

Characteristics of Cases of the Reincarnation Type among the Igbo of Nigeria

IAN STEVENSON¹

*Department of Behavioral Medicine and Psychiatry,
University of Virginia School of Medicine, Charlottesville, Virginia, U.S.A.*

ABSTRACT

Data from fifty-seven Igbo cases of the reincarnation type are analyzed and compared with data from similar cases in other cultures. Compared with the cases of other cultures, the Igbo cases showed a high incidence of cases in which the subject and the person of whom he or she is said to be the reincarnation (previous personality) are related to each other, biologically or maritally. The subjects of the Igbo cases also showed an unusually high incidence (68%) of birthmarks and birth defects said to correspond with wounds on the previous personality. There was also a comparatively high incidence (18%) of claims to have been a person of the opposite sex in the previous life. Igbo children who were identified as being the reincarnation of someone else made fewer statements about the presumed previous life than did subjects in most other cultures.

Introduction

IN A COMPANION ARTICLE to the present one, I described the belief in reincarnation among the Igbo (Stevenson 1985). The present article summarizes the principal characteristics of fifty-seven cases of the reincarnation type among the Igbo.² I shall relate these features to certain aspects of the Igbo belief in reincarnation as well as to other features of Igbo culture. I shall also compare some of the main characteristics of Igbo cases with those of several other cultures.³

Sources of Data

Most of the data of these cases were obtained during four field trips to Nigeria in 1978, 1981, 1982, and 1984. I myself interviewed informants for forty-one of the fifty-seven cases. However, I have also included in my analysis data from sixteen cases for which I did not interview informants. These data were furnished by one of my interpreters, who interviewed informants for the cases on my behalf.

The cases all occurred in the towns and villages in the regions of Enugu-Awgu and Umuahia-Aba, which are in southeastern Nigeria.

In Igboland nearly everyone is thought to be the reincarnation of another person. However, not everyone becomes the subject of a case in the sense that he or she either claims to be the reincarnation of a particular deceased person or is identified by the elders of the community as being a deceased person reborn. Despite this restriction in my definition of a case, I am confident that within the geographic area and the time period of my investigations many more cases occurred than are included in this study. Evidence justifying this conclusion derives from my having been given preliminary information about thirty other cases that I could not investigate within the time available during my field trips to Nigeria.

I cannot say how well those cases that I studied represent all of the cases in the regions of my investigation. However, I am aware of only one bias in my selection of cases: during my trips to Nigeria in 1982 and 1984 I had a special interest in cases whose subjects had birthmarks or birth defects, and I often chose for investigation, among the cases about which I had preliminary information, those whose subjects were said to have prominent birthmarks or birth defects. An analysis for this bias showed that the cases first investigated in 1982 and 1984 did in fact have a higher incidence (86%) of birthmarks and birth defects than the cases first investigated between 1978 and 1981 (in which the incidence was only 52%); and the difference in this feature between the two groups was statistically significant ($\chi^2 (1) = 6.13, p < .02$).

Most of the data were obtained during interviews with firsthand witnesses for the details of the cases, such as the parents of a child who was said to be the subject of a case. About half the informants spoke English that was sufficiently good for the interviews; for the remainder I required the services of interpreters. My two principal interpreters were Igbo schoolteachers who had an adequate command of English. They lived near Awgu, where the largest number of the cases studied were found. I obtained a small amount of supplementary data through correspondence with one of the interpreters between the field trips.

Characteristics of the Igbo Cases

Sex of Subjects and Previous Personalities⁴

Of the fifty-seven subjects, forty-four (77%) were male and thirteen (23%) were female. For fifty-six of the fifty-seven cases, the sex of the previous personality figuring in the case was known or (in four cases) could be reasonably conjectured from the subject's statements. In one case (the subject of which was a male) the sex was neither known nor conjecturable. Among the remaining fifty-six cases, forty-three (77%) of the previous personalities were males and thirteen (23%) females.

In ten cases (18%) the subject was identified as the reincarnation of a person of the opposite sex. In five of these cases, the subject was a female whose

previous personality had been male and in five the subject was a male whose previous personality had been female.

Identification of Previous Personality and His or Her Relationship to Subject

In fifty-three cases (93%) a deceased person of whom the subject was believed to be the reincarnation had been specifically identified.⁵ (I designate these as "solved cases.") In the remaining five cases, informants either had made no such identification or would not reveal to me what it was ("unsolved cases").

