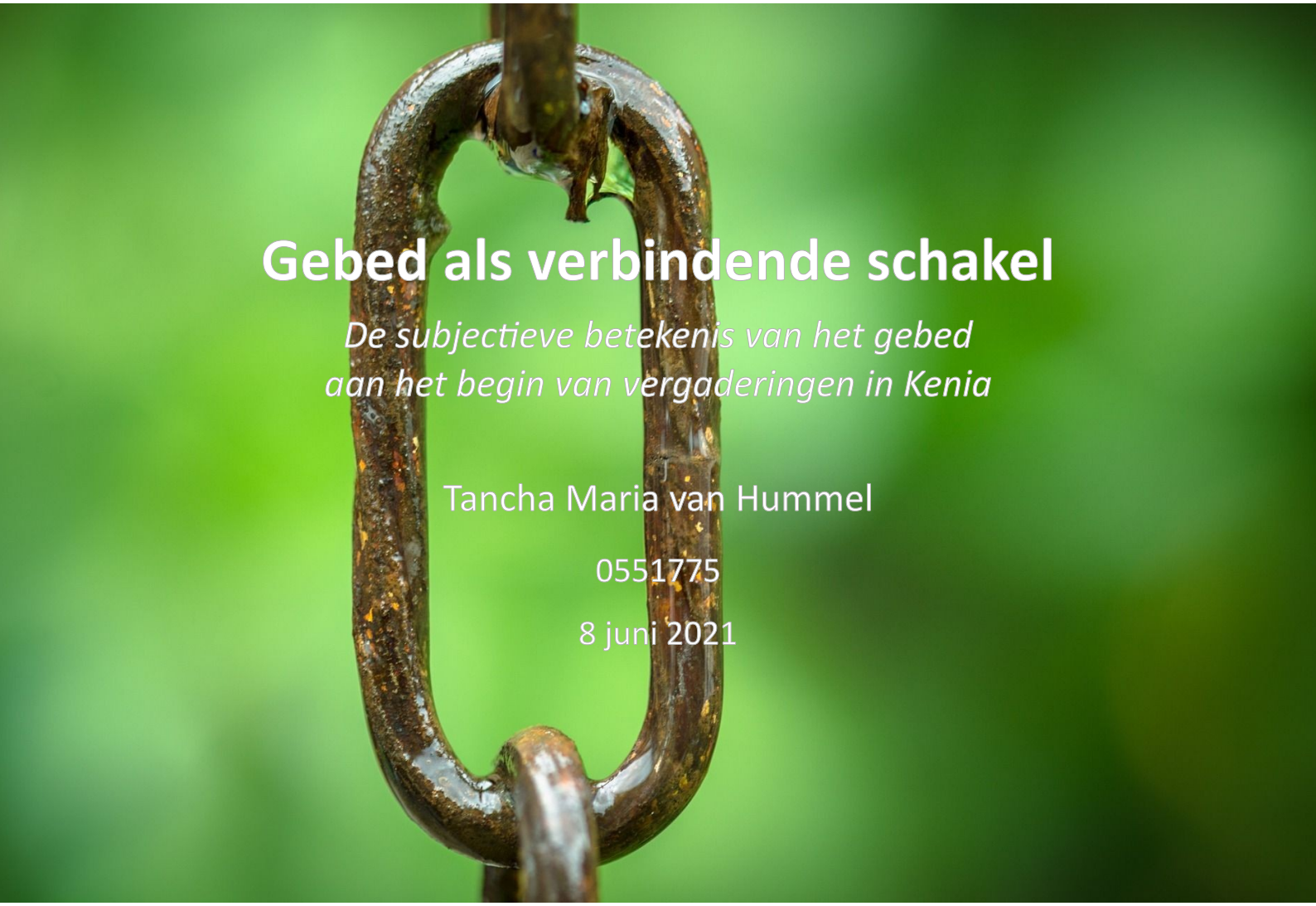

Gebed als verbindende schakel

De subjectieve betekenis van het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen in Kenia

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Samenvatting

Het is een Keniaans gebruik om vergaderingen met een gebed te beginnen. Welke betekenis vergaderleden toekennen aan het gebed is de centrale vraag van dit onderzoek. Om die betekenistoekenning te kunnen begrijpen focust dit onderzoek op twee onderdelen: de context van het gebed en de betekenis die de respondenten toekennen. Deze context is breed gedefinieerd, omdat niet alleen de vergadering een rol speelt, maar ook het wereldbeeld, de samenstelling van de samenleving en de relatie tussen staat en religie. Samen met het theoretisch kader vormt dit een kennisnetwerk waarbinnen de betekenistoekenning van de respondenten begrepen kan worden. Zij zeggen vaak dat het gebed hen een gevoel van eenheid en verbondenheid geeft en het respect voor de andere personen versterkt. Het kennisnetwerk verklaart deze interpretatie door de betekenis te verbinden met de context. Hieruit volgt dat het gebed een verbindende schakel lijkt te zijn.

Summary

This thesis started from the observation that the Dutch NGO staff members and researchers who are working in Kenya on climate issues, do not understand the purpose of the prayer that is said at the beginning of business-meetings. At the same time I was speaking with Kenyan staff members of the same Dutch NGOs who told a whole different story. To them prayer was important. It influenced the meeting and softened their hearts. This observation pointed me towards the following question: What is the subjective meaning which Kenyan respondents assign to prayers at the beginning of business or government meetings?

In order to answer this question, I decided to put this prayer in a wider context by describing first the secular Republic of Kenya and its relationship towards religion, and second the multi religious Kenyan society. This forms part 1 of this thesis. By conducting literature study I came to the conclusion that the Republic of Kenya has a positive stand towards religion which can be categorized as 'neutral political concern' (Fox 2002, 386). This conclusion is based on three topics: the Constitutions, the high court's judgment to the case *Jesse Kamau and 25 Others versus Attorney General*, which is a case in which 26 churches claimed that permitting Islamic Kadhi courts was discriminatory against churches, and lastly the political will concerning religion.

The study of the multi religious society shows the worldview that influences the way people think and act. It also focuses on the Traditional African Religion, Islam and Christianity. The chapter shows how these three main religions in Kenya are related and influenced by each other and how the society is divided along ethno-religious groups.

After setting this context, the focus moves to the actual research question: What is the subjective meaning Kenyan respondents assign to prayers at the beginning of business or government meetings? This question is split up in two, beginning with a description of the prayer before digging into the meaning people assign to it. Both questions are researched by doing empirical qualitative iterative research, which started with literature study in order to clarify the theoretical framework. This literature study produced a summary of the political view on prayer, the sociological view and the view of ritual studies.

We continued with the quantitative research which was conducted by interviewing seven interviewees who all are familiar with business or government meetings that start with and without prayer. These were semi constructed topic interviews and were conducted by one interviewer. Guidance was provided by an interview instrument specifically constructed for this research. The interviews took place in March and April 2021 and were conducted on Zoom.

The results show that the prayer at the beginning of meetings is a ritual that follows a fixed scheme. The prayers are general prayers and, depending on the people at the meeting, the prayer can be Christian, Islamic or Traditional. The Christian prayers consist of thanking God, asking for a blessing, acknowledging God and a closure. An Islamic prayer is most of the time reciting the opening soera of the Quran, while traditional prayers focuss more on issues at hand.

The results also show that most people say that the meaning of the prayer is to feel a sense of unity and respect. The sense of unity is defined in different ways, corresponding to the level of religiousness of the interviewees. The more religious people felt closer connected to God, while less religious people said to experience a connection with other people and other religious groups in the society. The interviewees defined 'respect' as respect to other religious persons.

We can interpret these results in the light of the Traditional African Religion and the Ubuntu philosophy. They seem also inspired by Christianity and Islam. But it turned out that this prayer seems to also be a way to more unite society. Hence the prayer can be seen as a connective link that brings people together.

Acknowledgement

This thesis started with an observation made during my internship at the Centre for Religion, Conflict and Globalization at the Groningen University. I am thankful for the opportunities to speak with many Kenyan people during this internship. I thank all my interviewees for the fact they trusted me while speaking about taboo topics like worldview, religion and prayer, and I highly appreciate their help for bringing me into contact with other respondents.

I am grateful for the help received from my research colleagues at the research project *Invoking the Sacred: Towards Alternative Strategies Against Climate Conflicts.* They helped me develop my skills in qualitative research and stimulated me to dig into the research questions. I want to specifically mention Dr. Joram Tarusarira, who is a great mentor.

And last, but not least, I would like to say thanks to Dr. Michael Scherer-Rath, who supervised this thesis. I appreciate the way he held back in his comments and just gave hints, encouraging me to find solutions to the problems I discovered myself during our conversations. That is a great way of teaching.

Verklaring van eigen werk

Hierbij verklaar en verzeker ik, Tancha Maria van Hummel, dat het voorliggende eindwerkstuk, getiteld *Gebed als verbindende schakel. De subjectieve betekenis van het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen in Kenia* zelfstandig door mij is opgesteld, dat geen andere bronnen en hulpmiddelen dan die door mij zijn vermeld zijn gebruikt en dat de passages in het werk waarvan de woordelijke inhoud of betekenis uit andere werken – ook elektronische media – is genomen door bronvermelding als ontlening kenbaar gemaakt worden.

Arnhem, 8 juni 2021

Inhoudsopgave

1. Inleiding

Eén van de verschillen die mij tijdens mijn stage aangreep, en niet meer losliet, is het verschil in hoe Nederlanders en Kenianen spreken over het gebed dat in Kenia aan het begin van vergaderingen wordt uitgesproken. Eén van mijn Nederlandse respondenten zei:

> "Kenia is veel meer een religieuze cultuur dan Nederland. Nederland is heel seculier. Er zullen in Nederland weinig plekken zijn, denk ik, waar vergaderingen of een bijeenkomst worden gestart met een gebed. In Kenia is dat heel gebruikelijk. […] Je ziet alleen de buitenkant [van het gebed], de vorm zou je kunnen zeggen. Dus je weet niet hoe de mensen dat zelf interpreteren, want je ziet alleen maar vorm." (Respondent RUG 8[1], 0:53:00)

Een Keniaanse respondent zei daarentegen:

> "So you start with a prayer, because previously you had started with a national anthem, which we see as a prayer. But I believe, what I sense and I suspect would be to soften people's hearts, particularly if you are going to discuss something that would touch on, say, a conflicting something that is contentious or controversial. When you start with a prayer and then doing the prayer, you can talk about bringing this and this together, you know, we can talk about, make help people understand, or things like that." (Respondent RUG 9, 0:29:21)

Vanaf het moment dat dit verschil mij opviel, vroeg ik iedere interviewee hoe zij aankijken tegen dat gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen. Alle niet-Kenianen waren consistent in hun antwoord. Zij beschreven het gebed als een cultureel gegeven waar ze respect voor opbrengen, maar waar ze als buitenstaander naar kijken. Ze zien de vorm, maar kunnen er geen betekenis aan toekennen. De Keniaanse interviewees gaven daarentegen uiteenlopende antwoorden variërend van "het openen van je hart", zoals respondent RUG 9 hierboven zegt, tot "het maakt voor mij niet uit of we bidden of niet" (RUG 10, 27:14). Deze diverse antwoorden roepen de vraag op welke betekenis het gebed heeft dat aan het begin van vergaderingen in Kenia wordt uitgesproken.

Tijdens mijn stageonderzoek focuste ik op een specifieke doelgroep en context: alle interviewees waren werkzaam voor Nederlandse NGO's of voor de Nederlandse ambassade in Nairobi. Hierdoor waren zij zowel bekend met het Keniaanse gebruik vergaderingen met een gebed te beginnen als met de Nederlandse manier om te vergaderen zonder gebed. Kenmerkend was tevens dat ze hoogopgeleid zijn en de vergaderingen vaak op meso en macroniveau worden gevoerd. In deze vergaderingen zijn daarom vaak ambtenaren, parlementsleden en ministers aanwezig.

Het doel van deze scriptie is dat de mensen die naar Kenia toegaan om daar ontwikkelingshulp te bieden of handel te drijven het gebed in de context zoals hierboven geschetst leren begrijpen. Om dit doel te bereiken ligt de focus op de interpretaties die Kenianen aan dit specifieke gebed geven. Tijdens het stageonderzoek is al gebleken dat er uiteenlopende betekenissen worden toegeschreven, variërend van 'cultureel gebruik' tot 'een connectie voelen met God'. Door de verschillende interpretaties naast elkaar te leggen, komen we te weet hoe Kenianen aankijken tegen dit ritueel. De vraagstelling luidt daarom:

1 De citaten van de Respondenten RUG *n* zijn terug te vinden in bijlage 7.

Welke subjectieve betekenis kennen Kenianen toe aan het gebed dat wordt uitgesproken aan de start van vergaderingen waarbij Keniaanse overheidsfunctionarissen aanwezig zijn?

Hierbij verstaan we onder de 'subjectieve betekenis' de rationele en emotionele betekenis die interviewees toekennen aan het gebed. De emotionele betekenis kan betrekking hebben op gevoelens en emoties. De rationele betekenis is de betekenis die ze vanuit hun culturele en religieuze achtergrond toekennen aan het gebed en kan gaan over functie en gebruik.

'Kenianen' verwijst hier naar Kenianen die bekend zijn met vergaderingen waarbij (semi-)ambtenaren aanwezig zijn en die met gebed beginnen, én met zulke vergaderingen, maar die dan zonder gebed beginnen. Gebed wordt hierbij geïnterpreteerd in de definitie van Mauss (2003, 22): "it partakes at the same time the nature ritual and the nature of belief". Uitgaande van deze definitie vooronderstellen we dat het gebed omschreven kan worden als een ritueel, een procedure, en als een geloofsact, een manier om met een hogere macht te communiceren. Bij 'gebed' en 'geloofsact' dachten de Nederlandse interviewees in mijn stageonderzoek gelijk aan geïnstitutionaliseerde religie. Het gebed in de context van een vergadering is echter geen liturgisch gebed. Daarom kunnen we het gebed ook bekijken als een sociale praktijk of als een routine/ritueel[2].

Als we het gebed als sociale praktijk beschouwen, interpreteren we het gebed binnen de context van de vergadering. Die vergadering zien we vervolgens in de context van de samenleving en die samenleving plaatsen we in de context van de staat. De sociale praktijk is dan ook een politieke praktijk. Een goed begrip van het gebed vereist dus niet alleen een antwoord op de vraagstelling, maar ook een begrip van hoe de Keniaanse staat zich verhoudt tot religie en hoe religie een rol speelt in de Keniaanse samenleving.

Als we het gebed als routine/ritueel opvatten, beschouwen we het gebed als een voorgeschreven gedragspatroon dat door zijn structuur bepaalde effecten zal hebben. Deze effecten omvatten volgens psycholoog Spilka (2005, 365) functies zoals communiceren met jezelf, anderen en God, beter omgaan met emoties en agressie, en mensen met elkaar verbinden.

1.1 Onderzoeksstrategie

Omdat dit gebed alleen goed begrepen kan worden als we zowel de context als het gebed begrijpen, bestaat deze scriptie uit twee delen. Deel één richt zich op de sociale en politieke context van het gebed. Deel twee focust op het beantwoorden van de vraagstelling.

Deel één beantwoordt twee deelvragen:

1. Wat is de verhouding tussen de Keniaanse staat en religie?
2. Hoe ziet de religieuze samenleving eruit?

Deze vragen worden beantwoord in respectievelijk hoofdstuk twee en drie. De antwoorden vormen de context waarbinnen het gebed beschreven kan worden. Dit wordt door Stringer (2015, 79) als een vereiste gezien om het gebed goed te kunnen begrijpen.

Religie interpreteer ik hier in de definitie van Durkheim: "religion is a unified set of beliefs and practives relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden, – beliefs and practices which unite [into] one single moral community, all those who adhere to them."

2 Omdat het gebed als geloofsact ook een ritueel is, gebruik ik de formulering routine/ritueel om duidelijk te maken dat het in dit geval niet per se om een geloofsact gaat, maar om rituelen in het algemeen, waar bijvoorbeeld een diploma-uitreiking een voorbeeld van is.

(Durkheim 1982, 129). Deze definitie heeft mijn voorkeur, omdat in dit verband religie wordt opgevat als een sociale praktijk, als een ritueel dat men samen uitvoert, en omdat in Afrika de eenheidsgedachte, zoals verwoord in de Ubuntu-filosofie, een centrale rol speelt (Mofuoa 2020, 198). Gemeenschappen streven naar eenheid. Een vergadering is te zien als een tijdelijke gemeenschap en daarom is één van mijn verwachtingen dat de Ubuntu-filosofie een rol speelt. De definitie van Durkheim sluit goed aan bij deze context.

De vragen uit deel één worden door middel van literatuurstudie (Verschuren 2009, 298-299) beantwoord. Literatuurstudie is "human resource based" onderzoek (Verschuren 2009, 281) en wordt in deze scriptie gecombineerd met data gebaseerd onderzoek. Uit de eerste twee deelvragen zijn zogenaamde 'sensitizing concepts' (Blumer 1954, 7) af te leiden, zoals 'de verhouding tussen religie en staat', 'religieuze samenleving', 'Ubuntu-filosofie', christendom, islam en traditionele Afrikaanse religie. Op basis van deze concepten zijn artikelen geselecteerd van wetenschappers met een specialisatie in religiestudies/theologie en politiek en/of sociologie. De bestudering van die artikelen heeft tot het beantwoorden van de eerste twee vragen geleid.

Een antwoord vinden op de vraag in welke mate Kenia een seculiere staat is, was echter niet eenvoudig, omdat de artikelen in mijn ogen niet exact genoeg waren in hun oordeel. Daarom heb ik hier gekozen voor een determinatieve aanpak. Uitgangspunt hierbij is Fox'artikel "Separation of Religion and State and Secularism in Theory and in Practice" (Fox, 2011). Hij heeft een methode ontwikkeld om te bepalen in welke mate staten seculier genoemd kunnen worden. Die methode bestaat uit drie stappen, waarbij wordt gekeken naar de constituties, gerechtelijke uitspraken en de politieke wil. Door deze methode te volgen wordt niet alleen duidelijk hoe de Keniaanse staat zich verhoudt tot religie, maar krijgen we ook zicht op de religieuze diversiteit in Kenia.

Bij de beantwoording van de tweede vraag 'Hoe ziet de religieuze samenleving eruit?' ben ik uitgegaan van de sensitizing concepts: 'traditionele Afrikaanse religie', 'christendom' en 'islam'. Hierbij is uitgegaan van de geïnstitutionaliseerde vormen van christendom en islam. Deze drie concepten heb ik cultuurhistorisch bestudeerd, omdat ik vermoed dat historische gebeurtenissen invloed hebben op de huidige verhoudingen in de samenleving en de vorm die religie heeft aangenomen in Kenia.

Deel twee focust op het beantwoorden van de vraagstelling waarbij de methode van datagebaseerd onderzoek wordt toegepast. Dit deel heeft de structuur van een onderzoeksrapport. Het begint met een theoretisch kader dat het gebed vanuit een politieke en een sociale invalshoek en vanuit rituelenstudie beschouwt. Hierbij is net zoals in deel één gebruik gemaakt van literatuurstudie. De vraagstelling wordt echter door middel van empirisch, kwalitatief en iteratief onderzoek beantwoord. De methode wordt in hoofdstuk 5 uiteengezet. Hoofdstuk 6 presenteert de resultaten. De conclusie en discussie zijn in hoofdstuk 7 opgenomen. Het laatste hoofdstuk "Het gebed als de verbindende schakel" pakt deel één en twee samen en komt zo tot een antwoord op de onderzoeksvraag.

1.2 Leesaanwijzingen

In deze scriptie wordt regelmatig gesproken over God en wordt vaak verwezen naar bijlages. Om het lezen te vergemakkelijken, enkele opmerkingen over hoe hier mee om te gaan.

De Kenianen gebruiken veel verschillende termen om naar God te verwijzen: God, Allah, the Highest Being, the Highest Power, eigennamen van goden. Wanneer in deze scriptie het woord 'God' voorkomt, verwijst dat naar een algemene God, en kan dit woord zowel verwijzen naar Allah of de christelijke God, als naar een god van een lokale stam, tenzij uit de context blijkt dat het over één specifieke God gaat.

In hoofdstuk 6 (Resultaten) en hoofdstuk 7 (Conclusie en discussie) wordt, wanneer dat relevant is, aangegeven hoe vaak een antwoord gegeven is. Dit staat als (grounded *n*) vermeld.

De resultaten worden in sommige gevallen in de vorm van een netwerk gepresenteerd. In de rapportage zijn kleine en/of vereenvoudigde netwerken opgenomen. De uitgebreide netwerken zijn als bijlage opgenomen. In de tekst wordt hiernaar verwezen.

Tevens worden respondenten regelmatig geciteerd. Hierbij is een onderscheid te maken tussen de respondenten die ik voor dit scriptieonderzoek heb geïnterviewd en de interviewees die ik sprak voor mijn stageonderzoek. Naar de respondenten van dit scriptieonderzoek verwijs ik met de volgende codering: Respondent *n* 00:00. Het nummer van de respondent verwijst naar de transcriptie in bijlage 6 en de tijdscodering maakt het mogelijk om in het transcript het citaat terug te vinden. Naar respondenten die deel uitmaken van mijn stageonderzoek verwijs ik als volgt: Respondent RUG *n* 00:00. Omdat dit een ander onderzoek betreft, heb ik hier alleen de gebruikte citaten bij elkaar gezet in bijlage 7. Citaten zijn in de hoofdtekst aangepast op leesbaarheid en kunnen daardoor iets verschillen van het citaat in het transcript, maar de betekenis is gelijk gebleven.

Deel 1

De religieuze context van Kenia

2. De republiek Kenia, seculier?

2.1 Inleiding

Tijdens één van de stage-interviews waarin we spraken over het gebed in de context van overheidsbijeenkomsten, zei een interviewee:

> "Well, we are predominantly a religious nation. Naturally, we are secular. So you would not say that. You know, you go to Saudi Arabia and it is straight forward. This is a Muslim nation. So you cannot say that Kenya is a Christian nation. It is categorized as a secular nation, I think." (Respondent RUG 10, 22:50)

"I think" kwam aarzelend uit de mond van mijn informant. Ja, op papier is Kenia een seculiere staat, maar seculier op welke wijze? Op deze vraag willen we een antwoord krijgen, evenals op de vraag hoe het religieuze landschap van Kenia eruit ziet (hoofdstuk 3), voordat de betekenis van het gebed in overheids- en bedrijfsvergaderingen onderzocht kan worden. Dit vormt de context waarbinnen we de resultaten van het onderzoek naar de betekenis van het gebed moeten interpreteren.

Hoe seculier de Keniaanse staat is, wordt in dit hoofdstuk gedefinieerd op basis van Fox' (2011) taxonomie waarmee we de mate van secullariteit van een natie kunnen bepalen. Fox (2011) draagt voor deze bepaling drie stappen aan. De eerste stap bestaat uit het bestuderen van de verhouding tussen kerk en staat zoals beschreven in de grondwet. De tweede stap is onderzoeken of er gerechtelijke uitspraken zijn die de grondwet tegenspreken. De derde stap is nagaan of de politieke wil er is om de grondwet en de uitspraken na te volgen.

In dit hoofdstuk gaan we eerst nader in op de theorie van Fox (2011) en passen we daarna de drie stappen toe op Kenia. Daarbij verdiepen we ons in de herziene Constituties van 2010, die de Onafhankelijkheidsconstitutie van 1963 vervangt, en bestuderen we de rechtszaak *Jesse Kamau and 25 Others versus Attorney General*[3]. Deze rechtszaak was aangespannen door 26 kerken die de staat ten laste legden dat Kenia de kerken discrimineert door wel kadhi-rechtbanken[4] te erkennen, maar kerkrechtbanken niet. Tot slot wegen we de geschiedenis mee en komen op basis van deze drie invalshoeken tot een eindoordeel over de vraag op welke wijze Kenia seculier is.

2.2 Fox' taxonomie van de relatie tussen Staat en Kerk

Religie maakt zo'n wezenlijk onderdeel uit van het menselijk wereldbeeld, dat elke staat zich op de een of andere manier tot religie moet verhouden. Klassieke voorbeelden van zo'n verhouding zijn een theocratie en een staatsreligie. In beide gevallen zijn staat en kerk met elkaar verbonden, maar in het geval van een theocratie staat de kerk boven de staat en in het geval van en staatsreligie staat de staat boven de kerk. Iran is een voorbeeld van een theocratisch bewind waar de macht in handen is van de Ayatollahs, geestelijke leiders. Het Verenigd Koninkrijk is daarentegen een natie met een staatsreligie, de Anglicaanse kerk. Hier is de Queen het hoofd van de Anglicaanse kerk.

Sinds de opkomst van de moderne natiestaat is de verhouding tussen kerk en staat veranderd en formuleren de meeste moderne natiestaten in hun constituties een scheiding tussen

3 *Jesse Kamau and 25 Others v Attorney General* [2010] KLR 1 (judgment of 24 May 2010) (*Jesse Kamau).*

4 Kadhi-rechtbanken zijn islamitische rechtbanken waar volgens de shariawetgeving familierechtzaken worden behandeld.

religie en staat. Hoe die scheiding te maken, is onderwerp van discussie onder zowel filosofen (zoals bijvoorbeeld John Locke (1991) en Rawls (1971 en 1996)), als aan de onderhandelingstafel wanneer een grondwet wordt opgesteld. Hierbij spelen de ervaringen die denkers en vormgevers hebben opgedaan, zoals oorlogen, secularisme en individualisme, een belangrijke rol (Ahaya 2017, 2).

Deze ervaringen kunnen grofweg tot twee verschillende modellen leiden. Sommige staten hebben een zodanige negatieve ervaring met religie gehad dat zij binnen hun constituties religie uit het publieke domein hebben verbannen. Fox (2011, 385) omschrijft deze houding als het secularisme-laïcité model. Als prototypes noemt hij Frankrijk en Turkije. In andere staten hechten burgers echter zo'n belang aan religie dat zij niet willen dat de staat daarin intervenieert. Binnen die naties ontstaat dan het seperationistische model (Fox 2001, 385). De Verenigde Staten zien hiervan een prototypisch voorbeeld.

In de praktijk blijken deze twee prototypische modellen echter niet zo strikt te worden toegepast als de beschrijving doet vermoeden. Zo werd in 2011 bijvoorbeeld een eucharistieviering van de internationale oecumenische gemeenschap van Taizé live op de Franse nationale zender France 2 uitgezonden. In beeld was duidelijk te lezen dat de uitzending *en directe* en op *Le Jour du Seigneur* was en een voice-over vertaalde alles wat tijdens deze internationale viering werd gezegd in het Frans (YouTube, 2017). Dit is in strijd met het idee dat religie uit het publieke domein wordt geweerd.

Zulke observaties brachten Fox (2011) ertoe te onderzoeken hoe de staat en religie zich in de praktijk tot elkaar verhouden. Zijn statistisch onderzoek leidde uiteindelijk tot de volgende vier modellen (Fox 2011, 385-386):

1. 'Bijna absoluut seperationistisch'-model
2. 'Neutrale politieke betrokkenheid'-model
3. 'Uitsluiting van idealen'-model
4. Laïcité-model

'Bijna absoluut seperationistische' houdt in dat de staat onverschillig staat ten aanzien van geloof. Religie wordt in de samenleving toegestaan, maar de staat heeft daarmee geen enkele bemoeienis. Bij 'neutrale politieke betrokkenheid' worden religies ongelijk behandeld zodat in de samenleving alle religies gelijkwaardig zijn aan elkaar. Dit is te beschouwen als een vorm van positieve discriminatie. Het omgekeerde is het geval als een staat het model 'uitsluiting van idealen' hanteert. Bij dit model behandelt de staat alle religies op dezelfde wijze. Maar doordat de verschillende religies niet aan elkaar gelijk zijn, blijft door deze handelingswijze de ongelijkheid tussen religies bestaan. Het laïcité-model, tot slot, betekent dat de staat religie uit het publieke domein bant.

