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# No Girls Allowed ... : A Study on the Perceptions of Freemasonry and Community in Arusha, TZ.

Alex Barton  
*SIT Study Abroad*

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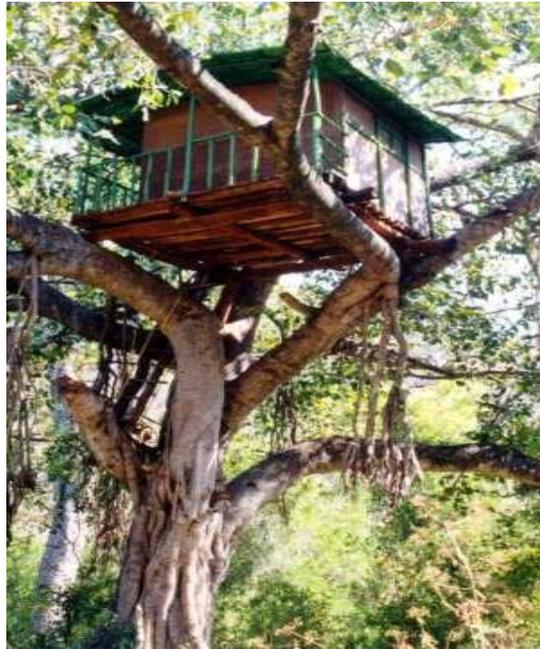
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# **No Girls Allowed...:**

A Study on the Perceptions of Freemasonry and Community in Arusha, TZ.



Alex Barton  
Bates College 2012  
Advisor: Reese Matthews  
SIT Tanzania: Wildlife Conservation and Political Ecology  
Spring 2011

## **Acknowledgements**

I would first like to thank my parents and grandparents who never let me quit even if the work was hard or I didn't like what I was doing (even though they let me quit piano in 6<sup>th</sup> grade, but that aside). I'm a better person for it. Also, I appreciate how supportive they were in my decision to go so far out of my comfort zone in our small NH town. Through this project you've been wonderful in offering advice and new points of view. I survived the lions, Mom! Anyway, another thanks definitely goes to Baba Jack for the guidance through this emotionally charged semester in Tanzania. Through this program, and with his experience and knowledge, I have learned a great deal about issues in the undeveloped world, and myself in the process. Thanks to Iddi, the Minister of Education at IAA (Institute of Accountancy of Arusha) for helping set up the questionnaire process with the many classrooms that we visited. I want to say thank you also to Steve who works for SIT here in Arusha. He was a great help in organizing my preparations for this study at the school. Certainly, the business owners and students who took part in this study deserve a thank you as well. Without their positive and willing participation, this study would not have yielded anything. To the Freemasons of King Solomon's Lodge # 14 of Elkins, NH, USA who so willingly sent me a letter of introduction, thank you so very much. Thank you Mama June and Nannah for your assistance and for consistently motivating me to further understand the perception of Freemasonry in Arusha (don't be afraid). Lastly, I want to thank Eric and Ivy for hosting myself and two other students. We had fun playing basketball, generally taking a load off, and roasting delicious meats for hours on end.

## **Abstract**

Over the course of 20 days during April, 2011, a study was conducted on the public perceptions of Freemasonry and the phrase, “Mtu ni Watu,” (Translation: A Person is People) in Arusha, TZ along Sokoine Road and at the Institute of Accountancy in Arusha. The study consisted of a questionnaire that was distributed to students at the university (n=100) and to business owners in Arusha (n=15). The main purpose of the study was to elucidate the culture of community and how the public’s perception of Freemasonry was influenced by that culture. Specifically, this study addressed how an individual’s desire to become a member of the Freemasons related to their perception of community. Freemasonry is widely perceived as a wealthy organization that acquired its wealth through the dishonest manipulation of “Evil” forces which pervade the belief system of the Arusha community. The belief in the presence of witchcraft, sorcery, and sacrifice were found to be very real in the perception of Freemasonry and their unaccountable wealth. The lack of information about the Freemasons and their imperative to function with an oath of secrecy lends the organization to a whole host of various public interpretations. Therefore, perceptions of Freemasonry in Arusha are infused with local cultural mythologies, metaphors, and narratives. The initial hypothesis stated that there would be a correlation between desire to join the organization and community consciousness measured by the use of, “Mtu ni Watu.” Based on descriptive analysis of the data, those who were more inclined to join the Freemasons were, in fact, more likely to not only use the phrase more frequently, but also to cite joining for purposes of community-support.

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Introduction.....	1
Study Site.....	8
Methods.....	10
Results + Discussion .....	12
Table 1.1 Breakdown of Answers to Question 3: University Students.....	12
Table 1.2 Breakdown of Answers to Question 3: Business Owners.....	12
Figure 1.3 Reasoning for Answers of, “No”: University Students.....	12
Figure 1.4 Reasoning for Answers of, “No”: Business Owners.....	13
Figure 1.5 Reasoning for Answers of, “Yes”: University Students.....	13
Figure 1.6 Reasoning for Answers of, “Yes”: Business Owners.....	14
Figure 2.1 Sources of Information about Freemasonry: University Students.....	14
Figure 2.2 Sources of Information about Freemasonry: Business Owners.....	15
Figure 3.1 Use of, “Mtu ni Watu,” - Frequency among, “Yes,” population: University Students.....	15
Figure 3.2 Use of, “Mtu ni Watu,” – Frequency among, “No,” population: University Students.....	16
Figure 3.3 Use of, “Mtu ni Watu,” – Frequency among, “Yes,” population: Business Owners.....	16
Figure 3.4 Use of, “Mtu ni Watu,” – Frequency among, “No,” population: Business Owners.....	17
Figure 4.1 How did you learn, “Mtu ni Watu?”: University Students.....	17
Figure 4.1 How did you learn, “Mtu ni Watu?”: Business Owners.....	18
Qualitative Discussion.....	18
Limitations and Recommendations.....	27
Conclusion.....	28
Works Cited.....	29
Appendix A: Questionnaire Distributed to Students and Business Owners	
Appendix B: Study Site Map: Arusha, TZ, EA	

## **Introduction**

Freemasonry is a fraternal organization whose origin dates as far back as the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It was organized in its present manifestation during the 18<sup>th</sup> century in England, though it has changed considerably since then. Formerly consisting of so-called “operative masons,” who were employed in the construction of an actual cathedral, early Freemasonry was essentially an intra-occupational support group, (a network or guild). The Freemasons of today are academically labeled as “contemplative masons,” in the sense that the actual industry no longer plays a part in the group’s admittance of members and execution of ideologies, i.e., one doesn’t necessarily have to be a mason by trade to be a Freemason by name. Using the tools of masonry as valuable symbols, Freemasonry’s philosophical foundations allegorically relate the production of the self to the production of King Solomon’s temple. Its doctrines reveal “a profound system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols...to make its members wiser, better, and happier” (Gunn 2008). Its ceremonial, highly allegorical, and historically secretive nature lends itself to an onslaught of creative public interpretation, “[becoming] the topic of many misleading associations and cultural fantasies” (Gunn 2008). And thus, Freemasonry has received this kind of attention worldwide.

The question of *who* was to become a Freemason, strengthened by its teaching, is up for historical interpretation. However, many would argue that the history of Freemasonry in Europe and around the world is tied closely to the history of the production and development of class relations in the modern-capitalist society. Therefore, the social history of the Freemasons is an important facet of its public perception as well. Beginning in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Britain, Freemasonry’s members were involved in the development of the Royal Society, the upper crust, if you will. Beginning in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, many historians believe that Freemasonry was, “completely associated with social aspiration and mobility; if not entirely restricted in membership to...’higher social groups’” (Halstead and Prescott 2005). Certainly the concentration of wealth in small, internally exclusive organizations attracts attention from people without such wealth. In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Freemasonry was the target of criticism for its bourgeois associations. Leon Trotsky himself condemned Freemasonry as, “a bridge leading to the bourgeois camp,” leading to the exclusion of Freemasons from the Comintern’s membership. Even progressive groups in Britain at this time viewed Freemasonry as nothing more than, “an instrument of social aspiration and climbing, a vehicle for traitorous behavior towards ones class, or a tool for

manipulation by the privileged of society” (Halstead and Prescott 2006). Undoubtedly, the historical understanding of Freemasonry as a social organization is affected by sociological factors of wealth, class, education, and social aspiration. Its exclusive and secretive nature feeds a public suspicion that its members are hoarding wealth, that its purposes are more self-interested, financially motivated, and network oriented than communally invested. That suspicion breeds a stigma that inspires anti-Freemason movements around the world.

