

**CHANGES IN TRADITIONAL ISLAMIC HIGHER EDUCATION AT
THE KENYAN COAST FROM 1850-1978**

**JULIUS SIMIYU NABENDE
REG.NO. C82/7503/1995**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY**

OCTOBER 2016

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Julius Simiyu Nabende

C82/7503/1995

Signature----- Date-----

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as University Supervisors.

Prof. Mildred A. J. Ndeda

Signature----- Date-----

Dr. Susan Mwangi Owino

Signature----- Date-----

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the initiatives of Muslim scholars who contributed immensely to the transformation of Islamic higher education in the coast region of Kenya. These include among others Habib Ali Saleh, Sheikh Al-Amin, Abdalla Al- Farsy and Sheikh Musa Hussein.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I acknowledge the tireless commitment of my supervisors, Prof. Mildred Ndeda and Dr. Susan Mwangi Owino who have contributed to the completion of this work. I also recognize the support from faculty members of the department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies, Kenyatta University who kept on encouraging me to press on and complete the work. I cannot forget to appreciate Kenyatta University for giving me a chance to pursue this degree.

Similarly I thank the staff of the Post modern Library, Kenyatta and Kenya and Mombasa Museum for assisting me in getting the relevant sources for this work. I extend my thanks to my research Assistant Stephen Okuta who helped in conducting oral interviews and collecting Archival material. I also thank my students who inspired and challenged me by calling me “daktari” when I did not deserve it. I want to thank my family for the moral support through the years I have been writing the thesis. Lastly my gratitude goes to the Almighty God who has granted me good health and will power to complete this work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	vii
DEFINITION OF TERMS	viii
CHAPTER ONE	1
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background to the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	8
1.3 Study Objectives	9
1.4 Research Questions.....	10
1.5 Significance and Justification of the study	10
1.6 The Scope and Limitations of the Study.....	13
1.7 Theoretical Framework.....	14
1.8. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	20
1.8.1 Introduction.....	20
1.8.1 Middle East and the rest of Asia.....	21
1.8.2. North, West and Southern Africa.....	26
1.8.3. Eastern Africa	29
Summary of Literature Review	40
1.9. Research Methodology	40
1.9.1. Research Design.....	40
1.9.2. Study Area	41
1.9.3. Study Population.....	42
1.9.4. Sampling Technique and Sample Size.....	42
1.9.5. Research Instruments	43
1.9.6. Sources of Data.....	43
1.9.6.1. Primary Sources	43
1.9.6.2. Secondary Sources	44
1.9.6.3. Key Informant Interview Guide.....	44
1.9.3.4. Analysis of Data.....	45
1.9.3.5. Ethical Considerations	46
CHAPTER TWO	48
2.0 ISLAM AT THE KENYA COAST, 800-1850.A.D.	48
2.1 History and culture of Islam	48
2.2. Establishment of Islam in Coastal Kenya	54
2.2.1. Lamu	58
2.2.2 Mombasa.....	60
2.2.3 Malindi.....	66
2.2.4 Islamic Culture in coastal Kenya	67
2.5. Summary	80
3.1 Introduction	82

3.2 Social Stratification.....	89
3.3. Muslim Brotherhoods.....	91
3.4.0 Islamic Reform Movement	93
3.4. 1Salient features of Traditional Higher Islamic Education 1850-1900	98
3.4.2Institutions, Teachers and Students.....	98
3.4.3 Curriculum	102
3.5 Summary.....	104
4.0 DEVELOPMENT OF TRADITIONAL ISLAMIC HIGHER EDUCATION IN	107
4.1 Introduction.....	107
4.2.1 Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College	109
4.2.1.2 Natural Sciences and Medicine.....	112
4.2.1.3 Religious Education, culture, history and philosophy	112
4.2.1.4 Linguistics and Literature	115
4.2.1.5 Methodology.....	115
4.2.1.6 Evaluation	116
4.2.1.7 Funding	116
4.2.1.8 Enrolment.....	117
4.2.1.9 Alumni	118
4.2.2 Mazrui Mosque, Mombasa	118
4.2.3 Enrolment.....	118
4.2.4 Methodology.....	119
4.3 Legal factors that led to the decline of Tradtional Higher Islamic Education in Colonial era, 1900-1939.A.D.	122
4.4. Colonial economy and the decline of Traditional Higher Islamic Education in Colonial Kenya, 1900-1939.A.D.	126
4.5 Social factors that led to the decline of Traditional Higher Islamic Education in Colonial Kenya	130
4.6 Political Associations in Coastal Kenya, 1900-1939.....	140
4.7. Summary.....	142
CHAPTER FIVE	145
5.0 TRANSFORMATION OF TRADITIONAL HIGHER ISLAMIC EDUCATION	145
5.1 Introduction.....	145
5.1.0 Institutions of Higher Islamic Education 1940-1963.A.D.	146
5.1.1 Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education.....	146
5.1.2 Muslim Academy in Zanzibar	148
5.1.3 Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College	150
5. 2 Contribution of Muslim Scholars to Growth of Higher Islamic Education 1940-1963	152
5.3Effects of Colonialism on Traditional Higher Islamic Education in the post Second World War era, 1945-1963	162
5.4 Initiatives of Africans and Arabs in Coastal Kenya	165
5.5. Summary.....	171
CHAPTER SIX	173
6.0 TRADITIONAL HIGHER ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN INDEPENDENT KENYA, 1963-1978.A.D.....	173

6.1. Independence and Educational Commissions 1963-1978.....	173
6.2. Muslim Organizations and the Struggle for Islamic Higher Education... 178	178
6.3.0 Metamorphosis of Traditional Higher Islamic Education 1963-78	180
6.3.1 Contribution of Scholars	180
6.3.2 Institutions that offered Higher Islamic Education in Coastal Kenya	182
6.3.3 Emerging Forms of Secondary and University Islamic Education in Public Schools and Colleges	184
6.3.4 Establishmnet of Islamic Colleges and Universities in Eastern Africa	186
6.4 Islamic Fundamentalism and Islamic Higher Education.....	187
6.5 Summary.....	192
CHAPTER 7	195
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	195
Conclusions.....	202
AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH.....	207
REFERENCES.....	208
BOOKS	208
Journals.....	216
Reports and Papers Theses and Dissertations	223
Theses and Dissertations	225
Oral Interviews	227
Appendix 1: Key Informants Interview Guide	228
Appendix 2: The Eastern African Coast.....	229

ABSTRACT

This study traces the origins, growth and transformation of traditional Islamic higher education in the coastal region of Kenya from 1850 to 1978. The study was guided by the following objectives; to examine the arrival of Islam and its contribution to the emergence of traditional higher Islamic education in the coastal region in Kenya in the period 1850-1900; interrogate the social, economic, religious and political factors that led to the growth of non-formal and formal Islamic education in the coastal region from 1850-1978 , examine institutions which offered traditional higher Islamic education in coastal towns, assess the curriculum of this education from 1850-1978,examine the impact of British colonial rule on the development of traditional higher Islamic education in coastal Kenya in the period 1900-1963 and demonstrate the impact of Independence on the growth of Islamic higher education in coastal towns of Kenya from 1963 to 1978. The study employed John Dewey's egalitarian/problem solving theory, Emile Durkheim's theory of moral and sociology of education, Al-Ghazali's and Al-afendi's theory of Islamic education. The study adopted a descriptive research design and used the historical method in the collection of data. Oral interviews, Archival material and library research were used in identifying, collecting and collation of data for this study. The data collected was analyzed qualitatively using historical techniques of narration, description, inference and logical explanation. The study findings were presented as a critical narrative of the rise, growth and decline of traditional higher Islamic education in coastal Kenya from 1850-1978.

The study established that traditional higher Islamic education in Kenya emerged as a non-formal system of education conducted in mosques and informal lessons conducted in private houses of Islamic scholars who came to visit Lamu, Malindi, Mombasa, Zanzibar and the Comoro islands in the 19th century A.D. Traditional higher Islamic education was in three levels: basic education, primary education and higher education. In 20th century traditional Islamic higher education changed from non-formal to a formal education with a comprehensive curriculum. This system of education was offered in specific institutions established in the towns of Lamu, Malindi, Mombasa and Zanzibar. The study also found out that the achievement of independence in Kenya led to establishment of secular education, which marginalized Islamic systems of basic, primary and traditional higher education. Muslims who wanted to access traditional higher Islamic education had to seek admission in Islamic universities in North Africa, Middle East and South Asia.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Balaghat: Figure of speech

Darsun: Lesson

Fig: Jurisprudence

Fundug: Inn

Hadithi: Traditions of Prophet Muhammed

Hae't: Astronomy

Hifz: Memorization

Khans: Hostel

Klai: Teacher

Kindsa: Geometry

Lughat: Etymology

Madarassa: These are institutions that offered education to students who had completed Quranic Schools.

Mantiq: Logic

Moosiqi: Music

Ngoma: Dance

Qirat: Methods of recitation

Quranic Education: This is elementary education given to pupils from the age of six to twelve years. It is conducted in mosques and schools that are attached to a mosque. Pupils spend an average of three to four years in Quranic schools.

Sunna: Deeds and sayings of Prophet Muhammed

Tabiyak: Physics, Chemistry

Taffsr: Exegesis of the Quran

Tassawwuf; Sufism

Tajwid: Methods of recitation

Tawid: Dogmatic theology

Traditonal Higher Islamic Education: This is the type of education offered to Muslim students who had graduated from Madarassa education.

Tuan guru: Teacher

Ulama: Teacher

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

The chapter discusses the background to the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives, research questions, justification, significance of the study, assumptions, theoretical framework, review of related literature and methodology.

1.1 Background to the Study

The study of traditional higher Islamic education has been of interest to a number of scholars. Walton (2000) attempted a comprehensive historical overview of how elementary, and *Madrassa* Islamic education gradually gave birth to traditional higher Islamic education. She noted that the mosque was the initial site of traditional higher Islamic education in the early periods of Islamic civilization. The mosque was both a place of worship and learning/teaching. Students gathered in circles around scholars who had specialized knowledge on the Quran, *Hadithi*, Arabic Language, Law, Theology, Medicine, Literature, Philosophy, History and Geography.

Once students qualified in different fields, they received a certification called *Ijaza* that gave them authority to teach subjects which they had qualified. By the 10th century, hostels constructed for students around mosques were joined together with the mosque to form *Madrassa*, a formal public institution of learning. The first *Madrassa* emerged in Iran and Iraq. The most distinct of them all was the *Nizamiyya* *Madrassa* built in 1065 in Baghdad by the Seljuk Vizira Nizam al Mulk. *Madrassa* did not get support from the State, though ranking officials of the State such as Caliphs and Viziers were the ones who

set up the *Madrassa*. The *Madrassa* were supported by endowments (*wagfs*) provided by a patron who then exercised control over them. In 1425, the Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbay constructed the Ashrafiyya *Madrassa* in Cairo in Egypt which had hostels for students, public fountain, a mosque, a hospital, a mausoleum and a primary school (Walton, 2000, pp.132-133).

The mosque was the focal point for growth of traditional higher Islamic education. Berkeley (1992) points out that it was a tradition in Islamic societies to construct a mosque and adjacent to it was a *Madrassa*. This tradition aimed at provision of religious, scientific and educational services for the society and the state. This education trained administrative and legal personnel for the public administration of the state. The Ottoman Empire is a case in point where traditional Islamic education served the state by equipping the public sector with educated personnel for its activities. *Madrassa* were financed by *wagf* donations. In the Ottoman Empire, the teacher determined the quality and quantity of education provided in the *Madrassa*. By the 14th century A.D., there were 42 *Madrassa* in the cities of Bursa, Edna and Iznik in Turkey (Berkeley, 1992).

Berkeley (1992) demonstrated that originally mass instruction in the traditional Islamic religious and legal sciences were taught in mosques and institutions formerly devoted to education. In the mosques, religious scholars would sit in *halga* (circles) with their students where they conducted teaching. The growth of law into a distinct genre in Islamic knowledge in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D created a demand for intensive study of law. It was not until the 10th century A.D that institutions of learning referred to as

khans (hostels) built adjacent to mosques began to emerge in Iraq and the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

The khans provided accommodation for students and teachers who came to Baghdad and elsewhere from other cities. The Khans allowed the students to concentrate intensively on their academic pursuits. It is the khans that later developed into *Madrassa* by the 11th century A.D. Usually *Madrassa* were patronised by wealthy individuals who gave up their *wagf* donations to support the study and transmission of Islamic law and other Islamic religious disciplines. The wealthy individuals who were devout Muslims did not necessarily come from the ruling class. The state did not finance *Madrassa* though it benefitted from the education they offered.

In Egypt, traditional higher Islamic education rested entirely on the character of the relationship a student maintained with a teacher, therefore a formal institution was irrelevant in Islamic traditional higher education. Whereas it is true that towns such as Cairo and Kairovan were centres of Islamic learning, these towns did not have an institution that provided degrees in Islamic education in the medieval era. The learning process entailed making written commentaries on works produced by previous scholars. Whereas the teacher was the main instructor, once he left the class students studied in groups where they assisted each other in reciting, memorizing and explaining texts taught by the teacher (Berkeley, 1992, pp. 7-8).

Singh (2013) found out that in South Asia, the Mosque remained the centre where Islamic traditional Islamic higher education developed. The origins of *Madrassa* in South

Asia is attributable to the Delhi sultanate that developed in India in the 13th century A.D. The original purpose of the *Madrassa* was to equip the youth for the administrative service of the sultanate. India's system of traditional Islamic education borrowed heavily from the system of Islamic education in the Middle East. Mosques served as centres of education from where professionals such as lawyers, doctors, poets, religious leaders and literary scholars were recruited (Singh, 2013, p. 1).

Ashraf (2012) stated that the word *Madrassa* emerged from the Arabic word *darsun* meaning lesson. The first *Madrassa* in the Indian sub continent began in 1226 A.D. and was referred to as *Firozi*. It was set up to educate people for state employment and to equip religious scholars. In the Indian sub continent, *Madrassa* education consisted of ten subjects taught via seventeen books. The students began learning the Quran, and then they proceeded to studying Arabic grammar, Literature, *Tafsir*, *fiqh*, *mantiq*, *kalem*, *Tasawwuf*. By the 18th century the curriculum had expanded and consisted *balaghat* (figure of speech), Mathematics, Astronomy, Philosophy and Medical sciences (Ashraf, 2012, p. 8).

The Quran and the *Hadithi* of Prophet Muhammad were the foundation to Islamic education. Whereas the Quran was the first pillar in Islamic education, the deeds and sayings of the prophet, also called *Sunna* that were transmitted in written documents constituted a second pillar. The third pillar of Islamic education was a product of interpretations and commentaries on the *Quran* and the *Sunna*. These commentaries and interpretations laid the basis of texts of Islamic law and its interpretation. Islamic learning constituted two categories; revealed disciplines and rational sciences. The revealed

subjects were based on the authority of the Quran and the Sunna of the prophet. These subjects were; *hadithi*, *tajwid* (methods of recitation), *tafsir* (exegesis of the Quran), *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *tawid* (dogmatic Theology), *tasawwuf* (Sufism) and *agida* (basic Theology). The rational sciences consisted of language that was broken down to; Lexicography, Philology, Grammar (*nahw*), Rhetoric and Morphology. The other subjects in the rational sciences were Logic and Philosophy, Arithmetic, Astrology, Medicine and Ethics (Brill, 2009, pp. 152-153).

Ashraf (2012) noted that Ibn Khaldun was the first Islamic scholar in the medieval era to develop a curriculum, which separated revealed knowledge from rational knowledge. For him, the revealed knowledge had a more detailed curriculum in contrast to what Brill (2009) established as shown in the above paragraph. The curriculum according to Ashraf included *Qirat* (methods of recitation) and *Hifz* (memorization). The intellectual knowledge had in addition to what has been described above the following elements; *lughat* (etymology), *adab* (literature), *mantiq* (logic), *hindsa* (geometry), *hae'at* (astronomy), *Tabiyalt* (Physics, Chemistry), and *moosiqi* (Music) (Ashraf, 2012, p. 8).

According to Bang (2015), institutionalization of traditional higher Islamic education is associated with Sufism. She pointed out that Muhammad al-Hibshi, one of the renowned Sufi founders began a reform movement in Islam which emphasized institution building in the form of religious schools for basic and higher education. These institutions were called *ribats*. The ribats changed the manner in which Islamic knowledge was transmitted. The change was from the personal relationship between a student and his teacher to an organized and systematic set of curriculum in which texts were taught in different classes.

The institutions emphasized written authority such as texts as opposed to oral transmission. Muhammad al-Hibshi founded a *ribat* in Sayun in Hadramwt called al *Riyadh* (The Garden). The *ribat* enrolled students from Hadramawt, Indian sub continent and Eastern Africa. The Riyadh Mosque College in Lamu was modelled ideologically on the same principles that informed Sayun (Bang, 2015,p. 137).

Ahmed (1995) describes how Habib Saleh founded the Riyadh Mosque College in Lamu, which became a centre of learning along the eastern African coast. He observed that Habib Saleh studied medicine and Islamic traditions. He was taught by Syed Mansab who donated land to Habib Saleh for the construction of the college. Initially, the college taught Islam to African ex-slaves and other members of the society who belonged to the low class. The college later developed into a professional centre for traditional higher Islamic education (Ahmed, 1995).

Lienhardt (1959) work brought the Riyadh Lamu Mosque College to the limelight. In a research paper, he described and showed how the college emerged out of the confrontation and conflicts of the existing social classes in Lamu. He avoided issues dealing with Islamic education. Instead, he analyzed the personality of Habib Salih that made him be recognised as a saint (Lienhardt, 1959).NimtZ (1980) mentioned the Riyaadhi Lamu Mosque College in his book, where he discussed Sufi orders (brotherhoods) in East Africa. He argued that the *Alawiyyia tariga* (brotherhood), which was unique in that it did not proselytize like other Islamic brotherhoods, had its headquarters in Lamu Mosque College. The *Alawiyyia* was exclusively for *sharifs* whose descent was traced to *Hadramawt* a place in South Arabia. He noted that the graduates of

the college were not allowed to belong to this tariga or spread it abroad. He gave another dimension to this study, namely, the role of Sufism in the development of higher Islamic education in Kenya.

Chaidan (1978) stated that the Riyadh Lamu Mosque College was founded in 1900 by Habib Salih Ali. It is the largest religious Academy in Lamu. The courses in the college lasted for two to five years. He mentioned that the college admitted students from countries as far as Congo and Madagascar. He did not disclose the contents of the courses that were taught in this college. Similarly, he did not discuss the teaching methodology and the criteria used in assessing students on completion of the courses. The fact that the college admitted students as far as Madagascar and Congo signified that the quality of education offered in this college was of higher calibre (Chaidan, 1978, pp. 29-33).

The above discussions clearly indicate that higher Islamic education had developed into a formidable institution, which prepared young people for different career and professions. It therefore merits an academic historical inquiry. There exists a gap in historical knowledge about transformation of the curriculum of traditional higher Islamic education in Kenya prior to British colonialism. There are historical studies in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran Pakistan and Indonesia on changes that have taken place in traditional higher Islamic education since the 7th century A.D. to date (Saadir 2011, Hashmi 2011). There are also a number of studies on elementary and secondary Islamic education in the colonial, independence and post independence era in Kenya (Maina, 1992, Abreu, 1982).

However, there is scanty literature on traditional higher Islamic education in pre-colonial, Colonial and Independence period in Kenya.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

There is a growing literature on the study of Islamic education in Kenya. Abreau (1982) conducted abroad study of Quranic education in Kenya. This was followed by another study carried out by Maina (1992), who undertook a comprehensive study of Madrasa system of education in Kenya. Adan (2003) on the other hand did a study on Islamic education in Kenya by examining a case study of integrated schools in Garissa. Similarly Shaban (2012) has examined the challenges of teaching Islamic education to secondary students in Nairobi.

There is no single academic study that has examined Islamic higher education in pre-colonial and colonial Kenya. Yet the above scholars have mentioned in passing that Islamic higher education existed and was offered non formally in the 19th century and formally in the 20th century. A concise conceptualization of Islamic education in Kenya can only be complete if this knowledge gap is adequately addressed. Studies of Quranic and Madrasa education, which represent elementary and secondary levels of Islamic education, have received elaborate academic treatment.

The final level of traditional higher Islamic education has been marginalized in academic research. In the light of the above knowledge gap, this study interrogated the transformation of traditional Islamic Higher Education in the coastal region of Kenya, specifically Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa in the period 1850-1978. The gap has been

addressed by tracing and describing institutions that offered Islamic higher education. The scholars who contributed to the development of Islamic higher education in the coastal region of Kenya in the period 1850-1978 are examined by analyzing the curriculum developed by the scholars and interrogating the organization, delivery and evaluation of Islamic higher education. Finally, the study discussed the impact of Christian missionaries, British colonial administration and the Jomo Kenyatta independent regime on the decline of Islamic higher education.

1.3 Study Objectives

This study was guided by the following objectives, which were to:

- i. Trace the origins of Islam and discuss its contribution to the emergence of Islamic education in the coastal region in Kenya 500 A.D-1850 .A.D.
- ii. Assess the social, economic, religious and political factors that led to the growth of non-formal and formal traditional higher Islamic education in the coastal region from 1850-1900.
- iii. Identify and discuss institutions, which offered traditional higher Islamic education in coastal towns of Kenya and show the curriculum of this education from 1900 -1963.
- iv. Examine the impact of British Colonial rule on the development of traditional higher Islamic education in coastal region of Kenya in the period 1900-1963.
- v. Evaluate the impact of post-Independence era on the growth of Islamic traditional higher education in coastal towns of Kenya from 1963 to 1978.

1.4 Research Questions

- i. How did Islam's arrival at the coast contribute to the emergence and evolution of traditional higher Islamic education in the period 500-1850?
- ii. What were the social, economic, religious and political factors that led to the growth of non-formal and formal Islamic higher education in the coastal region from 1850-1978?
- iii. Which institutions in the coastal region of Kenya offered traditional higher Islamic education and what type of curriculum did they offer in the period 1850-1978?
- iv. What was the impact of British colonial rule on the growth of Islamic traditional higher education between 1895-1963?
- v. How did the post independence period influence Islamic traditional higher education in modern Kenya?

1.5 Significance and Justification of the study

The literature on the origin and growth of Islamic traditional higher education in Kenya in the pre-colonial, colonial and independence periods is limited. A number of scholars have carried out research on *Quran* and *Madrassa* system of Education. Scholars who have done research on Islamic education in contemporary Kenya at elementary and secondary school levels include among others Abreau (1982) who discussed the curriculum of *Quranic* education in Kenya in the pre-colonial and colonial era, Maina (1992) traced the rise and growth of Madrasa system of Islamic education in pre-colonial, colonial and contemporary Kenya. He explored the spread of *Madrassa* education from

coastal region of Kenya into the mainland, Adan (2003) examined Islamic education in contemporary Kenya with a special focus on integrated schools in Garrisa. Thus, this study was significant in the sense that it addressed this knowledge gap by adding Islamic traditional higher education on the growing academic literature of Islamic education. At the same time, this study was significant because it laid the foundation of understanding the roots of Islamic fundamentalism.

The rise of Islamic revivalism and fundamentalism from the last quarter of the 20th century into the 21st century has brought a new interest in research on Islamic education. Islamic revivalism and fundamentalism is associated with international terrorist activities that have created insecurity in Kenya. Thus, a historical study of higher Islamic education contextualizes Islamic revivalism and fundamentalism with a view of demonstrating whether the values and philosophies of higher Islamic education have any connection with Islamic revivalism and fundamentalism.

The study of traditional higher Islamic education was examined in relation to contemporary questions of relevancy of higher education to the changing dynamics of the labour market. The criticism against contemporary higher education is that it is theoretical and out of touch with the industrial and commercial market. Similarly, contemporary higher education does not inculcate values of honesty, transparency, accountability that are crucial to nurturing a democratic society. The study of traditional higher Islamic education was significant for it demonstrated how this indigenous system of education was a product of the commercial, industrial and socio-religious milieu of the society. Thus, policy makers and practitioners of contemporary higher education

could borrow best practices in Islamic higher education to make contemporary education responsive to the socio-cultural and industrial needs of a modern Kenyan society.

The study of traditional higher Islamic education at Kenyan Coast has been under researched. What exist are general researches on elementary and primary Islamic education. Randal Pouwel (1987), Elzein (1974) and Tayob (2009) have written generally on Islamic higher education and emphasized its existence in coastal region of Kenya right from the 19th century A.D. into the 20th century A.D. This education produced a class of elites who influenced the development of socio-economic activities in the region. The Muslim elites (the Ulema) have used the Quran and other Islamic intellectual tools to control the response of Muslims to development issues in colonial and post-colonial Kenya.

Despite the establishment of secondary and higher institutions of learning by the colonial and independent Kenyan government, Muslims at the coast are inspired by the tenets taught in the traditional Islamic system of higher education. Educationists and other policy makers need to grasp the characteristics and objectives of the traditional Islamic higher education, if they hope to reform the educational system to suit the needs of Muslims in the country. Muslims have become a formidable force in socio-political issues affecting the country.

It is therefore necessary to study the type of traditional higher education that they received, traditional teaching methodology and content of disciplines offered, criteria of recruiting teachers, training and research programs, dissemination of knowledge, mode of

student admission and assessment. The institutions that offered traditional higher Islamic education were also the subject of this study. The study also considered the physical and recreational facilities in the institutions, the finance and administration of institutions and the symbiotic relationship between the institutions and the society. Similarly, a critical analysis of the impact of colonialism on higher Islamic education was undertaken.

This study was confined at the Coastal region of Kenya because this is where Islam has had a profound socio-cultural and political impact in Kenya. The study was justified in the sense that coastal Kenya and specifically Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa were the only areas in Kenya with an elaborate Islamic culture that produced traditional higher Islamic education. In the rest of the regions of Kenya where Islam was practiced, traditional higher Islamic education did not emerge.

1.6 The Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study was conducted in the towns of Mombasa, Malindi and Lamu, which were key centers in the development of traditional higher Islamic education. Islam emerged, developed and was firmly entrenched in the coastal region of Kenya. The study covered the period 1850-1978 because scholars who were responsible for the growth of traditional higher Islamic education did migrate into the East African towns in the period 1850-1900. By 1900, formal higher education institutions began to emerge in the region. The study ends in 1978 because this year marked the end of the independence period a time when Kenya was in the process of redefining the philosophy, objectives and curriculum of higher education. After 1978, the Muslim community had given up their struggle to institutionalize Muslim higher education in the theoretical paradigm in which it did exist

before colonialism. Thus Muslims who were interested in the pursuit of higher Muslim education had to seek it outside Kenya in countries such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Yemen, Syria and Egypt.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The study of traditional Islamic higher education at the coastal region of Kenya fits well in two broad frameworks, namely, moral education and sociology of education. A lot of literature exists on these two fields of education. John Dewey was among the educationists who laid the structure of sociology of education in the 20th century. He did emphasize the holistic training and education for the child by underscoring the role of the school as a socializing agent in the growth of a child. He brought out the concept that the child was the agent of education while the teacher was a guider and facilitator.

Education was to nurture an egalitarian and creative perspective in children to prepare them to be incorporated into the democratic society. This egalitarianism was to be achieved by imparting values of cooperation, sharing and caring for one another. The school was to be available from the kindergarten through primary, secondary and college/university levels. Dewey gave preference to education that focused on manual training, science, art and nature study as opposed to the traditional education based on reading, writing and arithmetic (3Rs). He criticized early specialization in terms of training or technical segregation in the public schools, which was dictated not by the individual needs or personal preferences of the growing youth but by external interests. Lastly, John Dewey reiterated the need for education acquired through doing. According to John Dewey, education was to be based on problem solving as opposed to theory or

memory. He also emphasized the need for education to foster character traits of unselfishness, helpfulness, critical knowledge and individual initiatives (Novack, 1960).

John Dewey's educational theory cannot assist us to analyze origin and growth of traditional higher Islamic education because Islamic traditional higher education was not based on imparting critical problem solving skills. Similarly, traditional higher Islamic education did not emphasize science and manual training. Lastly, unlike John Dewey's theory, traditional higher Islamic education did not allow the child to be the agent of education. John Dewey's egalitarianism was not given emphasis in traditional Islamic higher education.

Feminist educational theory became dominant in the late 20th century and early 21st century. This theory developed from the feminist movement of the 1970s. This movement had three aspects which were; sexist movement, sexist exploitation and sexist oppression. This theory highlighted the following components of education: creation of participatory classrooms, validation of personal experience, encouragement of social understanding and activism and development of critical thinking.

This feminist theory cannot explain growth of higher Islamic education because Islamic higher education gave priority to the boy child and neglected education for the girl child.

However, the reflection on moral education and sociology of education by Emile Durkheim adds an insight in the study of traditional Islamic higher education in the coastal region of Kenya. Emile Durkheim argued that social conditions contribute to the structure of moral education. He noted that these social conditions were normally

products of numerous historical processes, which a society had passed through. He succinctly avers that:

Now it is not we as individuals who have created the customs and ideas that determine this type. They are a product of a common life, and they express its needs. They are moreover, in large part the work of preceding generations. The entire human past has contributed to the formation of this totality of maxims that guide education today. Our entire history has left its traces in it and even the history of the people who had come before. (Emile Durkheim, 1956, P. 66)

Durkheim advanced the view that moral education was a social phenomenon in its origins as in its functions and the Supreme Being only acted as a unifying force. He pointed out that any effort to reduce moral education to revealed religion would only lead to disruption of patterns of relationships of public morality. He noted that morality comprised of three elements namely: discipline, attachment and autonomy which make children functional members of the society. He observed that discipline restrains egoistic tendencies and impulses, functioning to mediate aggressive self centred behavior. While attachment is the degree to which one is willing to be committed to a social group. Autonomy refers to imparting of self accountability for one's actions. He considered moral aspects as the most important aspects of education. He did observe that teaching is genuinely educational if it has the capacity to exert moral influence on a child. Thus, in a learning environment such as a school moral education has to be spread in all subjects in the curriculum. Moral education is the core of a child's growth and cannot be confined to one subject taught in one hour (Cladis, 2001, p. 447).

Sociologists have credited Emile Durkheim for introducing a sociological dimension of education. The discipline of sociology and education has been traced back to Durkheim. Sociology of education is the scientific analysis of the social processes and social patterns

involved in the educational system. It assumes that education is a combination of social acts and that sociology is the analysis of human interaction, and such analysis of the human interaction occurring in social groups such as the school and the multitude of informal communicative processes, which serve educational functions (Wilbur, 1974, p. 11).

Emile Durkheim argued that educational systems reflect underlying changes in society because the systems are constructs by society. The constructs seek to reproduce its collectively held values, beliefs, norms and conditions through its institutions. With time, educational institutions come to contain the imprint of the past. Society constructs its educational system to promote and reproduce its ideal of what a human being ought to be as part of society. He went further to emphasize that education is the influence exercised by adult generation on the young generation with the objective of developing in the child physical, intellectual and moral values, demanded of him/her by the political society as a whole and the special socio-cultural group that the child belongs to. Thus, education is a functional tool of socializing and moulding the youth into adults with religious and political/civil values that are acceptable in the society (Hoenisch, 2005).

Al-Ghazali theory of Islamic education is the most elaborate and appropriate synthesis which was useful in this study. He noted that the aim of education is to nurture man so that he abides by the teachings of religions and is hence assured of salvation and happiness in the eternal life. Thus, education is not limited to training the mind and filling it with information but it involves the intellectual, religious, moral and physical aspects of the personality of the learner.

Al-Ghazali emphasized that education is not enough to impart theoretical learning but has to be practical. Thus, true learning is that which affects behavior through practical use of the knowledge by the learner. He divided knowledge into elementary, intermediate and higher education. He identified texts/books to be taught to each level of education. Al-Ghazali underscored the idea that education is not merely a process where the teacher imparts knowledge that the pupil may or may not absorb after which both the teacher and pupil go their own ways. In his opinion, education is an interaction, affecting and benefiting the teacher and the pupil equally, the former gaining merit for giving instruction and the latter cultivating himself through the acquisition of knowledge. This form of education is transmitted through inculcation, memorizing and repetition (Notal, 1993, pp. 519-542).

The historiography on the theory of Islamic education is divided into two major categories namely, individual and social education. Alfendi (1980) has argued that education defines a relationship between an individual with his/her environment and the wisdom of Allah (p. 6). He argued that Islamic education regards life on earth as a bridge which one has to cross before he enters into spiritual life after death. He noted that no distinct line exists between the religious and secular in Islamic education.

Badari (1977) has discussed Islamic education as a social phenomenon. He pointed out that the traditional 'Islamic education is an integral part of society. He added that educational institutions were natural developments springing from the society, and responding to the needs and demands of the same society. He argued that Muslim

educational institutions were the custodians of the values of the society and the guardians of its heritage (Badari1977.pp. 105-111).

Ansari (1977) argues that Muslim Scholars should borrow the method of historical approach from the West in order to effectively develop a coherent perspective of social and natural sciences. He asked his counterparts to graduate from emphasizing “revelation from Allah” as the basis of interpretation of social and spiritual issues (pp. 118-129). However, Muslim scholars agree that Islamic education gives prominence to inner purity, which has to be manifested in social consciousness. These scholars condemn the duality characteristic of Islamic education since colonial domination of the West on Muslim countries. This duality has undermined the values, which Islamic education promotes.

From the foregoing, it becomes clear that Emile Durkheim’s theory of moral education as social phenomena does not contradict the Muslim perception of Islamic education, except for the role of the divine in the organization of the same. In order to understand how higher education emerged in the complex stratified societies at the coast, it is important to look at it as a social phenomenon. The theories of moral education and sociology of education as advanced by Emile Durkheim succinctly provides a conceptual framework for this study because Islam whose aim is to construct morality in the learner inspires Islamic higher education curriculum. Similarly, Islamic education is a synthesis of various social phenomena, which define identity of Muslim societies.

1.8. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

1.8.1 Introduction

The review of related literature on Muslim higher education is in three categories. The first category focuses on literature on higher education in Middle East and North Africa. This is the region, which has nurtured Islamic education for centuries. The second category focuses on literature on Islamic higher education in West Africa. West Africa has had a longer tradition of Islamic learning which goes back as early as the 14th century A.D. when city states such as Kano and Timbuktu did exist.

The last category focuses on literature on the development of Islamic higher education in Eastern Africa particularly Kenya. This section will provide an overview of the various Islamic education systems in seven selected regions, which are: Middle East, Asia, North Africa, West Africa, South Africa and Eastern Africa. The development of Islamic education was discussed within the wider educational system. The selection of these seven regions represented Islamic education in both Muslim minority and Muslim majority countries geographically, culturally and linguistically.

The discussion for each region followed a systematic pattern namely; the growth of traditional Islamic education, the development of innovations in Islamic modern educational system and lastly, the Islamic educational institutions that offered this education. The review aims at identifying how Muslim societies developed and made innovations and reforms in the higher Islamic education. The focus was put on the curriculum, teaching staff, learning materials, assessment and the inter relationship between the training and the needs of the market.

1.8.1 Middle East and the rest of Asia

Romani (2009) noted that higher Islamic learning was deeply rooted in the history and societies of the Arab Middle East right from the 7th century A.D. This learning was based in local religious institutions referred to as *Madrassa*. In Baghdad, there was an academy called Beit al Hikma (House of Wisdom) which offered various disciplines such as astronomy, physics, mathematics, Medicine, Chemistry, and Geography that flourished until the 16th century A.D. He reiterated that these disciplines were introduced into Italy and Spain during the renaissance and most of the core texts for the above disciplines translated into Italian and Spanish languages. He stated that the renaissance and later on the industrial revolution reversed the place of Middle East in the academic world. From the 16th century, there was a gradual and consistent decline in the growth of higher Islamic education in the Arab world (Romani, 2009, pp. 2-3).

Loimeier (2009) observed that *Madrassa* were not formalized in the medieval era as they coexisted with individual and Mosque learning. He noted that there was no fixed curriculum for primary, secondary and higher Islamic education. What was available was a formalization of specific texts one had read and mastered before being accepted into the social strata of the learned or *Ulema*. In his opinion, higher Islamic education in medieval era in the Middle East took the following format; first, there was a formalized study of texts (not disciplines) under the guidance of *shaykhs* (not necessarily schools). Secondly, one went to scholars to seek advanced knowledge as opposed to going to a school or college. Lastly, the *Ijaza* or certificate or authorization to a student/graduate to teach a certain text was given by a scholar not a school. The source of learning or education was

based on the expertise of the scholar as opposed to the location or school where the education was obtained (Loimeier, 2009, p. 150)

Rosnani (1996) discussed the development of Islamic education in Indonesia. In Indonesia the curriculum was organized in the following mode; *tawhid*, *tafsir*, *fiqh*, *hadithi*, *nahu* (Arabic grammar), *tasewwuf* and *tarrikh*. The classification of the curriculum was based on textbooks as opposed to subjects. Saadir (2011) discussed epistemological issues in traditional Islamic higher education in Indonesia. He noted that the epistemology of Islamic religious education was based on traditional epistemology in form of religious subjects isolated from the modern scientific, technological and contemporary social development. In the development of traditional Islamic higher education, the focus has been to include Sociology, History, Anthropology, and Statistics, comparative religion, Occidentalism, research methodology and English in the curriculum. The objective of higher Islamic education in the contemporary period has to do with injection of new epistemology that is rich in scientific, rational and objective perspectives.

Islamic higher studies have normative and historical dimensions. The writings of the Quran and the sayings of Prophet Muhammad could be classified in the normative aspect of traditional Islamic higher education. However, the interpretations of texts in *tasawwuf*, *falsafa*, *kalam*, *fiqh* and different Muslim traditions are historical phenomenon that are not permanent and thus could be subjected to a rational and objective theoretical and philosophical analysis. These rational interpretations formed the core of Islamic traditional higher education curriculum (Saadir, 2011).

Hashim (2010) discussed the nature of intellectualism in traditional Islamic higher education and its implications on the curriculum. He documented existing institutions that offered higher Islamic education as education. He observed that higher Islamic institutions in Malaysia had failed to nurture an original Islamic thought that was based on rationalism and objective interpretation of knowledge at all levels. He noted that the first four Islamic centuries of civilization popularly referred to as the golden age of Islamic intellectualism was characterized by respect for learned opinions and free exercise of reason.

There existed more than 100 schools of thought in the golden age of Islam but in the contemporary world, they had reduced to four. He concluded his thesis by arguing that classical Islamic tradition promoted academic freedom and reconciled scientific truth and revealed truth. This academic freedom flourished since educational institutions offering higher Islamic education were funded by *wagf*. The state did not control the production of knowledge because it did not fund Islamic education (Hashim, 2010).

In a different article, Hashim elaborated the structure of Islamic education in Malaysia and Indonesia. He identified the *Pondok* as the basic structure of Islamic education in Malaysia. *Pondok* was derived from an Arabic word *funduq* that means an Inn or hotel. It referred to religious boarding schools for male students. Students in these schools resided and studied under the direction of their teacher referred to as *Tuan guru*. The pondok consisted of a central building either a mosque or a teacher's house that was surrounded by small huts built by students who were under the instruction of the teacher.

The *pondok* was a core institution in Malaysian society where indigenous elite were trained. *Pondok* schools in Malaysia played a remarkable role in raising anti-colonial political consciousness in the 19th and 20th centuries. The curricula offered in *Pondok* schools included; *tawhid, figh, tefsir, nahu* (Arabic grammar), *tassawuf and tarikh, tajwid* (Muslim songs) and *mantiq* (herbal medicine). The subjects were taught using specific textbooks and each *Pondok* had its own textbooks. The pesantrens had a similar curriculum like that of the pondok. The textbooks were taught in sessions, which lasted for weeks.

In Indonesia the basic unit of Islamic education is the pesantren, a concept used to describe the enthusiasm students have to acquire comprehensive Islamic knowledge. A Kiai (teacher) who was assisted by other senior santri or family members conducted learning. Pesantrens were learning centres that conserved the culture, customs and traditions of the people in Indonesia. The pesantrens still exist in Indonesia and are part of the education system. Islamic teachers who had lived for years in Mecca, Saudi Arabia and Cairo in Egypt and had a lot of experience in Islamic education (Hashmi, 2010, pp. 95-97) owned the peasantrens.