Fox heeft landen op basis van deze taxonomie ingedeeld en is daarbij tot de conclusie gekomen dat staten meestal niet het model volgen dat in hun constituties omschreven is, maar wel bepaalde kenmerken van dat specifieke model hebben (Fox 2011, 393). Dat staten nooit alle kenmerken van een model representeren, komt volgens hem doordat óf de politieke wil daartoe ontbreekt, óf doordat de artikelen in de constituties met elkaar in tegenspraak zijn waardoor de beschreven verhouding tussen kerk en staat niet nagevolgd kan worden (Fox 2011, 395).

Aan de hand van de door Fox (2011) geformuleerde indeling kunnen we nu gaan vaststellen hoe seculier Kenia is. De methode van Fox (2011) volgend, zullen we eerst naar de Keniaanse constitutie van 2010 kijken, daarna na de uitspraak van het Hoger Gerechtshof in de zaak *Jesse Kamau and 25 Others versus Attorny General* en tenslotte nemen we ook de politiek, die gevormd is door de geschiedenis van Kenia, mee in onze zoektocht naar het antwoord op de vraag hoe seculier Kenia is.

2.3 De Keniaanse Constitutie

Binnen de Keniaanse Constitutie staat beschreven welke rechten burgers hebben ten opzichte van de staat. Een belangrijk onderdeel hiervan is de verhouding tussen kerk en staat. In Kenia komt deze verhouding zowel naar voren in het rechtsbeginsel van de scheiding tussen kerk en staat als in de erkenning van kadhi-rechtbanken. Zowel het rechtsbeginsel als de kadhi-rechtbanken worden in deze paragraaf besproken. De uitgeschreven teksten van de aangehaalde wetten is terug te vinden in bijlage 1.

Net zoals in Nederland is het rechtsbeginsel van de scheiding tussen kerk en staat niet als beginsel terug te vinden in de tekst van de Keniaanse Constitutie, maar volgt het uit de combinatie van vier grondrechten. Binnen de Keniaanse Constitutie (de herziene versie van 2010) zijn dit het non-discriminatieartikel (Artikel 27), het recht op vrijheid van gedachte, religie, geloof en mening (Artikel 32) en Artikel 1 en 2, die respectievelijk over de suprematie van de Keniaanse constitutie en de republiek Kenia gaan. Het non-discriminatieartikel regelt dat de Keniaanse staat noch direct noch indirect mag discrimineren op onder andere religie. Artikel 32 stelt dat mensen de vrijheid hebben hun eigen geloof en religie te kiezen en privé of publiekelijk dat geloof aan te hangen. Ook stelt het dat dit geen belemmering mag zijn om toegang te krijgen tot instituties of werk.

Op basis van deze vier artikelen kan geconcludeerd worden dat de staat boven religie staat, maar dat de staat binnen de samenleving ruimte geeft aan religie. Deze wetten zeggen echter nog niets over hoeveel ruimte religie krijgt en of de staat religie wel of niet steunt. Daarvoor moeten we nog twee andere artikelen in ogenschouw nemen, namelijk Artikel 169 en Artikel 170 welke gaan over de kadhi-rechtbanken. Deze rechtbanken komen voor in gebieden waar moslimgemeenschappen gevestigd zijn, met name langs de kust en in het noorden. Deze rechtbanken worden door de staat erkend en zijn opgenomen in het Keniaanse stelsel van rechtbanken, zoals is vastgelegd in Artikel 169.

Deze twee artikelen tonen dat de moslimgemeenschap een bijzonder privilege geniet: de kadhi-rechtbanken worden door de Keniaanse staat volledig erkend. De scheiding tussen kerk en staat is dus zo dat de staat religie kan ondersteunen. Hierdoor vallen het ‘bijna absoluut seperationistisch’-model en het ‘seculiere laïcité’-model af. Maar de keuze tussen de overgebleven twee modellen, het model van ‘neutrale politieke betrokkenheid’ en het ‘uitsluiten van idealen’-model, is nog onbepaald.

De erkenning van kadhi-rechtbanken lijkt te botsen met het recht op gelijke behandeling, omdat kerkrechtbanken niet worden erkend. Fox (2011, 386) laat echter zien dat in sommige gevallen landen een minderheidsreligie kunnen voortrekken, juist om te zorgen dat ze in de praktijk gelijk zijn aan een meerderheidsreligie. In Kenia vormt de moslimgemeenschap een minderheid. Volgens de cijfers uit 2020 van het PEW Research Center’s Religion and Public Life Project behoorde 84,5% van de Kenianen tot het Christendom en behoorde 10,5% tot de Islam (PEW, 2020). Deze cijfers worden bevestigd door Damaris Parsitau, heden voorzitter van The African Associaton for het Study of Religions (Partisau, interview, 30 maart 2021). Op basis van deze gegevens zouden we Kenia dan kunnen plaatsen in het model van neutrale politieke betrokkenheid.

Fox (2011, 395) geeft echter aan dat we de wijze waarop staat en religie zich tot elkaar verhouden niet enkel op de constituties mogen bepalen, maar ook op gerechtelijke uitspraken en op de politieke wil. In de eerstkomende paragraaf bespreken we daarom hoe het Keniaanse Higher Court over de scheiding tussen religie en staat oordeelt.

2.4 De rechtszaak "Jesse Kamau and 25 Others versus Attorney General"

De hierboven aangehaalde artikelen zijn afkomstig uit de herziene Constitutie van 2010, die de onafhankelijkheidsconstitutie van 1963 vervangt. In aanloop naar deze herziening werd er over een aantal wetten flink gediscussieerd, waaronder over Artikel 170 (Constitutie van 2010; Artikel 82 in de Constitutie van 1963) dat kadhi-rechtbanken erkent. Een groep van 26 kerken is toen naar de rechtbank gestapt. Zij legden de staat ten laste hen te discrimineren door kadhi-rechtbanken te erkennen. Tevens wilden zij door deze rechtszaak helderheid verkrijgen over hoe seculier Kenia is, omdat dat volgens hen niet duidelijk werd uit de toen geldende constitutie. Deze zaak is bekend geworden onder de naam "Jesse Kamau and 25 Others versus Attorney General"[5]. We bespreken hier de redenatie van de Higher Court met als doel te bepalen in welk model van Fox Kenia geplaatst kan worden.

De Higher Court ging in haar uitspraak allereerst in op de aanklacht dat in de Constitutie van 1963 niet duidelijk zou zijn vastgelegd dat Kenia een seculiere staat is. Hun redenatie startte met het aanhalen van het rechtsbeginsel van de scheiding tussen kerk en staat, welke zij als volgt formuleerden: "The doctrine of separation of Church and State provides that as between the State and religion each had its own sphere, the former law making for the public good, and the latter moral welfare of individuals and their God or creator." (Majuzi 2011, 316) De rechters onderbouwden deze doctrine door te verwijzen naar Artikel 1 dat stelt dat Kenia een soevereine staat is. Ook haalden ze uit de Constituties van 1963 Artikel 1a aan, dat stelt dat de Republiek Kenia een meerpartijenstelsel kent en een democratie is. Vervolgens redeneerden ze:

- "A secular state is neither supposed to compel its citizens to adopt a particular religion, nor can it give preferential treatment to the followers of a particular religion."[6]
- "A secular state means one that protects all religions equally and does not uphold any religion as a state religion."[7]
- "In a secular state it is assumed that the state will minimally have to contend with and respond to each of the demands of equality, liberty and neutrality."[8]

Op basis van deze redenatie kwam het Higher Court tot de conclusie dat Kenia een seculiere staat is, zij alle religies gelijk zal behandelen en zich daarbij zo min mogelijk met religie bemoeit. Dit lijkt te impliceren dat de Keniaanse staat de voorkeur geeft aan het 'uitsluiten van idealen'-model, omdat zij zich ten opzichte van religie terughoudend opstelt. Doordat de rechters het woord 'gelijk' niet nader specificeren, zijn echter twee verschillende interpretaties mogelijk:

1. de moslimgemeenschap mag gesteund worden, als ook de christelijke gemeenschap gesteund wordt;
2. de moslimgemeenschap moet gesteund worden zodat de moslimgemeenschap gelijkwaardig is aan de christelijke gemeenschap.

Pas in de conclusie van het Higher Court blijkt uiteindelijk dat de rechters hebben gekozen voor de eerste interpretatie, doordat ze religieuze rechtbanken aanbevelen voor alle grote religieuze stromingen in Kenia, dus ook voor de kerken:

> "We recommend incorporation of religious Courts for all major religions to deal with personal law relating to marriage, divorce and inheritance. Whereas we are not opposed to confirmation of Kadhis' Courts, Kadhis' Courts with limited jurisdiction as stipulated in

5 *Jesse Kamau and 25 Others v Attorney General* [2010] KLR 1 (judgment of 24 May 2010) (*Jesse Kamau).*
6 *Jesse Kamau and 25 Others v Attorney General* [2010] KLR 1 (judgment of 24 May 2010) (*Jesse Kamau)*, p. 31
7 *Jesse Kamau and 25 Others v Attorney General* [2010] KLR 1 (judgment of 24 May 2010) (*Jesse Kamau)*, p. 31
8 *Jesse Kamau and 25 Others v Attorney General* [2010] KLR 1 (judgment of 24 May 2010) (*Jesse Kamau)*, p. 32

> the 1963 Constitution should be accommodated outside the main body of the new Constitution. We, however, recommend that suitable amendments be made to the draft Constitution to reflect the philosophy of national unity."[9]

Deze uitspraak toont dus dat de rechters oordelen dat de staat religies die niet gelijkwaardig aan elkaar zijn, wel gelijk dient te behandelen. Zo redenerend pleiten de rechters voor Fox' model van 'uitsluiting van idealen'. Hun uitspraak is echter een aanbeveling. Zij laten de aanpassing van de grondwet over aan de mensen die hierover gaan en raden aan om met deze uitspraak rekening te houden. De vraag is dus of dit model geïmplementeerd zal worden.

We hebben nu twee verschillende modellen. In de vorige paragraaf bestudeerden we de grondwet die lijkt uit te gaan van het model van politieke betrokkenheid. In deze paragraaf stellen de rechters dat het model 'uitsluiting van idealen' gevolgd zou moeten worden. De vraag die nu voorligt, is welk model gekozen wordt. Wordt het model dat de rechters voorstellen gevolgd, of het model dat door de constituties wordt beschreven? Om hierover uitsluitsel te krijgen, onderzoeken we in de volgende paragraaf hoe de historie van Kenia en de politieke wil van invloed zijn op de verhouding tussen kerk en staat.

2.5 De historische relatie tussen de staat en de moslimgemeenschap

De wijze waarop religie en staat, en islam en staat in het bijzonder, in Kenia met elkaar samenhangen, blijkt volgens Ndzovu (2014, 54) grotendeels afhankelijk te zijn van wie er aan de macht is. In 1963 werd Kenia onafhankelijk van de Britten. In 1964 ontstond een éénpartijenbestel. De eerste president was Jomo Kenyatta. Daarna kwam Moi aan de macht (1978-2002) en in 2003 ging de macht over naar Kibaki (2002-2013). Elke president had een andere kijk op religie. Vooral Kenyatta en Moi hadden een uitgesproken mening over religie en daarom zal op deze twee presidenten gefocust worden.

Jomo Kenyatta streefde naar een scheiding tussen religie en politiek. In tegenstelling tot wat de 26 kerken beweerden in de rechtszaak *Jesse Kamau and 25 Others v Attorney General,* stelt Ndzocvu (2014, 53) dat in de Onafhankelijkheidsconstitutie vastligt dat Kenya een seculiere staat is. Dit blijkt volgens hem uit Artikel 78, dat in de herziene versie van 2010 overeenkomt met Artikel 32 over de vrijheid van bewustzijn, religie, geloof en opinie. Het oorspronkelijke artikel stelt:

> Except with his own consent, no person shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of conscience, and for the purposes of this section that freedom includes freedom of thought and religion, freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom either alone or in community with others, and both in public and private to manifest and propagate his religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance.

Dit artikel moet in samenhang met Artikel 1 gelezen worden, waarin staat dat Kenia een soevereine republiek is (Ndzovu 2014, 53). Religie wordt hierdoor als een privézaak gezien dat buiten de scoop van de politiek ligt. De staat mag geen religieuze activiteiten of een religieuze groep steunen. Onder het bewind van Kenyatta moesten bijvoorbeeld de religieuze organisaties die onderwijs en zorg verzorgden, plaatsmaken voor niet-religieuze organisaties. Religieuze organisaties mochten alleen in de sociale sector actief blijven.

9 *Jesse Kamau and 25 Others v Attorney General* [2010] KLR 1 (judgment of 24 May 2010) (*Jesse Kamau)*, p. 7.

Toch is religie duidelijk aanwezig in de politiek. Eden worden gezworen op de Bijbel of de Koran en het volkslied is een gebed op zichzelf. Het eerste couplet (Embassy of Kenya, n.d.) laat dit zien:

> O God of all creation,
> Bless this our land and nation.
> Justice be our shield and defender,
> May we dwell in unity,
> Peace and liberty.

Deze religieuze connotatie van het volkslied wordt door veel Kenianen herkend. Dit wordt zowel in mijn interviews bevestigd als door auteurs zoals Ahaya (2017, 11) en Ndzovu (2014, 53) die beiden gespecialiseerd zijn in de verhouding tussen religie en sociale verandering in Kenia.

Tijdens het regime van Moi (1978-2002) kreeg religie een prominentere plaats in de politiek, doordat Moi zich uitdrukkelijk als christen profileerde. Bijeenkomsten van het parlement werden vanaf dat moment niet alleen met het volkslied geopend, maar ook met een gebed. Deze praktijk bestaat heden nog en deze gebeden worden uitgesproken door religieuze vertegenwoordigers die voor de bijeenkomst van het parlement zijn uitgenodigd.

Omgekeerd kreeg politiek een belangrijkere wol in religie. Het bewind van Moi werd gekarakteriseerd door mismanagement en corruptie (Ndzovu 2014, 57). Dit leidde tot kritiek vanuit de kerken die hierdoor politiseerden. De evangelische kerken onthielden zich echter van kritiek, omdat zij zich niet als politieke actievoerders wilden profileren. Moi greep deze verdeeldheid onder de kerken aan om de aandacht af te leiden van de problemen rondom zijn bestuur. Zo bleef hij uiteindelijk in het zadel zitten door de acties van de evangelische kerken (Ndzovu 2014, 58).

De moslims waren in tegenstelling tot de christenen minder politiek georganiseerd en konden daardoor minder goed een vuist tegen de politiek maken. Daar liggen een aantal redenen aan ten grondslag. Ten eerste zijn islam en etniciteit in Kenia aan elkaar gekoppeld en botsen etnische groepen met elkaar (Office of International Religious Freedom 2021, 2). Zo maken de moslims zelf een onderscheid tussen Arabische, kust en Somalische moslims, en botsen ze ook met niet-islamitische etniciteiten. Ten tweede zijn veel stammen die islamitisch zijn, gemarginaliseerde gemeenschappen die in afgelegen gebieden wonen. Zij zijn arm en worden door de politiek niet gehoord (Respondent RUG 14, 04:55-05:52). Ten derde zijn de moslims in Kenia minder goed gegroepeerd en vertegenwoordigd dan de christenen. Daardoor kunnen kerken makkelijker een vuist maken tegen de politiek, dan islamitische groeperingen.

Hoewel onder Moi duidelijk een christelijke politiek werd gevoerd, bleef er ruimte voor de moslims doordat bijvoorbeeld de kadhi-rechtbanken erkend zijn. De moslims geven daarom de voorkeur aan het, in de kern, seculiere regime van de Keniaanse staat, omdat het voorkomt dat ze nog verder gemarginaliseerd worden (Ndzovu 2014, 79).

Dat de Keniaanse staat zich zo opstelt tegenover de moslimgemeenschap is te begrijpen vanuit het verleden. Toen de Britten de koloniale bewindvoerders waren, wilden zij zo min mogelijk problemen met de plaatselijke bevolking en stonden ze onder andere toe dat de moslims kadhi-rechtbanken hadden (Ndzovu 2014, 70). Dit schaadde het bewind van de Britten immers niet en ten aanzien van de kadhi-rechtbanken is het nooit tot een botsing tussen de staat en de moslims gekomen. Op basis van deze historische gegevens kunnen we stellen dat de Keniaanse staat actief ruimte schept voor de moslimminderheid. Daarmee bevoordeelt de staat de minderheidsreligie, wat past binnen het model van ‘neutrale politieke betrokkenheid’.

2.6 Het uiteindelijke antwoord

Welk licht werpt dit nu op de vraag in hoeverre Kenia seculier is? Fox (2011, 385) stelt dat de wijze waarop staat en religie zich tot elkaar verhouden vaak het resultaat is van hoe zij in het verleden met elkaar zijn omgegaan. Wanneer die verhouding een relatie van strijd is, ligt het laïcité-model of het separationistische model voor de hand, maar als ze vreedzaam co-existeren, worden eerder de twee andere modellen gekozen. Aangezien de moslims een gemarginaliseerde groep zijn, en de kadhi-rechtbanken ervoor zorgen dat zij niet nog verder gemarginaliseerd worden, zouden deze rechtbanken als een vorm van positieve discriminatie gezien kunnen worden. De rechtszaak *Jesse Kamau en 25 Others versus Attorny General* heeft daar dus geen verandering in gebracht. Daarom luidt het eindoordeel dat de Keniaanse staat uitgaat van een scheiding tussen kerk en staat waarbij ze het model van neutrale politieke betrokkenheid hanteert. Minderheidsreligies kunnen positief gediscrimineerd worden zodat alle religies binnen Kenia gelijkwaardig zijn.

We weten nu hoe de Republiek Kenia naar religie kijkt. Dit antwoord geeft ons een deel van de context die ons kan helpen bij het interpreteren van de data over het gebed aan het begin van overheids- en werkbijeenkomsten. Het andere deel van de context bestaat uit het Keniaanse religieuze landschap. Dit diverse en fascinerende landschap wordt beschreven in het volgende hoofdstuk.

3. Het religieuze landschap van Kenia

3.1 Inleiding

Om in beeld te krijgen tegen welke achtergrond het gebed aan het begin van overheids- en bedrijfsbijeenkomsten wordt uitgesproken, hebben we in het vorige hoofdstuk gekeken naar de verhouding tussen religie en staat en kijken we in dit hoofdstuk naar het religieuze landschap van Kenia. Welke religies en denominaties komen voor en hoe verhouden zij zich tot elkaar?

Dit hoofdstuk start met statistische gegevens die een eerste indruk geven van de religieuze verhoudingen in Kenia. Deze eerste indruk blijkt echter vertekend te zijn door de wijze waarop de data is verzameld. Kipsigei (2015) en Tarusarira (2017) laten zien dat, hoewel bijna alle Kenianen aangeven christen of moslim te zijn, de traditionele inheemse religie nog steeds een belangrijke rol speelt. Het tweede deel van het hoofdstuk geeft daarom een kwalitatieve beschrijving van de drie belangrijkste religies in Kenia: de traditionele inheemse religie, de islam en het christendom. Deze drie religies worden cultuurhistorisch besproken. Deze benadering laat zien hoe de religies elkaar beïnvloeden, maar ook welke invloed de koloniale en postkoloniale tijd hebben gehad op de religieuze verhoudingen. Dit zal ons helpen het gebed en de verschillende vormen die hiervan voorkomen, beter te kunnen interpreteren.

3.2 Het religieuze landschap in cijfers

Veel respondenten zeggen dat Kenia een christelijke samenleving is. Dit beeld wordt bevestigd door de cijfers uit 2020 van het Religion and Public Life Project, dat uitgevoerd wordt door het PEW Research Center:

Christendom	84.5%
Islam	10.5%
Inheemse religie	1.5%
Anders	1,2%
Geen religie	2,3%

Tabel 1 Percentage van de Keniaanse bevolking dat een bepaalde religie aanhangt. PEW Religion and Public Life Project, Kenia 2020.

Deze cijfers komen overeen met de getallen in het “Kenya 2019 International Religious Freedom Report” (Office of International Religious Freedom, 2020). Dit rapport stelt dat in 2019 83% van de Keniaanse bevolking christen was en 11% zichzelf als islamitisch beschouwde. De overige categorieën worden door de twee partijen verschillend weergegeven, waardoor we deze niet met elkaar kunnen vergelijken.

Het christendom en de islam zijn dus de twee grootste religieuze stromingen binnen Kenia. De islam is vooral terug te vinden in het noorden en langs de kust. Uit de database Religious Characteristics of States (The Arda, n.d.) blijkt dat in 2015 89,7% van de moslims soennitisch was. De overige 10,3% is niet nader gespecificeerd. Het christendom is onder te verdelen in de anglicaanse kerk, de rooms-katholieke kerk, de protestantse kerk en de evangelische, charismatische kerken. Uit de database Religious Characteristics of States (The Arda, n.d.) blijkt dat

in 2015 26,5 % van de Keniaanse christenen zichzelf rekende tot de evangelische, charismatische kerken, ook wel pinksterbeweging genoemd, 23,6% noemde zichzelf rooms-katholiek, 14,3% beschouwde zichzelf protestants en 12,7% zei anglicaans te zijn. 4,2% noemde zichzelf wel christen, maar zei niet te behoren tot een van deze vier denominaties.

Deze cijfers geven een beeld van het Keniaanse religieuze landschap, maar dit beeld is beperkt door het ontwerp van de databases. Zowel het PEW Research Center als The Arda definiëren religieuze affiliatie als exclusief tot één stroming behorend en de categorie 'meervoudige religieuze binding' ontbreekt. Men is bijvoorbeeld katholiek en dus niet protestant, noch oecumenisch. Hierdoor kunnen deze cijfers ons niets vertellen over de vraag in hoeverre (elementen van) traditionele inheemse religies aangehangen worden door mensen die zeggen christen te zijn. Evenmin tonen deze cijfers hoe religies vermengd zijn geraakt.

Daarom stappen we van deze kwantitatieve benadering over naar een kwalitatieve en historische benadering. Dit tweede deel van het hoofdstuk begint met een beschrijving van het landschap van de traditionele inheemse religies. Daarna bestuderen we de rijke geschiedenis van de islam en tot slot zien we hoe het christendom Kenia veranderde in een christelijke natie. Het hoofdstuk eindigt met een panoramaoverzicht waarin we het totale landschap overzien.

3.3 Kwalitatieve en historische kijk op het religieuze landschap

3.3.1 De Afrikaanse traditionele religie

Heden is religie nog steeds een zeer belangrijk onderdeel van het leven van de Kenianen, zoals respondent 4 in het onderstaande fragment uiteenzet:

> "Oh, yes, it's a very common thing in Kenya. I mean, I don't really think there's any place here any meeting can start without a prayer whether it is in government or in university, senate or the committee or departmental meetings or whatever. Everything starts with prayers in this country. So, when you take a journey, before you eat food. It is prayers, prayers, prayers. We pray a lot." (Respondent 4, 02:41)

Dat religie zo belangrijk is, is terug te leiden naar de alomvattendheid van de Afrikaanse traditionele religie. Waar de Nederlandse André Droogers (2014, 26) beargumenteert dat religie en spiritualiteit subcategorieën zijn van de categorie 'wereldbeeld' dat op zichzelf weer een subcategorie van cultuur is, lijkt binnen de Afrikaanse context dit omgekeerd te zijn. De Keniaan Kipsigei (2015, 2) stelt dat de Afrikaanse traditionele religie zowel een normatieve betekenis heeft als dat het de bron is voor het vormgeven van de samenleving op het niveau van het natuurlijke en op het niveau van het bovennatuurlijke.

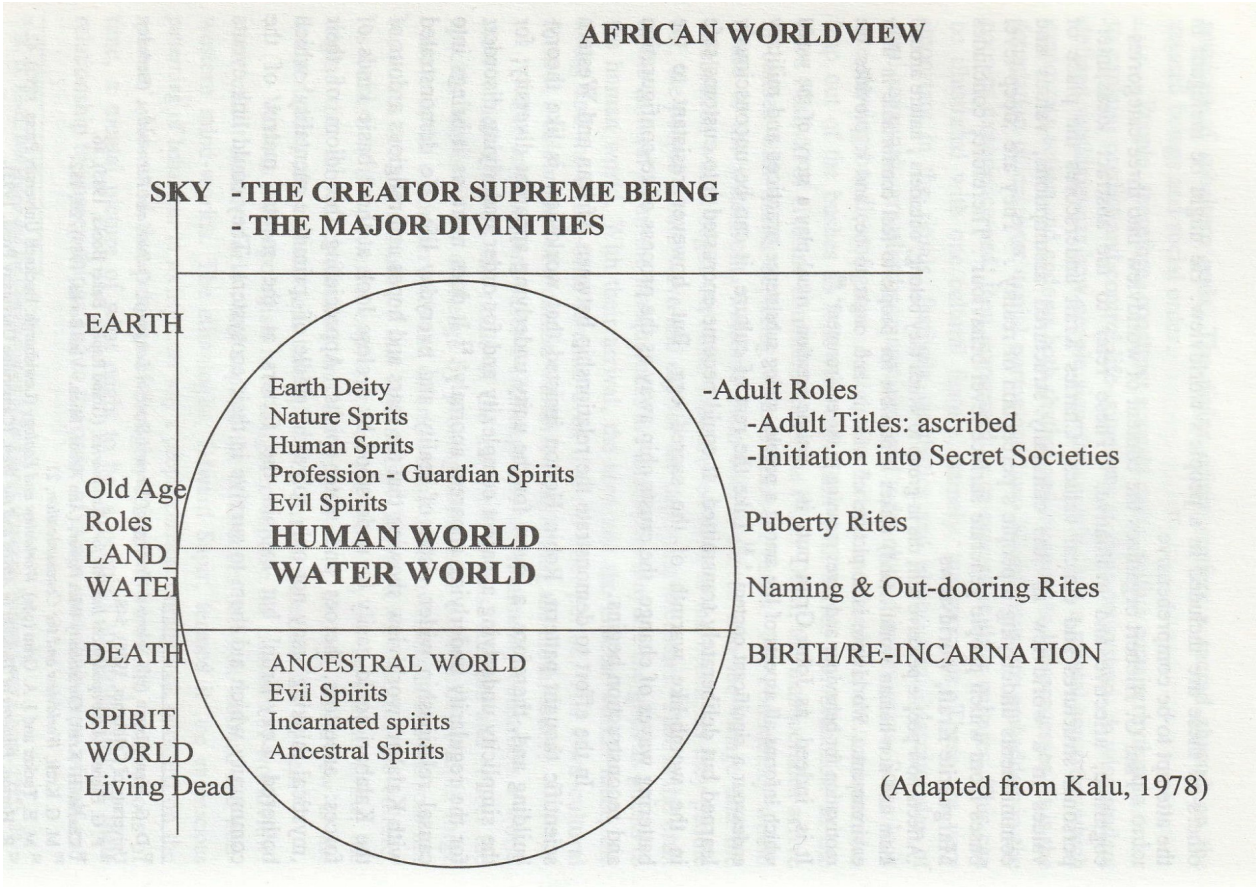
Om deze uitspraak van Kipsigei (2015, 2) te begrijpen, moeten we eerst begrijpen hoe de Afrikaanse kosmologie in elkaar zit. Deze kosmologie gaat ervan uit dat er één wereld is die bestaat uit twee sferen. De zichtbare concrete sfeer is de sfeer waarin mensen, dieren en planten leven en de onzichtbare sfeer is de sfeer waarin de geesten, voorouders en goden voorkomen (Tarusarira 2017, 400). In het westen zijn we geneigd zo'n tweedeling dualistisch op te vatten als zijnde twee verschillende entiteiten die op de een of andere wijze met elkaar verbonden zijn wat leidt tot het dualismeprobleem van Descartes. Deze dualistische interpretatie is hier echter niet van toepassing. De twee sferen moeten volgens Kipsigei (2015, 5) bekeken worden vanuit een eenheidsgedachte (Kipsigei 2015, 5). De sferen raken elkaar en vormen samen één wereld (Tarusarira 2017, 400).