Despite the fact that I knew of the presence of anti-mason conspiracies, I had never dealt closely with passionate dissenters. Coming to Tanzania has shown me on the ground level, that there is genuine fear of this organization. In Tanzania, I have learned that people are convinced of a variety of “rumors” or stories about Freemasonry. These range from the belief that it is a satanic cult, that they drink blood regularly, that they have more than one soul and more fearfully that they can steal souls through some kind of manipulation of magic or access to evil forces. Perceptions of Freemasonry are, however, not confined to a spectrum of fear. In fact, I have met others who are more focused on what Freemasonry can do *for* them rather than what it could do *to* them. I have received adamant requests to discuss the particulars of Freemasonry, i.e. how to become a member, what they do, etc. Many of these conversations point to one particular question: How/Why are they so rich? Through conversation, I have observed that the people who are interested in becoming Freemasons for personal reasons more often than not make the logical conclusion that Freemasonry will make them rich. The wide spectrum of public perception is what compelled me to tease out the variables that affect it. What makes people synthesize fantasies, mythologies, conspiracy theories, and stories that frighten them? To understand the complex perception of Freemasonry in Tanzania, one must first begin to understand the cultural and sociological context in which it is operating.

Firstly, the notion of “public perception,” by definition, is misleading. The term implies a kind of singularity where there often is none. The cultural and sociological contexts in Tanzania, as well as the kinds of personal interactions with Freemasonry complicate how it is perceived from a general standpoint. The solution to the problem of understanding such a complicated, general perspective is to start in a specific place and distinguish influential cultural factors in order to discern which perceptions are more prevalent than others. With this in mind, what is it about Tanzanian culture and society specifically that produces the fears, suspicions, and associations of Freemasonry to sources of evil? Moreover, how does the perception of Freemasonry relate to the history of colonialism? As you will see, the cultural history of outside organizations and institutions

is deeply indicative of present-day interactions that take place in Tanzanian communities.

To come close to answering the first question, it is important to understand how magic is involved in the perception of Freemasonry, and where fear of “evil” originates in historical African folkways. In the works of various authors (Ferguson et al.) who have written on African culture and society, and through personal experience in conversation, one will find that the topic of magic is a prevalent component of folklore, myth, and a part of a generally held system of belief. “Magic,” as it is understood in Tanzania and other parts of Africa, in some forms represents an ability of some people to wish harm (or good) upon others and subsequently make it come to fruition. There are different mediums through which magic can become real, or experienced. In some cases, it is believed that living people can have this kind of power. These people are called sorcerers, wizards, or witches. A witch is considered to be the most dangerous of any kind of person; truthfully believed to be the devil incarnate, evil doing is simply a part of their nature. The other kind of wizard or sorcerer is more likened to a practitioner of whom magic is an acquired trait or something practiced (Kapuscinski 2001). One may never know when they are speaking with a witch because their outer appearance never betrays their inner being. Suspicion can result from this kind of uncertainty, leading to the assessment of one’s community through a lens of fear. A witch could, for instance, be your own brother (or a Freemason for that matter). Fear of magic, and in this sense, the fear of evil, is augmented by secrecy, of “strangeness,” and the fear of the “Other” (Kapuscinski 2001). In a place like Tanzania, where intra-community dependence is high, “secrecy”, or what may be better expressed on occasion as ‘withdrawal into an interior life’,” can be considered very strange behavior, even potentially life-threatening (Halstead and Prescott 2006). To be fearful of people who are secretive then, is, in some cases, not only a function of self-preservation but of community-preservation as well.

In Ryszard Kapuscinski’s account of his travels in Africa, he discusses his experience with the notion of evil, its real manifestations, and the “Other”:

Our contemporary suspicion of and antipathy for the Other, the Stranger, goes back to the fear our tribal ancestors felt toward the Outsider, seeing him as the carrier of evil, the source of misfortune (Kapuscinski 2001).

Given that Freemasonry arrived in Africa during the late colonial period (and in Tanzania as late as 1903), it is a fairly new phenomenon there. From this perspective of the “Other as the

carrier of evil,” one can imagine the dramatic implications for Freemasonry in Tanzanian’s cultural folkways. The history of outsiders trading in ivory, sisal, and people undoubtedly affect the present day view and treatment of outsiders. We even have our own distinct nomenclature, “Mzungu” (literally, a person of European descent). Despite its late arrival to Tanzania, Freemasonry is, after all, an organization brought here by “outsiders,” who represent the wealth achieved by Europeans and Americans through a history of exploitation of African peoples. The combination of the secrecy of the organization, the history of oppression during colonial days, and the engrained belief in magic culminate in the kinds of myths pertaining to Freemasonry that I have grown accustomed to hearing over the course of my time spent here. But why is it that some people desire to become involved in Freemasonry and others do not? This presents, to me, a question of information-sharing and individual motives. For this, we must consider what the proposed mission of the Freemasons actually is. And furthermore, how do freemasons themselves view their relationship to community? For this, I turn to my personal experiences.

I must say that this project is important to me beyond it being of academic interest. I have actually grown up with Freemasonry in my home. My father has been a devout “Brother” ever since he was 18 (the minimum age to join), just one in a long line of past members beginning with his father’s father before him. No doubt, as far as family heritage is concerned, joining freemasonry as an expectation was very real for him and he too wishes that my brothers and I would join. I have always respectfully refused the offer. The secrecy that surrounds the group’s rituals, ceremonies, and rites has certainly been present in my family (my father never disclosed vital information) but the importance of their secrecy was more likened to a simple rule. In fact, whenever Freemasonry got attention in world media (books, movies, TV specials), it became fodder for the jokes and remarks my family and I would make to my father, accusing him of all sorts of offenses against the world. I never had considered the real societal implications of the organizations’ secrecy and its affect on public perceptions until these conspiracy theories started to illustrate the disparity between what the Freemasons did and what people knew of them.

Why would I ever seriously consider that my dad ever drank blood, for instance? Or that he participated in the murder of fellow brethren who broke their oath? All I’d ever seen was their hosting of chicken barbecues and pancake breakfasts. My dad’s a normal, law-abiding citizen, after all. I come from a small town in which these kinds of “volunteer organizations” are prevalent and

visible. Through my eyes, Freemasonry was just another community organization, a relic from an earlier more rural time when people gathered under any pretense they could imagine, e.g., Lions' Club, Oddfellows, Shriners, knitting circles, book clubs, Rotary Clubs; even the KKK fit in this category. Therefore, my experience of Freemasonry has been one of relatively consistent exposure through time. My father has explained it to me as an organization whose design is to make its members better people. I have come to understand its mission as one to assist its members, through symbolism, lecture, and moral guidance, to become more effective and helpful members of the global citizenry, applied through their local communities. It is this definition of their mission that I have accepted as truth, but it is this mission that comes under question and is mystified in public perception.

Acknowledging the perception of Freemasonry in Arusha, let us consider Freemasonry from the perspective that has been offered to me: that it is an organization for “good” of the people by doing good for its members. That, in conjunction with religious values (for having them is a prerequisite for membership), Freemasonry seeks to aid the community through strengthening the morality of its members (Barton, pers. comm., 2011). For the moment, let us consider its essence to be one of charity, however indirect in its execution. With many examples of their charitable outreach to other institutions such as hospitals and orphanages in Tanzania, why isn't the public aware of this facet of Freemasonry (R.W. Bro, Web. 2004)? And if they are aware, why are they reluctant to *believe* in their “goodness”?

In a place like Tanzania, where dependence on community networks and relationships to family, friends, and often strangers is ubiquitous, I was curious as to why an openly charitable organization like the Freemasons still receives such suspicion. It then suggests the question, “what is charity?” and who gives it? In my time here I was told of a very simple and profoundly meaningful proverb, “Mtu ni Watu, (translation: A Person is People). To me it speaks to a widely held cultural mantra: “we're all in this together.” It recognizes the nature of existence and mortality, the reality of community, and the meaning of a shared life succinctly. It acknowledges the value of one person's life as entwined to the lives of others. The relationship of a buyer to a farmer is, in turn, one of mutual survival. Without community, we would all be dead. Collective labor becomes us in the food we eat and the clothes that warm us. Over the course of the home stays this semester, through interacting with people on the street and learning the language, I have seen how pervasive the notion of sharing and community can be and, dually, how villainous and egregious the acts

*against* community are. The public reaction to thievery is a good example of how communities and individuals protect themselves against selfish acts. In the event that someone steals something even as small as a banana, the surrounding crowd is known to gather and beat the offender sometimes with extreme severity. In some cases, stealing can result in sickness, starvation, or death for those stolen from. The death of that one person, can lead to the death of those dependent on them. Need is something felt by everyone at different times and the philosophy of community present in Tanzania ensures that need is alleviated when it bubbles to the surface. So, in a place where community is so greatly a part of day to day survival, where a person is often dependent on another's labor and charity for their meals, where even the language and history reflect this need for community, why has the stated mission of Freemasonry been so obscured in public perception?

If this foundational proverb is as common and prevalent in peoples' lifestyles and interactions with community as it is said, then it is of value to discover how and for what reasons the perception of Freemasonry has become so disembodied from the organization's publicized mission of community engagement. The factors affecting these reasons have as much to do with a cultural context as they do with a sociological one. In this study, I sought to delve into the connection between the proverb, community engagement, and Freemasonry in order to assess the compatibility between the perception of Freemasonry and the perception of community in Arusha, TZ.

