POLITICAL ISLAM IN KENYA

Bjørn Møller

DIIS Working Paper no 2006/22

Bjørn Møller, Senior Research Fellow, DIIS

Contents

Abstract

In the paper, commissioned by Hussein Solomon and Akeem Fadare for their forthcoming anthology on *Political Islam and the State in Africa*, the focus placed on the political role of Islam in Kenyan politics. Prevalent fears (e.g. in the United States) of the country becoming a hotbed of Islamist radicalism and terrorism are critically examined against the background of the various categories of Kenyan Muslims, their general position in Kenyan society, their grievances, organisation and occasional role in various conflicts. This is all set against a background of Kenyan history, where the role of other religions (Christianity and traditional religion) is also highlighted. The paper concludes with some tentative recommendations for how the (mainly latent) conflicts might be defused.

Preface

Kenya is a predominantly Christian country with a substantial Muslim minority. The two religions have, for more than a century, coexisted quite peacefully, both with each other and with the significant legacy of traditional African religion, parts of which have been integrated into the two monotheistic religions, thus making both of them rather syncretic.

According to some analyses, however, this enviable status may be changing for the worse, as a result of two parallel processes. On the one hand, religion is becoming politicised, inter alia as a medium for expression of grievances by the Muslim minority over its perceived marginalisation in Kenyan society. On the other hand, more "purist" forms of Islam such as Salafism[1] are, according to some accounts, making some progress in Kenyan society and thus contributing to a spread of radicalism and fanaticism. Not only might this exacerbate risks of domestic strife, but it might also transform Kenya (as well as other states in East Africa) into hotbeds and breading grounds for international Islamic terrorism, i.e. what some have called "jihadism."[2] The 1998 attack on the U.S. embassy in Nairobi may thus merely be a harbinger of worse to come.

In the following, some of these widespread assumptions will be examined critically, focusing on Islam and Islamism in Kenya, but also taking the conflict potential of the other religions into account, based on historical evidence.[3]

Kenya: Background

Like in the rest of East Africa, Christianity and Islam came to Kenya via different routes: Christianity was introduced by European missionaries, accompanying (but in some cases preceding) the colonialist, *in casu* the British.[4]

Islam came to Kenya mainly as a companion of trade, mainly the east-west oceanic trade, linking it up with the Arab countries as well as with India and the rest of the Orient.[5] Parts of coastal Kenya, however, were first colonised by the Arabs, *in casu* the Sultan of Oman, whose capital was in 1840 moved from Muscat to Zanzibar, thus increasing its direct influence in Kenya, where trade routes into the interior were launched, mainly in a quest for ivory and slaves, but to some extent also spreading the Islamic faith.[6]

Subsequently, the rest of the country was colonised by the British, albeit in steps and in two "pieces" which roughly followed religious faultlines. The Kenyan interior – mainly inhabited by adherents of indigenous African religions – was first chartered to the Imperial British East Africa Company (1888), then transformed into a formal protectorate (1895) and subsequently, 25 years later, into a crown colony. The predominantly Muslim coastal strip, however, became a protectorate, via an agreement with the Sultan of Zanzibar.[7]

The colonialists were actively resisted by parts of the Kikuyu nation, whereas the Maasai initially did not resist, as had been expected. As a consequence of the rather brutal repression by the colonialists, the Kikuyu seem to have felt a more profound resentment against the Europeans than the Maasai who had been quite generously compensated for the British land grabs.[8] Hence, most of the subsequent resistance also came from the Kikuyu, even though the Maasai subsequently found other forms of resistance,[9] and did tribes such as the Nandi and Kipsigis, led by the ritual leaders (*orkoiik*) of their traditional religions, and employing witchcraft in their resistance.[10]

CLITERODECTOMY CRISIS AND MAU MAU REBELLION

As elsewhere in Africa, Christian missionaries accompanied the colonial administration with its repressive machinery.[11] Generally behaving in a paternalistic (and often racist) fashion, they did provide some education, inter alia as a means of converting the indigenous population to the Christian faith.[12] In this endeavour, the missionaries encountered indigenous religious

beliefs such as the Maasai beliefs in the heavenly origin of the cattle on which they rely for their livelihood, and the Kikuyu cosmological beliefs in divine creation.[13]

A harbinger of worse to come for the combined missionary and colonising endeavour of the British was the "cliterodectomy crisis" of 1929, which pitted the Christian churches and missions against traditional Kikuyu (and Maasai) religious and cultural authorities, who wanted to uphold their custom of what is today (quite appropriately) referred to as "female genital mutilation" (FGM).[14] The outcome of this crisis was the growth (with the consent of the colonial authorities) of independent Christian churches in Kenya, allowing for a continuation of the morally repugnant and life-endangering traditional custom[15] until the present day.

In 1952 a growing unrest among the Kikuyu – not least over the land issue – exploded with the Mau Mau rebellion against colonial rule.[16] Even though the roots of the uprising may well have been economic, to a very large extent, as well as political, the ideology of the insurgents was based on traditional Kikyu religion, as were the oathing rituals (including animal sacrifice and the drinking of blood) which remained central for the maintenance of cohesion among the insurgents. The British declared a state of emergency, which they exploited for a brutal counter-insurgency war with casualty estimates ranging from eleven to fifty thousand Kikuyu and a mind-boggling number of 900 hangings by the end of the first year of the rebellion. By that time, most unrest had been quelled, even though the last rebels only surrendered in 1958.

INDEPENDENT KENYA

By the time of independence in 1963, Christianity had become the dominant religion in Kenya as a whole,[17] even though traditional religion continued to stand for the largest number of followers and many elements of its beliefs and practices had been incorporated into "Kenyan Christianity."[18] Christianity thus became the religion of the ruling elite of the KANU (Kenyan African Union), from Kenyatta (1963-1978) to Daniel Arab Moi (1978-2002), the latter even incorporating Christian beliefs into his peculiar "Nyayo" ideology.[19] However, various independent sects and charismatic churches without any direct relation to the state have attracted a growing following, perhaps reflecting an alienation of large parts of the population from the political sphere, producing a longing for a spiritual refuge.[20]

Religious freedoms were ensured in the constitution and have continued to be so through the various revisions, including also provisions against defamation on religious grounds, intended to preserve the religious peace in society.[21] Nevertheless, despite constitutional safeguards of

democracy and human rights, the incumbent rulers became increasingly authoritarian (especially under Moi),[22] thereby forcing the churches to take a stand – or not, in which case they easily came to be viewed as accomplices of the regime. Gradually, the main Christian churches thus came to play a more independent and occasionally even critical political role, e.g. via support for demands for democratic reforms and human rights**.**[23]

There was, indeed, been quite a lot to be critical about. Not only has corruption been rampant, arguably making Kenya one of the continent's worst examples of what Bayart has called "politics of the belly."[24] Kenya was thus in 2005 given a score of 2.1 (10 being the maximum) in the international NGO Transparency International's global corruption index. The same organisation has also published several issues of a "Kenya Bribery Index," which have shown a certain improvement since the fall of Moi from power, but by no means any disappearance of the phenomenon.[25]

One of the main problems in Kenya, especially during the reign of Moi, has thus been "bad governance," even though Kenya may still compare favourably in these respects to most of its neighbours. Things began to change for the better, however, with the introduction of a multi-party system in 1992 and a general political liberalisation – e.g. manifested in the proliferation and growth of civil society organisations. This paved the way for the victory of the NARC (National Rainbow Coalition) and its presidential candidate, Mwai Kibaki, in the 2002 general elections. The latter event was seen by most observers as likely to herald substantial changes,[26] even though others have been concerned about the lingering role of Moi and his entourage, including the KANU party.[27]

There have also been massacres and ethnic cleansing during the country's first president, Jomo Kenyatta (a Kikuyu), directed against the Luo ethnic group in 1969; followed by growing authoritarianism and ethnic favouritism on behalf of the Kalenjin group by his successor, Moi. This has been accompanied by violence, in most cases pitting rival ethnic groups against each other, e.g. Kalenjin against Kikuyu, Nande against Kikuyu, etc. – in most cases apparently instigated by leading politicians for their personal power-political reasons and often reflecting resentments having to do with economic, social or political matters.[28]

While there have thus been direct and political responses to a political system from which parts of society have felt alienated, others seem to have opted for a retreat into the private sphere,[29] for which the charismatic religions seemed to have offered an attractive option. This may go some way towards explaining   the dramatic rise, especially since the late 1980s, of the charismatic, Protestant, "East Africa Awakening" movement, and for the spread of

Pentecostalism, partly spurred by proselytism on behalf of U.S.-based faith communities.[30] Another religious response to a perceived disempowerment may have been a resort to traditional religious beliefs and customs, which have retained their former attraction, inter alia in the form of healing practices, spirit possessions and witchcraft beliefs. The latter are so widespread that independent Kenya has retained the colonial laws against practicing witchcraft (*sic!*).[31]

Islam in Kenya

We are now ready to embark on the analysis of what is sometimes referred to as "the Muslim problem" in Kenya – albeit more in the sense of problems *experienced* by Kenyan Muslims than as problems *caused* by them. We shall begin with a brief historical sketch and proceed with an analysis of the status of the Muslim community (or rather: communities) of Kenya – their location, composition, institutions and general place in society. Following this, we shall zoom in on the (rather few and scattered) instances of "disturbances with an Islamic element" (which seems a more appropriate label than that of "religious conflict") and conclude with a tentative assessment of the hypothetical scenarios of an Islamist radicalisation and resort to armed struggle and even terrorism.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: THE DOG THAT (ALMOST) DID NOT BARK

Like in the rest of East Africa, Islam came to Kenya several centuries ago, mainly via the Indian Ocean as well as through migration of Muslim peoples (e.g. Somalis) into the territory of the present Kenya.