Anzar (1977) discussed the rise of Islamic curricula and pedagogy. He stated that Islam has two types of knowledge, namely revealed knowledge, which comes from God and earthly knowledge that was discovered by human beings themselves. He explains how education developed in the mosque in the early periods of Islamic civilization. This work is relevant to the study in the sense that it highlights the curriculum of Islamic higher education in Malaysia and the teaching methodology.

In Gujeerati in India the Dawat Bohra community had a well established system of Muslim education. This is well exemplified in the al-jaiyah al-safiyah academy which is at Surat. This academy was founded in 1814 by the forty third Dawoodi Bohra Da'1, Syedna Abd-e- Ali Safuddin. The initial aim of this academy was to provide a platform where Dais and their learned disciples conducted sessions in the courtyard of the mosque of the Academy.

This academy disseminated authoritative knowledge on Fatimid Ismail thought. The academic programs in the academy lasted for 11 years and were divided into three phases. The first four years was a diploma program referred to as Mubtashi al-ilm. The aim of this first stage was to equalize students from differing educational backgrounds. The course consisted of Arabic poetry and prose, jurisprudence, Islamic history and Islamic religious practices. A few subjects from western education such as; English, Economics, Geography, Physics, Biology, Chemistry were taught.

The second phase lasted for five years and the subjects taught at diploma level were offered but the curriculum was more comprehensive. In addition, other subjects like Psychology, Philosophy and ideas peculiar to Fatimid Ismail Tayyiibi schism were taught. At the end of this stage, a degree certificate described as *al-faigih al mutgan* was offered. The final stage lasted two years. Here students specialised in Arabic literature, Islamic jurisprudence and/or Islamic history. A degree certificate *al fagih al jayyid* was issued at the end of the two year course. The *Dawat Bohra* incorporated western education in the existing Islamic traditional education voluntarily (Anzari, 1977).

Singh (2013) contributed to the growing literature on *Madrassa* education, in India. He stated that madrasa education in India did not form a uniform system. The *Madrassa* were influenced by the Shia and Sunni schools of Islam. The Sunni madrasa were divided into three different streams which were all administered by wagf boards of management. The boards ensured that *Madrassa* education was independent from interference of the government. All the wagf administered *Madrassa* were modeled on the traditional Islamic education set by the *Dar al-Ulum* of Deoband madrasa in North India. The establishment of British colonialism in India led to the decline of Madrasa system of education (Singh, 2013)

The above literatures in the Middle East demonstrate that traditional Islamic higher education had metamorphosized into a formal system of learning. This traditional higher Islamic system of education merits an academic investigation. Whereas Islamic civilization in the coastal region of Eastern Africa is as old as that of the Middle East, studies on the traditional Islamic higher education are minimal.

1.8.2. North, West and Southern Africa

Hashim (2011) discussed the development of Islamic education in Nigeria. He pointed out that Islamic system of education was referred to as madrasa. It was divided into three levels. The first level lasted between four to seven years. The pupils were taught by a maalim, one teacher who was in charge of thirty to forty children. The madrasa were owned by individual Islamic scholars. He observed that the first institute of higher

Islamic education emerged in 1934 and was called the Shariah college of Kano. It was founded by Shaykh Nasir Kabara. The madrasa system in Nigeria represents the higher Islamic institutes. It is divided into various levels where the first level is preparatory or elementary which took one year, junior secondary took four years and senior secondary took four years (Hashmi, 2011,pp. 97-101).

Hassan (2012) described courses offered at Al Azhar University in Egypt. The mosque that led to al Azhar University was founded in 972 A.D. The university was funded by wafg endowments collected from the mosque. The Caliph al Aziz and his minister Yaquib Ibn Killis of the Fatimid state are the ones who laid the educational foundation of Al-Azhar. It was the official mosque of the Fatimid state. The Caliph set aside special places in the mosque for judges and scholars. He started regular classes at Al-Azhar in 980.A.D.

The Caliph gave stipends to the scholars and judges as compensation for their work. A number of renowned scientists such as Abdul Latif al-Baghdadi taught logic, theology and medicine at Al-Azhar in 1250.A.D. Since the reign of Muhammad Ali to the Egyptian revolution of 1952, Al-Azhar has gone through a process reforming its curriculum to include natural and social science disciplines offered in Western education such as Medicine, Commerce and Agriculture (Hassan, 2012,pp. 1-16).

Mohammed (2002) discussed extensively the rise and development of traditional higher Islamic education in South Africa. He traced the origin of Islam in South Africa to 1658 when the first Muslims settled in the Cape. Some of them were officials of the Dutch East

African trading company who were Muslims and could not go back to Netherlands because Islam was prohibited. Traditional higher Islamic education in South Africa developed from the mid 19th century. The British colonizers in South Africa invited a Turkish scholar Shaykh Abu Bakr Effendi who set up the first Islamic institution of higher learning.

The institutes of higher learning were distinct from *Madrassa* in that they gave in depth knowledge in Islamic jurisprudence and theology. The *Madrassa* and *Quranic* schools recited the *Quran* and had lessons on Arabic. Whereas, institutes of higher Islamic education began as early as 1860, it was not until 1971 that a formal institute of traditional Islamic higher education, *Darul-Ulum* was set up in Newcastle, Kwa Zulu in Natal. It followed a similar model like the *Darsi Nizam* of Deoband, India. While the *Darsi –Nizam* of India offered rational sciences alongside Islamic theology and jurisprudence, the *Darul-Ulum* in Natal offered; Islamic history, Islamic creed, jurisprudence, principles of jurisprudence, hadithi, principles of *hadithi*, *quranic* exegesis ,Arabic language and literature (Mohammed, 2002).

In South Africa, Islamic education began in 1804 after an Indonesian Scholar Abdullah Kadi Salaam set up the first mosque and *Madrassa* in Cape Town. Salaam had been exiled on the Roben Island but was released in 1793. By 1832, there were 12 mosque schools in Cape Town. These schools attracted many slave and free black children who had been denied education by the British colonialists. By 1860, traditional higher Islamic education had began to flourish in South Africa. A Turkish scholar who came to South Africa in 1860 set up the first higher Islamic institution to offer Islamic theology. The

school provided in depth teaching of Islamic jurisprudence, *hadithi and fiqh* (Mohammed, 2002,p. 30). This work mentions higher Islamic education and the college that offered it but does not proceed to examine its organizational structure and growth.

The foregoing literature gives a background of the growth of Islamic higher education in Africa. It gives adequate evidence that traditional higher Islamic education was entrenched in Northern Africa and specifically in Egypt. It then spread to Western Africa where institutions of higher learning were dominant in Nigeria. South Africa did experience traditional higher Islamic education much later in the 19th and 20th centuries. It is imperative that Islamic traditional higher education in East African coast must have been part of the intellectual developments that were taking place in the rest of the African continent.

1.8.3. Eastern Africa

Eastern Africa has recorded a number of scholars who have discussed growth of Islamic education. A number of these works have been reviewed with the purpose of identifying knowledge gaps and areas that could constitute convergence with the study.

Truman (1973) is one of the educationists who have contributed to the understanding of the development of Islamic education in Kenya. He observed that Arab educational system in coastal Kenya adapted to changing social conditions. He underscored the argument that this system of education which had one hundred and fifty small *Quranic* schools was a cross breed of Swahili and Islamic culture. He dismissed this system of

education as passive and identified its objective as that of transmitting codes of law as found in the *Quran* from one generation to the other. He noted that the methodology of learning was through memorizing but the children were required to copy down what they learnt on modern tablets (Truman, 1973,p. 125)

Furley and Watson (1978) did capture the development of Islamic education in their detailed work on the history of education in East Africa. The two scholars accused the British and German colonial governments in East Africa for obstructing the growth of Islamic education. They noted that as early as 1333 A. D. there were well-established *Quranic* schools. Furley and Watson did not make mention of any aspects of traditional higher Islamic education at the coastal region of East Africa (Furley & Watson 1978).

Hamid (1980) study focused on the growth of secondary education at the coast region of Kenya, but gave minimal focus on higher Islamic education. One of the factors that inhibited Hamid from giving us a detailed analysis on Islamic higher education was that he relied on official reports of the colonial officers. No wonder, he wrote:

Education among the Waswahili and the Arabs on the Coast was however much different. Although formal in Nature, it has no worldly aims. It was imparted in Quranic schools which were found throughout the Coast, wherever the Muslims lived The main aim of these institutions was to teach children how to read The Quran without understanding it ...Moreover there was no set Curriculum in these schools. (54)

To support the above analysis, Hamid quoted a colonial educational officer by the name John Fraser, who had written in his reports the following:

They are scattered throughout Mombasa and other centers small Quranic schools. They are conducted by Arab masters who know the Quran by heart and teach the children to read but not understand ...children usually boys and not girls, attend these schools at the age of six or seven and study these for two, three or four years....(54)

Although Hamid stated that there was no set curriculum in the Quranic schools, he pointed out that a certain kind of curriculum was in operation in highest institutions of Islamic education. He noted that a few students pursued traditional higher education under the supervision of the Ulama. He observed that Arabic language, the *Quran*, Islamic Jurisprudence, logic, and religious manuals were the subjects offered in these institutions. He cited the Riyaadh Mosque College of Lamu as one of the institutions that offered traditional higher Islamic education.

The idea of children reading the *Quran* without understanding did not apply only to Muslim children but to all other children of Christian and Hindu faith. Children do not have a developed ability to clearly understand issues dealing with the spirit, universe and being. In the subsequent portions of the thesis, Abdul Hamid confined himself to showing how the colonial government, missionaries and voluntary organizations worked in co-operations to establish Western secondary education at the coast (Hamid, 1980).

Mambo (1980) analysed the challenges of western education at the coast province of Kenya in the period 1890 to 1963. He cited the entrenchment of Islam at the Coast as one of the factors that hindered western education. Surprisingly, he neither described nor discussed the Islamic educational system that actually made it difficult for the inhabitants

of the Coast to respond positively to Western education. His thesis does not help us understand the development of Islamic education (Mambo,1980).

Abreu (1982) discussed Islamic education in Kenya. She credited Waswahili for having pioneered the establishment of a formal school system in Kenya. The Arabs and Waswahili set up *Quranic* schools at the East African Coast by the 12th Century A.D. In her opinion, the Quranic schools perpetuated Islamic faith and culture, but failed to prepare pupils to fulfill various occupational roles in their societies. Although she conceded that opportunities for traditional higher Islamic education in Kenya were scarce, there was a provision for those who wanted to proceed. Those who were interested in higher Islamic education went to Egypt, Hijaz and Hadramaut. However, the students who could not afford to travel to the above-mentioned countries received their traditional higher Islamic education through seminars held in mosque or teachers (Ulema) housed. The subjects discussed in these seminars included: Arabic language, Muslim Jurisprudence, *Quranic* Exigencies, Logic and basic religious manuals (p. 22)

Abreu's (1982) argument that Koranic schools did not prepare Muslim children for future careers cannot be supported by available evidence, because there were and still exist professional classes at the coast. There are merchants, Ulama, navigator's sheikhs and numerous Artisans in various occupational sectors. Islamic education had a contribution towards the promotion and sustainability of these careers. What is of great importance in Abraeu's analysis of Islamic education is the fact that there existed a system of higher Islamic education with a definite curriculum.

Sifuna (1990) made reflections on Islamic education which provide significant basis for our study. He vividly explained to the Western world, the contribution of Islamic civilization not only to European renaissance but also to the development of technical, scientific and higher education. He wrote:

Western civilization owes much to the Arabs and Muslims. Arabs and Muslims science and civilization had a great influence. It was Islam that revived the study of sciences and it was through the Arabs that the modern world achieved development through science...acentury before the Western world had already established such center in Basra, Kusa Baghdad Cairo, and Cordova. These began as religious schools located in mosques and later developed into Universities. (p. 24)

Since Islam spread to the East African Coast in the 7th century A.D. and given that Islamic civilization has had a literary tradition for centuries, then, one would expect that an advanced form of this tradition must have diffused, from Cairo and Basra into Mogadishu, Lamu, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Kilwa and other East African towns.

Sifuna (1990) also discussed the aim and curriculum of Islamic education in Africa. He argued that Islamic education fostered moral and character training in the pupils. He criticized the Muslim instructors for using brutal methods of discipline in the course of administering this education. He challenged the Ulama to explain the dominance of men in Islamic education, when the *Quran* allows women equal opportunities to education with men. He suggested that *Quranic* schools could offer Arabic grammars, poetry and composition to pupils, instead of the *Quran* only. He also noted the existence of higher institutions of Islamic education whose curriculum consisted of *Tafsir*, interpretation of the literature, hadith, *fiqh* and Arabic (Sifuna, 1990,p. 19).

Sifuna (1990) did not proceed to give an elaborate background of development of traditional higher Islamic education. It is also possible that Sifuna's criticism on harsh disciplinarian methods in *Quranic* schools was based on evidence found in British colonial documents. The British, just like other Europeans who had a Christian background despised Islamic education (Sifuna, 1990).

Maina (1992) has enhanced our understanding of Islamic education and culture. He noted that the East African coast had maritime relations with the oriental world for quite a long period. The oriental world consisted of Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, Iran, Iraq, China, Persia, Indonesia and India. He stated that formal education among children begun at the age of 4-6 years. This formal education began at the elementary level called *chuo* (Quranic School) which was always a building that was an extension of the *mosque* or build next to a mosque.

The *chuo* was run on a charity basis, so pupils did not pay fees, and the teacher did not earn a salary. After the *chuo* pupils who progressed with their education moved on to the *Madrassa* which too was either built adjacent to a *mosque* and or an extension of the *mosque*. In most cases lessons for students in the *Madrassa* (secondary education) was conducted in the *mosque* itself. Islamic scholars who taught *Madrassa* could also hold lessons in their own private residence. In the *Madrassa* students learnt *fiqh*. The learners memorized texts on Shafi School of law. They also learnt *hadith* and *Quran*. Students who pursued higher education could proceed to Egypt, *Hijaz* and *Hadramwt* in Saudi

Arabia for studies. Those who did not seek higher Islamic education outside Kenya could also join the Lamu Riyaadh Mosque College.

Maina (1992) also examined the impact of British colonialism on Islamic education and Islamic culture. He highlighted the acrimony between the British colonialists and the Muslims on the East African coast. This acrimony was a result of Christian missionaries denouncing slavery and linking it to Islam. Yet the Muslims at the coast relied on slave labour for their agricultural economy. He then discussed at length the development of types of Islamic education; particularly the *Madrassa* in the colonial and postcolonial era. He accused the British colonial administrators and educators for causing the decline of this culture. He severally alluded to existence of traditional higher Islamic education in the coastal region of Kenya. However, he did not examine the aspects of these education since his research area was secondary/*Madrassa* education rather than higher traditional Islamic education (Maina, 1992, p. 73).

Other scholars who have contributed to our understanding of traditional higher Islamic education in Kenya include; Maingi (1987) who wrote an M.A thesis on the diversity factor in the history of Islam in Lamu. In the process of analyzing class divisions in Lamu, Maingi made some expositions on Islamic education. She noted that a class of educated Muslim existed in Lamu prior to the 20th century. A.D. Most of the members of this class originally came from Comoro Island to pursue higher studies in Lamu. Among the many people who came to Lamu to seek traditional higher education was Habib Salih, the founder of Lamu Mosque College. She wrote:

In 1866 Sheriff Habib Salih, a young man of 15, followed his uncle Sheriff Ali, to Lamu from Comoro island. He studied many subjects under different Teachers and obtained Ijaza, or Special license in each of them. He began to teach and associate with the Comoro islanders and ex-slaves (Maingi 1987: 69).

Maingi (1987) did not proceed to examine the kind of education that was offered to this educated class. She neither identified subjects taught to this class, nor the curriculum of training which the teachers went through. Her concern was about the manner in which Islamic education determined the behavior of members of educated class in Lamu town. (Maingi, 1987)

A comprehensive study of higher Islamic education could shed light on how this education promoted social stratification and elitism in the Coastal region of Kenya.

Pouwells (1987) attempted a detailed description of Islamic education in the Coastal towns of East Africa. He argued that Islamic learning at the East African coast was elementary prior to 1860. However, with the immigration of Hadrami sheriffs from Arabia to the East African coast, there was a shift from elementary system of education to Islamic higher education. He emphasized that the quality of education one received depended on the social class he/she emanated from. He wrote:

Recent converts and most waungwana were permitted to learn the basic tenets of the faith, but their Knowledge of the written tradition and Arabic extended only as far as what was taught in Qoranic(Quranic) schools. Such an education lasted only two or three years after which most boys were initiated into the vocational arts of their father and forefathers. Even children of the wealthiest and more prestigious houses were permitted to attend only. A few classes' offered by local Waalimu for the wider community usually such classes were offered at walimu's house or in the mosque at appointed times of the day. Knowledge of the Islamic sciences, in their local versions and with its texts was available only to scions of certain clans, which were recognized for their specialization in these areas. Thus, in Lamu, the maawi clan which produced the

towns Waalimu and khatibs, while in Mombasa the Mazrui Maamins and Mandhry, clans made up the town's learned elites (Pouwells, 1987:80)

Like other scholars we have discussed, Pouwells did not trace the development of traditional higher Islamic education at the East Africa Coast since 1800. However, his contribution helps us to understand that the growth of traditional higher Islamic education in East Africa was influenced by external factors. Pouwells also gave credit to shariff Habib Salih for founding Riyaadh Lamu Mosque College. This college, he noted was the first institution in Lamu to offer equal educational opportunities to the children of ex-slaves. The college provided teachers to the *Madrasa* in Nairobi, Voi and the coastal hinterland.

Wamahiu (1988) also contributed to our understanding of Islamic education in Kenya. In her anthropological study of Adigo women, she argued that despite efforts and incentives by different organizations to promote the education of Muslim women, little had been achieved. She noted that a number of Adigo girls who are Muslims had attended *Quranic* schools, but still very few of them proceeded to the next levels of *Madrasa* and Islamic higher education. She found out that Islamic values among Adigo women are transmitted more effectively through the process of socialization within the context of the family and the community than through formal school systems. Wamahiu's study has a limited scope because it was confined only on the Adigo women. Similarly its anthropological approach could not accommodate analysis of change through time.

Williams (2009) investigated integrated schools in Mombasa by looking at the relationship between doctors and Imams. She noted that formalized education was

introduced at the Kenyan coast with the arrival of Islam in the 11th century .A.D. The Muslim traders brought Islamic religion and *Madrassa* schools to the Coastal towns of Kenya as they engaged in commerce with the Swahili societies. As Islam became established, Muslim traders and Swahili Muslim converts set up *mosques* and *Madrassa* schools.

These Islamic schools taught Arabic language, the *Quran* and Islamic history. Gradually, Islamic education was incorporated into East African coastal culture. The *Madrassa* forms of education were well entrenched in the Kenyan coast by the time the Portuguese and later the British and Germans established their political economies in the East African coast in the 15th -17th centuries A.D and 19th-20th centuries.AD. The arrival of European Christian missionaries and colonial administrators brought a new paradigm shift in the education of the people in coastal Kenya.

The Christian European missionaries set up their first school at Rabai and more schools followed. Muslim parents feared that if they sent their children to missionary schools/British colonial schools, the children would lose their Islamic values and adopt European western values. It was this fear that forced Muslims at the coast to lag behind in accessing Western modern education in the 20th century. While the Swahili were the pioneers in literacy skills in Kenya, they became the last in accessing secular education. Thus the integrated school system being experimented in Mombasa was aimed at teaching secular education that could produce professionals such as; medical doctors, engineers, architects, lawyers, accountants, and teachers with *madrassa* education that would impart Islamic values and beliefs in the children (Williams, 2009, pp. 5-8).

Shaaban (2012) gave a concise perspective of the challenges of teaching Islamic religious education on spiritual and academic formation of secondary school students in Nairobi city in Kenya. He identified the challenges as shortage of trained teachers and inadequate teaching and learning materials. He did observe that most teachers were not literate in basic Arabic and therefore avoided teaching the *Quran* and *hadithi* the two key sources of Islamic education, Islamic faith and Islamic *sharia*. Since there were few teachers trained in Arabic language, only fifty-two out of the two hundred primary schools in Nairobi offered Islamic religious education. He proceeded to outline the curriculum of Islamic religious education offered to students in Nairobi. The curriculum entailed learning of; science of the *Quran*, *hadithi*, Pillars of faith, Morality, history of Islam, Islam in Eastern Africa and Muslim scholars. Unlike Christian religious education, Islamic Religious education did not have a full set of recommended course books at primary and secondary levels. He identified two textbooks that were used extensively in the teaching of Islamic religious education at primary and secondary levels. The two books were developed by the Kenya Institute of Education and included: Textbooks of Islamic religious education forms one and two and Islamic Religious Education forms one to four. He then completed his survey by mentioning Islamic universities that have been established in Uganda and Tanzania in the contemporary period and the type of Islamic curriculum of education that they offer. The universities are; Muslim University of Morogoro in Tanzania, Zanzibar University in Zanzibar, Tanzania and the Islamic University in Uganda (Shaaban, 2012).

The above discussion by Shaaban (2012) examined contemporary curriculum of Islamic education in Kenya, but did not address the gaps in traditional higher Islamic education that was the main point of concern for this study.

This literature brings out a knowledge gap in relation to the study of traditional higher Islamic education in eastern Africa. The above scholars have in one way or the other made reference to existence of traditional higher Islamic education. Nevertheless, there is no concise and comprehensive study of traditional higher Islamic education in Coastal Kenya; its history, characteristics, curriculum, organization and evaluation, thus the need for this study. This study filled this gap.

Summary of Literature Review

The above literature documents the origin and growth of traditional higher Islamic education in Middle East, North Africa, West Africa and East Africa. The literature has highlighted several aspects of higher Islamic education ranging from: institutions of higher Islamic learning, curriculum, funding, enrolment, evaluation and certification, scholars involved in the dissemination of traditional higher Islamic knowledge and a historical growth of this type of education. This literature has a gap in the aspect of historicizing this traditional higher Islamic education.

1.9. Research Methodology

1.9.1. Research Design

The study adapted descriptive research design that allowed the researcher to conduct a field survey in the towns of Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa. The design entailed careful observations of any tangeable evidence of traditional higher Islamic education in coastal Kenya. The descriptive design adopted was explanatory research in which the aim was to

seek explanations of observed manifestations of traditional higher Islamic education. The purpose of the design was to examine the state of traditional higher Islamic education as it existed in the past (Bhattacharjee, 2012).

1.9.2. Study Area

The research took place in major urban centres of Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa. Lamu is located on the northern part of the Kenya coastline. It is an island. It is the oldest and best-preserved Swahili settlement in East Africa. The buildings in the town were constructed using coral stone and mangrove timber. The town developed in the 12th Century.A.D, though early settlements in Lamu are traced to the 9th A.D. Century. Mombasa is an island surrounded by two creeks, Port Reiz and Tudor. It has one of the best harbours, the Kilindini, in East Africa.

It is famous for its tourism attraction, specifically Fort Jesus a monument built by the Portuguese in 1593. It developed as early as the 12th century but became a major international Port in the 15th century and was renowned for export of slaves and ivory. Malindi lies between Mombasa and Lamu almost one hundred and fifty kilometers north of Mombasa. It is a major tourist centre situated at the mouth of river Sabaki. These urban centers acted as foci where the Ulama had the opportunity to share their knowledge with students and other believers. It is in these centers that an intellectual culture evolved. Students from coastal hinterland came to these centers to acquire higher education. Lamu was the centre of the Hadrami sheriffs who pioneered higher Islamic education in Coastal Kenya. Lamu is also the home of Riyadhi Lamu Mosque College that offered higher Islamic education to the people in Coastal Kenya and beyond. Mombasa is an important

locality for the research because it accommodated the Mazrui Mosque that offered higher Islamic education. It also accommodated Mombasa Institute of Muslim education, which offered higher education in the colonial era. Malindi town had many social classes whose basis was access to higher Islamic education. These towns have over 87% of the population who are Muslims and so they have strong Islamic culture. Map of the study area is Appendix 1

1.9.3. Study Population

The target population consisted of Islamic scholars, religious leaders, students taking Islamic studies, Education officers. This included officials of the Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims, SUPKEM, Lecturers and students in Islamic university in Thika, Teachers in Muslim secondary schools and retired Islamic leaders and scholars.

1.9.4. Sampling Technique and Sample Size

Sampling is the process of selecting units e.g. people, organizations from a population of interest so that by studying the sample, we may fairly generalize our results back to the population from which the selected sample. Purposive sampling method was used to pick subjects that have knowledge about the organizational structure of traditional higher Islamic education as it was practised in the pre-colonial and colonial periods.

Since this is a historical study where the informants are limited, we used a snow balling procedure to identify the informants. Thus, we did not have a definite sample size, but we strived to interview as many informants knowledgeable on the subject as we could. We settled on a sample size of 27 informants out of whom we had 7 key informants. This

represented more than ten percent of the possible surviving informants who witnessed the growth and decline of traditional higher Islamic education.

1.9.5. Research Instruments

The study used Key informant interviews and focused group discussion in collection of data. Key informant interviews are qualitative in-depth interviews with people who have knowledge on what is going on in the community. The study also used content text analysis,

1.9.6. Sources of Data

This study adopted the use of historical research method. Historical research method refers to the systematic collection and objective evaluation and synthesis of data derived with a view to establish facts and draw conclusions concerning past events. This method focused on identification and analysis of secondary and primary sources.

The primary sources consisted of archival material located in the libraries, museums, record rooms and national archives at Lamu, Mombasa and Nairobi. The secondary sources was located in the libraries at National Library services, Mombasa, Post modern Library at Kenyatta University and Jomo Kenyatta library at the University of Nairobi.

1.9.6.1. Primary Sources

Primary sources for this study were historical documents found in the Kenya National Archives, museums in Lamu and Mombasa. They also included research notes deposited by various historians, anthropologists and sociologists in the fort Jesus Museum in

Mombasa. They also included government reports and correspondents. These documents also consisted of records kept in the Riyadh college mosque. Oral interviews were also part of the primary sources.

1.9.6.2. Secondary Sources

In this study, secondary data was obtained from published materials such as textbooks, journals, newspapers, published academic articles, dissertations and theses. Secondary data sources were used to supplement the primary sources and to fill up some of the information gaps not adequately addressed by the primary sources.

1.9.6.3. Key Informant Interview Guide.

The researcher developed an interview guide that was used to collect data from key informants. Two Muslim research Assistants one from Lamu and the other from Mombasa assisted in the conducting of oral interviews. The Assistants were trained how to administer the questionnaire. The researcher booked appointments with the informants and scheduled interviews to the convenience of the informants. The research assistants posed questions to the informant face to face using the interview guide and interjected whenever the informant deviated from the question by posing the same question in a different style.

After going through all the questions in the guide, an informant would be asked to give any other information that she/he deemed relevant to the study but was not captured by the questions in the guide.. An oral interview Guide is attached in Appendix

1.9.3.4. Analysis of Data

The data collected was analysed using the historical processes of external and internal criticism. This process of external and internal criticism gave reliability and validity of data collected. The external criticism for this study aimed at ensuring that the documents used were original. It involved a careful scrutiny of the author's characteristics and qualifications to establish their abilities as reporters of events in question. Also the factors and conditions which influenced the production of those documents such as time, place, circumstances of composition and the type of material that was used in the production such as paper and ink.

Internal criticism was used to ascertain the truthfulness of the information contained in the documents. This was undertaken by examining the competence of the reporters of the said events, their honesty as reporters of facts of the said events and whether their reports were generally in agreement with other available information on the same topic by different people who witnessed the same events. Internal criticism established the accuracy of the data in the document and evaluated the researcher's bias and possible motives for distortion (Sifuna,1995,pp. 72-76).

Internal criticism evaluated the reliability of the data while external criticism evaluated the authenticity of the document. For the data obtained from oral interviews external criticism included cross checking the academic and professional qualifications of the informant. The informants were Muslims with knowledge on Islamic education and

culture. Internal criticism involved analyzing oral data given by the informant using standards set by existing literature on Islamic education and culture.

The collected data was classified in line with the objectives and chapters of the study. The researcher then began interpreting and analyzing the data using the qualitative method. This involved the use of description, narration, logical explanation, inferences, comparisons and critical evaluation of the data. The data was presented as chapters of the study in a prose format. The information obtained from the interviews was compared with that from other sources to verify its originality and significance, and to fill information gaps that the researcher was not able to find in the archival records. Once the interview was over the researcher thanked the informant for sacrificing their time for interview.

1.9.3.5. Ethical Considerations

The researcher sought permission from the respondents for interview. Data provided by informants was treated with the confidentiality it deserved. Respondents' right to privacy was respected too. The researcher respected the views of respondents who did not want their names and personal details appended on the interview guides. Any information given off the curve by respondents was captured during data cleaning and then discarded, hence not coded nor documented for analysis. The researcher at all times never reduced the respondents into objects but made them equal participants in the research.

The purpose of the data collected was explained to the respondents to allay any fears that might have arisen from the exercise. Anonymity of the respondents was assured as a way

of enhancing honesty in their answering questions which helped in the acquisition of the genuine opinions of the respondents, thus strengthening the reliability of data. . Before the interviews began with each informant, the researcher explained the purpose of the research, namely that it was an academic research and data collected was for academic purposes only assuring the respondents confidentiality in the research.

I encountered numerous challenges in collecting data. This ranged from the fact that I am not a Muslim and yet was doing research in Islamic education. Islamic Scholars were hesitant to provide information for fear that I was doing it for their enemies. Secondly, most of the documents in the Islamic institutions such as Riyadh Mosque College are written in Arabic making it difficult for me to read since I do not know Arabic. To overcome these challenges I had to contract research assistants who were Muslims and locals of Mombasa, Lamu and Malindi. I also identified an expert in Arabic language to translate the documents for me.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 ISLAM AT THE KENYA COAST, 800-1850.A.D.

This chapter discusses the establishment of Islam at the Coastal region of Kenya. It provides the history and culture of Islam by examining the growth of Islam in Lamu, Mombasa and Malindi. This chapter lays down the religious, social, political and economic background that produced traditional higher Islamic education in the coast region of Kenya.

2.1 History and culture of Islam

The history and culture of Islam is a hybrid of numerous civilizations that stretch right from the Umayyad, Abbassid and Hispano- Arabic. Pre-Islamic poetry and prose which was transmitted orally was recorded mostly during the Umayyad period (661-750 A.D.) when the Arab way of life began shifting from the simple nomadic life prevalent in the peninsula to an urban and sophisticated one. Contacts with Greece and Persia gave a greater impulse to music, which frequently accompanied the recitation of prose and poetry (Nadvi, 1978).

In the fourth century B.C., when Alexander the Great conquered Asia Minor and founded Alexandria, he set the stage for the great migration of Greek philosophy and science to that part of the world. During the Ptolemaic period, Alexandria, Egypt, was the radiant center for the development and spread of Greek culture throughout the Mediterranean. That great center of learning continued after 641, when Egypt became part of the Muslim state. Thereafter Syria, Baghdad, and Persia became similar channels for the

communication of essentially Greek, Syriac, pre-Islamic Persian and Indian cultural values.

As a result, the writings of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle influenced Islamic philosophy. The great Muslim philosophers such as Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Sina Avicenna, Ibn Rushd (Averroes), al-Farabi and al-Ghazali translated the works of earlier Greek philosophers and added their own significant contributions. It was essentially through such works that Western civilization was able to benefit from these earlier legacies. In fact, St. Thomas Aquinas, the founder of Catholic naturalism, developed his views of Aristotle through the translation of Ibn Sina Avicenna and Ibn Rushd (Averroes). These great philosophers produced a wealth of new ideas that enriched civilization, particularly Western civilization that has depended so much on their works.

The influence of Islam ultimately made possible the European Renaissance, which was a product of the ideas of the Greeks that were modified and disseminated by Muslim philosophers. The same is true of early legal writings of Muslim scholars such as al-Shaybani, who in the seventh century started the case method of teaching Islamic international law. This law was subsequently put into writing in the twelfth century by a disciple in India (Munoz, 1999).

The study of history held a particular interest to Arab Muslims imbued with a sense of mission. This is because Islam is a religion for all peoples and all times, and because the Qur'an states that God created the universe and caused it to be inhabited by men and women and peoples and tribes so that they may know each other. As a result, Muslims

recorded their own history and that of others. But they added insight to facts and gave to events, people, and places a philosophical dimension expressed in the universal history written by al-Tabari of Baghdad (838-923). In the introduction to his multi-volume work, Al-Tabari devoted an entire volume to the science of history and its implications. He also wrote an authoritative text on the history of prophets and kings, which continues to be a most comprehensive record of the period from Abraham to the tenth century (Muzaffar, 2000).

The West's attraction to Arabo-Islamic culture was expressed in many ways. For instance "The Thousand and One Nights" captured Western Europe's cultural and popular fancy in the 1700's (first translated into French by Galland in 1704, then into English). Dante's "Divine Comedy" contains reference to the Prophet's ascension to Heaven. Shakespeare in "Othello" and the "Merchant of Venice" describes Moorish subjects. Arabo-Islamic culture, knowledge, scholarship, and science fed the Western world's development for five hundred years between the tenth and fifteenth centuries (Ellingsen, 2000).

From the second half of the eighth century to the end of the eleventh century, Islamic scientific developments were the basis of knowledge in the world. When the scientific and philosophical heritage of the ancient world was about to disappear, Islamic scholars stepped in to preserve that heritage from extinction. Indeed, without the cultivation of science in these early centuries by Islamic scholars, it is probable that texts, which later exercised authoritative influence over Western culture, would never have survived intact.

The culture and civilization that were founded on Islam not only preserved the heritage of the ancient world but codified, systematized, explained, criticized, modified, and, finally,

built on past contributions in the process of making distinctive contributions of their own. The Arab Muslims essentially developed algebra; the very word derives from the Arabic *Al-Jabr*, the name of a prominent Islamic mathematician. Among the most prominent scholars is the Basra born Ibn al-Haytham (965-1030), who developed the "Alhazen problem," one of the basic algebraic problems, and who made great contributions to Optics and Physics.

He had advanced long before Newton the thesis that extraterrestrial scientific phenomena governed the motion of the earth and stars. He also developed experiments on light, which were nothing short of extraordinary at that time. He demonstrated the theory of parallels, based on the finding that light travels in straight lines, and the passing of light through glass. Astronomy that was developed by the Babylonians continued to flourish under Islam. It soon expanded beyond the science of observation into the design of measuring instruments (Mazrui 1998).

The Arabic alphabet developed from the ancient script used for Nabataean, a dialect of Aramaic, in a region now part of Jordan. The Arabic alphabet has twenty eight letters. However, additional letters have been added to serve the need of other languages using the Arabic script; such as Farsi, Dari, Urdu, and Turkish until the early part of the 20th century. The medical sciences were largely developed throughout the works of Ibn Sina (Avicenna), al-Razzi, and Husayn bin Ishak al-Ibadi, who translated Hippocrates and other Greeks. Razi (860-940) is reported to have written two hundred books on medicine, one of them on medical ethics, and the *Hawi*, a twenty five volume practical encyclopedia.

Ibn Sina (980-1037) became a famed physician at eighteen who wrote sixteen books and the *Canoun*, an encyclopedia on all known diseases in the world. It was translated into many languages such as English, French, Italian, Spanish, German and Russian. Medical science soon led into Zoology, Veterinary Medicine, Pharmacy, Pharmacology and Chemistry. The most important medical school was Judishapur in Iran founded in 738.A.D. It was managed by Syrian Christians and became the center for most Muslim practical learning and the model for the hospitals built under the Abbasids between 749-1258. The Arabs clearly followed the Hadith of the Prophet urging them to pursue knowledge from birth to death (Fidora, 2007).

It is important to note that it was not only the pure or abstract sciences that received emphasis in early years since practical and technical arts made advances as well. The greatest of the 9th century physician-philosophers was perhaps Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariya al-Razi, known to the west as Rhazes. He wrote over 184 books and was an early advocate of experiment and observation in science (Perler, 2006).

Simultaneously, in Spain (Al-Andalus), the social and natural sciences were being advanced by men such as Ibn Khaldun, the first historian to explicate the laws governing the rise and fall of civilizations. The brilliant flowering of Islamic science in Andalusia was directly stimulated by the renaissance in Baghdad. Scholars regularly travelled the length of the known world to sit and learn at the feet of a renowned teacher (Perler, 2006). The growth of higher Muslim education in the coastal region of Kenya has its roots in the spread of Islam into coastal Kenya. Archaeological evidence does show that Islam could have been entrenched in East Africa as early as 830 A.D. An excavation in Lamu

discovered a foundation of a mosque where gold, copper and silver coins were also discovered.

Islam came into East Africa through trade and remained an urban religion confined in Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa. In southern Zanzibar a mosque was discovered at Kizimkazi in 1007. When Ibn Batuta of Morocco visited East African coast lands in 1332, he found a thriving Islamic culture from Lamu down to Mozambique. He worked as Kadhi in Maldivian islands for a year. The Arabic language had developed as a Lingua Franca for commerce in the Eastern African coast as early as 1300 (Khadija, 1998).

The Muslim presence in coastal Kenya increased after the 12th century through expansion of trade in the Indian Ocean. Muslim traders migrated from Oman, Yemen, Hadhramaut and Iran and came to settle on the East African coast from Somali to Mozambique. Mogadishu, Lamu, Malindi, Mombasa, Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar, Kilwa and Comoro Islands became centres of international and local trade (Khadija, 1998).

As Islam expanded into other regions and encountered other indigenous traditions and languages, it became necessary to develop a cadre of Muslim experts who would develop sophisticated books on *Fiqh*-Islamic Jurisprudence, *Sunna*- Prophet Muhammed traditions, *hadithi*- prophets' sayings and *tafsir* the interpretation of the *Quran* to cater for the needs of non-Arab populations. This led to the development of the *madarassa* tradition whose initial purpose was to preserve religious conformity through uniform teachings of Islam for all (Khadija, 1998).

The first Madrassa was set up in 1005 A.D. by Fatimid's caliph in Egypt. It taught the minority Shiite Islam and had teachers for different subjects. Students were provided with ink, pens, and writing materials. An inventory done in 1045 indicated that the library had 6500 different volumes on astronomy, philosophy and architecture. The Sunni conquered Egypt and replaced *Shiite* Islam with *Sunni* Islam. In 1067 another madrasa was set up in Baghdad by Nizam-UI-Mulk who is considered the father of public Islamic education system. In the Indian sub continent, madrassas were spread by Sufi orders. In the *Madrassa* subjects such as; Grammar, Poetry, Logic, Mathematics and general Islamic subjects were offered. Arabic was the language of instruction, thus to acquire higher education one had to master Arabic and in some instances Persian (Khadija, 1998).

Madrassa provided both spiritual and secular knowledge. The secular covered public Administration, Sciences and Philosophy. Spiritual knowledge focused on the Quran and Islamic law and Theology. It was in Spain that Islamic education reached its climax in the period 800-1300 A.D. Scholars combined secular and spiritual knowledge and produced philosophy that laid the basis for the growth of Science, Technology and Medicine. Renowned scholars such as Ibn Rushid (the mathematician) and Al-Zarghali (the physician) were part of this golden age of Islamic scholarship (Anzar, 2003).

2.2. Establishment of Islam in Coastal Kenya

The coastal region of Kenya is a section of the East African coastal region stretching from Mogadishu in Somalia to San Diego in Mozambique. The islands of Lamu, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Comoros and Madagascar are an integral part of the East African

coast. The culture, economy and political systems in the East African coast are a result of systematic cycles of influence from Middle East, Asia, Europe and Africa.

There are two opposing explanations for the elaborate civilization in the East African region in the period 1.A.D to 1850.A.D. The first explanation is that foreign culture specifically Arabic, Persian, Indian, Portuguese and Oman was brought to the coast and imposed on the people in the region. The other argument is that pre-swahili and foreigners did not influence Swahili culture. It seems apparent that the Swahili culture was a blending of both foreign and indigenous values, philosophies and socio economic and political institutions. Nonetheless, by the 14th century A.D. Islam had already been entrenched in Eastern African coast. Muslim merchants from Oman and Persia came to the East African coast by this period and gradually led to the rise of social and political elites who provided the foundation of Islamic education in the region.