Deze eenheidsgedachte is een kenmerkend element van de Afrikaanse traditionele religie en komt uit de Ubuntu-filosofie. 'Ubuntu' is een Zulu-woord dat te begrijpen is als de maxime dat

'een persoon een persoon is door de ander' (Schutte 1993, 46). Het feit dat Ubuntu als maxime wordt uitgelegd, betekent dat er een normatief element in zit. Tegelijkertijd heeft Ubuntu ook een religieuze connotatie. Je wordt namelijk pas een persoon wanneer je de ander, die zowel tot de zichtbare als tot de onzichtbare sfeer kan behoren, met respect en compassie behandelt en daarbij de ander als religieus wezen beschouwt (Louw 1998, 35). In de relatie die dan ontstaat, word jij als persoon gedefinieerd. Het normatieve waar Kipsigei (2015, 2) het over heeft, is dus gelegen in hoe je met de ander om hoort te gaan.

Het erkennen van de ander betekent niet dat de ander als individu wordt gezien, zoals wij in het westen geneigd zijn te denken. Binnen de Afrikaanse context is iemand altijd onderdeel van de gemeenschap. Personen worden gedefinieerd aan de hand van de relaties die hij of zij heeft in zowel de zichtbare sfeer, bijvoorbeeld met levende stamgenoten, als in de bovennatuurlijke sfeer, bijvoorbeeld met overleden stamgenoten. Overleden stamgenoten worden beschouwd als "levende doden" (Wabule en Tarusarira 2019, 358) die vanuit de onzichtbare sfeer de levenden kunnen bijstaan (Tarusarira 2017, 401). Steun en raad zoeken bij voorouders en geesten is volgens Kipsigei (2015, 12) nog altijd gebruikelijk ook al zijn velen tot het christendom of de islam bekeerd.

De idee dat de wereld uit een zichtbare sfeer en een onzichtbare sfeer bestaat die met elkaar verbonden zijn, is een gedachte die in grote delen van sub-Sahara Afrika voorkomt. Kalu (2000, 60) geeft dit grafische als volgt weer:



Afbeelding 1 Afrikaans wereldbeeld (Kalu 2000, 60)

Deze afbeelding laat zien dat veel Afrikanen zich door de onzichtbare sfeer omgeven weten. Op aarde komen goden en geesten voor die zowel goed als slecht kunnen zijn. De socioloog Watson (2009, 97), die onderzoek deed bij de Konso in Ethiopië, verhaalt bijvoorbeeld over de spirit Poqalla die door de Konso verbonden is met de nabijgelegen waterbron. Dat ook de voorouders

een belangrijke rol spelen, laten Wabule en Tarusarira (2017, 358-359) zien. Zij rapporteren dat soldaten die de afgelopen decennia op het Afrikaanse continent hebben gevochten in sommige gevallen nog steeds een beroep op deze geesten doen voor hulp en bescherming. Kalu schetst dus een algemeen beeld van de Afrikaanse traditionele religie dat per stam en regio op detailniveau kan verschillen.

Heden is volgens PEW (2020) nog maar 1,5% van de Keniaanse bevolking een aanhanger van de Afrikaanse religieuze traditie. In veel gevallen is de traditionele religie vermengd geraakt met het christendom of de islam. In sommige gebieden is deze overgang van traditionele religie naar het christendom nu nog gaande, zoals onder de Boran en de Grabra stammen in het noorden ven Kenia (Watson en Kochore, 2012). Dit toont ons hoe de traditionele religie is verweven met het dagelijks leven en hoe het christendom de traditionele religie verdringt zoals de volgende casus uitlegt.

Binnen de Boran en Gabra stammen staat het geloof in Waaqa centraal. Waaqa betekent zowel 'God' als 'de lucht' (Bassi (2005) in Watson en Kochore (2012, 320)) en zorgt voor regen en de groei van gewassen. De leiders van de gemeenschap zorgen voor een goede relatie tussen de godheid Waaqa en de mensen van de gemeenschap. Dit doen ze door rituelen uit te voeren en door regels uit te vaardigen die zeggen wanneer welke activiteiten op het land en in de gemeenschap uitgevoerd mogen worden (Watson en Kochore 2012, 321). Hierdoor drukt deze religie een stempel op alle aspecten van het leven.

Hoezeer de Afrikaanse religie een stempel drukt, blijkt uit hoe de Boran omgaan met klimaatverandering. Door klimaatverandering wordt hun leefgebied droger en warmer. Hierdoor is er minder grasland en water voor de kuddes en gaat de levensstandaard van de Boran en Gabra achteruit. De Boran schrijven deze veranderingen niet toe aan klimaatverandering, maar aan Waaqa die de mensen straft, omdat ze niet langer de rituelen uitvoeren die de godheid goedgezind houden. Zij zijn nalatig geworden, bijvoorbeeld omdat sommigen tot het christendom bekeerd zijn. De bekeerlingen komen er niet meer aan toe om alle rituelen uit te voeren, omdat ze juist op dat moment in de kerk moeten zijn (Watson en Kochore 2012, 14). Ook worden de rituelen en gebruiken niet meer goed uitgevoerd, doordat de jongeren, nu ze naar school kunnen, geen interesse mee hebben in het hoeden van de kuddes en daarom de voorschriften niet langer strikt navolgen (Watson en Kochore 2012, 11).

Deze observaties van Watson en Kochore (2012) laten zien dat de Afrikaanse traditionele religie een element van angst in zich draagt; de god is een straffende god geworden. Alleen door alle rituelen op de juiste wijze uit te voeren, kan de god weer positief gestemd worden. De mensen balanceren aldus Tarusarira (2017, 409) steeds tussen goede en slechte krachten. Bij dit balanceren wordt veel waarde gehecht aan de bescherming die geboden wordt door spreuken, medicijnen en amuletten. Ook hechten ze waarde aan het raadplegen van voorouders en traditionele 'healers'. Volgens Tarusarira (2017, 409) is er daarom een gebrek aan vertrouwen en commitment zolang er geen rituelen uitgevoerd zijn.

Andere gebieden, zoals centraal Kenia, zijn al eerder gekerstend en hier is de inheemse traditionele religie grotendeels verdrongen. De kerstening van Kenia ging voortvarend. Hiervoor zijn twee redenen aan te wijzen. Enerzijds zijn Afrikanen zeer religieus en vonden de missionarissen hier een vruchtbare voedingsbodem om het christelijke geloof te planten (Tiénou 1991, 5). Anderzijds werd er door 19e eeuwse wetenschappers neergekeken op de Afrikaanse traditionele religie wat leidde tot de gedachte dat kerstening een goede zaak was (Tarusarira 2017, 404). Edward Taylor (1832-1917), de grondlegger van de antropologie, beschouwde de Afrikaanse traditionele religie bijvoorbeeld als magie, een primitieve vorm van wetenschap dat vervangen moest worden door de al veel verder ontwikkelde westerse wetenschap. Zo'n evolutionaire kijk is

ook terug te vinden bij denkers als Lucien Levy-Bruhl (1857-1939) die het geloof in magie als een vorm van pre-logica ziet, omdat het niet voldoet aan de wetten van de logica. Deze denkwijze is ook overgebracht op de gekerstende Afrikanen die daardoor tegenwoordig soms negatief tegenover de traditionele inheemse religies staan.

Desalniettemin is er sinds de jaren '80 meer aandacht voor de Afrikaanse traditionele religie. Vanuit de staat wordt sinds 2010 meer respect getoond. Bijeenkomsten van het parlement worden sindsdien gestart met ondermeer een traditioneel gebed[10] (respondent 4, 3:28, en KTN News Kenya (2012)). Vanuit NGOs is er heden ook meer oog voor de traditionele inheemse religie en wordt geprobeerd de inheemse traditionele kennis te behouden en aan te vullen met wetenschappelijke kennis (respondent RUG 12, 14:15).

Tegelijkertijd is de kern van de Afrikaanse traditionele religie, de Ubuntu filosofie, behouden gebleven in de Keniaanse cultuur en zo vermengd geraakt met zowel het geloof als de politiek. Toen president Jomo Kenyatta de eerste president van de onafhankelijke Republiek Kenia werd, probeerde hij met het motto 'Harambee' Kenia tot een eenheid te smeden. Harambee is een element van de Ubuntu-filosofie dat staat voor elkaar helpen, bijstaan en liefhebben. Door een beroep te doen op de filosofie van harmabee wilde hij de bevolking bewegen samen het land tot een welvarende natie op te bouwen (Wesonga 2017, 225).

We kunnen dus concluderen dat de Afrikaanse traditionele religie slechts in een klein deel van het land nog als een zelfstandige religie voorkomt. In een groot deel van het land is de Afrikaanse traditionele religie vermengd geraakt met het christendom en de islam en is zij vaak niet meer te herkennen als Afrikaanse traditionele religie. Toch blijven traditionele gebruiken, rituelen en waarden en normen doorwerken, omdat deze sterk verankerd zijn in de bevolking (Hofstede, Hofstede en Minkov, 2010)).

3.3.2 Islam

De geschiedenis van de islam in Kenia is bijna net zo oud als de geschiedenis van de islam zelf. Deze geschiedenis is geen gewelddadige geschiedenis en moslims en niet moslims leefden merendeels vreedzaam samen, aldus respondent 4 (24:56). Hier kwam redelijk recent verandering in. Sinds 1998 is Kenia regelmatig opgeschikt door terroristische aanslagen waar de islamitische terreurbeweging Al-Shabaab de verantwoordelijkheid voor opeiste (Wesonga 2017, 226). Een aantal van die aanslagen hebben diepe wonden geslagen in de Keniaanse samenleving, zoals de aanslag op de Westgate Mall in 2013 en de aanslag op de Universiteit van Garissa waar in 2015 zeventig studenten bij om het leven kwamen (Respondent RUG 15, 01:13). De aanslagen wakkerden islamofobie aan die vooral gerichts is tegen de etnische Somaliërs, de Swahili en de Arabieren (Wesonga 2017, 227). Er is veel gedaan aan het verbeteren van de relatie tussen christenen en moslims (Office of International Religious Freedom, 2020). Waardoor was er een positieve verhouding tussen islam en christendom in Kenia en kon die vreedzame co-existentie vernietigd worden? Daarop geeft deze paragraaf antwoord door naar de geschiedenis van de islam in Kenia te kijken.

Keniaans grondgebied maakte al snel na het ontstaan van de islam kennis met deze godsdienst. Toen het een aantal van de eerste volgelingen van Mohammed te heet onder de voeten werd, vluchtten zij naar Kenia en introduceerden hier de islam (Salim 2017, 60 en Ayubi en Mohyuddin 1994, 144). Na 908 volgde een tweede immigratiegolf, toen een groep Arabieren, de Hadramautians, van oost Arabië naar de kust van Kenia emigreerden. Tegen het einde van die

10 Naast een traditioneel gebed worden ook een christelijk en islamitisch gebed uitgesproken.

eeuw vestigde zich ook een groep Perzische moslims en was de hele kuststreek islamitisch geworden (Ayubi en Mohyuddin 1994, 144).

De Arabische handelaars hadden zich als eenlingen, en niet als stam, in Kenia gevestigd. Het verhaal gaat dat zij trouwden met vrouwen van de Bantu-stam, de inheemse bevolking in dit gebied. Deze vrouwen bekeerden zich volledig tot de islam, wat inhield dat ze alles van hun eigen stamcultuur achter zich moesten laten. Hieruit zijn de Wa-Swahili voortgekomen (Ayubi en Mohyddin 1994, 144-145). Swahili is het Arabische woord voor 'kust' en het prefix 'Wa-' betekent 'mensen van'. Wa-Swahili betekent dus 'mensen van de kust' wat later is afgekort tot Swahili. Heden ten dage leven de Swahili nog altijd aan de kust en staan zij bekend als vrome moslims.

Aan de kust ontstonden zelfstandige stadstaten en werd levendig handel gedreven. Aan die zelfstandigheid kwam een einde toen de Swahili in 1508 onder Portugees bewind kwamen. De komst van de Portugezen had echter geen invloed op het geloof in de streek. Dit bleef islamitisch. Na bijna twee eeuwen werden de Portugezen verdreven en kwam het gebied onder bewind van de sjeik van Oman. Dit sultanaat kwam echter onder vuur te liggen van de Brits-Duitse alliantie, die een einde maakte aan de islamitische politieke macht.

Het islamitische geloof groeide juist onder het koloniale bewind. Het kolonialisme bracht namelijk indirecte voordelen voor de verspreiding van de islam. Door de aanleg van de Ugandese spoorlijn werd Uganda met de Keniaanse kust verbonden en langs deze lijn konden de Arabische en Swahili-moslims eindelijk het binnenland intrekken. Zij vestigden zich als handelaars bij de stations langs deze spoorlijn. Deze plaatsen groeiden zo uit tot handelsnederzettingen. Ook in Nairobi verspreidde de islam zich nadat hier een gemeenschap van islamitische ex-soldaten ontstond. Daarnaast haalden de Britten zelf Indische moslims naar Kenia en Uganda om daar voor hen te werken (Ayubi en Mohyuddin 1994, 146-147).

Over de redenen waarom mensen zich ten tijde van het koloniale bewind tot de islam bekeerden, bestaan twee verschillende theorieën: de pax colonica theorie en de crisistheorie. De pax colonica theorie stelt dat er door de stabiliteit die er onder het koloniale bewind heerste ruimte was voor handel (Azevedo en Prater 2007, 489). Er ontstonden handelsnederzettingen die bevolkt werden door islamitische handelaars. Die islamitische handelaars kwamen via de handel in contact met mensen die interesse hadden in de islam en die zich vervolgens bekeerden.

De crisistheorie stelt daarentegen dat de islam zich verspreidde doordat de Britten stammen vanuit het binnenland naar de kust verplaatsten (Azevedo en Prater 2007, 489-490). De onthechte stammen kwamen daar in contact met de islamieten en vonden in de islam steun en houvast. De islam is volgens deze theorie dus een copingmechanisme, een emotieaanpak waarmee mensen proberen om met moeilijke situaties om te gaan (Kohnstamm 2009, 36).

In diezelfde tijd trokken ook Somaliërs vanuit het noorden Kenia binnen. De Somaliërs waren islamitisch en bekeerden de noordelijke stammen Rendille, Boran en Galla tot de islam. Deze noordelijke stammen zijn nog altijd voor het overgrote deel islamitische (Salim spreekt in 1979 zelfs van 90%). Dit komt onder andere doordat deze gebieden zo afgelegen liggen dat christelijke missionarissen er pas laat kwamen. Watson en Kochore (2012, 331-334) zeggen dat in het gebied waar de Boran wonen, de Anglicaanse kerk in de jaren 1930 kwam en de Rooms Katholieke kerk pas in de jaren '60.

Deze historische gebeurtenissen overziend, stellen Azevedo en Prater (2007, 490) dat de waarheid in het midden ligt. De islam wist zich zowel te verspreiden via de nieuw aangelegde infrastructuur als door het verplaatsen van bevolkingsgroepen naar een gebied waar de islam de meerderheidsreligie was.

De groei van de islam was voor de koloniale overheersers in de 19e eeuw geen probleem. Zij maakten graag gebruik van islamitische werkkrachten, omdat zij als enigen in het gebied

geletterd waren en daardoor in administratieve dienst konden (Salim 1976, 63). De Britten erkenden de kadhi-rechtbanken en respecteerden Eid al-Fitr als feestdag (Salim 1976, 61).

Dit veranderde echter toen de christelijke missionarissen rapporteerden dat de invloed van de islam in het binnenland een bedreiging vormde. Deze visie van de missionarissen leidde in Uganda in 1870 tot een oorlog tussen christelijke missionarissen die gesteund werden door het Britse leger, en de moslims (Salim 1976, 62). Deze oorlog is te omschrijven als een kosmische oorlog (Juergensmeyer 2003, 145-163). Dit is een oorlog waarbij het doel de vernietiging van de tegenstander is, omdat er geen oplossing is waarin plaats is voor beide partijen. Elke partij ziet zijn eigen agenda als absoluut en als de waarheid.

Deze heftige oorlog in Uganda had zijn weerslag op Kenia. De aanvoer van soldaten verliep via de Keniaanse kust. In de kuststreek kregen de moslims het gevoel niet geaccepteerd te worden door de kolonisten. Ze kwamen in opstand tegen de overheersers. Deze opstanden werden echter door de overheersers hardhandig neergeslagen (Salim 1976, 62) en dat heeft ook op bestuursniveau zijn weerslag gehad op de verhouding tussen de Britten en moslims (Azevedo en Prater 2007, 490).

Vanaf dat moment werd de situatie voor de moslims slechter en slechter. De Colonial Rule maakte het mogelijk dat de Britten land verdeelden. Gebieden in het binnenland werden aangewezen als Crown Lands en aan Britse 'settlers' toegewezen. De gemeenschappen die op de Crown Lands leefden, werden gedwongen te emigreren en trokken naar de kust. Aan de kust werd ondertussen het economische systeem van de moslims omvergegooid. De levendige handel moest plaatsmaken voor landbouw. Deze twee zaken samen stortten de kuststreek in een economische crisis die aanhield van 1920 tot 1930 (Salim 1976, 63).

Tegelijkertijd werden de moslims uit het overheidsapparaat gewerkt. Doordat de missionarissen onderwijs gaven, en dus meer mensen geletterd raakten, waren de moslims niet langer nodig voor administratieve taken. Bovendien waren de mensen die christelijk onderwijs hebben genoten, beter toegerust voor deze taken dan de moslims die koranstudie hadden gevolgd (Ayubi en Mohyuddin 1994, 152-153). De moslims werden ontslagen.

Ook werden de moslims door het onderwijssysteem op achterstand in de samenleving gezet. De Britse kolonialisten besteedden het onderwijs uit aan de missionarissen die christelijk onderwijs opzetten. De moslims vertrouwden dit onderwijs niet, omdat ze bang waren geïndoctrineerd te worden. Ze weigerden daarom hun kinderen naar deze scholen te sturen (Ayubi en Mohyuddin 1994, 152-153). Hierdoor waren ze ook niet voldoende opgeleid toen Kenia onafhankelijk werd en als een seculiere republiek verder ging.

In aanloop naar de onafhankelijkheid van Kenia leidde deze achtergestelde situatie tot de Mau Mau opstand (1952-1960) in de kuststreek. De moslims in dat gebied waren bang dat de onafhankelijkheidswording van Kenia een negatieve invloed zou hebben op hun status. Deze opstand werd neergeslagen met als gevolg dat toen Kenia onafhankelijk werd, er een onderdrukkende politiek werd gevoerd ten aanzien van de kuststreek (Ayubi en Mohyuddin 1994, 152).

De moslims aan de kust en in het noorden leven nog altijd in een politiek achtergestelde situatie. Zij zijn het armst en het slechtst opgeleid. Maar zoals we in het vorige hoofdstuk zagen, erkent de staat het islamitische geloof, de kadhi-rechtbanken en Eid al-Fitr. Ook hebben de moslims en de christenen op individueel niveau vreedzaam samengeleefd.

De verhoudingen tussen christen en moslims kwamen echter onder de druk te staan door aanslagen van de islamitische terreurbeweging Al-Shabaab. In 1998 vond de eerste aanslag plaats die gericht was op de Amerikaanse ambassade. In de jaren daarop volgenden meerdere aanslagen, waaronder de aanslag op de Westgate Mall (2013) en op de Universiteit van Garissa (2015)

(Wesonga 2017, 226). Deze terreurdaden hebben de islamofobie aangewakkerd en doordat de verhoudingen onder druk kwamen te staan, zijn zowel aan de christelijke als aan de islamitische kant fundamentalistische groeperingen ontstaan.

De eerste reactie van de Keniaanse overheid was het opzetten van Countering Violence Extremism-programma's (CVE-programma's). Deze programma's houden in dat militaristisch tegen extremisme wordt opgetreden (Meinema 2021, 2-3). CVE-programma's zijn zogenaamde harde programma's. Die harde programma's leidden echter tot meer fundamentalisme. Daarom worden ook zogenaamde softe programma's ingezet, waarbij vooral wordt gefocust op het voorkomen van radicalisering door bijvoorbeeld jongeren te leren hoe ze een eigen bedrijf moeten opzetten. De gedachte hierachter is dat wanneer jongeren zich niet vervelen en voor hun eigen inkomen werken, ze minder snel in handen van fundamentalistische groeperingen zullen vallen (Meinema 2021, 8). Deze programma's lijken nu hun vruchten af te werpen. In de laatste rapport van het Office of International Religious Freedom (2020) wordt gerapporteerd dat hoewel er nog steeds buitensporige politiegeweld is tegen etnische moslims, de verhoudingen verbeteren.

3.3.3 Christendom

Het christendom kreeg voet aan de grond nadat Afrika tijdens de Conferentie van Berlijn (1884-1885) werd verdeeld onder de Europese leiders (Kamaara 2010, 131 en Gez en Droz 2019, 40). Kenia werd tijdens deze conferentie toegewezen aan de Britten die dit gebied eerst als protectoraat aanwezen en later als kolonie inlijfden. De Britten trokken, anders dan de Portugezen, het binnenland in en vernietigde door het opleggen van hun eigen structuren de economische, politieke, sociale en culturele structuren van de traditionele 'naties'. Een 'natie' wordt hier opgevat in de definitie die Silcano Borusco eraan heeft gegeven: een natie is een "homogene groep mensen die dezelfde manier van spreken, denken en doen hebben" (Kamaara 2010, 128).

Bij het uitrollen van de koloniale structuren over Kenia kregen de Britten hulp van missionarissen. De Britse overheersers wezen aan elke groep van missionarissen een eigen gebied toe waar zij hun missie mochten uitvoeren. In Kenia kwamen Franse, Italiaanse en Britse missionarissen. De Franse en Italiaanse missionarissen verspreidden het rooms-katholieke geloof, terwijl de Engelse missionarissen de anglicaanse kerk en de protestantse leer verspreidden. De missionarissen verspreidden niet alleen het geloof, maar civiliseerde ook de samenleving door ziekenhuizen en scholen op te richten. Op deze wijze werd de lokale bevolking gepacificeerd (Kamaara 2010, 133).

Een andere tactiek die de missionarissen gebruikten bij het bekeren van de lokale bevolking, was een beleid van 'verdeel en heers' (Kamaara 2010, 133). De gebieden waar de missionarissen werkten, waren willekeurig bepaald. De Britse overheid had dus geen rekening gehouden met de verspreiding van inheemse stammen. Stammen werden op die manier gesplitst of juist bij elkaar gevoegd wat de heersende verhoudingen overhoop gooiden. De missionarissen bewerkstelligden een nieuw wij-gevoel en deden dit door er een zij tegenover te stellen. De stammen die buiten het gebied van de missionarissen vielen, werden als 'de ander' bestempeld en later weggezet als 'de vreemde' (Kamaara 2010, 133). Deze benadering heeft ondermeer tot het ontstaan van tribale kerken geleid.

De 'verdeel en heers'-tactiek liet zich ook duidelijk gelden in het onderwijs. De Britse overheersers hadden goed personeel nodig, maar lieten de educatie hiertoe over aan de christelijke missionarissen. In de paragraaf hierboven is beschreven welke negatieve impact dit heeft gehad op de moslims, maar ook een deel van de inheemse bevolking kwam zo op achterstand te staan. Het onderwijs werd alleen gegeven in die missiegebieden waar scholen

waren. Stammen die niet in zo'n gebied woonden, hadden geen toegang tot onderwijs en daardoor ook geen toegang tot overheidsfuncties. Deze onbalans in de ontwikkeling van verschillende etnische groepen werkt tot op de dag van vandaag door en leidde in 2007 bijna tot een burgeroorlog (Kamaara 2010. 134).

De katholieke, anglicaanse en de protestantse missionarissen kregen aan het begin van de twintigste eeuw gezelschap van de evangelische, charismatische kerken (Gez en Droz 2019, 42). Tegelijkertijd vonden er in Kenia afsplitsingen plaats van de Anglicaanse Kerk en de Protestantse Kerk. Deze afsplitsingen leidden tot de oprichting van de African Independent Churches (AIC's) (Parsitau 2011, 124). Deze AIC's zijn meer gericht op de noden van de lokale bevolking en gingen met de Britse overheersers onder andere het debat aan over onderwijs. Zij worden sinds de jaren '30 beschouwd als evangelische kerken, doordat zij beiden de mogelijkheid van bekering en van sociale mobiliteit door zelfverwerkelijking prediken (Gez en Droz 2019, 41).

Het christendom en de politiek zijn in Kenia tot op heden met elkaar verbonden (Parsitau 2011, 128). Dat is opmerkelijk, want de verhouding tussen de kerken en de staat is niet altijd even goed. Tijdens de Mau Mau opstand (1952-1960) stonden strijders voor een onafhankelijk Kenia tegenover het Britse leger. De katholieken bleven in dit verhaal neutraal terwijl de Anglicaanse Kerk en de Presbyteriaanse Kerk het Britse leger steunden (Gez en Droz 2019, 40).

De kerken staan dus niet op één lijn. Enerzijds komt dit doordat er debat gaande is over in hoeverre het christendom westers georiënteerd moet zijn of juist een verbinding moet aangaan met de inheemse traditionele religie (Tiénou 1991, 7-9). Anderzijds is de verdeeldheid een gevolg van de positionering van de kerken ten opzichte van het bewind van Moi (1978-2002). Tijdens het bewind van Moi waren de katholieke en protestantse kerkgenootschappen tegen Moi gericht, terwijl de evangelische kerken aan de kant van Moi stonden. Na het bewind van Moi zochten de kerken naar een nieuwe positionering ten opzichte van de machthebbers en konden daardoor geen antwoord geven toen na de verkiezingen in december 2007 een burgeroorlog dreigde uit te breken (Ntarangwi 2011,1). De afgelopen tien jaar is er echter veel veranderd. Er is een meerpartijenstelsel opgezet en er is meer aandacht voor een inclusieve samenleving, onder andere doordat de National Interfaith Umbrella Group IRCK verschillende programma's heeft opgezet om religieuze spanningen die rond verkiezingen steeds weer oplaaien, te verminderen (Office of International Religious Freedom, 2020, 7).

3.4 Panoramaoverzicht

Het religieuze landschap overziend, kunnen we een paar belangrijke lijnen ontdekken. De traditionele religie van de inheemse bevolking is in bepaalde gebieden nog niet vermengd geraakt met het christendom of de islam. Op veel plaatsen is echter de inheemse bevolking gekerstend en is de traditionele religie verdwenen. De waarden en normen, zoals de Ubuntu filosofie en het geloof en respect voor de levende doden zijn echter gebleven. Ook zijn bepaalde traditionele rituelen en gebruiken opgenomen in het christendom. Zo is het zogenaamde Afrikaanse christendom ontstaan. Het Afrikaanse christendom bestaat uit verschillende denominaties waarvan de evangelische charismatische denominatie de grootste, maar tevens de meest diverse groep is. De twee na grootste denominatie is het katholicisme. De inheemse traditionele gemeenschappen zijn aan een revival bezig sinds de jaren '80, maar worden nog altijd gezien als minderwaardig. De moslims zijn op achterstand gezet tijdens het koloniale bewind, maar strijden voor gelijkwaardige erkenning. Hoewel de terroristische aanslagen van Al-Shabaab deze erkenning onder druk zetten, wordt door velen op individueel niveau vreedzaam en respectvol met moslims omgegaan. Ook op het meso en macro-niveau wordt gewerkt aan erkenning, wat tot uiting komt in

het gebed waarmee het parlement vergaderingen opent. Sinds 2010 wordt elke bijeenkomst vooraf gegaan door een christelijk, een islamitisch en een traditioneel gebed.

Dit hoofdstuk vormt samen met het voorgaande hoofdstuk de context waarbinnen we het gebed kunnen interpreteren dat ze in Kenia uitspreken aan de start van een vergadering. In het volgende deel wordt onderzocht welke betekenis Kenianen toekennen aan dit gebed.