Upon their arrival, the colonialists and the Christian missionaries therefore encountered a Muslim community which was fairly well entrenched, mainly along the coast, including Mombasa,[32] but also in the north-eastern part of the territory. There were only few and scattered (recorded) attempts by the Muslims at restisting colonialism – even though the religiously-inspired *Darawiish* (or *Dervish*) revolt in Somalia, launched by the so-called "Mad Mullah," Sheik Mohammed Abdile Hassion, in 1895 had some repercussions among the Somali population of the protectorate.[33]

One of the reasons for this absence of (overt) conflict may have been the fact that British colonialists with their formula of "indirect rule," as elsewhere, generally refrained from supporting aggressive missionary activities among the Muslim population,[34] and prudently abstained from interfering too much with local customs and mores. Indeed, the colonial administrators even assigned important roles to Islamic *sharia* courts (*Qadis* courts) in upholding personal and family law.[35] Likewise, the British allowed Muslim authorities to continue administration of the various institutions and foundations (*Waqf*) and to run numerous *madrasas* for the education of their children.[36]

What may also have helped preserve the peace was that Kenyan Islam was and remains (like Kenyan Christianity) quite syncretic in more than one way.

- First of all, Kenyan Islam has always accommodated substantial elements of traditional African religion, such as witchcraft beliefs, practices of healing and the ceremonial use of drums, notwithstanding their possible incompatibility with some basic tenets of the Muslim religion.[37]
- Secondly, various Islamic beliefs have been integrated into indigenous religions.[38]
- Thirdly, there has even been (and remains) some mixing of Christianity with Islam, e.g. manifested in the widespread veneration by Kenyan Muslims of *Issa ibn Maryam* (i.e. Jesus, son of Maria),[39] even though Muslims have apparently also been involved in the dissemination of the apocryphal (and probably forged) "Gospel of Barnabas," which depicts Jesus as a mere prophet, foretelling the coming of Mohammed as the Messiah.[40]

These more or less syncretic forms of Islam have aptly been labelled "African Islam" as opposed to the more rigid "Islam in Africa,"[41] which has been represented by the various foreign (mainly Arab) missionaries, often belonging to Salafist groups such as Wahhabists,[42] more about which in due course.

What may, finally, have militated against anti-colonial resistance was the fact that a universalistic faith such as Islam does not so easily lend itself to any nationalist discourse as to a more cosmopolitan identification with the universal *Umma*.[43] The blurred borders between the various components of British East Africa also helped keep the issues of statehood, territoriality and borders off the agenda as far as the Kenyan Muslims were concerned, as it provided scope for interaction with fellow believers (and ethnic kin) across the borders in adjacent colonial territories. The coastal Muslims thus had strong historical ties with Zanzibar and those in the northern region with their Somali and Muslim kin across the border in Italian Somaliland, which was, for a period, also administered by the UK.[44] From the late 1950s, however, with independence approaching, the drawing of borders inevitably became an issue, featuring mainly (ethnic) nationalism but occasionally with overtones of Muslim assertiveness.

- The Mwambao movement sprang upon among the coastal Muslims around Mombasa on the eve of independence. It was institutionalised in the Mwambao United Front (MUF), which agitated for autonomy and some kind of unity with Zanzibar, harking back to the 1895 agreement between the UK and the Sultan. The latter formally retained sovereign rights over the coastal strip (stretching ten mile inland), which was merely "administered" by the British. The MUF's campaign, however, was unsuccessful, even though the subsequent passing of the *Qadis* Court Act (*vide infra*) was arguably intended to accommodate Mwanbao concerns as well as honouring the old agreement between the UK and the Sultan.[45]

- The so-called "Shifta War" from 1963-1968 (preceded by a political campaign beginning in 1960) pitted the Kenyan government against a Somali insurgent movement in what used to be the Northern Frontier District (NFD), more or less identical to the present North Eastern Province. Even though Islamic elements were certainly present throughout the campaign, they did not predominate, and no *jihad* seems to have been proclaimed. More than anything else, it was an ethnic Somali movement aiming at secession from Kenya and unification with (the rest of) Somalia – in conformity with a referendum held in 1959. Indeed, Somalia was so deeply involved that the war may in fact deserve to be labelled an international one between Somalia and Kenya, albeit fought partly by means of proxies, in casu the "Shifta," calling themselves the NFDLA (Northern Frontier Districts Liberation Army).[46]

ONE MUSLIM COMMUNITY OR SEVERAL COMMUNITIES?

Even though, according to most estimates, at least ten percent of Kenya's population are Muslims,[47] they do not form one uniform and cohesive Muslim community. They may, for analytical purposes be subdivided into three different ethnic or geographical groups:[48]

- In the thinly populated North Eastern Province live an estimated 600,000 ethnic Somalis, the overwhelming majority of whom are Muslim. However, they apparently prioritise their ethnic identity higher than the religious one, implying that they do not really associate much with the (other) Kenyan Muslims. Nor do they seem to have caused any "problems" for the Kenyan state in terms of Islamic radicalism or terrorism since the Shifta War.

- Muslim communities along the coast, where Muslims, according to some estimates, comprise around half the population.[49] It is, however, questionable whether this group constitutes one community, as it is subdivided into (Bantu) Africans (e.g. the Dgo tribe), (mixed) Swahilis and Arabs, just as it is, as elsewhere, divided according to religious denominations (*vide infra*). As this region has, ever since colonial times (when the British relied on Islamic authorities, including *shari'a* courts, as agents in their indirect rule),[50] been increasingly marginalised, there have been undercurrents of social discontent which have occasionally been translated into religious unrest, as radical Islamists have sought to recruit followers with a combination of religious and socio-political messages (*vide infra*).
- Indigenously Kenyan Muslim minorities are scattered around the rest of the country, most importantly in Nairobi. These groups are generally so fragmented as to play only a marginal role, except as supporters of a more unified Muslim force.
- Asian immigrants, e.g. from India and Pakistan, a good deal of whom are Muslims. This group has generally refrained from any political activities based on their faith.
- Refugees from neighbouring countries such as Somalia, some of whom are Muslims.

Besides these, partly ethnic, divisions, the Kenyan Muslims may also be subdivided according to denominational criteria, even though there are rather strong correlations between these and the above.[51]

- The large majority of the indigenous Kenyan Muslims belong to various Sufi orders, including the *Qadiriyya* (most of the Somalis) and (mainly the Arabs) the *Ibadiyya*.[52] Their predominance is particularly pronounced in the rural areas.
- The reformists, also known as the Islamists, constitute the other main grouping, which are strongest in the cities and, increasingly, among the Arabs.
- The *Ahmadiya,* an esoteric Muslim sect which published the first translation of the *Qur'an* into Kiswahili,[53] but which is regarded as heretical by most of the other Muslims. They seem to number only a few thousand, at most.
- "Regular Sunni" Muslims, e.g. subscribing to the Hanafi school, mainly prominent among the Asians.
- Small groups of Shi'ites, likewise mainly among the Asians, subdivided into the Ismailis (also known as *Sab'iyya*, i.e. "Seveners") who are followers or Aga Khan;[54] *Ithna'ashriyya* ("Twelvers") and Bohra.[55]

One manifestation of these denominational divides has been recurrent conflicts about such (for non-Muslims) trivial matters as the sighting of the moon, marking the end of the

Ramadan, and more particularly, who should be vested with the authority to verify such sightings.[56]