The decline of Kilwa and Sofala urban centres in the early 16th century was due to decline of gold trade in the hinterland of Zimbabwe. This gave an opportunity for northern Swahili towns of Mogadishu, Lamu Archipelago, Pate, Malindi and Mombasa to become major world trade centres in the Indian Ocean maritime trade. The Lamu archipelago experienced a great social transformation partly due to the settlement of Muslim families from Oman in the 15th century (Beaujard, 2007, pp. 14-35).

The coastal region of Kenya stretches from Kwale in the south to Lamu in the North. Urbanization is a main feature of coastal Kenya. The towns along coastal Kenya were Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa. There were other smaller towns such as Pate and Manda

which were found on islands along the coast. The mainland too had towns like Rabai, Witu and Mpeketoni, just to name a few. As such, urbanization gave impetus to growth of Islamic education in the coastal region in Kenya. Lamu was the centre of commerce at the eastern African Indian Ocean by the 10th century A.D.

Arab merchants visited coastal lines of East Africa from 1st century A.D. The merchants married local women, learnt the language of the indigenous people in Lamu and adapted to the local customs. The Swahili culture gradually evolved from this integration of Arab and Persian-Arab settlers with the indigenous African population. The coastal settlements of Eastern Africa were set up by the 10th century A.D. The founders of these settlements which grew into urban centres were the Swahili from Lamu. By the 10th century A.D. Lamu was the hub of all long distance trade along the East African coast. This trade was based on ivory a product that was in high demand in Oman and India. The Lamu Archipelago had small towns such as Pate, Manda and Shanga which were prosperous commercial centres by the 10th century (Allen, 1993, p. 167).

The process of urbanization in coastal Kenya is traced to the eighth century when a group of Arabs left the Arabian Peninsula and settled in the Coastal region of Southern Somalia. These Arab immigrants began trading with coastal people around the Southern Somalia coast. From the Coastal region of Southern Somalia, these Arab immigrants moved into Kenya in coastal towns. Swahili language, which was a lingua Franca in this region, was instrumental in the process of urbanization. This language forged nationalism among Arab immigrants and indigenous Africans who were living in coastal Kenya.

There was intermarriage among these people therefore Kiswahili language was an ideal medium of communication. For our purpose, it is crucial to note that Kiswahili language played a significant role in building a literacy culture among the coastal communities in Kenya. Most manuscripts and texts collected in coastal Kenya were written in either Kiswahili or Arabic. Arabic language was presumed to be superior to Kiswahili because the people who spoke and wrote Arabic belonged to a prestigious class.

The growth of urbanization exposed coastal Kenya to new ideas, systems, institutions and culture. From eighth century to the present, Islam has characterized and influenced the worldview of people in coastal Kenya. There is no other region in Kenya where Islam is as entrenched as in the coastal Kenya. Whereas, it is true that Northern Kenya, which is occupied by Somali speakers, Borana and Rendille, is predominantly Islamic, these people still consider coastal Kenya and Saudi Arabia to provide leadership in Islamic and intellectual matters (Nimtz, 1984,p. 3).

Kenyan coastal Islam is dominantly Sunni in its form and expression. The Shias are few and have minimal impact on the socio-cultural, economic and political organization of the Kenya coastal strip. It is the Sunnis that have influenced growth of basic, secondary and higher Islamic education in coastal Kenya. However, criticism of Sunni way of life by the Shia has provided stimuli for theoretical perception and philosophy in higher Islamic education in coastal Kenya.

For centuries the economy of coastal towns has been nurtured on trade. Coastal Kenya Communities have traded with Arabia, India, Persia, Somalia, Egypt, Portugal, Spain,

Britain, United States of America, Germany, France, Zanzibar, Uganda, Tanganyika, and the interior of Kenya. The growth of trade between Coastal Kenya and other communities across the Indian Ocean led to development of Islamic education. Arab and Swahili families' clans that had economic power paid fees for their children to seek higher Islamic education locally and internationally. One cannot separate development of capitalism in coastal Kenya from that of higher Islamic education (Powell, 1972).

Coastal Kenya has had a constant political feature where foreigners occupied and controlled political institutions. The 19th century was associated with the expansion of Omani leadership in Coastal towns of Mombasa, Lamu and Malindi. The end of the Omani and Zanzibar Sultanate gave way to British Colonialism. In the political organizational structures of towns such as Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa, there was foreign administration from Oman, Arabia, Comoro and Zanzibar. Islamic higher education was the criteria used to justify legitimacy to control administration of judicial, executive and legislative matters. African communities had minimal knowledge of the Koran and Hadithi of Prophet Mohammed therefore; they could not participate in administration. Below is a brief survey of the contribution of three key towns; Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa in the historical growth of Islamic education (Burnt, 2004).

2.2.1. Lamu

Lamu holds a prestigious position in Islamic cultural transformation in coastal Kenya. It is the only town in Kenya that has preserved her traditional architectural design and buildings. The town hosts the famous Riyadh, Lamu Mosque College, which was one of

the major institutions of higher Islamic education in coastal Kenya in the period 1900-1960. The college has been the centre of Islamic reform movements in coastal Kenya.

This college organizes annual birthday celebration of Prophet Mohammed referred to as Maulid celebrations. The celebrations that last for more than a week bring together professionals, traders, religious leaders and ordinary Muslims from all over East Africa, Comoros islands, Madagascar, Somalia and parts of Southern Arabia. Islamic scholars and religious leaders use the celebration to give direction on all conflicting and intricate issues that affect Muslims in East Africa (Lienhardt, 1959).

Lamu has distinct social stratification. A clan by the name Maawi is the oldest and claims its descent from the Umayyads of Spain. This clan does not encourage intermarriage with Arabs. The Mafazi clan, which is dominant in both Pate and Lamu, is Swahili as it traces its descent to African communities in coastal Kenya. The Hadramaut is another clan in Lamu that is influential in Islamic scholarship. In Lamu political and religious Islamic education had legitimacy in political and religious issues. The communities in Lamu held higher Islamic education in such high esteem that Islamic scholars were venerated. It was believed that Islamic scholars (Ulema) had “*baraka*” which is the ability to heal and intervene in spiritual matters on behalf of the people. The founder of Riyadh Lamu Mosque College was regarded as a saint and worshiped (Lienhard, 1959).

Islamic and Intellectual traditions in the late 19th century in Lamu were sustained by the establishment of the Riyadh Lamu Mosque College which was founded in 1879 by Salih b. Alawi Jamal al Layl popularly known as Habib Saleh who was born in 1853 and

passed on in 1936. He was a descendant of migrants from Hadramawt who settled in Pate town in Lamu in the 16th century A.D. From Pate, these Hadramawt migrants spread to Comoros islands and Zanzibar. Habib Saleh lineage claimed that they were descendants from the clan of Prophet Muhammad himself (Kominko, 2015,p. 137).

Lamu is perceived the center of the Ba-Alwi order. This is just one of the many orders or tarigas or brotherhoods that characterize coastal Kenya Islam. The other brotherhoods are Qadiriya and Shadilliya. The core doctrine of this tariga is based on division of knowledge into indirect and direct knowledge. In the understanding of Ba-Alwi, indirect knowledge included all the traditional Islamic subjects, while knowledge referred to knowledge which only sheriffs were capable of gathering as a result of their descent from Prophet Mohammed (Kominko, 2015, p.138).

2.2.2 Mombasa

Mombasa is an island on the East African coast of the Indian Ocean. The island occupies an area of about nine kilometers square and has a running coastline of five kilometers long and four kilometers wide. Mombasa Island has a very close proximity to the mainland and its deep channels did allow excellent anchorage for ships, thus making the island develop into a major terminal on the eastern seaboard, for caravan routes into the interior.

For centuries Arabs, Portuguese and the British considered Mombasa an important strategic and commercial center for the East African coast. The first accounts of Mombasa indicate that it was divided into two main parts, which were Mji wa Kale (old town) and Gavana (administrative centre built by the Portuguese). Initially the town was

referred to as *Gongwa or Kongowea* or Nyali Kuu. The first inhabitants of the town were associated with Bantu speaking communities who inhabited *Gongwa, Kongowea* and *Nyali Kuu*. It is probable that they could have been sections of the Mijikenda and the Swahili (Mwakimako, 2003,pp. 33-34).

The Swahili who lived both in the island and mainland were divided into two confederations which were the thelatha taifa (three ethnic groups/three Mijis) and the Tisa Taifa (nine nations). The tisa ethnic groups are also referred to as the Mvita tribes and are made up of the Wa Mvita, Wa Kilifi, Wa Mtwapa, Wapate, Washaka, Wa Gunya, Wa Kame, Wa Faza and Wa Mjovu. The three tribes or Miji Mitatu or thelatha taifa were made up of the Wa Kilindini, Wachangamwe and Watangane.

The Mijikenda were divided into the Digo, Rabai, Kaume, Kambe, Ribe, Rabai, Duruma and Jibana. The Digo claim they were the first society to settle in the island of Mombasa and occupied areas such as Kongowea, Nyali, Kizungo and Mtwapa. The Jibane, Chonyi and Ribe settled in the western and northeastern parts of Mombasa mainland. The other groups of inhabitants of Mombasa are Arabs from Omani who were divided into the Mazrui, Mandhry and Busaidy clans.

In Oman the Mazrui were described as the Mazaria who were part of the Bani Jabir tribes that lived in the valleys of Jabir. The Mazrui came to Mombasa as soldiers of the Yarubi Imam of Muscat town in Oman during the 18th century A.D. Yarubi Imam had sent his army to drive the Portuguese out of Mombasa town. After the war, the Mazrui remained

in Mombasa where they intermarried with the local communities and became the cosmopolitan societies in Mombasa (Mwakimako, 2003,pp. 39-41).

The establishment of Mombasa is associated with two rulers namely Mwana Mkisi and Mwana Mvita, however there is a general consensus that these rulers are part of the first Arab immigrants who came to the East African coast to trade and settled in Mombasa and led to its growth. This urban settlement is traced to as early as 900 A.D, because the accounts of travellers such as Al Idris and Ibn Batuta who visited the east African coast in 1150.A.D and 1331 A.D. respectively gave accounts of the commercial prosperity of the town in their documents.

As early as the 12th to 14th centuries A.D, Mombasa town had established lucrative trade in spices, gold and ivory with Yemen, India, Persia and China. By the 15th century the Shirazi dynasty were in control of Mombasa. The Shirazi clans migrated into Eastern African coast from southern Arabia and Persian Gulf. The Shirazi began exerting their rule in Mafia, Pemba, Lamu islands, Comoro Islands and Mogadishu as early as the 13th century A.D. Arab immigrants to East Africa were not only motivated by commerce and the need to spread Islam but also by civil wars in their home of origin. These Arab immigrants introduced Islam to the coastal region and laid the structure of Islamic learning (Mckenna, 2011,pp. 79-80).

The Portuguese conquered the town in 1589 and secured it by constructing the Fort Jesus in 1593. The fort became a military and political base for the Portuguese colonial leaders. The Portuguese interrupted the entrenchment of the Arab hegemony in Mombasa. The conquest of Mombasa by the Portuguese coincided with the death of the Shirazi Sultan of

Mombasa- Shah Ibn Mishhau- who did not name a successor. Once the Portuguese took over the town, they installed their own political nominee from Malindi who governed the town. The local rulers in Mombasa pledged their loyalty to the Portuguese by paying taxes.

The Portuguese maintained military garrisons in all the towns of the East African Coast to maintain their power. They also controlled commerce in the Indian Ocean from Mombasa. They opened custom houses at Mombasa which were used to import iron wares, beads, jewellery, cotton and silk. From Mombasa the Portuguese exported gold, ambergris, ivory and coral. The mainland of Mombasa produced timber, rice and pitch which were trade items between the island and the mainland (Mckenna, 2011,p. 80).

The Portuguese rule lasted for 200 years after which the Omani leaders based in Muscat town in the Middle East successfully pushed the Portuguese out of Fort Jesus in 1698. The Portuguese Empire had spread into Omani. In 1696 Yarubi Imam of Omani organized a military expedition which overthrew the Portuguese from Muscat city. The Imam on the request of the people in Mombasa sent a fleet of 3000 soldiers into Mombasa which fought against the Portuguese and defeated them. Once the Portuguese were overthrown, Mombasa came under the control of the Yarubi Omani leaders. There was increase in immigration and settlement of the Arabs from Omani into the town. These immigrants contributed to the establishment of a literacy culture in the town. In 1735, the Mazrui clan overthrew the rule of the Rarubi and set up their own dynasty in Mombasa which lasted until 1837 when the Sultan Sayyid Said took over the town (Akher, 1982, p. 34).

Sayyid Said became the ruler of Oman in 1806. Once he assumed power he set out to consolidate his leadership over the East African coast. In 1810-1812 he exploited the conflicts between Lamu and Mombasa to assert his authority on the coast. The Mazrui dynasty in Mombasa wanted to enthrone their own governor in Lamu against the will of the people of Lamu. The Mazrui leaders led a combined military expedition with the help of the army from Pate against Lamu. The army of Lamu defeated this aggression and therefore the Mazrui were not able to set up their governor.

This combined military attack against Lamu by the armies of Pate and Mombasa caused a lot of insecurity among the ruling class of Lamu to the extent that they asked for military protection from Oman. Sayyid Said set up acted fast and set up a military base in Lamu and also sent his governor to Lamu in 1812. Similarly in 1822, the Mazrui wanted to enthrone Fumoluti as their governor in Pate, the leadership of Pate sought military aid from Oman and the Mazrui force was driven away and this gave another opportunity to Sayyid Said to set up his own governor in Pate.

The same happened in Pemba where Sayyid Said military assisted the people of Pemba to refuse political control of Mombasa. Thus by 1837, the Mazrui were surrounded by the Oman leaders in neighbouring towns. Sayyid Said exploited conflicts between the Mazrui families that were fighting over leadership in 1837 to attack Mombasa and capture the Mazrui leaders who were shipped to the Persian Gulf and jailed. He then conquered Mombasa and set up his rule in 1840 (Mckenna, 2011, p. 82).

Mombasa had a culture of reading and writing for many centuries. Mombasa was and still remains the centre of Swahili poets that dominated the literary scene in the 19th century such as Bwana Muyaka al Ghassan and Suud Said al-Maamiri. These poets used their work to criticize and give direction to the Mazrui leadership in Mombasa. These poets socialized with local administrators because the community in Mombasa recognized the role of learning in socio-political development (Knight, 1986,p. 1052).

The Mazrui was the dominant ethnic group in Mombasa. It controlled most of the wealth in town. It also produced local leaders and scholars in Mombasa. The mazrui owned large tracts of land and controlled business in town. They were foreigners who came to settle in Mombasa. They opposed ancestor veneration in magic-religious practiced performed by Swahili people. It is probable that the local Mombasa residents did not get attracted to Islamic education because it was critical of their religious beliefs (Powell, 1987, p. 147).

When the Portuguese failed to make an alliance with the leaders of Mombasa, they turned to Malindi where they were received by the Arabic leader. The Portuguese built a pillar in Malindi in 1505 and developed Malindi as a supply station for their ships that were conducting commerce in the Indian ocean. The Portuguese abandoned Malindi in 1593 after they built Fort Jesus in Mombasa and thus made Mombasa their administration base for their commerce. It was not until 1813 that the prosperity of Malindi was revived after the Busaidy leaders set up their provincial administration in the town (Burnt, 2004, p. 188).

2.2.3 Malindi

The first reference to existence of Malindi town is found in a Chinese document called the Yu-tsa-tsu written by Tuan Cheng-shi and published in 1060. However it is the Arab geographer Idrisi who described Malindi town as a town of Zinj situated on the East African coast. He wrote that the inhabitants of the town were engaged in the enterprise of fishing and hunting. It was not until 1500.A.D. that Malindi emerged as an established town which covered six hundred metres long and two hundred metres wide.

The town was enclosed by a wall and inside the wall were stone houses while outside the wall were mud walled houses. Africans lived outside the wall while Arabs lived inside the wall. The Arabs had emerged as a ruling class by 1500 .A.D. and owned shops in the town and plantations in the neighbourhood of the town. The crops grown in the plantations were millet, rice, palm trees, coconut trees, sugar cane, oranges, lemons and vegetables. The residents of Malindi imported spices such as cloves, cumin, ginger and nut Meg from India.

The people of Malindi also imported wheat from Bombay. The trade of Malindi just like that of the other towns on the East African coast depended on the monsoon winds which blew towards east Africa from November to March each year and from May to September they blew towards the Gulf and Asia. Apart from Arabs there were few Asian business people in Malindi. The Indian Ocean trade was the basis of prosperity of Malindi and other East African towns. However the town declined in the 16th and 17th centuries A.D (Martin, 1973, pp. 6-29).

Malindi rose from its decline and became a leading supplier of grain millet on the coast in the period 1850-1880. This economic growth was facilitated by plantation agriculture where over 10,000 African slaves were hired by Muslim entrepreneurs to produce grain. This economic revival coincided with the establishment of the leadership of Malindi by the Sultan of Zanzibar who appointed his governors to head the administration of Malindi and other coastal towns. The grains from Malindi were exported to Zanzibar, Hadramwaut and Somali land. It was this renewed economic development that brought Islamic elites into Malindi who established non formal centres to teach higher Islamic education (Howard & Shain, 2005, p, 90).

2.2.4 Islamic Culture in coastal Kenya

The earliest recorded contacts between the inhabitants of the East African Coast and Arabs is mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythrean sea one of the historical documents used in the reconstruction of East African history. The document does not discuss the religious traits of the people in the East African coast. The Kilwa chronicle mentioned that there were seven Muslim brothers from Persia who had settled in Mombasa because they were running away from religious persecution in their country. The chronicle also describes the conquest of Oman by al-Hajjaj the Syrian Governor and Caliph Adul Malik and the eventual expulsion of Muslim rulers Sulayman and Saaid from Oman. These two rulers fled with their families and travelled to the East African coast and settled there around 685.A.D. It is this settlement that laid the background to the rise of Islam at the East African coast (Mwakimako, 2003, p. 47).

Islam is the religion that defines social formation in coastal Kenya. The pursuit of learning forms the core of Islamic civilizations. The person that commands respect, power and authority in the Muslim community is one that is educated. Such a person is referred to as Ulema .The Ulema are divided into three main groups; the first category is associated with those that study the sharia and are referred to as Fugaha- experts in jurisprudence of fiqh. Those that specialize in adjudication are called Qadi or magistrate.

The Fagih [Fugaha] give legal opinions [fatwa] on various matters that affect religious, cultural, social, political and economic development of the Muslim community. Once a fagih gets widespread recognition as a deliverer of legal opinions he is referred to as Mufti.The second group of Ulema comprises of teachers who were referred to as muallim or mwalimu in Kiswahili language. The last category of the Ulema is the Khatb or Imam. This is the one that administers the mosque and delivers sermons or Khutba on Friday (Nimtz, 1982. p. 17).

From this classification of Muslim Ulema, it is apparent that one required an extensive study or pursuit of Islamic education to qualify for the position of Muallim or Mufti. The social stratification of Muslim communities created demand for higher Islamic education. This education was not only prestigious but also functional (Nimtz, 1982, p. 17).Islam like other world religions has various doctrines that have divided the Umma [Muslim Community] into sects. Islam has two main divisions: Sunni and Shia Muslims. Whereas various philosophical and doctrinal differences distinguish these sects the fundamental basis of their identity is the concept of whether the Koran ought to be the only and sole

authority on which Islamic faith is built or whether the hadithi or writings, traditions of prophets supplement reconstruction of Islamic faith.

In the process of these sects pushing their agenda through research and debate, Islamic higher education is the resultant product. For one to eloquently and articulately defend his position as a Shia or a Sunni, they ought to have passed through a process of intensive study of Islamic law, literature, hadith, history and politics. The study of these disciplines produces higher Islamic education. The Shafi Sunni sect dominates coastal Kenya Islam. The Shafi migrated from Saudi Arabia into the coastal region of Kenya. We also have the Hanafi Muslim sect whose members are Indians. But for coastal Kenya, the religious controversy does not only emphasize Sunni\Shia differences. For the Muslims in coastal Kenya, religious differences revolve around veneration of saints. Whereas the Alwi tariga or brotherhood in Lamu criticize this practice as unorthodox. Hence religious study aims at proofing which of these two ideological groups are correct (Trimigham, 1964, pp. 81-82).

The mosque is the physical representation of Islam in coastal Kenya .One would find a mosque in any cluster of twelve households .The ordinary mosque is rectangular with a Mihrab jutting out .The Mosque was built in such a way that it accommodated large crowds that came for Friday prayers, The Mosque had inner rooms that instilled a desire in the Umma for pursuit of higher education. It was only the Islamic scholars and their students that were allowed into these rooms.In Islamic religion, pursuit of education was synonymous with seeking holiness.

The culture in coastal Kenya is a hybrid of Arab and Swahili culture. However foreign traders from Portugal, Spain, India, Britain, Germany and France also contributed to the sophistication of coastal culture. Similarly, the migration of the Somali into the coastal region in the period 1750-1900 also contributed to the diversity in the cultural traits of coastal Kenya. The Arabs were the pacesetters for cultural traits in coastal towns. The Swahili who occupy the middle strata strive to emulate Arabic culture. On the other hand, Arab descendants intermarry with the Swahili as a way of facilitating physical and social acculturation.

Prior to the dominance of Arab descendants in the coastal social fabric, civilization was equated to Swahilism. Mswahili was a town dweller who was a Muungwana. A Muungwana was a person who dressed in Islamic attires, lived in well-constructed storied houses, spoke Kiswahili fluently and attended to their prayers frequently. Swahili is a Bantu word rooted in the Arabic word Sahil which has the meaning of margin or coast and sometimes in Arabic referring to trade. It is the Oman conquerors who established the sultanate of Zanzibar who used the term Swahili to describe the people of the east African coast. The Swahili was used to describe the indigenous people of the east African coast and the language they spoke.

The Swahili were organized socially and politically in Miji. Each Mji was headed by an elder called Mzee who was in charge of a council of elders. For one to be appointed to the position of Mzee, he had to have vast knowledge of communal histories, wisdom and ability to address positively challenges in the community. Members of the council of elders were knowledgeable in communal rites and sacred values and philosophies of the

community. The settlement of Arabs along the coast and the emergence of Islam influenced the social and political organization of societies in Mombasa, Lamu, Malindi and the coastal mainland.

The concepts of leadership changed and titles such as Mzee were substituted with Shaykh which was more prestigious for it defined a leader with a lot of knowledge in Islam. The Wazee of Miji collaborated with immigrant Arab families and changed the units of power to incorporate Arab dynasties. The overall leadership of coastal towns was identified with Arabs while indigenous leaders struggled to access Islamic education and values in order to legitimize their positions of power both in the islands and the mainland (Mwakimako, 2003,p. 48).

There was considerable intermarriage between the Arab immigrants, traders and local inhabitants in the coastal towns of Kenya. This interbreeding gave rise to an African Islamic culture that used Kiswahili language as its form of expression. Arabic remained the language used in formal education and also in non formal education at the coast. The Swahili literate culture was based on Arabic script to the extent that one could argue that Arabic was like what Latin and Greek were to European languages as sources of lexical borrowing. It is observed that 30 per cent of Kiswahili vocabulary is of Arabic origin. In fact the five Swahili forms of composition which are; shairi, utendi, takhmis, utungo wa Hamziyya and uimbo were inspired by Arabic poetic forms (Abdulaziz, 1984, pp. 133-134).

Indeed it is this profound influence of Arabic on the literate Swahili culture that triggered off the growth of Islamic education transmitted through the Arabic language. For one to study Arabic which was the bedrock of Swahili vocabulary, one had to study Islam since Arabic was taught as a core subject in Islamic education. This explains the upsurge for the quest for Islamic education in coastal Kenya during the the 19th century. The Swahili are people that live in towns and islands along the coastal region of Kenya and Tanzania. The Arabs, Indians and Europeans have referred to the people in urban coastal settlements as Swahili. Among the people in Eastern Africa coastal towns, Swahili was also used to refer to people of lower rank. The people of coastal towns prefer calling themselves wamalindi, walamu, wapemba rather than waswahili. The Swahili speak Kiswahili, are predominantly Muslims and trace their origin to mainland communities such as the Mijikenda, Ziqua and Zaramu. They have lived along coastal towns of Eastern Africa for the last one thousand years (Middleton, 1992, pp. 1-2).

By the end of the 19th century, a civilized person was one who was like an Arab; such a person was called *Mstaarabu*. *Ustaarabu* was not necessarily having been a descendant of an Arab immigrant but symbolized the ability of coastal communities to adopt the culture of the educated elite related to Arabic immigrants. *Mstaarabu* was supposed to have mastered Arabic language, the Quran and achieved higher Muslim education. This best exemplified by claims made by the Digo who do not want to concede that they were proselytized by the Swahili or Arab Muslims.

The Digo assert that their ancestors were not persuaded to pronounce the Shahada (prayers) under the guidance of the Arabs as an indication that they had converted to

Islam. The Digo simply state that they learnt some aspects of Islam from the Arabs but that did not symbolize that the Arabs proselytized them to become Muslims. This is because being a Muslim was synonymous of being a mstaarabu or Muungwana or a person belonging to the elite class. There were deliberate initiatives by the Swahili and the Mijikenda to access Islamic education in order to have social mobility. Similarly, the Arabs who were knowledgeable in Islamic law, Theology, Arabic language and History were in high demand in the coast. One would therefore state that the social fabric in the east African coast was a conducive environment for the growth of Islamic basic, primary and higher education (Mwakimako, 2003, p. 52).

Arabs were associated with wealth and lived in stone storied houses that were decorated in wooden carved doors, carpets and wall carvings. They were associated with the sea trade that gave lives to coastal towns of Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa. Coastal Kenya has rich historical traditions. Its original inhabitants could have been Cushitic speakers and Bantus. However, by the mid 19th century AD coastal Kenya was inhabited by Swahili speakers who were a cross breed of Arabs/Indians and Africans. The Africans in the coastal region were the Mijikenda, Somali, Pokomo and Kamba communities.

The Arabic speakers from Hadramaut [Southern Arabia] and Omani [Persia/Iraq] also formed a substantial population of the people that lived on the East Africa coast. There was also a thriving movement of people and ideas from Comoros Island and Zanzibar into coastal Kenya. The Indian population in coastal Kenya began growing with the establishment of British colonialism. It is important to observe that the Arabs and Swahili speakers were the main actors in the growth of higher Islamic education in coastal Kenya.

Higher Islamic education thrived on the bedrock of basic Islamic education. The growth of basic Islamic education popularly called Koranic (quranic) and madras education can be traced to as early as the 14th century A.D. This education developed in the urban centers of Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa. The entry age for enrolment in quranic/madras classes was six. The pupils began their basic studies by learning the alphabet. Once the learners had mastered the alphabet they proceeded to reading and writing monosyllables.

This was followed by reciting sections of the quran. The quran has thirty sections and thus the learners had to attain proficiency in memorizing one section before proceeding to the other. Kiswahili was taught in quranic classes, while Arabic was only offered to pupils who had graduated from quranic education and were enrolled in Madras schools. Quranic School was synonymous to nursery school while Madras was equivalent to contemporary primary schools (Trimigham,p. 135). Quranic education lasted three to five years, while madrassa lasted for six to eight years. At the *Madrassa* level pupils were taught: Introduction to elementary Arabic language, Elementary study of the quran, Introduction to Hadith of Prophet Muhammad, Elements of socio-economic and political organization of towns in coastal Kenya. By 1850.A.D, over 50% of youth in Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa had acquired basic education and were a ready market for higher Muslim education (Trimigham, 1964,p. 135).

The dominant forms of learning in Islamic education by in the 19th century in the Coastal region of Kenya was the *Chuo*, *Darsa* and specialized tutorials in the homes of Islamic Scholars or in the Mosques. There were no formal institutions of formal learning which

can be described distinctly as Pre School, primary, secondary and higher education Islamic learning. None the less, the *Chuo* was like a non formal Quranic school and a *Darsa* was like a non formal primary/secondary school.

The *Chuo* was the first stage where a child began the pursuit of Islamic education. In actual fact the *Chuo* was a form of private non formal school where learning was conducted in the house of the teacher (ulama) or the teacher could conduct the lessons in the home of the child. The aristocratic families preferred private lessons for their children in their own homes. The middle class families preferred to send their children to the private house of the teacher. The entry age for the child was five years but there was no age limit because as long as a child wanted to pursue education, he could enroll at age fifteen .

In the *Chuo*, the child was taught the basics of the Arabic alphabet and recitation of the Quran. The syllabus used in the coastal towns of Kenya was uniform to that used in Zanzibar, Comoro Islands, Kilwa, Dar es Salaam and Pemba. In the syllabus, the resource book was called *Qaida al-baghdadiya*, which had reading exercises on Arabic alphabets and the last chapter of the Quran. The children began by reading Arabic and proceeded to recitation and memorization of the Quran. The learning of Arabic was organized around analytical and progressive approach that began with letter, then word, then sentence and the meaning of the sentence. Children were also taught religious rituals and *Maulidi* was a common ritual in the coastal towns of Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa. The text used in this ritual was called *Barzanji* (Tayab, 2009, p. 106) and (Akkari, 2004, p. 1).

The children who completed the *Chuo* progressed to the *Darsa*. This was the second level of Islamic education in the coastal towns of Kenya. It was held between Maghrib (sunset prayers) and isha (evening prayers). It was open to all categories of learners from those who complete the *chuo* to all categories of learners including the elderly. The *Darsa* was a space/room created in the the mosques. One could actually state that every mosque had a *Darsa*. In Lamu, the most popular mosque was called Bildad Mosque.

One of the leading Islamic scholars in the late 19th century by the name Habib Salih who founded the Riyadh Mosque College that offered Islamic higher education to Muslims in Eastern Africa in the 20th century conducted his *Darsa* in the Bildad Mosque. *Madrassa* were conducted by scholars who had a recognized certificate (ijaza) from other professional Muslim scholars that certified them to teach. In the *Madrassa* students learnt from various scholars who were specialized in different areas of Islamic education such as Law, Theology, *hadithi* (traditions of prophet Muhammad), History, Government and Arabic language.

Madrassa were conducted after prayers. In the *Madrassa* the methodology of learning involved; a student was asked by the teacher to read a text after which the teacher explained the meaning of the text. In other cases, the teacher dictated the text with a commentary and the pupils took notes. The student sat in a circle (*halga*) as they listened to the teacher. The common subjects taught in the *Darsa* were ;*Al-tajwid* (recitation of the Quran), *Tafsir al-Quran* (commentary of the Quran), *Hadithi* (sayings of the prophet Muhammed), *Figh* (Islamic jurisprudence) *Al-Lugha al-arabiyya* (Arabic language), *tasawwuf* (mysticism or sufi teachings) and *Agida/tawhid* (theology/monotheism). The

Darsa covered all these subjects generally. There was no order in terms of when each of the subjects was to be taught. The Islamic scholars around the or in the town determined what to teach and when to teach. Thus unlike the Chuo there was no defined curriculum for the Darsa (Tayab, 2009, p. 126).

The Darsa was conducted in various Mosques in Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa. The notable mosques in Lamu were the Bildad Mosque. In Malindi there were the Bohra, Jamia, Jumaa, Masjid and Bohra mosques and in Mombasa the popular mosques were; Mandhry, Baluchi, Burhani and Azhar. The coastal towns of East Africa had a totally non formal and unstructured system of higher education. The students who graduated from the *Darsa* could proceed to a higher level of learning by identifying scholars in different towns in the coast who were knowledgeable in the specific professional careers a student wanted to pursue.

The form of learning in this non-formal higher Islamic education depended on the number of written texts a teacher possessed. If the teacher was an expert in Islamic jurisprudence, he would force students to read all the texts he had on Islamic law before they got an Ijaza or certificate to go and disseminate the same knowledge. The same applied to Theology, *hadithi*, mysticism and Arabic. Each *alim* (teacher) in town was renowned for his specialization. In lamu Sayyid Ali bin Abdalla Jamililayl was a specialist in the works of Al Imam Ghazali of Sufism.

Another scholar by the name Shekh Muhammaed bin Fadhi al-Bakary was an expert in Islamic jurisprudence. The specialist in the sciences of the Holy Quran was called Sayyid

Alwy bin Abubakar al Shatry. The alim with reputation in the sciences of the tradition of the prophet was Sayyid Abubakar bin Sayyid Adulraham al Husseiny popularly known as Mwenye Mansab while the professional in Arabic and Poetry was called Sheikh Abubakar al Maawy. Lamu had the highest percentage of Islamic scholars. It took four to five years for a student to graduate by receiving an Ijaza from the teacher. Students with resources travelled to Makkah and Hadramawt to pursue higher education. The evaluation of students in the final stage was an oral presentation where a student had to discuss specific texts to a group of scholars knowledgeable in the area of study (Jamalilyl, pp. 14-15).

The training of judges was one of the dominant professional courses in traditional Islamic higher education in coastal Kenya. This was because the demand for judges (Qadis) was quite high in the theocratic city states of Lamu, Malindi, Mombasa and Zanzibar. The syllabus was extensive and uniform in the East African coast. It was organized from basic texts to major references. The basic texts included *Al Risala al jamia wa al-tadhkirat al-nafia al-mushtamil al ma la budda minhu minal al-aqaid wa al ibadat w al-adab*. This text was written by Ahmed B Zayn al A lawi al Hibshi.

This text was popularly called *Risala* and was compiled from the works of Imam al-Ghazzali. The book covered topics on Islam for beginners, pillars of Islam and purification or sanctification from sin. The second basic text was called *Fath al-garib al Mujib-Muhamad b Qassim al-Ghazzi*. This text discussed the cornerstones of the shafii Islamic law. The Shafii law was the one administered in the east African coastal towns.

However the most relevant text taught to students pursuing law was the Minhaj al-talibin wa Umdat al-Muftina fi fiqh Madhab al-imam al shafi.

This text was written by Sharaf al-Din al Nawawi. The text was divided into three major sections. The first section had detailed information on transactions in the market. It discussed transactions relating to sale, security, bankruptcy, partnership, loans etc. It could be described as Islamic commercial law. The second section dealt with issues of personal status or civil law. It covered endowments, marriage, divorce, maintenance, inheritance and personal freedoms and liberties. The last section dealt with crime. It could be referred as criminal law and covered various crimes, punishments, oaths, vows among others. This text was taught to students and used by Qadhis/judges in the courts to dispense justice (Tayab, 2009, pp. 111-114).

Students who pursued theology used a similar syllabus throughout East African coast. The syllabus was based on texts imported from Egypt and Hadramawt. The texts were not organized on any specific form of content and or theory. It was the teacher who decided on which texts to begin and finalize with. The dominant texts used for training students in Islamic theology in the east African coast were; Hidayat al-Mustafid fi ahkam al-tajwid. This text was written by Muhammed al Mahmud al Najjar. This author is famously known as Abu Rima. This text contains basic teachings of the science of recitation. The other text was the *Tafsir al-Quran al-azim li al- Imamayn al Jalalayn*. This book was written by Jalali al Din al Suyut. The other book used in the East African coast for theology was the *Fi Marifat al-nasikh wa al-Mansukh* which was written by Abu Abdallah Muhammad b Hazm (Tayab, 2009. pp. 108-109).

Finally, students who pursued Hadith in their higher level of Islamic education were taught the following texts: *Riyad al Salihin* which was written by Abu Zakariya Sharaf al Din al Nawawi al –Dimashai. The other key book was the *AL- Adhkar a Muntakhola Min Kalam Sayyid al abra* written by Abu Zakariya. There was also the book written by Abu Fadi Shihab called *Bullugh al- Maram min adillat al ahkam*, which was a popular text for Hadithi (Tayab, 2009, p. 110).

2.5. Summary

Higher Islamic education in Eastern Africa by the end of the 19th century A.D was characterized by an elaborate network of exchange of knowledge, ideas and texts among scholars in Eastern Africa and the Middle East. This network was based on acquisition of books from scholars in the Middle East. The scholars in East Africa were aware of the intellectual developments in the Middle East and the respective scholars behind these developments. They identified traders or pilgrimages and or scholars who were returning from the Hadramawt, Egypt, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia to carry the texts back to Eastern Africa.

Anne Bang has articulately captured this intellectual network, which was also a capacity-building network by observing that around 1890, there was a popular text authored by a mufti of Tarim in Saudi Arabia called Abd al-Rahman al-Mashhur. This text was titled *Shams al-Zahira* (The Mid Day Sun) which was a compilation of genealogies of renowned scholars that had made remarkable contribution to Islamic civilization and education. In 1896, an Islamic scholar from Eastern Africa born in Lamu by the name

Abd Bakathir travelled to Tarim Saudi Arabia for a pilgrimage and to seek higher education. Once in Tarim, he looked for al-Mshhur to acquire the book, Shams al-Zahira. He then wrote back to his colleague in Zanzibar Hassan Jamal al-Leyl and explained that he has acquired the book but the book is too precious to be given to someone to send it over to Zanzibar. He asked al-Leyl to be patient so that he himself (Abd Bakathir) carries it after the pilgrimage. The letter read:

(al-Mashhur) greets you and gives you a big gift, but I don't want to send it by somebody else hand, as it is a very precious book, but I will bring it myself after the Hajj (pilgrimage). (Bang. 2015,p. 143)

It is important to note that the sending of books to and from scholars in Eastern Africa and the Middle East was a dominant feature in the spread of higher Islamic education by the end of the 19th century. This exchange strengthened collaboration and among scholars in the Islamic world and played a significant role of maintaining standards that were universal in the pursuit of higher Islamic education.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE

GROWTH OF TRADITIONAL HIGHER ISLAMIC EDUCATION AT THE KENYA COAST, 1850-1900 A.D.

3.1 Introduction

The chapter discusses the contribution of social stratification, Muslim brotherhoods and the Islamic reform movement in the development of traditional higher Islamic education. Social stratification was entrenched in the socio-economic organization of communities in coastal Kenya by 1850. The coastal region and specifically the towns of Malindi, Mombasa and Lamu had integrated a capitalist form of production in the second half of the 19th century.

Slave trade had enabled a few clans and individuals to accumulate wealth, which was then invested to produce profits in the second half of the 19th century. The determinants of social stratification were based on material wealth and access to higher Islamic education. These two factors were used to classify communities and clans in coastal Kenya. In the social hierarchy the Arab speakers were at the apex of the social pyramid. These were a people that had migrated into coastal towns of Kenya from Hadramawt and Comoro Islands. Their identity was associated with the language they spoke, their skin colour i.e. most of them were light and the type of houses they lived in. The Arabs lived in stone built houses with sophisticated architectural designs. The Arabic language was the universal medium in which the holy Quran was disseminated and thus whoever was conversant with Arabic could comfortably read and interpret the Quran for others. Thus knowledge of Islam placed an individual in a special social class.

During the period 1850-1900, there were remarkable socio-political and economic changes that impacted on evolution of basic Muslim education into higher Islamic education. At the international level, capitalism was evolving from merchant capital to monopoly capital. The process of industrialization that had began in Britain in the 19th century spread to France, Germany, Italy and Belgium. By 1880, competition for raw materials in Europe and the need to protect market for industrial products led to a new manifestation of capitalism in terms of foreign domination of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

This domination was cultural, economic and political. It was in these circumstances that Britain declared a protectorate over present day Kenya. The coastal region was administered by the sultan of Zanzibar by the time British colonialism got entrenched in Kenya. The British colonialists allowed the sultans to continue exercising control over coastal Kenya under supervision of the colonial office. However, the sultan's political power was nominal. Coastal Kenya had nurtured a rich intellectual Muslim tradition that stretched as early as 13th century. The establishment of British colonialism in coastal Kenya exposed the Arab and Swahili speaking communities in coastal towns of Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa to western cultural imperialism. The British used Christianity and western education to promote social colonial policies.

Christian missionaries began their activities in Kenya as early as 1844. John Ludwig Krapf was the first Christian missionary to begin mission activities in the country. In 1837 he went to Ethiopia as a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, CMS. He

spent almost five years evangelizing the Oromo with a hope of converting them to christianity and subsequently training them so that they could evangelize fellow Africans in and outside Ethiopia.