Therefore, in this study, I distributed questionnaires, conducted interviews, and hosted group discussions about individual experiences and perceptions regarding both the topic of Freemasonry as it exists culturally and functionally in Tanzania as well as the common Kiswahili proverb, "Mtu ni Watu" – (direct English Translation: A Person is People). The data collected was analyzed with the purpose of finding overlaps in public perceptions across two distinct groups: 1.) University males between the age of 20-30, 2.) Business owners in Arusha. The study was designed to compare students at IAA (Institute of Accountancy in Arusha) and business owners in Arusha, TZ to determine if compatibility existed between the meaning of the proverb and the perception of Freemasonry in these study groups in Tanzania, EA. My initial hypothesis was that there would be a correlation between familiarity/use of the proverb and desire to participate as a member of the Freemasons. The study was not meant to produce any sweeping conclusions about culture and society in Tanzania though, however, it was designed to glean an understanding of the cultural

context that surrounds and influences the perception of Freemasonry in Arusha across very specific demographics of wealth and education.

### **Study Site Description: Arusha**

Arusha is a bustling tourist mecca in the northeastern region of Tanzania. It is aptly located because of its proximity to the national parks of Tarangire, Lake Manyara, Serengeti, and Ngorongoro (the combination of parks named the “northern circuit”). With a burgeoning tourist population that comes and goes throughout the year, the growth in Arusha has been rapid. Within 15 years, the population boomed from around 744,000 (1988) people to its most current status of 1,433,000 people (Brinkhoff. City Populations, Web. 2005).

Its history as a nexus of trade for regional Maasai peoples indicates its opportune location for business ventures. Even during the early period of settlement by indigenous groups, its position between the plains-based pastoralists and the mountain agricultural producers created prosperity and interdependence between the two regions. As for its history during colonization, the Germans were the first to attempt to settle in the region but these initial efforts were to no avail. It was the British who later, during the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, were able to impose a city plan (i.e., constructing roads, institutionalizing public space, etc.). Throughout the first half of the century, the British held control of the cities legal and public systems leading up to decolonization. The period from the 1950’s and on (coinciding with the new African Socialism invented and applied by Julius Nyerere, the, “Baba wa Taifa” – Father of the Nation) marked a period of continual recognition that Arusha was a profitable location, with manageable climate conditions and close proximity to beautiful mountains and the great safari ranges (Macalester University, Web, 2008).

This recognition continued for much of the latter half of 20<sup>th</sup> century and trade continued in the area in primarily agricultural products. The economy has transitioned in that time from the majority of its revenue being in the sale of these products to the incorporation of manufacturing textiles, beverages, electronic equipment, plastic, etc. into the local economy. Tourism is not to be forgotten as a major influence in the economy of Arusha, however. In the municipality there are currently 11 tourist hotels, and 84 registered operating companies (upwards of 150,000 tourists pass through Arusha each day). Undoubtedly the construction of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Rwandan Genocide has brought administrative and white-collar jobs to Arusha within the last 15 years, contributing to the wealth in the area and the development of business and investments (Macalester University, Web, 2008).

Development is happening in Arusha, and it is happening quickly. New schools are increasingly being built across Tanzania, and Arusha is home to many universities offering bachelor

and post-graduate degrees. In particular significance to my project is the Institute of Accountancy of Arusha in Njiro, just outside of Arusha proper. (See Appendix B: Map)

## **Methodology**

This study took place in Arusha, TZ, between April 8<sup>th</sup> and May 4<sup>th</sup> of 2011. The data collection period spanned the first 20 days. I held questionnaire periods at the Institute of Accountancy in Arusha as well as brought questionnaires (See Appendix A) to business owners at their place of business. The questionnaire consisted of two sets of questions having to do with Freemasonry and the proverb, “Mtu ni Watu,” respectively. This approach allowed me to use descriptive statistics to assess correlations between the two groups of questions and to extract a theme from public perceptions.

### **Sample Populations:**

#### **- University students: Males 20-30**

- Method of distribution:

- Enter classrooms, present my topic, how students relate to it, and broadly request that anyone interested take the survey. At one time, 25 surveys were distributed.

- In 7 days, I had 100 surveys completed

- On several occasions during the distribution period I entertained questions from survey-takers and initiated conversation. I hosted 4 discussions which provided a group setting in which to voice experiences and perceptions (contained no less than two/no more than 8 at a time).

#### **- Business Owners in Arusha proper**

- In 8 days, I completed 15 surveys.

- I had hour-long sit-down conversations with 4 business owners that lasted no less than 1 hour each.

Within the Institute of Accountancy, there are several “schools.” These schools represent students that are invested in different career paths toward ownership of wealth. I distributed my questionnaires to four “programs,” or “schools” at the Institute: Bachelor Degree of Finance and Banking (BFB), Bachelor of Economics and Finance (BCS), Bachelor of Business Management (BBM), and the Bachelor of Procurement and Logistics Management (BPLM). Splitting my 100 questionnaires amongst four schools provided me with comparative data between schools involved

directly with entrepreneurship and those involved in non-business related fields. However, thorough and accurate comparison between these schools requires a more extensive, longer period of data collection, including more surveys, interviews, and evaluation of personal histories to address the subtle differences in these students.

My data collection process was non-random in terms of the total population of individuals in Tanzania, as I am focusing on the educated, wealthy, and Mason-affiliated. However, within the business owner sample population, my success was entirely dependent upon the willingness of business owners to complete the survey and discuss the issues with me. In light of this unpredictability, it was in my best interest to approach as many businesses in Arusha as I could. This provided me with a random sample. While the data does not speak to an entire culture, it does speak to a specific demographic and/or status of wealth and education.

#### Major Biases:

- “Mtu ni Watu” (A Person is People – literally) was used instead of the actual Kiswahili proverb, “Mtu ni Hutu” – (A Person is Humanity – literally). While the meaning doesn’t dramatically change, the emotional response from the students and business owners was at times lost due to the translation error. However, many of those who took the survey knew what I was referring to.

- I learned of this issue halfway through the project and did not feel it was necessary to change study material.

## Results & Discussion

### **Sample Populations: University Students at Institute of Accountancy and Business Owners in Arusha, TZ, EA with Descriptive Analysis**

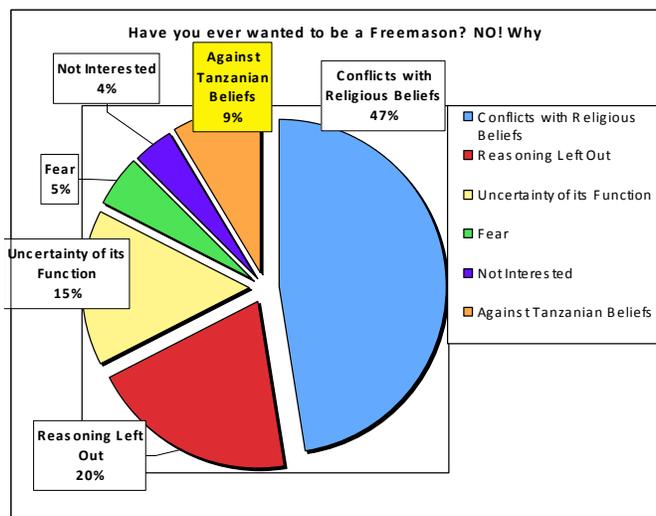
The following charts show descriptive analysis of the data collected at IAA (Institute of Accountancy of Arusha) and from Arusha business owners with regards to both personal desire to participate in Freemasonry as a member (question three) and familiarity with the proverb, “Mtu ni Watu,”-- a figure measured by frequency of its use (question seven) based on answers to a questionnaire distributed and interviews (see Appendix A).

	<i>Number of Answers</i>	<i>Percentage of Total</i>
<b>Yes</b>	20	20%
<b>No</b>	80	80%
<b>Total</b>	100	100%

**Figure 1.1** - n=100, displays the proportion of students who answered yes and no to question three on a randomly distributed questionnaire to university students at IAA (Institute of Accountancy at Arusha) between April 15<sup>th</sup> and April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2011

	<b>Number of answers</b>	<b>Percentage of Total</b>
<b>No</b>	9	60%
<b>Yes</b>	3	20%
<b>Never Heard/No</b>	3	20%
<b>Total</b>	15	100%

**Figure 1.2**– n=15 displays the proportion of business owners who answered yes and no to question three on a questionnaire distributed to business owners in Arusha between April 9<sup>th</sup> and April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2011.