Among the fifty-three solved cases, the two persons figuring in a case (subject and previous personality) belonged to the same immediate family in thirty-eight cases (72%) and to the same extended family in eleven cases (21%). (In forty-eight of these forty-nine cases [98%] the subject and previous personality were biologically related, and in the other case they were related through marriage.) The families of the subject and previous personality were acquaintances in three cases (6%) and strangers in only one case (2%).

In three cases subject and previous personality were siblings of the same sex, and in two cases they were siblings of opposite sexes. In the remaining forty-three cases with an identified biological (or marital) relationship between subject and previous personality, they were related on the father's side in thirty-two cases (74%) and on the mother's side in eleven (26%).

Interval between Previous Personality's Death and Subject's Birth

In thirty-five cases data were sufficiently reliable for a calculation of the interval between the previous personality's death and the subject's birth. This ranged between six and 540 months, with a median of thirty-four months.

Mode of Death and Age at Death of Previous Personality

The previous personality's mode of death was known in forty-four cases. Among these, death had been violent in thirteen cases (30%) and natural in thirty-one cases (70%).

I obtained a satisfactory estimate of the previous personality's age at death in thirty-five cases. This ranged between six months and 100 years, with a median of fifty-five years.

Birthmarks and Birth Defects

In thirty-nine cases (68%) informants reported (and I usually observed myself) a birthmark or a birth defect on the subject that was said to correspond to a wound or other mark on the previous personality. Some subjects had more than one birthmark or birth defect, and four subjects had both a birthmark and a birth defect.

Unusual Behavior Seemingly Related to the Previous Life

Phobias occurred in ten subjects, and in seven of these the phobias were related to the previous personality's mode of death; that is, the subject showed a phobia of the instrument or other feature of the circumstances of that person's death. Among these seven phobias, six occurred in relation to a violent mode of death, one in relation to a death from natural causes. For example, a subject who was identified as the reincarnation of a man killed by a bomb dropped from an airplane during the Nigerian Civil War had a severe phobia of airplanes.

Behavior appropriate for the opposite sex was noted in two of the five female subjects who were identified as the reincarnations of male persons; for example, they dressed as boys when they were young. The third subject of the five in this group was too young to manifest such behavior. None of the five male subjects who were identified as having been females was reported to have shown feminine behavior. (One of them also was too young to have shown such behavior.)

Four subjects preferred to be called by the name of the previous personality. Another called two persons by the nicknames that the previous personality had used for these persons. The use of such familiar names would be inappropriate for a child speaking to an adult, but appropriate for the relationship that the previous personality had had with the person thus addressed.

Informants said that five subjects had shown antagonism toward persons who had quarrelled with the previous personality, and eleven had shown unusual affection for a person of whom the previous personality had been especially fond.

Incidence of Subjects Identified as Ogbanjes

In the companion article to this one (Stevenson 1985), I described the concept of the *ogbanje*, or "repeater child" who, according to the Igbo belief, is born, dies, and is reborn (often several times) in the same family. The case material reflects the importance the Igbo attach to the *ogbanje* children because, although only two of the subjects were suspected of being *ogbanjes* in the present life, six others were said by informants to have been *ogbanjes* in their previous lives.

In the first of the last-mentioned six cases, the subject had been born after two older siblings had died. The subject bore two different birthmarks that he said corresponded in location with different marks made on both of the deceased siblings after they had died. I was unable to corroborate his statements with other informants; his mother, who might have provided corroboration, lived in another community that I did not visit.

The subject of the second case was born with severe birth defects of the hands and feet. Her father had not allowed her to speak about the previous life of which she apparently had had some memories. He was convinced that this

girl was the reincarnation of a deceased daughter. After the death of this daughter in infancy, the father had been enraged at the child for dying so young, had mutilated her hands and feet, and had performed a ritual to prevent her from reincarnating. Later, the ritual was inadvertently neutralized; and the subject of this case was born soon afterward to another wife of the father.

The third case closely resembled the preceding one. The father of a baby who died after two earlier infants of the family had already died, mutilated the hands and feet of the deceased baby. In this case a niece (not daughter) of the father of these infants was born later with severe congenital deformities of the hands and feet; she was thought to be the reincarnation of the mutilated infant, her cousin.