Besides their shared beliefs, Kenya's Muslim communities are also kept together – or, just as often, kept apart – by a wide range of religious institutions, most of which typically cater for a particular ethnic and/or denominational sub-group: Mosques, *madrasas*, Islamic charities and Sufi brotherhoods, mainly among the Sufis, which are, however, rather weak in Kenya in comparison with, for instance, Somalia or Sudan.[57] In addition to this, there is the *Qadis* court system, based on *shari'a* and with jurisdiction over Muslims in matters of family and inheritance law. This system builds on the colonial (and even older) legacy, and was formalised with the *Qadis* Courts Act of 1967. This provision was retained in the new (draft) constitution of 2003, but the review process was, by the time of writing (August 2006), still stalled, mainly because of disagreements on other matters. There had, however, also been some Christian opposition to the status of the *Qadis* courts, seen as incompatible with the general principle of one "law of the land."[58]

POLITICAL ORGANISATION

In addition to these instances of decentralised and/or informal organisation, there have been several attempts at achieving some genuinely collective representation of the Kenyan Muslims – partly initiated by the Muslims themselves, partly by the government. The latter obviously preferred an organisation which was representative enough to count as "*the* Muslim organisation," yet not as independent as to challenge the incumbent rulers. As political science functionalists would put it, such an organisation should serve to articulate, aggregate and channel the interests of the Muslims into the political system via legitimate channels and even contribute to implementing and enforcing the authoritative decisions taken by that system, thereby maintaining political stability, reflecting the government's legitimacy.[59] The perennial problem, however, which has also haunted Kenya, is how to strike a balance between, on the one hand, such authentic representation as requires independence from the state, and, on the others, loyalty to the state and the incumbent rulers which cannot possible be guaranteed if the organization is genuinely independent.

- The first attempt at collective representation was the National Union of Kenya Muslims (NUKEM) which was established in 1968. Even though it was headed by two junior members of the KANU government, it also articulated critical views, both about government and the Christian churches – and it maintained fairly close links to Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia and later even Libya.[60]

- In 1973, it was followed by the Supreme Council of Kenyan Muslims, SUPKEM, which was more tightly linked to government – indeed emphasizing the obligation of Muslims to show absolute loyalty towards the President, which by 1979 had earned it "brownie points" in the form of recognition by government as the sole legitimate representative of the Muslim population. Its organisational setup was more ambitious than that of NUKEM, with district councils throughout the country – by 1996 having fifty district branches and 150 affiliated Muslim organisations. However, its legitimacy among the Muslim population seems to have been questionable, as it was unable to control the unrest of 1992-94 and 1998 (*vide infra*).[61]

- Other Muslim organisations include the MCC (Muslim Consultative Council), the Association for Reforms in Islam, the Muslim Students Association of the University of Nairobi, the Islamic Foundation, the Muslim Education Welfare Organisation and others.[62]

In addition to these interest organisations, articulating and aggregating Muslim interests, there has also been some informal direct political representation. First of all the aforementioned *Qadis* courts also, besides their judiciary functions, have (partly formalised) advisory functions, the chief *Quadi* serving as government advisor on Muslim affairs.[63]

Secondly, most governments have included at least some Muslims; and the ruling KANU party as well as (since the introduction of the multi-party system in 1992) other political parties have made sure to include Muslims among their candidates for parliamentary and other elections, thus ensuring a certain Muslim representation in Parliament – yet all without any constitutional or other formal legal guarantees and, of course, presupposing loyalty to the rest of the government or party. Likewise, some of the mayors, e.g. in Mombasa, are habitually Muslims.[64]

Even though these arrangements might be interpreted as informal instances of consociationalism, allowing the "significant minority" a more or less proportional share of political power,[65] this share may not seem satisfactory to large parts of the Muslim population, who are still constitutionally debarred from forming an explicitly Muslim political party to represent the Muslim electorate. An attempt at this was made with the formation of an Islamic

Party of Kenya (IPK) in 1992, after the introduction of a multi-party system – yet it has never been allowed to be officially registered, mainly because of the general prohibition of religious political parties. Its expressed grievances included the under-representation of Muslims in government and public institutions, the neglect of areas with predominantly Muslim inhabitants, inter alia with regard to schools, a lack of employment opportunities and similar economic and social demands. A young sheik, Khalid Balala, became one of the leaders of the IPK, driving it in a more radical direction and, inter alia, calling for a toppling of president Moi. What further enraged the followers were warnings against an "expansion of Islam" by Christian leaders.

Following the elections, the KANU government established a more moderate Muslim Organisation, the United Muslims of Africa (UMA), as a counter-weight to IPK – propagating allegations against the latter as being "brown" (i.e. Arab-dominated) in contrast to its own authentic "blackness." The dispute rapidly escalated to the issuing of *fatwas* by both sides for the killing of the other's leader, to a split in the IPK and the formation by Balala of a more radical Islamist Party, the Islamic Salvation Front, yet without much impact.[66]

The claims to the contrary by certain Muslim leaders notwithstanding, there may not in fact be any basis for a political representation *qua* Muslims. Evidence to the effect that the dissatisfaction with the KANU regime may not have been as pronounced as one might have suspected may be gathered from the most recent elections (2002). Whereas 62% of all the voters in Kenya voted for Kibaki, in the Muslim dominated North Eastern province there was a clear majority of 62% to his opponent, the KANU candidate Kenyatta. Subsequent opinion polls also seem to confirm a certain (yet not dramatic) difference in attitudes to the new government between Muslims and the rest of the population. Rather surprisingly perhaps, inhabitants of the North Eastern Province were thus more divided in their views on Kenya's democratic credentials than others, 26% regarding it as a full democracy and 9% as not democratic at all, whereas 64% of the total population held it to be "a democracy with minor problems" and only 2% denied it the democratic label altogether. Among Kenyan Muslims in general, however, there seem to be no statistically significant divergence from the national averages in these respects, whereas they do seem to be somewhat more critical about the new government's handling of the economy and even more so about its handling the terrorist issue.[67]

Before uncritically embracing this optimistic view, however, we need to cast a look at the apparent Muslim grievances and the history of violent unrest among the Muslim population, which just might give reasons for concern about the future.

MUSLIM GRIEVANCES AND MOVEMENTS

According to the constitution Kenya's Muslims enjoy a freedom of religion, and the degree of religious tolerance is generally held to be satisfactory, e.g. by the US State Department's *International Religious Freedom Report 2005*.[68]

Ever since independence, moreover, successive Kenyan leaders have gone out of their way to make symbolic gestures to the Muslim community such as attending Islamic festivities – including the *'Id al Fitr*, marking the end of the Ramadan, which was also declared a national holiday by Kenyatta.[69] Nevertheless, the Muslim segment(s) of the population feel and to some extent may well be, marginalised and discriminated against – albeit not necessarily *qua* Muslims, but rather as inhabitants of particular regions or as members of certain disadvantaged ethnic groups.[70]

As mentioned above, the coastal region has tended to be under-developed, e.g. measured in terms of per capita income, the level of education and the availability of health services. The Somali (and exclusively Muslim) North Eastern Province remains even more severely under-developed, even though the governments of Kenyatta and Moi took the Shifta War as an admonition to address this problem, manifested in somewhat greater government attention.

The human development index (HDI, calculated by the UN Development Program as an "average" of per capita GDP, life expectancy, adult literacy and levels of education) for Kenya as a whole was thus 0.520 in 2004. The HDI for the capital Nairobi was 0.748, but significantly lower in the two Muslim-dominated provinces – 0.483 in the Coast Province and a mere 0.476 in the North Eastern province, where the adult illiteracy was 38%, and where 63% of the population lacked access to safe drinking water and 86% had poor access to medical help. On the other hand, the likewise predominantly Muslim city of Mombasa had figures resembling those of Nairobi (HDI 0.651), indicating that the underdevelopment may have little to do with religious discrimination.[71]

Not only does the educational system for the country as a whole leaves quite a lot to be desired, but standards have also been declining, enrollment rates in primary school falling from 95% in 1989 to 76% in 1999 and to 70% in 2001.[72] In the Muslim-dominated regions, however, it is even worse, even though some support was granted to *madrasas* under the Integrated Islamic Education Program (IIEP) in addition to funding from local communities.[73] In addition to this, the lack of any university in the Coast Province is resented by the Kenyan Muslims, who particularly resent the conversion, upon independence, of the Mombasa

Institute of Muslim Education into a government polytechnic, where the Muslim student body amounts to a mere ten percent.[74]

While the underdevelopment of predominantly Muslim provinces may in fact be the result of an active discrimination on the part of government, this is not necessarily the case as it may also reflect adverse climatic or other conditions or the same centre-periphery discrepancy as is found in many other African countries. Moreover, even if it could be demonstrated to result from discrimination, this might also be according to ethnic or other criteria. Whatever the reasons, however, such inequalities may spur oppositional activities, e.g. "Islamic activism," understood as "the mobilisation of contention to support Muslim causes."[75]

According to the most "primitive" (sociopsychological) social movement theories, both religious and other activism springs from discontent, i.e. from either grievances over material matters or from a more diffuse sense of alienation.[76] Other theories belonging to the same tradition have pointed to structural features such as political oppression and neopatrimonialism as likely too foster oppositional social movements. Still others have highlighted the way mobilisation for such movements takes place, pointing to the role of ideology (as the stable background) as well as "framing" as an important mobilisation device.[77] According to these theories one could thus envisage the relative backwardness of the Muslim-populated provinces combined with the (moderately) oppressive form of government of Kenya as providing a fertile breeding ground for Islamic activism, which might then be activated by elites and "social movement entrepreneurs" via a framing of other problems in religious or religio-political terms.

