Journal of the Geographical Association of Tanzania, Vol. 36 No. 2: 21–34

Fertility Myth of Oldoinyo Lengai and Its Impacts To the Maasai Community of Northern Tanzania

Evaristo Haulle** & Delphine Njewele**

Abstract

The paper aims to explore the myth of fertility associated with Oldoinyo Lengai and its impacts to the Maasai community in the Gregorian rift valley system in northern Tanzania. It assumes that in African spirituality, myths are used to guide knowledge, values and practices in the community and Mother Nature. Fertility is among the major transformation event in human life circles that can be reflected through community myth. Through in-depth interviews and observation techniques primary data relating to culture, customs and traditions were obtained. Documentary search was employed to supplement field data. The study found out that the Maasai community depended on the Oldoinyo Lengai (Mountain of God) for the fertility of human and animals. The fertility myth among the Maasai pressurized them to prefer many children. The myth also encouraged the dominance of promiscuousness; and the deterioration of health due to bearing many children with limited maternal health care and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Thus the myth of Oldoinyo Lengai in relation to fertility has caused incredible adverse impact to the Maasai community, particularly in Tanzania. The study recommends that health education and services be extended to villages in the vicinity of Oldoinyo Lengai with service providers who are well-trained to integrate the nature of the myth and its side effects to the community in relation to the changing socio-economic landscape. Moreover, it is imperative to empower the community members economically and socially so that they can decide their fate and exercise their consent.

Introduction

In African perspective, and particularly in African spirituality and Mother Nature, myths are used to explain the origin of people, and their traditional customs and beliefs as practiced by various African communities. It is also learned that anthropologists and scholars no longer regard myths as naive views of nature that retreat from consciousness as science advances. Rather, myths are about explanations that hold powerful sway, not because they are factual, but because they represent people's core beliefs and play a greater role than previously thought in all societies, even highly scientific ones (Dvorak, 2007). Myth can be defined as a conceptualization of people's

* Lecturer in Geography Department, Mkwawa University College of Education; Email: haulledict@gmail.com

** Assistant Lecturer, Department of Fine and Performing Arts, University of Dar es Salaam

world view that embraces taboo, totem, magic, legend, initiation ceremonies, death chants, worship of gods and goddesses (Gumo et al., 2012). It describes the making of the world and universe that underpins the truth about a people who holds the myth. Furthermore, myth unveils people's origin; explains the ways of the gods and the rules by which the gods and goddesses expect people to live; explains natural occurrences and how to handle major disasters; as well as how to cope with what people must face; and how everything will end. African myths, therefore, provide a religious context for both the existence of life and social organization.

One way in which myths are understood is through a reflection on the most important transformation events in people's life circle, like fertility and death. In every society, there are a number of myths that are concerned with human and agricultural fertility. One of the agricultural myths of fertility is this tale presented by Heringa (1997) about the Javanese rice myth and the goddess of rice:

> [T]he young woman is the goddess of rice, an outsider from the cosmic realm, who voluntarily allows herself to be "eaten" thereby initiating a pact with her aggressors and transforming the violence into a relationship that offers the responsibility of procreation or regeneration... the yearly communal enactment of the offering take place on the grave of the ancestors in the period preceding life-cycle rituals and – incidentally—the start of a new agriculture cycle (1997: 370).

According to Heringa (1997), this kind of myth and ritual is connected to the agricultural cycle, and makes villagers of East Javanese take care of rice and their fields. As a result, it is believed that they are awarded an abundant harvest. Other examples of myth and fertility can be found among the people living in some islands in the Philippines, Nicaragua and in Hawaii (Dvorak, 2007). On these islands it is believed that the eruption of volcanic ash greatly enriches the soil, giving better crops. Dvorak (2007) explains that when volcano erupts, the hot fluid material leaves a smooth skin-like texture along the eruptive cracks whose 'structure is reminiscent of a huge vagina'. Thus, native Hawaiians regarded an eruption as the menstruation of the goddess *pele*. In this regard Hawaiian oppose any attempt to control an eruption because doing so would be as unnatural and as trying to force a woman to end menstruation, which will cause a disaster that will probably result into soil and human infertility (Dvorak, 2007).