Unforftunately he did not succeed in his objective and left Ethiopia and out of frustration he sought permission from the Sultanate of Zanzibar Seyyid Said to move to Mombasa hoping that he could once again find an alternative route to reach the Galla through the Kenyan territory since the government of Ethiopia had barred him from returning to the country. He got permission from Sultan Seyyid Said and in 1844 he came to Mombasa and set up the first Mission centre at Rabai. In 1846 he was joined by John Rebman another missionary of the CMS.

His entry point in the spread of Christianity was to begin by learning local languages and Kiswahili. He then translated the New Testament Bibe into Kiswahili so that he could have the basis of teaching the people Christianity. He went further and studied Kiduruma and Kidigo. In 1853, he left for Europe and returned in 1862 to assist the United Methods Free Church to begin Mission work in Kenya. This Methodist church was under the leadership of Thomas Wakefield who set up his mission at Ribe a few kilometers away from Rabai. Thomas Wakefield later opened mission centres at Ganjoni (Mazeras/Jomvi) and among the Chonyi in 1878 (Lydon, 2006).

The Christian missionary movement developed at the same time when the British government was putting a lot of legal, military and political efforts to abolish slavery and slave trade. In 1807, the parliament of Britain enacted a law that abolished slave trade in

all British harbours and ships. However, it took several decades for this law to be effectively enforced. In 1865-1875 A.D. the campaign against slavery and slave trade in Europe was intensified. This campaign was an offshoot of key personalities in the abolitionist movement who were evangelicals such as John Wesley and William Wilberforce.

Other leading evangelical luminaries like C. H. Spurgeon conducted campaigns to convince young Christians to go to Africa and evangelize. Reports from Christian missionaries and explorers gave detailed information on the escalation of slavery at the coast of Kenya and the scaling up of slave trade between the interior of Kenya and the Coast of Kenya. David Livingstone who made extensive explorations in south and Eastern Africa argued that abolition of slavery and slave trade could be accomplished if the British government promoted christianity, commerce and civilization in Africa. Philanthropic organizations in Europe put a lot of pressure on their governments to abolish slavery and slave trade in East Africa. The British government pushed the Sultan of Zanzibar to stop slave trade and slavery in his territories which included coastal Kenya. In 1822, 1839 and 1847 the sultan of Zanzibar Seyyid Said had signed treaties with the British government to limit slave trade. In 1873 he signed a treaty to stop slavery and slave trade in the coastal region of Kenya which was part of his territory (Lydon, 2006, p. 4).

Most of the slaves that were rescued in Mombasa required support and thus the CMS and Methodist missions found themselves spending most of their time in the rehabilitation of freed slaves. In Mombasa, slaves were employed in agricultural plantations owned by

Arabs. They also worked in households of Arabs and they worked as soldiers in the armies of the Mazrui leaders and even armies of the sultan of Zanzibar. The CMS established a centre for freed slaves called Freretown at Kisauni. This centre became a home for slaves who had been freed in the Indian Ocean by British war ships and also the centre welcomed slaves who escaped from plantations owned by Arabs and Swahili on the coastal mainland.

Christian missionaries found it difficult to conduct their activities of evangelism in the towns of Mombasa and its hinterland because of the strong influence of Islamic religion. The few missions in Freretown and Ribe antagonized the Arabs for they saw Christian missionaries as the cause of the decline of the plantation economy which depended on slaves. The missionaries welcomed run away slaves and thus they were perceived as agents of imperialism against the economic enterprise of the Arabs. This antagonism reached a climax in 1883 when the Arabs attacked the Freretown Mission centre in Kisauni (Lydon, 2006, p.13).

The Christian missionaries were very careful not to evangelise Swahili and Arabs in the coastal towns as advised by British colonial administrators, but the Arabs still were suspicious of the overall objective of spreading Christianity in the coastal region. It is possible that by translating the Bible into Kiswahili, missionaries wanted to take advantage of the dominance of literacy among the people in the coast to provide an alternative religious material that they could read on their own and gradually compare the bible with the Quran and the people could make an independent choice of converting to

Christianity. Johann Ludwig underscored the role of the Arabs in the slave trade by writing in his memoirs the following:

I have an hundred times reasoned with Arabs and Suahilis on the slavery-subject, but they always declined, that slavery was a divine institution, that the wealth and person of infidels was given by the Almighty to the prophet of Mecca, and that consequently their state and religion will fall to pieces with abolition of slavey---
(Lydon, 2006, p.13)

Christian missionaries concentrated their efforts of setting up missions in the interior of the coast particularly among the Wa taita and Wataveta and Pokom. In the Tana River, a German evangelical mission was set up among the Pokomo in 1890. The Germans later handed over the mission to the Methodists. In 1890, the CMS set up a mission centre in Taveta. The construction of the Kenya Uganda railway line helped the expansion of Christian missionary work into eastern, Central, Rift Valley, Nyanza and western regions in Kenya (Nthamburi, n.d)

The period 1850-1900 witnessed the growth of long distance trade. This was trade in which business people from coastal towns of Kenya went into the interior in search of trade goods like gold, ivory, slaves, ostrich feathers, skins and hides that had very high market value in western Europe, Asia and America. The Swahili and Akamba traders spearheaded this. These traders were able to link pastoralist and peasant communities of the Abaluhya, Luo, and Kalenjin, Maasai Agikuyu and Akamba Ameru and Abugusii speakers with the international economy. Long distance trade was accompanied with exchange and flows of ideas, knowledge and values. For instance Islamic religion got entrenched in communities that conducted trade transactions with the Swahili and

Akamba traders. Such communities included the Wanga in western Kenya, the Kikuyu in Central province and the Akamba of Eastern province.

The coastal towns were a link between the interior and the international market. The trade between coastal towns of Kenya and Hadramawt [southern Saudi Arabia], Persia [Iraq], Egypt, Comoro Islands and Zanzibar had a strong impact on the intellectual development of the people in coastal Kenya. Traders from Hadramawt (southern Saudi Arabia, Persia (Iraq), Egypt and Comoro islands came to settle in Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa so as to control trade between Kenyan coast and middle east. In the process of conducting trade, these traders also disseminated Islamic socio-religious and political ideas.

The period 1850-1900 witnessed the collapse of a coastal economy that had been based on slave mode of production. The coastal towns of Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa had been the collecting centers for slaves who were shipped to Europe, North America, Saudi Arabia and Asian peninsular. This mode of production divided coastal communities into slaves and masters. Slaves were not allowed access to worship in mosques with their masters. Islamic religion was exclusively for the master class and not for slaves.

The collapse of slave trade led to social reforms that gave opportunities to former slaves to embrace Islamic religion and education. Lastly, this period recorded extensive immigration of Muslim scholars from Comoro Islands, Hadramawt, Somalia and Zanzibar into the Kenya coastal region. These scholars set up learning centers where they taught Islamic religion, philosophy and science. It is this historical and intellectual background that this chapter explores the growth of higher Muslim education in coastal

Kenya. The chapter highlights local and international factors that culminated in the growth of higher Islamic education in the period under study. The chapter also deals with various institutional and qualitative aspects of higher Islamic education.

3.2 Social Stratification

The social prestige of Arabic speakers in coastal towns stretches back to the slave mode of production whereby they owned huge plantations in the islands and mainland at the coast. Slaves who were usually members of indigenous communities at the coast cultivated these plantations. These plantations produced cloves, cotton, cashew nuts, coconuts, mangoes, citrus fruits and rice. The Arab speakers made huge profits from these plantations and reinvested the profits in commercial and shipping enterprises in the towns.

When the British abolished slavery in the mid 19th century, most of the slaves became wage labourers in commercial, shipping and agricultural enterprises owned by the Arabs. The surplus capital produced in the economic enterprises owned by Arabs facilitated Arabs to seek higher Islamic education for themselves and their children. Consequently, by the end of the 19th century most of the polished scholars in coastal Kenya were members of the Arab speaking community. These scholars were in charge of mosques in various estates in coastal towns. They led prayers and gave sermons in the mosques.

They were also the founders of institutions and centers of Islamic learning in coastal Kenya. It is this privileged position that gave them power to control and manipulate

production of knowledge in the coastal region. By the end of the 19th century, Islamic knowledge in coastal towns was confined and associated with certain clans. Consequently, pursuit of higher Islamic education was a deliberate measure to concretize and intensify the privileged position of Arab speakers.

The definition of an Arab attained ethnological and intellectual connotations. An Arab was an individual who traced his/her descent from the Hadramawt. These Arabs could have been born in Lamu, Mombasa, Malindi, Comoro islands and Zanzibar but their ancestors came from the Hadramawt. There were also communities that had migrated into coastal towns from Hadramawt in recent periods. Usually, the Arab speakers were crossbreeds of emigrants from *Hadramawt* and Swahili women. The following are the clans which constituted Arab speakers; Bakari, Mazrui, Maamiri and Mandhry. These clans are spread in Lamu, Mombasa and Malindi (Pouwells, 1987, p. 70).

In the middle of the social pyramid, there was a middle class group of people whose identity was based on language, religion and property. This middle class was predominantly Swahili speakers who had accessed madras education. They owned property in the agricultural and commercial sectors. In the agricultural sector they owned small parcels of land in the island and mainland. They operated retail and wholesale businesses in the islands and other urban centers in the coastal region. The members of this group were graduates of koranic schools and Madrassa. Their level of education was low in comparison to that acquired by the Arab speakers. The Swahili desired to pursue higher Islamic education so that they could improve their social status. Access to higher

education was also a guarantee to entry to business and intellectual networks that had multiple material benefits (Gharib, 2015, Oral Interview 6/2/2015).

The third category of social stratification consisted of the majority of Africans. These people depended on sale of their labour to Swahili and Arabs so as to make a living. They had minimal access to education. The social background marginalized Africans from accessing Islamic education. This social class also desired to access education in order to move from their inferior status to privileged positions. One could argue that pursuit of higher education had benefits for both the aristocratic classes such as the Arabs and the marginalized groups such as Africans. Higher education legitimized the hegemony, which the Arabs had on the other two social groups. For the middle class and former slaves access to higher education would place them almost at par with the Arabs. Thus, by the end of the 19th century there was a struggle by all social classes to access education. It was this social demand that led to growth of higher Islamic education in coastal Kenya. Education and wealth defined classes in coastal Kenya in the period 1850-1900. Higher Islamic education was thus a necessary ingredient in perpetuating social stratification in this region (Abdalla, 2015, Oral Interview 6/2/2015).

3.3. Muslim Brotherhoods

Muslim brotherhoods refer to ideological groups among Muslim communities. These groups are differentiated by what they consider to be the cardinal philosophies that define a Muslim (Martin 1969:152-53). These cardinal points revolve around interpretation of the quran, hadithi and teachings of first generation of Muslim scholars. In coastal Kenya the dominant brotherhoods were; Alawi, Qadiriya, Shidiliye and Salihya.

The ideological rivalry among Muslim brotherhoods contributed to a big extent in the growth of higher Islamic education. The Alawi brotherhood was based in Lamu. Its core values were found in the emphasis on saint worship. The membership of the Alawi strongly believed that saints had 'gharama' or divine healing powers. A member visiting the tomb of the said Saint could acquire this gharama. The Alawi believed that a sheikh had the divine power of healing the sick through prayer. In worship ceremonies, the Alawi had paraphernalia that included use of drums and tambourines for worship in the mosque. Habib Saleh, the founder of Riyadh Mosque College was the leader of the Alawi brotherhood by the end of the 19th century. The Alawi claimed that they were the direct descendants of Prophet Muhammad and thus had moral legitimacy and authority to provide leadership on religious and intellectual issues in coastal Kenya (Lienhardt, 1959)

The belief systems of the Alawi were contested by the other brotherhoods. The qadiriya brotherhood also practiced veneration of saints. The qadiriya brotherhood had its base in Zanzibar. It had considerable following in Mombasa, Malindi and Lamu. The leader of this brotherhood in the latter part of the 19th century was called Al Berawi, a Somalia sheriff. Al Berawi received his training in Baghdad, Besra and Medina in the period 1870-1880. The major point of departure in the faith of the qadiriya and the Alawi was in the emphasis that Islamic religion and education should emanate from the quran. The quran superseded the hadithi and teachings of Muslim scholars. The qadiriya disapproved the use of tambourines in the worship in the mosque. The qadiriya did not promote the idea of saints praying for the sick for healing (Martin, 1969, p. 155).

The identity of the Shidiliye was based on their constant call for Islamic revivalism. They argued that Islamic religion had been adulterated by western values that came with the establishment of European colonialism. Comoro islands were the headquarters of the Shidiliye brotherhood. This brotherhood had a substantial following in Mombasa, Malindi and Lamu. In the last part of the 19th century, the Shidiliye brotherhood was led by Sheikh Mohammad Maruf who claimed that he was a direct descendant of Prophet Muhammad. In his teachings, he called upon Muslims to rebel against British imperialism. As such, the British colonial officials did not take his teachings in good taste and they constantly arrested him (Martin, 1969, p. 157).

The Salihiya brotherhood was a minority sect but had a strong influence in coastal Kenya. Sheikh Abdulla Hassan led this sect. The core teaching of this sect was that Islam should not be defiled by strange teachings of saint veneration and use of instruments like tambourines in worship. This sect called on Muslims to go back to the original pure Islam. The desire by various groups of scholars to give an ideal and legitimate interpretation of the Quran gave impetus for development of higher Islamic education. The group, which could provide intellectual and religious leadership, was one that had a comprehensive interpretation of Islam. Muslim brotherhoods were a forum for scholars to pursue interpretation of Islam that had an appeal to majority of the people.

3.4.0 Islamic Reform Movement

The Islamic reform agenda took root in the second half of the 19th century in Africa and had repercussions on the growth of higher Islamic education in coastal Kenya. The goal

of Islamic reform movement was to safeguard Islam and Islamic institutions from encroachment of western European cultural imperialism. The Ulema spearheaded the Islamic reform agenda through a conscious effort to incorporate aspects of western scientific and technological innovations in Islamic social, economic and political institutions.

The Islamic reform movement was well developed in Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Iraq. In Egypt, Al Azhar University was the center of Islamic learning. For a long time, Al Azhar was associated with the pursuit of traditional forms of Islamic education. However, in the period 1880-1900, Muhammad Abduh, a chief Mufti in Egypt and a luminary of Al Azhar University introduced reforms in the curriculum of Al Azhar University. In accordance to the reforms, students were to receive formal certificates in contrast to the Ijaza, which had been previously awarded by individual scholars. The reforms provided a basis upon which Al Azhar University incorporated modern scientific and technological concepts and theories in its curriculum. He argued that higher Islamic education must move away from religious philosophies and incorporate science (Vatkiotis, 1969, p. 185).

In the works of Muhamad Abduh. he called for improvement of the quality of written Arabic language. He advocated for introduction of natural and social sciences in Islamic curriculum. He emphasized the need to initiate changes in Islamic doctrine and sheria so that justice, reason and pragmatism could be upheld in Islamic societies. Muhamad Abduh emphasized the importance of protecting Islamic original purity and simplicity of belief (Tawhid) such as oneness of God and also to initiate a process of infusing modern

rationalism into the quran in order to produce a viable social philosophy on which to build a modern social and political reform program.

The reform agenda introduced by Muhammad Abduh was given impetus by Jamal al Din Afghan who appealed to Muslims to expand the curricula of educational institutions by embracing critical philosophy and scientific methods of enquiry. He observed that reforms in Islamic education would empower the Muslim world to compete with Western Europe. While pursuing the adoption of modern science into Islamic philosophy, he reiterated that basic principles of Islam were compatible with reason as postulated in Western European and North American scientific philosophies. The writings of Al Afghan contributed to Islamic socio-political thought of humanism that runs through Islamic reform movement (Rahman, 1977, pp. 213-234).

These two Muslim reformists set the stage for innovations, transformations and improvements in the institutional and curriculum structures of higher Muslim education. Rahman (1977) raised the following pertinent issues as baseline determinants in the Islamic movement reform agenda;

- i. Modernizing Islamic society through learning and where necessary borrowing and adapting from western European scientific and technological innovations.
- ii. The need to initiate comprehensive social and religious reforms in Islamic societies as a prerequisite of fostering socio-political change that would put Islamic nation states on the same plane with western European countries.

- iii. Islamic theory of knowledge does not contradict philosophies of science and technology and thus Islamic society should not confuse western European science with Christian religious and cultural heritage

These reform agenda had an impact in the establishment and growth of Islamic education in Kenya. There was constant interaction of Muslim scholars from Egypt, the Hadramawt and East African coast. Most of the Muslims in Egypt went to Mecca for the AL Hadji annually. East African Muslim scholars did not only go to Mecca for the AL Hadji but also took the opportunity of being in Mecca to pursue higher Islamic education. By 1900 the Islamic reform movement had spread into East African coast and thus influenced the development of Islamic higher education (Hashmi, 2011).

Higher Islamic education in Coastal Kenya emerged from the strong establishment of elementary and secondary Islamic education. The elementary Islamic education which was also referred to as *Quranic* schools had the following structural organization; there were four levels in Islamic education namely the *Kuttab*, institutions elementary and *Madrassa* and higher Islamic education. The *Kuttab* was the first stage where a child was introduced to reciting of the *Quran*.

The next stage was elementary education which was conducted in the royal palaces and homes of distinguished Muslim personalities. The father of the child determined what was to be taught to the child. The child learnt the *Quran*, then poetry and traditions of the society. The next stage was the *Madrassa* which was conducted in Mosques. Higher Islamic education was the last stage in the structure of Islamic education. It was conducted in the houses of the *Ulama* and also in Mosques. There were also formal

institutions spread in Middle East, North Africa, Asia and Eastern Africa that offered higher Islamic education (Hashmi, 2011, pp. 94-95).

There is evidence that higher Islamic education had began developing on the East African Coast as early as 1850. Higher Islamic education at the coastal region of Kenya had two forms: Non-formal and formal. Non-formal higher Islamic education was provided in tutorials that were conducted at night early hours of the morning in the house of *Ulama* (Abreu, 1982,p. 22). This education was provided in urban centers of Lamu and Mombasa because Islamic scholars who travelled from Arabia to Zanzibar and Comoro Islands used to pass through these towns.

This education was open to members of the clan with a literary tradition such as the Mazrui and Maamin. Students did not pay fees, but gave services and gifts to the *Ulama*. Prior to the formation of the Riyaadhi Lamu Mosque College, students from Kenya who were interested in pursuing higher Islamic education had to travel to Egypt, Hejaz and *Hadramawt* to qualify as scholars. Students who sought traditional higher education outside Kenya included personalities such as Seyyid Abubakar bin Abdul-Rahman Al Hussein and Sheikh Ali bin Abdallah bin Nafi Al Mazrui. The students pursuing higher non-formal education were taught by various scholars who had different specialization. Students were allowed to specialize once they were admitted to higher Islamic education (Pouwell, 1987).

Formal higher Islamic education began at the coast with the establishment of the Riyaadhi Lamu Mosque College. The initial objective of the college was to give basic education to children of ex-slaves who were discriminated against in the society. The

college later changed its focus to secondary and later higher Muslim education. In 1946 another formal institute of higher Islamic learning was established through the initiative of His Highness the Aga Khan, the colonial government and Muslim businessmen. This institute was called Mombasa Muslim Technical institute, which later became Mombasa Polytechnic (*Overseas Education Volume XXI*, 1949, p. 1056).

However, the British colonial government was hostile to Islamic education, both elementary and higher education. The colonial administrators and missionaries introduced western education in coastal region without taking into account the numerous Koranic schools and Mosque colleges in the region. This affected the development of Islamic education on coastal Kenya.

3.4. 1 Salient features of Traditional Higher Islamic Education 1850-1900

There were a number of aspects of Islamic Higher Education in the period 1850-1900. They included; emergence of institutions of learning with regular teachers and students, these institutions had a uniform curriculum.

3.4.2 Institutions, Teachers and Students

The Mosque was the dominant institution for higher Islamic education. It consisted of the main hall where prayers and *Khutuba* was conducted. Adjacent to the mosque were halls which provided elementary (*Quranic*) education. The mosque also had rooms that acted as *darasa* (classrooms) for secondary education. Higher education was conducted in a

small inner room that had a capacity of up to 6 students. The students were adults who had graduated from one form of secondary (*madarassa*) education or the other.

The students would sit in a semicircle on the floor as they listened to the teacher (ulema). Whereas there could be one resident teacher in a town like Lamu or Malindi or Mombasa, in most cases, teachers who were specialists in various aspects of higher Islamic education were always on transit either from or to Comoro islands, Zanzibar, Lamu, Mombasa, Malindi and Hadramawt. They were visiting scholars who resided in one town for six months or so and would proceed to another destination. Thus, students had to work extra hard and master disciplines offered by these visiting teachers in the time span in which the teachers were available.

Students who had funds could arrange to follow the teacher to acquire more skills and knowledge on a particular topic or subject that was of interest to such a student. The lessons were conducted in two sessions, morning and evening. The morning session lasted two hours and two more hours for evening session. However, the evening session would begin after the prayers and could stretch into the night depending on the concentration of the teacher and students. The mode of learning was basically participatory in the sense that the teacher would read the various texts, make commentaries and allow students to ask questions. This led to informal and open discussions between students and the teacher (Said, 1981).

In most incidences students lived in the town in the immediate neighborhood of the mosque. However, for the few students who came from far, they received free

accommodation from the mosque administration. There were no fees paid to access higher education. The teachers obtained money and other materials from students in form of gifts. The mosque management did not interfere with schedule of learning as organized by the teacher and students. Usually the *Imam* who headed the mosque subscribed to the philosophical ideals of the visiting *ulema*. The visiting *ulema* gave credibility to the mosque and his presence increased the following of the brotherhood, which the mosque was aligned to. The fame of the *ulema* brought more worshippers to the mosque. In some cases the *ulema* organized for some of his favorite student(s) to travel to *Hadramawt*, Egypt or Zanzibar to specialize in certain Islamic disciplines.

The academic staff/*Ulema*/teachers shared a common cultural, linguistic and intellectual background in the sense that their kinship was traced to Prophet Muhammad. Almost all of them had their ancestry in *Hadramawt*. They spoke Arabic as their first language. There were many scholars in coastal towns of Kenya in the period 1850-1900, however, the most outstanding of them were; Sheikh Ali bin Abdallah bin Nafi Al Mazrui who was born in 1825 and died in 1895. He was a renowned scholar in Mombasa and rose to the prestigious position of *Kadhi* of Mombasa. He did his studies in Mecca in the period 1854 to 1866. His area of specialization was *fiqh* which is the study of Islamic law or *Sharia* (Pouwels, 1982).

Seyyid Abubakar bin Abdul-Rahman Al Hussein was another distinguished scholar during this period. He was born in 1828 and died in 1922. He studied in the theological school of Mecca and lived in *Hadramawt* for a number of years. Among his students were religious leaders such as Sheikh bin Muhammad Bakathir, who was born in Lamu

but went to live in Zanzibar where he rose to a prestigious position of Mufti and thus was a key authority on all contentious Islamic religious issues in East and southern Africa.

The other ulama of distinction was Seyyid Ali bin Abdalla Jamalil who was born in 1825 in Comoro Islands but moved to Lamu where he gained his education from scholars who came from Hadramawt and gave lectures in Lamu. He was the mentor of Habib saleh who founded the Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College, the only institution that offered quality Islamic higher learning in coastal Kenya in the period 1900-1945 (Salim, 1973, p. 144).

By the end of the 19th century, higher Islamic education in coastal Kenya was in such high demand that there arose a need to institutionalize and formalize this important social commodity. The Islamic reform movement had raised fundamental innovations in Islamic education that could well be implemented in a formal and institutionalized environment. The few individuals who had acquired higher Islamic education in the 19th century were members of wealthy families who could afford to finance higher education in Hadramawt and Egypt.

By the end of the 19th century members of the middle class strata wanted to pursue higher Islamic education but lacked capital that could finance this type of education overseas. This group took every opportunity to learn from visiting scholars. Thus, by the beginning of the 20th century there was adequate human capital and infrastructure in coastal Kenya to provide the necessary environment for growth of higher education from non-formal system of education to formalized institutions of learning (Parsons, 1975).

3.4.3 Curriculum

The curriculum of higher Islamic education varied from one scholar to the other. The specialization of the teacher determined the content of subjects to be offered and also the students who attended. The teacher determined the duration for each of the subjects or topics he taught. However, evidence from scholars such as Habib Saleh took almost fifteen years to finalize their higher education studies. There were no formal examinations.

The individual course teacher at the end of one text or subject conducted evaluation. The evaluation was oral and was done in the tutorials. Enrolment was determined by the fame of the teacher and the interest students had in the subject, which the teacher had specialized in. There were no records to document progress of the students. Consequently, it was only those students who went through the higher education system that could give accounts of what transpired in the course of learning.

Teaching and evaluation were oral; nonetheless teachers used reference texts which were given to students to read out of the learning sessions. The content of the texts were the major discussion themes in the tutorial sessions. The ulema travelled with their reference material. For those that were resident in the towns they set up libraries which were opened to students and other Islamic scholars. The curriculum of higher Islamic education was based on Islamic jurisprudence, Science and Philosophy. The subjects included; *tafsir*, *hadithi*, *fiqh*, Arabic language and literature, Islamic history, Art, Architecture and Music (Ronald, 2001).

Tafsir refers to interpretation of the quran. In the madarasa, students memorized chapters of the Quran although they were not trained to interpret the quran. The *Ulema* further taught students pursuing higher education to interpret the quran for ordinary believers. The interpretation of the Quran was a contested area in Islamic scholarship for it gave power and prestige to one brotherhood over the other.

Hadithi was a study of traditions of Prophet Muhammad. These traditions shed light on popular topics of interest to Muslims such as marriage, inheritance and moral conduct. Students who were enrolled in higher Islamic education graduated to become Islamic religious leaders and thus mastery of the *hadithi* was important to enable them give counsel to the *ummah* (Muslim community). The *fiqh* on the other hand entailed the study of the sacred Islamic law (*Sharia*). The sharia is a universal code that Muslims use to resolve socio-cultural, political and religious conflicts. The study of Islamic law is a prestigious profession. Students who excelled in this discipline were nominated to positions of Kadhi by the sultan of Zanzibar. The Kenyan coastal strip was under the political jurisdiction of the sultan of Zanzibar in the 1850-1900 (Muhhamad, 1992).

Arabic language was a core subject in the curriculum. This was the medium of dissemination of Islamic religion and Philosophy since the time of Prophet Muhammad. The Quran, which is the bedrock of Islamic intellectual and cultural heritage, is written in Arabic. The prayers and *khutuba* in the mosques in Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa was conducted in Arabic. Arabic was a language reserved for the Muslim elites such as the Ulema, Imam and Caliph. The majority of Muslim lay people did not know Arabic and depended on the interpretation of their religious leaders. The study of Arabic language was carried out at higher Islamic education level because the mastery of Arabic gave

automatic qualification for an individual to join the Ulema class (Muhhamad, 1992, p. 34).

Higher Islamic education was also characterized by the study of Architecture, Art and Algebra. These were the subjects that provided basic skills for professionals that got the mantle to lead technological developments in the urban sector in coastal Kenya. The material culture of the urban dwellers in coastal Kenya attest to the significance put on Architecture, Art and Algebra. The students who specialized in these subjects were in high demand for they presided over designs for mosques and residential buildings in Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa.

Students who pursued higher Islamic education studied Islamic history and economy as core subjects. It was imperative for students to get grounded on specific political, economic and social forces and factors that had influenced the growth of Islam over time. The students were also required to study systems of production to guide the Muslim ummah to avoid indulging in systems of production and exchange that were in contravention with the teachings of the Quran.

3.5 Summary

This chapter explored various aspects that formed the nexus of the growth of traditional higher education in the coastal towns of Kenya. A lot of emphasis was put on social stratification which nurtured the desire among various social stratas to seek traditional higher education to enhance social mobility. The aristocratic class consisted of Bakari, Mazrui, Maamiri and Mandhry clans that had migrated into East Africa from *Hadramawt*

and Commoro Islands. The prestige of these clans was based on access to traditional higher Islamic education. The Swahili speakers in the towns of Malindi, Lamu and Mombasa who only had accessed elementary and intermediate traditional Islamic education admired the aristocratic clans and thus looked for avenues to access traditional higher Islamic education which was an entry point to the aristocratic class.

In the chapter, we discussed the impact of Muslim brotherhoods on the growth of traditional higher Islamic education in the coastal region in Kenya. These brotherhoods had distinct ideological and philosophical positions on specific cardinal pillars of Islam. Thus, each of them conducted research on the early life of Prophet Muhammad and the writings of the leadership of Islam in the formative period to justify their identity and legitimacy.

These debates spilled into Coastal Kenya with the coming of Muslim brotherhoods and gave impetus to growth of traditional higher Islamic education. The Alawi brotherhood believed in saint worship and praying for the sick while the Qadiriyya opposed the use of musical instruments such as the tambourine in worship in the mosque. The Shidiliye emphasized purification of the Islamic faith by promoting Islamic revivalism. The Shidiliye opposed European values that had penetrated into Islamic civilization.

The chapter provided a background to institutions and scholars that played a major role in the development of traditional higher Islamic education in the last quarter of the 19th century and the 20th century. By the end of the 19th century, the structure of traditional higher Islamic education in terms of curriculum, scholars and assessment had emerged.

One can observe that the curriculum of Islamic higher education had three main faculties namely; Science, Philosophy and Medicine which constituted the first faculty. The second faculty composed of Theology, Mysticism and Arabic language, Literature and Lexicography. While the last faculty was made up of Architecture, Art, Algebra, Music and History.

One distinctive feature of higher Islamic education in Eastern Africa by the end of the 19th century was its capacity to have a well coordinated and informed intellectual network which was sustained through constant capacity building mechanisms such as accessing and reading books produced by scholars who were experts in different fields of knowledge on one hand and physically travelling from one locality to the other in and outside eastern Africa to acquire new knowledge from established and prolific scholars.

In the last quarter of the 19th century traditional higher Islamic education did emphasise revealed knowledge much more than rational sciences or knowledge. This attests to Al Ghazzali theory of Islamic education where he pointed out that at the onset of Islamic civilization higher Islamic education curriculum was purely religious but later on it adapted natural sciences, philosophy and mathematics.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 DEVELOPMENT OF TRADITIONAL ISLAMIC HIGHER EDUCATION IN COASTAL KENYA, 1900-1939.A.D.

4.1 Introduction

This Chapter discusses institutions that offered traditional Islamic higher education in the coast region of Kenya in the period 1900-1939. It also highlights scholars who nurtured this education. It then examines the curriculum of this traditional form of higher Islamic education. The chapter then brings out the social, economic and legal factors which led to the decline of traditional higher Islamic education.

The period 1900-1939 was a landmark in Kenya's historical transformation. This was an epoch in which British Colonialism got entrenched in Kenya. The British colonialists used western education as a tool to indoctrinate and dominate Kenyans. Indigenous systems of education were dismissed as backward. This was also an era in which there was an extensive reform movement in Muslim countries in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan. This reform movement had its roots in the second half of the 19th Century.

The movement greatly influenced the growth of higher Muslim education in coastal Kenya. This chapter traces the development of higher Muslim education in Kenya from 1900-1939. It focuses on the following themes; Institutions of higher learning in coastal Kenya and the type of curriculum that was offered, Islamic reform movement and its

influence on higher Islamic education in coastal Kenya and the scholars who contributed to growth of this education.

4.2 Institutions of Traditional Higher Islamic Education in Coastal Kenya 1900-1939

Formal institutions of learning in traditional Islamic higher education had emerged by the onset of the 20th century. These institutions were confined to Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa. The institutions included; Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College and Mazrui Mosque in Mombasa. It seems apparent that traditional higher Islamic education just like basic Islamic education was associated with urbanization. The urban environment enabled people from different localities to interact, share and critique various ideas and information. The towns in coastal Kenya were strategically placed to receive information, ideas and knowledge from Saudi Arabia, Hadramawt, Iraq, Egypt, Turkey, India, Madagascar, Zanzibar and even European states such as Britain, France, Italy and Germany.

East Africa was a recipient of various Islamic Sunni and Shia ideologies that form the bedrock of traditional Islamic higher education in the Middle East. Thus, institutions of traditional higher Islamic education in coastal Kenya were influenced by these ideologies in one-way or the other. These institutions also responded to the needs of urban communities where education was important in serving the administration of the Zanzibari sultanate, which became an appendage of British colonial administration. Higher education was a criterion used to access social status in coastal towns. All these

factors contributed to sprouting of institutions of higher learning in the coastal region in Kenya.

4.2.1 Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College

This is one of the oldest institutions of traditional higher Islamic learning on the East African coast. Habib Saleh a renowned scholar whose parents had moved into Lamu in the mid 19th century founded it in 1900. This college was structured along similar values and organization like the Riyaadhi Mosque College in the *Hadramawt* in Saudi Arabia. Ali Bin Muhammad Al-Habishin founded the Riyadh College in Saudi Arabia. Riyadh described a meadow type of landscape. The idea of a meadow was derived from hadithi of Prophet Muhammad where it is said that he kept on stating that if you pass by the meadows of the garden, graze there.

The Riyadh College in Saudi Arabia/Hadramaut was associated with an Islamic genre of study that specialized in Muslim magic drawing upon the numerical values of the letters of the Alphabet. The Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College also majored in the study of a type of Arithmetic where all columns of numbers added up to the sum total. The disciplines that were taught in Riyadh College in the *Hadramawt* were; Astrology, religious philosophy and study of physical, behavioural and human sciences (Lienhardt, 1959, p. 230).

The Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College is located in the Langoni area in Lamu town. The college developed from a hut where Habib Saleh used to offer prayers. The land in which the college was built was donated by Seyyid Abu Bakarr Bin Abdul Al Hussein who was

one of the aristocratic plantation owners in Lamu. He was also referred to as Mwenye Mandeb. There was additional financial support from Sayyid Mansab b.Abdal-Rahman who was a Hadrami Alawi scholar but born in Lamu. He studied in Mecca and *Hadramawt* after which he got a job as a Qadhi (Judge) in Dar es Salaam and Chwaka in Zanzibar.

He then returned to Lamu where he was recognized as an expert in Arabic language. In 1903 he transformed part of his land into a *wagf*(pious endowment) that was dedicated to building the Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College in Lamu. The college had a wide court yard called *ribat*. The *ribat* was used to hold tuitions for students. Students who came from outside the town also got accommodation in the *ribat*. The *ribat* was a holy place where women and children were excluded from gaining access. This automatically made it almost impossible for women to access traditional higher Islamic education.

This implied that men were the beneficiaries of higher Islamic education. The premises of the contemporary mosque college were built in 1900 through a donation of 600 dollars from an Indian Muslim. In the subsequent years the expansion of the mosque college buildings was made possible through fund raising efforts of Sheikh Bakathir, a renowned scholar who was based in Zanzibar. Sheikh Bakathir later founded the Bathir Mosque College in Zanzibar. It's evident that the Bathir Mosque College in Zanzibar was a product of the Riyaadhi Lamu Mosque college (Lienhardt, 1959,p. 235).

Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College was an institution that was founded to promote the values and ideology of a Muslim brotherhood or order or *tariga* called the Alawiya. The

order was established by Sheriff Ali Ibn Abdullah who lived in Hadramawt. The Alawi *tariga* popularized practical ideals of Islam that were accompanied by elaborate forms of outward worship. This *tariga* was associated with annual celebrations called *maulid*, which attract Muslims from East African coast; Zanzibar and Comoro islands.

The *maulid* were celebrated in Lamu town annually in the Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College. The celebrations were a forum where Muslim scholars review the current state of art of Islamic education and provide intellectual leadership for the future developments in Islamic education. This order was sustained by a form of devolution where mosque associations constitute the structure of the *tariga*. These networks are loosely interlinked together with minimal centralized authority. For the Alawi *tariga*, emphasis was laid on improvement of character of the followers. The pursuit of learning was emphasized for every member to improve his/her character. Whereas *dhikr* constituted part of the curriculum, it wasn't the core discipline for the Alawi mode of knowledge (Martin, 1982).

The Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College incorporated ritual traditions derived from Muhammad al-Hibshi into its curriculum. The College was radical in the sense that it admitted students from the Oromo, Giriama and Pokomo African societies to pursue Islamic education. This was a total departure from former traditions where Islamic education was confined in the lineages of the *Ulama* who were Arabs and Swahili linked to Arab lineages (Bang, 2015, p. 138).

The college offered programs that stretched for a period of eleven years. The first five years of the curriculum was spent on basic education. Once a student graduated from

primary education he/ she was admitted to the next phase that lasted for three years. This phase could be compared to the secondary education level in western orientated education system. The last phase was the tertiary level of education or higher Islamic education that ordinarily took three years. The medium of instruction in the college was Arabic.

Arabic just like Latin was the language that held the secret of understanding the Quran, Hadithi, Islamic philosophy and jurisprudence. Although Kiswahili was the lingua franca in coastal urban centers, it was not a language of choice in the study of Islamic higher education (Lienhardt, 1959, p. 236). In the tertiary sector, Islamic higher education was compartmentalized into eight units, namely; natural sciences, Medicine, Philosophy, religious education, culture, History, linguistics and Literature (Abdulaziz, 1992).

4.2.1.2 Natural Sciences and Medicine

This was a discipline that trained doctors, astrologists and philosophers. The subjects taught included Logic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astrology, Science of tool making, Science of weights, Science of plants, Science of animals and Human Medicine (Narudeen, 1993, p. 112).

4.2.1.3 Religious Education, culture, history and philosophy

This category of learning consisted of subjects like; marriage, divorce, inheritance and personal conduct. These subjects were intended to nurture ethics of ideal Muslim character in the students. The students were also exposed to the art of jurisdiction and governance of a Muslim society. They also studied *fiqh* which prepared students to

understand the theory of Islamic law. The study of the *Quran* was a central theme in this course.

However, students were exposed to various debates of Islamic scholars from both the *Sunni* and *Shia* tradition who laid a framework of interpreting the *Quran* and other legal issues that are not clearly defined in the *Quran*. The growth of *sunnism* and *shiasm* was a result of various issues that were put into account to interpret the *Quran* and Islamic law. Muslims who constituted the *Shia* sect were specific on the fact that only the descendants of Prophet Muhammad Ali had the legitimate right to hold power.

Thus Imams or Muslim leaders who came after Muhammad Ali could only have legitimacy if they were direct descendants of Prophet Muhammad Ali. The Shias also believed in the esoteric knowledge of Islam which is the true meaning of verses in the *Quran* were hidden and only those people initiated in the art of interpreting the verses had access to the esoteric meaning of the verses. Thus, the descendants of Prophet Muhammad were the ones with the right to accurately interpret the *Quran*.

The *Sunni* on the other hand believed in the *Sunna* or *hadithi* of Prophet Muhammad Ali as the most credible information on which Islamic law was to be based and that the *Sunna* was useful in the interpretation of the quran. The *Sunnis* were the majority of Muslim faithful who did not want to be drawn into the controversies of the Shias. Students had a chance to learn the theory of jurisprudence or structure of Islamic law and the development of the *shaafite*, *hanabalite*, *malekite* and *hanafite* legal schools. This

jurisprudence was based on; *Quran*, the *Sunna* of the prophet, the *ijma* (consensus) and *qiyas* (analogical reasoning (Rahaman, 1979, p. 68).

The *Shafite* School relied on the method of arriving at the authenticity of the *Sunna* of the prophet. The *shaafite* school used the quality of the transmitters of a *sunna* and the numbers of the transmitters as a credible method of gauging the reliability of the *Sunna*. The *Hanabalite* School on the other hand argued that in the event that a text existed on a certain legal issue, then the text took precedence over verbal *sunnas* even if the transmitters of the verbal *Sunna* were credible people and were many in number.

The *Malekite* School recognized only those *Sunna* that were passed on by people from medina who was companions of Prophet Muhammad. *Hadithis* from other people who were not coming from *Medina* were dismissed as hearsays. The *Malekites* also recognized analogy and concept of the good as important aspects in Islamic law. The *hanafite* school Islamic law ought took into account analogical thinking and the concept of the good and thus went beyond relying on lthe *sunna* of the Prophet (Rahaman, 1979, pp. 56-57).