Moreover, even though ostensibly religious movements may thus have a more mundane recruitment basis, the religious element still matters, as convincingly argued by Donald O'Brien in his analysis of Muslim politics in Kenya and other African countries:

> "The religious idiom in politics, where the symbolism of sacred power is deployed to secular ends, apparently expresses itself in our cases most effectively by self-deception. As African religious groups engage with the state (…) the uncompromising absolute of belief appears to be advanced as a bargaining counter. Thus it appears at least to the secularly minded observer: the believers are pretending to be unreasonable so as to bid up their price for a deal. But there is a problem for the secularly minded, in that the religious beliefs are sincerely held, the attachment to the absolute is real."[78]

It becomes even harder for an incumbent regime to deal with because of the informal and networked nature of most of these movements.[79]

Some of these movements, as well as some of the institutions mentioned above, are supported by Arab states, just as Iran since the 1979 Islamic Revolution began to show an interest in Kenya as well as the rest of Africa. While this may help explain the occasional reverberations of the Arab-Israeli conflict into Kenya, the majority of the Kenyan Muslims seem to have a rather modest interest in this conflict – and Israel has actively sought to contravene anti-Israeli sentiments, e.g. by setting up an African Muslim-Jewish Education Fund, which is now defunct.[80] However, it should come as no surprise that Kenyan Muslims, seeing themselves as belonging to the worldwide *Umma*, have occasionally protested against what they have seen as anti-Islamic actions by the West – and often supported politically by the Kenyan government – such as Israeli offensives against the Palestinians and the US attacks against first Afghanistan and then Iraq.[81]

CONFLICTS WITH A MUSLIM ELEMENT

Even though most of them pale into insignificance in comparison to the violent conflicts in neighbouring countries, Kenya has witnessed several outbreaks of violence, pitting Muslims against either the government or others parts of the general population.

- The years 1992 saw violent unrest in Mombasa, initiated by the aforementioned IPK in response to the arrest of several of its activists as well as seven imams, leading to mass demonstrations and attacks on public buildings, in turn leading the security forces to crack down on the demonstrators quite severely, killing and injuring several.[82]
- It was followed (1992-93) by repeated clashes between supporters of IPK and the aforementioned UMA, which was loyal to the government and playing on its Africanness in contrast to the IPK's alleged Arabism. The unrest included a general strike in Mombasa and the setting on fire of several public buildings as well as homes and offices of the respective other organisation, SUPKEM all along trying to mediate between the two, but to small avail.[83]
- In 1994, under the influence of the *Tabligh* movement (imported from Pakistan) there were some disturbances in the coastal region, instigated by young Muslim puritans with the setting on fire of public houses selling alcohol.[84]

In 1997, widespread violence erupted in the coastal regions, exacting a total death toll of more than a hundred and displacing some 100,000, according to the international NGO Human Rights Watch. The background was the votes of the region in the last elections (1991) and the fear that the electorate would, once again, support the opposition. Hence, the violence seems to have been instigated by the government and the security forces, who not only turned a blind eye to the violence, but often directly assisted the youth militias supporting KANU. In the recruitment of the troops a traditional healer, Swaleh Salim bin Alfan, played a central role, by conducting oathing ceremonies (reminiscent of the Mau Mau oathing practices), involving cuts with razors and taking place under a sacred baobab tree and claiming to make the youths invisible and invulnerable. In the words of a young recruit,

> The oath is to make you strong and unafraid; it's for taking action. (…) The oath protects you from being caught. Your enemy can't see you. It also protects you from getting hurt. It lasts until you do things that aren't allowed.[85]

Some of the militiamen wore "uniforms" with religious symbols combining Islam with traditional religion, likewise believed to ensure protection. Nevertheless, it would surely be wrong to view this as evidence of Islamic violence – if only because it was perpetrated on behalf of a Christian regime and partly against Muslims.

The same was probably the case of the more recent violence by vigilante and similar groups, e.g. in Nairobi. Even though one of these groups was named "Taliban," hinting at an Islamic orientation, and fighting against a rival gang based on the peculiar *Mungiki* sect, both seem to have resembled gangsters or hooligans more than Islamic terrorists. The latter ideology primarily emphasized traditional Kikuyu values, thus espousing "a mixture of Gikuyu traditionalism, harking back to a mythologized pre-colonial [tradition of] egalitarianism and social order, with biblical references drawn from Old Testament texts," and a veneration of the Mau Mau ancestors (the *Mungiki* leader, Ibrahim Ndura Waruinge being the grandson of a Mau Mau leader). However, none of this prevented several of the group's leaders from undertaking a public conversion to Islam in June 2000 – apparently mainly for strategic reasons and without any consequences for the group's nationalist agenda.[86]

RADICALISATION AND/OR TERRORISM IN THE FUTURE?

According to many analysts, the Islamic communities in Kenya are changing.[87] Whereas they have until recently been predominantly Sufi and generally peaceful, Islamic reform movements

may be gaining ground, most of them related to *Salafism* and especially *Wahhabism*. If true, this development may be a result of several factors:

- The presence of Islamic NGOs and charities, partly financed by Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states, believed to be propagating Islamic radicalism and even sponsoring terrorism (*vide infra*).
- The construction of mosques and *madrasas*, funded by the same Arab countries and preaching as well as teaching *Wahhabism*.
- Arab sponsorship for study visits to Saudi Arabia where the students are exposed to radical Islamism.[88]

Other analysts, however, argue that the trend has turned, and that the growth of *Wahhabism* of the 1980s and early 1990s has been replaced by a decline, as the "reformers" and radicals have simply alienated the more moderate indigenous (Sufi) Muslims.[89]

The view sees to be spreading that "Kenya is particularly susceptible to terrorism," and especially Islamic (or Islamist) terrorism.[90] Kenya has, indeed, been host to a couple of terrorist attacks and attempted attacks, the most dramatic of which was the aforementioned bombing of the US embassy in Nairobi in August 1998, for which a hitherto unknown Islamic Liberation Army of the People of Kenya (ILAPK) with presumed links to *al-Qaeda* took "credit." Among the suspects were a Palestinian who had liven in Kenya since 1994 as well as two Kenyan Muslims.[91] The government, aided by US security forces, cracked down quite harshly on various Muslim organisations, shutting down five NGOs: the Mercy Relief International Association, the al-Haramein Foundation, Help African People, the International Islamic Relief Organisation, the Ibrahim bib 'Abd al 'Aziz al-Ibrahim Foundation and the Rabitat al-Islam, all suspected of aiding the terrorists, mainly financially. Al-Haramein has since showed up in the UN's Counter-Terrorist Committee, CTC's list of "entities linked to al-Qaeda."[92]

In 2002, two almost simultaneous attack were launched against a beach resort (the Paradise Hotel) and an aircraft, both targets apparently seen as "Israeli."[93] There are also allegation (without any solid evidence to support them) of the presence of one or even two *al-Qaeda* "sleeper cells" in the country, mainly among the coastal Muslim community,[94] but this is questioned by other analysts. Moreover, opinion surveys generally do not confirm the assumption that the Kenyan public (or even the Muslim segment thereof) is favourably inclined towards terrorism.[95]

Most of the "alarmist" arguments seem to rely, in a rather speculative manner, on the opportunities which a country like Kenya seems to offer for would-be terrorists, e.g. by virtue of a large Muslim minority, a considerable number of expatriates and generally inefficient security structures. However true observations such as these may be, they surely does not meet the standards of actual evidence of any looming terrorist threat. The very belief in a terrorist threat has, however, given the government access to, inter alia, US support (under the auspices of its East Africa Counter-Terrorism Initiative, EACTI) for upgrading its police force[96] – and it has allowed it to crack down quite severely on opposition groups with Islamic affiliations.[97] This may gradually lead to a growing resentment among he Muslim population of Kenya, parts of which may, in turn, transfer their loyalties to Islamists or even turn to terrorism. Terrorist scares may thus become self-fulfilling.

