Haya Levy was bedridden with a slipped disc when the extraterrestrial doctors visited her for the first time. They came “out of the wall” (Arbel 2004: 50), after she had lain in excruciating pain for a dozen hours, and reassured her: “we are good aliens,” they said, “we have come to treat you.” This they did, during a week in which Levy felt “tingling, heat, cold, shivering and a lot of energy” (Nevo 2004). Her back no longer giving her trouble, Levy was still apprehensive when her benefactors asked her permission to open a medical clinic in her home; after all, she explained to them quite sensibly, no one would come to a clinic where the physicians and instruments were invisible. Once the clinic, ostensibly filled with highly advanced equipment, was completed, it would be just a few days before Levy would be proven wrong.

The aliens’ veracity was proven by Levy’s first patent, Adrian Dvir, a fellow resident of Rishon Lezion, a middle-class satellite town of Tel Aviv. The meeting made a strong impression on Dvir: in an empty room, he sat in front of Levy for half an hour, while she described the medical procedures that took place. Dvir himself felt as if he were being pricked, and currents seemed to run through his body. Out of the corner of his eye he could almost make out a gallery, not unlike the ones used in operating theaters, where entities were seated behind a table, some of whom descended to participate in the treatment (Dvir 1999: 26).

During this day, April 26, 1994, Adrian Dvir not only found a cure for his obesity, he found his vocation. He would dedicate the following decade to developing and spreading the practice of ‘ET Clinics’ throughout Israel. Dvir offered a specific brand of channeling, which I label ‘Healing with aliens’ channeling: emphasising physical healing, utilising technological jargon, and bowing to the superior authority and knowledge of the ‘physicians’, that is, the extraterrestrial entities. He was very successful in spreading this belief, becoming the unofficial leader of a group of over a dozen ‘healers with aliens’ (Eshed 2004; Eshet 2006: 103–105), publishing two books, which went through several printings, and making numerous media appearances.
However, upon Dvir’s sudden death in 2004, this variant of channeling was rapidly eclipsed, both in media coverage and among Dvir’s former followers, by the more ‘standard’ American variant, which I label ‘Self-divinity channeling’. This latter variant, where a person claims that non-material beings speak through him (use him as a channel to bring information into the material world, hence the name), teaches an empowering creed of self-divinity, one concerned with well-being and personal success, and mostly lacking an interest in cosmology and metaphysics. For a while, both variants existed concurrently in Israel, and then one waned while the other bloomed. Why did one variant prevail while the other lost prominence?

**Individualism and Channeling**

Three factors were responsible for the entrance and spread of channeling into the Jewish, mostly Ashkenazi, middle and upper classes of Israel. The most important was the decline of collectivist Zionism as the dominant narrative among these classes and its replacement by an individualistic narrative of self-accountability and meritocracy—in essence, a neo-liberal creed (Almog 2002; Beit-Hallahmi 1992; Kimmerling 2001; Ram 2008; Soffer 2008). Channeling, with its emphasis on self-divinity, echoes and augments this individualistic narrative, claiming that any and all life events and circumstances are self-created (Brown 1997; Hanegraaff 1998; Riordan 1992). Thus, as the individualistic narrative spread among the middle and upper classes, more and more members of these classes found that channeling ‘made sense’.

The second force was comprised of people who, for a variety of reasons, encountered channeled materials before they were widespread in Israel and found them compelling. For them, channeling rearranged their worldview into one that made sense both externally and internally, and they wanted to share the resultant sense of fulfillment and purpose with others. They became pioneers, even missionaries, arranging study groups, writing, and later, publishing texts and moonlighting as healers and counselors. While these agents shared many core beliefs of channeling, and especially its self-empowering message, they each had their idiosyncrasies, these spread among those exposed to each agent. Some of these agents were more effective in spreading the word than others, and none was more effective than Adrian Dvir, whose variant of channeling became, for a while, the dominant one.

The third force was the extraterrestrial craze (sparked, at least in part, by the approach of the year 2000) that spread around the world during the 1990s (Lewis 1995; Tumminia 2007), manifesting in Israel in an all-time peak in the