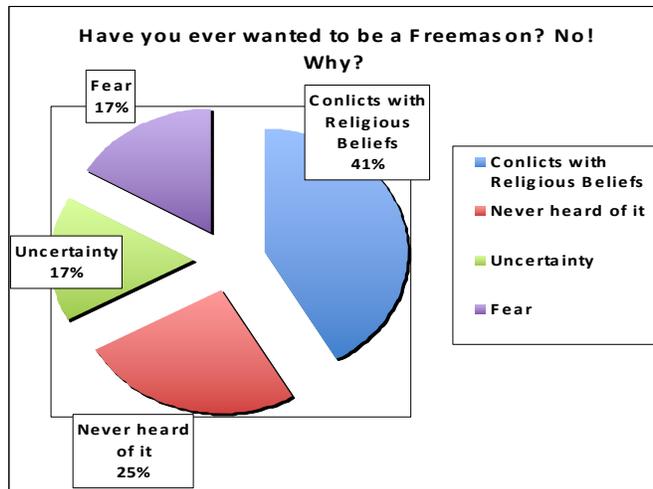
**Figure 1.3**- n=80

Reasonings for answers of “No” to question three on randomly distributed questionnaire (See Appendix A) at IAA (Institute of Accountancy of Arusha) between April 15<sup>th</sup> and April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2011

This chart was constructed using literal interpretation of the answers obtained from the survey. The largest percentage - 47% (38/80) - of students that answered “No” attributed their answer to the conflict of religious values (Christianity vs. Freemason’s Devil worship). Uncertainty about its function - 15% (12/80) - was the second major reason for

Devil worship). Uncertainty about its function - 15% (12/80) - was the second major reason for

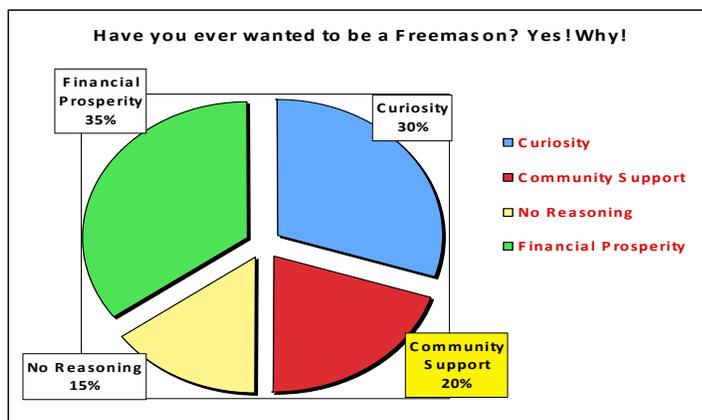
why many of this group did not desire to become a member. Of note in the data from this group is the 9% (7/80) that believes Freemasonry is, “not a good thing to...the morals of [Tanzanian] society” (Stevie Chuwa, IAA 2011). The rationale of those who did not answer “Why?” to the question - 20% (16/80) - is unfortunately lost forever due most likely to the method of distribution. Disinterest in the group and fear of it as sole reasons for not wanting to join Freemasonry constitute the remaining 9% (7/80) (Figure 1.3) .



**Figure 1.4** – n=12, Reasoning for business owners that answered, “No”/”Never Heard” to question three on randomly distributed questionnaire (see Appendix A) in Arusha between April 9<sup>th</sup> and April 16<sup>th</sup>

This chart demonstrates the similarity between the answers from students who said “No” and the business owners who said, “No.” 41% (5/12) were against Freemasonry due to religious values while fear and uncertainty constituted 34% (4/12) (17% (2/12) each respectively). Of interest to this population is the group that had never even heard of Freemasonry -25% (3/12) (Figure 1.4).

This chart demonstrates the similarity between the answers from students who said “No” and the business owners who said, “No.”

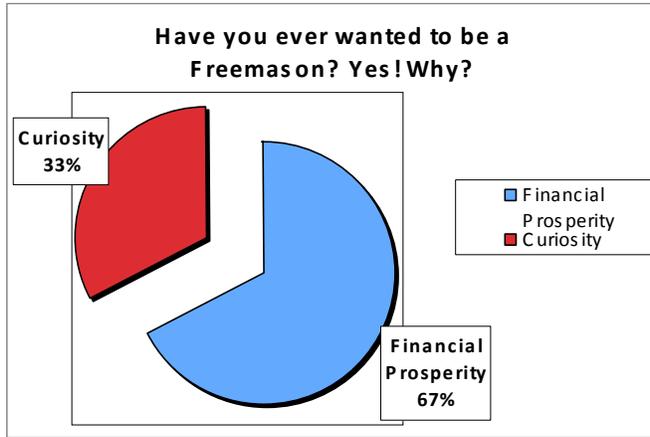


**Figure 1.5**– n=20, Reasoning for answers of “Yes” to question three on randomly distributed questionnaire (See Appendix A) at IAA (Institute of Accountancy of Arusha) between April 15<sup>th</sup> and April 20<sup>th</sup> 2011.

Out of the group of 20 who answered “Yes” to question three, 35% (7/20) answered with their own financial prosperity in mind saying very succinctly, or with more verbal flourish, the general premise, “I want money!” (Ritheson, IAA 2011). While financial prosperity was the largest factor in guiding their answer, so too was curiosity which was the second main influence, comprising 30% (6/20) of the group’s answers. Unfortunately 15% (3/20) this group did not answer the question of “Why?” for which this chart was made. However, of importance to the

Out of the group of 20 who answered “Yes” to question three, 35% (7/20)

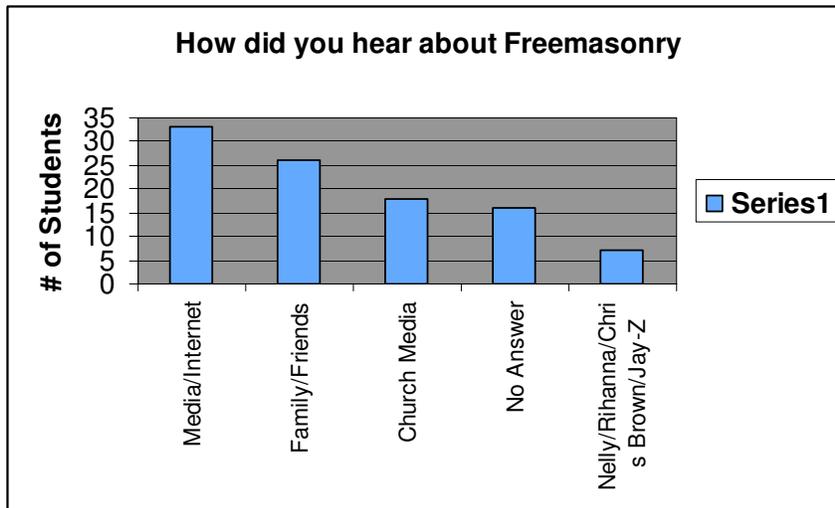
“Yes” group is the presence of answers 20% (4/20) that related the desire to join Freemasons as a means to support their community and even the country as a whole (Figure 1.5).



**Figure 1.6** – n=3 Reasoning from those who answered “Yes” to question three on a randomly distributed questionnaire (see Appendix A) to Arusha business owners between April 9<sup>th</sup> and April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2011.

Of the total 3 owners who said “Yes” to question three about their desire to become a Freemason, 2 of them had the personal gains in mind while the other owner was more or less just curious and wanted to know more about it (Figure 1.6)

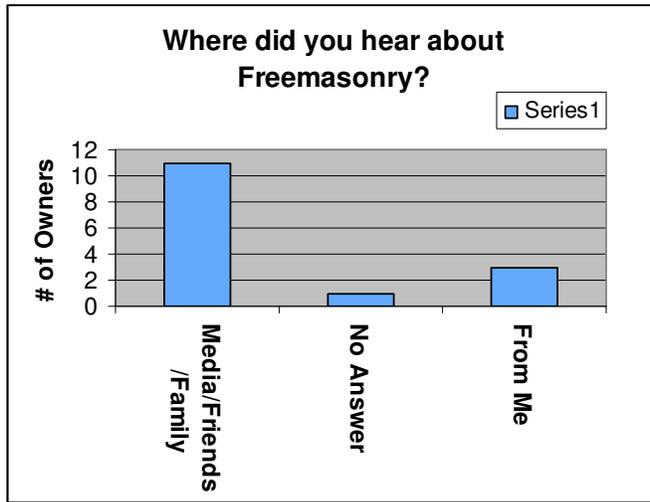
**Sources of Information about Freemasonry: University Students at IAA + Business Owners**



**Figure 2.1**– n=100, Sources from which students at IAA (Institute of Accountancy of Arusha) had learned of Freemasonry. Data was collected from question four on a randomly distributed questionnaire (see Appendix A) there between April 15<sup>th</sup> and April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2011

Figure 2.1 shows the various sources of information regarding Freemasonry within the sample population (n=100). The internet and other media were the main sources for 33% of students (33/100). Friends and family constituted 26% (26/100), while church media (newspaper, handouts, sermons, etc.) accounted for 18% (18/100) of total answers. Of the remaining 23% (23 students of 100), 16% (16/100) did not give an answer, while 7% (7/100) had heard of Freemasonry

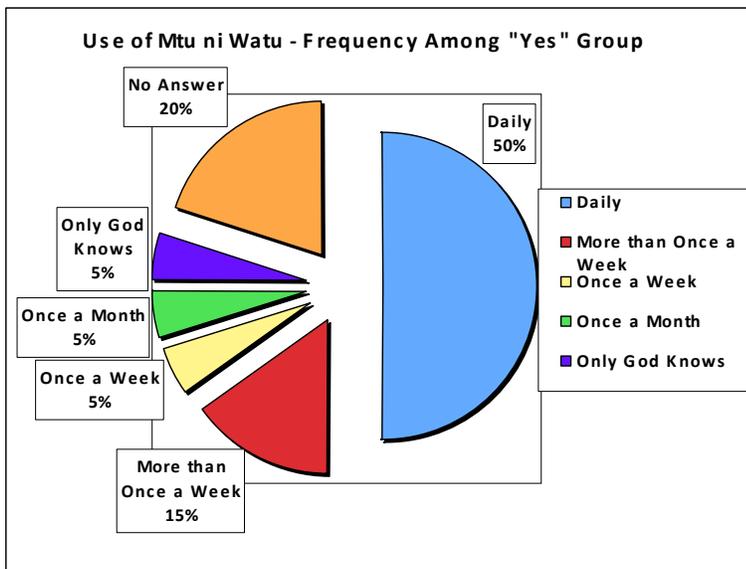
in the music of popular American music artists like Jay-Z, Nelly, Rihanna, and Chris Brown (Figure 2.1).



