the reader will consider each card's individual meaning, their spatial placement in the spread, and develop a narrative to fit the question being asked (Greer, 2022; Otto & Forbes, 2020; Semetsky, 2006).

Paranormal Beliefs and Fantasy Proneness

According to Tobacyk (2004), the paranormal is anything which violates basic principles of scientific understanding. While ghosts may be the prototype of a paranormal belief, many other phenomena are included in Tobacyk's conceptualization. For example, traditional religious beliefs, psychic abilities, general endorsement of superstitions, witchcraft, spiritism, precognition, and cryptids all fall under the umbrella of "paranormal." With

such a wide range, it is no surprise that nearly everyone holds some paranormal beliefs; for example, superstitions related to black cats are still prevalent in the United States (Jones & Hart, 2020). Given the occult history associated with the tarot, it was deemed reasonable that engagement would require some degree of paranormal belief on the part of querants. For example, the Revised Paranormal Belief Scale by Tobacyk (2004) includes items related to astrology and horoscope, which are related to the tarot (Waite, 1966).

Despite diversity in the literature concerning paranormal, superstitious, magical, and supernatural beliefs, scholars have argued that these terms are practically synonymous and are rooted in a fundamental error in categorizing agency between mental, physical, animate, and inanimate phenomena (Lindeman & Aarnio, 2007; Lindeman & Svedholm, 2012). Research has indicated that those who endorse paranormal beliefs tend to engage in a series of cognitive biases, including: anthropomorphism, illusionary pattern recognition, inflated sense of control, and engage in confirmatory bias at higher rates than those who do not (Griffiths et al., 2019; van Prooijen et al., 2018; Willard & Norenzayan, 2013). Additionally, beliefs in the paranormal are also associated with high intuitive thinking, humanistic beliefs, and low analytical thinking (Dean et al., 2022; Lindeman & Aarino, 2006). Furthermore, certain personality characteristics tend to predict or are associated with paranormal beliefs and experiences, like high openness and emotionality, as well as low conscientiousness; however, the literature is split in terms of the exact role of personality on endorsement of paranormal beliefs (Betsch et al., 2020; Langston et al., 2020; Wilt et al., 2022).

In addition to interpsychic factors associated with paranormal beliefs, there are also social considerations. For example, Alper et al. (2023) reported that paranormal belief tends to be high in cultures where citizens perceive government corruption to be high. Further, non-monotheistic religions tends to predict paranormal beliefs in ghosts or other super nature entities (Gan & Tay, 2021). Additionally, popular culture may play a role in the adoption of paranormal beliefs, as Geusens (2024) found that engaging in horror media, especially paranormal horror based on “real life events” (e.g., *The Conjuring*, *The Amityville Horror*, *The Birds*) predicts higher endorsement of paranormal beliefs than other horror subgenres.

Past research has suggested that paranormal beliefs serve a functional role for humans by providing a sense of certainty in what is a chaotic and uncertain world (Whitson et al., 2015). For example, people who engage with astrology are often motivated to do so when they are attempting to create meaning from their chaotic lives and make decisions about the future (Butchart, 2013). Additionally, the desire to create stories about our lives with clear beginnings, middles, and ends is also highly associated with paranormal beliefs (Betsch et al., 2020). Rodgers and company (2023) reported that when encouraged to think about life in terms of the Hero’s Journey, participants reported a higher degree of meaning in their lives. The tarot, similar to astrology, also encourages narrative creation for making sense out of the chaos of life, especially as it relates to the “Fool’s Journey,” a near synonym to the Hero’s Journey for Jungian, analytical psychology

(Nichols, 1980). Thus, it is plausible that if paranormal belief does not necessary lead people to the tarot, it could be that the tarot may facilitate the development of paranormal belief.