The students were taught the historical factors that facilitated the growth of these schools on the East African coast and the reasons why the *Shaafite* School was predominant in the region. The *Quran* and core teaching of Islam was the other important discipline. This discipline emphasized the development of religious Islamic philosophy as disseminated by Prophet Muhammad and scholars that came after him. The religious philosophy that developed in Saudi Arabia (Hadramawt) was given emphasis, while religious

philosophies that emerged in India, Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Egypt were sidelined. There was also emphasis on *Sufi* teachings of maulid. In fact, innovation in the *maulid* celebrations was introduced by the college through emphasis of use of music and tambourines in the *maulid* celebrations (Pouwels, 1987).

4.2.1.4 Linguistics and Literature

The main subjects taught under this discipline were Arabic and Literature. The components of literature taught was *Mudih* (literary works of praises to Prophet Muhammad), *Sira* (*prose* or verse that contains stories about the life of Prophet Muhammad) and *Waz* (literature that describes notions of paradise and hell (Bray et al 1986, pp. 83-84).

4.2.1.5 Methodology

The methodology of teaching in the college varied from one scholar to the other. On the whole, seminars and tutorials were the dominant mode of learning. The tutorials had an average of five students while seminars were open forums that had up to fifty students. The sheriff or ulama read a text to students after which students would raise questions and free discussion would ensue. The ulama elaborated issues, concepts and philosophies in the text for the students. At the end of the learning period the ultimate goal was for students to master the texts that had been facilitated by the ulema (Lamm, 1998).

4.2.1.6 Evaluation

The evaluation process was also well defined. The Ulema offered oral examinations to the students. The examination was administered at the end of each text. The student was required to memorize assorted texts and the Quran and would give a brief commentary on fundamental Islamic principles and philosophies. A student received a certificate called *Ijaza* once he satisfied the examiners. The ulema were the examiners and also issued the *Ijaza* to the students.

A student qualified as a scholar when he accumulated at least five *Ijaza* which was an indication that he had qualified in more than five key texts that expounded various legal, literary, linguistic and philosophical issues of Islam. Students were also required to access knowledge by doing private studies in the library available in the College. Most of the books, manuscripts, newspapers and newsletters in the library were donations from visiting scholars from *Hadramawt*, Zanzibar and Comoro islands. The college administration also went round the coastal towns of Malindi, Mombasa, Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar and collected books that were in the custody of various scholars and religious leaders (Langglung, 2000).

4.2.1.7 Funding

The programs in the college were funded from resources of the Wakf. The wakf property was a donation from individual Muslim scholars, administrators, business people and offerings collected in mosques. Parents and guardians gave pocket money to their children. The *wakf* provided funds for accommodation and tuition (El-Masri,1987).

4.2.1.8 Enrolment

The college enrolled students from Lamu town, communities of the Pokomo, Duruma and Chonyi. Some students came as far as the upper Tana River. The college had more African than Arab students. Arab students were able to travel to *Hadramawt*, Egypt and Zanzibar for higher studies in Islam. This is because they came from affluent families. Thus, the college served African students who could not seek higher education outside the coastal towns of Kenya. The Swahili, Mijikenda and Pokomo who were beneficiaries of the college did not have surplus resources which they could use to send their children to *Hadramawt*, Egypt and Zanzibar (Abdalla, 2015, Oral Interview 6/2/2015).

The sheriffs in the college were committed to promotion of higher education through publications in Arabic such as; *Mugadimat al Hadrami* and *Durar al-bahiya Al-inkinshanti*. Lamu Mosque College could not meet the huge demand for higher Islamic education along coastal Kenya. In Mombasa and Malindi traditional higher Islamic education was accessed through the traditional mode of seminars and lectures in mosques.

The Muslims in Mombasa and Malindi did not fully approve the Alawiya/shafite Islamic Philosophy on which Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College was founded; hence they were not enthusiastic to seek traditional higher Islamic learning in Lamu. In these two coastal towns prominent scholars continued to be the focal point on which traditional higher Islamic education developed (Muhammad, 1993).

4.2.1.9 Alumni

The alumni of Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College are spread all over the coastal region of Eastern Africa. In the period 1900-1939 there was no other established institution in the region that produced Imams and ulama to support the spread of Islamic learning and culture. The renowned East African reformist sheikh Al- Amin was among the first generation of Riyaadhi Lamu Mosque College. One notices his sharifite persuasion which he acquired from the sheriffs of the college in his book “Murshid adharif ila fawaid al-ward al-latif lil imam al-Hadad (Muhammad, 1993).

4.2.2 Mazrui Mosque, Mombasa

There were many scholars who left an impact on growth of Islamic higher education in coastal Kenya, however, the contribution of Sheikh Al-Amin, Sheikh Muhammad Kassim and Sheikh Farsy remains significant. These scholars used Mazrui Mosque in Mombasa to disseminate higher Islamic scholarship to students. The mosque was not a formal institution like the Lamu mosque college; nonetheless it sufficed as a reputable centre of Islamic learning. Sheikh Al-Almin distinguished himself as a serious scholar in Mombasa. He gave lessons in the Mazrui mosque (El-Masr, 1987).

4.2.3 Enrolment

Students who pursued higher education were usually drawn from Islamic teachers who had graduated from *Madrassa* and had got employment in Quranic schools and also worked as sheikhs in mosques in the estates in Mombasa. These were junior Islamic ulema who had failed to get an opportunity to pursue higher Islamic learning in Zanzibar and Egypt. Usually, the students would come for lessons in the evening. These evening

sessions targeted few students who on average ranged from six to ten. On Fridays sheikh Al-Amin taught values of higher education to all the worshippers who came to the mosque. This opened mass enrolment to higher Islamic education to all people that were interested in improving their scholarship (El-Masri, 1987).

4.2.4 Methodology

The method of learning and teaching Islamic education had been well developed in Mazrui Mosque College. The methodology of teaching was as follows: sheikh or ulema sat in front of the niche in the mosque, while students faced the teacher. During the month of Ramadan learning sessions would increase because the students were more and guest teachers from different parts of the Muslim world who came to celebrate the Ramadan were given a chance to teach in the mosque. Thus learning sessions began in the morning and went into the night. Students who specialized in different disciplines of Islamic education used a special mosque or a special room in the mosque.

The senior resident scholar determined the subjects taught in the Mazrui Mosque. However, almost all the scholars who taught in the mosque taught general subjects ranging from Arabic, *fiqh* to *Quranic* exegesis. The teachers used manuals and published books or pamphlets to teach the students. The dominant mode of content dissemination was through allowing students to read the texts and the teacher would make commentaries on each of the text (Trimigham, 1964, p. 86). Among the texts that were popular for use in the Mazrui Mosque included Shafite manuals such as *Minhaj at-talibin* written by an-Nawawi, Commentaries on Minhaj at-talibin by Shiekh al-Amin, a popular manual for ritual law entitled *al-muqadimat al-Hadramiya fiqh as-sadat ash-shafiyya*

authored by Adalla bin Abdi al- Rahman and a law book written by Ahmad ibn Raslan called *Matn az-zubad fi l-fiqh*. Apparently, all these texts focused on explaining and disseminating the ideas, principles and practices of the shafii Islamic law.

The significance of scholars like Sheikh Al-Amin who taught in the Mazrui Mosque lies in their personal contribution which they brought to the growth of traditional higher Islamic education. The Mazrui mosque only served as a focal point where they launched innovations in Islamic higher education. Sheikh al-Amin in particular was an alumini of Riyaadhi Lamu Mosque College. The innovations he brought into the tradition of higher Islamic education were a result of his criticism of the Philosophy of education being offered in Riyaadhi Lamu Mosque College (Hashim, 2003).

The College had a big library with books procured from Hadramawt, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, India and Turkey. Anne Bang has emphasized that books were an integral part of Islamic higher education. However, the Islamic elites used *wagf* to confine circulation of books within certain families and institutiouons. The collection of books at Riyaadhi library has evidence to affirm that *wagf* was used as a way to limit access to higher education to everyone. She has given an example of a *wagf* donation in the Riyadh library collection which is a lithograph printed in Cairo in 1855 by an Egyptian scholar al- Khidr al- Dimyari. This book was acquired from Cairo by Said Qasim and brought to Lamu and it was confined to the college and thus whoever wanted to read it had to get enrolled in Riyaadhi Lamu Mosque College (Bang, 2015, p. 147).

Sheikh al-Amin scholarship is well articulated in the two newspapers he edited in 1930s and the numerous works he wrote. He founded the Sahifa and Al-islah newspapers. These newspapers were published in Kiswahili and Arabic. The Sahifa newspaper lasted for sixteen months from November 1930 to February 1932. The Al-islah was launched in 1932 and lasted to 1933. He wrote the following works in Arabic and Kiswahili. His works in Arabic include *Hidayatul atfaal*, *Marshid adhrif ila fawaida al ward al lattif lil imam al-Hadad*, *Majmau al-Bahrain*, *Al-Umuru al Mushtahirah*, *Al Ahaadithu al-Mukhtara* (Hashim, 2003, p. 6).

While the writings in Kiswahili include *Masomo ya dini sehemu ya 1-111*(Religious Education 1-111), *Wanyama walio halali na haramu kuliwa katika uislamu* (Animals that can be eaten and those that cannot be eaten in accordance with Islamic religion), *Mizani ya Madh'hab ya Mirza Ghulam kwa qurani na Hadithi*, *Mirza ya maneno yake ya Ukafiri*, *Je Ahamadiya ni waislamu?* (Are Ahmadists sufi order muslims?), *Mwalimu kwa watoto* (The Teacher for the Children), *Ndoa na talaka katika sharia ya ki-islamu* (Marriage and divorce in Islamic Law), *Tafsiri ya Juzuu ya Amma* (Hashim, 2003, pp. 6-7).

In 1936 Sheikh Al-Amin launched a project of making commentaries on the *Quran*. He managed to write comprehensive commentaries for the first three chapters of the *Quran*. His scholarly career was recognized by the British colonial administration that appointed him *Qadhi* of Mombasa in 1932 and chief Kadhi of Kenya in 1937. Justo Lacunza Balda (1993) succinctly summarizes the contribution of Sheikh Al-Amin to the growth of Islamic higher education in the following words:

Sheikh Al-Amin had great knowledge of Islamic sources written in Arabic. It was perhaps this aspect of his expertise that prompted him to insist on the necessity of going back to the original languages in which the Quran and the Hadithi were recorded and written down.

Through his writings and teachings, sheikh Al-Amin inspired the educational development of Muslims in East Africa and stressed the need of learning Arabic, not as an end in itself, but rather as an essential means for understanding the Quran. Nevertheless, he realized the significance of Kiswahili for the education and spread of Islam in East Africa, and he was the first Swahili scholar to be aware of the potential impact of Kiswahili for Islamic reform (Balda, 1993, p. 232).

Swahili oral literature, *tenzi* was another popular literature taught to students. The *tenzi* was both narrative and didactic used to communicate doctrines and ethics. Among the popular books used in oral Swahili literature include *kitabu cha nikahi* (Marriage Regulations) written by Al ibn Hemmed al-Buhri, *Miharathi* (the law of inheritance) by Hassan ibn Mir ash-shirazi and *Sala na maamrishi yake*(rules on prayer by Shaikh Abdallah Salih al-Farisi (Spencer & Trimigham, 1964, p. 88).

4.3 Legal factors that led to the decline of Traditional Higher Islamic Education in Colonial era, 1900-1939.A.D.

British colonial rule in Kenya was accompanied by enactment of series of legislation that was implemented by the courts. The British Consul of Zanzibar, Mr Arthur Hardinge, was put in charge of the administration of the ten mile coastal strip of Kenya by the British Colonial government. He enacted the East Africa Order in Council in 1897 that

established native courts. The East Africa order in Council introduced two different types of native courts.

The first was a court system which was headed by a European official and it included the high court, the chief native court, provincial native courts, district courts and Assistant collector's courts. The second model of the British colonial system entailed courts that were presided over by a native authority which included court of local chiefs, *walis* courts (Arab Governors courts) and religious courts (*Qadhi* courts). The native courts in colonial Kenya adopted Indian civil procedure code and the Indian penal and criminal procedure codes. Arthur Hardinge set up Kadhi courts in every district in the ten mile coastal strip (Hashim, 1998, pp. 223-226).

Whereas the *Qadhi* courts in principal recognized the Islamic sharia yet in practice the British colonial state restricted the operations of the *Qadhi* to issues that related to personal status among Muslims in the ten mile strip at the coast. This personal status covered marriage, inheritance and succession. The British colonial administration also made changes in the religious hierarchy which was a radical departure from the ideal structure of Islamic religious hierarchy. The British colonial state created a new position of Chief *Qadhi* called shyakh al-Islam. The function of the chief Kadhi was to supervise Kadhi courts and hear appeal cases from Muslims. The British colonial state also created new administrative posts for Arab local governors, the *liwalis* and mudirs (Hashim, 1998, p. 226).

In 1915 the British colonial government issued a marriage decree that was a radical shift from the Islamic law/sharia. The decree provided that a Muslim girl could validly get married to a non muslim man regardless of the attitude of her guardians and or parents as long as the girl was above twenty one years of age. The sharia was categorical that marriage between a Muslim girl and a non Muslim man was wrong (Hashim, 1998, p. 231). This was another case where the British colonial government was introducing new interpretations of legality of marriage outside the conventional knowledge of Islam. This threatened the continuity of Islamic education which actually focused immensely on the Islamic law.

The British legal reforms targeted the land sector by introducing Land Titles Ordinances in 1908. This Land Titles Ordinance secured land for some individuals in the ten mile coastal strip and it denied other individuals ownership of land. The core element of the land Titles and Ordinance was demarcation of land and recognition of private ownership of the land. The issuance of land titles under this ordinance was guided by definition of native and non natives by the British colonial administration. The Arabs in the coast were regarded as natives and so were given land titles while Africans were regarded as non natives and were denied land title deeds. Yet in the coastal ten mile strip the Swahili culture and social fabric was a product of intermarriages between Arabs and Africans and they were all united by the Islamic faith.

In the social milieu of the coastal ten mile strip the social distinction was based on *Uungwana* and *Ushenzi* which was defined by those who embrace Islam that's the *Waungwana* and those who are not Muslims, the Washenzi. Arthur Hardinge, the British

Consul, who was in charge of the ten mile strip commented that the Arabs and the Swahili upper class were the only natives of the coast (Akher, 1982, p. 38).

The Non Muslims aimed at joining the *Waungwana* by seeking Islamic knowledge. With the coming of British colonialism, Islam no longer defined *Waungwana*; rather it was race that defined social distinctions. Prior to the establishment of British colonialism in coastal Kenya, matters pertaining to land adjudication was administered under the *Sharia* law, the customary law. The British state ignored the role of these three laws in the management of land issues. The *sharia* lost any significant role in adjudication of land. The *sharia* was only limited to application of marriage, inheritance and succession (Hamid, 2004,p. 170).

The British colonial administration gradually undermined the role of Islamic judicial system. This begun with the promulgation of the East Africa Order in Council of 1897 which provided the *Mussulman* Ecclessistical courts referred to as Kadhi courts. The order in Council stipulated:

A court is hereby constituted to be called the chief Cadis (Kadhi) Court. It shall be presided over by a chief Kadhi for the whole of the coast region who shall be called the sheikh-ul-islam, who will be appointed by the Provincial Commissioner, but all the other Kadhis will be appointed by the sub-commissioner of the province. (Adan, 2013,p. 1)

The colonial government retained the skeleton of *Qadhi* courts in coastal Kenya. These courts were incorporated into the British colonial judicial system. Initially these courts dealt with issues of public administration and litigation of justice on all matters affecting the people. In the colonial era the *Qadhi* courts were stripped off other functions and only

retained the power to litigate on issues that concerned marriage, divorce and inheritance. The *Qadhi* courts were in essence welfare religious courts that dealt with issues of the family.

This was a major blow to Islamic higher education that trained and produced into the market professional Muslim legal experts on all aspects of law. The study of Islamic jurisprudence became irrelevant in the sense that the colonial job market did not provide an enabling environment for its self perpetuation. The confinement of *Qadhi* courts to issues of marriage, divorce and inheritance set the ball rolling for the decline of Islamic higher education (Mathews, 2013).

4.4. Colonial economy and the decline of Traditional Higher Islamic Education in Colonial Kenya, 1900-1939.A.D.

The East African coast engaged in maritime trade for centuries before the onset of British colonialism at the end of the 19th century A.D. Maritime commerce was based on the direction of monsoon winds and also the good harbours found on the East African coast. Secondly, East African coast had fertile soils that produced agricultural products that were in demand by the other participants in maritime trade in Asia and Middle East. The monsoon winds blew towards the East African coast between November and March and May to September they changed their direction and blew from the East African coast towards Middle East and Asia.

The maritime trade involved the East African islands of Comoros, Zanzibar, Pemba, Mombasa, Lamu with India, China, South Arabia, Yemen, Persia and Egypt. The trade

commodities found on the East African coast were iron and copper products, ivory and leopard skins, turtle shells, mangrove poles, ambergris, grains, fruits and gold. The Swahili who settled on the Eastern African coast had perfected skills in metallurgy where they obtained iron and copper from the interior and they melted these metals and manufactured carbon steel and cast iron. The East African coast imported textiles, ceramics, beads, silk and glass. These products were imported from Iran, India, China and Egypt (Marshall, 2007, p, 5).

British envoys dispatched into Eastern Africa made contacts with the coastal towns of Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa from 1800.A.D. These British government representatives were on a specific mission of mobilizing East African leaders on the coast and islands to abolish slave trade. Yet it was slave trade which had given economic prominence to the Arab leadership of the Oman in the Eastern African coast. Thus the British interfered with this maritime trade which had been the source of growth of hegemony of the Arabs in the East African coast. Since the 9th century A.D. the Arab and Swahili entrepreneurs shifted their focus from the Indian Ocean trade to the coastal and hinterland trade.

The Arab and Swahili entrepreneurs developed plantations on the coast which depended on slave labour. Britain once again signed treaties with the Sultan of Zanzibar at the end of the 19th century A.D. to abolish slavery on the coast and this was a final blow to Arab and Swahili entrepreneurs. The British then gradually replaced Arabs and Swahili as the major participants in the maritime trade in the Indian Ocean and also controllers of the plantation economy and commerce in the towns of Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa by the first three decades of the 20th century A.D. The British, Americans and French

monopolized the Indian Ocean trade. This trade had been the source of the wealth which was used to finance Islamic higher education (Marshall, 2007, p. 6).

Commerce was a major component of economic organization in the ten mile coastal strip. By the end of 19th century A.D, the economic prosperity of the region rested on the large plantations producing fruit, coconuts, copra, grain, rubber and cotton. These plantations survived on slave labour provided by Africans from the mainland. The abolition of slave trade in the mid 19th century had a negative impact on plantation economy and trade in the coast. These plantations were maintained by African slave labour procured from the interior. This plantation economy was adversely affected by enforcement of banning of land slave trade in the 1870s. The Swahili and the Arabs who owned vast tracts of plantations at the coast was dependant on the constantly declining slave population (Kanyinga, 2000, p. 56).

In the 19th century Swahili and Arabs on the East African coast had to concentrate on agricultural plantation economy because their role in the Indian Ocean had been taken over by European colonialists. The colonial agricultural economy was to be based on copra, grains, and cotton and rubber cash crops. There was large amount of unoccupied land which British colonialists intended to declare as Crown land and then use it to establish plantations of cotton and rubber. The colonialists promulgated the Crown Land Ordinance in 1902 to legitimize its strategy.

The ordinance opened coastal Kenya to European planters and who developed a plantation economy. This ordinance went against the sharia law which had been used to

adjudicate in land issues in the region for centuries. The introduction of crown land ordinance opened a new chapter in the colonial government policy in the coastal ten mile strip in the sense that the coastal strip was to be opened up to European planters to develop plantation agriculture. The colonial law gave rights to the state to take up unoccupied land in the coastal region convert it to crown land then pass it over to European farmers who were ready to develop a plantation economy. A European colonial official claimed that out of the 2.350.000 acres of Land in Malindi, Mambui, Takaungu and watamu only 170,000 acres were said to be occupied by the Swahili and Arab speakers (Hamid, 2003).

In 1907, slavery was abolished in the British East African protectorate. This was a direct attack on the indigenous plantation economy of the Arab and Swahili people at the coast which had entirely depended on slave labour. This plantation economy basing on cultivation of cotton, rubber and cloves was the economic stronghold of Lamu, Malindi and towns. It was the profits from this economy that sustained the *ulama* or the privileged class in coastal Kenya. The abolition was a blow to the economic base of the *ulama* and by extension traditional higher Islamic education which produced this privileged class (Mathews, 2013, p. 147).

Once the Arabs lost their control of the economy on the East African coast they began migrating out of the region to other parts of the Middle East. The population of Arabs in Malindi dropped drastically from 14000 in 1897 to 5200 in 1906. While in Lamu the population of Arabs declined from 47000 in 1897 to 27000 in 1918. In Mombasa the Mazrui family had declined to 200 households by 1914. Although they were a small

minority they controlled more than three quarters of commerce, land and all the wealth. They were the economic and political elites. The general trend was a sharp decline of Arabs on the coastal region because of British colonialism. The decline in Arab population had a direct impact on traditional higher Islamic education in the sense that this education was actually managed and propelled by the Arab elites (Cashmore, 1965, p. 94).

There were a series of other colonial ordinances that marginalized *sharia* law in coastal economy. The judicial system was one of the major job markets for the students who had graduated from traditional higher Islamic education. The marginalization of *sharia* in the economy in coastal Kenya affected its relevance as a professional discipline to be pursued by students (Hassan Barre, Oral Interview 2/4/2015).

Kanyinga articulately captures the impact of British political economy on the Swahili and Arabs in coastal Kenya by stating that:

The ordinances by seeking to represent man-land relations on the coast impacted not only on the structure of access to land but also on Arab and Swahili dominated structures of social power. Their social and economic influence waned as a result of firstly, the abolition of slave trade and secondly, the rapid growth of the protectorate and the attendant British administrative and political influence over the entire ten mile coastal strip. (2000, p. 57)

4.5 Social factors that led to the decline of Traditional Higher Islamic Education in Colonial Kenya

As in many other African countries, Christian Missionaries laid the foundation for formal western education in Kenya. They introduced reading, writing and arithmetic to spread Christianity and taught practical subjects such as carpentry, Home science and

gardening. These early educational activities began around the mid 1800s along the Kenyan coast. The policy that emerged on African education was to support Christian missionary educational effort through grants-in-aid, leaving them to select where to open up schools and who to accept or refuse admission. The doors of the mission schools were shut to those who did not accept baptism, attendance in the Church and Bible lessons. This policy discriminated against African Muslims who wanted secular education but at the same time retain their faith (KNA, DC/LAMU/1).

While communities in the outskirts of coastal towns of Lamu, Malindi, and Mombasa began to embrace missionary education and European colonial education, the Muslims in the towns resisted this foreign education. Missionary education was actually part of evangelistic activities of Christian religion which in essence was an affront to the Muslims at the coast. The Muslim parents feared that if their children accessed missionary and colonial education they would abandon their Islamic religion. However, by the beginning of the 1920s the Muslims in the towns of Mombasa, Malindi and Lamu began to associate western education with wage employment in colonial economy. Gradually Muslim parents began to send their children to seek colonial education (Williams, 2009, pp, 6-9).

The growth of Muslim higher education was affected by the constant and consistent growth of European colonial educational policies and practices. The sustainability of any higher education system depends on the expansion and firmness of basic/primary education. In the period 1900-39, the British colonial state successfully established primary schools in coastal Kenya and went further to set up schools for Muslim children. The British focus on influencing Muslim education got its inspiration from the vision of the first British Commissioner of the East African protectorate, Sir Arthur Hardinge. In

1897, Sir Arthur Hardinge categorically proposed that *wagf* funds ought to be used to fund construction of a school in Mombasa that would train Arabs and Swahili children to access administrative and political positions in British colonial economy. He proposed that Muslim education should be taught side by side with secular subjects like History, Geography and Science. This observation of Sir Arthur Hardinge set the parameters for the interaction of western and Muslim education in coastal Kenya (Sperling, 1993,p. 199).

In 1912, the government opened the first school in Mombasa to provide secular education to Arabs and Swahili at the coast. The first principal of the school was Mr. Pipe who had some experience with handling Muslims in Zanzibar and Tanga in Tanganyika. The enrolment in the school was very low because the Arabs and Swahili at the coast argued that the school did not have Islamic subjects in the subjects offered in the curriculum. By 1918, the enrolment in the school was only 35 pupils (Salim, 1972, p. 151).

The low enrolment was a result of the fact that Islamic education had not been allowed to be taught alongside secular education the way Sir Arthur Hardinge had proposed in 1897. The sentiments of Sir Arthur Hardinge were reiterated by members of the Arab-Swahili community who presented their grievances to the commission of Enquiry into Education in the colony and protectorate of Kenya. These representatives of the Arab and Swahili community stated that they favored secular education as long as Islamic religious instruction and Arabic language were incorporated into the curriculum (Sperling, 2000).

In 1919 another secular school was opened in Malindi through the support of Ali bin Salim, a Liwali who had great admiration for western education. The liwali gave the school a trust which enabled it to expand very fast. In 1920, it had an enrolment of 35 pupils. It was difficult for the colonial government to open a school in Lamu because Lamu was the centre of Islamic culture and education. It was not until 1929 that a night school (it operated at night only) was opened to offer education to children of Arab and Swahili government employees. The school was closed in 1930 because of lack of pupils (KNA, PC/COAST, 1/4/2).

The Frazer Report of 1919 was a precursor to the racial segregation of education in Kenya. J. N. Frazer was an educationist from Bombay who was commissioned by British colonial government to conduct detailed survey of the status of education in the protectorate. As part of his terms of reference, he was to give counsel to the government on the nature of education to be given to the three races in Kenya namely European, Asian, Arab/African. In his report, he recommended among other things, the establishment of three branches of education for Europeans, Asians and Africans. European and Asian children were supposed to receive an academic education. The African children were supposed to learn mainly agricultural and industrial subjects. Consequently on Frazer's recommendations, J. S. Orr was appointed as the first director of education and the racial segregation in education in Kenya began (Otiende & Wamahiu, 1992).

The educational segregation fitted each group into its particular role. The Europeans were being prepared to be rulers, Asians to be minor administrative assistants and

Africans to be menial workers. This education was geared towards fulfilling the needs of the colonial government. Before the enactment of Frazer's report, the development of education had assumed a multiracial character. The multi-racial education was experimented on at the Buxtom High School in Mombasa until the missionaries started teaching religion (KNA, DC/TTA/3/3/9).

In 1912, an Arab school, the first of its kind was opened in Mombasa. Its aims were to provide commercial training for government service and an agricultural course to produce agricultural overseers. The department of agriculture had established an agricultural experimental farm at Mazeras. Later, this farm was put at the disposal of the school for the agricultural training of the Arab youth. However, the response was very poor such that by the outbreak of the First World War (1914), the school could not boast of more than twenty four pupils in its roll. The second school for the Arabs was opened in Malindi in 1919. It was endowed by Sir Ali Bin Salim, the then assistant Liwali of Mombasa with a personal endowment of 1085 sterling pounds.

During the first half of the colonial period, the development of Muslim education was hindered by the negative response of the Muslims towards secular education. This was compounded by the issue of mission schools which were generally regarded as institutions to lure Muslims to Christianity. The problem was serious that the principals of Arab schools in Mombasa and Malindi urged the government to introduce compulsory education for Arab children.

This was seen as the only way to uplift the educational standard of the Arabs. The call for compulsory education was also made by colonial administrators. In one such call, the Mombasa senior commissioner regretted that the attitude of the Arabs at Lamu was impossible that he did not see what could be done unless education was made compulsory. Sir Ali Bin Salim also held the contention that the Arabs and Swahili could not willingly accept Western education unless they were coerced. The calls for the introduction of compulsory education for Arabs were not heeded by the colonial government. However, education was made compulsory for European and Asian children between the ages of seven and fifteen years in the main urban centres of Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu. But for the African children, no such action was taken (Eisemon & Salmi, 1995).

The absence of Quranic and Arabic teaching in the curriculum of the secular school was considered as a reason for the poor response of the Muslims to secular education. This was the situation until the introduction of Quranic instruction in 1924. This absence was attributed to the low turnout of pupils in the Arab school in Mombasa. The Education Commission for the East Africa protectorate of 1919 was the greatest barrier to Islamic education in colonial Kenya. This is because the commission argued that the best way of enhancing education for Africans was through Christian missionary bodies. The commission made the following recommendations on African education:

That there should be regular moral and religious instruction in African schools. The Government should support missionary's development of African education through grants in Aid. The policy of payment by results should be abolished and a grant should be made on the general state of efficiency of the school. Secular government schools should not be abolished but Christian religious instruction to continue in secular schools. (Otiende & Wamahiu, 1992, 45)

The commission did not recognize the role of Islamic organizations or individuals in the spread of education for Africans particularly in coastal Kenya. The fact that Christianity was a socializing element in Western education created a major challenge to the survival of Islamic education. Whereas major policy statements did not capture advance in education for Muslims in Kenya, there was a constant attempt by British colonial educational officers to integrate some of the subjects of Islamic education at the elementary primary school level.

In 1924, Quranic instruction was introduced in Arab schools in Mombasa and Malindi. As a result, the intake started to pick up. The number of learners in Arab school in Mombasa rose from ninety two to one hundred and thirty and the one of Ali Bin Salim School, Malindi rose from twenty one to one hundred. The trend of increased intake continued that by 1928, there were three hundred and seventeen pupils in the roll of Arab school, Mombasa while the sitting accommodation was only for two hundred and thirty six pupils. In Kwale district, increased child attendance at Vanga School was also attributed to the introduction of the Qur'an in the curriculum (KNA, PC/COAST/2/10/43).

The colonial government realized that there was lack of competent teachers to teach Arabic, Quran and Religion in Muslim secular schools. Instead of the ministry of education identifying and recruiting qualified teachers either from the Riyaadhi Lamu Mosque College or those who had graduated from other Islamic institutions of learning, the ministry would identify a European teacher who had some skills in Arabic to teach in

some of these schools. In one of the correspondences the Director of education did state that:

The Government is quite sympathetic with the desire that Arabic should be taught in schools, and the colonial office had been requested to appoint a qualified European teacher with knowledge of Arabic for posting to the Shimo la Tewa school. (KNA, PC/COAST/AV/5/12)

The government conceded to the popular demand of teaching Quran in the secular schools of Mombasa and Malindi. This led to a sudden increase in enrolment. In 1924, in Mombasa enrolment rose from ninety two to one hundred and thirty , while in Malindi it rose from twenty two to one hundred .The government onslaught on Muslim education went a notch higher when in 1931, a secondary school was opened at Shimo La Tewa in Mombasa. The enrolment began at seventy two in 1931 and rose to ninety in 1933. In 1931, the Liwali of Mombasa Sir Ali Bin Salim established a primary school at Bondeni in Mombasa. The school offered primary and secondary education. In 1935, the first Arab graduate from Shimo la Tewa got admission into Makerere University College on a government scholarship (Salim, 1972, pp. 152-53). This was a pointer that a new era had taken over where higher education was to be spearheaded by the British colonial government.

Sheikh Mohamad Abdallah Ghazali, a student of Sheikh Al-Amin set up a modern Madrasa in 1933 in Mombasa. It was known as Madrasat Ghazali or Ghazali Muslim School for boys. The Madrasa had an integrated curriculum of secular and religious subjects comprising History, Mathematics, Arabic and Islamic religious subjects. It admitted boys who had completed Qur'anic School. Modern methods of teaching and textbooks were used. This was a departure from the Qur'anic school methodology. This

first Madrasa offered both secular and Islamic religious subjects. It became so popular with the Muslims such that after one year, it was moved to a building donated by Sir Ali bin Salim. The Madrasa received aid from Sir Ali and the Waqf Commission. Madrasa Ghazali was opened to Muslim girls in 1936. Girls and boys attended the school but they were segregated. Sheikh Ghazali taught Arabic and religious instruction while his wife Zainab binti Adam Musa and his half sister Bahia Ali assisted in teaching other subjects (Bull, 2000).

The *Madrasa* was popular to Muslims and so it aroused government concern as there was more defection of Muslim pupils from the government Arab school to the new integrated *Madrasa*. So in July 1938, the government absorbed the *Madrasa* into the new government Arab Girls School which was established in the same month. The change over took place on the understanding that Arabic and religious instruction could remain in the curriculum.

Sheikh Ghazali, the principal of the *Madrasa*, was given a post in the Arab Boys School and his wife was engaged as a mistress in the new Arab Girls School. Sheikh Ghazali became the Arabic teacher in both the Government Arab Boys School and Arab Girls School. The establishment of Ghazali Muslim School and others which were to follow was in line with the wave of modernization which was creeping into the Muslim world. In these areas, the introduction of Western education and the influence it had on the Muslims had opened their eyes to the needs of modernization and modifications of the existing traditional Islamic educational institutions. The development of the *Madrasa* as a modern institution of Muslim education could be traced from the atmosphere of modernization (Bruinessen, 2004).

The *Madrassa* which were pioneered by Sheikh Al-Amin and his students reformed Quran schools. This could be said of *Madrasat al-Ghazali* in which the founder, al Ghazal introduced religious subjects alongside the secular school curriculum of the 1930's. He also aimed at making Arabic the language of instruction. Elsewhere Sheikh Al-Amin, the champion of modernization of Islamic education installed blackboards on mosque walls and introduced Arabic primers which he bought from Egypt. These primers *Al-Qiraa* and *Al-Rashid* formed the basis of an Arabic language course. He also used the same texts to teach Arabic at the Arab school Mombasa (KNA, PC/COAST/2/10/43).

After the absorption of *Madrassa Ghazali* into the Government Arab boys and girls school, another of Sheikh Al-Amin's students, Sheikh Abdalla Al-Husni also modernized his *Qur'an* School, *Al-Madrasatul-Arabiyyah Al-Islamiyyah*. Al-Husni was well learned in both traditional Islamic scholarship and secular Western education. He introduced Arabic as a medium of instruction in his school and went further to establish secular subjects subjects in the school. In these way, Al – Husni aimed at reforming Islamic education through the help of Sir Ali bin Salim who donated land (KNA, DC/TTA/3/3/9).

This gradual infiltration of western education in coastal Kenya undermined the growth of Muslim basic, secondary and higher education. Islamic education was driven by demand and was also confined to specific classes and families. Yet western education being spearheaded by the government targeted almost every child irrespective of their classes

and families. Colonialism had a big impact on Islamic education. There has been a dual co-existence of Islamic education and Western education in coastal Kenya since early 20th century. There was a direct relationship between decline of Islamic education and expansion of Western education.

The British colonial state based the establishment and expansion of western education in Kenya on two policy frameworks. This framework was a product of the reports of Nelson Frazer (1909) and Phelps-stokes commission. These two reports affirmed the colonial policy of distinct system of education for each of the three races in Kenya and at the same time emphasized that education for Africans was supposed to produce cheap but efficient workers for European settler economy and European administrative structure. These policies were not elaborate on what should be done to entice Arabs and Swahili speakers in coastal Kenya to adopt western education. On the overall, the British colonial state categorized Muslim education as indigenous education which did not have value for European colonial economy and thus had to be changed to fit the colonial economy market.

4.6 Political Associations in Coastal Kenya, 1900-1939

The coastal region of Kenya and specifically the coastal towns of Mombasa, Lamu and Malindi did not experience the same challenges like the people in the interior. The British colonial government assimilated the Arab leaders such as the *Liwali* and the *Qadhi* into colonial administration. In 1908, Muslims sought representation in the legislative council because Indians had been promised representation in the legislative Council.

The Commissioner of East African British protectorate Sir James Hayes Sadler agreed to grant Indians two seats in the legislative council. In 1909, an Indian representative called Allibhai Mulle Jeevanjee was nominated to the Legislative Council. The liwali of Mombasa Ali Bin Salim mobilized Arabs to demand representation in the Legislative Assembly. In 1912, Ali bin Salim was nominated to the legislative Assembly to represent Arabs and Muslims. In 1924, the Coastal Arab Association, CAA demanded appointment of Muslims to the executive council. The CAA was led by Rashid b.Soud and Ali Haider Matano.

The leadership of the CAA demanded that African Muslims in the coastal region too deserved a representative in the Legislative Council. The colonial administration felt threatened by the activities of CAA and organized to dismantle it and indeed in 1924 the association collapsed. Thus by the 1920's and 1930's, a number of Muslim aristocratic families had begun identifying with British administration so as to preserve their privileged status. The British colonial administrators gave special privileges to Arabs and marginalised Africans at the coast. The Arabs were more privileged than the black Africans. They were therefore used to implement colonial policies in the coastal region (Nzouvi, 2010, pp. 6-7).

Justin Willis has also noted that from the early years of British rule, land was an issue that produced stiff resistance against European colonialism in Kenya, however in the ten mile coastal strip of Kenya, Arabs owned land both on lease hold and free hold basis. This was because the British colonial administration recognized that the Arabs were the

owners of the ten mile coastal strip at the coast and that the British only administered it on behalf of the sultan of Zanzibar (Willis, 2013, pp. 48-71).

The British colonial government used carrot and stick strategy in dealing with Arabs and Swahili in coastal Kenya. In the political sphere, the British colonial government strategically gave Arab leaders opportunities in the administration and the Swahili were not given similar privileges. The same British colonial government undermined the traditional higher Islamic education that gave identity to Arab aristocracy.

4.7. Summary

This chapter has discussed how the Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College and the Mazrui Mosque, Mombasa provided traditional higher Islamic education in Coastal Kenya. The curriculum taught in the two Colleges has been highlighted. The role of the Alawi brotherhood in the growth of traditional higher Islamic education was examined. Lastly, the role of British Colonialism in the decline of traditional higher Islamic education was explored. A lot of emphasis was on the colonial economy, Western education and the colonial court system in causing gradual decline of traditional higher Islamic education.

The impact of colonialism on higher Muslim education was manifested in the structural patterns of social and political roles and authority in coastal Kenya. The ultimate goal of a graduate student who attended Muslim educational system of education was to join the ulama class. This was an intellectual social and political class. This class was defined by the ability of its members to make informed choices and provide leadership on moral, legal, political and social issues that threatened or affected the Muslim community. It was

from this community of scholars that occupants of powerful offices like the Kadhi and chief kadhi were drawn. The sultan of Zanzibar also drew local administrators from this class. The mosques and religious organizations also drew imams and teachers from this class.

This is to argue that prior to 1939; Muslim education legitimized social classes at the coast and was a tool of social mobility from one class to the other. After the Second World War, the British colonial education system had successfully replaced Muslim education as the official and legal instrument of social mobility. For one to be a Kadhi, he had to possess Muslim educational qualifications but also had to have attained a considerable training in formal western education. The Muslim legal system or sharia was confined to religious and personal issues affecting Muslims, but Muslims in coastal Kenya like other Kenyans were bound by the secular colonial laws introduced by the British. Muslim education was suffocated by European imperialism and gradually had to give way to modern western education (Nimtz, 1982,pp. 16-19).

Indeed the coming of British colonialism eroded the epistemological prestige of Muslim culture, Arabic literacy and it led to the decline of Qadhi courts. The members of the Muslim community had freedom to seek litigation outside the Qadhi courts and they also had the freedom to seek secular education in colonial education institutions so as to access employment. This resulted into a gradual decline of Islamic knowledge economy and the Muslim elite who were productive members of this economy also declined. British colonialism also restructured the coastal society's imagery in the sense that prior to colonialism it was widely held that being Arab was being knowledgeable and cultured.

In the colonial era being European was being knowledgeable and cultured. This imagery set in motion a gradual process of decline of traditional higher Islamic education (Mathews, 2013, p.156).

The Islamic theory of education is relevant in the study of development of traditional higher Islamic education because, this theory gives prominence to revealed knowledge as the foundation of education. In colonial Kenya, the British colonialists did emphasize rational subjects while religion was to modify the character and morality of the student. The chapter examined educational institutions that offered Islamic education using the conceptual framework of theory of Islamic education and how these institutions survived parallel to the missionary and colonial educational institutions.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 TRANSFORMATION OF TRADITIONAL HIGHER ISLAMIC EDUCATION AT THE KENYA COAST, 1940-1963.A.D.