Conclusion and Recommendations

There thus seems to be a certain latent potential for Islamic revivalism among the Muslim population of Kenya, even though fears of growing radicalisation and pro-terrorist attitudes seem unsubstantiated by any strong evidence. If these fears nevertheless deserve to be taken seriously – and the present author remains unconvinced that they should – it is surely more important to address the root causes, i.e. the Muslim grievances, than to seek to suppress the expression of such grievances in the form of Muslim movements and institutions, which is more likely than not to radicalise the Muslim population.

One option would be to allow an Islamic party such as the IPK to register and run for elections, even though this would seem to presuppose granting the same right to Christians. If this option is (perhaps correctly) deemed too divisive and likely to exacerbate inter-religious resentments, an alternative option might be a form of power-sharing, granting the Muslim segment(s) of the population a share of power proportional with their share of the population, whatever this may be. To determine this, a new census may in fact be inevitable.

As far as the Somali Muslims in the North Eastern Province, constituting a clear local majority, the most obvious form of power sharing would be autonomy within a framework of federalism. As far as Muslim minorities in the rest of the country are concerned, however, provincial autonomy would obviously not represent a solution, which might have to be sought in consociationalism. This might, for instance, entail provisions (preferably enshrined in the constitution) for a proportional share of (elected) Muslim MPs in Parliament and/or guaranteed cabinet posts combined with veto powers granted to Muslim organisations and elected representatives in certain policy areas such as family law and miscellaneous educational matters.

Even more importantly, however, the problem of the economic and social underdevelopment of the various Muslim-populated provinces would need to be addressed.

Endnotes

[1] On Salafism see Wiktorowicz, Quintan: "Anatomy of the Salafi Movement," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 29, no. 3 (2006), pp. 207-240; Esposito, John L.: Unholy War. Terror in the Name of Islam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 41-61; Kepel, Gilles: *Jihad. The Trail of Political Islam* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 2002), *passim*.

[2] An example is Saniotis, Arthur: "Re-Enchanting Terrorism: Jihadists as '´Liminal Beings'," *Studies of Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 28, no. 6 (2005), pp. 533-545. See also Salam, A.H. Abdel & Alex de Waal: "On the Failure and Persistence of *Jihad*," in Alex de Waal (ed.): *Islamism and Its Enemies in the Horn of Africa* (London: Hurst & Co., 2004), pp. 21-70; Kepel: *op. cit.* (note 1), *passim*.

[3] Parts of this article are taken from the sections on Kenya in Møller, Bjørn: "Religion and Conflict in Africa – with a Special Focus on East Africa," *DIIS Report*, no. 2006:6 (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2006).

[4] Isichei, Elizabeth: *A History of Christianity in Africa. From Antiquity to the Present* (London: SPCK, 1995), *passim*; Steed, Christopher: *History of the Church in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), *passim.*

[5] Pouwels, Randall L.: "Eastern Africa and the Indian Ocean to 1800: Reviewing Relations in Historical Perspective," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 35, no. 2/3 (2002), pp. 385-425; idem: "The East African Coast, c. 780 to 1900 C.E.," in Nehemia Levtzion & idem (eds.): *The History of Islam in Africa* (Oxford: James Currey, 2000), pp. 251-272; Pearson, M.N.: "The Indian Ocean and the Red Sea," *ibid.*, pp. 37-59.

[6] Oded, Arye: *Islam and Politics in Kenya* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000), pp. 2-3.

[7] For an almost contemporary account see Johnston, Alex: "The Colonization of British East Africa," *Journal of the Royal African Society*, vol. 5, no. 17 (1905), pp. 28-37. See also Thomson, Alex: *An Introduction to African Politics* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 21-27; Lonsdale, J. M.: "The Politics of Conquest: The British in Western Kenya, 1894-1908," *The Historical Journal*, vol. 20, no. 4 (1977), pp. 841-870; Darwin, John: "Imperialism and the Victorians: The Dynamics of Territorial Expansion," *The English Historical Review*, vol. 112, no. 447 (1997), pp. 614-642. For an account and analysis of the various treaties establishing British rule see Singh, Charan: "The Republican Constitution of Kenya: Historical Background and Analysis," *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 3 (1965), pp. 878-949.

[8] Mungeam, G.H.: "Masai and Kikuyu Responses to the Establishment of British Administration in the East Africa Protectorate," *The Journal of African History*, vol. 11, no. 1 (1970), pp. 127-143; Waller, Richard: "The Maasai and the British 1895-1905: The Origins of an Alliance," *ibid.*, vol. 17, no. 4 (1976), pp. 529-553.

[9] King, Kenneth: "The Kenya Maasai and the Protest Phenomenon, 1900-1960," *The Journal of African History*, vol. 12, no. 1 (1971), pp. 117-137; Rigby, Peter: "Ideology, Religion and Ilparakuyu – Maasai Resistance to Capitalist Penetration," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, vol. 23, no. 3 (1989), pp. 416-440.

[10] Anderson, David M.: "Black Mischief: Crime, Protest and Resistance in Colonial Kenya," *The Historical Journal*,

vol. 36, no. 4 (1993), pp. 851-877; Ellis, Diana: "The Nandi Protest of 1923 in the Context of African Resistance to Colonial Rule," *The Journal of African History*, vol. 17, no. 4 (1976), pp. 555-575.

[11] On the missions see Bewes, T.F.C.: "The Work of the Christian Church among the Kikuyu," *International Affairs*, vol. 29, no. 3 (1953), pp. 316-325.

[12] Murphy, John F.: "Legitimation and Paternalism: The Colonial State in Kenya," *African Studies Review*, vol. 29, no. 3 (1986), pp. 55-65; Githige, Renison Muchiri: "The Mission State Relationship in Colonial Kenya: A Summary," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 13, no. 2 (1982), pp. 110-125; Urch, George E.: "Education and Colonialism in Kenya," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 11, no. 3 (1971), pp. 249-264; Strayer, Robert W.: "The Making of Mission Schools in Kenya: A Microcosmic Perspective," *Comparative Education Review*, vol. 17, no. 3 (1973), pp. 313-330.

[13] See Belcher, Stephen: *African Myths of Origin* (London: Penguin Classics, 2005), pp. 59-62 and 159-161.

[14] Even though they are almost hundred years old, the anthropological studies of C. W. Hobley are still quoted: "British East Africa: Kikuyu Customs and Beliefs. Thahu and Its Conection with Circumcision Rites," *Journal of the Royal Anthopological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 40 (1910), pp. 428-452; idem: "Further Researches Into Kikuyu and Kamba Religious Beliefs and Customs," *ibid.*, vol. 41 (1911), pp. 406-457. Another study of interest (not least because the author later became the first president of independent Kenya) is Kenyatta, Jomo: "Kikuyu Religion, Ancestor-Worship, and Sacrificial Practices," *Africa: Journal of the International Africa Institute*, vol. 10, no. 3 (1937), pp. 308-328.

[15] For a contemporary account see Leakey, L.S.B.: "The Kikuyu Problem of the Initiation of Girls," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 61 (1931), pp. 277-285. See also Robertson, Claire: "Grassroots in Kenya: Women, Genital Mutilation, and Collective Action, 1920-1990," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 21, no. 3 (1996), pp. 615-642; Pederson, S.: "National Bodies, Unspeakable Acts: The Sexual Politics of Colonial Policy-Making," *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 63, no. 4 (1991), pp. 647-680.

[16] See, for instance, Elkins, Caroline: *Imperial Reckoning. The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2005); Anderson, David: *Histories of the Hanged. The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005); Kershaw, Greet: *Mau Mau from Below* (Oxford: James Currey, 1997); Maloba, Wunyabari O.: *Mau Mau and Kenya: an Analysis of a Peasant Revolt* (Oxford: James Currey, 1998); Lonsdale, John: "Mau Maus of the Mind: Making Mau Mau and Remaking Kenya," *The Journal of African History*, vol. 31, no. 3 (1990), pp. 393-421; Green, Maia: "Mau Mau Oathing Rituals and Political Ideology in Kenya: A Re-Analysis," *Africa*, vol. 60, no. 1 (1990), pp. 69-86.