Sibanda (1997) describes that there are also myths about mountains, hills and other high-standing earth formations that are thought to be God; giving a concrete manifestation of His being and His presence. They are points of contact, between community members, spiritual beings and God. No wonder

that among many societies, mountains and hills are associated with spirits or divinities.

For example, the Meru in Kenya talk about the forbidden tree whose fruit God forbade the early men to eat. When men broke that law and ate the forbidden fruit, death came into the world and God withdrew Himself from men (Gumo et al., 2012). Another myth is from the Ibibio*,* an ethnic group from Akwa Ibom State of Nigeria. The Ibibio belief in the supreme self-begotten called *Abasi-Ibom,* who created two offspring. The first is Abasi *Enyong* (male), with dominion over the sky (*Enyong*), and whose offspring include the sun, thunder and lightning. The other is *Abasi Isong* (female), with control over the earth (*Isong*), and whose offspring include *Nedem* who is in charge of the waters, and *Ekpo* who is in charge of the bushes. Jaja (2014) describes this myth in details:

> The Ibibio believe that this high God (Abasi-Ibom) created all things including Indemo to whom he also gives charge of the different aspects of human affairs. Thus, there is Ndem Isong (fertility deity) to look after land fertility; Ndem Udua (market deity) to protect the interest of traders; Ndem Ikot (farmland deity) who is supposed to dwell in the farmland to look after the growth of the crops.

Having created Himself, *Abasi Ibom* created *Enyong* (the sky), *Isong* (the earth) and *Inyang Ibom* (the waters) by mere verbal commands. At the time of creation the earth and the sky were separated entities that got stuck together to satisfy their natural sexual desires. However, a conflict that arose later between them caused the sky to move away. It is reported that the separation must have been caused by earthy kids who normally rub their dirty oily hands on the face of the sky after eating, thus forcing the sky to move upwards (ibid., 13).

Accordingly, outstanding mountains and hills are generally regarded as sacred and are given religious meaning. The Luo, for example, consider Got Ramogi and Got Alila to be the place of God's special manifestation, and as such are sacred and viewed as the dwelling places of God when He visits the earth (Gumo et al., 2012). Another example is that of the Oldoinyo Lengai crater, which is venerated by the Maasai as the Mountain of God and the giver of all good things (Salazar, 2006). According to the myths surrounding such places, people should live in harmony with nature since any violation of these sacred places may anger the gods and lead to disasters. Angered gods can only be appeased by rituals performances that re-establish good relationships between them and members of a community (Njewele, 2007). Therefore, it is believed that myth and ritual help community members to cope with disasters, albeit in a spiritual way.

Fertility

For traditional African societies a high fertility and large surviving families is potentially rewarding economically and socially. Caldwell (1992:214) elaborates that:

> The importance of ancestors, both living and in spirit, meant that the younger generations assisted the older generations to such an extent that ... high fertility ultimately brought substantial economic returns. The emphasis on descent meant that high fertility was morally correct and that childlessness or rearing few children was evil, whether it was the result of barrenness or the death of all or most children.

This is very true of African world view: that Africans are united with the gods, ancestors, the dead and the supernatural world; a unity that is affected in ritualistic events (Lihamba, 1983).[1] While fertility is considered to be a blessing of the ancestors, infertility of the land, animals, and humans is believed to be the work of angered ancestors, gods, or spirits. The gods are angered when people break laws and indulge in mischief such as eating the forbidden fruit, or abusing sacred lands and figures.

This paper asserts that people do not just passively live in the world and accept it as it is, rather they actively interpret and constantly try to make sense of their world. This is to reverberate what Lane (1973) describes thus:

> In almost all societies a man does not interpret the world on his own authority. Rather, he appeals to the past for the ultimate authority to give form and sense to his world and purpose to his actions. Hence, out of the past emerge the symbolic systems of each tradition that serve as paradigms or models for meaningful life. We thus use a Maasai to describe Maasai fertility myth and world view.

Methodology

The study was carried out in the vicinity of Oldoinyo Lengai Mountain, which is geographically found at $35^{0}55^{1}$E $02^{0}45^{1}$S (URT, 1957; Haulle, 2014). Administratively, the Mountain is located in Engaresero village, Pinyinyi ward, Ngorongoro district in Arusha region; which is in Northern Tanzania, East Africa (URT, 2008). Oldoinyo Lengai rises from about 2000m above the Rift Valley floor to a height of approximately 2886m (URT, 1957; Haulle, 2014). Oldoinyo Lengai was selected because it is the only active volcano in Tanzania. It is also found within the Maasai land. The Maasai is one of the ethnic groups that is still considered to be leading traditional life in Tanzania in particular, and Africa in general (Haulle, 2014).