The subject of the fourth case had no memories of a previous life and was not identified with any known deceased person—in his family or outside it. However, since he was born with congenital absence of the distal phalanx of the left little finger and both little toes (these deformities corresponding to customary mutilations of *ogbanje* children in his community), his family presumed that he had been an *ogbanje* in his immediate previous life.

The fifth subject was a teenage boy who, although he had sickle cell disease, had survived after several of his older siblings had died in infancy. His father thought that these earlier children had been *ogbanjes* and that the son who had survived infancy was the reincarnation of the last of these deceased infants. Since that infant had been marked (postmortem) and since this youth had survived infancy, he was thought to be an example of successful interruption of an *ogbanje* repeater child cycle; but no evidence, such as of birthmarks or memories of a previous life, supported this belief.

The subject (a boy) of the sixth case of this group was said to be the reincarnation of an older sister who had died at the age of eighteen months. When this sister had been born she was thought to be the reincarnation of her paternal grandfather; however, when she died in infancy, she was judged to have been an *ogbanje*. Her parents then chopped her body in two places with a machet and warned her discarnate spirit that, if she returned to their family, she should remain or would be cut again. The boy who was said to be her reincarnation had two birthmarks at the sites where the older sister had been cut; he had lived up to the time of my study of the case in 1984, when he was twenty years old. Unfortunately, he was not available when I was in his village, so I have not examined his birthmarks.

One of the two subjects mentioned above who were suspected of being *ogbanjes* (in the present lives) illustrates the uncertainty that sometimes occurs in the appraisal of the children's previous lives. This subject, a boy, had been identified originally as the reincarnation of his paternal grandfather. However, because several of his siblings had died in infancy and because he himself had been frail in infancy, it was thought that he might be a possible *ogbanje*. Accordingly, the distal phalanx of his left little finger had been amputated as a preventive measure.⁶

Comparisons of Features of Igbo Cases with those of Other Cultures

Although the Igbo cases resemble those found in other cultures in most of their features, they differ in some. These differences often harmonize with other aspects of Igbo culture and appear to derive from them.

Some Features of Cases Found Elsewhere that Are Not Common Among Igbo Cases

The Igbo cases have a low incidence of two features that occur more often (although with varying frequencies) in the cases of other cultures.

First, dreams supposedly foretelling the reincarnation of a deceased person (which I call "announcing dreams") occurred rarely among Igbo cases. I learned of reports of only three such dreams among the fifty-seven Igbo cases.⁷

Second, the Igbo subjects made comparatively few statements indicating that they remembered details of the previous lives with which informants connected them. For example, only eight mentioned the name of the previous personality in his or her case, and only four mentioned that person's mode of death. However, in a few cases subjects spoke extensively about the previous lives. In one family, whose father was liberal and permitted his children to say what they wanted, two children had spoken copiously about the previous lives they seemed to remember.

When Igbo subjects do speak about the previous life they are said to have had, their remarks sometimes include recognitions of persons known to the previous personality and recognitions (sometimes with claims of ownership) of objects, such as tools, that the deceased person had owned. Such recognitions, like statements the subject makes about the previous life, figure much more prominently in the cases of most other cultures.

Frequency of Male Subjects

Compared with the cases of other cultures, those of the Igbo show a marked preponderance of male subjects (77%) versus female subjects (23%). Table 1 shows that although male subjects form a majority in all cultures except that of Sri Lanka, the proportion of male subjects is highest among the Igbo cases.

Frequency of Relationship between Subject and Previous Personality

The Igbo cases show a high frequency (92%) of those in which the subject is thought to be the reincarnation of a member of his or her own immediate or extended family. (I call these, for short, "same family" cases). In this feature, Igbo cases resemble those of the Tlingit (Stevenson, 1966), the Haida (Stevenson, 1975a), the Thais and the Burmese (Stevenson, 1983b), and the nontribal cases of the United States (Stevenson, 1983a). They differ from the cases in India (Stevenson, 1975b), Sri Lanka (Stevenson, 1977), Turkey and Lebanon (Stevenson, 1980), where "same family" cases occur much less frequently. Table 2 shows the incidence of "same family" cases in ten different cultures.