Deel 2

De betekenis van het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen

4. Theoretisch kader: betekenistoekenning aan het gebed

4.1 Inleiding

Het gebed is een complex fenomeen, ook als we de vraag beperken tot welke betekenissen Kenianen die bekend zijn met vergaderingen die met en zonder gebed starten, toekennen aan het gebed dat bij aanvang van vergaderingen in Kenia wordt uitgesproken. In de inleiding lazen we al dat Stringer (2015, 79) vaststelde dat het gebed alleen langs verschillende en van elkaar losstaande assen begrepen kan worden en dat een volledig begrip van het gebed enkel mogelijk is als een diepgaande etnografische beschrijving van de context is gegeven. Deze etnografische beschrijving is gegeven in deel één en beslaat zowel de verhoudingen tussen religie als de Keniaanse staat en een beschrijving van de religieuze Keniaanse samenleving. In dit theoretisch kader ligt de focus op drie verschillende assen waarlangs het gebed begrepen kan worden: een politieke, een sociologische en een rituelenstudie-as.

Het doel van het bespreken van deze drie invalshoeken is om een theoretisch kader te definiëren dat een overzicht geeft van de al aanwezige kennis en dat interpretatiemogelijkheden opent voor de data die verzameld is. In lijn met deel één, zal het gebed eerst vanuit de hoek van de politicologie worden beschouwd. Het gebed wordt dan als een “political praxis” (Pasitau 2011, 139) opgevat welke bijdraagt aan het democratiseringsproces van Kenia. De tweede invalshoek is de sociologische kijk waarbij het gebed als een “sociale praktijk” (Genova 2015, 21) wordt gezien. De derde en laatste invalshoek is die van rituelenstudies. Binnen rituelenstudies wordt het gebed beschouwd als een performance waarbij het meer gaat over welke handelingen uitgevoerd worden dan over het effect van die handelingen. Deze discipline schrijft niet alleen verschillende functies aan het gebed toe, maar geeft ook een systematische methode om het gebed te beschrijven.

Dit hoofdstuk bespreekt de drie invalshoeken eerst afzonderlijk, startend bij de politieke invalshoek en eindigend met de visie van rituelenstudies. Daarna worden de invalshoeken met elkaar vergeleken. Deze vertonen overeenkomsten, maar spreken elkaar soms ook tegen, waaruit blijkt dat nog niet goed duidelijk is of een gebed een functie heeft en zo ja, wat die functie dan is. Dit hoofdstuk sluit af met een overzicht van de hypotheses die in de loop van het hoofdstuk uit de theorie zijn afgeleid en die met behulp van de data getoetst zullen worden.

4.2 De politieke betekenis van het gebed

De religiewetenschapper Parsitau (2011, 139) beschouwt het gebed als een “political praxis”. Zij komt tot deze stelling door de observatie dat de drie gebeden die aan het begin van een parlementsbijeenkomst worden uitgesproken, gebruikt worden om de eenheid in Kenia te benadrukken. Ook gebedsevenement zoals het National Prayer Breakfast dienen een politiek doel. Bij zulke ontbijtbijeenkomsten komen christelijke bewindvoerders, ambtenaren en mensen met een belangrijke functie in de samenleving bijeen om te bidden voor politieke en socio-economische zaken die zij als cruciaal voor alle Kenianen beschouwen. Zij geloven dat het nationale gebed het lot van Kenia positief zal beïnvloeden waardoor deze cruciale zaken zullen verbeteren. (Parsitau 2011, 138).

Het gebed zien als een politieke praxis betekent dat het gebed instrumenteel wordt gebruikt. Praxis, een begrip uit de deugdethiek van Aristoteles, staat tegenover poièsis. Bij een poièsis-benadering ligt het doel van de handeling in de handeling zelf. Je zingt omdat je zingen leuk vindt. Als een handeling daarentegen omwille van haar praxis wordt uitgevoerd, dan ligt het doel

van de handeling buiten de handeling. Je zingt, omdat je er een rapportcijfer voor krijgt. Volgens Parsitau heeft het National Prayer Breakfast als doel om de bewindvoerders die behoren tot de evangelische, charismatische kerken in het centrum van de nationale politiek te plaatsen, een doel dat buiten het gebed zelf ligt. Dit evenement genereert grote media-aandacht waardoor deze personen onder een breed publiek hun boodschap verspreiden (Parsitau 2011, 139). Vanuit een seculier perspectief is dit op te vatten als een pr-stunt waarbij de media-aandacht een cruciale rol speelt in het uitoefenen van politieke druk. Binnen de religieuze context van dit National Prayer Breakfast wordt dit effect echter aan het gebed toegeschreven.

Een andere politieke praxis is de bijdrage van het gebed aan het democratiseringsproces van Kenia. Kenia is in 1963 onafhankelijk geworden en heeft in de jaren daarna een rechtvaardige en democratische samenleving moeten opbouwen. President Jomo Kenyatta, de eerste president na de onafhankelijkheid, probeerde een saamhorigheidsgevoel te creëren door te verwijzen naar de Ubuntu-filosofie en het motto 'Harambee'. De sociaaldemocratische weg die Kenia insloeg hield echter niet lang stand. Kenia verarmde en het sociaaldemocratische politieke denken kon niet langer een saamhorigheidsgevoel creëren. Volgens de theoloog Kalu (2003b, 10) heeft religie die taak overgenomen. Het gebed heeft dus de praxis een eenheid te creëren die het democratiseringsproces bevordert.

De Amerikaanse filosoof en Afrika-deskundige Hoekema ziet deze politieke praxis eerder als wens dan als realiteit (Hoekema 2011, 43). Waarom zou juist het gebed bijdragen aan het 'transitional justice proces'[11] waarin Kenia verkeert? Als antwoord parafraseert Kalu (2003a, 87) Karl Marx: "People remember Karl Marx' observation of the opiate effect of religion; they forget that he also said that religion was the heartbeat of a heartless society." Kenia moest zichzelf na de onafhankelijkheid in 1963 opnieuw definiëren. De onzekerheden die hiermee gepaard gingen, zorgden ervoor dat religie, en het gebed in het bijzonder, aantrekkelijk werden. Op individueel niveau kan het gebed als copingmechanisme worden ingezet en op het niveau van de samenleving wordt geloofd dat het gebed de sociale, politieke en economische omstandigheden positief kan beïnvloeden (Kalu 2003a, 103-105).

Hoe groot is de rol die religie speelt in dit transitional justice proces? De theoloog Kalu lijkt er veel waarde aan te hechten, terwijl de religiewetenschapper Parsitau sceptischer is. Casari, gespecialiseerd in religie en beleid, stelt dat de waarheid in het middel ligt. Religie speelt volgens haar een kleine, maar niet onbelangrijke rol in het democratiseringsproces, omdat het de bouw van nieuwe instituties beïnvloedt en de morele onderbouwing geeft aan wetten en patronen van politiek handelen (Casari 2016, 131). Aangezien Kenia een zeer religieuze samenleving kent, zal de invloed van het gebed op het transitional justice proces van Kenia groter zijn dan in landen waar religie minder prominent aanwezig is.

Als we het gebed als een politieke praxis beschouwen, blijkt het gebed dus een instrument te zijn om de politiek en de samenleving te beïnvloeden. Op basis van de hierboven besproken 'functies' kunnen de onderstaande hypotheses afgeleid worden:

1. Het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen zorgt voor een gevoel van eenheid zoals deze door de Ubuntu-filosofie wordt beschreven.

11 'Transitional justice' is zowel een concept als een proces (Mihr 2017, 1). Volgens Teitel (2014) (genoemd in Mihr 2017, 3) richt het zich op "dealing with an unjust or atrocious past in order to delegitimise its responsible leadership (on all levels) and political system, and at the same time these measures aim to re-establish and legitimise a new political, and hopefully better, but certainly different, regime." De Verenigde Naties definieert 'transitional justice' als een "set of judicial and non-judicial instruments and mechanisms such as trials, truth commissions, vetting and lustration procedures, memorials, reparations, restitutions or compensations, and even amnesty and rehabilitation laws that redress the legacies of massive human rights abuses either during war, occupation, dictatorships or other violent and suppressive conflicts and situations" (Verenigde Naties, 2010, 3).

2. Als de Ubuntu-filosofie een rol speelt, zorgt het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen ervoor dat mensen respectvol met elkaar omgaan tijdens de vergadering.
3. Het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen kan de bespreking van agendapunten beïnvloeden.

We zagen ook dat het gebed als een copingmechanisme kan worden toegepast. Deze functionaliteit wordt verder uitgewerkt binnen de sociologie. Deze invalshoek staat centraal in de volgende paragraaf.

4.3 De sociologische betekenis van het gebed

Sociologen beschouwen het gebed als een sociale praktijk. Do socioloog Genova (2015, 17) definieert 'sociale praktijk' als "een triviale alledaagse handeling die door een individu of groep wordt uitgevoerd". Kenmerkend voor zulke handelingen is dat we deze uitvoeren zonder daar expliciet over na te denken. Het afrekenen van onze boodschappen is hiervan een voorbeeld. Je rekent af zonder na te denken over waarom je jouw pinpas tegen het pinapparaat aanhoudt. We pinnen zo vaak dat het routine is geworden. Reckwitz (2002, 225) zou zeggen dat het elektronische betalingsverkeer een "sociale structuur is die geroutiniseerd is" en dat betalen met je pinpas een 'routinematige handeling' is geworden. Als we zo naar het gebed kijken, is het gebed te definiëren als een handeling die we routinematig uitvoeren waarbij we ons niet direct bewust zijn van de intenties waarom we bidden.

Het gebed definiëren als een sociale praktijk verschilt van de definities die als algemeen aanvaard beschouwd worden. De eerste binnen de sociologie algemeen aanvaarde definitie van gebed is geformuleerd door Mauss. Hij wordt gezien als de eerste socioloog die systematisch onderzoek heeft gedaan naar het gebed. Zijn definitie luidt: "[prayer] partakes at the same time the nature of ritual and the nature of belief" (Mauss 2003, 22). Een ander algemeen geaccepteerde definitie is "prayer is the attempt to communicate with God, collectively or individually" (Woodhead 2015, 214).

De reden dat Genova kiest voor een andere definitie is dat de eerdere definities ervan uitgaan dat bidden een intentionele handeling is. Uit dit intentionele karakter volgt dat het gebed betekenis heeft, omdat mensen door hun intentionele handelen in staat worden geacht te kunnen reflecteren op hun gebedshouding en op wat zij hebben gezegd. Het is dit intentionele karakter waar Genova kritiek op heeft. We denken niet meer na over de inhoud van het gebed, maar focussen op de uitvoering, de routine, van het gebed (Genova 2015, 15). Als zijn observatie juist is, zouden we als resultaat kunnen vinden dat respondenten moeite hebben met het formuleren van de betekenis van het gebed.

Daarnaast wordt het gebed ook vaak als copingmechanisme beschouwd. De idee is dat mensen die in een lastige situatie zitten goddelijke bijstand verwachten te ontvangen door te bidden (Baker 2008, 171). Het is deze verwachting, deze hoop, die hen sterkt. Dit is ook waar Kalu (2003a, 87) naar verwees toen hij Marx citeerde. Tegelijkertijd stelt Baker (2008, 171) dat het gebed wordt gebruikt als een methode om de hogere macht goedgezind te houden zodat God bijstand zal blijven verlenen. Dit observeerden we ook in het vorige hoofdstuk waar wordt beschreven hoe belangrijk het is om religieuze handelingen stipt uit te voeren, omdat God anders verandert in een straffende God.

Ook andere functies worden aan het gebed toegekend. Omdat in dit onderzoek het gebed bekeken wordt als publiek gebed op het niveau van de samenleving, is het interessant om de communicatiefunctie en machtsfunctie te beschouwen (Swatos, 1982) en om te kijken naar hoe het gebed de realiteit kan veranderen (Ganiel, 2021).

De “power” van religie is het domein waar de interesse van de socioloog Swatos ligt. Hij beschouwt elk gebed als een “intentional encounter with power” (Swatos 1982, 154-155) en onderscheidt verschillende manieren waarop macht en kracht[12] (de ene keer lijkt ‘power’ als ‘macht’ vertaald te kunnen worden, de andere keer als ‘kracht’) door het gebed worden opgeroepen en uitgeoefend. Hij onderscheidt vijf “power-relations” (Swatos 1982, 155-156):

1. power-in-itself: de macht en kracht van God wordt aanbeden, bijvoorbeeld in een dankgebed.
2. power ex machina: je vraagt aan God of Hij iets voor een ander wilt doen, bijvoorbeeld in een voorbede.
3. power within: je bidt dat de kracht die al in je aanwezig is, wordt vergroot, bijvoorbeeld in een zegenwens.
4. posthumous power: je bidt om de staat waarin een overledene zich bevindt te verbeteren, bijvoorbeeld in een nagedachtenis of gebedsintenties voor een overledene.
5. power acknowledgement: je erkent in het gebed de macht/kracht van God, bijvoorbeeld in een dankzegging.

Al deze power-relations vooronderstellen de aanwezigheid van ten minste twee actoren: de machthebber en de ondergeschikte. Machtsrelaties kunnen alleen bestaan als de machtsverhouding naar beide kanten toe gecommuniceerd wordt. Als een machthebber niet erkend wordt door zijn onderdaan, valt de machtsrelatie weg. In eerste instantie denken we hierbij aan de communicatie tussen de persoon die bidt en God tot wie wordt gebeden. Swatos trekt dit echter breder door erop te wijzen dat er bij publieke gebeden ook gecommuniceerd wordt met de andere aanwezigen, de luisteraars. De respons wordt dan niet alleen van God verwacht, maar ook van de aanwezigen. Als bijvoorbeeld gebeden wordt voor het welslagen van de vergadering, wordt dus een beroep gedaan op de aanwezigen om de kracht in henzelf aan te boren om de vergadering te laten slagen.

De communicatie geschiedt niet alleen woordelijk, maar kan ook bestaan in dat er een positieve sfeer onder de aanwezigen ontstaat (Swatos 1982, 158). Swatos observeerde dat door tot God te bidden de groepsleden zich als groep tegenover God plaatsten en niet als groep tegenover de spreker. Hierdoor ontstaat aldus Swatos meer groepsbinding en reageren mensen prettiger op elkaar. De respons kan er ook uit bestaan dat de aanwezigen hun neuzen dezelfde kant opdraaien, omdat in het gebed bijvoorbeeld wordt gezegd welke toon de vergadering hopelijk mag hebben. Dit leidt tot de vooronderstelling dat er een betere samenwerking zal zijn tussen de mensen die een vergadering beginnen met gebed dan tussen mensen die zonder te bidden gaan vergaderen.

De socioloog Ganiel, tot slot, heeft een onderzoeksinteresse in het Noord-Ierlandconflict en kijkt naar het gebed vanuit het veld van ‘faith-based peacebuilding’ (Ganiel 2021, 15), een nieuw onderzoeksgebied waar nog nauwelijks over gepubliceerd is. Op basis van een documentenanalyse van fr. Reynolds, een van de leidende figuren in het vredesproces van Noord-Ierland, is zij tot de conclusie gekomen dat het gebed drie functies kan vervullen. Het gebed kan bijdragen aan het veranderen van iemands religieuze identiteit, het gebed kan ervoor zorgen dat mensen weer hoop krijgen en actie gaan voeren, en het kan leiden tot het bouwen aan een nieuwe realiteit.

Deze effecten neemt zij waar binnen de context van Noord-Ierland, die anders is dan de context in Kenia. Toch zijn er een aantal interessante overeenkomsten. Beide gebieden zitten in een proces van transitional justice; beide landen kennen geweld. In Noord-Ierland is het geweld sinds het Goede Vrijdag-akkoord aanzienlijk verminderd. Toch zijn er nog elk jaar een paar aanslagen en door de Brexit loopt de spanning de afgelopen maanden op. Kenia stond in 2008 op

12 De ene keer lijkt ‘power’ vertaald te kunnen worden als ‘macht’, de andere keer als ‘kracht’. Om beide connotaties te behouden, handhaaf ik Swatos’ ‘power’ en ‘power-relations’.

de rand van een burgeroorlog en kreeg te maken met terroristische aanslagen die de samenleving onder druk zetten. Beide landen hebben programma's lopen om de vrede in het land te herstellen en te bewaken. Door deze overeenkomsten zouden de effecten die Ganiel toeschrijft aan het gebed mogelijk ook waargenomen kunnen worden in Kenia.

Concluderend kunnen we stellen dat de sociologische invalshoek het gebed functioneel benadert: sommige sociologen kennen aan het gebed een functie toe, terwijl anderen stellen dat die functie door het routinematige handelen is ondergesneeuwd. Mogelijk ligt ook hier de waarheid in het midden en kan het zijn dat de mate waarin functionaliteit wordt ervaren afhankt van de mate van religiositeit. Vanuit deze sociologosische invalshoek kunnen we de hypothese opstellen dat het gebed eraan bijdraagt dat mensen een nieuwe realiteit vormen. De gedachte dat deze functie ondergesneeuwd kan raken, zoals Genova verwoordt, nemen we mee naar de volgende paragraaf waarin we het gebed als ritueel beschouwen.

4.4 De betekenis die ritueelenstudies toekent aan het gebed

Ritueelenstudies is een wetenschapsgebied dat zich bezighoudt met het beschrijven en interpreteren van rituelen. Dit wetenschapsgebied is zeer divers wat terug te zien is in de twee basistheorieën binnen dit onderzoeksterrein. Aan de ene kant staat de performance theorie en aan de kan het biogenetisch structuralisme. Het biogenetisch structuralisme beschouwt rituelen als onderdeel van de menselijke natuur, terwijl de performance theorie rituelen beschouwt als een cultureel verschijnsel, een act. Binnen de performance theorie wordt een ritueel opgevat als een "cultural constructed system of symbolic communication, constituted of patterned and ordered sequences of words and acts, often expressed in multiple media, whose content and arrangement are characterized in varying degree by formality (conventionally), stereotype (rigidity), condensation (fusion) and redundancy (repetition)" (Tambiah 1979:119). Het gebed vat ik hier op als act, omdat ik geïnteresseerd ben in de sociale effecten van het gebed en niet in de biologische effecten.

Grimes stelt dat de betekenis van rituelen zowel in de woorden als in de handeling besloten ligt (Grimes 1995, 7) en dat het ritueel alleen betekenis heeft als deze wordt uitgevoerd ten overstaan van een publiek (Grimes 1995, 17). Dat zowel naar taal als naar handelen wordt gekeken, is kenmerkend voor ritueelenstudies. Dit komt samen in de methode die Grimes (1995, 26-38) heeft ontwikkeld om het ritueel systematisch te beschrijven wat zich laat vertalen in de onderstaande topiclijst:

Topic	**Vragen**
Rituele ruimte	Waar vindt het ritueel plaats?
	Wat is kenmerkend voor die plaats?
	Wat dramatiseert of brengt een hiërarchie aan in de ruimte?
Rituele objecten	Welke objecten worden gebruikt?
	Wat wordt met de objecten gedaan?
Rituele tijd	Wanneer vindt het ritueel plaats?

	Hoe verhoudt rituele tijd zich tot gewone tijd?
	Wordt er een historische gebeurtenis herinnerd?
	Hoe lang duurt het ritueel?
	Is er een link met de voorouders?
Rituele geluiden en taal	Zijn er niet-talige geluiden en zo ja, welke zijn dat?
	Welke woorden worden gesproken?
	Welke vaste formules worden gesproken?
	Wat kan vrij geformuleerd worden?
	Wat wordt gemeenschappelijk gezegd?
	Wat wordt door een enkeling gezegd?
	Hoe belangrijk is taal?
	Welke werkwoordstijd wordt gebruikt?
	Welke genre is gebruikt?
Rituele identiteit	Welke rollen heeft men?
	Welke rollen worden door het ritueel erkend?
	Wie mag kritiek hebben?
Rituele acties	Welk gedrag wordt vertoond?
	Heeft het gedrag betekenis?
	Welk gedrag is ongepast?

Tabel 2. Topiclijst voor de beschrijving van rituelen (Grimes 1995: 26-38)

Na deze systematische beschrijving volgt de interpretatie van het ritueel. Grimes wijst erop dat dit een gevaarlijke activiteit is, omdat je als buitenstaander een interpretatie toekent aan het ritueel vanuit jouw eigen denkkader terwijl jij zelf buiten het ritueel staat (Grimes 1995, 38). Desalniettemin geeft hij zeven invalshoeken waarlangs een ritueel geïnterpreteerd kan worden. Hiervan liggen bij dit onderzoek de sociale en historische interpretatie het meest voor de hand, omdat het gebed in de context van de vergadering, de samenleving en de staat plaatsvindt.

Daarnaast onderscheidt Grimes verschillende graden van rituele gevoeligheid. Dit houdt in dat we verschillend reageren op rituelen, omdat deze van elkaar verschillen in belangrijkheid en vorm. Zo maakt Grimes onderscheid tussen rituelen die decorum zijn en rituelen die ceremonieel zijn. Wanneer een ritueel decorum is, wordt het verkeerd uitvoeren of het overslaan van het ritueel hoogstens kort berispt (Grimes 1995, 44). De vlag wel of niet uithangen op Koningsdag is hiervan een voorbeeld. Niemand spreekt je erop aan als je dit niet doet. Ceremoniële rituelen worden daarentegen volgens een strak protocol en met de juiste houding uitgevoerd (Grimes 1995, 47). Als militairen de vlag half stok willen hangen, gaat deze eerst in top en daarna halfstok. Als de vlag direct halfstok wordt gehangen, wordt dit afgestraft. Ook kunnen rituelen een vorm van magie zijn. Een ritueel heeft dan niet alleen betekenis, maar ook effect (Grimes, 1995, 48-49). Dit is

bijvoorbeeld het geval als je het ritueel hebt om voor een tentamen altijd je gelukssokken aan te trekken, omdat je gelooft en ervaart dat je hierdoor je tentamen zult halen.

Al deze onderscheidingen helpen om het gebed zo precies mogelijk te beschrijven. Deze methode zal daarom in het volgende hoofdstuk toegepast worden. Om tot de betekenis van het gebed te komen, moeten we echter nog een stap zetten, namelijk de stap naar het ritueel interpreteren. Hiertoe onderzoeken we wat respondenten zelf als interpretatie aan het gebed geven, maar ook enkele wetenschappers in het veld van rituelenstudie hebben zich met de interpretatie van het gebed beziggehouden. Hieronder bespreek ik de visie van de psycholoog Spilka en van de filosoof en antropoloog Staal.

De psycholoog Spilka (2005) stelt dat rituelen drie verschillende functies kunnen hebben, te weten communicatie, coping en mensen met elkaar verbinden. Deze drie elementen zagen we ook al benoemd in de vorige paragraaf waarin de sociologische kijk centraal stond. Uitgaande van deze gedachtegang kunnen we dan verwachten dat respondenten antwoorden dat ze zich door het gebed meer verbonden voelen met God en/of met elkaar, dat ze meer eenheid ervaren en dat ze beter om kunnen gaan met de moeilijkheden die bij een vergadering om de hoek komen kijken.

Recht tegenover deze positie staat de visie van de filosoof en antropoloog Staal (1996) die beargumenteert dat rituelen betekenisloos zijn. Hij trekt deze conclusie omdat zijn interviewees geen antwoord konden geven op de vraag welke betekenis Veda-rituelen hebben. In plaats daarvan kreeg hij zeer uiteenlopende en “nietszeggende” antwoorden zoals ‘Zo hebben we het altijd gedaan’ en ‘Omdat het zo hoort’ (Staal 1996, 484). Als we Grime volgen, is het gevaarlijk om te zeggen dat respondenten “nietszeggende” betekenissen toekennen. Die interpretatie laat ik dan ook in het vervolg van dit onderzoek buiten beschouwing. Het is echter waardevol dat Staal ons erop wijst dat we een grote diversiteit aan antwoorden kunnen verwachten en dat de subjectieve betekenistoekenning mogelijk uiteenloopt van mensen die het gebed interpreteren als communicatie met God, zoals Spilka voorspelt, tot mensen die geen enkele betekenis aan het gebed toekennen en het zien als een tick-the-boxactiviteit, omdat het nu eenmaal routine is, zoals Genova stelt.

Samenvattend kan gesteld worden dat het veld van rituelenstudies een handig hulpmiddel biedt om op systematische wijze het gebed te beschrijven. Ook wijst dit onderzoeksveld ons erop voorzichtig te werk te gaan bij het interpreteren van de onderzoeksdata, omdat de vraag naar de betekenis van het gebed subjectieve antwoorden oplevert die zeer uiteen kunnen lopen. Dit roept de verwachting op dat we uiteenlopende interpretaties kunnen vinden, niet alleen tussen respondenten, maar ook tussen de antwoorden van één respondent.

4.5 Overeenkomsten en verschillen

Hierboven zijn drie invalshoeken om naar het gebed te kijken uiteengezet. De politieke invalshoek karakteriseert het gebed als een politieke praxis, de sociologen beschrijven het als een sociale praktijk en vanuit rituelenstudies wordt het omschreven als een ritueel. Stringer (2015, 79) noemt deze invalshoeken van elkaar losstaande assen. Ze verklaren echter alle drie het gebed en vertonen naast verschillen toch zeker ook overeenkomsten met elkaar.

Alle drie de wetenschapsgebieden hebben een functionalistische kijk op het gebed. Vanuit de politieke invalshoek bezien wordt beargumenteerd dat het gebed de politiek positief kan beïnvloeden en kan bijdragen aan het saamhorigheidsgevoel in de samenleving. De sociologen focussen meer op effecten die het individu ervaart, zoals beter kunnen omgaan met angst en onzekerheid, beter kunnen communiceren en een betere band hebben met de mensen om je heen. Deze twee niveaus liggen echter in elkaars verlengde en beïnvloeden elkaar.

We zien echter ook tegenspraken tussen de verschillende visies op het gebed. Waar Genova stelt dat mensen moeite hebben met het formuleren van de betekenis van het gebed omdat het een routinematige handeling is geworden, stelt Ganiel dat gebeden intentionele handelingen zijn die aanzetten tot het veranderen van de realiteit. Het is de vraag welke visies juist zijn en welke onjuist. Dit heeft tot gevolg dat dit theoretische kader niet alleen helpt om het gebed te interpreteren, maar dat de hier besproken theorieën ook getest zullen worden.

4.6 Hypotheses en blik vooruit

Op basis van de hierboven beschreven theorieën, zijn een aantal hypotheses te formuleren. De onderstaande hypotheses helpen bij het beantwoorde van de onderzoeksvraag: *Welke subjectieve betekenis kennen Kenianen toe aan het gebed dat wordt uitgesproken aan de start van vergaderingen waarbij Keniaanse overheidsfunctionarissen aanwezig zijn?*

1. Het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen zorgt voor een gevoel van eenheid zoals deze door de Ubuntu-filosofie wordt beschreven.
2. Het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen zorgt ervoor dat mensen respectvol met elkaar omgaan tijdens de vergadering.
3. Het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen kan de zaken die besproken worden, beïnvloeden.
4. Het gebed zorgt ervoor dat mensen een nieuwe realiteit vorm gaan geven.
5. Mensen bidden voor hulp en bijstand.

Deze hypotheses zullen via kwalitatief onderzoek getoetst worden. Tegelijkertijd helpen deze hypotheses en de informatie uit deel één om tot een onderbouwde interpretatie van de betekenis van het gebed te komen. Dit zal het onderwerp zijn van hoofdstuk 7. Voordat de hypotheses echter getoetst kunnen worden, moet eerst de data worden geanalyseerd. Hierbij zal gebruik worden gemaakt van het schema van Grimes (1995). Dit schema leidt tot een beschrijving van het gebed in hoofdstuk 6. Voordat we hieraan toekomen zet ik in het volgende hoofdstuk eerst uiteen volgens welke methode dit empirische kwalitatieve iteratieve onderzoek is uitgevoerd.