The study was mainly qualitative in design. The study employed documentary search to find different cultures practiced elsewhere, fertility

[1]Swantz's (1986) study of the *mwambao Zaramo* society of Tanzania has grouped rituals into three groups: "... ritual connected with the spiritual beliefs, ritual connected with life cycle such as death, fertility, rite of passage etc., and those connected with medicine" (pg. 170).

and population trends in the study area, and Tanzania in general. The study employed in-depth interviews and observation techniques to obtain primary data. In-depth interviews were administered to *laigwanans*, *laibons* and selected aged age-set members from Nderito, Meshuki, Seuri and Makaa. The age-set were selected because these are considered by the Maasai to be leaders of the society where one could obtain truth information.

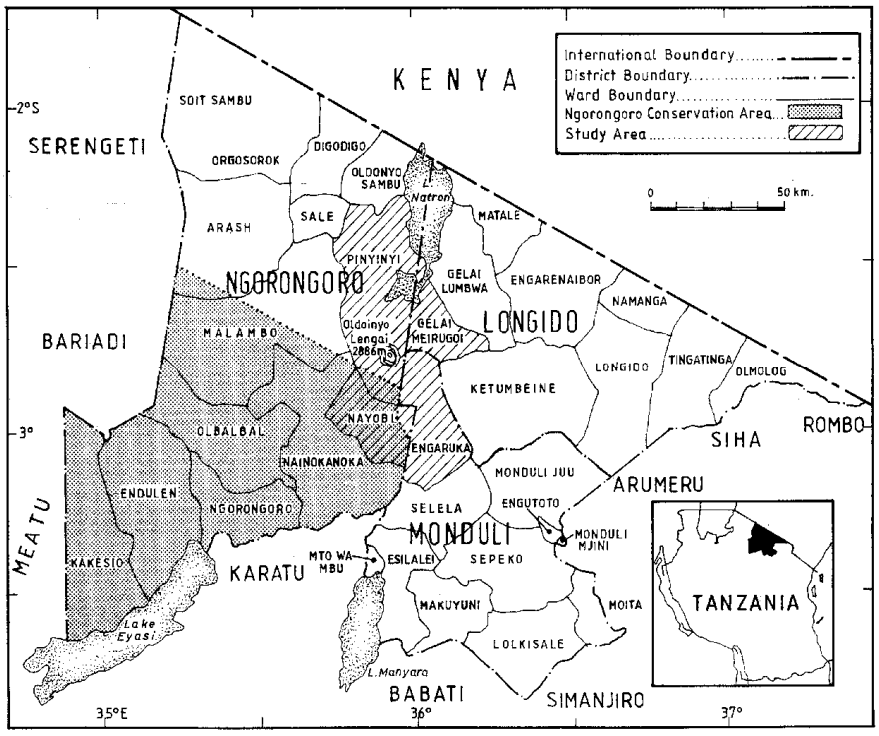


Figure 1.1: ***Location of Oldoinyo Lengai and its vicinity***
Adopted from Haulle, 2014a)

Research Findings

Fertility Myth

The study found that Oldoinyo Lengai is said to be the source of life for both human and animals. The volcanic eruption are believed to be for the purpose of cleansing the land by killing ticks and other pests that harm livestock; and also for increasing nutrients on the soil that in turn cause healthy pastures that nourishes livestock, which are the base for social-economic identity. Eruption may also mean punishment, especially when

the Olaibon has communicated with *Engai* (God), and considered that the people have wronged Him, as per one correspondent:

> *"Oldoinyo Lengai is a mountain of Cattle and People. He [the mountain] was adored and we adore him. The mountain is not idle; it develops people and cattle very well. Oldoinyo Lengai will never get out of pastures. Every leader or any person who needs leadership may come to Oldoinyo Lengai and proceed with his desires. Those who are barren get children, those who are sick are healed, there are things you may ask and God gives but some depend on God`s will. Women may travel from very far even from Kenya for fertility prayers."*