5.1 Introduction

The chapter outlines the growth of higher Islamic education in the period 1940-63. It examines the rise of new institutions offering higher Muslim education in coastal Kenya. The chapter documents the role of selected Muslim scholars whose ideas transformed the methodology and curriculum of traditional higher Islamic education. It concludes by studying the initiatives the British colonial state put in place to undermine traditional higher Islamic education.

Since the first decades of British colonialism in Kenya, the colonial state made inroads into the Muslim education system with the aim of superimposing colonial western education system on the established Muslim system of education. By 1935, the British had succeeded in setting up primary and secondary schools in coastal Kenya and allowed the teaching of Islamic subjects alongside secular literary and technical subjects in government schools. It was now the turn of traditional higher Islamic education to face direct attack from British colonialism. The first initiative was to set up a Muslim institute in Mombasa in 1948. This institute was called Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education (Bakari, 1983).

5.1.0 Institutions of Higher Islamic Education 1940-1963.A.D.

5.1.1 Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education

This institute was founded in 1948 by the Aga Khan of the Muslim Ismail Community, Sultan of Zanzibar and the colonial government in Kenya to offer technical and vocational education to Muslim children at the coast. The institute offered the following subjects; Electrical engineering, Carpentry and Masonry, Muslim religion and culture, Agriculture and Marine studies (navigation). The institute targeted Arab youth and it was a policy that 50% of available admission places be reserved for children from Arabic speaking community while the rest would be open to children from Swahili speaking communities and other African groups at the coast.

The institute opened in 1950 with an enrolment of 108 boys of whom only three were Arabs. The remaining 105 students were Asians. The institute failed to attract Arab students and ended up providing technical education for Asians. The initial plan by the colonial government to use the institute to tame traditional Muslim higher education by introducing sandwich Islamic courses in the institute did not produce expected results. The catchment area for the institute was Kenya, Zanzibar, Uganda and Tanganyika (Salim, 1972, pp. 210-211).

The institute had a board of governors which was made up of the Aga Khan, the Sultan of Zanzibar, the governors of Kenya and Tanganyika. The presence of the Aga Khan in the board encouraged many Muslim Indian children to join the institute. In fact Indian enrolment accounted for over 70%. The initial plan by the British to use the institute to

entice Muslim Arab children to be assimilated into colonial higher education failed miserably. The fact that now there existed an institute that could offer both secular, vocational, technical and Muslim education to the youth provided a framework for gradual growth of a new system of Muslim higher education which was controlled by a foreign colonial government (Munir, 1987).

The institute got funding from the Aga Khan of the Muslim Ismail community, the Sultan of Zanzibar, and Muslim colonial administrators (*liwalis*). Mr. Khamis Mohammed bin Juma, a friend of the *liwaali* of Mombasa leased 34 acres of land on very low terms for setting up of the institute. The colonial government, the Sultan of Zanzibar and the Aga Khan pooled 250000 sterling pounds to set up the institute (Abul-Fadl, 1988).

The British colonial state did not stop at setting up the Mombassa Muslim institute of education. In 1952, the colonial state set up the Muslim Academy in Zanzibar to provide modern Muslim education for Muslim children on the East African coast. This Academy took into consideration the interests of various Islamic sects such as *ibadhis*, *ithna-Ashariyah*, *hanafi* and *shafi*. This institute was launched at a time when the British colonial government had advanced plans to establish an Arab secondary school in Mombasa.

The government had already voted 25000 sterling pounds for the secondary school. Once the government realized that the Aga Khan and the Sultan of Zanzibar had advanced plans to set up a Muslim institute, the government decided to incorporate the plans of the Arab secondary school in the institute. Thus, the secondary school was set up together

with the institute. The school offered ordinary secondary curriculum (KNA, PC/COAST 1/4/1/VOL VII). The institute was recognized by the British colonial government as an institution of higher learning and given a charter to that effect. The Board of Governors of the institute kept on pressurizing the East African High Commission to grant the institute inter territorial status so that it could get admission of students from Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Uganda and Kenya (KNA, PC/COAST/AV/12/12).

5.1.2 Muslim Academy in Zanzibar

The Academy was inaugurated in 1955 but became operational in 1956. The Academy admitted students from all the three East African territories, namely Uganda, Zanzibar, Tanganyika and Kenya. The minimum admission requirement was a standard eight certificate. According to Abul-Fadl (1988) the curriculum offered in the Academy consisted of:

(i) *Quran and the Sunna*

The students learned Quran and this entailed reciting the Quran, and thorough understanding of the meaning of verses in the Quran. The students were taught the meaning and context of the *sunna* and traditions of prophet Muhammad.

(ii) *Tawhid*

This consisted of the study of Islamic theology. The students were introduced to basic metaphysical and dialectical debates of tawhid. However, she students were not expected to master these philosophical debates.

(iii) *Figh*

This was a study of rituals, duties and rights as provided for in the Islamic religion. This course introduced students to Islamic law. The content of this course exposed students to basic tenets of Islamic law.

(iv) *Tasawwuf*

This discipline involved teaching ethics, moral behavior and general philosophy of life to students. The ultimate purpose was to build the spiritual foundation of the students to galvanize their faith from being affected by dialectical debates in Islamic philosophy.

(v) *Sira*

This course highlighted the personal character of Prophet Muhammad. The purpose of the course was to provide an ideal role model of the person of the prophet to help students have goals in life.

(vi) *Arabic*

In the teaching of Arabic emphasis was put on language and grammar. The students also learned literature related to Arabic. The students were taught pronunciation and skills of oral speaking of Arabic.

(vii) *Secular subjects*

These included; English, mathematics, geography and history. The British colonial government intended to exploit the presence of the Muslim Academy in Zanzibar to influence the growth of Muslim higher education to their whims in the sense that it would be possible to monitor and direct Muslim education once its is institutionalized. Unlike the Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College which had identity and credibility that stretched into the 1900, the Academy was a creation of the colonial state. In the first place the principal of the college, Mr. Amer Abdulla, was appointed by the colonial

government. The British colonial government was comfortable with the principal for he was a product of western education and not Muslim education (Abul-Fadl, 1988).

The principal who was a Makerere luminary had a vision of transforming the Academy into a full fledged college that would produce scholars that had a broad and comprehensive understanding of Islamic studies and other secular subjects. He traveled all over East Africa giving lectures where he emphasized the need to incorporate secular education in Islamic institutions of higher learning. The subjects he had in mind were English, Mathematics, Geography, History and natural sciences.

The principal had a charisma that pulled both the *Sunni* and *Shia* Muslim sects to send their children to enroll at the Academy. The Academy drew their students from coastal Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar and Uganda. It was a tradition among the British to use indigenous personalities to entrench colonialism. In the establishment of colonial rule, the British used chiefs and kings, and so to penetrate and disorient Muslim education they chose to use people like Amer Abdullah a Muslim with high educational qualifications (Abul-Fadl, 1988).

5.1.3 Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College

The Sheriffs of Lamu were forced to make elaborate modifications in the curriculum in response to the changing manpower needs of British colonial political economy. The changes were in the area of curriculum and evaluation. By 1950, the college had launched a curriculum that entailed Islamic jurisprudence, Arabic language, Mathematics, Comparative religion and the four schools of law. This was a specialized curriculum

which was curved from the general aspects of all disciplines that were taught prior to 1950. The curriculum had a specific objective of producing high calibre trained manpower to serve in the British colonial judicial system which recognized *Qadhis* and chief *Qadhi*. The Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College transformed itself into a legal type of school to train Qadhis, teachers and imams to serve in the coastal region of Eastern Africa (Bang, 2015).

In the area of evaluation, the college made substantive changes. Initially, students had been assessed by a single instructor who then issued *Ijaza* (certificate) to qualifying students. This certificate gave authority for a student to practice as an authority in one specific subject or text. As from 1950, the college introduced continuous assessments for students after every three weeks. A final examination was introduced at the end of the year and students could not proceed to a next level unless they passed the end year examinations. The final assessment of students was a corporate sum of continuous assessments and final year results. The students graduated from the college after five to seven years. On graduation they got a certificate from the College (Serjent, 1991).

In spite of the increasing popularity of Kiswahili language, both at the coast and in the mainland of Kenya, the sheriffs at Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College did not assimilate the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in training of students. They were not moved by the criticism of Al-farsy where he had accused them of using Arabic in teaching and also of perpetuating Sufi teachings. In response, they accused Al-farsy of laying a bad precedence in the translation of the *Quran* because the translation had given rise to major problems of praxis such as the correctness of the *Quranic* recitation.

The translation posed a danger of putting the divine text in a language understood by average Muslim believers thereby paving way to personal interpretation which was a threat to Islamic religion. The sheikhs affirmed that the holy scripture of the *Quran* could only be interpreted by qualified *ulama* that were proficient in Arabic. The use of Arabic safeguarded misinterpretation of the *Quran* by lay people (Serjent, 1991, pp. 234-235).

5. 2 Contribution of Muslim Scholars to Growth of Higher Islamic Education 1940-1963

Higher Muslim education in coastal Kenya benefited immensely from the ideas and teachings of Islamic scholars. A number of these scholars came into coastal Kenya from Zanzibar while others were products of Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College. In this period, there were very few Muslim scholars from the *Hadramawt* who came to settle and spread their ideas in the coastal towns. It seems as though the scholars from Hadramawt had passed on the mantle of disseminating higher Muslim education to the local people in coastal Kenya (Said, 1981). The scholars who contributed to Islamic higher education were:

(i) B. Ahmad

B. Ahmad was of Swahili origin and was born in Siyu in Coastal Kenya. All the other Islamic scholars were related to lineages that were associated with Arabic clans that had originally migrated into coastal Eastern Africa from Hadramawt, or Saudi Arabia or Omani. B. Ahmad rose to prominence in 1902 when the British colonial government was searching for a Muslim scholar to take the position of Mufti or sheikh of Islam, an office that had been created to act as the chief executive of the Muslim community.

The Muslim scholars presented Sheikh Ali B. Abdalla as the most qualified for the post. Sheikh Ali Abdalla was from the Mazrui, a community which put up strong resistance against the establishment of the Busaidi sultanate in Zanzibar. The Sultan in Zanzibar was always hostile to the Mazrui community thus the Sultan who had leased the ten mile coastal strip to the British still had a voice on whom the British could work with. The Swahili in Mombasa felt that the Islamic scholars from the Mazrui were arrogant and discriminated against them and so the Swahili and the *liwali* of Mombasa who was a representative of the Sultan of Zanzibar nominated B. Ahmad.

Though he was a devout Muslim and a scholar he tolerated traditional beliefs of the Swahili and accepted them as part of the culture of the Muslim Swahili in Mombasa. He promoted the *ngoma* dance competitions, a popular cultural activity among the Swahili in coastal Kenya. He was generous but much more significant was that he organized Islamic *darsa* for the poor Swahili in the Mbarak Mosque in Mombasa. He taught Arabic and Islamic law to the ordinary people all the day long in Mosque. He supported ancestor veneration which the Mazrui scholars and specifically Sheikh Ali Abdallah opposed. It is the appointment of B. Ahmad that inspired ordinary Swahili to seek higher Islamic education because it had become beneficial with the onset of colonialism (Kasozi, 2006, p. 336).

(ii) Sheikh al-Amin

He was born in December 1880 in Mombasa town. He was educated under the mentorship of Sheikh Suleyman bin al -Mazrui. He also studied under Sayyid bin Sumayt who was a chief Kadhi of Zanzibar. He took studies in the Riyaadhi Lamu Mosque College and was one of the first generation of graduate's of the college. He is

associated with the Islamic reform movement in East Africa and he published newspapers and pamphlets to spearhead reforms in Islam. His main agenda was to call on Muslims in Eastern Africa to eliminate practices that are not supported by the *Quran* and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad from the Islamic faith.

He emphasized that East African Islam had been infiltrated with practices and customs that were foreign. He cautioned Muslims against imbibing western values because they risked losing the fundamental teaching of the Quran and the Sunnah. He was among the first Islamic scholars in Eastern Africa to champion education for girls. He stressed that comprehensive knowledge of Arabic was a panacea to learning Islam. Although he criticized European western values he encouraged Muslims to pursue secular education. His reformist ideas were carried in his two newsletters and pamphlets *Al-Islah and Sahifa*. He was appointed the Qadhi of Zanzibar in 1932 and in 1937 was promoted to the position of chief Qadhi of Zanzibar (Kasozi 2006: 205-206).

(iii) **Sayyid Ali Badawi**

He was an alumnus of Riyaadhi Lamu Mosque College. He studied under reputable scholars in Zanzibar like Sheikh Bakaathir. He represented the traditional form of Islamic higher education in East African coast in the period after the Second World War. His impact on the growth of Muslim higher education in the post world war II period was found in the poetry and manuscripts he wrote. He kept the fire of the Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College burning at a period when Islamic revival movements in coastal Kenya and abroad were criticizing traditional Islamic higher education which had become impervious to absorbing new scientific and technological ideas. The reform movement

opposed certain elements in traditional Islam such as saint worship which was the basis of traditional Islamic teachings at Lamu Riyaadhi Mosque College (Al- Otaibi & Rashid, 1997)

(iv) **Sheikh Abdallah Saleh Al-Farsy**

Al- Farsy was a student of Sheikh Ahmed Muhammad Mlomry who was a student of Muhammad Abduh at Al-Azhar University in Egypt. Al-Farsy was also a student of Sheikh Al-Amin bin Ali al-Mazrui. Another prominent teacher of Al-Farsy was Sayid Umar bin Ahmad bin Sumeyt a renown scholar in Zanzibar and founder of the Bakathir Mosque college.

Al-Farsy contribution to higher Muslim education and thought can be found in his publications and seminars where he accused Islamic scholars of introducing obscurantism and outmoded cultural practices in the Islamic religion which many Muslims ignorantly accepted as legitimate Islamic prescriptions. He contributed to Islamic revivalism with the goal of sensitizing Muslims to adopt best ideals in western civilization.

He was critical of the teachings of the Ahmadiyya brotherhood and warned Muslims to be cautious of Quran translations of the Ahamdiyya brotherhood. He organized lectures and seminars in mosques in Zanzibar, Mombasa and Malindi (Hashim, 2003,PP. 11-18). In Zanzibar the lessons were organized from Thursday to Wednesday. On Thursday and Friday he taught Quran commentaries and *Hadithi*. On Saturday to Wednesday, he taught history of the prophet, Islamic jurisprudence and Arabic language. The lectures were held at Barsa Mosque.

In Mombasa, lessons ran from Monday to Friday. The lessons were conducted at Sakina Mosque (Majengo), Al-Azhar Mosque (Guraya), Shihab Mosque (MwembeTayari), Mlango wa Papa Mosque (Mji wa Kale), Ridhwaan Mosque (Kingorani), Muhammad Rashid Mosque (Kaloleni), Tunah (Majengo) and Nur Mosque. The same subjects taught in Zanzibar were also taught in Mombasa. In Malindi, the lectures were conducted at sheikh Nassor mosque. The lessons were conducted in the same manner like those in Mombasa and the subjects taught were similar.

The students were full time and promptly kept time in attending lectures. Initially higher Muslim education was open to a select minority of learners from aristocratic lineages. This trend changed in this period when Al-Farsy opened Muslim higher education to all categories of people as long as they were willing to attend lectures. Enrolment rose from a circle of five to twenty to a crowd of one hundred and over. (Bakari, 1995,p.181). This massive enrolment didn't take into account criteria for enrolment and evaluation. These were internal factors that culminated into the decline of Muslim higher education.

Al-Farsy is one of the most prolific Islamic scholars in East Africa in the period leading to and after independence. He authored over thirty one publications among which include: Commentary of the holy Quran, Translation of the Holy Quran (Upotofu Juu Ya Tafsiiri ya Makadiani), Maisha ya Nabii Muhammad (The Life of Prophet Muhammad), Mawaidha ya Dini (Religious Instructions), Baadhi ya wanachuoni wa Kishafi Wa mahariki ya Afrika (Some of the Islamic Scholars of the Shafi brotherhood in eastern

Africa). Although Al-Farsy was conversant with Arabic he chose to publish in Kiswahili in order to share his thoughts with majority of the ordinary Muslims in East Africa.

The writings of Sheikh Al-Amin inspired Al-Farsy to make fundamental innovation in higher Muslim education in coastal Kenya. Al-Farsy held the view that Islamic religion and education was characterized with Arabic colonialism. The Quran and other texts used in Islamic learning were monopolized by a few privileged classes, who were descendants of clans that originally immigrated from *Hadramawt* and came to settle in Mombasa and Lamu. The use of Arabic in Islamic religion and learning alienated non Arab Swahili communities in coastal towns of Kenya and East Africa as a whole from accessing Muslim education.

Thus Arabic language actualized Arab nationalism and confined Islamic education and religion as a preserve of the minority who claimed descent from Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Comoro Islands. Al-farsy criticized the ulema of Riyaadhi Lamu Mosque College for using Arabic as the only language of instruction in Islamic education. He advocated for use of Kiswahili as the medium of teaching Islam to accommodate the culture and world view of Swahili speakers who were the majority in coastal towns in Kenya. It is with this background that he embarked on translation of the quran in to Kiswahili in 1950 (Abreau, 1976).

Whereas, Al- Farsy used both lecture and seminar method in teaching higher Muslim education, he preferred the lecture method for it served more students and adherents. The seminar method was convenient in mosque halls which were reserved for a few students

usually those pursuing advanced Muslim education after graduating from *Madrassa*. He argued that Islamic education whether basic or higher should not be reserved for the elites but should be open to anyone who had an interest since Islam like other religions are universal.

He was a reformer whose educational thought aimed at removing Sufi teachings from authentic sources of understanding Islamic religion and interpreting Islamic education. He emphasized time and again that the study of Muslim higher education ought to be founded on the Quran and Sunna of Prophet Mohammed. He dismissed saint worship as being inconsistent with the Quran and the Sunna and thus Muslim philosophy based on saint worship should not form a discipline of enquiry in higher Muslim education (Balda, 1998).

(v) Sheikh Salim Muhammad Bin Kassim

This scholar was a student of Sheikh Al Amin. His contribution to development of higher Muslim education was through publications and seminars. He popularized education for women and the need to study natural science for it wasn't a contradiction of religion. He also wrote extensively on the interrelationship of religion and politics. He held separate seminars for women where he taught Muslim education. Secondly, he emphasized that the study of science did not lead to infidelity. He pointed out that it was the Muslim civilization that laid the foundation of growth of science and technology which the European civilization later on claimed ownership (Hashim, 2003).

The Muslim community at the coast at the time of Sheikh Salim Muhammad Bin Kassim could not have been aware of such facts because of being unable to access knowledge from the Middle East. A lot of evidence does exist to show that the Muslims pioneered the development of science as early as 9th century A.D. In 830.A.D they had formalized the establishment of an academy of scientific research which was named Baitul-Ul-Haikamat.

The centre had a library, a translation bureau and a laboratory. This academy was a product of the first ever international congress on science held in the 8th century under the patronage of the ruling caliph. Islamic intellectual heritage boasts of scholars like Ibn al-Nafis who discovered the circulation of blood, Ibn Zakariya al-Zahrawi who wrote an encyclopedia of science and Abul Qasim al-Zahrawi a distinguished physician surgeon (Otiende &Wamahiu, 1992, P. 30).

In his writings, he didn't foresee any contradiction between the state and religion for the Quran was explicit on the roles of each of the two in shaping the identity of a Muslim. On politics, he reiterated the right of a citizen to participate in the electoral process in order to determine the election of a proper candidate who could lead the community to prosperity. For him a government had a dual role of promoting religion (read Islamic) religion and at the same time advancing the welfare of the citizens.

His ideas are well captured in his publication *Hukumu Za Sheria* (Judgements of Islamic Law). Other publications of Sheikh Salim Muhammad Bin Kassim include: *Historia ya Utumwa Katika Uislamu na dini nyingine* (The History of Slavery in Islam and other

Religions), *Maisha ya Assidik Abubakar* (The Life of Assidik Abubakar), *Maisha ya A Faruk Umar* (The Life of A Feruk Umar), *Maisha ya Dhin-Nurain Uthman* (The Life of Dhin- Nurain Uthman), *Maisha ya Al-Imam Aly* (The Life of Al-Imam Aly), *Sitara ya Wanawake* (code of conduct for women), and *Mirathi Katika Sharia ya Kiislamu* (Islamic inheritance laws) (Hashim, PP. 8-10).

The seminars of Sheikh Kassim were not confined in one town. He moved from Malindi, Lamu and Mombasa disseminating his ideas to students who came to the seminars in mosques. As a result of his contribution to Islamic education he was recognized by the colonial government and appointed to serve as Kadhi in Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa.

(vi) **Sheikh Musa Hussein**

The impact of Sheikh Musa Hussein on Muslim education in coastal Kenya is a result of his prolific writing and teaching in the period after 1950. He was born in 1918 in Ujiji and studied in Usagara and Mpwapwa. In his writings he embraced the mood of reform that had been sown by sheikh al Amin and popularized by Sheikh al-farsy. He moved in East and Central Africa teaching Muslims that Islamic knowledge could not be acquired only by reciting and memorizing the Quran. He observed that the study of Arabic language alone could not qualify a person to acquire Muslim education. He suggested that Muslim Education should come out of Quranic schools and the mosque and become knowledge that was disseminated in public places. The core argument here was the need to make Muslim education accessible to everyone not just the elites and their descendants. He criticized the ulama from Lamu, Mombasa and Zanzibar for monopolizing the study and dissemination of Muslim education.

In order for the general public to access Muslim education, Sheikh Musa Hussein concurred with his mentor, Sheikh al-farsy that the medium of instruction ought to be Kiswahili and not Arabic. He wrote over 200 books and articles in Kiswahili on various aspects of Muslim education, culture, religion, politics and social organization. He pointed out that religion and politics are intertwined and have to form a huge proportion of Muslim education. He argued that Islamic literature ought to be produced in a language Muslims understand and for the case of East Africa that language is Kiswahili (Hashim, 2003).

One of the issues that emerge in the reform thought of Sheikh al-Farsy and Sheikh Musa Hussein is the self destructive aspect of Muslim education which marginalized the majority of Swahili speakers from accessing Muslim education. This was an elitist education whose function was to reproduce the ulama class that was dominated by families and clans that claimed descent from Prophet Muhammad or families whose ancestry was traced to *Hadramawt* in Saudi Arabia. The introduction of European colonial education undercut the monopoly which Arab related families and clans had over higher Muslim education. European colonial education allowed every African whether Arab or Swahili to access education and this made reformist to see the sense of opening up Muslim higher education for everyone.

The above biographical sketches bring out the number of scholars that were the pillars of traditional higher Islamic education in Coastal Kenya. Similarly the sketches emphasise how the Islamic scholars found themselves in difficult socio-political and economic

environments and so had to become agents of reform in the Islamic education sector. They found themselves in a dilemma as whether to stick to the al Ghazalian theory of Islamic education or accept modifications in the Islamic curriculum to accommodate western liberal values that characterized modernity. Lastly, the sketches emphasize that traditional Islamic education being part of the social milieu of the coastal societies went through internal transformation and thus the scholars too had to change to keep abreast to with modernity.

These sketches have candidly demonstrated the nature and quantity of scholarship that characterized traditional Islamic higher education in Coastal Kenya. The reform in the delivery of Islamic education from Arabic to Kiswahili enabled local Islamic scholars to write volumes of books and articles on different topics in Islam. The sketches too bring out the ideological differences among the scholars and how these promoted traditional higher Islamic education.

5.3 Effects of Colonialism on Traditional Higher Islamic Education in the post

Second World War era, 1945-1963

A number of factors contributed to the gradual decline of higher Islamic education in the colonial period in the coastal towns of Kenya. At the surface, the British entertained and appeared to retain and support Islamic education and Islamic sharia, but they also put in place legal, economic and social policies that undermined the existence of higher Islamic education.

After the Second World War, the British colonial education system had successfully replaced Muslim education as the official and legal instrument of social mobility. For one

to be a Qadhi, he had to possess Muslim educational qualifications but had to have attained a considerable training in formal western education. The Muslim legal system or sharia was confined to religious and personal issues affecting Muslims, but Muslims in coastal Kenya like other Kenyans were bound by the secular colonial laws introduced by the British. Muslim education was suffocated by European imperialism and gradually had to give way to modern western education (Nimtz, 1982,pp. 16-19).

The coming of British colonialism eroded the epistemological prestige of Muslim culture, Arabic literacy and it led to the decline of Qadhi/qadi courts. This resulted into a gradual decline of Islamic knowledge economy and the Muslim elite who were productive members of this economy also declined. British colonialism also restructured the coastal society's imagery in the sense that prior to colonialism it was widely held that being Arab was being knowledgeable and cultured. In the colonial era being European was being knowledgeable and cultured. This imagery set in motion a gradual process of decline of higher Islamic education (Mathews, 2013,p. 156).

In the post Second World War 11 period, colonial educational policies remained indifferent to growth of Muslim education. The Beecher report of 1949 and the Binn's report of 1952 were the major policy documents that determined the pattern of educational developments in colonial Kenya (Eshiwani, 1982,pp. 24-25). The colonial government of Kenya appointed a commission headed by Mr. Beecher to consider, evaluate and recommend on the scope, content and methods of African educational system.

The committee was also given the mandate to make proposals on financing and administration of African education. The report produced by the committee of Beecher lamented the declining moral standards of African societies and criticized the school system for failing to inculcate morals in African children. It therefore recommended that Voluntary organizations be allowed to work hand in hand with the school administration to impart Christian morals in pupils. Secondly, it underscored the need to enhance practical education for Africans (Sifuna, 1990).

Whereas the Beecher report provided the basis for networking between the Aga Khan of the Muslim Ismail sect, the sultan of Zanzibar and the colonial government that resulted into pooling of resources to build the Mombasa Muslim institute, the report re-emphasized colonial understanding of moral education to mean Christian education and thus there was lack of good will to promote Muslim education at all levels. The government policy of African practical education fulfilling the needs of colonial economy was clear that Muslim education was not relevant to colonial economy and so could not be promoted (Otiende & Wamahiu, 1992).

The Binns report of 1952 did not change colonial policy on Muslim education it only re-emphasized the Beecher report and stressed the need to avoid wastage in African educational system. Colonial reports in the pre and post Second World War period did not provide official government policy to nurture Muslim education. The writing were on the wall in that Muslim education had outlived its purpose and had to be left to naturally disintegrate and pave way to modern western education. The consistent efforts to set up

primary and secondary schools in coastal Kenya were evidence that the British colonial state was set to replace Muslim education with western education (Dawud, 2006).

5.4 Initiatives of Africans and Arabs in Coastal Kenya

The struggle of independence in Kenya gained momentum after the Second World War. There were two patterns of struggle for independence in the country. The societies in the interior of Kenya such as the Abaluhya, Luo, Kalenjin, Maasai, Abagusii, Ameru, Akamba, Mijikenda were fighting to push out the British colonialists out of the country so as to establish an African majority self government. These societies used different strategies to fight for independence which ranged from use of the trade union movement (East African Federation of Trade Unions), rural based movements (Mumboism, Dini ya Msambwa), guerilla warfare (Mau Mau) and political parties (Kenya African National Union, KANU and Kenya African Democratic Union, KADU).

The people in the coastal strip of Kenya had a different agenda for independence, namely to secede from Kenya and either be an independent state or be joined to Zanzibar. This was because British colonial policy in the coastal strip of Kenya was not as discriminative as it was in the interior. In the coastal strip, the Arabs and Swahili were recruited into colonial administration. The British recognized the political control of the sultanate of Zanzibar over the coastal strip of Kenya and that's why in 1895 they rented the strip from the Sultan.

The period 1950-1963 witnessed increased political activities among various political parties and leaders in the pursuit for secession of the coastal strip. This politics of

secession were referred to as Mwambao. The political parties included; Mombasa African District Union (MADU), Kilifi African Peoples Union (KAPU), Kwale African Democratic Union (KWADU) and the Kenya Protectorate National Party (KPNP). The KPNP was based in Malindi. These political parties supported secession of the coastal strip but pursued the agenda of the coastal strip to be independent and not be part of Zanzibar.

The KPNP also opposed the monopoly of power by Mombasa over the other towns of the coast. This position of KPNP was understood because Malindi and Mombasa had all along been contesting for political hegemony over the coastal strip right from the period the Portuguese invaded the coast. The Coast African Political Union, CAPU based in Mombasa fought for political autonomy of the coastal region. The demands of CAPU went beyond the coastal strip and included the other coastal communities namely the Mijikenda and Pokomo. CAPU criticized the continued dominance of the Kikuyu and Luo in Kenyan politics. They stated that the Giriama and Pokomo were the indigenous communities of the coast while the Arabs and British were foreigners who ought to leave the coast and go back to their countries (Salim, 1973, pp. 233-234).

The Coast Peoples Party (CPP) also joined the Mwambao movement where they demanded the autonomy of the coastal strip. They opposed the proposal of annexing the coastal strip to Zanzibar. The CPP was led by Ali Adalla Nassir and Rashid Bakuli. The leadership of these parties insisted in their advocacy that:

There was no foreign nation which came to Africa with cargoes of soil from their homes, so there is no foreign soil here on the East African coast. This is black

land and the indigenous people are black from the outset and it must remain in black hands until the end of the world. (Willis & Gona, 2013, pp. 48-71)

This Mwambao politics in the coastal strip were defeated throughout the final constitutional arrangements that were arrived at in the Lancaster constitutional conferences of 1960 and 1962. The outcomes of these constitutional deliberations were influenced by the majimbo (federalism) politics of KADU. Ronald Ngala was one of the leading proponents of Majimboism which demanded that every region in Kenya should have its own government.

There were to be six regional governments that were to be coordinated by a federal government. The coastal region was to have its own regional government that would take care of the aspirations of the Muslims in the region. Ronald Ngala and Francis Khamisi who were the leading politicians in the coastal region fought against Mwambao. There were also other political parties in coastal Kenya that opposed Mwambao. The Coast League opposed coastal strip to be annexed to Zanzibar.

They demanded that the coastal strip remain under British protection until it is able to set up its own self government. There was also the Shungwaya Freedom Party based in Lamu that opposed session and demanded that the coastal strip be part of Kenyan State. This party was led by Ahmed Janeby and advocated for the improvement of the welfare of the Bajuni. There was also the Mijikenda political party which opposed the session of the coast (Ndzouvi, 2008, pp. 9-11).

Kenya gained independence in December 1963 after the Lancaster constitutional conferences of 1960 and 1962 ultimately led to the drafting of the constitution that became the legal framework for independent Kenya. The voice of the Muslim community in Kenya was marginalized right from the Lancaster House constitutional conference deliberations of 1960 in London. The representatives in the Lancaster House constitutional conference from coastal Kenya put up a strong fight to ensure that the ten mile coastal strip that had been ruled by the Sultan of Zanzibar prior to onset of British colonialism in Kenya secede from Kenya and be part and parcel of the state of Zanzibar.

This was a deliberate strategy to ensure that the Muslim jurisprudence, culture, Arabic language and way of life was not dominated and undermined by up country African leaders who were set to take over state apparatus once independence was achieved. This request was declined in the final constitution which recognized Kenya as a unitary state.

One of the representatives from coastal Kenya who was vocal in the push for secession of the coast from mainland Kenya and its political autonomy was Sheikh Abdillahi Nassir. He represented the old town of Mombasa in Lancaster House Constitutional Conference of 1960. He declined to sign the agreement which created a unitary state of Kenya where the ten mile coastal strip and north eastern Kenya were integrated into the independent Kenyan State. In 1961, he became a member of parliament on an independent ticket (Reese, 2004, p.218).

The proponents of Mwambao who included Sheikh Abdillahi Nassir, O. J. Bassadig and Sheikh Salim Muhaahamy argued that the ten mile coastal strip was not part of Kenya but was linked to the Kenya colony for the convenience of the British colonial

administration. They underscored the argument that the Arab community would not regard their rights and interests as being adequately protected if the the ten mile coastal strip was to be joined to the independent state of Kenya. Jomo Kenyatta who became the first president of the independent republic of Kenya dismissed the claims of the proponents of mwambao and strongly affirmed that Kenya was a unitary state and that if anyone removes any part of Kenya, he or she would be resisted with all the force required. Such an action of taking off any territory from the integral territory of Kenya was a direct attack on the sovereignty of Kenya and her people (Mwaruvie, 2011, p.179).

A political deal between Britain and Jomo Kenyatta put Qadhi courts into the 1963 constitution. However, the Kadhi courts were restricted by the constitution to only matters of personal status. Section 66 of the constitution stipulated that in order to serve in a Kadhi court an individual must “profess the Muslim religion and profess such knowledge of Muslim law applicable to any sector sects of Muslims. The jurisdiction of Kadhi courts shall extend to the determination of questions of Muslim law relating to personal status such as marriage, divorce and inheritance in proceedings in which all parties profess the Muslim religion; but nothing in this section shall limit the jurisdiction of the high court or any subordinate court in any proceeding which could come before it” (Kenya 1963 Constitution Section 66 c12, 5). This section paralyzed the power and authority of Qadhi courts and it had a long lasting impact on higher Islamic education in relation to Islamic law. The high court was superior to the kadhi courts and this undermined the independence and supremacy of Islamic law (Hirsch, 2000,p. 10).

This constitutional provision was endorsed after a commission led by Robertson presented a report in 1961 which recommended that the coastal people had consented to be part of the unitary state of Kenya. The truth of the matter was that the Mijikenda were the ones who dominated the submissions to the commission. They did not want the coast to be autonomous and secede to be part of the state of Zanzibar for they feared marginalization from the Arab community. It was Hon. Ronald Ngala one of the Kenyan nationalists who was a Miji kenda that lowered the Red Flag of the Sultan of Zanzibar at Malindi marking the end of Omani rule in the ten mile coastal strip.

Ronald Ngala was one of the leaders of Kenya African Democratic Union, KADU a nationalist political party that was opposed to the autonomy of coastal Kenya or Mwambao. The other nationalist party Kenya African National Union, KANU was also opposed to Mwambao. The Memorandum of Understanding MOU drawn in 1963 between the Sultan of Zanzibar and Jomo Kenyatta the Prime Minister of the Independent Kenya that formally transferred the sovereignty of the ten mile coastal strip to Kenya retained the major clauses of the 1895 agreement in which the Sultan of Zanzibar had rented the ten mile coastal strip to the British colonial government.

The clauses of the agreement were: guarantee of complete freedom of religion for Muslim subjects and preservation of their religious institutions and heritage; the chief Kadhi to have jurisdiction over questions of Muslim law relating to personal status (marriage, divorce, inheritance); freehold titles to land in the coast region that are already registered be recognized and muslim children be instructed in Arabic (Hirsch, 2000, p. 9).

5.5. Summary

This chapter discussed the transformation of the curriculum of traditional higher Islamic education from the predominant focus on revealed knowledge to the incorporation of secular subjects in institutions such as the Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education and the Muslim Academy in Zanzibar. These Institutions were introduced by the British Colonial government with the support of the Sultan of Zanzibar and His Highness the Aga Khan of the Muslim Ismailia Community. The secular subjects were engineering, marine studies, carpentry, masonry, mathematics, history and agriculture. The Islamic institutions that offered traditional higher Islamic education such as the Lamu Riyaadhi College and Mazrui Mosque College also introduced secular subjects such as history, mathematics and geography in their curriculum. These secular subjects were offered alongside revealed knowledge subjects such as Quran and *Sunna, tahwid, figh, tasawwuf, sira* and Arabic.

The institutions established by the British colonialist and Muslim cooperators emphasized vocational and technical training as the core element in the curriculum but retained revealed knowledge subjects to entice the Muslim students to seek admission into these colleges. The traditional Islamic educational institutions emphasized training in subjects of revealed knowledge as central in the curriculum but introduced a few secular subjects to conform to the changing education market in colonial Kenya.

The chapter then concentrated on biographical sketches of distinguished Islamic scholars to highlight the nature of scholarship that characterized traditional higher education. These scholars were B.Ahmad, Sheikh al-Amin, Seyyid Ali Badawi, Sheikh Abdalah

Saleh Farsy, Sheikh Salim Muhammad Bin Kassim and Sheikh Musa Hussein. Lastly, the chapter brought out the impact of British colonial educational policies such as the Beecher report and the Binn's report on traditional higher Islamic education. Finally, the chapter highlighted the initiatives of Africans and Arabs in the struggle for independence. The impact of colonialism on higher Muslim education was manifested in the structural patterns of social and political roles and authority in coastal Kenya. The ultimate goal of a graduate student who attended Muslim educational system of education was to join the *ulama* class. This was an intellectual social and political class. This class was defined by the ability of its members to make informed choices and provide leadership on moral, legal, political and social issues that threatened or affected the Muslim community.

It was from this community of scholars that occupants of powerful offices like the *Qadhi* and chief *Qadhi* were drawn. The Sultan of Zanzibar also drew local administrators from this class. The mosques and religious organizations also drew imams and teachers from this class. However, in the period 1940-63 there were two parallel systems of Islamic higher education, one spearheaded by the British colonialists and the other one fronted by traditional Islamic scholars. The changing labour demands in colonial Kenya gave prominence to western education and this gradually made Islamic education somehow less relevant in the job market.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 TRADITIONAL HIGHER ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN INDEPENDENT KENYA, 1963-1978.A.D.

This chapter examined the last phase of traditional higher Islamic education in the first two decades of independence. The chapter highlights two parallel developments in the independence era namely the legitimization of western secular education by the African independent government on one hand and the external impact of modern higher Islamic education which was well established in Middle Eastern and South Asian countries.

These two developments had a strong impact on traditional higher Islamic education. The chapter explored educational commissions set up in the independence era to lay a solid framework of Kenya's educational Policy. The role of Muslim organizations in the growth of higher Islamic education is discussed. There is focus on institutions that offered higher Islamic education in coastal Kenya. The chapter discusses emerging forms of secondary and university Islamic education in public schools and colleges. A number of Islamic Colleges and Universities in East Africa are highlighted. Lastly the chapter examines the inter relationship between Islamic fundamentalism and higher Islamic education in the context of Coast region of Kenya.

6.1. Independence and Educational Commissions 1963-1978

The achievement of independence was a final blow to the entrenchment of higher Islamic education in coastal Kenya. After Independence, the government set up a commission to develop the fundamental values, philosophies, aims and objectives to govern the educational system in the country. This commission was called the Ominde Education

Commission. This commission had 14 members with three staff in the secretariat. There was only one Muslim member in the commission, Dr. Mohamed Hyder. The other members were Simeon Ominde, Jeremiah Nyaga, A. J. Pandya, Taita Towett, J. K. Ndile, Ruth Habwe, J. B. Wambugu, J. D. Ochieng, Thomas Lung'aho, Paul Fordham, Alderman Israel, David Michuki, and C. P. Vivian.

The terms of reference for the commission were to express the aspirations and cultural values of an independent African country; to take account of the need for trained manpower for economic development and for other activities in the life of the nation, to take advantage of the initiatives and service of regional and local authorities and voluntary bodies; to contribute to the unity of Kenya; to respect the educational needs and capacities of children; to have due regard for the resources both in money and in personnel to become available for educational services and finally to provide for the principal educational adults (Otiende & Wamahiu, 1992).

The commission presented its report and from the report the government came up with the following as educational aims and objectives for independent Kenya: to foster a sense of nationhood and promote national unity; to serve the people of Kenya and the needs of Kenya without discrimination, to be an instrument of the secular state in which no religion is privileged and to respect the religious convictions of all people; to respect the cultural traditions of the people of Kenya as both expressed in social institutions and in relationships; to restrain an excessively competitive spirit in schools which is incompatible with our traditional beliefs, to ensure that education is regarded and used as an instrument for the conscious change of attitudes and outlook by modern methods of

productive organization; to serve the needs of national development; to promote social equality and remove divisions of race, tribe and religion; to pay special attention to training in social obligations and responsibilities and ensure adaptability to change (Otiende & Wamahiu, 1992, pp. 79-80).