**Figure 2.2-**  $n=15$ , displays the source from which business owners heard about Freemasonry. Data was collected from question four on a randomly distributed questionnaire (see Appendix A) in Arusha between April 9<sup>th</sup> and April 16<sup>th</sup> 2011.

The majority of people in this group ( $n=15$ ) heard about Freemasonry from the media, their friends, family, or colleagues 73% (11/15) while the remaining 27% (4/15) individuals had either never heard of it or did not leave a clear answer as to where they had heard of it. The data shows that the majority of people have heard about Freemasonry from someone/something else. However, none that I spoke to had gotten information directly from the organization itself (Figure 2.2).

### Use of the proverb, “Mtu ni Watu” among University Students and Business Owners

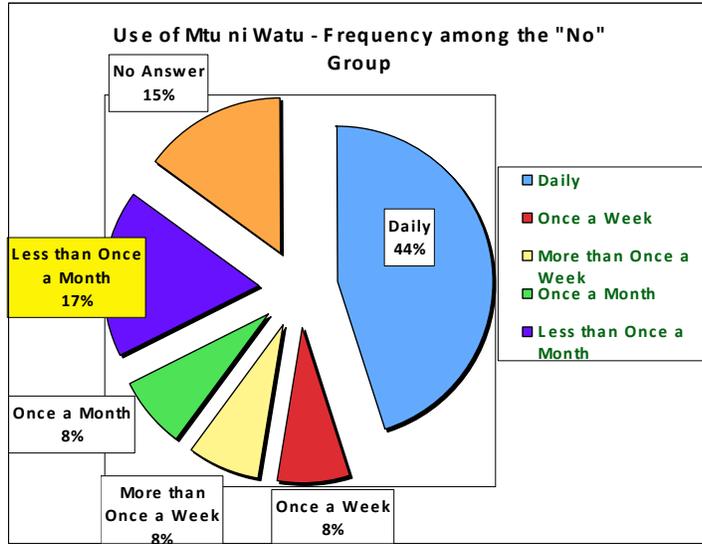


**Figure 3.1-**  $n=20$  Frequency of the use of Mtu ni Watu (question 7) among students who answered, “Yes” to question three on a randomly distributed questionnaire (See Appendix A) at IAA (Institute of Accountancy of Arusha) between April 15<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>, 2011

This group of twenty students was split right down the middle- 50% (10/20) with an overwhelming use of the proverb *everyday* of their lives.

15% (3/20) of the students said that they used the proverb more than once a week while the proverb

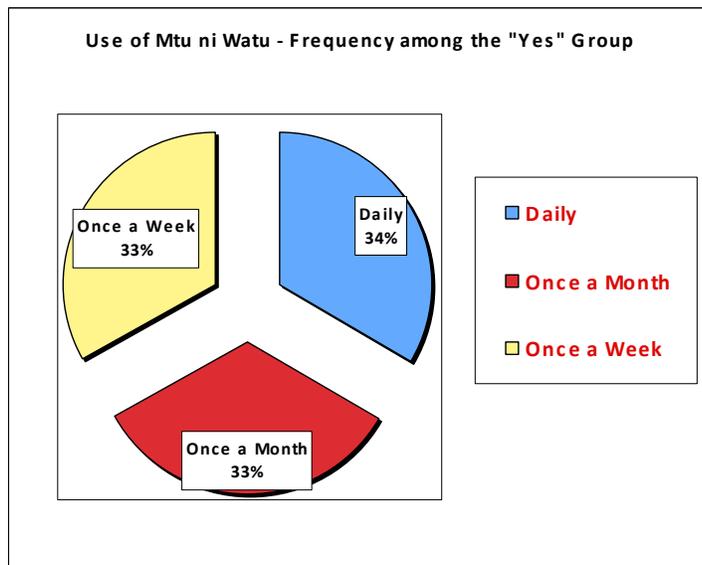
was used “once a week” or “once a month” by 5% (1/20) of the students, respectively. A write-in answer of “Only God Knows” was credible to note as well – 5% (1/20). This question wasn’t answered by a considerable portion of the population - 20% (4/20) of the students (Figure 3.1).



**Figure 3.2-** n=80, Frequency of the use of Mtu ni Watu,(question seven) among those who answered “No” to question three on a randomly distributed questionnaire(See Appendix A) at IAA (Institute of Accountancy) between April 15<sup>th</sup> and April 20<sup>th</sup> , 2011

Of this group, 44% (36/80) noted that they use the proverb in their daily lives. Of the remaining 56% (44/80), 24% (18/80) was evenly distributed between the three answers of “more than once a week,” “once a week,” and “once a month” (Figure 3.2). Here again, 15% (12/80) of this group did not give their answer to the question. Of importance to note in this group is the 17% (14/80) of students who use the proverb, “less than once a month,” a distinction that was absent from the “Yes” population (Figure 3.1).

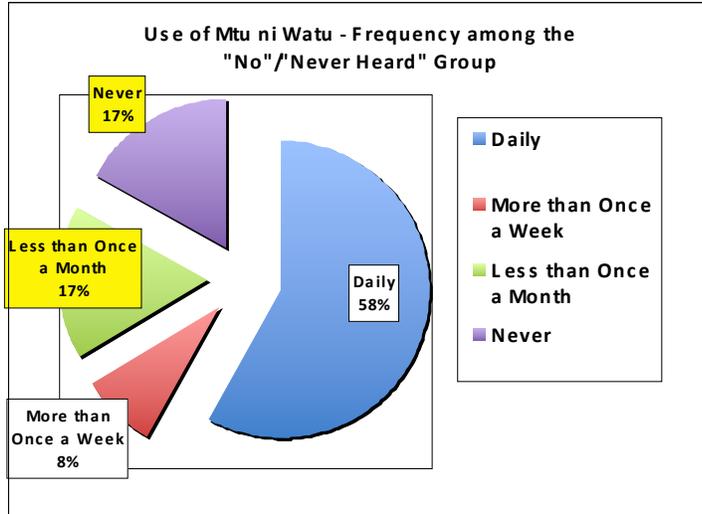
Of this group, 44% (36/80) noted that they use the proverb in their daily lives. Of the



**Figure 3.3-** n=3 Frequency of the use of Mtu ni Watu among the group that answered “Yes” to question three on a randomly distributed questionnaire (see Appendix A) to business owners in Arusha, TZ between April 9<sup>th</sup> and April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2011.

1 answered – 33% (1/3) that they used Mtu ni Watu in their everyday lives. The other two answered “once a week,” and “once a month” respectively- 33% (1/3) each (Figure 3.3)

Of the three owners that answered “yes” to the question of becoming a Freemason,

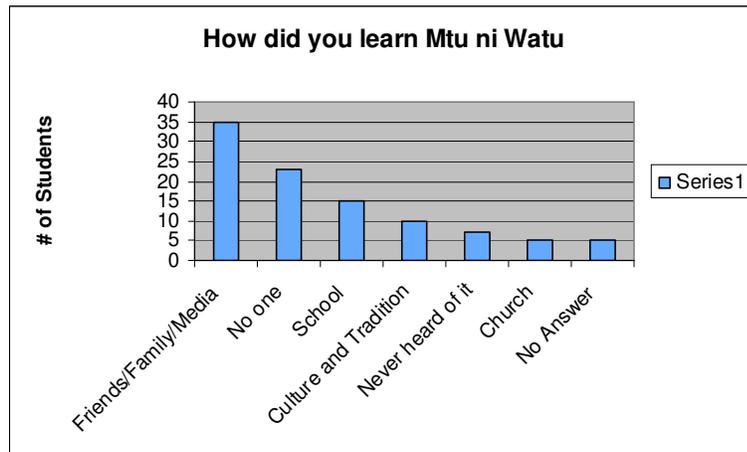


**Figure 3.4** – n=12 Frequency of use of the proverb Mtu ni Watu among the business owners who answered, “No” to question three on a randomly distributed questionnaire (see Appendix A) in Arusha, TZ between April 9<sup>th</sup> and April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2011.