As discussed earlier in the introduction, fertility is regarded by Africans to be one of the greatest blessings of God (Gumo et al., 2012). It is not a simple biological matter but rather represent a complex set of contested concepts and practices through which women strive to achieve an ideal reproductive status (Fadlalla, 2000). In this regard, dolls dealing with fertility are widespread in Africa, and it is believed that such dolls ensure fertility to women. This is to say a pressure to become a mother is enormous, and in many Africa societies a woman is taught from childhood that she must bear children. This study found out that in Maasai community, like in many other communities in Africa, one of the major role of *enditoo,* a Maasai woman, is to bear children. The Maasai believe that God created both men and women perfectly, without any defect. In this regard, any cause of infertility is described as a manifestation of wrongdoing in the society, especially of women. This outlook is similar to that of the Hadendowa of Eastern Sudan, where women are differentiated in respect to their level of fertility; reproductive well-being and ability or inability to bear and raise children.

The Maasai have a tendency for early marriage, when they reach a time to bear children. If a woman does not bear a child for a long time, it means that she is unclean. In this case she will be required to cleanse herself under the leadership of an old woman chosen from the society. Several women with a similar problem will be identified and an upright, acceptable woman from a senior age-set will be chosen to lead the process of cleansing the women to get children. The woman leader will talk with women privately and decide on the date to go to Oldoinyo Lengai.

The women will prepare food and four female lambs, which should be black and pregnant. Closer to the Oldoinyo Lengai, there is *enkang*, a Maasai *boma* (a collection of several Maasai houses (*manyatta*)). It is in this place where the food will be prepared for them to eat. The village elders will also choose four men who will go to the mountain with the women. It is said that these women will sing and pray on a sacred place in the mountain in the

evening, and by night every woman will go back and sleep in the *enkang*. This will be their routine for a week. One respondent further elaborates:

> *"AIthough people may use Oldoinyo Lengai to pray for rain, it is mainly used to pray to ask God to provide children for barren women. Kerimasi is for rain. The women will remain speechless for the whole time on Oldoinyo Lengai. Even if she is touched, she is not required to speak or shout. The animals will be left free on the mountain because God descend by night to take animals, clean them and give them children".*

The community has experienced that most of the time when such women bear children when return from the mountain. It is clear that those four chosen men have a duty to have sex with all the women on the mountain for the whole period of their stay. Everything that is done in the mountain is kept secret. After their return, women who get children are happy, and so are their husbands. The ritual of cleaning a woman for a baby may be repeated twice. It was reported that when a woman has undergone the cleansing rituals for three times and yet she fails to bear a baby, the she will be banished from the society. It is believed that such a woman must have committed a very great sin and God has cursed her. Such a woman was considered as unacceptable in the society.

The study found out that a woman in a Maasai community cannot acquire any reasonable social space in the community without being married. It was also noted that when a girl (*ndito)* is married she assumes the age-set of her husband regardless of her age. When she bears children she assures herself of more access to community rights and responsibilities. According to Cameron (1997) in many places in Africa—for example among the Edo of Nigeria, Lunda and Luvale of Zambia, Baule of Cote d'Ivoire, Asante of Ghana, Mossi of Burkina Faso, and Namchi of Cameroon—women are controlled with threats against their fertility: if they stray from social norms, it is said that they will not bear children.

A woman proving that she in not barren means that God has not cursed her, and this earns one a high respected in the community. It was noted that a woman with a big number of children is highly respected than one with few children. Thus, a woman's category in the society depends on the number of children she has. For instance, a woman will be considered to be elderly, mature and wise if she has more than four children. In this situation, therefore, many women are struggling to get more children.

It was also noted for those women who have not given birth for a long time will go through the same purification rituals, as seen in the Maasai case. It is anticipated here that under normal circumstances the fertility rate in

this community cannot be less than 4 children. However, the study found out that the average family size was 8 people. Further, we found two women having 13 children each and they were comfortable. The study further revealed that the tradition of having many children to maintain the status quo is still dominant to date although its popularity is declining due to increase of intermarriages, migration and the introduction of education, health and other intervention measures in the community.