In addition to the possible explanations mentioned above, the concept of fantasy proneness may account for a deep engagement with paranormal and religious experiences (Merckelbach et al., 2001). Early research on fantasy proneness reported those who engaged in high amounts of intensive fantasizing also reported experiencing things like UFO abductions and developing false memories about events which had not occurred (Hyman & Billings, 1998; Spanos et al., 1993). In a meta-analysis of research conducted on fantasy proneness and its correlates, Merckelbach and company (2022) reported that fantasy proneness was related to dissociation, schizotypy, and daydreaming. The researchers argued that there may be an adaptive aspect to fantasy proneness, whereby those who engage in a moderate amount can create and appreciate art and spiritual experiences. More recent research has supported these claims as fantasy engagement promotes meaning making (Maffly-Kipp & Vess, 2024), creative thinking via trait openness (Bunce & Boerger, 2022), and connection with others in fandoms and art communities (e.g., furies; Reysen & Plante, 2023). For the present study, it was pertinent to consider not just paranormal beliefs, but also assess the role fantasy proneness might play in the tarot.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The present study aimed to assess to what degree a belief in the paranormal is a prerequisite for having a meaningful experience with the tarot. Despite its long history as a tool within Western occultism, the tarot presently exists within the context of the New Age marketplace of spiritual consumerism (Belk et al., 1989; Redden, 2016; Rindfleisch, 2005; Roof, 1999). It is likely that the tarot has undergone a secularization along with other forms of divination (e.g., astrology) which centralizes the individual and strips away at the esoteric context of the deck. Thus, the tarot might be losing its occult mystique and becoming more acceptable to mainstream consumers, who may or may not hold paranormal beliefs (Davies & Freathy, 2014; Johnson, 2023). Despite this, there is still reason to believe that paranormal belief and fantasy proneness are still important psychological phenomena for facilitating the tarot reading experience. For example, the tarot is at its core a story telling device, which past research has suggested is related to both paranormal belief and fantasy proneness (Betsch et al., 2020; Merckelbach et al., 2022); additionally, the tarot’s closest cousin, astrology, is still heavily situated within paranormal phenomena (Butchart, 2013; Tobacyk, 2004). The present research aimed to assess if fantasy proneness and paranormal beliefs would be related to participants’ perception that a tarot reading was accurate or helpful.

It was hypothesized:

H₁: Paranormal beliefs and fantasy proneness are positively related to perceiving a tarot reading as accurate and helpful.

H₀: Paranormal beliefs and fantasy proneness are not related to perceiving a tarot reading as accurate and helpful.

Method

Participants and Procedures

Participants ($N = 67$; $M_{age} = 21.48$, $SD = 5.12$) were recruited to participate in the present research at a campus wide “Midterm Escape” festival held at a southwest university for two consecutive years (Fall 2022 to Fall 2024). Of the sample, the majority identified as women (62.7%), followed by men (25.4%), and non-binary (11.9%). Additionally, participants indicated their ethnic/racial identity as followed: 44.8% Hispanic, 23.9% White, 16.4% Biracial, 7.5% Native, 4.5% Asian, 3.0% mixed or other. As a part of the demographics, the sample disclosed a moderate level of religiosity ($M = 3.64$; $SD = 1.69$) and spirituality ($M = 3.88$; $SD = 1.74$). Further, participants indicated that having had an average 4.42 ($SD = 13.54$) tarot readings in the past with half the sample indicating this was their first tarot reading (50.7%).

Eligibility for participation was restricted to those 18 years or older and the sample consisted of participants who were students, faculty, staff, and community members at a regional, comprehensive university in the southwest United States. After reading and affirming consent, the participants were invited to a private room to have their cards read from one of two experienced tarot readers. At the conclusion of the tarot reading, the participants were asked to complete a brief survey, which included demographic data, the participant’s experience with the reading, as well as the psychological variable of interest. The present research was approved by the authors’ university Institutional Review Board prior to commencing.

Materials

Perception of Tarot Readings

To measure perception of the tarot reading, participants completed two measures, which assess how accurate the reading was (e.g., “Overall did you find the reading accurate?”) and how helpful the reading was (e.g., “Overall did you find the reading helpful?”). Both were scored on a 7-point, Likert-type scale. Accuracy was rated from 1 (*Not accurate at all*) to 7 (*Very accurate*). Helpfulness was rated from 1 (*Not helpful at all*) to 7 (*Extremely helpful*).