This group stood out in the results. Not only did they show the *highest* frequency of use of Mtu ni Watu on a daily basis – 58% (7/12)- and more than once a week

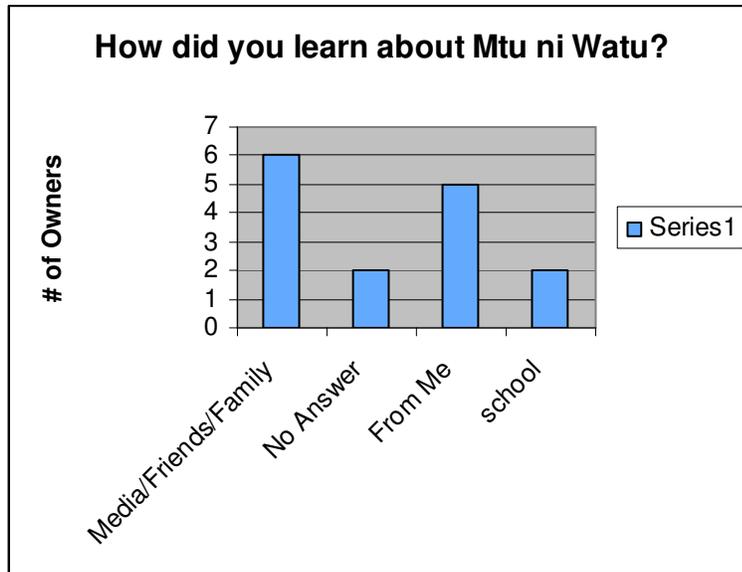
8% (1/12)- across all populations and subgroups, but also the *lowest* frequency of use across all populations (“never,” and “less than once a month,” totaling 34% (4/12) of total group). The answer “never” was a write-in answer from two of the owners whom I spoke to (Figure 3.4).

### Sources of information about Freemasonry and Mtu ni Watu: University Students and Business Owners in Arusha



**Figure 4.1** - n=100 Sources from which students from IAA (Institute of Accountancy of Arusha) had learned of Mtu ni Watu. Data was collected from question five on a randomly distributed questionnaire (see Appendix A) there between April 15<sup>th</sup> and April 20<sup>th</sup>.

Figure 4.1 shows the various sources from which students learned or became familiar with the proverb Mtu ni Watu. Of a total of 100 (n=100) students, 35% (35/100) answered that they learned it from their friends, family, or through media like the internet, magazines, or literature. School was another large source at 15% (15/100) of the total, while close behind culture and tradition garnered 10% (10/100). “Church,” and, “no answer” received 5% (5/100) each (Figure 4.1). Many students said that no one “taught” it to them but that they just knew what it meant, comprising 23% (23/100) of the total. 7% (7/100) had never heard of it (Figure 4.1).



*Figure 4.2- n=15 shows where business owners learned Mtu ni Watu. Data was collected from question five (see Appendix A) of a questionnaire randomly distributed to Arusha business owners between April 9<sup>th</sup> and April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2011.*

The majority of people who had learned of Mtu ni Watu had learned it from the media, their friends, or family (6/15). Of interest to note is the fact that 2 people had learned it directly from school. A surprisingly large number hadn't heard of Mtu ni Watu until I told them about it, comprising 33% (5/15) answers (Figure 4.2).

## QUALITATIVE DISCUSSION

Using the framework of “the community,” as an analytical tool, many social theorists have sought to explicate the physical, spiritual, and sociological relationships that one person or group has to the many social spheres that surround it. Authors like Ryszard Kapuscinski and James Ferguson have provided useful insights into intra-communal relationships that address the community philosophies in African settings in regards to power, personal relationships, wealth, and integrity. The interface between the individual and the collective is the basis for community studies, and a common theme in the data is the unique value placed on the idea of the collective community in Arusha. The data in this study, accompanied by the works of the aforementioned authors, demonstrates how a deeply engrained communal consciousness, specifically African beliefs in spiritualism, magic, evil, and the historical fear of the other provide a setting which is not conducive to the way in which the Freemasons choose to interact with community. Displaying particularly Western conceptions of individualism, class, and privacy, the Freemasons' basic method of functioning in community produces the negativity and suspicion which surrounds them in Arusha.

## **Perceptions of Freemasonry:**

For both populations, 80% of those surveyed answered “No” to the question, “Have you ever wanted to be a Freemason?” while 20% answered, “Yes” (Figure 1.1/1.2). Within each of these answers there were a number of common rationalities that came through as central or peripheral guides in their answer. In the student population, Figure 1.3 displays the various reasons for which the students were not inclined to join the Freemasons. The most represented answer among the students was specifically related to religious conflicts (i.e., Freemasons worship the devil, their association with the anti-Christ prophecy, and blood sacrifice) – 47% (39/80) (Figure 1.3). Though 20 students did not answer the question, the remaining 60 students offered a variety of responses (Figure 1.3) that all signify general themes stemming from secrecy, uncertainty, and the belief that they are an evil organization. These beliefs incite fear, which is a unifying characteristic of many of the responses though it only literally constituted 5% (4/80) of the total responses (Figure 1.3). In the business owner population, the same split occurred with 20% (3/15) of the owners saying yes to question three and 80% (12/15) answering no (Figure 1.2). Twenty-five percent (3/12) of those that said no had not heard of the Freemasons before (Figure 1.4). Thematically, the business owners’ frames of reasoning were generally similar to the students’ save for the omission of, “It is against the values and morals of Tanzanian culture” (Figure 1.3). Conflicts with their personal religious values deterred 41% (5/12) of business owners, and the feeling of uncertainty and fear each deterred 17% (2/12),. Even when the reasoning is more specifically related to religious reasons or to uncertainty, fear was very real in the perception of Freemasonry and a driving force in people’s minds (Figure 1.4)

Those who did not want to join the Freemasons were the only ones to experience feelings of fear. The ambivalent feelings in the community towards the organization produce uncertainty about what it is and what the Freemasons can do for (or *to*) the students and business owners themselves. Because of this, 20% of all people surveyed (20/100 in the students, 3/15 in the business owners) answered affirmatively to question 3 (Figure 1.1/Figure 1.2). For most students, answers revolved around one central premise: Freemasons are wealthy and produce wealth for their members. Thirty-five percent (7/20) of the students and 67% (2/3) of the business owners who said yes to question three attributed their answer to the potential that it might make them wealthy (Figure 1.5/1.6). Of true interest to my hypothesis was the presence of four students (20%, 4/20) who answered yes to question three for the reason that by becoming a Freemason they would not only become wealthy, but that they could contribute to their community and Tanzania as a whole (Figure 1.5). Wealth is

seen by the “Yes” group as essential to do good for themselves and for others, Freemasonry being a way people think they can go about getting it. However, I observed that many people perceive joining Freemasonry as something that will immediately produce wealth for them without the input of their conscious efforts. In other words, Freemasonry is assumed to be the place where wealth is *created* instead of the place where wealth is *concentrated*.

This data, in combination with studying the work of Ferguson (et al.), led me to a powerful insight into Tanzanian’s perception of Freemasonry. The connection between wealth and Freemasonry has to do with a connection between what is *seen* and what is *imagined*. Undoubtedly, Freemasons in this country are well to-do. Most likely, some of the richest people in Arusha are Freemasons whether they are Wazungu or Tanzanian. However, Freemasons do not disclose their membership to anyone but their family and/or closest family friends. Therefore, trying to determine who’s a Freemason becomes a guessing game. What do people do in these situations? They use the information that is available and respond to circumstance with cultural cues. What they see, read, and hear becomes the primary source through which they draw an opinion. Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.2 show the sources from which students and business owners alike got their information about Freemasonry. The primary sources are the internet/other media, and family and friends for both students and business owners (Figure 2.1/Figure 2.2) with church media representing a sizable portion of the students’ knowledge base as well (Figure 2.1). One considerably influential source that produces the connection between Freemasonry and wealth for the students, in particular, is the influence of American popular music. Jay-Z (and other artists) was a surprisingly prevalent source for students who undoubtedly associate his success, wealth, and power to Freemasonry through listening to the lyrics of his song, aptly named, “Freemason:”

Free Mason Free Lancer  
Free Agents, we faster  
Big contracts, big contractors  
Built pyramids, period, We Masters  
A lot of great thinkers and a lot of great inventors

These lyrics, along with some from the rest of the song, reference the ascent of a black African (presumably through joining Freemasonry) from the slums to the, “all white mansion, [a] child of God...all black diamond times were hard, new Rolls Royce guess you made it N\*\*\*\*\*, all white neighborhood, you they favorite N\*\*\*\*\*” (“Freemason” Rick Ross feat. Jay-Z, 2011). Undeniably, the perception that they would become rich was the driving force for many of the students who answered yes.