5. Methode

De onderzoeksvraag die deze studie wil beantwoorden is:

> ***Welke subjectieve betekenis kennen Kenianen toe aan het gebed dat wordt uitgesproken aan de start van vergaderingen waarbij Keniaanse overheidsfunctionarissen aanwezig zijn?***

In het theoretisch kader constateerden we dat mensen het waarschijnlijk lastig zullen vinden om een betekenis aan bidden toe te kennen en dat we verschillende antwoorden kunnen verwachten. Voor het beantwoorden van de onderzoeksvraag kies ik daarom een empirische, kwalitatieve en iteratieve benadering. Deze onderzoeksmethode biedt ruimte voor het analyseren en interpreteren van meerdere soorten antwoorden die elkaar bovendien kunnen tegenspreken. Binnen deze benadering maak ik gebruik van de methode van constante vergelijking (Taylor en Bogdan, 1998). Deze methode combineert systematische dataverzameling met coderen en analyseren en heeft als doel een theorie te formuleren (Conrad et al. 1993).

De systematische dataverzameling start met het vaststellen van de doelgroep. De doelgroep voor dit onderzoek bestaat uit Kenianen die bekend zijn met vergaderingen die met en zonder gebed beginnen en waar (semi-)ambtenaren aan deelnemen.[13] De keuze voor deze doelgroep is tweeledig. Ten eerste is deze doelgroep eenvoudig te benaderen doordat ik door mijn stageonderzoek contact heb met mensen die tot deze doelgroep behoren. Ten tweede is deze doelgroep bekend met vergaderingen die met en die zonder gebed starten. De verwachting is dat door een vergelijking te maken tussen deze twee typen vergaderingen het gemakkelijker wordt om de betekenis van het gebed onder woorden te brengen.

De random steekproef die ik uit deze doelgroep heb getrokken, levert zeven personen op die ik per e-mail kan benaderden. Omdat het te verwachten is dat niet iedereen wil meewerken aan het onderzoek, heb ik besloten om aan de mensen die wel mee willen werken te vragen of ze mij met andere potentiële interviewees in contact kunnen brengen. Snowball sampling is minder betrouwbaar dan een random getrokken steekproef. Tijdens mijn stage-onderzoek heb ik echter geconstateerd dat Kenianen niet gemakkelijk over religie en gebed spreken. Daarom geef ik de voorkeur aan het mijzelf laten introduceren door iemand die al aan het onderzoek heeft meegedaan, omdat ik dan een grotere kans heb dat mensen willen meewerken. Bovendien leidt deze wervingsmethode tot meer vertrouwen bij de interviewees wat het interview ten goede komt. Deze voordelen maken dat snowball sampling een verantwoorde manier is om de random getrokken steekproef aan te vullen. Deze aanpak heeft geresulteerd in zeven deelnemers, waarbij drie deelnemers via eerdere interviewees zijn aangedragen.

Alle mensen uit de steekproef zijn per e-mail (bijlage 2) gevraagd om mee te werken aan dit onderzoek. Deze e-mail bevatte tevens twee bijlagen: een document met informatie over het project (bijlage 3) en een toestemmingsformulier ‘meewerken aan wetenschappelijk onderzoek’ (bijlage 4).

Vanwege de Covid-pandemie zijn de interviews tijdens een Zoom-meeting afgenomen. Deze aanpak heeft als voordeel dat ik een een-op-eengesprek kon hebben met de interviewees die

13 In eerste instantie is de doelgroep gedefinieerd als ‘Kenianen die werken voor Nederlandse NGO’s en die uit hoofde van hun functie vergaderingen bijwonen waaraan ook Keniaanse overheidsfunctionarissen deelnemen.’ Dit leverde te weinig respondenten op en daarom is de doelgroep verruimd en bevat de steekproef nu zowel Kenianen die voor Nederlandse NGO’s werken als Kenianen die als wetenschapper bij een buitenlandse universiteit werkzaam zijn.

in een voor hen bekende omgeving zijn waardoor ze minder onder sociale druk stonden bij het beantwoorden van de interviewvragen. Dit draagt bij aan de ecologische validiteit van het onderzoek. Een nadeel is dat ik door de coronapandemie niet getuige kon zijn van gebeden bij vergaderingen en dus voor een beschrijving afhankelijk ben van YouTube-filmpjes en van de beschrijvingen die interviewees hebben gegeven.

De interviews zijn opgenomen en met behulp van Amberscript.nl automatisch getranscribeerd. Deze transcripties zijn door mij gecontroleerd en daarna gecodeerd en geanalyseerd met gebruikmaking van het Atlas.ti.

Tijdens het gesprek heb ik een semigestructureerd interview afgenomen dat dicht tegen een gestructureerd interview aanzit. Het interviewinstrument is opgenomen als bijlage 5. Dit interviewinstrument bestaat uit vier sets vragen. De eerste set vragen verzamelt persoonlijke gegevens die het mogelijk maken de interviewees te interpreteren en met elkaar te vergelijken. Daarna volgt een vraag of de interviewee bekend is met vergaderingen die met een gebed beginnen en of ze daar wat over kunnen vertellen. Deze algemene vraag is bedoeld als opwarmertje en aan het eind vraag ik of ze één specifieke vergadering in gedachte willen nemen welke ze als ankerpunt zullen gebruiken bij het beantwoorden van de vragen. Een voordeel van deze aanpak is dat het beantwoorden van de vragen zo gemakkelijker wordt; een nadeel is dat andere vergaderingen buiten beschouwing blijven.

Hierna volgen twee sets met twee keer dezelfde vragen. De eerste keer antwoordden de interviewees vanuit hun eigen ervaring. De tweede keer verplaatsten zij zich bij het beantwoorden in het perspectief van hun christelijke en islamitische collega's. Vragen hoe hun collega's het gebed ervaren, is enerzijds een manier om meer data te verzamelen en werpt tevens een licht op hoe in de Keniaanse samenleving gedacht wordt over het gebed.

Het interviewinstrument is vooraf getest door twee proefinterviews af te nemen. De proefinterviewees waren Nederlandse vrouwen die ervaring hebben met vergaderingen die zowel met als zonder gebed beginnen. Hun feedback heeft geleid tot het beter introduceren en scherper formuleren van de vragen. Hierdoor is de inhoudsvaliditeit van het interviewinstrument vergroot.

De analyse van de data geschiedt door te coderen. Gestart werd met open coderen waarbij de vragen als hoofdcodewoord zijn gebruikt en waaraan de verschillende antwoorden zijn gekoppeld: D_conductor_volunteer is dus te lezen als 'volunteer' is het antwoord op de vraag wie voorgaat in gebed, onderdeel van de vragenset 'Description of the prayer'. Op basis van deze open codering is axiaal gecodeerd wat heeft geresulteerd in selectief coderen. De codes zijn terug te vinden in het codeboek (bijlage 8) en de relaties tussen de codes is zichtbaar gemaakt in netwerken. De resultaten die dit analyseproces heeft opgeleverd worden gepresenteerd in het volgende hoofdstuk.

6. Resultaten

6.1 Inleiding

Dit hoofdstuk toont de resultaten, beginnend met een overzicht van de respondenten en hoe de interviews zijn verlopen. Daarna volgt de beschrijving van de resultaten waarbij de opbouw van het interviewinstrument wordt gevolgd: de beschrijving van het gebed, de eigen ervaring en de ervaringen van anderen.

6.2 Respondenten

De steekproef, beschreven in het vorige hoofdstuk, bestond uit zeven Kenianen die bekend zijn met vergaderingen die met en zonder gebed beginnen. Zij zijn in maart per e-mail (zie bijlages 3-5) benaderd met de vraag mee te werken aan dit scriptieonderzoek. Alle zes reageerden op de e-mail: vier wilden uiteindelijk meewerken en twee weigerden. Als reden van weigering gaven zij op zichzelf niet als expert op dit gebied te zien. Deze reden heb ik gerespecteerd, al sta ik op het standpunt dat deelnemers geen expert hoeven te zijn. Maar aangezien spreken over dit gebed een taboe-onderwerp lijkt te zijn, heb ik niet verder aangedrongen, omdat ik vooral wilde dat de respondenten zich vrij voelden om te spreken. Van de vier respondenten die wel in gesprek wilden, hebben twee mij geholpen om met andere Kenianen in contact te komen. Hierdoor ben ik uiteindelijk op zeven respondenten uitgekomen. De onderstaande tabel weerspiegelt hun gegevens:

Respondent	**Geboorte-jaar**	**Religieuze overtuiging**	**Opleidings-niveau**	**Baan**
Respondent 1	1977	Rooms-Katholiek	PhD	Wetenschapper in de geesteswetenschappen
Respondent 2	1987	Gelooft in God, maar niet gelovig opgevoed en geen binding met een kerk	Master	Project manager bij een Nederlandse NGO
Respondent 3	1974	Rooms-Katholiek	Master	Laatste baan was project manager bij een Nederlandse NGO
Respondent 4	1968	Gelovig, binnen de Presbeterian Church opgevoed, maar geen binding meer met een kerk	PhD	Wetenschapper in de geesteswetenschappen
Respondent 5	1986	Rooms-Katholiek	Bachelor	Project manager bij een

				Nederlandse NGO
Respondent 6	1969	Soenitisch	PhD	Wetenschapper in de geesteswetenschappen
Respondent 7	1979	Soenitisch	Master	Wetenschapper in de geesteswetenschappen

Tabel 3: Gegevens respondenten

De interviews zijn afgenomen in de periode van 12 maart tot 30 april 2021. Zes interviews vonden plaats via Zoom, één via WhatsApp. Het WhatsApp gesprek is het enige gesprek geweest waarbij de internetverbinding zo slecht was, dat we het gesprek hebben afgebroken. De dag erop was de verbinding beter en kon het interview wel worden gehouden. Dat we via internet spraken, kwam door de lockdownmaatregelen die zowel in Nederland als in Kenia van kracht waren. Mijn interviewees zaten veelal thuis evenals de interviewer zelf.

De interviews duurden tussen de 40 en 60 minuten. De duur van de interviews liep op naar mate meer interviews waren afgenomen en ik eerdere data en tussentijds gelezen literatuur meenam in mijn interviews. Daarnaast waren de laatste twee interviewees docent van beroep: zij gaven niet alleen antwoord op de vraag, maar ook uitleg. Wat deze zeven respondenten hebben verteld, is vertaald naar de onderstaande resultaten.

6.3 Beschrijving van het gebed

Het eerste onderdeel van de vragenlijst bestond uit het beschrijven van het gebed aan het begin van een vergadering waaraan (semi-)ambtenaren deelnamen. De respondenten deden dit door het beantwoorden van de volgende zes in het Engels geformuleerde vragen:

1. Who conducts the prayer?
2. What is said during the prayer?
3. How long does the prayer take?
4. Does the prayer belong to a certain religious affiliation?
5. How do you behave during such a prayer?
6. Do you speak certain words or formula's during such a prayer?

Op de vraag wie voorgaat in gebed, antwoordden vijf van de zeven respondenten dat het een vrijwilliger is. De voorzitter kan iemand persoonlijk vragen of hij/zij het gebed wil leiden of de vraag aan alle aanwezigen stellen. Wanneer dat laatste gebeurt, reageert doorgaans slechts één persoon. Wel geven sommigen aan dat als er een religieus persoon bij de vergadering aanwezig is, deze vaak voorgaat in gebed en dat bij een traditioneel gebed de voorkeur uitgaat naar een ouder persoon.

Wat voor een gebed wordt uitgesproken verschilt per vergadering. Er kan een algemeen christelijk, algemeen islamitisch en/of traditioneel gebed worden uitgesproken. De keuze hangt af van welke religieuze stromingen aanwezig zijn. Als er alleen christenen zijn, is het een algemeen christelijk gebed. Als er ook moslims zijn, kan óf gekozen worden tussen een christelijk of een islamitisch gebed, óf voor het uitspreken van beide gebeden. Het Keniaanse parlement opent bijvoorbeeld altijd met een christelijk, islamitisch en traditioneel gebed, terwijl respondent 6 vertelt hoe de ene keer een christelijk gebed de vergadering opent en de andere keer een islamitisch gebed.

Het christelijke gebed, dat het vaakst voorkomt, verloopt volgens een bepaald stramien. Dit stramien is terug te zien in het onderstaande voorbeeld van een gebed dat is gegeven door respondent 3 (6:02):[14]

Thank you, God, for the day.	De naam van God noemen is volgens de helft van de respondenten een algemeen kenmerk. De overige respondenten spreken ook over God, Almigthy, Highest Being of Highest Power, maar noemen dit niet als zijnde een specifiek onderdeel van het gebed.
Thank you for bringing us together today.	Drie respondenten benoemen het dankzeggen als onderdeel van het gebed. Vaak wordt dankgezegd voor het feit dat iedereen veilig bij de vergadering is aangekomen.
Thank you for making everybody available.	
We believe in you.	
We trust in you	
And as we go about today's discussions or today's brainstorming session, we request that you bless our brainstorming session.	Vier interviewees benadrukken dit onderdeel.
We request that you bless us with wisdom.	De zegen vragen is een onderdeel dat vaak in het gebed lijkt te zitten: zeven keer wordt het genoemd. Drie respondenten specificeren het verzoek om de zegen nader tot een verzoek om gezegend te worden met wijsheid.
That you you bless this meeting, that it may go well.	
That the objective of the meeting may be fulfilled, that people will speak what is in their hearts and that at the end of the day, we can have a successful meeting.	Drie respondenten vertellen dat het gebed wordt gebruikt om uit te spreken wat ze willen doen tijdens de vergadering, zoals respondent 1 (19:43) zegt: "This preparation would include something like inviting these people like the two sides and convening prayer session with them. And sometimes, you know, even during those prayers, we have situations where people talk. They just talk about what they expect and who they are and why they have come there. So as a way of laying the ground for the meeting."

14 Tabel loopt door op de volgende pagina.

We ask this trusting and believing in your holy name.	
Amen.	Zes van de zeven zeggen dat het gebed eindigt met amen, of 'amin' wanneer het een Arabische gebed betreft.

Tabel 4 Voorbeeld van een gebed gecombineerd met wat andere respondenten erover zeggen

Bij een islamitisch gebed wordt doorgaans gekozen voor het opzeggen van de openingssoera, een korte en zeer bekende soera. Het traditionele gebed laat ik hier buiten beschouwing, omdat slechts één respondent hierover heeft gesproken.

In het gegeven voorbeeld staan ook de vaak gebruikte woorden, zoals 'amen' (29x), 'God' (102x), 'wisdom'(6x), 'blessing' (19x) and 'thanking' (19x).[15] 'Amen' is het enige woord dat door de aanwezigen in koor wordt uitgesproken. De rest van het gebed wordt door de voorbidder uitgesproken die daarbij niet van vaste formules gebruik maakt, al zijn er wel vaste onderdelen zoals de opening, God danken en een gedeelte waarin om de zegen wordt gevraagd. Wat daarnaast opvalt is de toon waarop het gebed wordt uitgesproken. Deze toon is het beste te beschrijven als een monotoon reciteren waarbij de toon op het einde van de zin gerekt wordt en omhoog gaat, zonder dat de zin een vraag wordt.

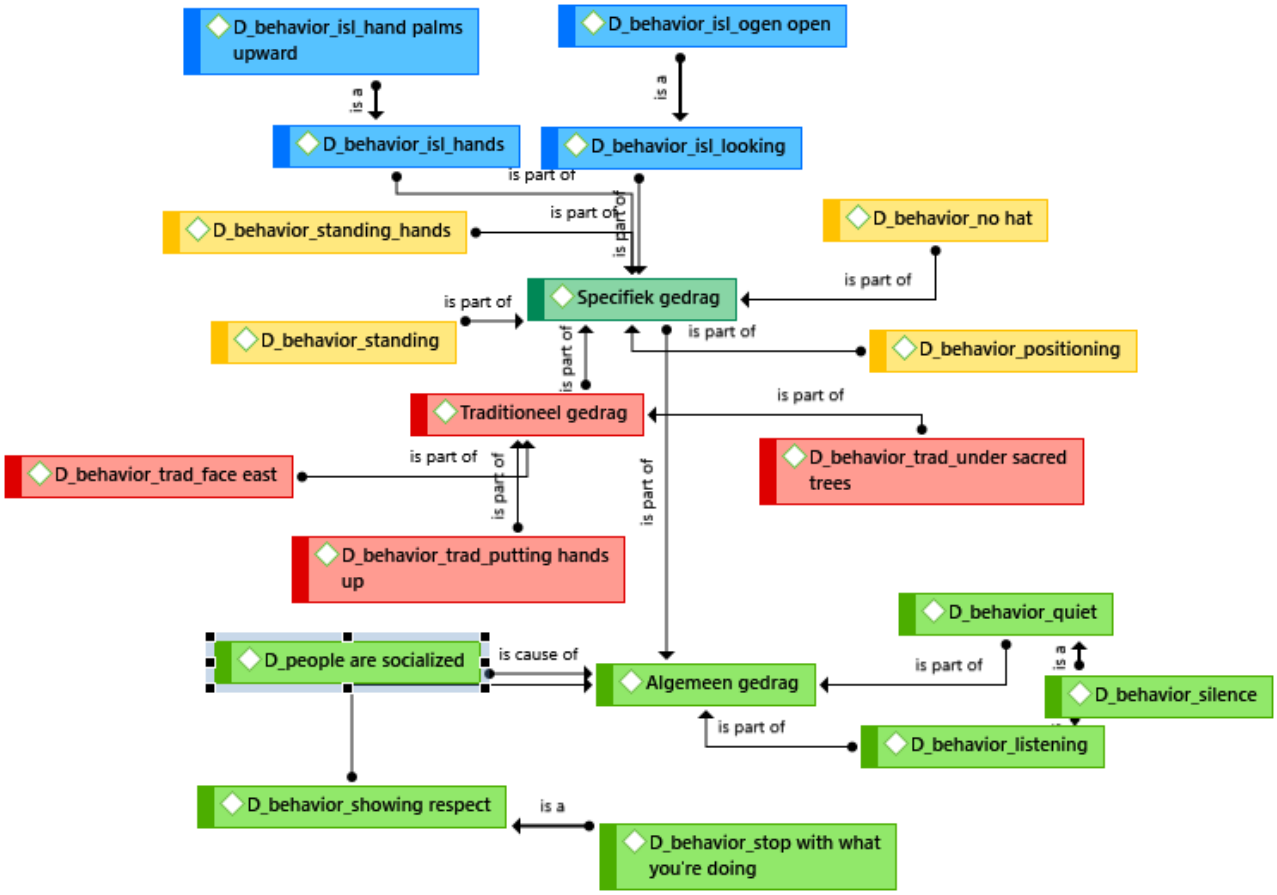
Er lijkt ook eenheid te zijn in hoe mensen zich gedragen tijdens dit gebed, zoals netwerk 1 op de volgende pagina toont. Dit schema maakt onderscheid tussen algemeen gedrag (lichtgroen) en specifiek gedrag (donkergroen). Het specifieke gedrag is uitgesplitst naar traditioneel (rood), christelijk (geel) en islamitisch (blauw).

Met gebogen hoofd en neergeslagen of gesloten ogen zitten (grounded 12), is de algemeen geaccepteerde houding, net zoals stil zijn en luisteren (grounded 10). Een persoon vertelde tijdens het gebed haar telefoon te bestuderen, maar zij lijkt een uitzondering te zijn. Bij het moslimgebed is de houding iets anders: de moslims heffen hun handen op tot voor hun borst en keren hun handpalmen naar boven. Zij kijken ook naar boven, of recht voor zich uit. Niet-moslims gedragen zich bij een islamitisch gebed soms net zoals moslims, maar vaker laten ze dan algemeen gedrag zien.

Over hoe lang het gebed duurt, zijn de respondenten eveneens vrij eensgezind: vijf van de zeven gaven aan dat het gebed ongeveer twee minuten duurt. Twee anderen vertelden dat het gebed langer duurt. Respondent 3 (07:23) zei dat de duur afhangt van de voorganger, een geluid dat ook bij anderen klinkt. Het islamitisch gebed is bijvoorbeeld korter dan twee minuten, omdat doorgaans alleen de openingssoera wordt uitgesproken. Respondent 1 (17:34) vertelde daarentegen dat de duur afhangt van de zwaarte van de vergadering, maar geen van de overige respondenten bevestigde deze observatie.

Het gebed verschilt per vergadering, maar kent een aantal algemene kenmerken, zoals een opening, dankzegging, vragen om de zegen, een gedeelte dat gaat over de vergadering en een afsluitend 'amen'. Het gedrag vertoont eveneens een paar kleine variaties, maar in het algemeen wordt bij een christelijk gebed het hoofd gebogen, de handen in de schoot gelegd en de ogen gesloten, terwijl bij een islamitisch gebed het hoofd recht blijft, de handen worden geheven en de ogen worden opgeslagen. In de volgende paragraaf bekijken we hoe de interviewees dit gebed zelf ervaren.

15 Deze nummers geven aan hoe vaak een woord voorkomt in wat de respondenten hebben verteld.



Netwerk 1: Gedrag. Groen is algemeen, rood is traditioneel, geel is christelijk en blauw is islamitisch

6.4 De eigen ervaring van de respondenten

De eigen ervaring van de respondenten is bevraagd door middel van vier vragen:[16]

1. Which meaning has the prayer according to you?
2. Which emotions or feelings are triggered by the prayer?
3. In which way has this prayer an effect on the meeting, according to you?
4. Seen from your own religious affiliation, to which extent does th prayer fits in your personal religious affiliation?

De resultaten worden in deze volgorde per vraag gepresenteerd, te beginnen bij de betekenis die de respondenten toekennen aan het gebed.

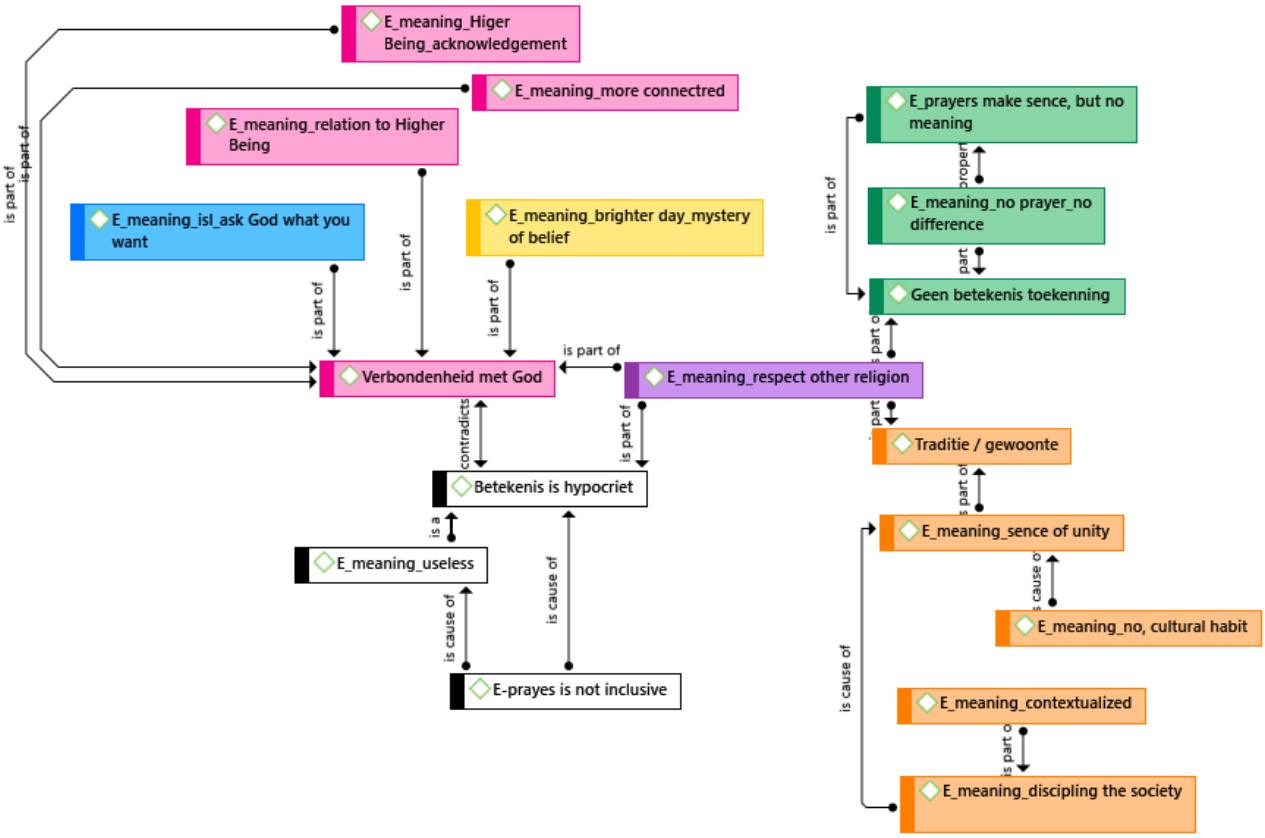
De betekenis die de respondenten ervaren laat zich aflezen van netwerk 2 (het volledige netwerk is te vinden in bijlage 9.1). Dit netwerk toont dat de open codes gegroepeerd kunnen worden in vier axiaal codes die corresponderen met de volgende vier groepen:

1. Interviewees die zich verbonden voelen met God (roze gekleurd en verder gedefinieerd: blauw is islamitisch, geel is christelijk, roze is traditionele religie)
2. Interviewees die het gebed als een traditie zien (oranje)
3. Interviewees die geen betekenis aan het gebed toekennen (donker groen)
4. Interviewees die een negatieve betekenis toekennen aan het gebed (zwart)

16 Het interviewinstrument bevat vijf vragen, maar de vijfde vraag laat ik in deze studie buiten beschouwing. Deze vraag gaat over de link die respondenten ervaren tussen hun persoonlijke religieuze overtuiging en het gebed. Deze vraag bleek niet de juiste methode te zijn om te onderzoeken in hoeverre mensen zich verhouden ten opzichte van het gebed bij het begin van vergaderingen.

Het netwerk laat tevens zien dat deze vier groepen zijn verenigd in de selectieve code ‘respect other religions’ (paars). Dit houdt in dat alle groepen aangegeven respect te hebben voor het feit dat mensen religieus zijn en bidden.

Ook lijkt uit dit netwerk af te leiden te zijn dat ‘eenheid’/ ‘verbondenheid’ een belangrijk element is. Binnen de categorieën gelovig en traditioneel, waar vijf van de zeven respondenten toe behoren, wordt ‘eenheid’ expliciet als betekenis genoemd. De gelovigen leggen deze eenheid uit als verbondenheid met God, anderen lijken de eenheid meer als eenheid met de andere vergaderleden te ervaren. De categorie ‘hypocriet’, lijkt van mening te zijn dat het gebed ‘eenheid’ zou moeten bewerkstelligen, maar lijkt teleurgesteld te zijn doordat het gebed dat juist niet doet.



Netwerk 2. Overzicht van de eigen betekenistoekenning aan het gebed.