Table 1
Incidence of Male versus Female Subjects in Cases of Different Cultures

	Nigeria (Igbo) (N = 57)	Turkey (Alevis) (N = 133)	British Columbia & Alaska (Haida) (N = 24)	Lebanon (Druse) (N = 125)	Alaska (Tlingit) (N = 78)	India (N = 271)	Thailand (N = 38)	Burma (N = 230)	United States (non- tribal) (N = 79)	Sri Lanka (N = 117)	TOTAL (N = 1152)
Male	44 (77)*	98 (74)	17 (71)	86 (69)	53 (68)	174 (64)	22 (58)	128 (56)	43 (54)	57 (49)	722 (63)
Female	13 (23)	35 (26)	7 (29)	39 (31)	25 (32)	97 (36)	16 (42)	102 (44)	36 (46)	60 (51)	430 (37)

* The numbers in parentheses represent percentages.

Table 2
Incidence of "Same Family" Cases in Cases of Different Cultures

	Alaska (Tlingit) (N = 67)	United States (non- tribal) (N = 16)	Nigeria (Igbo) (N = 53)	British Columbia & Alaska (Haida) (N = 23)	Thailand (N = 32)	Burma (N = 154)	Turkey (Alevi) (N = 63)	Lebanon (Druse) (N = 80)	Sri Lanka (N = 31)	India (N = 183)	TOTAL (N = 702)
Related	64 (96)*	15 (94)	49 (92)	20 (87)	22 (69)	83 (54)	18 (29)	19 (24)	6 (19)	29 (16)	325 (46)
Acquain- ted	3 (4)	1 (6)	3 (6)	3 (13)	3 (9)	48 (31)	34 (54)	37 (46)	9 (29)	75 (41)	216 (31)
Unknown to Each Other	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (2)	0 (0)	7 (22)	23 (15)	11 (17)	24 (30)	16 (52)	79 (43)	161 (23)

* The numbers in parentheses represent percentages.

Table 3
Incidence of Cases of the "Sex Change" Type in Cases of Different Cultures

	Burma (N = 230)	Nigeria (Igbo) (N = 56)	United States (non- tribal) (N = 60)	Thailand (N = 32)	Sri Lanka (N = 114)	India (N = 261)	Turkey (Alevi) (N = 133)	Lebanon (Druse) (N = 77)	Tlingit (N = 65)	British Columbia & Alaska (Haida) (N = 24)
Percentage of Cases of "Sex Change", Type	33	18	15	13	12	3	0	0	0	0

Table 4
Median Interval in Months between the Death of Previous Personality and the Birth of Subject

	United States (non-tribal) (N = 25)	Nigeria (Igbo) (N = 35)	Alaska (Tlingit) (N = 41)	Burma (N = 125)	Thailand (N = 33)	Sri Lanka (N = 35)	India (N = 170)	Turkey (Alevi) (N = 64)	Lebanon (Druse) (N = 79)	British Columbia & Alaska (Haida) (N = 17)
Median Interval in Months	141	34	24	21	18	16	12	8.5	8	4

Table 5
Median Age at Death in Years of Previous Personalities

	Alaska (Tlingit) (N = 26)	Nigeria (Igbo) (N = 35)	Lebanon (Druse) (N = 77)	Burma (N = 151)	India (N = 159)	Turkey (Alevi) (N = 66)	Thailand (N = 32)	Sri Lanka (N = 33)	United States (non-tribal) (N = 14)
Median Age at Death in Years	60	55	35	35	32	26	18	18	17

Frequency of Claims of "Sex Change"

Table 3 shows the incidence of cases of the "sex change" type among cases that I have investigated in ten different cultures.⁸ The Igbo cases have the second highest incidence of cases of this type.

Interval between Death and Presumed Reincarnation

Table 4 presents data from cases of ten different cultures for the median interval (in months) between the death of the presumed previous personality and the birth of the subject. The median interval for the Igbo cases is the second longest in the series, being exceeded only by that of the nontribal cases in the United States.

Previous Personality's Age at Death

The median age at death (fifty-five years) of the previous personalities in the Igbo cases considerably exceeds that observed in the cases of most other cultures. Table 5 presents data from nine different cultures for this feature.