Fantasy Proneness (Creative Experiences Questionnaire)

To assess the participants’ degree that they could be considered “fantasy prone,” the present research utilized the Creative Experiences Questionnaire (Mercklebach et al., 2001). This 25-item measure is composed of a series of statements, whereby participants are asked to indicate in the affirmative or negative if the statement reflected their experience (e.g., “As a child, I had my own make-believe friend or animal;” “I often confuse fantasies with real

memories”). A composite score was calculated by summing the affirmative responses for a whole score which could range from 0 to 25, where a score of 25 indicated a high degree of fantasy proneness.

Revised Paranormal Belief Scale

This measure was composed of 26-items organized into seven subscales to assess a range of paranormal beliefs (Tobacyk, 2004). Participants rated each item on a 7-point Likert-type scale with regard to their level of agreement with the content of the item. The first subscale measures traditional religious beliefs (e.g., “there is a devil;” $\alpha = .70$). The second assessed the belief in psychic abilities, such as telekinesis ($\alpha = .69$). The third measured beliefs about witchcraft (e.g., “there are actual cases of witchcraft;” $\alpha = .89$). Additionally, the measure assessed superstitious beliefs (e.g., “black cats can bring bad luck;” $\alpha = .45$) and spiritualist beliefs (e.g., “your mind or soul can leave your body and travel...;” $\alpha = .82$). Lastly, participants were assessed with regard to their belief in extraordinary lifeform, (e.g., bigfoot; $\alpha = .56$) and precognition (e.g., predicting the future; $\alpha = .83$).

Results

Prior to collecting data, a power analysis was conducted to determine the necessary sample size for a moderate correlation between the variables of interest ($r = .30$) for a one-tailed Pearson’s correlation with .05 alpha and .8 power. It was determined that a sample size of $N = 67$ would be necessary. Data were collected from Fall 2022 to Fall 2024 and a total of 74 participants engaged with the study. After removing participants’ data due to incomplete surveys, the final sample was $N = 67$. All data were analyzed utilizing Jeffreys’s Amazing Statistic Program (JASP) v0.19.3.

To test the hypothesis that perceptions of a tarot reading was helpful or accurate would be related to fantasy proneness and paranormal beliefs, a series of Pearson’s correlations were conducted utilizing the two variables of interest (e.g., reading accuracy, reading helpfulness), the fantasy proneness measure, and the subscales of the paranormal beliefs scale. As demonstrated in Table 1, perceiving the tarot reading as being accurate was significantly correlated to perceiving the reading as being helpful. However, neither accuracy nor helpfulness were related to fantasy proneness, nor the superstitious beliefs subscales, with the

Table 1. Relationship between perception of a tarot reading, fantasy proneness, and paranormal beliefs including means and standard deviations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Reading Accuracy										
2. Reading Helpfulness	.73									
3. Fantasy Proneness	.18	.07								
4. Traditional Religion	-.06	.07	-.17							
5. Psi	-.01	.10	.00	.23						
6. Witchcraft	.15	.23	.31	.28	.53					
7. Superstitious Belief	-.06	.11	.07	.29	.43	.51				
8. Spiritualism	.10	.18	.22	.35	.44	.76	.42			
9. Extraordinary Life Forms	.15	.09	.22	.16	.38	.50	.41	.65		
10. Precognition	.14	.26	.19	.22	.44	.74	.57	.74	.50	
M	5.67	5.61	11.48	4.69	3.25	4.31	3.01	4.41	3.80	3.88
SD	1.50	1.48	5.31	1.56	1.26	1.84	1.39	1.62	1.35	1.61

Note. bolded values indicate significance of at least $p < .05$

Table 2. Betas from Multiple Regression Models for Dependent Variables

	FP	TR	Psi	WC	SB	SP	EL	PC
Accuracy	.09	-.02	-.08	.19	-.23	-.20	-.20	-.20
Helpfulness	.01	.03	-.01	.13	-.07	-.07	-.05	.28

note. FP = fantasy proneness; TR = traditional religion; Psi = psi; WC = witchcraft; SB = superstitious beliefs; EL = extraordinary lifeforms; PC = pre-cognition

exception of perceived helpfulness and pre-cognition.