This comprehensive policy document did not provide for the recognition and nurturing of Islamic higher education. In fact, it denounced giving room to religious education in a secular state. In the colonial era, the British colonial administrators marginalized Islamic education because it undermined Christian values which were the basis of western education. In Independence Kenya, Islamic education and other forms of religious education was not given recognition because Kenya was a democratic state where religion had no role to play in the political and economic organization of the state.

One of the independence education policies that continued to undermine Islamic higher education was the question of training manpower to serve in different positions in the public service. After independence, the government introduced the policy of Africanization (African personnel was to take over positions in public administration from the European colonial civil servants). Higher education was given the mandate of producing man power to achieve Africanization. Islamic higher education could not play this role because the values and philosophies of Islamic higher education were different from those of independent Kenya under African majority rule.

In 1976, another commission was appointed to fine tune aims and objectives of education in Kenya. This Commission was called Gachathi Education Commission. The

commission produced another report that continued to relegate Islamic higher education in the background of public life. The report called for effective coordination and control of industrial and vocational training centers. It went further and proposed the establishment of polytechnics from national level to village level.

On higher education, the report proposed the need to have a permanent commission on higher education with a mandate to advise the government on planning, developing curricula and also staffing needs and financing of higher education. The permanent commission for higher education was to be part of the proposed bill on higher education. The Report also set limits and basic requirements for admission and or enrolment in higher education institutions', colleges and universities (Bakari, 1998).

The above report simply made it clear that higher education was in the control of the state and thus Islamic higher education which was under the management of religious institutions could not survive. In any case, Islamic higher education could not meet the rigorous legal requirements of higher education as defined by the proposed higher education bill. The independent government of Kenya from the onset did not recognize the value of higher Muslim education. In 1964 the state took over Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education and converted it into a government Polytechnic. The institute had all along been earmarked in the colonial period to become a pioneer Islamic University in Eastern Africa but it never was (O'Brien, 2003, p. 104).

The Muslim community was extremely disappointed by the policy and legal framework that operationalised higher education in Kenya. The Muslims in coastal Kenya had to circumvent this policy by seeking Islamic higher education in the Middle East. Young

Muslims who were yearning for higher Islamic education had to travel to Iraq, Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Syria to get this type of education (Bakari, 1998). Unlike independent Kenya, Middle Eastern countries and South Asia established Islamic universities because of the cultural and religious revivalism that was witnessed in countries such as Iran in the late 1970's. These Islamic universities critically study Islam and challenge interpretations of Islam that is presented by the non Islamic societies and even that of liberal Muslims. For instance in Malaysia, an international Islamic university was established during the 1970s and its teaching of Islam is focused on nurturing the ethical and moral lifestyles of students. This objective of the university is not just to impart Islamic knowledge but strengthen the Islamic faith among students (Muborakshoeva, 2013, p. 161). It is these values that young Muslim students aspired to acquire as they proceed for their studies in the Middle East and South Asia.

The other area in which the independent regime of Kenya did not augur well with the Muslims was in the area of law. Islamic law, sharia, was the driving force for expansion of Islamic higher education over centuries. The independence constitution had recognized the sharia but subordinated it to serve Muslims specifically in the sector of marriage, inheritance and succession. Yet the Jomo Kenyatta regime began interfering with this sector in 1972 when parliament passed the law of succession Act Cap160.

This law had the objective of harmonizing all existing laws in independent Kenya that gave jurisdiction on marriage, inheritance and succession. The constitution recognised marriage, inheritance and succession based on African customary law, sharia law and Hindu law. As early as 1967, Muslims had objected to plans by the government to set up

a commission to review the laws relating to marriage, divorce and succession. However, the state did not listen to the grievances of the Muslims (Mwakimako, 2003, pp. 74-75).

6.2. Muslim Organizations and the Struggle for Islamic Higher Education

Muslims had to set up organizations that could respond to educational needs and other challenges the people of coastal Kenya did experience. In 1960, Muslims formed an Association called The Association for Reforms in Islam (Islahil Islamiya) in Mombasa with the sole aim of promoting and defending Islam. This organization convened several conferences on Islam and demanded an improvement in the position of the chief Kadhi. It also advocated for reforms in Muslim education and Islamic law.

This association was led by Shekh Mohamed Amana. In 1968 a national organization of Muslims was formed called The National Union of Kenya Muslims, NUKEM. It was a link between Kenyan Muslims and the Arab world. It was chaired by two Assistant ministers Mohammed Jahazi and Sheikh Mohammed Salim Balala. The main objective of NUKEM was to unify all Muslims in Kenya and fight for the protection of the Islamic sharia related to marriage, succession and inheritance.

In 1973 an umbrella organization for Muslims in Kenya called Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims; SUPKEM was set up with similar objectives like NUKEM. However, SUPKEM had the support of the government. The Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims was conceptualized by the government as a broad based technique of controlling and subordinating Muslims who were always dissatisfied with the independent state. The Kenyan government had also created similar umbrella organizations for churches and

trade unions. SUPKEM was founded at the same time with the Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU) and the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK).

The overall goal of these umbrella organizations was to create direct channels of communications between the state and influential sectors of the society. SUPKEM had the following mandate; to manage all Muslim religious activities, to coordinate resource mobilization for Muslims from foreign funders, local supporters and the government, to coordinate establishment of schools and hospitals for Muslims in the country, to enhance cohesion and collaboration among conflicting factions of the Muslims as a way of nurturing a conducive environment that can be used to develop the Muslim communities (Nzouvi, 2012, p. 33).

SUPKEM took upon itself the responsibility of obtaining scholarships for Muslim students who wanted to pursue higher Muslim education in Arab-Muslim countries such as; Egypt, Kuwait, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Pakistan, Iraq, Jordan, Iran and organizations that included the Arab League, Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Islamic Development Bank. SUPKEM promoted higher Islamic education by recruiting teachers from Egypt and other Muslim countries who organized seminars on Islamic and educational subjects and called for public gathering to get funds to set up Muslim educational institutions (Oded, 2000,p. 24).

While young Muslims pursued higher Islamic education in large numbers in Middle East, the government of Kenya was busy integrating Islamic education within the university and school curriculum in Kenya. In the 1960s and 1970s a lot of effort was made by the

Ministry of Education to set up courses of Islamic studies in religious departments at the University of Nairobi and its constituent college Kenyatta University. In high schools, Islamic education was to be taught as a separate examinable subject. This was the same trend that the British colonial government had adopted while setting up primary schools in coastal Kenya.

6.3.0 Metamorphosis of Traditional Higher Islamic Education 1963-78

This section discusses the changing nature of Islamic higher education in the first two decades of Kenya's independence under the regime of Jomo Kenyatta. Islamic higher education is forced into the realm of religion because the independent state is secular. As such, the Muslim communities in coastal Kenya are forced to send their children to pursue higher Islamic education in Middle Eastern and Northern African countries where Islamic higher education had been incorporated into mainstream modern educational curriculum.

6.3.1 Contribution of Scholars

The ulema or Islamic scholars that form the Muslim professional class in contemporary Kenya all trained in the Middle East because the Kenyan educational system had no room for higher education. Among the Muslim scholars who trained in Middle Eastern institutions of higher learning included Dr Muhaammad Salim Badana. This scholar has made a niche in coastal Kenya's Muslim intellectual class because he is critical of Shia philosophies that distort the true nature of Islam as portrayed by Sunnis.

He attended Riyadhi Lamu Mosque College and then proceeded to Mosul University in Iraq where he read classical Islamic disciplines alongside veterinary medicine. He was introduced to modernist ideas of Muslim intellectual thought through their Arabic writing. He participated in debates in Islamic circles *halga* where he was exposed to *da'wah* methods (Bakari, 1998, p. 176).

Sheikh Hamed Muhammed Kassim is another luminary of Middle Eastern universities. He completed his high school in Kenya in the 1960s and proceeded to Imam Saud University in Riyadh in Saudi Arabia. He specialized in Arabic, *tafsir and hadithi* Literature and Physics. He came back to coastal Kenya and worked as a teacher at the Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayd al-Nahyn Secondary school in Mombasa. He disseminated his Islamic knowledge to the people in Mazrui Mosque where he taught *tafsir*, *hadith* and *tawhid*. He later proceeded to Ibadan University in Nigeria where he did a masters degree in Islamic studies. He has worked as Qathi of Lamu (Bakari, 1998, p. 179).

Whereas the list of Muslim scholars who have benefited from Islamic higher education in the Middle East is long, one cannot leave out mentioning Sheikh Nassir Khamis who strongly criticized Islam in coastal Kenya as having been adulterated with practices that are not based on the Quran and the *hadithi* of Prophet Muhammad. He was among the *ulema* Muslim scholars who began calling for reforming of Islam in coastal Kenya. He attended the University of Madina in Saudi Arabia where he graduated with a master's degree in *Usuli figh*. He specialized in Philosophy, Literature and Logic (Bakari, 1998, p. 182).

The universities in Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq and other Middle Eastern countries that offer Islamic higher education and which have provided education to Muslim scholars from Kenya have a very interesting curriculum combination. Islamic education is a core subject which is taken together with natural sciences. This could be a deliberate attempt by these universities to censor the spread of liberalism, an ideology that perpetuates European and American cultural, economic and political imperialism. This is a major point of departure in Kenyan universities where Islamic higher education is confined in the department of religious studies and is taken alongside other liberal arts and social sciences.

6.3.2 Institutions that offered Higher Islamic Education in Coastal Kenya

The independence era witnessed deliberate initiatives by the government to promote higher education. The only institutions that did offer high education in the colony were the University of Nairobi which was a constituent college of the East African University. The university colleges of Makerere in Uganda and Dar es Salaam in Tanzania were also constituent colleges of this university. The University of Nairobi was granted a charter to become an independent and fully fledged university. Thus it became the epicenter of organizing and implementing higher education.

Islamic higher education was then grouped as a genre of knowledge in the department of Religious studies in the faculty of Arts in the University of Nairobi. The department offered the following courses under Islamic education; Islamic theology and principles, Islam in Africa, Islamic law and Muslim institutions, introduction to Quran and Hadith, history of Islamic civilizations and religion (Kenyatta University Calender, 1978).

The Muslim community in Kenya was not satisfied with this piecemeal Islamic education offered in the University of Nairobi and its constituent college Kenyatta University College. Thus, they made deliberate efforts to initiate their own community based institutions that offered a form of higher Islamic education. Some of these institutes and colleges were grafted on existing Islamic schools. Some of these institutes and colleges include Al-Huda Islamic Institute located in Sheila in Lamu.

The institute developed from an elementary school that begun in 1950. The primary school then was extended to accommodate a secondary school and later an institute. The institute borrowed curriculum of higher Islamic education from Saudi Arabian universities. The other institution that sprang up in the independence era was the Al-Nouri Islamic school located in Mamburi in Malindi. It was founded in 1965 and also offered the higher Islamic education curriculum from the Saudi Arabian universities.

There was also the Kisauni Islamic Institute located in Kisauni in Mombasa. It was established in 1978 and funded by the Islamic Foundation of Kenya. It too borrowed from the curriculum of universities in Saudi Arabia. Among the Saudi Arabian Universities whose curriculum informed these institutes and colleges were The Ummal-Qura University in Mecca, The Islamic University in Medina, The King Saud University in Riyadh, The King Faisal University in Dharam, The King Abd al Aziz University in Jeddah. The last institute founded in the independence era was the Institute of Islamic culture. It was located in Lamu and it borrowed its curriculum from the Al Azhar University in Egypt. The curriculum in Al- Azhar University included hadithi, Quranic Islamic law, logic, grammar, rhetoric, Algebra and Arabic literature.

The above institutes and schools provided a four year higher Islamic education which focused on the following subjects: Quran recitation (*tajwid*), Quran Commentary (*tafsir*), prophetic sayings (*Hadithi*), Islamic jurisprudence (*figh*), monotheism that is Wahabi doctrine (*tawhid*), Arabic language and Literature. However, the impact of the institutes on higher Islamic education is a study beyond the scope of this work. What is important for this study is to emphasize that Muslims in coastal Kenya took an initiative of setting up their own institutions to provide higher Islamic education (Mohamed, 2013)

6.3.3 Emerging Forms of Secondary and University Islamic Education in Public

Schools and Colleges

One of the most important features that became a major barrier to growth of higher Islamic education in the Independence Era was the incorporation of Islamic Religious Education in the national school curriculum and university curriculum. This shattered any other hopes of Muslims driving the process of reengineering Islamic education to suit their spiritual, social, economic and political aspirations in contemporary Kenya.

In the secondary school curriculum, Islamic education focused on the following themes: Ulumul Quran (science of Quran), *Hadithi*, Pillars of *Iman*, *Sharia* and *Figh*, Morality, History of Islam, Islam in Eastern Africa and Muslim Scholars. The Ulumul Quran was made up of the following elements: meaning of Quran, revelation of the Quran and the collection and compilation of the Holy Quran. This theme also discussed reciting and memorizing of selected verses of the Quran.

It also brought out language used in writing the Quran and summarized chapters of the Quran. The *Hadithi* on the other hand dealt with the sayings, sermons, practices and the way of life of Prophet Muhammad. This theme drew the relationship between divine *Hadithi and the Sunnah*. It also highlighted methods used to determine the authenticity of the Hadithi. It taught students how to differentiate *Hadithi Qudsi from Hadithi Nabawi* (Shaaban, 2012, p. 52).

The secondary school curriculum of Islamic Religious Education emphasized pillars of Iman which were centred on the unity of Allah (tawhid). The learners were facilitated to distinguish tawhid and shirk; learners were taught how to outline attributes of Allah, the learners were equipped with skills to identify the significance of tawhid and also interpret the shia and Sunni faith, they too were taught how to appreciate the will of Allah and recognize the five pillars of Islam which are declaration of faith, prayers, *Zakat, Saum* and Hajj. The syllabus also included *Sharia* and *Figh* taught in form three and four.

The emphasis here was on *Ijma* (consensus), *Qiyas* (analogical deductions), *shafi, malik, Hanba*, and *Hanafi* Islamic schools of law. The curriculum also had a theme on morality and focussed on: good virtues, vices, status of women, relationships, family, divorce and inheritance. The curriculum also covered history of Islam and Islam in Eastern Africa. This theme described Arabia before rise of Islam, Life history of Prophet Muhammad, biographies of the Caliphs, dynasties such as Ummayyad, Abbassid and Fatimid and the biographies of leaders of these dynasties.

In discussing Islam in Eastern Africa, the syllabus described the coming of Persians, Chinese, Arabs, and Portuguese to the East African coast. It also highlighted the growth of coastal city states from Mogadishu to Kilwa, Islamization of the Coast and spread of Islam into the interior. The last theme described Muslim Scholars such as Habib Saleh, Al-Amin, Uthman Dan Fodio, Al Ghazzali and Ibn Khaldun (Shaaban, 2012, pp. 53-86).

6.3.4 Establishment of Islamic Colleges and Universities in Eastern Africa

There was a concerted initiative among Muslim organizations to set up local Islamic colleges and universities to cater for the needs of students who could not get scholarships to attend universities in Middle East and Northern Africa. In 1974, a summit of heads of states and Kings of the Organization of Islamic Conference held in Lahore in Pakistan unanimously decided to open two Islamic universities in Africa.

The first university was slotted for Uganda and it was supposed to serve the needs of Muslim students in English speaking Africa. The other university was to be set up in Niger to take care of Islamic higher education for students in French speaking Africa. The university in Uganda did not take off until 1988 because of the political crisis in the country. This university was based in Mbale and was called the International Islamic university of Uganda. It opened its doors with two degree programmes and 80 students.

The degree programs were Bachelor of Arts Education and Bachelor of Islamic studies and Arabic Language. Since then other Islamic universities have been set up in Tanzania namely the Zanzibar Islamic university founded in 1998 and the Muslim University of Morogoro set up in 2004. The Zanzibar university had four faculties which were faculty

of business administration, Faculty of Law and Shaaria, Faculty of Arts and Social sciences and the faculty of engineering. The Muslim University of Morogoro had seven faculties that included Bachelor of Arts education, Bachelor of Science Education, Bachelor of Islamic Studies, Bachelor of Business studies, Bachelor of Sharia and Law, Bachelor of Language and interpretation and Bachelor of Mas communication (Al-Rabita Arabic Magazine, 2015).

Interestingly, Kenya has been left behind in the area of setting up Islamic Universities and Colleges. It is important to observe that the three universities have only three faculties focusing on Islamic higher education while the other faculties offer professional scientific/technological and literary training. This implies that there is still a vacuum in Islamic higher education in Eastern Africa.

Muslim legislators in Kenya have underscored the need for the government to allow establishment of private teachers training colleges and universities. In one of the Hansards parliamentary debates documents one member said:

The other thing I would like to ask the Minister is to allow Muslims to have their own colleges where they train teachers in Islamic education. Right now we have no single college to train teachers who can teach Islam. Whereas other religious sects have several of them and we are asking our governments to allow us operate our own teachers training college. We have no trained teachers to teach Islamic education. The Muslims who teach are not trained teachers. (Hansard October 4.1995, Parliamentary Debates)

6.4 Islamic Fundamentalism and Islamic Higher Education

Whereas this study ended at 1978, a period in which traditional higher Islamic education in Coastal Kenya was at the verge of collapse in terms, seeds of Islamic revivalism which

matured into Islamic fundamentalism in the coastal region of Kenya began sprouting. Islamic fundamentalism can be described as a movement among radical Muslims who were committed to promotion of Islam as a comprehensive blue print for a modern way of life.

These radical Muslims saw fundamentalism as an alternative to nationalism, western liberalism and democracy. The original ideas of Islamic fundamentalism were nurtured in Egypt and Pakistan in the 1930-1940's. They emanated from the presupposition that Islam defined the rules of conduct and participation of Muslims in private and public life. These ideas were inspired by the Wahhabi Islamic philosophy that taught Muslims to strive to return to the earliest teachings of Islam. Somehow they were part of the broad conceptual framework of the 18th and 19th Islamic reform movements that sought to purify Islam from impurities introduced by western liberalism. Islamic fundamentalists advocated for the teaching of the Quran, Arabic language and strict adherence of Islamic law and rituals. The Islamic fundamentals lauded the traditional schools of law and theology and denounced local customs derived from Sufi practice and tradition (Lapidus, 2014, P. 834).

Kenney (2013) argued that the reforms in Islamic higher education in Egypt which spread to other Middle Eastern Countries was the root of Islamic fundamentalism or what he called political Islam. He observed that in the 1970s, the state integrated Islamic education in the Al Azhar University with other professional disciplines such as Medicine, Pharmacy, natural and behavioural sciences such as Physics, Chemistry,

Biology, Botany and Zoology. The study of Islamic education was also integrated with languages/linguistics, Theology, liberal arts and social sciences.

He stated that it is this combination of religious and secular concepts that led to growth of political Islam. The Ulama in al-Azhar complained that this integration undermined the core function of Islamic higher education. They demanded for a return to a traditional curriculum of teaching Islamic higher education. As part of their initiative to revive purer Islam and undiluted Islamic education, they set up a program in the faculty of sharia law and positive law in al-Azhar University whose objective was a call to return to purer Islam. This became the cell that spread into the Islamic world to set up a radical Islamic revival movement that has been called Islamic fundamentalism (Kenney, 2013, PP. 136-137).

Pakistan and Bangladesh had an Islamic higher education system which was controlled by the state and private Islamic religious boards. In fact, there was a struggle by these boards and the state over the control of the management of the *Madrassa* that offered higher Islamic education. These *Madrassa* perpetuated Islamic higher education curriculum that preserved the orthodox tradition of Islam. This curriculum consisted of twenty subjects broadly divided into two categories which were the transmitted sciences and the rational sciences.

The subject areas included Grammar, Rhetoric, Prosody, Logic, Philosophy, Arabic language and Literature, Dialectic theology, life of the prophet, Medicine, Mathematics, Polemics, Islamic law, Jurisprudence, *Hadith* and *Tafsir*. In teaching medicine they used

manuals written by Islamic scientists of the 14th century A.D. At the tertiary level these *Madrassa* did not introduce changes to their curriculum to take cognizance of the advanced knowledge that was to be offered to the *Ulama*. The leadership of the boards regulates the curriculum and this curriculum is almost uniform to that used in the 19th century.

The government of Pakistan had statistics that indicated that there were eleven thousand four hundred and ninety one *Madrassa* in the country with a total student enrollment of one million and seven hundred thousands. Out of this enrolment, one hundred and forty thousand and four hundred and thirty one students were enrolled at the tertiary level pursuing Islamic higher education (Ahmad, 2009).

Islamic universities in Iran were established in the framework of cultural and religious resurgence of the 1970s. The Islamic universities in Iran were modeled along the international Islamic university in Malaysia whose curriculum focused on training students in ethical and moral values based on Islamic doctrines. The curriculum aimed at strengthening the faith of professional students. The curriculum's objective was to instill the spirit of Islam in the professionals (Muborakshoeva, 2013, p.161).

The foregoing discussion emphasize that the decline of Islamic higher education in Kenya provided basic rationale for Muslim students to seek knowledge in Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan and other Middle Eastern and South Asian countries. However, the Islamic higher education offered in the tertiary institutions in these universities had elements of instilling forms of revivalism and fundamnetalsim in the graduates. Thus, one could

argue that the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Kenya could be a result of the state ignoring promotion and protection of Islamic forms of higher education and thus making students to seek this education from different institutions in the Middle East and South Asia whose curriculum are premised on different Islamic schools of thought.

Ahmad (2009) however has a contrary opinion in relation to Islamic education offered by *Madrassa* in Bangladesh. He stated that there was no evidence that linked *Madrassa* with radical politics of militancy. However, those associated with militant activities are individuals who dropped out of *Madarassa* education at primary school level. A similar perspective was highlighted by some of the leading contemporary Islamic scholars in Kenya. Nandwa argued that the personalities behind radicalism which brood terrorism do not have a firm grounding in Islamic higher education (Nandwa, Oral interview 2/11/2015). Lapidus in his observations deviated from the argument of Ahmad (2009) and candidly noted that the new elite who emerged in the post 1970 Islamic world were distinct from western educated Islamic scholars and traditionally educated Islamic scholars (Lapidus, 2014, p. 835).

These elites exploited the crisis in the decline of higher traditional higher Islamic education to spread Islamic fundamentalist ideas that penetrated into modern forms of tertiary Islamic education. Thordsen (2009) argued that Islamic fundamentalism has a direct relation with higher traditional higher Islamic education. She wrote:

Within the literature on Islam in Africa these presumptions have generally translated into an exaggeration of the role of Islamic religious ideas for explaining new forms of Muslim socio-political mobilization and engagement. Particularly the introduction of new reformist doctrines, often imported from Middle Eastern countries, is seen to reflect the spread of radical forms of Islamism spurred by a

wish to replace western liberal models of development with Islam as a political model. (Thordsen, 2009)

Knight has added her voice in historicizing the Islamic fundamentalist movement in relation to traditional higher Islamic education by stating that in the 19th and early periods of the 20th centuries.A.D, scholarly connections and religious Islamic education developed along family ties and genealogies. Many times, scholars intermarried within their social networks.Thus a senior scholar was a father in law of a junior scholar. At times the senior scholar was an uncle of the junior scholar. Thus everyone had attended schools that were part of the same social/intellectual network.

The scholars knew each other's backgrounds, strength and weaknesses in scholarship. The network controlled Islamic scholarship to the extent that traditional higher Islamic education could not develop into a platform for islalmic fundamentalism. However, in the period 1970s-2000 A.D. Islamic scholarship was controlled by external forces which get their legitimacy in the Wahhabi reformist organization based in Saudi Arabia. Most of the contemporary Islamic scholars embraced philosophies and values that had not been filtered and controlled by the local traditional/indigenopus *ulama* in Kenya.

6.5 Summary

Islamic higher education as it existed in the pre-colonial and colonial Kenya collapsed in the period 1963-1978. This was the independence era in which the government was committed to establishment of secular education in Kenya. The formal structure of Islamic higher education crumbled. This was because institutions such as Riyaadhi Lamu Mosque College and Mazrui Mosque could no longer meet the educational demands of

young Muslims in coastal Kenya. These institutions were not able to change with the changing times. Young Muslims pursued secular education so as to get jobs in the market. However, there were a few who went to Middle Eastern universities to gain high quality Islamic higher education.

The greatest shortcoming in the development of the Islamic Religious syllabus for secondary schools was the fact that the Ministry of education did perceive Islamic education as a religious education which was to be imparted in growing children in order to mould them into morally upright and law abiding citizens of the Kenyan state. This was indeed a contradiction because Islamic education in its ideal traditional format cut across all aspects of the socio-political and economic organization of the society. One could actually state that what was institutionalized in public secondary schools as Islamic education was the morphology or skeleton of that education without its philosophical values. Thus it could not appeal to the Muslims.

Interestingly, this “secularized” Islamic education had enormous challenges which ranged from shortage of trained teachers’ and lack of teaching and learning materials. The few teachers available are not literate in Arabic and thus cannot efficiently teach Arabic language and the hadithi, yet it is these two subjects that form the pillar of Islam. The curriculum developers were not able to come up with a comprehensive list of recommended textbooks to be used by the learners.

For a long time the following textbooks have been the only teaching materials. They are:
A Guide to Islam by Minaret revision series, Islamic Religious Education form 1 to 4 by

Aden Saman, Textbook of Islam and Islamic Religious Education form 1 to 2 by Kenya Institute of Education, Islamic Religious Education 1 to 4 by Adan Saman, Secondary Islamic religious Education 1 to 4 by Rashid Hussein and Textbook of Islamic Studies by Sheikh D. Kheir (Shaaban, 2012,p. 86).

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The findings of the study have been presented in chapter two to six. In Chapter two the study focused on the emergence of Islam in East Africa from 500 to 1850. The chapter gave a concise summary of the growth of Islamic culture and history in Middle East, North Africa and Eastern Africa. Islam got established in East Africa as early as the 9th century A.D. It began in Lamu around 830.A.D. and spread to the rest of the East African coastal region. When Ibn Batuta of Morocco visited East African coast in 1332 he found a thriving culture of Islam. It is apparent from the study that as early as 1300 A.D. Arabic had grown into a lingua Franca for the spread of commerce and Islamic religion along the East African Coast.

The trade between Hadramawt, Yemen, Oman and the East African coast was the major factor that led to the spread of Islam into the coastal region. The chapter underscored the inter relationship between emergence of Islam in Eastern Africa Coast and the growth of Islamic education. It is apparent that as Islam spread into other regions outside Saudi Arabia, it became necessary to develop books on Islamic law, theology, hadithi and Arabic language that could be used to spread the Islamic religion into foreign lands and peoples.

A cadre of professional Islamic scholars was required to write the books. The need for scholars and books led to rise and growth of Islamic education. The trade between Middle East and East African coast and the Indian peninsula enhanced the growth of

Lamu, Malindi and Zanzibar. By 18th century there were numerous texts in the coastal region of East Africa written in Kiswahili and Arabic a clear evidence of the rise and growth of Islamic education in the region. The commercial networks between the people of the East African coast and the Middle East led to the growth of Kiswahili as a medium of communication. Kiswahili gradually began to overtake Arabic as a medium of dissemination of Islam.

The second chapter highlighted the two sects of Islam in the East African coast namely Sunni and Shia and emphasized that Sunni is the dominant sect in East Africa. The chapter discussed the intrusion of the Portuguese, Oman and finally European imperialists into the East African coast. In spite of the occupation of Eastern Africa for 200 years by the Portuguese the Islamic culture of the people was not interfered with. The chapter briefly described the position and role of Lamu and Mombasa in the growth of Islamic culture and education. Lamu was a centre for the Hadrimi scholars who have been a major force in the growth of Islamic education in the coastal region in Coastal Kenya and the rest of East Africa.

On the other hand, Mombasa is associated with the Mazrui clan which dominated the politics and Islamic education in coastal region of Eastern Africa. The Mazrui clan also controlled the economy of Mombasa. The chapter concludes by giving an exposition of the type of Islamic education in coastal Kenya in the period towards mid the 19th century. By mid 1850, Islamic education was characterized by Chuo which represented elementary education. There was also the Darsa that represented primary/secondary education. Higher Islamic education was referred to as Darsa Khususi i.e. education

delivered in private sessions. The growth of Islam in the coastal region of Kenya led to the establishment of an Islamic culture that was characterized by establishment of mosques, setting up of Islamic education, growth of shafii school of islam and the use of Kiswahili and Arabic as the language of dissemination of Islamic religion.

The third chapter outlined the features of Islamic higher education in the coastal region of Kenya from 1850 to 1900. This chapter basically aimed at capturing how higher Islamic education was organized just before the British set their colonial administration in the coastal region. The chapter outlines social stratification, Muslim brotherhoods and Islamic reform movement as the major historical issues that accelerated the growth of higher Islamic education. There were social classes in the coastal region of Kenya. These classes were very distinct in Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa.

Access to wealth and education were the determinants of membership into a prestigious social class. The rich families and clans such as the Mazrui of Mombasa and the Maawi of Lamu controlled access to higher Islamic education. The members from lower classes could not access this education. They associated their clans with Prophet Muhammad and thus made it clear that higher Islamic education was for the aristocratic class. There was thus a competition by every Muslim to access higher Islamic education so as to gain entry into the prestigious class in the coast.

East African coast had a number of Muslim brotherhoods which were the Qadirriya, Alawiya, Shidiliye and the Saliya. Each of these brotherhoods pursued new interpretation of Islamic law, traditions and theology. These interpretations were triggered by the

ideological rivalry among the brotherhoods. The pursuit for interpretations led to a search for knowledge to legitimize the principles and values of the brotherhoods. The Alawi teachings revolved around saint worship. The qadiriya emphasized that it was only the Quran that was the basis of Islamic religion and education. The authority of the Quran superseded the hadithi in the interpretation of Islamic values and practices. The Shadiliya emphasized Islamic revivalism. The Saliya opposed saint worship and use of instruments such as the tambourine in Islamic worship.

The Islamic reform movement which began in Egypt had far reaching effects on the growth of higher Islamic education. The reform movement aimed at introducing science and technology in Islamic education. It also advocated for introducing innovations in the delivery of Islamic education in the Muslim world. In this chapter salient features of higher Islamic education were highlighted such as Islamic institutions such as Madrasa, curriculum, scholars who disseminated Islamic education and the students who attended.

The fourth chapter discussed elements of higher Islamic education from 1900-1939. The purpose of this chapter was to show the emerging changes in the institutions and curriculum of higher Islamic education. This period realized the institutionalization of higher Islamic education. There were college Mosques such as Riyadh Mosque College in Lamu and Mazrui Mosque College in Mombasa. The curriculum was diversified to include natural Sciences, Medicine, Philosophy, History, Linguistics, and Literature.

The chapter also captures the growth of new Islamic institutions such as Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education and Muslim Academy in Zanzibar which were set up by

the British colonial government to bring leverage between higher Muslim education and western technical education. The chapter concluded by highlighting the role of Islamic scholars such as Sayyid Ali Badawi, Sheikh Abdallah Saleh Farsy, Sheikh Salim Muhammad Bin Kassim and Sheikh Musa Hussein in the growth of higher Islamic education. The texts which these scholars wrote and used in the teaching of higher Islamic education were also outlined.

Chapter five essentially attempts to examine the impact of British colonial rule on the growth of Islamic education in general and higher Islamic education in particular. The chapter highlights how missionaries and the colonial government set up western schools modeled on Christian values in coastal Kenya and this gradually undermined Islamic education in the region. The point made was that British colonialism introduced a new political economy that was anchored on western Christian education. Islamic education was the one that had been supplying kadhis and administrators in the coastal towns of Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa prior to British colonialism.

Once Colonial rule was set up in the coast region of Kenya, Islamic education lost its legitimacy in relation to job market demand. The chapter also examined the reaction of the people in the coast region against British colonialism. It states that it was only the people in the hinterland led by the Giriama who staged strong armed resistance against British colonialism. However, in the coastal towns of Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa where Islam was deeply entrenched there was widespread passive resistance.

The Mazrui in Mombasa who all along had resisted foreign imperialists such as the Portuguese and the Oman rulers staged resistance against the British colonialists. The chapter concluded by stating how British colonialism contributed to the decline of higher Islamic education. The factors that led to this decline are organized in terms of legal, economic and social factors.

Chapter six finalized the study by demonstrating the impact of independence on higher Islamic education. The chapter gave a brief introduction on the origins and growth of the struggle for independence in Kenya. In the chapter it was highlighted that the coastal region of Kenya was not actively involved in the struggle for independence in the period 1920-1950. This was because the coast specifically the ten mile strip had been recognized as a territory under the sultanate of Zanzibar and therefore the British recognized its ‘nominal autonomy.’”

The British recognized the superior status of the Arabs and incorporated them into the colonial administration. The *Liwali* and *Qadhis* became part of the British provincial and judicial administration. The colonial government recognized land rights of the Arabs in the coastal ten mile strip. The decisive factors such as Land, race and marginalization/discrimination which triggered the struggle for independence in the interior regions of Kenya were not crucial in the coast. It was the Mijikenda and Taita who joined the struggle for independence for they had similar grievances against the British colonialists just like the people in the interior.

The chapter succinctly captured the points of departure in the struggle for independence in the coastal region of Kenya and that of the interior. In the period 1950-1963, the political struggle in the ten mile strip focused on session or *Mwambao* movement in which there were two groups with different objectives. One group wanted the ten mile strip to be independent from the rest of Kenya and also autonomus from Zanzibar. The other section wanted the ten mile strip to be enjoined with Zanzibar because initially it was a territory of Zanzibar. The third force in the coastal region of Kenya outside the ten mile strip was made up of the Mijikenda groups which demanded that the coastal strip be part of Kenya. The Giriama, Digo, Taita, Pokomo were very active in the mainstream struggle for independence in Kenya. This chapter emphasizes that the passive participation of the Swahili and Arabs of Lamu.Malindi and Mombasa contributed in the marginalization of Islamic education in the independence period.

The chapter highlighted how the Lancaster House Constitutional Conferences of 1960 and 1962 dismissed the quest of session of the ten mile strip and endorsed a constitution that legitimized secular education based on western Christian values thereby pushing Islamic education on the periphery. The chapter then discussed the impact of national educational commissions and their impact on Islamic education. These commissions recognized Islamic education as a religious form of education which was to be taught just like Christian education in schools and universities.

As a religious subject, it was not compulsory at school. The chapter concluded by examining how the Muslims in coastal Kenya responded to the state marginalization of their indigenous system of education. The response ranged from seeking scholarships for

their children to pursue higher Islamic education from Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Malaysia, Pakistani and Indonesia. The Muslims in coastal Kenya also set up civil society organizations to advocate for setting up of local Islamic educational institutions to offer Islamic higher education to their children.

Conclusions

This research set out to address a number of objectives in relation to traditional higher Islamic education in pre-colonial, colonial and independence era in Kenya. The study specifically confined the scope to the period 1850 to 1978. The area of study was coastal region of Kenya with focus on Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa. This scope was based on the understanding that non- formal and formal systems of Islamic higher education began in Kenya in the mid 19th century and by the end of the first two decades of independence in Kenya this education had declined.

The objectives that guided the study were: to identify and discuss the social, economic and political factors which contributed to the growth of traditional higher Islamic education in the period 1850-1978, to study the institutions that offered Islamic higher education in the period under study, to examine and analyze the role of various scholars whose initiatives were decisive in the rise and development of Islamic higher education in the period 1850 to 1978 and lastly to study the impact of British colonial policies and the independent African government educational policies on the decline of Islamic higher education.

This study adopted the theory of Islamic education of Al Ghazzali in which the two major components of Islamic education were revealed knowledge and rational knowledge. Thus traditional higher Islamic education was classified in departments that disseminated these two broad aspects of knowledge.

It was found that social stratification, ideological debates among the Sunni and Shia forms of Islamic brotherhoods (tariga) on the East African coast, proliferation of madrasa educational institutions on the Kenyan coast, influence of Muslim scholars from Hadramawt (South Arabia) ,Zanzibar and Comoro Islands, the Indian ocean trade on the East African coast and the struggle for political power among clans in Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa contributed to the growth of Islamic higher education in Coastal Kenya.

The study established that two systems of Islamic higher education co-existed in the pre-colonial era in coastal Kenya. Islamic education was offered informally in mosques in Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa by visiting Muslim scholars who came into the towns from Saudi Arabia, Zanzibar and Comoro islands. Some of these scholars lived in the towns for a period of six months to one year before moving out into other countries. Students who came from affluent families followed the teachers until they mastered advanced Islamic education. Other students would stay and wait for other visiting Muslim scholars to gain more knowledge on various aspects of Islamic education. This non formal Islamic higher education was not structured.

It was based on the textbooks which a scholar had in his possession and had mastered. A student was issued with a certificate called Ijaza from the teacher once the student had

mastered the texts the teacher considered as relevant. The other system of Islamic higher education was the formal system that was offered in the Riyadhhi Mosque College, Mazrui Mosque, Mombasa Islamic Institute and Zanzibar academy. In these institutions higher Islamic education was structured into different disciplines. It was also structured in years and on average it took three years for a student to qualify as having completed a course in Islamic higher education. There was progression of learning the disciplines in each of the three years. A certificate was given by the college on completion of the program.

Islamic higher education was an outcome of various Muslim scholars in each of the three historical periods. In the pre-colonial era the scholars who spearheaded Islamic higher education were; Habib Saleh who founded the Lmu Riyaadhi Mosque College and Sheikh Bakathirr who founded the Zanzibar Muslim Academy. In the Colonial era it was Sheikh Al-Amin, Sheikh Al Badawi and Sheikh Al Farsey that gave impetus to higher Islamic education. Sheikh Al-Amin brought reforms in Islamic education which included the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction and dissemination of Islamic education. He began translating the *Quran* and other Islamic books into Kiswahili. Sheikh AL Badawi continued with the formal system of Islamic education in the Riyadhhi Mosque college where Arabic was the medium of instruction.

Sheikh Ali Farsey encouraged mass attendance or enrolment of young Muslims into Islamic higher education. He encouraged mass attendance in Islamic higher education lectures. He used lectures to disseminate this education. In the independence era Muslim scholars who graduated from Middle Eastern universities such as; Muhammad Salim Badana, Sheikh Hammed Muhammad Kassim and Sheikh Nassir Khamisi played a major

role in the growth of Islamic higher education. Sheikh al Fasery's contribution stretched into the independence era. He was trained in Zanzibar but relocated into Mombasa. Badana's contribution in Islamic higher education is limited to production of books and newsletters and papers where he criticized the Shia influence on Islam. Kassim's role was to synthesize tafsir, hadith and tawhed with a few of reforming non Islamic practices that have infiltrated into the teachings of Islam in Mombasa. The contribution of Kassim was to lay the foundation of a reform movement in Islamic education in the independence era in coastal Kenya.

The study established that British colonial policies ranging from the Phelps Stoke Commission of 1924, the Beecher report of 1948 and the Binns report of 1952 played a key role in undermining higher Islamic education. The colonial government deliberately introduced secular primary schools and compelled Arab and Swahili children to attend these secular schools. Islamic education was to be provided alongside western education. The mushrooming of western based primary and secondary schools in coastal Kenya destroyed the base of Islamic higher education.

Initially Quranic and Madrasa schools prepared students for enrolment into Islamic higher education. The western based primary and secondary schools prepared students for enrolment into secular colleges and universities. The Ominde Education Commission and the Gachathi Education Commission put a final blow to the development of Islamic higher education in Independent Kenya. These two commissions made it clear that Kenya was a secular state and no one religion would be given preference over the other. Religious education was removed from the public domain and could only be offered as a

subject in schools and colleges/universities. Higher education was to be coordinated and controlled by the government. The independence educational policies led to the decline of formal institutions that offered higher Islamic education. None the less Muslims in Kenya have looked to Middle East for provision of higher Islamic education to their children.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. There is an urgent need for the government to reconceptualise higher Islamic education in Kenya and develop education policy guidelines that can mainstream this education by emphasizing its revealed and rational knowledge as it practiced in Middle East and South Asia.
2. The government of Kenya ought to come up with a strategy to facilitate the training of high school and university teachers to build the capacity of higher Islamic education. Since the colonial period there has been a consistent scarcity of teachers that can teach higher Islamic education. The Islamic traditional scholars in the 1850- 1950 had mechanism of training Islamic scholars to propel higher Islamic education. In the independence era, higher Islamic education was confined to departments of religious studies where there was scanty trained power to teach students Islamic education.
3. The government of Kenya has to consider establishing a school of Islamic studies in Kenyan Universities so that it could have several departments that promote jurisprudence, theology, philosophy and other disciplines that are relevant in training a holistic Islamic scholar. Infact Islamic universities that have been set up

in Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya are trying to fill this gap that has not been addressed in Kenyan public universities.