However, simply knowing that freemasons were wealthy did not cause students to respond, “Yes,” to question 3. Many of those that said, “No,” were aware that the Freemasons were wealthy, but for reasons of cultural significance, their money was seen as coming from an evil source that is capable of dramatically affecting the community (Student A surveyed at IAA, 2011). Therefore, the association of wealth with Freemasonry was seen to be a major functioning component of the perception of Freemasonry in both sub-populations.

This data raised the question about the cause and source of fear that surrounds the concentration of wealth, in general. In the data, the association is clear in both populations that financial prosperity is an attractive aspect of becoming a Freemason, while fear of it is a common feeling of those who reject it (Figures 1.3/1.4/1.5/1.6). In Ferguson’s, “Global Shadows,” he discusses how, “the production of wealth throughout wide areas of central and southern Africa is...inseparable from the production of social relations” (Ferguson 2005). This insight into south-central African communities is valuable in fleshing out the perception of Freemasons as a carrier and giver of wealth in East Africa and, moreover, the way in which that wealth is perceived as “pro-social” or “anti-social.” These terms are used by Ferguson (2005) to explain perceptions of wealth in African communities. Wealth that is, “pro-social,” is derived from, “morally valuable work...producing people, relations, and things,” for others (Ferguson 2005). It can also be, “anti-social,” a term meant to convey wealth that is attained through questionable, dishonest trickery of others. The mystery that surrounds the wealth of the Freemasons breeds suspicion. Explanations of their wealth span pro-social means to anti-social means. Drawing from, “the ubiquitous notion of sorcery and witchcraft,” the wealth of the Freemasons is thought to be derived from the, “fearsome power that makes it possible for exploiters to exploit with impunity” (Ferguson 2005).

An extension of this thinking of wealth as either anti-social or pro-social is the belief that the, “disparities of power and wealth, like fluke accidents, never, ‘just happen’,” i.e., that there is some power over these conditions which people can control (Ferguson 2005). Controlling those conditions is not always considered to be a “pro-social” activity. In fact, it scares the crap out of people. In countless questionnaires from and conversations with the students and owners I learned some of the explanations of why the Freemasons are wealthy. One example that stands out is the story of a coach bus that crashed on its way to Dar es Salaam, killing an unknown number of its passengers. Soon after, the bus company had a whole fleet of new buses. Many people asked, “Where did these buses come from?” and making the observation that buses are certainly expensive, “How did they afford them?” With the associations deeply rooted in African cultures that wealth can be attained through the anti-social means of sorcery, witchcraft, and/or sacrifice, the table was

set for allegations to be made against the Freemasons. Hence, the causal connection was made between the deaths of that unknown number of passengers, the bright, new, shiny buses seen on the road, and the Freemasons (Unnamed Business Owner A, pers. comm. 2011). Again, the connection between Freemasonry and wealth is related to the connection between what is *seen* and what is *imagined*. Like a puzzle that's missing many of the pieces, the perception of Freemasonry is a mixture of its actual presence in Tanzania and the cultural metaphors, themes, and assumptions which work to fill in the blanks. The presence of proof in the case of the buses is unnecessary; *belief* in sorcery and sacrifice is enough. It seems that a lack of information about the Freemasons does not directly correlate to a lack of explanations about them.

Despite the source of wealth, which is generally perceived to be evil, the use of it is also influential in people's minds. What the Freemasons do with their money is generally unknown by non-masons. However, historically they have given to organizations like orphanages, schools, and hospitals, i.e. places generally seen as benefiting the, "common good" (R.W. Bro, Web. 2004). One business owner asked, "If they're doing good things with their money, then why don't they tell us?"(Business Owner A pers. con. 2011). In most cases, it is not the charitable activities themselves that get negative attention but rather the lack of public information regarding them, i.e., the deliberate secrecy surrounding it (for when the surveyed populations were told, I got perspectives like, "well...good education is good education, no matter where its from" (Business Owner B pers. comm. 2011). An explanation for the secrecy surrounding the charitable work that Freemasons do in the community is that it's a front or ploy to, "grab people's minds" (Student B surveyed at IAA, 2011), one business owner stating that, "the devil is the father of all lies" (Business Owner C pers. comm. 2011). Secrecy and the concentration of wealth are so unusual in communities here that it receives a lot of negative attention from community members. From my experiences in Tanzania and reading various authors (Kapuscinski et al.), it seems to me that African communities are more likely to discourage secrecy and individualistic behaviors for reasons of fear and self-preservation.

In sum, the influences that have an impact on the perception of Freemasonry and their mysterious access to intense wealth in particular, relate primarily to the Church (Christianity, in particular), media, and widely held beliefs in evil, and coercive forces that can be used to "eat the sweat of another" (Ferguson 2007)(Figures 1.3-1.6/2.1-2.2). The many comments from informants about Freemasons drinking blood, sacrificing family members, and causing accidents on the road reflect the belief that evil "eats" the community, a metaphor that Ferguson (2007) elaborates on as distinctly south-central African. To my knowledge, these ideas have never been rebutted by the Freemasons. The people of Arusha from these two sample populations had never received

information about Freemasons from Freemasons (Figure 2.1-2.2). The lack of information causes questions to be raised that are answered through the voice of culturally held conceptions of good wealth vs. bad wealth, the presence and fear of evil and secrecy, and the notion of magic that can, “[feed] the people...[or eat] them” (Ferguson 2007).

### **Perception of Community – “Mtu ni Watu”**

*In all of Africa, each larger social group has its own distinct culture, an original system of beliefs and customs, its own language and taboos, and all of this is immensely complicated, intricate, and mysterious.*

- (Kapuscinski 2001)

*Suspicion is indispensable to any self-conscious community.*

- (Halstead and Prescott 2008)

It is important to understand the historically deep and spatially pervasive system of cultural metaphors, meaningful symbolism, and compelling narratives that influence individuals in order to initiate a discussion of the community in which I did this research. Ryszard Kapuscinski, in his memoir, “The Shadow of the Sun,” offers insights into this network of cultural meaning as it exists in various African communities. Like Freemasonry, the perceptions of wealth and power discrepancies, organizations, and individuals themselves are framed within a set of spatially specific cultural realities. The experiences that individuals and groups have with the larger social system can be analyzed in any specific place through the present cultural framework. Contextual factors like the belief in the presence of witchcraft, sorcery, and sacrifice in Arusha can have dramatic influence on not only the perception of Freemasonry but the way the individual who exists in that context interacts with their community. These influential factors are not always detrimental to interpersonal relationships however. In the case of Arusha, the community consciousness, integrity, and language of “familyhood,” produce a community that supports itself. The group not only protects the individuals, as in the case of preventing theft, but the individuals have their minds set on protecting the group as well. The data below show how common the sentiment of, “Mtu ni Watu,” was in the two sample populations studied.

Within both sample populations, the proverb, “Mtu ni Watu,” was commonly used and understood. In each population, however, I set out to compare the groups that answered, “No,” and, “Yes” to question three on the questionnaire to compare how the desire to participate in Freemasonry related to the use/familiarity with the proverb, “Mtu ni Watu”. The data however, indicated more about the Arusha community than I could have anticipated.

For the students who answered, “Yes,” to question three, 50% (10/20) answered that they used the proverb, “daily.” The other fifty percent was distributed between, “once a week,” (5%, 1/20) “once a month,” (5%, 1/20), “more than once a week,” (15%, 3/20), and, “no answer,” which received 20% (4/20) of the answers. A write-in answer of “only God knows” constituted 5% (1/20) of the answers (Figure 3.1). The kinds of “uses,” that most people who answered, “Yes,” described related to the sharing of ideas, what you have, your helping hand, and being a “good” person in the group. Being a good person in the group has many manifestations but for more than one student becoming a Freemason was directly related to “providing help for their country” because of the money they felt they would make (Student C surveyed at IAA, 2011). With this is the belief that wealth is the primary means to produce change, or to help others. Though this sentiment is not entirely representative of the “Yes” population, it was unique to it. The “No” group was more likely than the “Yes” group to make commentary on other kinds of helpful, community-oriented activities that did not involve direct use of wealth. However, one particular interviewee who said, “Yes” to question three, referenced his participation with, “Rahaleo Health Program” as a way that he “works with the group, undivided” without giving money directly (Student D pers. comm., 2011). In sum, the, “Yes,” population of students displayed a relatively high familiarity with the proverb (Figure 3.1) and a particularly community-oriented perspective about joining Freemasonry, albeit one related to the prospect of personal financial prosperity (see Figure 1.5).

The students who answered, “No,” to question three still displayed a relatively high familiarity with the proverb-- 44% (35/80) saying that they used it, “daily.” This goes to show that the proverb is very common across both sub-populations (Figure 3.1/3.2). However, of interest in Figure 3.2 is the 17% (14/80) of students who used the proverb, “less than once a month.” That is a considerable number of students who don’t consider this proverb at least once a month, especially considering that the category was absent from the, “Yes,” sub-population (Figure 3.1). In comparison with the, “Yes,” sub-population, the, “No,” group of students, in total, used the proverb relatively less frequently (Figure 3.1/3.2).