In a follow up analysis, two multiple regression models were conducted to assess tarot reading accuracy and helpfulness as dependent variables and fantasy proneness and the paranormal beliefs subscales as predictors. As demonstrated in Table 2, neither perceived accuracy ($F[8, 66] = .78, p = .62, R^2 = .10$) nor helpfulness ($F[8, 66] = .63, p = .75, R^2 = .08$) were significant. Thus, it was determined that the null hypothesis should be retained: fantasy proneness and paranormal beliefs are not related to perceiving a tarot reading as being accurate or helpful.

Discussion

The present study aimed to assess the relationship between paranormal beliefs, fantasy proneness, and perceptions of a tarot reading. It was hypothesized that perceiving a reading as being accurate or helpful would be related to both aforementioned constructs. However, the findings indicated that no such relationship was present in the current study. Thus, the researchers retained the null hypothesis. The findings of the present study represent not only what may be the first quantitative investigation of tarot readings, but also an important step toward understand the role of secularization of the occult in the 21st century. While overall the findings of the present study indicate that no relationship exists between perceiving a tarot reading as accurate or helpful with either fantasy proneness or paranormal beliefs, there were a few exceptions.

Firstly, perception that the tarot reading was accurate was strongly correlated to the perception that it was helpful. This finding may be due to the expertise of the tarot readers who were able to construct stories based on the cards drawn. The work of Semetsky (2005, 2006, 2011) suggests that at their best, tarot could facilitate a self-reflection process in querants. While the specific content of the readings is unknown, if the tarot readers were able to engage participants with this process, then it is plausible that they could have activated a series of cognitive biases (e.g., the Barnum effect, consistency bias) which would lead to participants perceiving the reading as accurate to them, thus being helpful.

Additionally, the results of the present study found a small relationship between perceiving the reading as being helpful and belief in pre-cognition. According to Tobacyk (2004), pre-cognition is measured by belief in astrology, psychic abilities, and foretelling the future; thus, situating tarot in this particular category of paranormal beliefs seems logical. However, it is odd that it was “helpfulness” not “accuracy” which was related to pre-cognition. While there does not seem to be a clear interpretation of this result, it is possible that there was not a shared interpretation of

the verbiage “accurate” and “helpful” among the participants, which might have caused an illusory relationship to emerge.

It is also worth noting that half of the participants in the present sample had engaged with the tarot before, which had no meaningful affect the findings. Despite the occult history of

the tarot, the present findings seem to support the scholarship on the commodification of spirituality and religion in New Age markets (Belk et al., 1989; Possamai, 2003, 2007; Redden, 2016; Rindfleisch, 2005; Roof, 1999). The booming market of divination tools for self-reflection, mindfulness, and self-actualization may in turn be stripping the arcana (secret) out of the tarot, as consumers purchase these tools to be used in ways disconnected from their cultural and historical context.

Future Directions and Implication

The present research represents the first empirical study of the tarot and the experiences of participants directly after receiving a reading. However, the scope of the study was narrow and was aimed to be used to promote future avenues of research into the use of metaphysical tools. First, it would be useful to explore the role the Barnum Effect has on perceived accuracy and helpfulness of a tarot reading (Meehl, 1956). With regard to horoscope, Fichten and Sunerton (1983) reported that familiarity with zodiac signs predicted perceived accuracy of personality characteristic as applied to horoscope readers. In the case of tarot, future work could investigate how familiar participants are with the tarot, as well as assess how much the participant controls the tarot reading space (e.g., directs tarot readers toward personally salient messages). Further, there could also be personality dimensions which moderate/mediate the relationship between superstitious beliefs and perceptions of tarot readings, as openness has been associated with other paranormal beliefs and metaphysical practices (Betsch et al., 2020; Langston et al., 2020; Wilt et al., 2022).