Indirect Myth

It is said that *Engai* can become furious and cause disasters to the Maasai through volcanic eruptions, landslides and earthquake. On the other hand, *Engai* cleanses the sins of the land by causing such disasters. The occurrences of these geo-disasters cause the burning of all grasses and pests that harm livestock. After a while new generation of grasses will crops up and flourishes due to the supply of nutrient provided by Oldoinyo Lengai. In this way, diseases that affect livestock are cleared off, livestock becomes healthier and provides more milk. In turn, the community that will take better foodstuffs will be healthier too, and hence reproduction will be active. It is said that those who made *Engai* furious may be cleansed by small volcanic eruptions that do not harm humans and livestock. If a woman cannot bear a child during this period of mercy from God, she will need a special prayer.

Population Trend

Fertility rates are higher in sub Saharan Africa than any other region of the world (Cohen, 1993), which together with declining mortality, renders population growth in the region as high. UN considers all population growth rates above 3% per annum as very high.

Hinde and Mturi (2010) observed there is clear decline in fertility in Tanzania like in Kenya and Zimbabwe. However, this decline is observed more in urban settings while in the rural areas it is constantly high. For instance, findings from the Tanzania Demographic and Household Survey of 2007 showed that the average number of children per woman is 6.1 in rural Tanzania. While rich and educated women had an average of 3 children, poor and uneducated women had an average of 7 children. Looking at the general trend in Tanzania (URT, 2010), northern Tanzania had a fertility rate of 4.6, while western regions had the highest rate of 7.1, which is far higher than the national average of 5.4 children.

Although in 2002 the population density of Arusha region was less than the national average by four people per square kilometre, its population was growing very fast than the national population. It was observed that when the population of Tanzania doubled after 25 years by 1987 the population of

Arusha doubled after 20 years. By 1997 when the national population doubled after 22 years, Arusha marked it after 19 years. It should be noted that these are internal differences which however both of the settings show the population growth is still high.

Table: 1 Population Distribution by Districts

District	1988	2002	2012
Monduli	68,549	110,442	158,929
Ngorongoro	68,775	129,362	174,278
Longido	40,457	74,074	123,153

Source: URT, 1990; 2004; 2013

Similarly, annual population growth is seen to be big in the study area. Although the growth rates were progressively declining, they were all higher than the general national trend (see Table 2). However, the rates of the three villages were lower compared to regional trend. This was caused by the influence of urban Arusha and the general trend of Arusha district to be a net recipient of population. This has led to the contribution of Longido, Monduli and Ngorongoro to the regional population trend to be around 25% while their spatial coverage is more than 80% of the region.

Table 2: Inter-censuses Annual population Growth Rate 1967 – 2012

District	1967-78	1978-88	1988-2002	2002-2012
Monduli	4.6	4.1	3.8	3.8
Ngorongoro	N/A	3.9	4.5	5.1
Longido	N/A	N/A	N/A	3.8
Arusha region	3.6	3.6	4.0	4.0
Country (Tanzania)	3.3	2.8	2.9	2.7

Source: URT, 1982; 1990; 2004; 2013

Household size is another indicator for the population increase and growth of the study area. The 2002 national population census put the average family size of the country to be 4.9, while that of Arusha was 4.5, which is slightly lower than the national figure (Table 3).

Table 3: District Population Growth and Their Contribution To the Region Population Growth

Area	1967	1978	1988	2002	2012
Monduli			5.3	4	4.7
Ngorongoro	N/A	N/A	5.4	5	4.8
Longido	N/A	N/A	N/A	5.0	5.0
Arusha region	4.8	5.3	5.4	4.5	4.5
Tanzania	**4.4**	**4.9**	**5.2**	**4.9**	**4.8**

Source: URT, 1982; 1900; 2004

According to the census, district near Oldoinyo Lenga had a household size that was equal or higher than the regional average. Longido had the highest in the region, almost similar to the national level of 4.9. The population trend in the surveyed wards was higher, with a higher number of family sizes. This is also attributed by the ethnic groups found in specific districts, the Maasai, who are proponents of big families as enshrined in their myths.

It is evident that high fertility and subsequent high population increase in the area, like in many other areas, are not caused by a single factor. However, cultural set-ups have a lot to do with community outlook to demography, and how to manage demographic characteristics.