Deze categorieën zijn niet exclusief. Veel respondenten vallen binnen meerdere categorieën. Respondent 3 kan bijvoorbeeld ingedeeld worden in categorie 1 en 3:

> For me, as a person, the meaning of the prayer is an acknowledgment that there is a higher being who we pray to and that we are requesting for blessings, for success of this meeting from that Higher Being. So for me, it has meaning because I am a believer. So the fact that I am asking the Higher Being, whoever the Higher Being is, for blessings on the meeting. (Respondent 3, 16:45)

> I knew that when we are having meetings in [NGO], we don't pray. We just start the meeting, which would have been different in another organization. But I cannot say that therefore the meetings went any different. The meetings went the same way they would have gone, whether or not they would have started with a prayer. (Respondent 3, 20:44)

Naast de vraag wat het gebed betekent voor henzelf, is ook gevraagd of het gebed een invloed heeft op de vergadering. De respondenten 2, 3 en 6 stellen dat het gebed geen effect heeft op de vergadering, wat respondent 3 als volgt verwoordde:

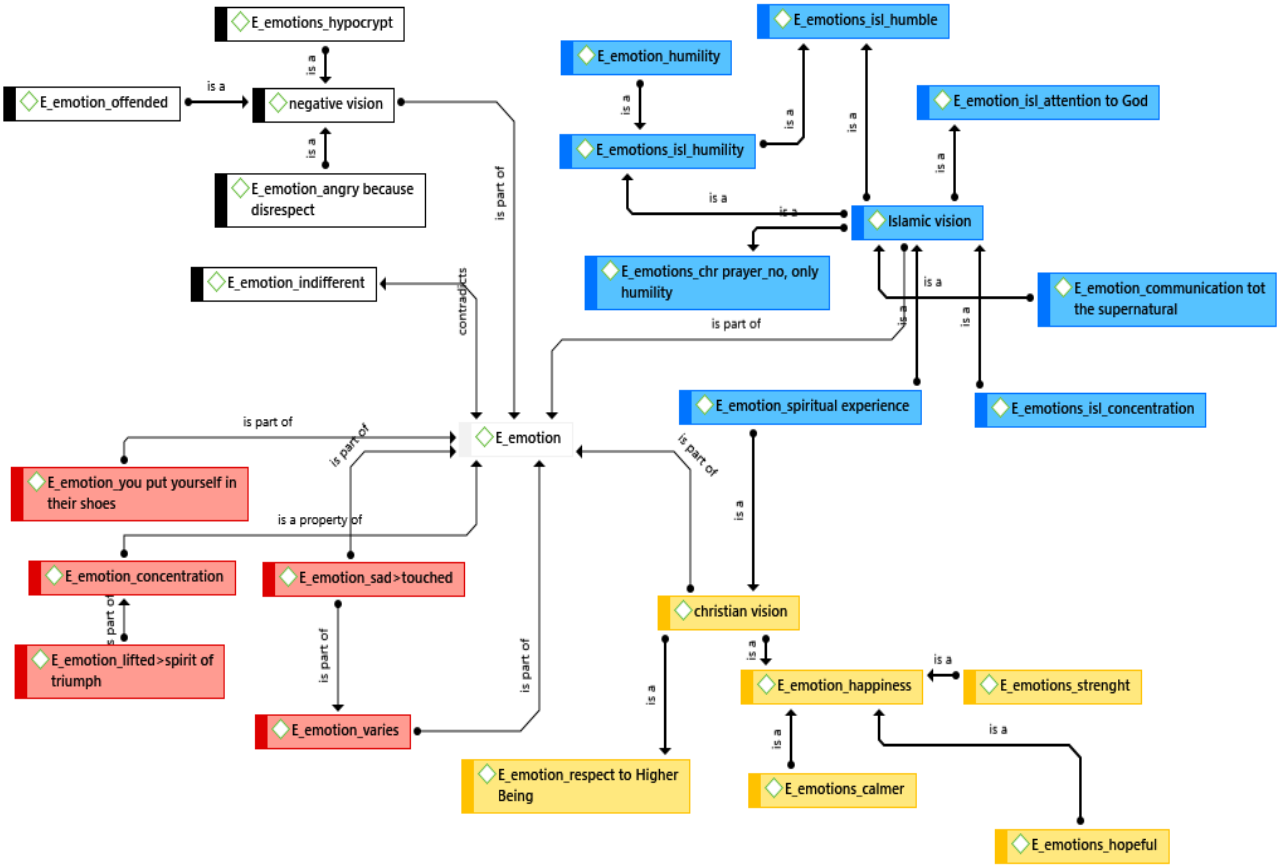
> I don't think the prayer has an effect on the meeting, because praying before a meeting in Kenya is a common practice. […] You know, sometimes a meeting can get very heated and people can be arguing about an issue. I would never, for example, hear someone saying: "OK, let's take a moment and remind ourselves that we've asked for wisdom of us for grace. Let's take a moment, take a deep breath". I never heard anybody referring to the prayer or what we requested in the prayer in the course of the meeting. So for me, I think the prayer is almost like a tick the box exercise, let's say a prayer, because Kenyans tend to be people who say prayers before a meeting. But after that, I don't think it has an effect. (Respondent 3, 18:26)

Ook respondent 7 stelt dat het gebed geen invloed kan hebben op de vergadering, maar volgens hem, een moslim, komt dit doordat een christelijk gebed blasfemisch is en daardoor onwaar. Daardoor kan het gebed geen invloed hebben op de vergadering (Respondent 7, 44:02).

Dat het gebed wel van invloed is op de vergadering, wordt alleen door respondent 1 en 4 verteld. Zij vertelden dat het gebed de aanwezigen informeert over wat er op de agenda staat en hoe de voorbidder wil dat er over deze zaken gesproken wordt (Respondent 1, 31:39).

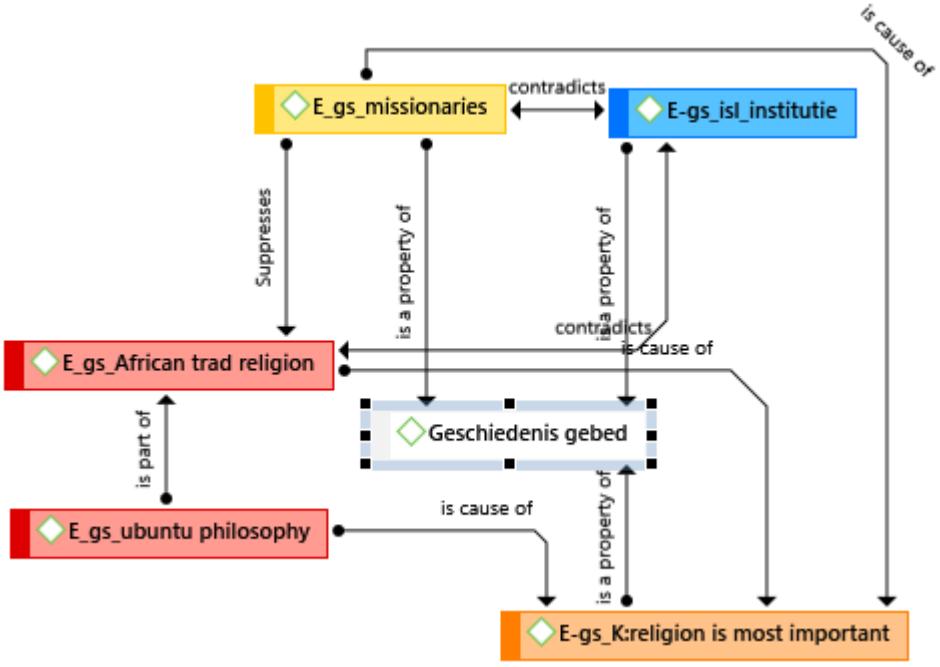
De betekenis van het gebed wordt niet alleen woordelijk uitgedrukt, maar komt ook naar voren in emoties. Dit onderzoek laat zien dat de emoties uiteen lopen. De islamitische respondenten leggen de nadruk op nederigheid, terwijl de antwoorden van de christelijke respondenten variëren. Sommige zeggen geen specifieke emoties te ervaren, respondent 4 ervaart een uitgesproken negatieve emotie en respondent 3 juist een uitgesproken positieve emotie. Het verschil tussen respondent 4 en 3 is te verklaren vanuit het gegeven dat respondent 4 uitermate negatief is over deze gebedspraktijk die zij bestempelt als hypocriet en discriminerend. Respondent 3 zit aan het andere kant van het spectrum en beschouwt zichzelf als zeer katholiek.

De emoties an sich kunnen ook in vier groepen verdeeld worden. Op de volgende pagina toont netwerk 3 de christelijke emoties in het geel, de islamitische in het blauw, de negatieve emoties in het zwart en de traditionele emoties in het rood:



Netwerk 3. Overzicht van de eigen emoties verdeeld de drie religies en de categorie 'negatieve emoties'.

De vierde vraag die hen werd voorgelegd was of het gebed volgens hen een historische betekenis heeft. Ook hierop kwamen uiteenlopende antwoorden. Netwerk 4 laat zien dat sommigen een culturele verbondenheid ervaren. Het gebed is in hun ogen een culturele traditie (oranje). Anderen zien de kerstening als oorzaak van de huidige gebedspraktijk (geel, zie



Netwerk 4. Overzicht van hoe het gebed zich verhoudt tot de Keniaanse geschiedenis.

respondent 5 26:59)) of verbinden het gebed met de Afrikaanse traditionele religie en de morele Ubuntu filosofie (rood, zie respondent 4, 25:21). Een persoon ervoer helemaal geen verbinding tussen Kenia/Afrika en het gebed, maar beschouwd de oemma, de wereldwijde moslimgemeenschap als ontstaansbron voor het gebed (respondent 7, 55:52).

Opvallend is dat respondenten die gespecialiseerd zijn in de geesteswetenschappen andere antwoorden geven dan de respondenten die werkzaam zijn voor NGO's. Deze laatste categorie relateert het gebed aan de cultuur van Kenia of schrijft het toe aan de kerstening van Kenia (o.a. respondent 2, 35:15), een verklaring die in totaal vier keer genoemd is. De wetenschappers gaan verder terug in de tijd en wijzen erop dat er een link is met de traditionele Afrikaanse religie en de Ubuntu-filosofie, maar zeggen ook dat de meeste Kenianen deze link niet zien (respondent 6, 25:21).

Samenvattend kan gezegd worden dat 'eenheid' en 'respect' centrale betekenisaspecten van het gebed lijken te zijn. Hoe deze begrippen ingevuld worden lijkt afhankelijk te zijn van hoe de respondenten zich verhouden ten opzichte van religie en houdt mogelijk verband met de historische invloed van de traditionele religie, het christendom en de islam in Kenia. Hun emoties vertonen een grote diversiteit en lijken verband te houden met hoe zij het gebed ervaren. Deze ervaringen kunnen variëren van intentioneel gebed tot een tick-the-boxactiviteit. Het gebed lijkt echter geen invloed te hebben op de vergadering.

6.5 Hoe collega's denken over het gebed, volgens de respondenten

In het derde gedeelte van het onderzoek zijn de interviewees gevraagd om vanuit het perspectief van hun collega's de vragen te beantwoorden. In het codeboek (bijlage 8) zijn deze antwoorden te herkennen aan O_… Ook hier was de eerste vraag de vraag naar de betekenis van het gebed. Het netwerk 9.2 (bijlage 9) toont opnieuw dat eenheid een belangrijk aspect is, alleen wordt hier de eenheid vaker uitgelegd als eenheid tussen mensen (zonder overigens aan de vergadering te refereren en nauwelijks als eenheid met God. Respondent 2 zegt bijvoorbeeld:

> It's a way to bring the whole world together and to make people more comfortable. (Respondent 2, 24:39)

Het gaat hier niet alleen om de eenheid tussen de personen die aan de vergadering deelnemen, maar ook om de eenheidsgedachte die door sommigen wordt doorgetrokken naar het niveau van de samenleving. Dan zijn echter twee tegenovergestelde opvattingen te zien. Twee respondenten verklaren dat het christelijk gebed verwerpelijk is, of "hypocriet" zoals respondent 4 (09:58) zegt, omdat dit gebed moslims zou uitsluiten. Respondent 3 (12:31) verklaart daarentegen dat het gebed juist bijdraagt aan het insluiten van andere geloofsgroepen en dat het een gevoel van eenheid koestert.

Respect, wat een kernelement van de eigen betekenistoekenning lijkt te zijn, wordt bij dit onderdeel niet genoemd. Wel zeggen verschillende respondenten dat het gebed een manier is om te copen met bepaalde zaken. Respondent 1 (28:02) zegt letterlijk: "The prayers also help them to cope." Respondent 4 maakt dit expliciet door te zeggen:

> Meaning? Well, I think that people feel good when they are committed the work ahead of them, to vote, and they feel that the decisions that they will make in honor by God, or blessed by God. And I think so, just really inviting a power beyond yourself to the meeting. Maybe it takes away someone's anxieties from people, because I think also religion plays a big part in the

> management of anxiety around policy issues that we have to make. That's just really my thinking as an academic, I really do not know how to put in any other motive. (Respondent 4, 30:22)

Op de vraag of het gebed van invloed is op de vergadering, vinden we in deze sectie eveneens heel andere antwoorden dan in de paragraaf hierboven. We kunnen vier groepen onderscheiden. Groep één, bestaande uit de respondenten, 1, 5, 6 en 7, vertellen dat de invloed volgens hen afhangt van de mate van religiositeit van de vergaderleden:

> […] their religious affiliations and how religious they are. So sometimes it works, sometimes it doesn't. […] I think the reason, I guess, it does not work, is that it's also because, you know, such meetings bring together people from different persuasions, different religions, different ways of thinking and all that. (Respondent 1, 32:08)

Groep twee, bestaande uit twee respondenten, dicht aan het gebed sowieso een invloed op de vergadering toe. Respondent 2 (18:13) vergelijkt de impact van het gebed op de vergadering met het doen van een energizer aan het begin van de vergadering. Groep drie, waar respondent 4 (30:22) onderdeel van is, stelt daarentegen dat het gebed een extra kracht in de aanwezigen opwekt waardoor ze gesterkt worden en beter met angst kunnen omgaan. Respondent 3, onderdeel van groep vier, stelt als enige dat er totaal geen verband is tussen het gebed en de vergadering. Als bewijs voert zij aan dat ze geen verschil ervaart tussen vergaderingen die starten met gebed en vergaderingen die beginnen zonder te bidden.

De interviewees vertelden ook welke emoties zij toeschrijven aan hun collega's. Hierbij vallen twee zaken op. Ten eerste spiegelt een deel van de respondenten zijn/haar eigen emotie op de ander. Zo stelt interviewee 4 (34:39), die het gebed als hypocriet omschrijft, dat haar moslimcollega's zich boos en buitengesloten zullen voelen en vertelt interviewee 7 (42:51), die het gebed als een spirituele ervaring ziet, dat de christenen het gebed als een spirituele ervaring zullen beschouwen. Ten tweede valt op dat mensen die zichzelf als niet erg gelovig bestempelen, denken dat gelovigen het gebed heel belangrijk zullen vinden. Zij dichten voor gelovige mensen meer betekenis aan het gebed toe, dan de gelovigen zelf doen. Deze antwoorden beschouw ik daarom niet als betrouwbaar en laat ik verder buiten beschouwing. De overige respondenten (4 stuks) stellen dat de emoties afhangen van de mate waarin mensen gelovig zijn. De zogenaamde 'cultuur christenen' zullen minder emoties ervaren dan mensen die gelovig zijn.

Met betrekking tot de verhouding tussen de geschiedenis van Kenia en het gebed kwamen geen nieuwe resultaten naar boven ten opzichte van de vragen naar de eigen ervaring. Ze spiegelden allen hun antwoord dat ze in de voorgaande set vragen hadden gegeven. Een mogelijke verklaring hiervoor is dat ze niet gewend zijn om over religie te spreken.

Samenvattend kunnen we stellen dat ook hier 'eenheid' een centraal betekeniselement lijkt te zijn, maar dat deze eenheid minder vaak wordt verstaan als een relatie tot God, maar als een relatie tot de andere vergaderleden en tot de samenleving. Respect kwam daarentegen minder vaak naar vormen. Een ander verschil ten opzichte van de vorige paragraaf is dat de respondenten zelf meestal geen invloed op de vergadering rapporteren, terwijl ze wel denken dat anderen een invloed van het gebed op het verloop van de vergadering zullen ervaren.

6.6 Samenvatting

Door de hoge mate van overeenkomst tussen de antwoorden kunnen we een betrouwbare beschrijving van het gebed aan het begin van een vergadering geven. Het gebed is vaak een algemeen christelijk gebed dat bestaat uit een aantal vaste onderdelen zoals God bedanken,

aanbidden, de zegen vragen en een afsluitend ‘amen’. Daarnaast wordt regelmatig een islamitisch gebed uitgesproken dat doorgaans bestaat uit de openingssoera en met ‘amin’ wordt beëindigd.

Het tweede deel van het onderzoek toont dat eenheid en respect als centrale elementen van het gebed lijken te worden beschouwd. Dit lijkt echter nauwelijks invloed te hebben op de vergadering. Verder zien we dat er veel en uiteenlopende emoties worden opgewekt en dat de meesten mensen het gebed relateren aan het feit dat Kenia een christelijke samenleving is dankzij de kerstening ten tijde van het koloniale bewind.

Wanneer de respondenten vertellen over hoe de anderen volgens hen het gebed ervaren, lijkt vaker gedacht te worden dat het gebed een invloed heeft op de vergadering en dat het gebed vaker als een gebed dan als een tick-the-boxactiviteit wordt ervaren.

In het volgende hoofdstuk worden de resultaten geïnterpreteerd in het licht van de besproken literatuur (hoofdstuk 4) en de context (hoofdstuk 2 en 3). Dit zal leiden tot het antwoord op de hoofdvraag naar de betekenis van het gebed, waarna de theorie bediscussieerd zal worden.

7. Conclusies en discussie

7.1 Inleiding

Het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen waaraan (semi-)ambtenaren deelnemen, is een wijd verbreid fenomeen in Kenia en het gebeurt slechts zelden dat een vergadering zonder gebed begint. De vraag die dit onderzoek wil beantwoorden is welke betekenis dit gebed heeft. Heeft het een religieuze betekenis? Draagt het bij aan een groepsgevoel? Heeft het effect op de vergadering? De resultaten, die in het vorige hoofdstuk een beschrijving van het gebed en van de ervaringen hebben gegeven, worden in dit hoofdstuk geïnterpreteerd in het licht van de Keniaanse samenleving (hoofdstuk 2 en 3) en het theoretische kader (hoofdstuk 4). Allereerst toetsen we de hypotheses die aan het eind van het theoretisch kader geformuleerd zijn. Daarna volgt het antwoord op de hoofdvraag: Wat is de subjectieve betekenis die mensen toekennen aan het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen in Kenia waarbij (semi-) ambtenaren aanwezig zijn? Aansluitend bediscussiëren we het onderzoek en de uitkomsten.

7.2 Toetsen van de hypotheses

Aan het slot van het theoretisch kader zijn een aantal hypotheses geformuleerd. De resultaten falsificeren drie hypotheses en verifiëren er twee. Hieronder worden deze hypotheses één voor één besproken. Op basis van de geverifieerde hypotheses formuleren we daarna het antwoord op de vraag welke subjectieve betekenis de respondenten toekennen aan het gebed aan het van een vergaderingen.

1. *Het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen zorgt voor een gevoel van eenheid zoals deze door de Ubuntu-filosofie wordt beschreven.*
   Voor de onderzochte groep geldt dat eenheid, ook te lezen als 'verbondenheid', een belangrijk element is. Deze eenheid wordt gerapporteerd op verschillende niveaus: een verbondenheid tussen het individu en God, een verbondenheid tussen de aanwezigen en een verbondenheid tussen de mensen op samenlevingsniveau.

   Eenheid, het gevoel van harmonie, is een centraal thema binnen de Afrikaanse traditionele religie. Deze eenheid wordt uitgelegd als een verbondenheid tussen enerzijds de levende gemeenschapsleden en anderzijds de "living-deads" (Tarusarira 2017, 401), goden en geesten. Deze verbondenheid is een centrale waarde binnen de Afrikaanse morele filosofie waar Ubuntu het fundament van vormt (Mofuoa 2020, 198). De verbondenheid die de respondenten rapporteren sluit ook aan bij de Ubuntu-gedachte dat mensen elkaar, zowel de levende als de dode gemeenschapsleden, moeten benaderen als religieuze personen (Louw 1998, 35). Deze gedachte lijkt tevens te corresponderen met het feit dat respondenten aangaven het zelf belangrijk te vinden respect te tonen voor de religieuze ander die wil bidden. Het gaat dus niet om vergaderleden, maar om de personen die deelnemen aan de vergadering. Dit wordt verder onderbouwd door het feit dat veel respondenten geen effect op de vergadering rapporteren. Op basis hiervan hebben we goede redenen aan te nemen dat Ubuntu-filosofie en de traditionele Afrikaanse religie op het niveau van waarden doorklinken in het hedendaagse gebed.

2. *Het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen zorgt ervoor dat mensen respectvol met elkaar omgaan tijdens de vergadering.*
Deze hypothese wordt gefalsificeerd. Er blijkt geen verband te zijn tussen het bidden voor een vergadering en het verloop van de vergadering. Als een respondent al zegt dat hij/zij een verband ervaart, dan wordt dat later door dezelfde persoon weersproken:

> So I feel calm, calmer. I feel more hopeful, so I know things are going to go well. And it kind of gives me strength, I guess, to just know that this is a meeting that has been blessed. So all conversations here will be done respectfully. (respondent 5, 10:18)

> I don't think it has an influence on the meeting, because they still, at least in the meetings I've been in with Muslims, they still tend to engage in the meeting. In the same way as you would engage outside a meeting. (respondent 5, 29:34)

Wel blijkt dat sommige respondenten, zoals respondent 5 hierboven, *geloven* dat het gebed een invloed heeft op de vergadering, ondanks dat ze waarnemen dat het in de praktijk niet zo uitpakt. De hypothese zou dus veranderd kunnen worden in: 'het gebed aan het begin van de vergadering geeft sommige mensen de hoop dat vergaderingen respectvoller zullen verlopen'.

3. *Het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen kan de vergaderagenda beïnvloeden.*
Deze hypothese lijkt vooral op te gaan voor traditionele gebeden:

> Yes, there's a correlation [between the duration of the prayer and the gravity of the meeting]. Sometimes when the people on the front see that a peaceful settlement is not easy to reach, they take more time praying and preparing the audience. Sometimes, when they feel like it's not a very big matter, they just say a prayer and start talking. Yes, sometimes when […] the gravity of the problem is so big, they try to create several prayer sessions to prepare these people to sit down and talk. (Respondent 1, 18:28)

Het islamitsche gebed, dat slechts bestaat uit de openingssoera, kent deze invloed niet. Ook het christelijke gebed definieert nauwelijks de agenda. Het gebed heeft altijd min of meer dezelfde lengte en de duur lijkt eerder af te hangen van de voorbidder dan van de agenda. Of zoals respondent 4 (09:11) zegt: "It really didn't matter. There will always be a prayer whether the senate is hot or not."

4. *Het gebed zorgt ervoor dat mensen een nieuwe realiteit vorm gaan geven.*
Aangezien het gebed geen invloed heeft op de inhoud van de vergadering en de manier waarop men met elkaar vergadert, zoals hierboven is gebleken, lijkt het gebed niet bij te dragen aan het uitvoeren van actiepunten die tijdens de vergadering worden vastgelegd. Het gebed schijnt echter wel ertoe te leiden dat mensen meer eenheid ervaren op interpersoonlijk niveau en met God. Dit zou op den duur kunnen leiden tot het vormgeven van een nieuwe realiteit, zoals een samenleving die minder verdeeld is langs etnische lijnen. Dit verband is echter in dit onderzoek niet onderzocht en daardoor kunnen we hierover geen uitspraak doen. Deze hypothese dient dan ook verder onderzocht te worden.

5. *Mensen bidden voor hulp en bijstand.*
Uit de beschrijving van het gebed (tabel 4) lijkt te kunnen worden afgeleid dat er om hulp en bijstand van God wordt gebeden: er wordt gevraagd om wijsheid en ondersteuning. Het bidden voor hulp en bijstand wordt in de literatuur (o.a. Baker 2008) uitgelegd als dat het

gebed als copingmechanisme ingezet kan worden. In dit onderzoek blijkt alleen respondent 1 over het gebed als copingmechanisme te praten:

> The prayer also helps them to cope with what has happened. Because in some cases, like in the community, which I'm talking about, there are so many conflicts with neighbors and also the kind of environment, they live in, is very hostile. Like there is a lot of riots. Sometimes when the rains come, there are landslides, mudslides and things like that. There are also floods. Those rivers kind flood sometimes. (Respondent 1, 28:02)

In dit citaat wordt verwezen naar een traditionele gemeenschap. Kenmerkend voor hun religie is dat het een natuurreligie is. Watson en Kochore (2012, 11) laten zien dat klimaatverandering wordt toegeschreven aan de straffende God, omdat de rituelen niet naar behoren werden uitgevoerd. Het kan dus zijn dat coping een element is van traditionele gebeden, maar dat het nauwelijks een rol speelt in gebeden die aan het begin van vergaderingen waarbij (semi-)ambtenaren aanwezig zijn, worden uitgesproken.

7.3 De betekenis van het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen

Van de vijf besproken hypotheses zijn er drie gefalsifieerd en blijven alleen de hypotheses over dat het gebed bijdraagt aan een gevoel van eenheid en dat het gebed als copingmechanisme dient. Vragen om hulp en bijstand wordt echter alleen door respondent 1 benoemd en valt daarom af als antwoord op de onderzoeksvraag. Blijft de eerste hypothese wel staan als we de context van het gebed erbij betrekken?

Eenheid, op te vatten als verbondenheid, wordt veelvuldig en door al de zeven respondenten genoemd (unity 8x, connected 13x). Bovendien komt dit in alle drie de onderdelen van het interview naar voren: in de beschrijving van het gebed, in hun eigen ervaring en in de ervaring die de respondenten toedichten aan hun collega's.

Deze eenheid wordt door sommige respondenten uitgelegd als een eenheid tussen henzelf en God en is daardoor een begrip dat ze met hun eigen geloofsovertuiging verbinden. Daarnaast wordt de eenheid begrepen als respect hebben voor de biddende medemens en voor andersgelovigen in de samenleving. Ter illustratie van dit laatste punt verwijzen interviewees, zoals respondent 4, naar het gebed aan het begin van parlementszittingen:

> Before parliament session starts they will do three prayers. They say a prayer by a Muslim cleric. They say a prayer from a Christian when they talk about Christianity. Of course, you know there are many dimensions of Christianity, but they would probably just bring one. And than there is a traditional spiritual prayer. Mainly, it is a Masai person where it comes from. So they they bring a traditional guy who just runs his own things. Nobody is hearing what he's saying because he's saying it in his language and blesses the parliament and than they start meeting. (Respondent 4, 3:28)

Het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen is volgens respondent 6 (43:25) hiervan afgeleid. In het begin was dit alleen een christelijk gebed, maar tegenwoordig is het doorgaans een christelijk en/of islamitisch gebed om zo de eenheid te representeren. Tegenwoordig wordt ook vaker een traditioneel gebed uitgesproken, omdat het traditionele Afrikaanse geloof meer aanhangers krijgt (respondent 7, 06:33).

Als we op deze maatschappelijke betekenis verder redeneren, lijkt het gebed een politieke praxis te zijn, maar functioneert deze praxis anders dan Parsitau (2011, 139) beargumenteert.

Parsitau (2011) beschouwt het gebed binnen de context van the National Prayer Days en the National Prayer Breakfast, twee evenementen die ruime media-aandacht krijgen en naast een religieuze activiteit ook uitgelegd kunnen worden als pressiemiddel om de publieke opinie en de politieke agenda te beïnvloeden. Het gebed dat centraal staat in dit onderzoek, bevindt zich in een andere context en lijkt niet gebruikt te worden als pressiemiddel. We hebben echter goede redenen om desalniettemin het gebed een politieke praxis te noemen: het gebed vergroot de eenheid tussen de verschillende etnische en religieuze bevolkingsgroepen op interpersoonlijk en op samenlevingsniveau doordat mensen elkaar meer als religieuze personen gaan zien waar ze respect voor hebben. Hierdoor draagt het bij aan het transitional justice proces waar Kenia in zit. Dit komt overeen met wat Kalu 9(003b, 10) en Casari (2016, 131) vertellen over de functie van religie bij het opbouwen van Kenia na de onafhankelijkheid in 1963.

Als we op de persoonlijke betekenis doorredeneren, zouden we het gebed aan het begin van een vergadering als een sociale praktijk kunnen opvatten. Genova (2015, 15-17) stelt dat het gebed dan een routinematige handeling is geworden waar niet te veel over nagedacht wordt. Veel respondenten ervaren het gebed inderdaad op deze wijze en noemen het een “tick the box activity”. Tegelijkertijd kunnen ze ook ervaren dat het gebed “een poging is om met God te communiceren, als individu, of als groep” (Woodhead 2015, 214). Waar Genova en Woodhead tegengestelde visies poneren, lijken respondenten beide standpunten in zich te kunnen verenigen, zoals blijkt uit paragraaf 6.4.