Regarding the social context of the tarot reading spaces, there may also be novel areas of study regarding the interpersonal interactions between readers and querents. For example, it would be pertinent to investigate the relationship experienced tarot readers have with their decks to understand if tension exists between public and private practices, as well as the degree to which tarot readers engage with the paranormal outside of the reading space. Additionally, a qualitative study on the theological implications expert readings might provide insights into the secularization of the tarot, especially if readers interpret readings through a New Age, personal self-actualization framing. Lastly, the present study necessitates further research on the personal interpretations participants draw after a tarot reading and if it results in behavioral changes.

Lastly, there is a gendered element to the present findings as a majority of the participants identified as women. Past scholarship has suggested that the primary consumer target for the New Age

market consists of women, particularly young women (Miller, 2014), which suggests that the participants were more likely to engage with the tarot reading. However, women are more likely to engage with the paranormal, as compared to men, which was not observed in this study (Gan & Tay, 2021). In the future, it would be pertinent to assess the role gender plays with the tarot, especially as it relates to marketing occult products to women who may not personality hold paranormal beliefs.

Clinical Implications

Regarding clinical application of the tarot, the present findings provide preliminary support the applicability of tarot within the counseling space, as paranormal beliefs do not seem to influence perceiving the tarot about being accurate or helpful. Scholars have theorized that the tarot could be used within clinical/counseling settings as a tool to help clients engage in self-reflection, not dissimilar to other projective techniques like sand play (Semetsky, 2005; 2006; 2011). Additionally, tarot may provide a potential pathway to develop clients' spirituality and empathy through navigating uncertainty and alleviating anxiety (Lavin, 2021). A significant contribution to the research on tarot has been via Krow et al. (under review), who found qualitative evidence that long-term use of the tarot may improve depression and anxiety symptoms, as well as promote participants' sense of control over their lives.

Presently, the tarot is not a mainstream tool utilized by counselors; however, there are a handful of publicly facing counselors and psychologists who have begun to integrate the tarot in their practices (see *Space Between Counseling Services*, Jessica Fruhter, LMFT). While it is too early to make recommendations for clinicians to start learning how to interpret cards, the work of Krow et al. (under review) suggests that regularly engaging with the tarot might improve well-being and promote clients' perception of control. More empirical work could be conducted to assess the theorizing of Semetsky (2005, 2006, 2011) and Lavin (2021) regarding the appropriateness of tarot as a method of counseling.

Limitations

While the current research presented novel findings on the tarot and the secularization of the occult, there are important limitations to consider. Firstly, while the study achieved the projected sample size based on the power analysis, a larger sample might have been able to better excavate the relationship between the variables of interest (e.g., pre-cognitive beliefs), especially if the project effect size what smaller than anticipated. Additionally, as mentioned previously, the sample primarily consisted of women at a university campus, who represent the market demographic for psychic services, thus the finding may represent something akin to a customer satisfaction survey of the tarot readers regarding the target variables of accuracy and helpfulness. In a similar scope, the present study did not assess differences in experiences across the tarot readers, which could have influenced the outcome of the

study. Further, because the study took place in the southwest region of the United States, an area known for its conservative, Catholic culture, generalizability is limited. The results should also be contextualized through an acknowledgement that the empirical, psychological literature on the tarot and tarot readings is lacking. Thus, interpretation of the finds should remain conservative in their implications, as more research must be conducted to curate a body of knowledge to which this study can contribute.

Conclusion

The present research represents a first step toward building a body of quantitative research on the tarot, which has enjoyed a rich history in occult and New Age circles. The findings point to the effects of the New Age's secularization of society, as engaging with the tarot in the 21st century does not seem to be predicated on holding paranormal beliefs, nor an affinity toward the fantastic. While the commodification of cultural artifacts can be concerning, the de-mystifying of the tarot has created opportunities for it to be utilized in counseling spaces to promote well-being and self-reflection; however, more research must be conducted before recommendations can be made. Taken together the study challenges the role of the occult and occult practices in the 21st century.

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