In the business population, though it only consisted of 15 owners, the trends above were present to some degree. Of the business owners who said, “Yes,” 33% (1/3) said that they used it, “daily,” 33% (1/3) used it, “once a month,” and 33% (1/3) used it, “once a week” (Figure 3.3). As discussed earlier, 67% (2/3) of them said, “Yes,” for reasons of financial prosperity (Figure 1.6). The wealth obtained, in their minds, would then be put to whatever use they saw fit. In conversation, one of those business owners offered that he would like to become a Freemason so

that he can leave Tanzania (Business Owner D pers. comm. 2011). His perspective is almost counter-community oriented, i.e., instead of contributing to the community with his profits, he would choose to abandon the present community in search for a new one. In this group, the idea of “community-support” was not as prevalent as it was in the “Yes” group of students (Figure 1.5). This could be because of the position of the students in their early professional lives; because they are on the cusp of a potentially successful business career, they may have an idealistic outlook on their future and their own potential to affect the community in a positive way. Undoubtedly, on the other hand, business owners that see the difficulty of making money might perceive Freemasonry, based on the information surrounding them, as a way to alleviate their financial struggles quickly. In both the student and business owner populations the association was made between wealth and Freemasonry, but only the student population said that they would put that wealth to community specific ends (Figure 1.5/1.6). While the owners that said, “Yes,” did not specify to what ends they would use their newfound wealth, they were relatively frequent users of, “Mtu ni Watu.”

In Figure 3.4, the owners that said, “No,” like the students, are shown to be the only ones out of the business owner population to use the phrase, “less than once a month,” at 17% (2/12). Unique to this group were the write-ins of, “never,” which also garnered 17% (2/12) of the vote (Figure 3.4). Relatively speaking, this means that the lowest frequency of use in the whole population was confined to those who answered “No” to question three. Strangely, however, this group also represented the highest frequency of use, “daily,” across all groups and populations – 58% (7/12). Given that the percentage of those that answered, “daily,” was so high across all populations and the answer, “less than once a month/never,” was confined only to the “No” populations, the data shown in Figure 3.4 supports my hypothesis that desire to participate with the Freemasons correlates with the familiarity or use of the proverb, “Mtu ni Watu.”

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 show the external influences and sources from which students and business owners learned the sentiment, “A Person is People” (English Translation). Of interest to this data is the enveloping influence of the proverb in people’s upbringing. For the students, the most represented answer, taken literally from the surveys, was, “Family/Friends/Media,” at 35% (35/100). School, Church, and the Culture and Tradition of Tanzania were also represented in the student population (Figure 4.1). Unfortunately, the proverb was only known *as* a proverb by 65% (65/100) of the students. The remaining students had either never heard of it, or said that I taught it to them. The students still elucidated the meaning of the proverb, however, despite their lack of previous knowledge. For the students who had heard of the proverb, the sources to which they

attributed their knowledge of it reflect how engrained the concept of a, “collective community,” is in Arusha. Life in a community where individuals are just actors that work toward each other’s survival is a common theme and is discussed in common vernacular within the student population. A notable quote taken from one survey was, “The existence of one man becomes the endurance of another” (Student E surveyed at IAA, 2011). Figure 4.2 shows where the business owners learned, “Mtu ni Watu.” The sources are not much different, though 33 % (5/15) had never heard of it. School and Family/Friends/Media all constitute the majority, 8/15, of sources from which people learned the phrase. This data on, “Mtu ni Watu,” is not intended to show just the frequency of peoples’ use or the sources of information available to them but, more importantly, to demonstrate the existence of community awareness in Arusha. This is especially valuable when trying to understand how the perception of Freemasonry is shaped by the community.

As mentioned before, given the presence of the belief in witchcraft, sorcery, and sacrifice, not to mention the belief that power discrepancies of wealth and security are functions of individuals who wield mysterious power, the community consciousness of individuals can quickly turn into a function of community-preservation. The presence of secrecy in a community that’s members are hyper-sensitive to the actors within it incites the unending themes of evil and mystery present in the data. My explanation of these themes is not meant to be accusatory but realistic. The predominant feeling of the people that I gleaned from my data, qualitatively and quantitatively, represents a genuine fear of the organization due to a kind of engrained consciousness and trust in community values, mythologies, and the forces of good and evil as real aspects of inter-personal relationships. In that the feeling is present, it is valid and uncontrollable, not to mention of cultural importance and academic interest going forward.

### **Limitations and Recommendations:**

- Choose populations that you can measure with equal n values.

- Collect more data to enhance the validity of the results
- Allow more time for Business Owner data collection.
- Interviewer-Interviewee Biases –
  - People were at times not trusting of me. Given the controversial nature of my topic, people who were more scared of me were less likely to complete my survey
- There were many incomplete questionnaires. I would recommend that you distribute the survey to individual students rather than to an entire classroom.
- Despite this recommendation, a more attentive eye to the existing methods could ensure complete surveys and, given that distributing them all at once provides an immense amount of data in a short amount of time, you could potentially collect much more data.
- Time of day when I spoke to business owners. Go to the stores when the business owners are more likely to be accepting of the survey, maybe early morning or after lunch.
- Not enough data from business owners.

Future Research:

- A study which compares populations of various socio-economic classes in regards to perceptions of Freemasonry and/or familiarity with historical folktales and narratives.
- A study based on age groups and their experience with community and change in present day Arusha

**Conclusion:**

In my initial hypothesis I predicted that the individuals who were more inclined to participate in Freemasonry, based on my family experience with it, would have a more

comprehensive perspective of their relationship to their community, i.e., that they would have a communal consciousness deeper than those who weren't inclined to join. The data shows that the "No" sub-populations used the proverb less in comparison to the "Yes" sub-populations, though in general, both populations think about and use the proverb rather frequently. In other words, a community oriented perspective, measured by the frequency of use of the proverb, "Mtu ni Watu," was more commonly corresponded to the perception of Freemasonry in the, "Yes," sub-populations. This data supports my hypothesis. Perceptions of Freemasonry were gauged by the individuals' experiences with the cultural and social influences that represent the main source of their information.

The major constituent element of Freemasonry which produces its public perception in Arusha is the obligation of secrecy by which it functions. The perceptions of it are specifically influenced by the predominant values, metaphors, and mythologies which pervade the Arusha community. These myths or sets of metaphors incite and evoke a historically African culture of community preservation against the forces of evil, witnessed in fluke accidents, deaths, power discrepancies, and oppression. An individual's awareness of the activities of others in their community, especially in the context of a belief system which includes witchcraft, sorcery, and sacrifice, becomes essential to not only self-preservation but also to community preservation. Consciousness in the community works not only to protect individuals and their families from evil, "Others," but also to ensure a positive relationship between people who ultimately sustain and reproduce their body and life. As seen in the discussion, the high frequency of use across all populations and sub-populations reflects the context in which Freemasonry is perceived. A reason for one person to join the organization, like the association of Freemasonry to personal wealth, for instance, was shown to be one of the causes of other people's fear of it. And in both cases, the answer was filtered through the lens of community awareness: for one, the distribution of that newfound wealth to pro-community ends, and for the other, the avoidance of an evil, anti-social source of wealth in the community. This study shows the specific cultural norms and narratives that influence the perceptions of Freemasonry in the Arusha community and, more significantly, the way community members relate to their cultural surroundings.

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## **APPENDIX A: Study Questionnaire**

**Questionnaire: Freemasonry and the proverb, "Mtu ni Watu."**

**What's your name?** \_\_\_\_\_ **Age** \_\_\_\_\_

**Are you willing to meet later? Yes / No Tel. #** \_\_\_\_\_

**My name is Alex Barton and I am an American student studying here in Arusha with a program called SIT (School for International Training). As part of this program, I am required to conduct a study on a topic of my choice. I have chosen to study the perception of the Freemasons and how that perception relates or compares to the proverb, “Mtu ni Watu.” Through this study, and with your answers, I will learn about community values and the influences that shape public perception. All answers are CONFIDENTIAL and will be used only as means to observe themes in the perception.**

*Disclaimer: I am in NO WAY affiliated, associated, or involved with the Freemason organization as a member, constituent, informant, or otherwise. Therefore, I am in no way capable of making you or anyone else a Freemason, nor am I willing or able to direct you to Freemasons. This study is for academic, undergraduate research ONLY.*

**Questions 1-4: Perception of Freemasonry:**

- 1.) What do the Freemasons do in Arusha?
  
- 2.) Have you ever met a Freemason?
  
- 3.) Have you ever wanted to become a Freemason? Circle one – Yes / No
  
- 4.) How did you hear about the Freemasons?

**Questions 5-8: Perception of the proverb, “Mtu ni Watu.”**

- 5.) Who taught it to you?
  
- 6.) From your perspective, how would you define, “Mtu ni Watu?”
  
- 7.) How often do you use it?
  - a.) Daily
  - b.) More than once a week
  - c.) Once a week
  - d.) Once a month
  - e.) Less than once a month
  
- 8.) Please share an example of this proverb at work in your daily life.

**APPENDIX B: Study Site Map**