De subjectieve betekenis van het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen in Kenia waar (semi-)ambtenaren aan deelnemen, lijkt dus te zijn dat het gebed de eenheid met en het respect voor de religieuze medemens vergroot. Dit kan op verschillende niveaus geschieden: mens-God, individu-individu, en individu-samenleving. Het hangt van het individu zelf af op welk niveau de eenheid wordt ervaren. Mensen met een sterk geloof zullen eerder een intensivering van de mens-Godrelatie ervaren, terwijl minder gelovige mensen eerder op interpersoonlijk en samenlevingsniveau de eenheid en het respect zullen ervaren. Het gebed aan het begin van een vergadering lijkt daardoor te kunnen worden omschreven als zijnde een ritueel, een sociale praktijk en een politieke praxis.

7.4 Discussie

Deze discussieparagraaf is onderverdeeld in twee verschillende discussies. Allereerst wordt de validiteit en betrouwbaarheid van het onderzoek bediscussieerd. Vervolgens volgt een kritische bespreking van de literatuur.

7.4.1 Validiteit en betrouwbaarheid van het onderzoek

Hoe betrouwbaar is de conclusie dat het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen in Kenia als betekenis heeft het gevoel van eenheid en respect te vergroten door elkaar te zien als religieuze personen? Om hierop een antwoord te geven, evalueer ik eerst de validiteit van dit onderzoek en daarna de betrouwbaarheid van de gegeven antwoorden.

Bij dit onderzoek zijn zeven respondenten bevraagd door één interviewer die gebruik maakte van een interviewinstrument. Deze respondenten hebben de eigenschap bekend te zijn met vergaderingen die met en zonder gebed beginnen en met vergaderingen waarbij overheidsfunctionarissen of semi-ambtenaren aanschuiven. Dit is de beoogde context waarbinnen we het gebed willen begrijpen.

De keuze om voor respondenten te kiezen die bekend zijn met vergaderingen die zowel met als zonder gebed beginnen, is ingegeven vanuit de gedachte dat een vergelijking tussen deze twee

manieren van vergaderen het makkelijker maakt om de betekenis van het gebed te beschrijven. Opvallend was echter dat mijn respondenten rapporteren dat er geen verschil is tussen vergaderingen die met en zonder gebed beginnen. Dit kan ertoe leiden dat de interviewees sceptischer zijn over de invloed van het gebed dan Kenianen die niet de ervaring hebben een vergadering direct te starten. Hun visie kan dus afwijken van wat Kenianen in het algemeen vinden van het gebed.

Een tweede kritische noot kan ten aanzien van de populatie worden gemaakt. De onderzoekspopulatie bestond uit twee deelpopulaties: een groep Kenianen die werkzaam is bij Nederlandse NGO's en een groep Kenianen bestaande uit wetenschappers in het veld van de geesteswetenschappen. In eerste instantie leek het nuttig om deze wetenschappers op te nemen in het onderzoek, omdat zij gewend zijn over dit soort onderwerpen na te denken en daardoor makkelijker de vragen zouden kunnen beantwoorden. Tijdens het onderzoek bleek dit echter een nadeel te zijn. Soms gaven ze geen antwoord vanuit hun eigen beleving, maar antwoorden ze vanuit literatuur zonder dat expliciet te benoemen (zie bijvoorbeeld Respondent 2, 18:12). Door deze ontwerpfout in de populatiekeuze dragen de antwoorden van de wetenschappers niet altijd even goed bij aan het beantwoorden van de onderzoeksvraag en neemt de externe validiteit van dit onderzoek af.

De betrouwbaarheid van de interviewer is beter gewaarborgd. Als interviewer volgde ik bij elk interview hetzelfde format, dat beschreven staat in het interviewinstrument (zie bijlage 6). Kenmerkend aan de interviews was dat ik investeerde in een goede relatie met de interviewees en een methodologisch agnostische houding aannam. Ik maakte een sociaal praatje aan het begin en eind van het interview en legde duidelijk uit wat de opbouw en inhoud van het interview was. Tussentijds moedigde ik de interviewees aan door voor de gegeven antwoorden te bedanken en door hen aan te sporen hun eigen antwoord te geven. Met deze aanpak beoogde ik dat respondenten vrijuit zouden spreken. Dit lijkt gelukt, omdat ik niet de indruk heb gekregen dat sociaal wenselijke antwoorden zijn gegeven. Integendeel, respondenten zeiden zelf dat ze eerlijk en vrij spraken (zie Respondent 2, 30:18 en Respondent 7, 49:53). Dat de respondenten in een voor hen vertrouwde omgeving met mij een een-op-eengesprek voerden, en zo minder sociale druk ervoeren, zal hier ook aan hebben bijgedragen. Hierdoor is de ecologische validiteit van dit onderzoek hoog.

Het interviewinstrument is door de interviewer zelf ontwikkeld op basis van de gelezen literatuur besproken in deel één en is vooraf getest, waardoor de vragenlijst inhoudsvalide was. Tijdens het uitvoeren van het onderzoek kwam ik er echter achter dat de vragenlijst niet goed werkte. Respondenten waren bang dat ze niet genoeg expert zouden zijn en dat hun eigen ervaring weinig waard was. Dat heeft ertoe geleid dat ik bij de vervolginterviews nog duidelijker ging benadrukken dat het om hun eigen ervaring draait:

> So it's really about what you think. So it's not about your knowledge or your theoretical knowledge. It's really about your own experiences. (Interviewer, transcription 6, 9:56)

Door deze aanpassing nam de betrouwbaarheid van de antwoorden toe.

Tevens bleek één vraag, de vraag naar de relatie tussen hun eigen geloofsovertuiging en het gebed, niet te werken. Het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen is zo algemeen dat iedereen zijn eigen geloofsovertuiging er wel in herkent. Deze vraag discrimineerde dus niet goed en is bij de analyse buiten beschouwing gelaten.

Concluderend kunnen we stellen dat de betrouwbaarheid van het onderzoek enerzijds verkleind is door het spiegelen van antwoorden en het beantwoorden vanuit de theorie. Anderzijds is de betrouwbaarheid vergroot doordat er geen sociaal wenselijke antwoorden zijn

gegeven en de interviewees door de aanmoedigingen vrijuit spraken. In zijn geheel genomen lijkt de betrouwbaarheid tijdens het onderzoek toegenomen te zijn. Ten aanzien van de validiteit moeten we vaststellen dat bij het uitvoeren van het onderzoek een aantal minpunten opdoken. Door de onhandig gekozen populatie en de onjuist geformuleerde interviewvraag is de externe validiteit van het onderzoek minder groot dan vooraf gehoopt. Dit is enigszins gecompenseerd doordat de respondenten een een-op-eengesprek in hun eigen omgeving voerden en daardoor oprechter antwoorden op de vragen.

7.4.2 Methodologische issues

Binnen deze studie wordt zowel gekeken hoe de literatuur kan helpen bij het beschrijven en interpreten van het gebed, als naar hoe de verkregen data een kritisch licht op de theorieën werpt. Ik wil twee kritiekpunten ten aanzien van de theorie bespreken: ten eerste de grote diversiteit aan invalshoeken om het gebed te interpreteren en ten tweede de (te grote) sprong van een beschrijving van het gebed naar een interpretatie daarvan.

Grimes (1995, 38) beschrijft zeven interpretatie-invalshoeken. Van deze zeven heb ik de sociale functie (deel twee) en de historische functie (deel één) gekozen, en is daar de politieke invalshoek (deel één en deel twee) aan toegevoegd. Elk perspectief gebruikt zijn eigen terminologie en bepaalt zelf het kader waarbinnen het onderwerp onderzocht wordt. De politieke zienswijze heeft bijvoorbeeld veel oog voor het niveau van de samenleving en de staat, maar kijkt niet naar wat het gebed op persoonlijk niveau voor mensen betekent. De resultaten tonen echter dat het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen in Kenia, waarbij (semi-)ambtenaren aanwezig zijn, alleen goed geïnterpreteerd kan worden als alle drie de invalshoeken samengevoegd worden. Het gebed is een ritueel én een sociale praktijk én een politieke praxis. Maar hoe het gebed als ritueel, sociale praktijk en politieke praxis te begrijpen hangt af van de cultuurhistorische context. Een goede interpretatie vraagt dus om een holistische benadering.

Het tweede discussiepunt focust op de overgang van de beschrijving van de data naar een interpretatie daarvan. De overgang van beschrijving naar interpretatie is niet altijd even goed onderbouwd, waardoor onduidelijk blijft hoe de functie of betekenis van het gebed volgt uit de data. Ganiel (2021) stelt bijvoorbeeld dat het gebed ertoe kan leiden dat de realiteit verandert. Hoewel het gebed een zeker effect heeft op de deelnemers aan de vergadering, kunnen we op basis van deze relatie niet vaststellen of dit ook leidt tot het veranderen van de realiteit. We hebben daar niet de benodigde data voor. Bovendien is het lastig om de oorzaak-gevolg relatie te duiden. Zet het gebed voor vrede bijvoorbeeld aan tot vredesopbouw, of is het de context van oorlog die mensen in beweging zet? Om ervoor te waken dat een te grote sprong wordt gemaakt van beschrijven naar interpreteren van de data stel ik voor gebruik te maken van verschillende onderzoeksmethoden en verschillende invalshoeken. De combinatie van methoden en invalshoeken bouwt een beschrijvingsnetwerk waarbij interpretaties gebaseerd horen te worden op punten in dat netwerk. Hoe meer verbindingspunten er zijn, hoe betrouwbaarder de interpretatie wordt.

7.4.3 Vervolgonderzoek

Op basis van deze discussie kunnen we een aantal vragen en aanbevelingen formuleren voor vervolgonderzoek. Ten eerste zou het interessant zijn om dit onderzoek te herhalen onder een populatie die bestaat uit Kenianen die alleen ervaring hebben met vergaderingen die beginnen met een gebed. Zien we bij hen dezelfde resultaten, of rapporteren zij vaker dat het gebed de relatie tussen hen en God versterkt? Ervaren zij wel dat het gebed invloed op de vergadering heeft, of niet?

Ten tweede zouden we het onderzoek kunnen herhalen in andere Afrikaanse landen. Zien we in die landen dezelfde invloed van de traditionele Afrikaanse religie en de Ubuntu-filosofie als in Kenia of niet? In welke mate draagt het gebed in die landen bij aan meer eenheid in de samenleving?

Tot slot zou ik willen aanbevelen om het gebed van zoveel mogelijk invalshoeken te onderzoeken om zo een beschrijvingsnetwerk te maken. Dit leidt tot een diepgaander begrip van het gebed en biedt de mogelijkheid om tot een beter gefundeerde interpretatie te komen.

8. Het gebed als verbindende schakel

Het gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen lijkt in Kenia de verbindende schakel te zijn tussen heden en verleden, tussen de zichtbare werkelijkheid van de mensen, dieren en planten en de onzichtbare werkelijkheid van de voorouders, geesten en krachten, en tussen de verschillende etnisch-religieuze bevolkingsgroepen. De eenheidsgedachte die door het gebed wordt uitgedragen wordt door de respondenten uitgelegd als 'je meer verbonden voelen met elkaar' waarbij je de ander benadert als zijnde een religieus persoon. Het beschouwen van de ander als een religieus persoon is een element van de Ubuntu-filosofie waarbij de 'ander' zowel onderdeel kan uitmaken van de zichtbare werkelijkheid van de mensen als van de onzichtbare werkelijkheid van de voorouders, goden en geesten (Louw, 1998, 35). Binnen de Afrikaanse morele filosofie wordt gemeenschap gezien als een kernwaarde (Mofuoa 2020, 198) en deze krijgt gestalte door het aangaan van relaties met zowel de levenden als de levende doden (Wabule en Tarusarira 2019, 358).

Tegelijkertijd kan het gebed als de schakel tussen heden en verleden gezien worden. Hoewel tegenwoordig slechts een klein percentage van de Keniaanse bevolking zichzelf beschouwd als een aanhanger van de traditionele Afrikaanse religie, blijken elementen van deze religie door te werken in de huidige vorm van het gebed. Een duidelijk voorbeeld hiervan is te zien in de data met betrekking tot de vraag of het gebed invloed heeft op de vergadering. Respondent 1 vertelde dat het traditionele gebed de agenda toelicht en de toon van de vergadering zet, terwijl de respondenten die focusten op het algemene christelijke en islamitische gebed deze beïnvloeding niet rapporteren, ook al gaat het algemeen christelijke gebed deels over de vergadering die zal plaatsvinden. Het lijkt erop dat de oude gebruiken nog in het gebed aanwezig zijn, maar door de mensen niet meer als zodanig herkend worden. Het is een relict geworden.

Ondertussen kan het gebed ook beschouwd worden als een verbindende schakel tussen verschillende etnisch-religieuze bevolkingsgroepen in Kenia. Het gebed wordt door de Keniaanse staat actief ingezet om de eenheid tussen de verschillende etnisch-religieuze groeperingen te benadrukken. In de jaren '60 lag de nadruk op 'Harambee', gastvrijheid, een kernwaarde uit de Ubuntu-filosofie, om zo de eenheid te benadrukken. Onder Moi's bewind (1978-2002) kwam de nadruk te liggen op het christendom en werd alleen een algemeen christelijk gebed aan het begin van vergaderingen uitgesproken. Maar toen de spanningen bij de verkiezingen in 2007 zeer hoog opliepen, heeft men daarna actief ingezet op eenheid door in het parlement de vergaderingen met een christelijk, islamitisch en traditioneel gebed te starten. Dit heeft bij de respondenten aan dit onderzoek geleid tot een gevoel van meer eenheid en inclusiviteit, al rapporteren sommigen ook dat het hen inziens niet ver genoeg gaat.

De betekenis van het gebed is dus niet in één zin uit te leggen. Voor mijn respondenten lijkt de betekenis te zijn dat ze meer eenheid en respect ervaren. De één ervaart de verbondenheid tussen hem/haar en God, de ander tussen de personen die deelnemen aan de vergadering en een derde ervaart het op het niveau van de samenleving. Voor de staat lijkt de betekenis te zijn dat ze bijdraagt aan een vreedzamere samenleving en vorm geeft aan de nieuwe identiteit die Kenia nog altijd zoekt nadat het in 1963 onafhankelijk is geworden.

De betekenis is veel rijker geschakeerd dan ik aan het begin van dit onderzoek vermoedde. Ik startte net zo onwetend als de Nederlandse NGO-medewerkers en onderzoekers die in Kenia projectwerk doen en mij tijdens mijn stageonderzoek vertelden dit gebed niet goed te begrijpen. Aan het eind van dit onderzoek kunnen we ons er een beter begrip van vormen. Allereerst doordat we nu een beschrijving hebben van het gebed: de Kenianen lijken het gebed aan het begin van een vergadering als een ritueel te beschouwen dat altijd op min of meer dezelfde wijze verloopt.

Afhankelijk van de aanwezige geloofsovertuigingen bepaalt de initiatiefnemer van de vergadering wat voor een gebed en hoeveel gebeden er uitgesproken zullen worden. Hierbij wordt gekozen uit een algemeen christelijk en/of een islamitisch en/of een traditioneel gebed. Een van de aanwezigen gaat voor in het gebed. Terwijl hij/zij spreekt, zijn de anderen stil. Hun ogen zijn neergeslagen en de handen liggen in de schoot al gelden er bij het islamitische en traditionele gebed andere houdingen. Gewoonlijk wordt het gebed met een gezamenlijk 'amen' afgesloten en het geheel duurt meestal maar twee minuten.

Daarnaast hebben we een beter begrip van het gebed, omdat we nu inzicht hebben in de uiteenlopende betekenissen die de respondenten toekennen waarbij 'eenheid' en 'respect' twee kernelementen lijken te zijn. Deze twee kernelementen hebben geen invloed op de vergadering zelf, maar werken op veel verschillende niveaus door waardoor we het gebed als een verbindende schakel kunnen zien. Het gebed verbindt de respondenten of met God en/of met andere religieuze personen en/of met andere religieuze groeperingen. Het ervaren van deze verbinding wordt ondersteund door het wereldbeeld dat ze hebben waarbij zowel de levenden als de doden en de morele en religieuze interpretatie van Ubuntu-filosofie een belangrijke rol spelen.

Het gebed als verbindende schakel beschouwen, toont echter ook hoe complex dit fenomeen is. We zijn alleen in staat om deze betekenistoekenning van respondenten volledig te begrijpen als een betekenisnetwerk wordt opgebouwd dat enerzijds oog heeft voor het wereldbeeld van de respondenten en anderzijds alle verschillende interpretatie-invalshoeken onderzoekt. Als we willen weten of het gebed in buurlanden dezelfde betekenis heeft, zal de context van dat buurland onderzocht moeten worden. Als we willen weten hoe Kenianen over het gebed denken zonder de ervaring te hebben vergaderingen direct te starten, zullen we misschien nog dieper in de verschillende tradities van de inheemse bevolking moeten duiken. Kortom, het gebed kunnen we beschouwen als een verbindende schakel, maar de context zal elke keer bepalen wat door de schakel met elkaar verbonden wordt.

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Bijlages

Bijlage 1: Overzicht wetsteksten met betrekking tot religie

Volledige wetsteksten van de besproken wetten, onderdeel van de herziene Constitutie van Kenia, 2010. De hieronder weergegeven artikelen zijn geciteerd uit *Constituteproject, n.d.*

1. Sovereignty of the people
    1. All sovereign power belongs to the people of Kenya and shall be exercised only in accordance with this Constitution.
    2. The people may exercise their sovereign power either directly or through their democratically elected representatives.
    3. Sovereign power under this Constitution is delegated to the following State organs, which shall perform their functions in accordance with this Constitution
        a. Parliament and the legislative assemblies in the county governments;
        b. the national executive and the executive structures in the county governments; and
        c. the Judiciary and independent tribunals.
    4. The sovereign power of the people is exercised at
        a. the national level; and
        b. the county level.

2. Supremacy of this Constitution
    1. This Constitution is the supreme law of the Republic and binds all persons and all State organs at both levels of government.
    2. No person may claim or exercise State authority except as authorized under this Constitution.
    3. The validity or legality of this Constitution is not subject to challenge by or before any court or other State organ.
    4. Any law, including customary law, that is inconsistent with this Constitution is void to the extent of the inconsistency, and any act or omission in contravention of this Constitution is invalid.

27. Equality and freedom from discrimination
    1. Every person is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and equal benefit of the law.
    2. Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and fundamental freedoms.
    3. Women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres.
    4. The State shall not discriminate directly or indirectly against any person on any ground, including race, sex, pregnancy, marital status, health status, ethnic or social origin, colour, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, dress, language or birth.
    5. A person shall not discriminate directly or indirectly against another person on any of the grounds specified or contemplated in clause (4).
    6. To give full effect to the realisation of the rights guaranteed under this Article, the State shall take legislative and other measures, including affirmative action programmes and policies designed to redress any disadvantage suffered by individuals or groups because of past discrimination.

7. Any measure taken under clause (6) shall adequately provide for any benefits to be on the basis of genuine need.
8. In addition to the measures contemplated in clause (6), the State shall take legislative and other measures to implement the principle that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender.

32. Freedom of conscience, religion, belief and opinion
1. Every person has the right to freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief and opinion.
2. Every person has the right, either individually or in community with others, in public or in private, to manifest any religion or belief through worship, practice, teaching or observance, including observance of a day of worship.
3. A person may not be denied access to any institution, employment or facility, or the enjoyment of any right, because of the person's belief or religion.
4. Aperson shall not be compelled to act, or engage in any act, that is contrary to the person's belief or religion.

169. Subordinate courts (Constituteproject n.d., 91-92)
1. The subordinate courts are
    a. the Magistrates courts;
    b. the Kadhis' courts;
    c. the Courts Martial; and
    d. any other court or local tribunal as may be established by an Act of Parliament, other than the courts established as required by Article 162.2.
2. Parliament shall enact legislation conferring jurisdiction, functions and powers on the courts established under clause 1.

170. Kadhis' Courts
1. There shall be a Chief Kadhi and such number, being not fewer than three, of other Kadhis as may be prescribed under an Act of Parliament.
2. A person shall not be qualified to be appointed to hold or act in the office of Kadhi unless the person
    a. professes the Muslim religion; and
    b. possesses such knowledge of the Muslim law applicable to any sects of Muslims as qualifies the person, in the opinion of the Judicial Service Commission, to hold a Kadhi's court.
3. Parliament shall establish Kadhis' courts, each of which shall have the jurisdiction and powers conferred on it by legislation, subject to clause (5).
4. The Chief Kadhi and the other Kadhis, or the Chief Kadhi and such of the other Kadhis (not being fewer than three in number) as may be prescribed under an Act of Parliament, shall each be empowered to hold a Kadhi's court having jurisdiction within Kenya.
5. The jurisdiction of a Kadhis' court shall be limited to the determination of questions of Muslim law relating to personal status, marriage, divorce or inheritance in proceedings in which all the parties profess the Muslim religion and submit to the jurisdiction of the Kadhi's courts.

Bijlage 2: E-mail

Dear [respondent's name],

How are you? Where you able to start with the field work for our research project *Invoking the Sacred: Towards Alternative Strategies Against Climate Change*? I hope the research is going well. I spoke with [name] last Saturday and he told me he was able to do the first part, but at the moment he was waiting for permission.

My part of the research (mapping whether and how Dutch governmental and non-governmental institutional actors who are working on climate-induced conflicts take the Kenyan worldview into account) is going well. I conducted fourteen interviews and currently I writing my report.

This research triggered an additional question which I am now investigation for my master thesis for Religious Studies, specialization Religion and Policy. The question is how prayers at the start of a governmental or business meeting influence the meeting. This question came up after I found out that my Dutch respondents did not see a meaning in such a prayer, while my Kenyan respondents reported that these prayers are important.

In order to answer this research question, I am looking for respondents, who are Kenyan and attend governmental or business meetings that start and end with a prayer. I am not looking for a certain type of religious affiliation. Respondents may belief or not. I would like to interview them about their own experience. An interview will take half an hour and I would prefer to use Zoom. Only the voice will be recorded and the data will be anonymized.

Please, would you like to contribute to this research by being a respondent? If so, could you indicate when an interview could take place? I am available each day, except Thursdays.

Or could you help me finding participants?

More information about the project is attached. And although the data will mainly used for my thesis, I also hope this data can contribute to our research project *Invoking the Sacred.*

I look forward to hearing from you.

With kind regards,
Tanja van Hummel
Centre for Religion, Conflict and Globalization
Groningen University, the Netherlands
Master's student Religious Studies, specialization Religion and Policy
Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands
t.m.van.hummel@student.rug.nl

Bijlage 3: Informatieve brief

De onderstaande brief is meegezonden als bijlage bij de e-mail om meer informatie over het onderzoeksproject te geven.

Tanja van Hummel MA
Master's student Religious Studies, specialization Religion and Policy
Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands
Intern at the Centre for Religion, Conflict and Globalization
Groningen University, the Netherlands
t.m.van.hummel@student.rug.nl

Arnhem, the Netherlands, February 26th, 2021

Subject: Additional information for participants of the scientific research *Involving the Sacred: Towards Alternative Strategies Against Climate Conflicts*

Dear [name]

As you already know, we are doing research in order to find alternative strategies against climate conflicts. You have been interviewed by me, Tanja van Hummel MA and we thank you for the information you provided.

After collecting the data of thirteen interviewees, some additional information is required. I would like to ask some additional questions about the prayers that are spoken at the beginning of a governmental or business meeting. I would like to focus on the following three issues:

- the description of such a prayer event;
- how you yourself experience such a prayer;
- how you think other people will experience such a prayer.

I think this information gives us a better view on the Kenyan worldview and will help us to find alternative strategies against climate conflicts.

I would like to ask you these questions in an interview that last approximately half an hour. Like the other interview, I would like to speak with you using Zoom.

The Zoom meeting will be recorded. Only the voice recording will be saved. The other recordings, like the video recording will be deleted. The voice recording will be transcribed and anonymized. This data will be used for two reasons. It will be the input for my master thesis for the master specialization Religion and Policy at the Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands. It also will be the input for the research project we are currently conducting at the Institute for Religion, Conflict and Globalization at Groningen University, the Netherlands.

The benefits of participation in this research is getting aware of the factor 'sacred' and 'religion' in your work. Knowledge about this factor helps to develop tools and concepts that help to tackle climate conflicts in a more holistic way. The results of interviewees talking about prayer will be

presented in my master thesis and can be find back in the outcomes of the research project *Invoking the Sacred: Towards Alternative Strategies Against Climate Conflicts.*

However, when you become uncomfortable during the interview, it is possible to stop. Participation is on a voluntary basis. If you want to quit for any reason, we will stop the interview. This does not have negative consequences for you.

Attached, you will find a new consent form, since this interview will be used not only for the research project *Invoking the Sacred* but also for my master thesis. Please, sing this document and send this to the email address mentioned above before the interview starts.

I hope to have informed you sufficiently. However, feel free to contact me whenever you have questions about this research.

With kind regards,
Tanja van Hummel MA
Master's student religious studies, specialization Religion and Policy
Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, the Netherlands
Intern at the Centre for Religion, Conflict and Globalization
Groningen University, the Netherlands
t.m.van.hummel@student.rug.nl

Bijlage 4: Toestemmingsformulier

Form of Consent
for participation in scientific research

Prayers at the start of governmental meetings

I have been informed about the study satisfactorily. I have read the written information carefully. I was also given the opportunity to ask questions about the research. My questions have been answered satisfactorily. I was able to think carefully about participating in the study. I have the right to withdraw my consent at any time without giving any reason.

I agree to participate in the study.

Name:
Institution:
Telephone number:
(required for the interviewer contacting you)
E-mail address :

Signature: Date:

Would you like to send a copy of the signed form to the interviewer:
Tanja van Hummel MA
Master's student Religion and Policy
Faculty of Philosophy, Theology and Religious Studies
Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands

Centre for Religion, Conflict and Globalization
Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies
Groningen University, the Netherlands
t.m.van.hummel@student.rug.nl

The undersigned, master student Religious and Policy and intern at the Institute of Religion, Conflict and Globalization, declares that the person named above has been informed both in writing and orally about the above research.

Name:
Position:

Signature: Date:

Bijlage 5: Interviewinstrument

Version March 19, 2021

Personal information

1. What is your year of birth?
2. What is your religious affiliation?
3. What is your highest level of education?
4. What is your job position?
   [Naam is al bekend.]

Introduction and information

In which setting / context are you familiar with a prayer at the start of a government or business meeting?

> *Please, keep this setting in mind when answering the following three blocks of questions.*
> *The first block is about describing the prayer and contains six questions.*
> *The second part is about your own experiences with this prayer and contains five questions.*
> *The third part is about how you think other people at the same meeting experience this prayer. This part also contains five questions.*

Description of the prayer at the start of governmental or business meetings in Kenya

In order to describe the prayer, I would like to ask you some questions.

1. Who conducts the prayer?
2. What is said during the prayer?
3. How long does the prayer take?
4. Does the prayer belong to a certain religious affiliation?
5. How do you behave during such a prayer?
6. Do you speak certain words or formula's during such a prayer?

Their own experience

In order to get an understanding of the meaning of this prayer, I would like to ask you five questions about your own personal experience of this prayer.

1. Which meaning has the prayer according to you?
2. Which emotions or feelings are triggered by the prayer?

3. In which way has this prayer an effect on the meeting, according to you?
4. Seen from your own religious affiliation, to which extent does the prayer fits in your personal religious affiliation.
5. According to your opinion, to which extent is this prayer related to the indigenous traditional religions or the indigenous traditional knowledge? / related to the history of Kenya

The experience of the others

In order to get a slightly wider understanding of this prayer, I would like to ask you some questions about how you think other people, who attend these meetings, experience this prayer.

When different groups are mentioned, like believers and non-believers, or Christians and Muslims, ask at each question the question for both groups.
Mention, when reading the question the first time, the both groups.
Say then, please, start with group x.
After the question, please answer the same question now for group y.

1. Which groups attended the meeting (prayer)?
2. Which meaning is given to this prayer by other people?
3. Which emotions or feelings do such a prayer trigger, according to them?
4. How does such a prayer influence the meeting, according to them?
5. To which extent do people experience a connection between this prayer and their own religious affiliation?
6. To which extent do people think this prayer is related to the traditional indigenous culture / related to the history of Kenya?