[17] Steed: *op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 1000-1005.

[18] See Lonsdale, John: "Kikuyu Christianities," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 29, no. 2 (1999), pp. 206-229.

[19] Benson, C.P.: "Ideological Politics versus Biblical Hermeneutics. Kenya's Protestant Churches and the *Nyayo* State," in Holger Bernt Hansen & Michael Twaddle (eds.): *Religion and Politics in East Africa* (London: James Currey, 1995), pp. 177-199.

[20] Murray, Jocelyn: "The Kikuyu Spirit Churches," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 5, no. 3 (1973), pp. 198-234. On the more local Christian sects and their relationship with the state see Janosik, Robert J.: "Religion and

Political Involvement: A Study of Black African Sects," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 13, no. 2 (1974), pp. 161-175, especially pp. 163-166.

[21] Hodgin, R.W.: "Defamation in East Africa," *Journal of African Law*, vol. 17, no. 1 (1973), pp. 66-93.

[22] Human Rights Watch: "Kenya's Unfinished Democracy: A Human Rights Agenda for the New Government," *Human Rights Watch*, vol. 14, no. 10 (2002).

[23] See Sabar-Friedman, Galia: "Church and State in Kenya, 1986-1992: The Churches' Involvement in the 'Game of Change'," *African Affairs*, vol. 96, no. 382 (1997), pp. 25-52; Throup, David: "'Render unto Caesar the Things that Are Ceasar's.' The Politics of Church-State Conflict in Kenya 1978-1990," in Hansen & Twaddle (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 19), pp. 143-176.

[24] Bayart, Jean-François: *L'état en Afrique. La politique du ventre* (Paris: Fayard, 1989).

[25] Transparency International: *Global Corruption Report 2006* (London: Pluto Press, 2006), pp. 188-191 and 302; idem: *Kenya Bribery Index 2005*, at http://ww1.transparency.org/surveys/dnld/kenya_bribery_index2005.pdf.

[26] A good overview is provided by the *Third Kenyan Human Development Report: Participatory Governance for Human Development* (Nairobi: UNDP Kenya, 2004), pp. 19-30. See also Thorup, David: "The Kenya General Election: December 21, 2002," *Africa Notes*, no. 14 (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2003); Barkan, Joel D.: "New Forces Shaping Kenyan Politics," *ibid.*, no. 18 (2003); Carson, Johnnie: "Kenya: Challenges and Prospects," *ibid.* no. 19 (2003).

[27] See Wolf, Thomas P.: "Immunity or Accountability? Daniel Toroitich arab Moi: Kenya's First Retired President," in Roger Southall & Henning Melber (eds.): *Legacies of Power. Leadership Change and Former Presidents in African Politics* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2006), pp. 197-232.

[28] Odhiambo, E.S. Atieno: "Ethnic Cleansing and Civil Society in Kenya 1969-1992," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 22, no. 1 (2004), pp. 29-42; 'Nyong'o, P. Anyang: "State and Society in Kenya: The Disintegration of the Nationalist Coalitions and the Rise of Presidential Authoritarianism 1963-1978," *African Affairs*, vol. 88, no. 351 (1989), pp. 229-251.

[29] On alienation, partly based on ethnicity, in Kenya see Ross, Marc Howard: "Political Alienation, Participation and Ethnicity: An African Case," *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 19, no. 2 (1975), pp,. 291-311. For the historical background see also Furedi, Frank "The African Crowd in Nairobi: Popular Movements and Elite Politics," *The Journal of African History*, vol. 14, no. 2 (1973), pp. 275-290.

[30] Maupeu, Hervé: "Une opposition en régime autoritaire: L'exemple du Reveil East-Africaine au Kenya," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, vol. 25, no. 2 (1991), pp. 257-272; Droz, Yvan: "The Local Roots of the Kenyan Pentecostal Revival," *Les Cahiers d'Afrique de l'Est*, no. 20 (Nairobi: Institut Francais de Récherche en Afrique, 2001); Kariuki, J.: "Internal Wrangles, State Influence and Schisms: Competing Visions and Struggles in the AIPCK Church," *ibid.*, no. 25 (2004); Anderson, Allan H.: "The Newer Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches: The Shape of Future Christianity in Africa," *Pneuma*, vol. 24, no. 2 (2002), pp. 167-184, especially pp. 175-176. On the US influence, see Hearn, Julie: "The 'Invisible' NGO: US Evangelical Missions in Kenya," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 32, no. 1 (2002), pp. 32-60.

[31] Ciekawy, Diene: "Witchcraft in Statecraft: Five Technologies of Power in Colonial and Postcolonial Kenya,"

African Studies Review, vol. 41, no. 3 (1998), pp. 119-141; Brantley, Cynthia: "An Historical Perspective of the Giriama and Witchcraft Control," *Africa: Journal of the International Africa Institute*, vol. 49, no. 2 (1979), pp. 112-133; Giles, Linda L.: "Spirit Possession and the Symbolic Construction of Swahili Society," in Heike Behrend & Ute Luig (eds.): *Spirit Possession: Modernity and Africa* (Oxford: James Currey, 1999), pp. 142-164. On the famous healer Mary Akatsa (claiming to have literally resurrected after having died) see Ellis, Stephen & Gerrie ter Haar: *Worlds of Power. Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2004), pp. 43-44 and 99.

[32] Berg, F.J. "The Swahili Community of Mombasa, 1500-1900," *The Journal of African History*, vol. 9, no. 1 (1968), pp. 35-56; Oliver, Roland & Anthony Atmore: *Medieval Africa, 1250-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 194-198; Spear, Thomas: "Early Swahili History Reconsidered," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 33, no. 2 (2000), pp. 257-290.

[33] Turton, E. R.: "Somali Resistance to Colonial Rule and the Development of Somali Political Activity in Kenya 1893-1960," *The Journal of African History*, vol. 13, no. 1 (1972), pp. 119-143. On the revolt in general see Hess, Robert L.: "The 'Mad Mullah' and Northern Somalia," *ibid.*, vol. 5, no. 3 (1964), pp. 415-433; Lewis, I.M.: *A Modern History of the Somali*, 4th ed. (Oxford: James Currey, 2002), pp. 63-91; Issa-Salwe, Abdisalam M.: *The Collapse of the Somali State: The Impact of the Colonial Legacy* (London: HAAN Publishing, 1996), pp. 21-34.

[34] Holway, James D.: "C.M.S. Contact with Islam in East Africa before 1914," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 4, no. 3 (1971), pp. 200-212.

[35] Schacht, Joseph: "Notes on Islam in East Africa," *Studia Islamica*, no. 23 (1965), pp. 91-136; Hashim, Abdulkadir: "Muslim Personal Law in Kenya and Tanzania: Tradition and Innovation," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 25, no. 3 (2005), pp. 449-459. On indirect rule see Crowder, Michael: "Indirect Rule: French and British Style," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, vol. 34, no. 3 (1964), pp. 197-205.

[36] Carmichael, Tim: "British 'Practice' towards Islam in the East Africa Protectorate: Muslim Officials, Waqf Administration, and Secular Education in Mombasa and Environs, 1895-1920," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 17, no. 2 (1997), pp. 293-309; Anderson, J.N.D.: "Waqfs in East Africa," *Journal of African Law*, vol. 3. no. 3 (1959), pp. 152-164.

[37] Beckerleg, Susan: "Medical Pluralism and Islam in Swahili Communities in Kenya," *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, vol. 8, no. 3 (1994), pp. 299-313; Parkin, David: "Politics of Ritual Synchretism: Islam among Non-Muslim Giriama of Kenya," *Africa: Journal of the International Africa Institute*, vol. 40, no. 3 (1970), pp. 217-233; Aguilar, Mario I.: "African Conversion from a World Religion: Religious Diversification by the Waso Boorana in Kenya," *ibid.*, vol. 65, no. 4 (1995), pp. 525-544.

[38] McIntosh, Janet: "Reluctant Muslims: Embodied Hegemony and Moral Resistance in a Giriama Spirit Possession Complex," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 10, no. 1 (2004), pp. 91-112.

[39] Jones, Richard J.: "Nairobi Muslims' Concept of Prophethood, with Particular Reference to Issa ibn Maryam," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 22, no. 2 (2002), pp. 469-477.