4. Muslim Organizations in Kenya should work with the government to nurture an Islamic system of education which accommodates the belief system of Islam and incorporates modernity so that Muslim children are not marginalised in the modern society.

AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Research ought to be conducted on the nature of Islamic higher education which is being offered in Kenyan Universities and other institutes of higher learning. This will provide an understanding why Middle East universities are a preferred choice for Kenyan Muslim youth who want to seek Islamic higher Education.

This study has not concerned itself with Women and Islamic higher education. A study of women and higher Islamic education in Coastal Kenya will help us understand why all the Muslim scholars who spearheaded Islamic education were men.

A study on the role of Islamic Higher Education and the rise of Islamic fundamentalist/revivalist movements in independent Kenya will be a timely synthesis of the ideological aspects of Islamic higher education.

REFERENCES

BOOKS

- Abdulrahman, A. M., & Canham, P. (1978). *The Ink of the Scholar: Islamic Tradition of Education in Nigeria*. Lagos: Macmillan.
- Abdulrahman, I. (1997). *Shariah: The Islamic Law*. London: United Kingdom.
- Abdulaziz, M. H. (1984). "Language in Afro-Arab Relations; the interpretation between Arabic and African languages" in Ali Mazrui (ed) (1984). *The General History of Africa Studies and Documents 7*, UNESCO series, Paris.
- Abreu, E. (1982). *The Role of self help in the development of education in Kenya 1900-1973*. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau.
- Ahmad, F. (2003). *Turkey: The Quest for identity*. Oxford: One world Publications.
- Ahmed, A. S. (1988). *Postmodernism and Islam: Predicament and promise*. London: Routledge.
- Ajjola, A. D. (1999). *Restructuring of Islamic education*. Delhi; Adam Publishers
- Akher. Z. (1982). *Mombasa Swahili History and Contemporary Society*. Carlifonia: University of California Press.
- Akşit, B. (1991). "Islamic Education in Turkey: Medrese Reform in late Ottoman Times and Imam- Hatip Schools in the Republic." in Richard Tapper (ed.), *Islam in Modern Turkey: Religion, Politics and Literature in a Secular State* (pp.145-170). London: I. B. Tauris.
- Al-Abrashee, M. (1980). *Islamic education and its philosophers*. Cairo: Dar al-Fikral-Arabee.
- Mazrui, A., & Dikrr, P. (2009). *Africa's Islamic Experience: History, Culture and Politics*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.
- Al-Attas, S. (1979). *Aims and Objectives of Islamic Education*. Cambridge. The Islamic Academy.
- Al-Attas, S. (1999). *Islam and Secularism (2nd Ed.)* Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: ISTAC.
- Al-Attas, S. (1985). *The Concept of education in Islam: A Framework for an Islamic Philosophy of Education*. Kuala Lumpur.

- Ashraf, S., & Husain, S. (1979). *Crises in Muslim education*. King Abdul Aziz University: Jeddah.
- Ashraf, S. A. (1985). *The concept of an Islamic University Islamic Monography Series* Hooder and Stoughton.
- Ashraf, S. (2012) "Religious Education and Training provided by the Madrassa in the Afghanistan, Pakistan," in *Arts and Humanities Research Council*.
- Baalbaki, M., & Baalbaki, R. (1998) *Al-Mawrid Dictionary: English-Arabic, Arabic English*. Dar El-Im Lilmalaayin. Beyrut: Lebanon.
- Babaci, W. (2014). *Giving Space African Voices Rights in Local Languages and Local Curriculum*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Bagha, A. M. (1974). A History of Secondary Education in Coast Province of Kenya: The Nature of its Growth and Development. Unpublished Master Dissertation University of Nairobi.
- Bakari, M. (1968). "The state of art: Swahili Literature. In the 19th Century" In *Historical Association of Kenya*.
- Bakari, M., & Yahya, S. (Eds.). (1995). *Islam in Kenya Proceedings of the National Seminar on Contemporary Islam in Kenya*. Mombasa: MEWA Publications.
- Balogun, S. A. (1980). History of Islam upto 1800, in O. Ikime, *Groundwork of Nigerian History*. Nigeria: Heinemann Educational Books .
- Bang, A. K. (2000). *Islamic Reform In East Africa 1870-1925: The Alawi Case*. Yale University.
- Beaujard, P. (2007). *East Africa, the Comoros Islands and Madagascar before the 16th Century: On a neglected part of the World system*. Hall Archives-Ouvertes, halsh-00706172
- Benjamin, J. (2006). " Squarters, Resistance to Developemnt and Magic as a tool of Subaltern power: A Case from Coastal Kenya" in Beatrice Nicolin (ed) Melten Press
- Berglund, J. (2009). *Teaching Islam: Islamic Religious Education at Three Muslim Schools in Sweden*. Upsala Universitet: Stryckeriet.
- Berkely, P. (1992). *The Transnmision of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo; A Social History*

- of Islamic Education*. Princeton University Press.
- Bin Omar, A. (1993). "In Quest of Islamic Ideal of Education: A Study of the Role of Traditional Pondok Institution in Malaysia Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Temple University, Philadelphia.
- Blackledge, D., & Hunt, B. (1985). *Sociological interpretations of education*. London: Routledge.
- Bone, D. (2009). The Teaching of Other Faiths in a Traditionally Oriented British Muslim School at Key Stage 3, Unpublished Ed.D Thesis, University of Warwick Library.
- Bourdieu, P. (1973). "Cultural reproduction and Social Reproduction" in R. Brown (ed.) *Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change*. London: Tavistock.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.C. (1977). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage Publications.
- Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of economic life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Boyle, H. N. (2004). *Quranic schools: Agents of preservation and change*. London: Routledge'.
- Boyne, R., & Rattansi, A. (eds.). (1990). *Postmodernism*. London: Macmillan Education.
- Branthey, C. (1981). *The Giriama and Colonial resistance in Kenya 1800-1920*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Burnt, J., & Collins, R. (2004). *A History of Sub Saharan Africa (2nd Ed.)* London: Cambridge University Press.
- Chaidan, U. (1978). *Lamu: Study of the Swahili Town*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.
- Clark, P.B. (1982). *West Africa and Islam*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Coon, S. (1976). *Caravan: the Story of the Middle East*. New York: Rinehart & Winston
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research Design: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches (2nd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publication.
- Dodge, B. (1962). *Muslim education in Medieval times*. Washington, USA: The Middle East Institute.

- Dreeben, R. (1968). *On What is learned in school*. MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Durkheim, E. (1973). *Moral education: A Study in theory and application of the sociology of education*. London: Collier Machillan Publishers.
- Chitick, N. (1968). "The coast before the arrival of the Portugese" in B. A. Ogot (ed.). *Zamani*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House
- Dawud, T. (2006). *The Tarbiyah Project: A Renewed Vision of Islamic Education*. Canton, MI: Tarbiyah Institute.
- Durkheim, E. (1956). *Moral education: A study in the theory and application of the Sociology of education*. New York: Free Press.
- Durkeim, E. (1956). *Education and Sociology*. Translated by New York: The Free press.
- Eickelman, D. (2000). *Islam and the Language of Modernity*. Daedalus.
- Eliot, C. (1905). *The East Africa Protectorate*. Frank Cass: London.
- Esposito, J. L., & Tamimi, A. (2000) *.Islam and Secularism in the Middle East*. London: Hurst & Company.
- Esposito, J. (2005). *Islam: The Straight Path*. Oxford: University Press.
- Esposito, J. (2010). *Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam*. International Islamic Publishing House (IIPH): Jedda.
- Ezewu, E. (1986). *An Introduction to Sociology of Education*. London: Longman.
- Ghai, D., & Court, D. (1974). *Education, Society and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.
- Furley O. W. (1978). *A history of education in East Africa*. New York: Nok Watson .
- Godia, G. I. (ed.). (1987). *Sociology of Education*. Kenyatta University: University of London Institute of Education.
- Greeves L. R. (1969). *The Puritan Revolution and Educational Thought*. New Jersey: Rurgers University Press.
- Giroux, H. (Ed.). (1997). "Crossing the Boundaries of Educational Discourse: Modernism, Postmodernism and Feminism" in A.H.Halsey et.al. (ed.). *Education Culture Economy Society*. Oxford - New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hadad, I. (1994). "Muhammad Abduh: Pioneers of Islamic Reform." in A. Rahnema (Ed.). *Pioneers of Islamic revival*. London:Zed Books.

- Hanif, N. (1997). *Islam and Modernity*. New Delhi: Sarup & Sons.
- Haw, K. (1998). *Educating Muslim Girls: shifting discourses*. Open University: Buckingham.
- Hanson, H.Y. (2001). *Lambs to the Slaughter*. CA, Ihya Productions.
- Hoensch, S. (2005). *Durkheims Educational Systems*. London.
- Hoffman, M. (1993). *Islam: The Alternative*. Reading: Garnet.
- Huntington, P. (1997). *The Clash of Civilizations and the Re-making of the World Order*. New York: Simon.
- Howard, A., & Shain, R. (2005). *The Spatial Factor in African History: The Relationship of the Social, Material and Perceptual*. Leiden: Koninklijke publishers.
- Hunwick J. O. (1955). "The study of Muslim Africa: Retrospect and prospect" in Christopher Fyfe (Ed.). *Africa Studies since 1945: Basil Davisions*, pp. 136-155.
- Ibrahim, A., & Hussain, Y. (ed.). (1985). *Reading on Islam in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Injoll, T. (2003). *The Archaeology of Islam in Sub Saharan Africa*. Cambridge University Press.
- Jamjoom, A. (1978). Foreword in Syed Muhammad Al-Naquib Al-Attas (ed.). *Aims and Objectives of Islamic Education*. King Abdul Aziz University, Jeddah: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Jesse, B. (2006). "Squatters, Resistance to Development and Magic as a tool of Subaltern Poer: Acase from Coastal Kenya" in Beatrice Nicolini (ed.). *Magical Practices, Witchcraft and Warfare in the African Continent (xix-xx century)*, Melten press.
- Kenney, J., & Moore, E. (2013). *Islam in the Modern World*. google books.
- Khan, J. S. (1993). *Constituting the Minangkabau Peasant, Culture, and Modernity in Colonial Indonesia*. Providence USA: Berg Publishers.
- Khan, M. S. (1986). *Islamic Education*. New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House.
- Khalil, E.(1991). *Introduction to Islamization of Knowledge*. Virginia: International Institute of Islamic Thought.
- Khosrow, B. (2001). *Islamic Education*. Al-Hoda Publications: Iran, Tehran.
- Kominko. M. (2015). *Localising Islamic Knowledge: acquisition and copying of the*

- Riyadha Mosque Manuscript Collection in Lamu Kenya in Anne Bang Open Books Publishers.
- Kresse, K. Making People Think: The Ramadan Lectures of Sheikh Abdillahi Nassir in Mombasa (1419 AH)
- Kresse, K. (2007). *Philosophizing in Mombasa: Knowledge, Islam and Intellectual Practice on the Swahili Coast*. International African Library: Edinburgh University press.
- Kumar, K. (1997). "The Post-Modern Condition" in Halsey, et al. *Educational Culture Economy Society* (pp.96-112). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Langgulung, H. (2004). "Education, Islam and Muslim in the 21st Century: Image and Reality" Paper presented at: International Conference on Muslim Education in the 21st Century PWTC, Kuala Lumpur
- Lapidus, I. M. (2014). *A History of Islamic Societies (3rd Edition)*. London, Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis I. M. (1966). *Islam in tropical Africa*. London: Oxford University press.
- Martin, R., C., et al (1997). *Defenders of Reason in Islam: Mu'tazilism from Medieval School to Modern Symbol*. Oxford: Oneworld H. Yavuz and J. L Esposito Ed (2003), *Turkish Nationalism and the Secular State: The Gulen Movement*. Syracuse University Press.
- Mohamed, D. (2013). *Gender, Islam in the 19th Century Brava, A brief Note*.
- Moussalli, A. S. (1999). *Moderate and Radical Islamic Fundamentalism: The Quest for Modernity, Legitimacy, and the Islamic State*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Mckenna, A. (2011). *The History of Central and Eastern Africa*. New York, Britannica Educational Publishers.
- Muborakshoeva, M. (2013). *Islam and Higher Education; Concepts, Challenges and Opportunities*. New York, Routeledge.
- Mudzhar, M. A. (1981). "Religious Education and Politics in Indonesia, a Preliminary study of Islamic Education and Politics" 1966-1979. Unpublished Master Dissertation, University of Queens land: Australia.
- Nasr, S. (1982). *The teaching of Philosophy in Literature and Fine Arts*. King Abdul

- Aziz University, Jeddah Publication.
- Nasr, S. S. (1987). *Science and Civilization in Islam. (2nd ed.)*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: The Islamic Texts Society.
- Nasr, S. S. (1987). *Traditional Islam in the Modern World*. London: Kegan Paul.
- Nasr, S. H. (2002). *Islam and the Plight of Modern Man*. Cambridge, UK: The Islamic Text Society.
- Ngah, Z. (1996). *The Practice of the Prophet Muhammad in Tarbiyyah: It's Significance for the Formation of the First Muslim Community*. MPhil, University of Birmingham.
- Obeid, R. A. (1994). Islamic Theory of Human Nature and Development in T.Husen and N. Postlethwaite (eds.). *International Encyclopaedia of Education*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- O'Brien D.B. (2003). *Symbolic Confrontations; Muslims Imagining the State in Africa*. C.Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd, London.
- Oded, (2000). *Islam and Politics in Kenya*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Ozmon, H., & Craver, S. (1990). *Philosophical Foundations of Education*. Virginia Commonwealth University: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- Parker-Jenkins, M. (2005). "The Legal Framework for Faith-based Schools and the Rights of the Child", in Gardner, R. et al. (eds.). *Faith Schools: consensus or conflict?* Routledge Falmer, Abingdon.
- Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods (Second ed.)*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Pederson, J. (1984). *The Arabic Book*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Pouwels. R. (1987). *Horn and Crescent; Cultural Change and Traditional Islam on the East African Coast 800-1900.A.D*. University of Central Arkansas.
- Quraishi, M.A. (1983). *Some Aspects of Muslim Education*. Lahore: Universal Books.
- Rabasa, A. (2005). Islamic Education in Southeast Asia in Hillel Fradkin, Hussain Haqqani and Eric Brown (Eds.). *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*. Washington Dc: Hudson Institute.
- Rauf, M. A. (1964). *A Brief History of Islam: With Special Reference to Malaya*.

- Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Oxford University Press.
- Reid, L. A. (1992). *Philosophy and Education: An Introduction*. University of London, United Kingdom: Heinemann.
- Rizavi, S. S. (1986). *Islamic Philosophy of Education*. Lahore: Universal of Islamic Culture.
- Roald, A.S. (1994). *Tarbiyah: Education and Politics in Islamic Movements in Jordan and Malaysia*. Lunds Universitet.
- Rosnani, H. (1996). *Educational Dualism in Malaysia: Implications for Theory and Practice*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Sahari, N., & Hasan, L. (1999). *Reasons for School Children's Poor Attitude towards Islamic Education: A pilot Inquiry*. IPI-ABIM : Kuala Lumpur.
- Saleh, M. (2001). *A Dictionary of Islamic Words and Expressions*. Al-Riyad: Adwaa-Albayan.
- Salim, A. I. (1973). *Swahili Speaking People of Kenya Coast*. Nairobi: E.A. Publishing House.
- Salvatore, A. (1997). *Islam and the Political Discourse of Modernity*. Ithaca: Reading
- Sardar, Z., & Malik, Z. A. (2001). *Introducing Islam*. Cambridge, UK: Icon Books
- Sarwar, G. (1996). *Issues in Islamic Education*. London: Muslim Educational Trust.
- Shanti, N. (1998). *Islam in Malaysia's Foreign Policy* London and New York: Routledge.
- Shalaby, A. (1954). *History of Muslim Education*. Beirut: Dar al-Kashshaf Sheffield, J.R. (1973), *Education in Kenya: A Historical Study*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Siddique, S. (1985). "Conceptualizing Contemporary Islam: Religion or ideology?" in Soder, R. (ed.). *Democracy, Education, and the Schools*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Shipman, M. D. (1975). *The Sociology of the School (2nd edition)*. London: Longman.
- Sifuna, D.N., & Otiende, J. E. (2009). *An Introductory History of Education*. University of Nairobi Press.
- Starrett, G. (1998). *Putting Islam to Work: Education, Politics and Religious Transformation in Egypt*. University of California Press: California

- Taiwo, C.O. (1980). *The Nigerian Education System: Past, Present and Future*. Lagos: Nelson Pitman Limited.
- Tauhidi, D. (2006). *The Tarbiyah Project: A Renewed Vision of Islamic Education*. Canton, MI: Tarbiyah Institute.
- Tibawi, A. L. (1976). *Arabic and Islamic Themes: Historical, Educational and Literary Studies*. London, United Kingdom: Luzac & Company Ltd.
- Tikumah , I. H. (2008). *The Half-Scholar of Islam, Zaria*. Ahmadu Bello University Press.
- Trimingham J. (1968). *The Influence of Islam Upon Africa*. London: Longmans.
- Turner, B. S. (1974). *Weber and Islam: A Critical Study*. London and Boston: Routledge.
- Wadud, A. (2007). “Rights and Roles of Women” in J.J.Donahue & J.L. Esposito. *Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Walford, G. (1995). *Educational Politics: pressure groups and faith-based schools*. Avebury, London.
- Wan Daud, N. M. N. (1989). *The Concept of Knowledge in Islam and its Implications for Education in a Developing Country*. London: Mansell.
- Walton, L. (2015). “The Impact of the Arabs in East Africa” in Benjamin Kedar and M. E. Wiesner(ed.). *The Cambridge World History Volume V” Expanding Webs of Exchange and Conflict 500 CE-1500 CE*.
- Watt, W. M. (1988). *Islamic Islamism and Modernity*. London New York: Routledge.
- Yamani, A. Z. (2007). *The Political Competence of Women in Islamic Law* in: J.J. Donahue & J.L.Esposito. *Islam in Transition Muslim Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zeehalia, B. (2014). *Giving Space to African Voices; Rights in Local Languages and Local Curriculum*. Sense Publishers Rotterdam.

Journals

- Allen J. D. V. (1978). ‘Siyu in the 18th and early 19th centuries- a chapter in the *Intercultural History of East Africa*’ in the *historical Association of Kenya*.
- Alessandro, T.(1975). “ Trade, Islam and the Alicia in North Western Wallaga, Ethiopia In *journal of African History Volume XVI* No. pp. 55-71.

- Abreau, E. (1976). The Role of Voluntary Organizations in Education with Special Reference to African and Asian Communities. *Kenya Historical Review Journal* (96-104) Vol. 4, No.2
- Ahmed, A. (1995). *Lamu's Sacred Meadows in The Fountain Magazine Issue* 10 April-June 1995.
- Ahmad, M. D. (1987). Muslim Education Prior to the Establishment of Madrasah. *Islamic Studies [Islamabad]* (20-45) Vol 26, No. 4.
- Abul-Fadl, M. (1988). Islam as a Force of Global Cultural Renewal. *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, pp (62-88) Vol 5 No.2.
- Al- Otaibi, M., & Rashid, H. (1997). The Role of Schools in Islamic society: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives. *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, (1-18). Vol.14, No. 1.
- Alpers, E. (2010). "Image and Reality in East Africa" in (ed) Yaw Nyarko and Silvana Melitsko, *Journal of African Development Spring* 2010 Vol. 12 No. 1.
- Anees, M., & Fuller, G. (1987). Does Islam have an alternative to globalization? *New Perspective Quarterly*, (pp.44-45) Vol 15, No. 4.
- Aras, B., & Caha, O. (2000). Fethullah Gulen and his liberal "Turkish Islam" Movement. *Middle East Review of International Affairs* (pp 78- 86) Vol 8 No 2.
- Bakari, M. (1983). Sheikh Abdullah Saleh Farsy: An Appreciation. *Al-Islam* Vol, 7 No.1 (pp 1- 16) Islamic Foundation. Lino Typesetters Limited.
- Beaujard, P.(2007). East Africa,the Comoros Islands and Madagascar Before the 16th Century: On a Neglected Past of the world system, Hall Archives-Ouvertes Azania 2007 pp 15-35.
- Bergen, P., Swati, P. (2006). The Madrassa Scapegoat. *The Washington Quarterly*. (Pp.117- 125) Vol 29 No.2
- Bray, M. (2003). *Community Initiatives in Education: Goals, Dimensions and Linkages with Governments Compare*, (pp.242-267) Vol.33, No. 1.
- Brennan,J. R. (2008). Lowering the Sultans Flag: Sovereignty and Decolonization in Coastal Kenya, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*

- Brighouse, H. (2005). Faith Schools in the United Kingdom: an unenthusiastic defence of a slightly reformed status quo”, in Gardner, R. et al. (eds.) *Faith Schools: consensus or conflict?*, Routledge Falmer, Abingdon.
- Coleman, S. (1998). Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. *The American Journal of Sociology*, pp 94, Vol 1 No. 26
- Debiel, T., & Lambatch, D. (2010). Global Governance as Self-Deception: How the Western State-building Project Neglects Local Politics, in M. Brzoska & A. Kohn, *Overcoming Armed Violence in a Complex World: Essays in Honour of Herbert Wulf*. Budrich UniPress: 163-184.
- Deognu, I. S. (2013). “ Learning from the Swahili Architecture in Mombasa, Kenya” paper presented in PLEA 2013- Conference on Sustainable Architecture for a Renewable Future, Munich, Germany, September 2013, published proceedings.
- El-Masri, F.H. (1987). Sheikh al- Amin bin Ali Al-Mazrui and Islamic Intellectual Tradition in *East Africa Journal of Institute of Muslim Affairs*, (pp.116- 127). Vol.8 No.2.
- Eliraz, G. (2002). The Islamic Reformist Movement in the Malay- Indonesian World in First Four Decades of the 20th Century: Insight Gained from a Comparative look at Egypt. *Studia Islamika, Indonesia Journal for Islamic Studies*, Vol 9 No.2, 47-77.
- Gunther, S. (2006). Be Masters in That You Teach and Continue To Learn: Medieval Muslim Thinkers on education Theory. *Comparative Education Review*, Vol 50 No. 3 pp.55 – 62.
- Halstead, J. (2004). An Islamic Concept of Education. *Comparative Education Vol.40*, No 4
- Hamdun, S. (1962). The Teaching of Arabic. *Kenya Educational Journal*. (pp. 169 – 178) Vol. 1 No. 10.
- Hamid, H. (2004). “Colonial Land Law and Muslim Societies in Coastal Kenya, 1895-1930s” in *Jurnal Usuluddin, Bil 19*.
- Hashim, R. (2000). “Intellectualism in Higher Traditional Studies: Implications for the Curriculum” in *The American Journal of Islam and Social Sciences Vol.24.No. 3* pp 93-115.

- Hashim.A. (2006). "Qadhis Intellectual Legacy on the East Africa Coast: The Contributions of Al-Amin bin Ali-Mazrui, Muhammad Kassim Al-Mazrui and Abdullah Saleh Al-Farsy" in *Sources and Studies on the History of Islamic Civilization Series No 3*.
- Hashim, R. (2011). "Traditional Islamic Education in Asia and Africa: A Comparative Study of Malaysia's Pondok, Indonesia's Presentren and Nigeria's Traditional Madrasah" in *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization 1 (2)* 94-107 IDOS Publications.
- Hassan, M. K. (1989). "Values Education Framework based on Islamic Concepts and Precepts" in *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam. Petaling Jaya: Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia*. (pp. 362-378) Vol.2. No.3
- Hewer, C. (2001). Schools for Muslims, *Oxford Review of Education*, vol. 27, no. 4, pp 515-27.
- Judge, H. (2001). "Faith-based Schools and State Funding: A partial argument," in *Oxford Review of Education*, vol. 27, No. 4, pp 463-74.
- Kadi, W. (2006). "Education in Islam – Myths and Truths". *Comparative Education Review*, Vol 50, No. 3 pp.72-78.
- Kasozi, A. (2006). "History of Islamic Civilization in East Africa" in Proceedings of International Symposium on the Histroy of ISALMIC Civilization in Eastern Africa, Research Cerntre for Islamic History (IRCICICA)
- Knight. E., & Bakari. M. (1986). "A comparative History of Literature in European Languages" in *European-Language Writing Sub Saharan Africa Vol.2*. Budapest.
- Kucukcan, T. (1998). "Community, Identity and Institutionalisation of Islamic Education: the case of Ikra Primary School in North London ",in *British Journal of Religious Education*, vol. 21, no. 1, pp 32-43
- Lamm, Z. (1998). Knowledge: Conceptions of and Impact on the Curriculum. In: T.Husen et.al (eds.) *Education: The Complete Encyclopaedia*. Amsterdam: Elsevier Science.
- Langglung, H. (2000). "Islamic Education and Human Resources Development in Muslim Countries" in *Muslim Education Quarterly*, Autumn Issue, (pp. 169 -178) Vol 18, No.1.

- Lienherdt, P.(1959). “The Mosque College of Lamu and its Social Background”In the *Journal of Tanganyika Society. Tanganyika Notes and Records No. 53* pp.225-247.
- Marshall, L. (2002). ‘Economic Organization and Cultural Cohesion in the Coastal Hinterland of 19th Century Kenya; Archaeology of Fugitive Slave Communities” in African Diaspora Archeology Newsletter, Vol 10, Issue 3.
- Mathews, N.(2013). “Imagining Arab Communities: Colonialism, Islamic Reform and Arab Identity in Mombasa Kenya 1897-1933” in *Islamic Africa vol.4* no.2. 2013
- Muhammad, Y. (1993). “ Islamization: A Revivalist Response to Modernity” in *Muslim Education Quarterly. Vol 10.No 2*.
- Mwakimako, H. (2013). “ The Politics of marginalization; Muslims EDngaging the State in the Context of Changing Political Landscape in kenya” in George Gona and Mbugua Wa mungai (ed.). *Rembering Kenya Vol.2 Interrogating Marginalization and Governance*. Nairobi, Twaweza Publications.
- Mwaruvie, J. (2011). ‘Land Question of Kenya Coast, The Ten Mile Coastal Strip’ in *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences Vol 1.NO. 20*.
- Nabil, N. (1993). “Al-Ghazali’s Theory of Education in Thinkers on Education in Prospects; *The Quarterly Review of Education Vol 23* No ¾ PP 519-542.
- Nasr, S. V. R. (1991). Islamization of Knowledge: A Critical Review. In *Islamic Studies Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute*. (pp 321-342) Vol 30, No.3.
- Natal, N. (1993). “Al-Ghazalis Theory of Education” in Thinkers on Education in Prospects: *The Quarterly Review of Comparative Education* (Paris, Unesco: International Bureau of Education Vol 23 No ¾ (pp 519-542).
- Nuseibah, S. (1993). Epistemology. In:S.H. Nasr and O.Leaman (eds.). *History of Islamic Philosophy*. Part II.Qum: Ansariyan Publications.
- Ndzovu,H. (2012). The Polarization of Muslim Organizations and the Future of Islamic Orientated Politics in Kenya, North Western University press,Dol;10.5192, in *Islamic Africa Vol.3 N0.1* pp25-53.
- Parsons, T. (1975). The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society. *Harvard Educational Review*, (pp.297-318). Vol 29 No.4

- Pouwels, R.(1981). “Sh.al-Amin B. Ali Mazrui and Islamic Modernism in East Africa 1895-1947” in *International Journal of Middle East Studies Vol 13 No 3*, August 1981 pp 324-345.
- Prokop, M.(2003). Saudi Arabia: the Politics of Education. *International Affairs*, (pp.77-89). Vol 79 No I.
- Roy, D. (1992).Saudi Arabian Education: Development Policy. *Middle Eastern Studies*, (pp.477-508) Vol 2 No. 8.
- Rugh, W. A. (2002). Education in Saudi Arabia: Choices and Constraints. *Middle East Policy* pp.40-55 Vol 6 No.9.
- Romani, V. (2009). The Politics of Higher Education in the Middle East: Problems and Progress, Brandeis University, Crown Centre for Middle Eastern Studies, May 2009, No.36
- Ronald, A. L. (2001). Two Sides of the Same Coin: Modernity and Tradition in Islamic Education in Indonesia. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly Vol 32*, No. 3.
- Said, H.M. (1981). Growing up in a World of Challenges: Revising a Program for Muslim Children’s Education. *Hamdard Islamicus Vol 4* No. (1).
- Saha,L. J., & Zubrycki, J. (1994). Classical Sociological Theories of Education. In T.Husen and N.Postlethwaite(eds). *International Encyclopaedia of Education*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Sirozi, M. (2004). Secular-religious debates on the Indonesian National Education System: colonial legacy and a search for national identity in education. *Intercultural Education Vol 15* No.2.
- Talbani, A. (1996).Pedagogy, Power, and Discourse: Transformation of Islamic Education. *Comparative Education Review*. (pp 66-82) Vol.40, No. 6.
- Thordsen. S.(n.d). Mfumo Kristo-Kitabu Sheikh Hassan ,*New Muslim Activism in Kenya in Studiekort* No.19990723.
- Tinker, C. (2009). Rights, Social Cohesion and Identity: Arguments for and against State Funded Muslim Schools in Britain. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, Vol. 12, No. 4, pp. 539-553.
- Tubman, H. (2000). “Islam, Language and Ethnicity in Eastern Africa, Some Literary Considerations’ University of Toronto April 3, 2000.

- Turner, J. H., & Mitchell, D.E (1994). Contemporary Sociological Theories of Education.”
In T.Husen and N.Postlethwaite (Eds). *International Encyclopaedia of Education*.Oxford: Perganon.
- Umar, M.S. (2003). Profiles of New Islamic Schools in Northern Nigeria. *The Maghreb Review*, Vol. 28, Nos. 2-3: 146-169.
- W.F.Warde (George Novack) (1960) “John Dewey’s Theories of Education” in
International Socialist Review Vol 21 No 1 winter.
- Willis, J. (2013). “Pwani C Kenya; Memory, Documents and Seccessionist Politics in Coastal Kenya” in George Gona and Justin Willis(ed) *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol.112 Issue 446 pp48-71.
- Williams, B. A. (2009). “Doctors and Imams: Investigating the Integrated Schools of Mombasa, Kenya” in S.T. *Swahili Studies and coastal Cultures*.
- Van Bruinessen, M. (2004).Traditionalist‘ and Islamist‘ Pesantren in Contemporary Indonesia. Paper presented at the workshop .The Madrasa in Asia, transnational linkages and alleged or real political activities‘,ISIM,Leiden, 24- 25 May 2004.

Reports and Papers Theses and Dissertations

- Ahamad, M (2009). Islamic Education in Bangladesh and Pakistan; Trends in Tertiary Institutions, NBK Project, National Bureau of Asian Research.
- Bang A. (2000). Islamic Reform in East Africa, 1870-1925, The Alawi Case, paper presented to the Workshop, Rasserting Constructions, Commonalities and Cosmopolitanism: The Western Indian Ocean Since 1800, Yale University, November 3-5.
- Barnes, L. J. (1951). Report of the committee on Malay Education, Kuala Lumpur Government Press.
- Bashshur, M. (2004). Higher Education in the Arab States, Beirut: UNESCO Regional Bureau for Education in the Arab States Education Reaching Nomadic Populations Garissa, Kenya 20-23 June 2006 Development of Islamic Integrated Education Programme: A Report of Study carried out in Kwale and Kilifi Districts for the period 1986 - 1995. National Centre for Early Childhood Education, KIE, 1995
- Deogun, S. (2013). "learning From the Swahili Architecture in Mombaa/Kenya" in PLEA 2013-29th Conference, Sustainable Architecture For a renewable Future, Munich, Germany 10-12th September 2013..
- Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2004. National Policy on Education, 4th Edition, Yaba, NERDC Press.
- Guidelines for Integrated Islamic and Secular Pre-School Education (1992). Kenya Institute of Education.
- International Institute of Islamic Thought (1987) Islamization of Knowledge: General Principles and Workplan. Herndon, VA.
- Kanyinga, K. (2000). Re-distribution from Above: The politics of Land Rights and Squatting in Coastal Kenya, Rsearch Report NO 115, Nordishe Afrikeinstitutet, Uppsala.
- Kerr, D. (2003). One hundred Years oF Christian-Muslim Relations with refrence to the challenge of theological education in Africa, Lecturer given March 2003, St Pauls Theological College.

- Lydon, G. (2006). "A Pre-colonial European Missionary in Islamic Mombasa" University of Utrecht, Research Paper in Islam.
- Madrasa Pre-School Programme, East Africa. Project Brief. Aga Khan Foundation, March, 2000
- Ndzovu, H. (2009). "Muslim Reactions in the Politics of Nationalism and Secession in Kenya", PAS Working Paper No.18, Illinois, Charles Stewart University
- Proceedings of the International Symposium on Islamic Civilization in Eastern Africa Kampala Uganda 15-17 December 2003.
- Republic of Kenya (2007). Millennium Development Goals: Status Report, Kenya 2007. Nairobi: Ministry of Planning and National Development.
- Republic of Kenya (2007). Millennium Development Goals: Status report, Kenya 2007. Nairobi: Ministry of Planning and National Development
- Sanders, E. (2011). Missionaries and Muslims in East Africa before the Great War, Seminar Paper presented at a conference in Selwyn College, University of Cambridge 9th March 2011.
- Situation of Pre-School Muslim Children in Kenya (1991). Final Survey Report and Recommendations, Mombasa.
- USAID Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination (2004) Strengthening Education in the Muslim World, Country Profiles and Analysis, 10.
- Unicef (1990). The Situation of Pre-School Muslim Children in Kenya A Draft Report Presented to the UNICEF (Kenya) for the Pre-School Child Development Project, Nairobi.
- World Bank (2002). Arab Republic of Egypt Higher Education Enhancement Project (HEEP) Washington D.C.: The World Bank.

Theses and Dissertations

- Adan, S. (2013). Islamic Education in Kenya: A case Study of Islamic Integrated Schools in Garissa County, Department of religious Studies, University of Nairobi, Ph.D. Dissertation.
- Cashmore, T. (1965). Studies in District Administration in the East Africa protectorate, 1895-1918, London, University of Cambridge, PhD Dissertation.
- Mwakimako, H. (2003). Politics, ethnicity and Jostling for Power; The Evolution of Institutions of Muslim Leadership and Kadhiship in Colonial Kenya, 1895-1963, Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Religious Studies, University of Capetown.
- Shabaan, J. (2012). The Challenges of Teaching Islamic Religious Education on Spiritual and Academic Formation of Secondary School Students in Nairobi, Kenya, MA Thesis Kenyatta University, Department of Philosophy and Religious Education
- Strobel, M.A. (1971). Muslim Women in Mombasa, Kenya 1890 – 1973 PhD Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, University Microfilms International. Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA.
- Tinker, C. (2006). State Funded Muslim Schools? Equality, Identity and Community in Multi-Faith Britain||, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nottingham Library.
- Warsame, A. (2006). Capacity Enhancement of Indigenous Qur'anic Schools in Somalia: An Alternative Model to Deliver Basic Education||. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis Universiti Sans Malaysia

Electronic sources

- Ahmed, Binsumeit A. Badawy Jamalilyl, penetration of Islam in Eastern Africa in <http://www.swahilionline.com/features/articles/islam/binsumt1.htm>
- Anzar, U. (2003) A Brief History of Madrassas With Comments on Curricula and Current Pedagogical Practices in <http://www.frcu.eun.eg/www/universities/html/azhar.html/faculties>
- Bull, R. (2000). Teaching morality: Javanese Islamic education in a globalization era. Online Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies, III, 26-47. Available: <http://www.uib.no/jais.v003ht/likens1.htm>

- Steve Hoenisch 920050 Durkheim education Systems, www.criticism.com Education Reform and Islam in Indonesia.
http://www.asiafoundation.org/pdf/indo_EducationReform_Islam.pdf
- Ebrahim, M. (2013). "Al- Azhar University' in J.T.Kenney(ed) Islam in the Modern World, www.google.com/books
- George E. Education and Colonialism in Kenya: History of Education Quarterly, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Autumn, 1971), pp. 249-264 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/367292>
 .Accessed: 13/05/2011 01:21
- Columbia University (2008). Turkey at a glance. Retrieved 23, 07, 2008, from <http://www.columbia.edu/~sss31/Turkiye/geo.html>
- Mohamed Sheikh Aliyu Mohemd, Islamic Educational Institutions in Kenya, African Minarets www.islam4africa.net
- Ministry of National Education, Republic of Turkey. (2002). —National Education at the Beginning of 2002. Retrieved from http://www.meb.gov.tr/Stats/apk2002ing/apage29_48.htm
- Nahla M. El Sebai, The Egyptian Higher Education System: Towards Better Quality in the Future, available at: <http://www.jfs.tku.edu.tw/11-2/5-egypt.pdf>
- Ricklefs, M. C. (2001). A History of Modern Indonesia Since c.2000 (3rd edition.). Hampshire – Britain: Palgrave.
http://www.let.uu.nl/~Martin.vanBruinessen/personal/publications/pesantren_2.htm
- Sedgwick, Robert. Education in Saudi Arabia. World Education News and Reviews, 2001.16 Jan 2009 <http://www.wes.org/ewenr/01nov/Practical.htm> Thomas O. Eisemon & Jamil Salmi (1995). Increasing Equity in Higher Education: Strategies and Lessons from Experience. Available at <http://fiu/~iied/equity.htm>
- UNDP (1998/99) Egyptian Development Report www.undp.org/publications/hdr98/chap2.pdf
- Zablon N, The Beginning and Development of Christianity in Kenya: A survey www.dacb.org/history
- Zamani, A (2004) Mombasa Swahili History and Contemporary Society, University of California Press e books.

Archival Material

Kenya Hansard, Parliamentary Proceedings, October 4 1995

Kenya Hansards, Parliamentary proceedings, September 25 1997

KNA, DC/LAMU/1 KNA, PC/COAST, 1/4/2

KNA, PC/COAST 1/4/1/VOL VII KNA, PC/COAST/2/10/43

KNA, DC/TTA/3/3/9 KNA, PC/COAST/2/10/3

Oral Interviews

Saud Abdalla, Chief Administrator Jamia Mosque, Nairobi 6/2/2015

Habib Gharib, Islamic teacher attached to Jamia Mosque 6/2/2015

Farah Fauzial, Secondary school Teacher, Parklands High School 7/2/2015

Hassan Barre, Teacher Nairobi, 2/5/2015

Hassan Omar, Religious Leader, Jamia Mosque, Nairobi 2/5/2015

Abd Nur, Security Officer, 2/5/2015

Hassan Nandwa, Professor Umma University Thika 2/11/2015

Appendix 1: Key Informants Interview Guide

Bio Data

Name

Religion

Gender

Age

I seek your consent/permission to conduct a researcher on Islamic higher education in coastal Kenya. This is for academic purposes only.

1 (a) which schools i.e. primary, secondary and colleges/university did you attend

(b)What is your profession?

(c) What job are you doing now?

2(a) How was higher Islamic education organized?

(b) How different was it from primary and secondary education?

(a)Do you remember the teacher who taught you hi/her Islamic education?

(b) What subjects did he/she teach you?

(c) How were the subjects taught and evaluated

(d) Which subjects did you like most and how has it advanced your career

(e) Do you remember any other teachers who taught Islamic higher education?

(f) If so what were their names, ideals, values and philosophies.

(g) Did you learn in a mosque/ teacher's house or a college?

(h) Do you know of any other mosques, colleges that offered Islamic higher education?

3. In your opinion how did British colonial rule affect growth of Islamic higher education positively and negatively?

4. In what ways did educational policies in the independence era affect Islamic higher education?

5. What can be done to promote Islamic higher education in Kenya?