Impacts of Myth to the Population

The study revealed that the myth encouraged women to bear many children in order to attain self-actualization within the community. The real women were identified by being more fertile among many other factors. This led to the existence of large families among Maasai households. The study found out that the number the children per woman sometimes went up to 12, as revealed by this respondent:

> *"My friend, the Maasai have no tradition of counting people. We just mention the names of people available or involved in an event although with modernity some do. …. Generally we give birth to many children*."

The study found that such beliefs continued to make women not even sexual tools or tools for leisure: they twined up to be children incubators or children manufacturing industries. This is because it was revealed that the male spouse was not considered important in procreation: even when a male spouse was not able to fertilize a woman, all the blame was directed to the woman, as stated by one respondent:

> *"We belief infertility to any woman is a misfortune and curse from GOD. It is believed that at a certain point in time the woman did wrong to GOD and did not obey the rules of the land. When the elders' prayer to God bounces it means that the sin was big; God is still furious, and the woman has not been pardoned of her sin. Ultimately the woman is excommunicated from the society."*

The strength of identity among the Maasai and other communities propels women to accept to be raped by any man in order to bear a child in the name of accepting the prayers by Oldoinyo Lengai while in actual sense it is the work of men for their own interest while hiding their fellow men weakness.

Venereal diseases were easily transmitted through the myth of fertility. Gonorrhoeal, syphilis and HIV/AIDS are among the diseases found in the area (URT, 2011). Such diseased are easily spread in polygamy families and

having many sex partners. Raping is also among the cause of the quick spread HIV/AIDS. Such practices as having many wives, raping women in the name of attaining fertility from God, and accepting sex with elders make both men and women to be active agents of the spread of such venereal diseases.

It is important to note that previously it was relatively safe from diseases because the Maasai considered themselves as the chosen people of God. Any person outside the Maasai was considered uncivilized, and unacceptable (*almang'at/Olmekl)* (Haulle, 2014). With the high movement of people, Maasai migrating to urban centres as watchman and hair braiders the Maasai are no safer, they may conduct different diseases and affect those who have remained home. This is done when those who migrated to urban pays different visits to their homeland.

On the other hand, the myth did not affect women only: it affected the whole society. There were male spouses who were not willing to allow their wives to have sex with another person and thus decided to migrate to urban areas and seek alternative occupation besides livestock keeping, as reported by one respondent:

> "*One of my neighbour migrated to town escaping God of Fertility of Oldoinyo Lengai, after some years they got a child. I do not know whether they got medicine form Swahili people or otherwise."*

Besides the adverse impact of population pressure, the myth assures high supply of labour that will be able to keep large heard of livestock all the times, especially during harsh seasons when water and pastures are scarce, and hence they are forced to move in search of new pastures and water.

Success among the Maasai is anchored not only on the number of livestock one possesses, but also the number of children. For instance, it was noted that although a woman takes her husband's *rika* as her social status, she is required to have at least four healthy children to be actually accepted as an elder (Haulle, 2014). Moreover, a man with many wives commands a hush respect in the community. He will have a big *boma*, many children and a large size of herd. It is because of such a tradition that the Maasai find it unnecessary to send their children to schools because formal education is not part of their culture. For them the initiation ceremony is enough to transfer basic knowledge to their offspring: additional knowledge of the environment and how to overcome new challenges will be obtained through practice.

This in turn causes the Maasai to be one of the tourist attractions in Ngorongoro Conservation Area as they are considered as a people who have been able to maintain their traditional culture, and their lives are still closely

tied to nature. To date even government efforts to improve the wellbeing of the Maasai is limited because of the conservative nature of their lives.

The beliefs on Oldoinyo Lengai have on one hand helped to conserve the mountain and safe human life because from the geologic disasters resulted from this active volcano. On the other hand the beliefs have facilitated the high fertility to women hence high population growth. The myth have constructed the signs of wealth to include the number of children the women and the men has.

Conclusions and Recommendations

It is evident that culture plays an important role in all aspects of development in general, and demographic characteristics in particular. The Maasai culture that embraces polygamy is responsible for high population increase in the area. Regardless of the high rural urban migration of the Maasai, their population growth rate is still very high.

The myth that govern high fertility rate among Maasai women puts pressure to both women and men to prefer many children. The myth has the advantage of adding labour force to the community, which uses labour intensive system of production. On the other hand, however, frequent childbearing, together with limited maternal health care, lead to the deterioration of women's health. The myth has also contributed to widespread of STDs.