Discussion

In the paucity of the subjects' statements, Igbo cases resemble those of the Tlingit and Haida. In the companion article to this one, I mentioned that some Igbo parents do not wish their children to express any memories they may have of previous lives. They may deliberately suppress a child who tries to communicate such memories. However, I also mentioned earlier in this paper two children (siblings) whose parents did allow them to speak freely about previous lives and who did so. We should therefore not conclude that the paucity of statements attributed to most Igbo subjects closely reflects the number of imaged memories they have. Many Igbo subjects may have abundant imaged memories of previous lives, but they may learn early in life the undesirability of talking about these in front of disapproving adults.

Several prominent features of Igbo cases reflect the strong dominance of males in Igboland. Although styles of living are now changing and women are becoming more independent, I think it still correct to say that Igbo women have a markedly inferior social status compared with men. I believe that the lopsided ratio of male to female subjects in this series (77% versus 23%) reflects this emphasis on male superiority. The Igbo do not believe that men reincarnate more often than women. They have, however, more interest in the antecedents of men than in those of women, and so they would make more effort to identify the previous personality of a boy than that of a girl. The cases remembered and presented to me would reflect this different attention given to male compared with female children.⁹

However, once a female child had been identified as the subject of a case, informants gave as much attention to her case as they did to that of a male child. We showed this by comparing the occurrence of fourteen types of data or features of cases that informants could report for a case. We found that cases with male subjects had a mean incidence of 7.6 features, those with female subjects a mean incidence of 7.8 features; the difference was not significant.¹⁰

The high frequency with which subjects and previous personalities are related on the father's side (compared with the mother's) also reflects male dominance in Igbo society. This high incidence of a relationship on the father's side (74%) contrasts interestingly with the equally high incidence of a relationship on the mother's side (75%) found among the cases in a matrilineal society, that of the Tlingit of southeastern Alaska (Stevenson 1966).

I have no full explanation for the relatively long median interval between death and presumed reincarnation in Igbo cases compared with those of most other cultures. However, the following observation may be pertinent. In the cultures with the lowest median intervals between death and presumed reincarnation (Haida of British Columbia and Alaska, Druses of Lebanon, and Alevi of Turkey), there is a general expectation of rapid or even immediate rebirth. The Igbo, on the other hand, have no strong conviction about the interval that should occur between death and reincarnation; nor for that matter, do the Hindus and Buddhists of India, Sri Lanka, Burma, and Thailand.

Several other features of Igbo cases could be compared with corresponding ones in different cultures. Of these, the most important is the incidence of the mode of death in the presumed previous life. The incidence of violent death figuring in the Igbo cases (30%) is lower than that of the cases of every other culture (with one exception, the Haida of British Columbia and Alaska) from which we have adequate data concerning this feature. I have published elsewhere a table giving data for this feature from eight other cultures (Stevenson 1980). (See also Cook et al. 1983 and Stevenson 1983a). Even so, the incidence of violent death among the Igbo cases greatly exceeds that of violent death in the general population of Nigeria, which is 3.8%. (United Nations 1980:447).

The comparisons that I have made here between Igbo cases and those of other cultures should suffice to show that in some features Igbo cases resemble those found in all other cultures so far studied. On the other hand, their cases also differ in the special prominence of some particular features and in the lack of others compared with those of other cultures. In these apparently culture-bound features, the Igbo cases reflect important aspects of Igbo society, such as the marked dominance of males in it.

NOTES

- 1 Thanks are due to the Bernstein Brothers Parapsychology and Health Foundation for the support of this work. I am grateful to Carlos S. Alvarado for his assistance in the analysis of the data and to Emily Williams Cook for suggestions that improved the paper. It was

helpful to have the opportunity to discuss the cases as they were investigated with Stuart Edelstein (who accompanied me to Nigeria in 1981 and 1982), and with Nicholas McClean-Rice (who accompanied me there in 1984).