[40] Oded: *op. cit.* (note 6), pp. 105-106; O'Brien, Donald B. Cruise: *Symbolic Confrontations. Muslims Imagining the State in Africa* (London: Hurst & Co. 2003), pp. 110-111. On the Gospel of Barnabas, mainly spread by the *Ahmadiya*

sect (*vide infra*) see also Fletcher, J. E. : "The Spanish Gospel of Barnabas," *Novum Testamentum*, vol. 18, no. 4 (1976), pp. 314-320; Pulcini, Theodore: "In the Shadow of Mount Carmel: the Collapse of the 'Latin East' and the Origins of the Gospel of Barnabas," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2001), pp. 191-209; O'Connor, Kathleen Malone: "The Islamic Jesus: Messiahhood and Human Divinity in African American Muslim Exegesis," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, vol. 66, no. 3 (1998), pp. 493-532; Troll, Christian W.: "New Light on the Christian-Muslim Controversy of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century," *Die Welt des Islams*, vol. 34, no. 1 (1994), pp. 85-88; Leirvik, Oddbjørn: "History as a Literary Weapon: The Gospel of Barnabas in Muslim-Christian Polemics," *Studia Theologica*, vol. 56, no. 1 (2002), pp. 4-26.

[41] Rosander. Eva Evers: "Introduction: The Islamization of 'Tradition' and 'Modernity'," in idem & David Westerlund (eds.): *African Islam and Islam in Africa. Encounters between Sufis and Islamists* (London: Hurst & Co., 1997), pp. 1-27. See also Mazrui, Ali A.: "Religion and Political Culture in Africa," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, vol. 53, no. 4 (1985), pp. 817-839.

[42] On "Islamism" as a modern movement see Westerlund, David: "Reaction and Action. Accounting for the Rise of Islamism," in Rosander & idem (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 41), pp. 308-333. On Islamic reform movements in general see Mitchelll, Richard Paul: *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Servold, Gary M.: "The Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Radicalism," in Barry R. Schneider & Jerrold M. Post (eds.): *Know Thy Enemy: Profiles of Adversary Leaders and their Strategic Cultures*, 2nd ed. (CPC Books, United States Airforce Counterproliferation Center, 2003), pp. 41-83; Huband, Mark: *Warriors of the Prophet. The Strruggle for Islam* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1999), pp. 81-86 & *passim*; Kepel: *op. cit.* (note 1), 219-221 & passim. On its ideological foundations see Whine, Michael: "Islamism and Totalitarianism: Similarities and Differences," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2001), pp. 54-72; Volpi, Frederic: "Understanding the Rationale of the Islamic Fundamentalists' Political Strategies: A Pragmatic Reading of their Conceptual Schemes during the Modern Era," *ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 3 (2000), pp. 72-96; On the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood,, Hassan al-Banna see Armstrong, Karen: *The Battle for God. Fundamentalism in Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004), pp. 218-226; Brown, L. Carl: *Religion and State: The Muslim Approach to Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 143-148. On the even more radical Sayyid Qutb see *ibid.*, pp. 153-159; Armstrong: *op. cit.*, pp. 239-244, 290-294; Mitchell: *op. cit.,* pp. 239-245.

[43] On the concept of *Umma* see Hunter, Shireen T.: *The Future of Islam and the West. Clash of Civilizations or Peaceful Coexistence?* (Westpost, CT: Praeger, 1998), pp. 31-68; Hallliday, Fred: "The Politics of the Umma: States and Community in Islamic Movements", *Mediterranean Politics*, vol. 7, no. 3 (2002), pp. 20-42; Sheikh, Naveed S.: "Postmodern Pan-Islamism? The International Politics, and Polemics, of Contemporary Islam," *Journal of Third World Studies*, vol. 19, no. 2 (2002), pp. 43-62; Lapidus, Ira M.: "Between Universalism and Particularism: The Historical Bases of Muslim Communal, National, and Global Identities," *Global Networks*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2001), pp. 37-55; Kinvall, Catarina: "Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity and the Search for Ontological Security", *Political Psychology*, vol. 25, no. 5 (2004), pp. 741-767; Rieffer, Barbara-Ann J.: "Religion and Nationalism", *Ethnicities*, vol. 3, no. 2 (2003), pp. 215-242; Spohn, Willfried: "Multiple Modernity, Nationalism and Religion: A Global Perspective," *Current Sociology*, vol. 51, no. 3-4 (2003), pp. 265-287. On the slightly more

ambivalent attitude of the Islamic Reformers see Khatab, Sayed: "Arabism and Islamism in Sayyid Qutb's Thought on Nationalism," *Muslim World*, vol. 94, no. 2 (2004), pp. 217-244.

[44] Lewis: *op. cit.* (note 33), pp. 139-165; Mburu, Nene: *Bandits on the Border. The Last Frontier in the Search for Somali Unity* (Trenton, NJ: The Red Sea Press, 2005), pp. 64-80 & *passim.*

[45] Salim, A.I. "The Movement of 'Mwambao' or Coast Autonomy in Kenya, 1956-1963," in Bethel Ogot (ed.): *Hadith*, no. 2 (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1975), pp. 212-228. Constantin, Francois: "Condition Swahili et identité politique," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, vol. 57, no. 2 (1987), pp. 219-233; idem: "Social Stratification on the Swahili Coast: From Race to Class?" *ibid.*, vol. 59, no. 2 (1989) , pp. 145-160; Adar, Korwa G.: "Ethnicity and Ethnic Kings: The Enduring Dual Constraint in Kenya's Multiethnic Democratic Electoral Experiment," *Journal of the Third World Spectrum,* vol. 5, no. 2 (1998), pp. 71-96; Hashim, Abdulkadir: "Muslim-State Relations in Kenya," *AASR Bulletin*, no. 24 (2005), pp. 21-27; Oded: *op. cit.* (note 6), pp. 63-65.

[46] Mburu: *op. cit.* (note 44), *passim*. See also Castagno, A. A.: "The Somali-Kenyan Controversy: Implications for the Future," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1964), pp. 165-188; Turton, E. R : "Somali Resistance to Colonial Rule and the Development of Somali Political Activity in Kenya 1893-1960," *The Journal of African History*, vol. 13, no. 1 (1972), pp. 119-143.

[47] For a comparison of the various estimates see Oded: *op. cit.* (note 6), pp. 11-12, where the author's own estimate is around twenty percent. In a 2004 nationwide survey, however, only eight percent of the respondents identified themselves as Muslims. See Wolf, Thomas P., Carolyn Logan & Jeremiah Owiti: "A New Dawn? Popular Optimism in Kenya after the Transition," *Afrobarometer Working Paper*, no. 33 (2004), p. 8.

[48] Oded: *op.cit.* (note 6), pp. 11-19.

[49] See Holway, James D. "The Religious Composition of the Population of the Coast Province of Kenya," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 3, no. 2 (1970), pp. 228-239. According the Oded, the percentage for the entire coastal province is close to thirty percent. See *op. cit.* (note 6), pp. 11-12.

[50] See Carmichael, Tim: "British 'Practice' towards Islam in the East Africa Protectorate: Muslim Officials, Waqf Administration, and Secular Education in Mombasa and Environs, 1895-1920," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 17, no. 2 (1997), pp. 293-309. On the importance of shari'a courts for group cohesion see Swartz, Marc J.: "Religious Courts, Community, and Ethnicity among the Swahili of Mombasa: An Historical Study of Social Boundaries," *Africa: Journal of the International Africa Institute*, vol. 49, no. 1 (1979), pp. 29-41.

[51] Oded: *op.cit.* (note 6), pp. 11-19.

[52] For an overview of African Sufi orders see Vikør, Knut S.: "Sufi Brotherhoods in Africa," in Levtzion & Pouwels (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 441-476; Hunwick, John: "Sub-Saharan Africa and the Wider World of Islam," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 26, no. 3 (1996), pp. 230-257.

[53] Bausani, A.: "On Some Recent Translations of the Qur-an," *Numen*, vol. 4, no. 1 (1957), pp. 75-81; Yusuf, Imtiyaz: "An Analysis of Swahili Exegesis of Sûrat al-Shams in Shaykh Abdullah Saleh al-Farsy's 'Qurani Takatifu'," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 22, no. 4 (1992), pp. 350-366.

[54] On the Ismailis in general and their role in neighbouring Tanzania see Bocock, Robert J.: "The Ismailis in

Tanzania: a Weberian Analysis," *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 22, no. 4 (1970), pp. 365-380.

[55] On the distinction between the various branches of Shi'ism see Armstrong, Karen: *Islam: A Short History* (London: Phoenix Press, 2002), pp. 58-60.

[56] Oded: *op. cit.* (note 6), pp. 47-51.

[57] O'Brien: *op. cit.* (note 40), p. 102.