The myth of Oldoinyo Lengai fertility dehumanise women by turning them into children incubators/factories. There is thus a need to evaluate the nature of the myth and its effects to the community in relation to the changing nature of the socio-economic landscape. It is further recommended that health services be extended to these villages including well trained staff who can offer reproductive/family health services that will reduce the level of the problems of infertility. The provision of education, and reproductive education in particular, will also go a long way in fighting this wayward myth and its attendant practices. Moreover, it is imperative to empower the community member economically and socially so that the women should have a power to decide their fate freely with their consent. This will increase the search for knowledge and other information that will improve their living and decision-making of individuals within the community.

References

Caldwell, J. C., I. O. Orubuloye & P. Caldwell. 1992. Fertility Decline in Africa: A New Type of Transition? *Population and Development Review*, 18(2): 211–242.

Cameron, E. L 1997. In Search of Children: Dolls and Agency in Africa, in UCLA James S. *Coleman African Studies Center African Arts*, 30(2): 18–33+93.

Cohen, B. 1993. *Fertility Levels, Differentials and Trends in Demographic Change in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington DC: National Research Council, National Academy Press

Dvorak. J. 2007. Volcano Myths and Rituals. *American Scientist*, 95(1): 8–9.

Fadlalla, A. H. 2000. Embodying Honor, Managing Misfortune: Strategies and Ritual Practices of Fertility and Son-Infertility Among the Hedendowa Women of Eastern Sudan. Doctoral dissertation, Evanston, Illinois.

Gumo, S., S. O. Gisege, E. Raballah & C. Ouma. 2012. *Communicating African Spirituality Through Ecology: Challenges and Prospects for the 21 Century*. Available from www.mdpi.com/journal/religions

Haulle, E. 2014. *Assessment of Communities` Coping Mechanisms to Geodisaster Risks in the Vicinity of Oldoinyo Lengai in Northern Tanzania*. PhD Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam.

—. 2014a. Land Resource in Tanzania; Whose State, Whose Resource? Fourth International Conference on State, Natural Resources and Conflicts: Actors and Dynamics**,** August 2014, Maputo

Heringa, R. 1997. Dewi Sri in Village Garb: Fertility, Myth, and Ritual in Northeast Java*. Asian Folklore Studies*, 56(2): 355–377.

Hinde, A. & A.J. Mturi. 2010. Resent Trends in Tanzania Fertility. *Population Studies – A Journal of Demography,* 54(2): 177–191.

Lihamba, A. 1985. Politics and Theatre in Tanzania after the Arusha Declaration, 1967–1984. Doctoral Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam.

Njewele, D. C. 2007. Manifestation of Traditional African Cultural Performances in African Films: The Case Study of Two Tanzania Feature Films: Arusi ya Mariamu and Maangamizi: The Ancient One. Masters Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam.

United Republic of Tanzania (URT). (1982). *Population Census: Summary of the Selected Statistics*, Vol. IV. Dar es Salaam: NBS.

—. 1990. *Population Census: Summary of the Selected Statistics*, Vol. IV. Dar es Salaam: NBS.

—. 2004. *Population and Census: Population Distribution by Administrative Areas*. Dar es Salaam: NBS.

—. 2008. Arusha Regions Social-Economic Profile. Dar es Salaam: NBS.

—. 2010. *Key Findings of TDHS*. Dar es Salaam: NBS.

—.URT 2011. *Monduli District Socio-Economic Profile* Dar es Salaam: NBS.

—. 2013) *Population and Housing Census: Population Distribution by Administrative Areas.* Dar es Salaam: NBS.

Sibanda. B. 1997. *Environmental Policy. Governance, Religious Traditional Practices and Natural Resource Management in Zimbabwe*. Zimbabwe: S.A.P.E.S.

Swantz, M. 1986. *Ritual and Symbol in Transitional Zaramo Society*. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.

Van Binsbergen, W. 2005. *Rupture and Fusion in the Approach to Myth: Situating Myth Analysis between Philosophy, Poetics, and Long-Range Historical Reconstruction, With an Application to the Ancient and World-Wide Mythical Complex of Leopard-Skin Symbolism.*

Wheelwright, P. 1966. Notes on Methopoeia. In J. B. Vickery (ed.). *Myth and Literature*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.