- 2 By a "case of the reincarnation type" (or "case suggestive of reincarnation") I mean one in which a child claims that he or she remembers a previous life or in which a child is identified (usually on the basis of birthmarks or birth defects, unusual behavior, dreams, or the statements of an oracle) as the reincarnation of a deceased person. Reports of such cases may be found in Stevenson (1966/1974, 1975b, 1977, 1980, and 1983b).
Evidence constituting satisfactory identification of a child with a particular deceased person varies widely among informants and also between different cultures where these cases occur. In Igbo land conclusions about identification are sometimes reached with no evidence beyond an assertion by a single person, say the father of a child, that a child is the reincarnation of a named deceased person. For the purposes of this paper I have included such cases, although in all but two of the cases some additional evidence (of the kinds mentioned in the preceding paragraph) was also adduced in support of the identification.
- 3 I have published elsewhere similar descriptions of the main characteristics of cases in other cultures and countries, as follows: Tlingit of southeastern Alaska (Stevenson 1966); India (Stevenson 1975b); Haida of Alaska and British Columbia (Stevenson 1975a); Sri Lanka (Stevenson 1977); Druses of Lebanon (Stevenson 1980); Alevis of south central Turkey (Stevenson 1980); Burma (Stevenson 1983b); and Thailand (Stevenson 1983b).
- 4 I refer to the deceased person of whom the subject is said to be the reincarnation as the "previous personality" of the case. I use this term without commitment to any interpretation of the cases. I also use it to designate the person of whom the child is said to be the reincarnation, even when no known deceased person has been specifically identified for the case.
- 5 In the companion article to this one (Stevenson 1985). I have described how Igbo people identify the previous personality.
- 6 For further particulars about mutilations practiced on suspected *ogbanjes*, see the companion article to this one (Stevenson 1985).
- 7 For examples of announcing dreams in the cases of other cultures, see Stevenson (1966, 1966/1974, 1980, 1983b).
- 8 In calculating the percentage of cases of the "sex change" type, I have included unsolved cases, provided the subject either explicitly indicated that the previous life had been that of a person of the opposite sex or gave strong indications of this in behavior, such as otherwise inexplicable behavior appropriate for the sex opposite to the subject's.
- 9 Table 1 shows, however, that males provide a majority of subjects in the cases of some other cultures in which males dominate socially either less or not at all. A full discussion of possible reasons for this lies outside the scope of the present paper. For a discussion of some other factors contributing to the preponderance of male subjects, see Stevenson (1970).
- 10 The following data and features were compared: sex of previous personality; subject's date of birth; subject's age at first speaking of the previous life; subject's age at fading of memories; mode of death of previous personality; subject's mention of mode of death; previous personality's date of death; previous personality's age at death; subject's mention of name of previous personality; subject's claim of remembering experiences between death and presumed reincarnation; phobias; announcing dreams; birthmarks and birth defects; family relationships between subject and previous personality (same or not same family); if same family, side to which previous personality belonged.

REFERENCES

- COOK, Emily W., Satwant PASRICHA, Godwin SAMARARATNE, U Win MAUNG, and Ian STEVENSON.
1983 "A Review and Analysis of 'Unsolved' Cases of the Reincarnation Type: II. Com-

parison of Features of Solved and Unsolved Cases," *Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research* LXXVII, 2 115-135.

STEVENSON, Ian

- 1966 "Cultural Patterns in Cases Suggestive of Reincarnation Among the Tlingit Indians of Southeastern Alaska," *Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research* LX, 3 229-243.
- 1970 "Characteristics of Cases of the Reincarnation Type in Turkey and their Comparison with Cases in Two Other Cultures," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* XI, 1 1-17.
- 1974 *Twenty Cases Suggestive of Reincarnation*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. (First published in 1966, *Proceedings of the American Society for Psychical Research* XXVI, 1-362.)
- 1975a "The Belief and Cases Related to Reincarnation Among the Haida," *Journal of Anthropological Research* XXXI, 4 364-375. (Reprinted with revisions in 1977, in *Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research* LXXI, 2 177-189.)
- 1975b *Cases of the Reincarnation Type. Vol. I. Ten Cases in India*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- 1977 *Cases of the Reincarnation Type. Vol. II. Ten Cases in Sri Lanka*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- 1980 *Cases of the Reincarnation Type. Vol. III. Twelve Cases in Lebanon and Turkey*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- 1983a "American Children Who Claim to Remember Previous Lives," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* CLXXI, 12 742-748.
- 1983b *Cases of the Reincarnation Type. Vol. IV. Twelve Cases in Thailand and Burma*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- 1985 "The Belief in Reincarnation Among the Igbo of Nigeria," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* XX, 1-2, 13-30.

United Nations

- 1980 *Demographic Yearbook 1979*. New York: United Nations.