[58] See the chapter on Kenya in US State Department, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour: *International Religious Freedom Report 2005*, at www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2005/. See also the original 1963 constitution and revisions, available at www.kenyaconstitution.org/html/03b.htm. On *Qadis* courts in the constitution with amendments as of 1997, see para 66 at www.kenyaconstitution.org/docs/ The%20Kenyan%20Current%20Constitution.pdf. See also the discussion paper published on the same website of the Constitution of Kenya Review Commision, written by a member of the commission: Hassan, Ahmed Issack: "The Kadhi's Courts – Setting the Records Straight," at www.kenyaconstitution.org/docs/07d047.htm. On the stalled review process, see Mburu, Stephen: "Kenya: Constitution Review: Will the Kiplagat-Led Team Deliver?" *The Nation* (Nairobi), 6 March 2006. On the Christian opposition see Mugure, Louise: "Churches Split over Constitution," *Christianity Today*, December 2005, at www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2005/012/2.20.html. See also Stockreiter, Elke: "Islamisches Recht und sozialer Wandel: Die Khadi-Gerichte von Malindi, Kenya, und Zanzibar, Tanzania," *Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien*, vol. 2, no. 3 (2002), at www.univie.ac.at/ecco/stichproben/Nr3_Stockreiter.pdf.

[59] On functionalism see, for instance, the following classics: Almond, Gabriel A. & C. Bringham Powell: *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach* (New York: Little, Brown & Co., 1966), pp. 27-33, 74-79 & *passim*; Almond, Gabriel A. & Sidney Verba: *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), *passim*; Easton, David: *A Framework for Political Analysis* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1965), *passim*.

[60] Oded: *op. cit.* (note 6), pp. 21-22.

[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-26.

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 29-32.

[65] On the concept see Lijphart, Arend: *Democracy in Plural Societies* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 1977), *passim*.

[66] See Oded: *op. cit.* (note 6), pp. 135-162; idem: "Islamic Extremism in Kenya: The Rise and Fall of Sheikh Khalid Balala," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 26, no. 4 (1996), pp. 406-415; O'Brien: *op. cit.* (note 40), pp. 92-97.

[67] Wolf & al.: *op. cit.* (note 47), pp. 18, 57 and 58.

[68] *International Religious Freedom Report 2005* (*op. cit.*, note 58),at www.state.gov/g/drl/irf/2005/51478.htm.

[69] Oded: *op. cit.* (note 6), pp. 33-40.

[70] O'Brien: *op. cit.* (note 40), 97-108; Oded: *op. cit.* (note 6), pp. 137-147.

[71] UNDP: *Linking Industrialisation with Human Development* (Nairobi: UNDP, Kenyan Office, 2005), pp. 44-45.

[72] Ministry of Education, Science and Technology: *The Background Report of Kenya, 2005* (prepared for the UNESCO/OECD Early Childhood Policy Review Project), *UNESCO Documents*, ED/BAS/EIE/7, p. 12.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 12 and 21. See also Bunyi, Grace: "Real Options for Literacy Policy and Practice in Kenya," Background paper for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2006, *UNESCO Documents* 2006/ED/EFA/MRT/PI/18.

[74] O'Brien: *op. cit.* (note 40), pp. 104-108; Oded: *op. cit.* (note 6), pp. 95-100.

[75] A good overview of the various approaches and their possble contribution to the study of Islamic social movements is Wiktorowicz, Quintan: "Introduction: Islamic Activism and Social Movement Theory," in idem (ed.): *Islamic Activism. A Social Movement Theory Approach* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), pp. 1-33. The definition is from p. 2. For a slightly different conception see Hashem, Mazen: "Contemporary Islamic Activism: The Shades of Praxis," *Sociology of Religion*, vol. 67, no. 1 (2006), pp. 23-41.

[76] Snow, David A. & Susan Marshall: "Cultural Imperialism, Social Movements, and the Islamic Revival," *Research in Social Movements, Conflict, and Change*, vol. 7 (Greenwitch: JAI Press, 1984), pp. 131-152. See also Gurr, Ted Robert: *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970); Dollard, J., L. Dobb, N. Miller, O. Mowrer & S. Sears: *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1939); Berkowitz, Leonard.: "Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis: Examination and Reformulation," *Psychological Bulletin*, vol. 106, no 1 (1989), pp. 59-73.

[77] On framing see, for instance, Benford, Robert D. & David A. Snow: "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol, 26 (2000), pp. 611-639.

[78] O'Brien: *op. cit.* (note 40), p. 2.

[79] Singerman, Diane: "The Networked World of Islamist Social Movements," in Wiktorowicz (ed.): *op. cit.* (note 75), pp. 143-163.

[80] Oded: *op. cit.* (note 6), pp. 111-123.

[81] See, for instance, "Muslims Protest Attacks on Afghanistan," *IRIN News*, 12 October 2001.

[82] Oded: *op. cit.* (note 6), pp. 135-136.

[83] *Ibid.*, pp. 149-162.

[84] *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

[85] Human Rights Watch: *Playing with Fire. Weapons Proliferation, Political Violence, and Human Rights in Kenya* (New York: HRW, 2002), quote from p. 31.

[86] Anderson, David M.: "Vigilantes, Violence, and the Politics of Public Order in Kenya," *African Affairs*, vol. 101, no. 405 (2002), pp. 531-555; Kagwanja, Peter Mwangi: "'Power to the *Uhuru*': Youth Identity and Generational Politics in Kenya's 2002 Elections," *ibid.*, vol. 105, no. 418 (2005), pp. 51-75.

[87] Carson, Johnnie: "Kenya: The Struggle against Terorism," in Robert I. Rotberg (ed.): *Battlling Terrorism in the Horn of Africa* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2005), pp. 173-192, especially pp. 185-187.

[88] See Haynes, Jeffrey: "Islamic Militancy in East Africa," *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 8 (2005), pp. 1321-1339; Chande, Abdin: "Radicalism and Reform in East Africa," in Levtzion & Pouwels (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 349-369; See also Marchesin, Philippe: "The Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism in East Africa," *African Geopolitics*,

no. 12 (2003), at http://www.african-geopolitics.org/show.aspx?ArticleId=3497).

[89] Rosenau, William: "Al Qaida Recruitment Trends in Kenya and Tanzania," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 28, no. 1 (2005), pp. 1-10.

[90] West, Deborah: *Combating Terrorism in the Horn of Africa and Yemen* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, 2005), p. 17.

[91] Oded: *op. cit.* (note 6), pp. 82-86; Champagne, Becky (lead ed.): *Anatomy of a Terrorist Attack. An In-Depth Investigation into the 1998 Bombings of the U.S. Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania* (Pittsburg: Matthew B. Ridgway Center, 2005), at www.ridgway.pitt.edu/docs/working_papers/Anatomy%20v6--FINAL%20DOCUMENT.

[92] Oded: *op. cit.* (note 6), p. 84; Champagne (ed.): *op. cit.* (note 90), pp. 89-90. On the various foundations and their alleged links to international terrorism see also Salih, M.A. Mohamed: "Islamic NGOs in Africa: the Pomise and Peril of Islamic Voluntarism," in De Waal (ed.): *op. cit.* (note 2), pp. 146-181; Greenberg, Maurice R. & al.: *Terrorist Financing. Report of an Independent Task Force Sponsored by the Council of Foreign Relations* (Washington, DC: Council of Foreign Relations, 2002); idem & al.: *Update on the Global Campaign Against Terrorist Financing* (Washington, DC: Council of Foreign Relations, 2004). The full title of the CTC's list is "The New Consolidated List of Individuals and Entities Belonging to or Associated with the Taliban and Al-Qaida Organisation as Established and Maintained by the 1267 Committee." It is available at www.un.org/Docs/sc/committees/1267/1267ListEng.htm.

[93] Carson: *loc. cit.* (note 87), pp. 180-182.

[94] *Ibid.*, pp. 174 and 185.

[95] Rosenau: *loc. cit.* (note 89); Krause, Volker & Eric E. Otenyo: "Terrorism and the Kenyan Public," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 28, no. 2 (2005), pp. 99-112.

[96] For a critique see Hills, Alice: "Trojan Horses? USAID, Counter-Terrorism and Africa's Police," *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 4 (2006), pp. 629-643. See also Wycoff, Karl: "Fighting Terrorism in Africa," testimony before the House International Relations Committee, Subcommitte on Africa, 1 April 2004, at www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/rm/2004/31077.htm.

[97] Human Rights Watch: "Kenya: Crackdown on Nairobi's Refugees after Mombasa Attacks," *Press Release*, 6 December 2002, at http://hrw.org/english/docs/2002/12/06/kenya4447.htm.