Bijlage 6: Transcripties

6.1 Transcriptie respondent 1

00:01:08
Interviewer: Hello, I can hear you very well this day.
00:01:13
Respondent 1: Oh, that is great.
00:01:15
Interviewer: Yeah, so how is the weather at your side?
00:01:21
Respondent 1: I find it better. It is sunny.
00:01:26
Interviewer: Yeah, I'm here it is sunny, but we have a storm.
00:01:32
Respondent 1: Oh, that is great. Is it winter so harsh this time?
00:01:38
Interviewer: Well, it is blowing a lot, but this morning, it was very bad, it was raining and blowing a lot and then the rain came just horizontal flowing.
00:01:51
Respondent 1: Oh ok, that is nice.
00:01:51
Interviewer: But now I really like it. Yeah.
00:02:00
Respondent 1: Yesterday, we could not speak; you can hear me?
00:02:03
Respondent 1: Yeah, definitely, yeah.
00:02:05
Interviewer: Oh, yeah, and just to start with, just some small talk, but how is it going with your part of the research?
00:02:20
Respondent 1: Yeah, we we are doing well, especially the research that I was doing earlier among the Pokots [ethnical group]. Because I was able to interview them, I collected some data and I still have some correspondence with them, I speak with them quite often.
00:02:36
Interviewer: And this is nice.
00:02:38
Respondent 1: Yeah, but then the research we're all supposed to collect data from among the Masai, it have not started jet, because I think the lady is still processing the license. You know, like we need we need some some kind of license before we go to collect data there.
00:03:02
Interviewer: Yeah, I hear it. Yeah.
00:03:03
Respondent 1: Yeah. But once that is done, we will start.
00:03:07
Interviewer: This is good to hear. Yeah. I collected all my data and I'm writing the report and.
00:03:14
Respondent 1: Oh that is good. Yeah.
00:03:17
Interviewer: Yeah. I started earlier and also for me it's also very hard to, to catch people and I had to send many emails to invite people and half of them said, no, we don't want to collaborate.
00:03:30
Respondent 1: Ok, ok. Yeah, that happens.
00:03:36
Interviewer: But in the end we ended up at 14 interviews speaking with 15 people, so I'm happy with that.

00:03:43
Respondent 1: Ok. Oh that is great. Yeah.
00:03:46
Interviewer: Yeah. And it is also very nice to, to do the analysis. I did a lot of analyses already, so I'm really at the point that I'm writing the report.
00:03:58
Respondent 1: O, that is great.
00:04:00
Interviewer: I find some, some very interesting things in clashes in worldview, especially.
00:04:06
Respondent 1: Ok.
00:04:09
Interviewer: That it is not only that they don't understand the African worldview, but also that they have some presuppositions that hinder them too, to get free access.
00:04:21
Respondent 1: And sometimes it's, it's like they already have a fixed position and even before they speak with the elders, the conclude already that these elders are like this or like that.
00:04:34
Respondent 1: Yeah. Especially when it comes to attitudes, for example, they call them laissez faire and not willing to act and lazy. And and then also interesting that I spoke with Dutch and Kenyan staff members from NGOs and then the Kenyans tell:' no, we don't have the problem because we just approach them in a different way. And so they will work with us.' And so, yeah, then you see really that it is just about the mindset.
00:05:03
Respondent 1: Haha. Yeah, yes, yes. Yes. You are right. You are right. Yeah.
00:05:08
Interviewer: So, yeah, I'm looking forward to data you are collecting as well, because I think we put all the information together and we become so much wiser.
00:05:22
Respondent 1: Yeah, yeah. Yeah. We produce a document. That would be great.
00:05:24
Interviewer: Yeah, that would be great yeah, yes.
00:05:25
Respondent 1: Yeah yeah yeah yeah.
00:05:29
Interviewer: That's for now. I want to focus on prayer and this is also something I found in my data.
00:05:35
Respondent 1: Ok.
00:05:36
Interviewer: What triggers me, and that was that every respondents said, well, if you have a meeting with the Kenyans, for example, on the governmental level, that could be on the county level or regional level or local level, ehm you always start and end these meetings with a prayer. And then my Dutch respondents said, well, we just listen to it. We don't see meaning in it. It is just formal. And then we go on.
00:06:07
Respondent 1: Ok, ok.
00:06:08
Interviewer: And then I asked the Kenyans about it because I was thinking, that's strange. I think if there is no meaning in a prayer, then you don't have a prayer. So what is then the point? So there should be something.
00:06:21
Respondent 1: Haha. OK. Yeah.
00:06:24
Interviewer: So I asked them and then my first respondent was saying, well, 'no, no, this is very important. I mean, this opening our hearts at this opening our minds' and and that triggers me to

ask further and collecting some data already about this topic I, I have now the research question: what is the importance of this prayer? How does it influence the meetings that are there? So you have the prayer and the prayer which influence does that have on the meeting?
00:07:05
silence: [silence]
00:07:10
Interviewer: Are you still there?
00:07:13
Respondent 1: I do comprehend. Yeah, I'm still there.
00:07:1
Interviewer: Ok, there was silence.
00:07:20
Respondent 1: OK, with my own experience speaking with these elders ehm, sometimes, it might also depend on what kinds of questions you ask them. But for me, I see that when they when they're doing those peace meetings, the prayers are important. Yeah, because I think it's during prayers they say what they want to do, how and how that [silence]
00:07:57
Interviewer: How that?
00:08:01
Respondent 1: Yeah, how that connects with their worldview.
00:08:05
Interviewer: OK, well, and I developed an interview instrument to ask you a lot of questions about this. So this was just an introduction. I just started with this, to have something informal.
00:08:15
Respondent 1: Ok, ok.
00:08:24
Interviewer: Um, is it a problem for you if I record this meeting, to have the data so that I can use it for the research?
00:08:35
Respondent 1: No problem. No problem at all.
00:08:36
Interviewer: OK, and then the second question, because, you know, I think, that in the Netherlands they are quite strict in putting all these documents together when you are doing research, because there are some people who are doing bad things with it. Which is: would you sign the consent form and send it back to me when you have access to Internet.
00:09:01
Respondent 1: The times that are the best for me?
00:09:06
Interviewer: No.
00:09:07
Respondent 1: I did not get your question.
00:09:09
Interviewer: I talk about the consent form, and that's a form that I sent you in the first email, and that is about the rules and the rights you have and the room have using the data.
00:09:24
Respondent 1: Yeah, yeah. I get it. I saw that form, but because I've been traveling as lot.
00:09:29
Respondent 1: Yeah, I will, I will, I will, I will print it, sign it and then scan it. I can do this for you.
00:09:35
Interviewer: That would be great.
00:09:37
Respondent 1: I do that at the beginning of next week. I've been away for the most of it.
00:09:42
Interviewer: Yeah. Yeah, that would be great. And if you forget, I sent you a reminder. But see then the reminder as a kind like I understand.

00:09:51
Respondent 1: I do that on Monday. No problem.
00:09:54
Interviewer: Yeah, that would be great.
00:09:55
Respondent 1: Yeah.
00:09:56
Interviewer: Alright. Yeah, let's start with the interview, and I think it will take approximately 30 minutes. And I start with some personal information to get an understanding of the person I'm talking with because I'm looking for a certain type of persons. Then I start with an introduction question just to set the stage. And after that you get three blocks of questions. And the first block of questions is about describing the player in a formal way. And then the second part is about your own experience with such a prayer. And then the third and last part is about how you think people that are at to meeting as well think about these prayers. So it's really about what you think. So it's not about your knowledge or your theoretical knowledge. It's really about your own experiences.
00:11:07
Respondent 1: Ok Ok.
00:11:09
Interviewer: All right, starting with the first questions about personal information, what's your year of birth?
00:11:20
Respondent 1: I am born in 1977.
00:11:22
Interviewer: So you're 10 years older than I am.
00:11:24
Respondent 1: Haha.
00:11:28
Interviewer: Exactly. And what is your religious affiliation?
00:11:35
Respondent 1: I'm a Catholic, Christian.
00:11:38
Interviewer: Uhum. And what's the highest level of education?
00:11:41
Respondent 1: I have a PhD.
00:11:45
Interviewer: Uhum. And what is your current job position?
00:11:50
Respondent 1: I'm a lecturer.
00:11:51
Interviewer: Uhum and at which university are you lecturing?
00:11:58
Respondent 1: I'm lecturing at Moi university. Moi, M.O.I. university, yeah.
00:12:06
Interviewer: All right, and this is enough about your personal situation and now we're moving to the prayer settings.
00:12:17
Respondent 1: Ok.
00:12:20
Interviewer: What kind of noise is in the background?
00:12:22
Respondent 1: I think someone is trying to call, but I think we could just speak, yeah.
00:12:30
Interviewer: Yeah, haha, It sounds a bit like a toy car.
00:12:31
Respondent 1: Yes, haha.

00:12:35
Interviewer: Haha. Well, in which setting are you familiar with a prayer that is at the start of a governmental or business meeting?
00:12:48
Respondent 1: I didn't get the question. Could you please repeat?
00:12:51
Interviewer: Yeah, in which setting are you familiar with the prayer that is at the start of the government or business meeting?
00:13:01
Respondent 1: I'm familiar with the prayer in peace meetings, in peace meetings among the Pokots [certain ethic tribe, red.], in all of the meetings that they do when there has been a war and now they're looking for some peaceful coexistence, so they pray before before they start talking.
00:13:23
Interviewer: Yeah. And what kind of people are attending these meetings?
00:13:31
Respondent 1: Actually, these meetings are attended by members of the community, the Pokot community. The government officials, we also have members from the non-governmental organizations which are related to development and some are related to peace.
00:13:52
Interviewer: Yeah.
00:13:52
Respondent 1: Yeah. Then we have also religious organizations.
00:13:55
Interviewer: What kind of organizations? I did not get that last one.
00:13:58
Respondent 1: Yeah, some of them are related to development, non-government organizations.
00:14:05
Interviewer: Yeah. All right, thank you.
00:14:07
Respondent 1: Yeah, like we research and those ones.
00:14:12
Interviewer: Yeah. I understand.
00:14:1
Respondent 1: Yeah.
00:14:1
Interviewer: Well, please keep this in mind when answering the following questions. And now we start with the three blocks of questions. And the first six questions are about describing the prayer. And the first question is who conducts the prayer?
00:14:37
Respondent 1: The prayers are conducted by the elders. We also have some situations where we also have those elders, who are part of, you know the denomination religions like Catholic, like Protestant religions and all of that. So, so in these, I'm talking about, you know, they have elders who are not Christian or Muslim, but they're traditional, they belong to traditional African religions. And you have those ones who also maybe pastors in some religion, Christian religions.
00:15:11
Interviewer: Uhum, yeah.
00:15:14
Respondent 1: They conduct such prayers.
00:15:17
Interviewer: Yeah. But if they're a pastor of, for example, a Christian religion, they should be an elder?
00:15:23
Respondent 1: So mostly that are the elder, they are men. You know mostly men.
00:15:30
Interviewer: Yeah.

00:15:30
Respondent 1: Because I don't know whether it is by chance or what, but here in Kenya mostly in most religions, the pastors are men. You know.
00:15:41
Interviewer: Yeah, I think.
00:15:41
Respondent 1: The elders, the elderly men. Yeah.
00:15:45
Interviewer: And what is more important? That it are elderly people or did this are people that have these religious vocations like imam, pastor. What is more important?
00:15:59
Respondent 1: Like pastor or priest? I think the thing is mostly they prefer that the pastors, priests, imams or elders who are in traditional African set ups. Also, we have elders, who have higher rank. You know, those ones who represent who preside certain functions.
00:1:22
Interviewer: Yeah. And then going to the next question. Focusing on this typical setting of this peace prayer, what is said during such a prayer?
00:1:45
Respondent 1: I didn't get your question.
00:1:46
Interviewer: What is said during such a prayer?
00:1:51
Respondent 1: O, what is said.
00:1:53
Interviewer: Yeah.
00:1:54
Interviewer: And normally they invoke like the way Christians would do, like they they invite the Almighty to participate in the peace talking and they offer a promise and sometimes they request for blessings and things like that that the Almighty guides the peace meeting, that they come to a peaceful resolution.
00:17:22
Interviewer: Mm hmm.
00:17:22
Respondent 1: Yeah, that's what they achieve what they have said to achieve during the meeting.
00:17:27
Interviewer: Mm hmm. And how long does such a prayer take?
00:17:34
Respondent 1: Sometimes it depends. In some meetings, we can even have a whole whole some kind of, you know, a mini prayer session. In some areas, someone just prays for something like five minutes or so and then the meeting starts, yeah. And sometimes it depends on the on the on the on the gravity of the matter. Sometimes they can, if they are Catholics, they can say mass you know, and then afterwards they have a meeting.
00:18:09
Interviewer: So is there a correlation between the duration of the prayer and the graffiti, gravity of the meeting?
00:18:28
Respondent 1: Yes, yes, yes, there's a correlation. Sometimes when when the the the people on the front see that a peaceful settlement is not easy to reach, they take more time praying and preparing the audience, you know. Yeah, sometimes when they feel like it's not a very big matter, they just say a prayer and start talking. Yes, sometimes when the conflict, you know, something like among the Pokots there are so many conflicts, especially with the neighbors, so if the gravity of the problem is so big, they try to create several prayer sessions to prepare these people to sit down and talk. Yes.

00:19:14
Interviewer: Yeah, I come later back to this, but I will ask the question already.
00:19:21
Respondent 1: Ok.
00:19:21
Interviewer: You say that the prayer prepares the people for the meeting and well, could you explain more about this preparation? in which way does it prepare?
00:19:43
Respondent 1: This preparation would include something like inviting these people like the two sides and convening prayer session with them. And sometimes, you know, even during those prayers, we we have situations where people talk, you know, they just talk about what they expect and who they are and why they have come there. So as a way of laying the ground for this, for the meeting.
00:20:14
Interviewer: Yeah. So to sum up, to to welcome all the people to to acknowledge them, to give them the acknowledgement that they can speak during a meeting.
00:20:30
Respondent 1: Yeah, yeah.
00:20:31
Interviewer: And then that if, for example, the prayer is about harmony, that you should aim to to keep the harmony during the meeting?
00:20:46
Respondent 1: Yes, in most cases, you know, sometimes even in prayer, people will just see what they expect, OK, so they say something like, we ask God to guide us so that we arrive at peaceful coexistence or they can even say something like, we know what the problem that this war [?] was, is very big. It's very difficult. But we ask you to help us, you know. So that you can see that even in praying, they're trying to help the people understand what is there and how they have to behave.
00:21:22
Interviewer: Uhum. That's very interesting to hear.
00:21:25
Interviewer: And then you mentioned already that sometimes a pastor can conduct a meeting, sometimes an elderly that is involved in the traditional religion. Uhm, so does the prayer belong to a certain religious affiliation, or does that really depends on who conducts the prayer?
00:21:52
Respondent 1: Most cases, because here in Africa, we we have those regions which are in the West [blieb blieb, connection falls apart]
00:22:04
Interviewer: Oh, sorry, I interrupt a bit.
00:22:07
Interviewer: [onverstaanbaar]
00:22:09
Interviewer: Sorry.
00:22:09
Respondent 1: What are you saying?
00:22:09
Interviewer: Sorry, Simon. There was a, we were disconnected for a while. So, I wish to start where you saying, I cannot follow you [bliebblieb]
00:22:30
Respondent 1: Can you hear me? Hello?
00:22:31
Interviewer: Yeah, I can hear you again. Can we starts again with answering the question.
00:22:39
Respondent 1: Sorry, Let me now just explain. Yeah. We have, here we have, sometimes we have elders who are affiliated to Christian, Islam or Muslim religion or Islamic religion, but, you know,

they also have affiliation to traditional African religion. So then these elders would preside over that prayer.
00:23:07
Interviewer: Mm hmm.
00:23:08
Respondent 1: And then we also have the people who are converted to Christianity and they follow only the Christian principles.
00:23:17
Interviewer: Mm hmm.
00:23:18
Respondent 1: You know, those are the ones that can also be invited to conduct prayers. Yes, so you can say that there is some coexistence between among religions in such settings.
00:23:32
Interviewer: Yeah. I come back to that later to find out more about it later. But for now, the next question is, how do you behave when such a prayer is said?
00:23:49
Respondent 1: When a prayer is said, people will be silent. Well, of course it is, it's a Protestant kind of prayer, you know, the parts of the audience, you know, they keep saying "Yes, God" or something like that. They give. Because, you know, it's normally not a one party prayer, like maybe a Catholic prayer.
00:24:14
Interviewer: Mm hmm.
00:24:1
Respondent 1: And then in the traditional African prayer, also, the participants will be invited to respond in certain ways.
00:24:24
Interviewer: And are these ways of responding fixt formulas?
00:24:31
Respondent 1: Yeah, actually for, like traditional African set up like the one among the Pokots, the way the participants respond is fixt. There is a way in which they respond. Some kinds of grunting or humming or, you know, producing some voices in unison. Yes.
00:24:50
Interviewer: Are you silent during such...
00:24:50
Respondent 1: More like what you would see in a Protestant church, sometimes, if you attend there services.
00:24:57
Interviewer: I'm a Catholic myself, but I know how it goes with the Protestants.
00:25:02
Respondent 1: Haha.
00:25:02
Interviewer: So sometimes you say 'Amen', yeah. And you, Simon, during such a prayer, are there also some gestures that people make?
00:25:15
Respondent 1: Yes, yes, yes. There are gestures. The distance and of course, if you do a traditional African prayer, you know, things like positioning, directions and all that are significant.
00:25:28
Interviewer: Mm hmm. Could you give some examples?
00:25:32
Respondent 1: Yeah, like like like now, for our case, of course when they pray, they would put their hands up. In a manner of sort of like putting hands up, I think you have seen taht in some denominations. And in the traditional African set up, they sometimes they face the east when it is early in the morning, because, you know there is a symbolic significance, the sun has some

symbolic significance. And then and then they would also pray under certain trees. You know, those trees also known to be sacred.
00:26:19
Interviewer: Yeah.
00:26:23
Respondent 1: In that way, yes. Yes, yes, yeah.
00:26:23
Interviewer: Oh, it's very interesting to hear all this, because I hear something about this, of course, in speaking with others. But it's still I hear things that are new. So this is really great to hear.
00:26:41
Respondent 1: Yeah, we know. Actually, since because for me, it's not just that I was doing among them. But I stayed there for some time teaching.
00:26:53
Interviewer: Yeah. So then you get
00:26:53
Respondent 1: So many of the things I had seen even earlier before I even went out to the field. Yes, yes.
00:26:59
Interviewer: Yeah. Yes, that's nice, yeah. But, well, just in doing another kind of job, you you learn still things. I really like that.
00:27:13
Respondent 1: Haha. Yeah.
00:27:15
Interviewer: Now we're going to the second part which is about your own experiences. And and I would like to ask you five questions. Well, please keep in mind as specific events when this prayer happened and try to stick to that event when answering these questions, I think that makes it more easy for you.
00:27:41
Respondent 1: Great.
00:27:41
Interviewer: And which meaning has to prayer according to you.
00:27:50
Respondent 1: The meaning of the prayer for me, first of all, the prayer provides a sense of unity of purpose.
00:27:58
Interviewer: Mm hmm.
00:28:02
Respondent 1: These people wanted to do something so they prayed in order to be united in what they wanted. So it brings them together. That is what I mean. The prayer also also helps them to cope with what has happened. Because in some cases, like in the community, which I'm talking about, there are so many there are so many conflicts with neighbors and also the kind of environment they live in is very hostile in that sense. Like there is a lot of riots. Sometimes when the rains come, there are landslides, mudslides and things like that. There are also floods. Those rivers kind flood sometimes. So they lose many the [silence]
00:28:56
Interviewer: They lose many? [bliebblieb]
00:29:02
Respondent 1: Lose like [bliebblieb]
00:29:02
Respondent 1: Hello?
00:29:14
Interviewer: Hello, it is back, hopefully.

00:29:17
Respondent 1: You can hear me?
00:29:19
Interviewer: Yeah, I can hear you. So the rivers flow and then they lose lives. This was the last thing I heard.
00:29:28
Respondent 1: They lose lives. Also they come, they come together to pray in order to, as a way of coping, you know, with all the difficulties they face, you know?
00:29:39
Interviewer: Yeah.
00:29:41
Respondent 1: Yeah.
00:29:41
Interviewer: And which emotions
00:29:46
Respondent 1: You say indeed prayers, yeah.
00:29:46
Interviewer: Go ahead.
00:29:50
Respondent 1: Hello. What I was saying is that, as you say, the prayer, the kinds of prayer often depend on the kind of circumstances they face.
00:30:02
Interviewer: Yeah. And then going to the next question.
00:30:05
Respondent 1: Yeah.
00:30:05
Interviewer: Which emotions or feelings are triggered by the prayer in you?
00:30:14
Respondent 1: Uhm. The kinds of emotions, sometimes you are sad, if you feel like you feel like you, you are sad, you are touched. Sometimes you also empathize, you feel like you're put yourself in their shoes, and sometimes when they say these prayers you also feel like some like lifted, sometimes when they say those prayers, after they have won a victory or something like that, you feel the spirit of triumph of winning or succeeding. Yes.
00:30:55
Interviewer: Yeah. And then.
00:30:57
Respondent 1: Yeah.
00:30:58
Interviewer: Well, how does this prayer influence the meeting that is following after the prayer?
00:31:08
Respondent 1: Yeah, the prayer influences the meeting in different ways. Like in the case of peaceful, peace meetings, the prayer provides some kind of a roadmap, you know, where they want to get.
00:31:27
Interviewer: Mm hmm.
00:31:29
Respondent 1: They expect. So it is kind of an advanced plan an advanced organizer of the meeting. They got in the prayer, saying well this is what we want and this is what we want to get. Because in the prayer, they also say 'this is what we aim at and this is what we want to get.'
00:31:44
Interviewer: And euhm, having this agenda laid down in prayer, does that help to get the goals that are set?
00:32:08
Respondent 1: Sometimes [4 sec] [bliebblieb] it also depends on their religious affiliations and also how religious they are. So sometimes it works, sometimes it doesn't.

00:32:18
Interviewer: And in cases that it doesn't work. Do you have an idea why it isn't working?
00:32:31
Respondent 1: I think the reason, I guess, it does not work, is that it's also because, you know, such meetings bring together people from different persuasions, different religions, different ways of thinking and all that. Yeah, especially when we talk about peace meetings. [onverstaanbaar] On the one hand, and then we have people who come from different other ethnicities who belong to the government and even the non-governmental organizations. You know, they have different ways of thinking, different ways of looking at reality and all that.
00:33:11
Interviewer: Yeah, and then it becomes harder.
00:33:13
Respondent 1: And sometimes that sometimes that is even why they can dismiss the elders and say 'what you are saying is not true or we don't follow what you're saying.'
00:33:23
Interviewer: I see what is happening then. Yeah.
00:33:25
Respondent 1: Yes, yes, yeah.
00:33:27
Interviewer: So. Could we say then that your own religious affiliation influences as well whether the prayer will work or not?
00:33:43
Respondent 1: I can say that, yes, because if we think of like the traditional African religion, for example, they have the way they look at their own reality, you know, they look at how they are existed and what is important for them may be different from where are other people. So sometimes the religious affiliation will determine the way you look at, even the kind the kind of prayer they are saying, things like that, yeah, yes, yeah, yeah, yeah.
00:34:17
Interviewer: And is it very often related to the indigenous traditional religion or is it also quite common that, for example, is a Christian or a Muslim prayer?
00:34:31
Respondent 1: Actually, there is a Christian prayer and sometimes there's also a Muslim prayer. But what I'm saying is, you know, like if we talk about the peace meetings hè,
00:34:42
Interviewer: Uhum. Yeah.
00:34:42
Respondent 1: But today sometimes also have an Christian you know, affiliation, you know, you can be traditional elder who is also a Christian.
00:34:58
Interviewer: Yes. So then you get a mixture.
00:34:59
Respondent 1: Then you get a mixture. You know, even the way you do it may be half half. Yeah, such cases are also common. Yeah.
00:35:12
Interviewer: And this question is not in my questionnaire, but as a researcher, is there a possibility to get a paper where such a prayer is written on or a videotape or so that I get an example, that it's really be there because I can do fieldwork in Kenya.
00:35:38
Respondent 1: That is great. Because I still have a big network. I can ask one of my friends to record one and then when we look at it.
00:35:49
Interviewer: That would be great.
00:35:51
Respondent 1: Yes, because I have friends among the Pokots, who I can request, I can just request

one to do record that because I know peace meetings, sometimes come, they're also predictable, but they can record a prayer maybe in church or somewhere and then we'll look at it.
00:36:10
Interviewer: Yeah. Yeah, that's great, because hearing it is is already something, but still it is a bit abstract to me.
00:36:21
Respondent 1: Yes, it does for you especial because you are not on the ground.
00:36:25
Interviewer: Yeah, exactly. And I'm not familiar with the traditional religion. I just know about it by articles and by what my respondents are saying to me.
00:36:37
Respondent 1: OK.
00:36:38
Interviewer: Yeah, I had some really good examples. I was so happy I spoke with a counselor of IDH who was specialized in traditional religion.
00:36:50
Respondent 1: Ok, ok.
00:36:50
Interviewer: And he gave me such a lot of information. Incredible.
00:36:56
Respondent 1: Oh, that's great.
00:36:57
Interviewer: Yeah, but that's still. Yeah. I'm at, it is still strange to me. Yeah. Um, but now we are
00:37:07
Respondent 1: Good to hear, I mean I can, I can I can ask a friend of mine for just record you know those traditional prayer, try to lift them for us. Yeah. So that we see.
00:37:17
Interviewer: Yeah. Let's talk about that at the end of the interview again just to, to make some notes about it. Now we are coming to the last box of questions and I'm, I'm will ask you to replace yourself in the minds of the people that are attending that meeting as well. And how do you think other people are seeing the meaning of such a prayer?
00:37:51
Respondent 1: Uhm. If I place myself among those people, I think not everyone would look at the prayer as serious and the reason being, like I said, the reason is that the people now come from different persuasions. Yeah.
00:38:15
Interviewer: And what are the main groups?
00:38:25
Respondent 1: The main?
00:38:25
Interviewer: The main groups that you can divide the people in?
00:38:31
Respondent 1: I can divide the people in, there is the people, the Pokots, like the ethnic group where the meeting is taking place. The government officers, religious groups different religious groups. I mean, not the traditional African, but at least the religious groups that are associated with the Western religions, Christianity, Islam and so on.
00:39:00
Interviewer: Yeah, and are these groups then do these groups differ in their how they view such a meeting or also inside these groups there are differences?
00:39:1
Respondent 1: I would say, because of, you know, like the ethnic groups are also, although they getting modernized in a way, so if we talk about the Potoks, they are no longer, you know, a homogenous group even in their thinking. So if I find people who still think that these players may be or ways of doing things are no longer valid.

00:39:46
Interviewer: Mm hmm.
00:39:48
Respondent 1: Yeah.
00:39:49
Interviewer: Yeah.
00:39:49
Respondent 1: And even within these ethnic groups, you can fin [8 sec silence]
00:39:59
Interviewer: Are you still there?
00:40:00
Respondent 1: Hello, I'm still here, yes.
00:40:03
Interviewer: O, lucky. So even in these heterogenous groups, they can see a prayer as useful or not anymore as useful. And then, of course, the influence whether you see a meaning in a prayer, yes or no.
00:40:23
Respondent 1: Yeah, so because also with education and, you know, many of them understand religions are also missionary, in a sense. So people are converted even among these ethnic groups. You can find that even within the same group, there are different ways of thinking.
00:40:44
Interviewer: Uhum. And the government, the governmental people are they religious or are they secular?
00:40:55
Respondent 1: It is possible to find a governmental person who is also religious. And sometimes it doesn't also, it is also possible to find a person in the government who also belongs to an ethnic group, so they have ethnic affiliation and affiliation, say to Christian religion.
00:41:19
Interviewer: Mm hmm. So they these are in Inbetweeners as well. So they are linked to to many things. [bliebblieb]
00:41:31
Respondent 1: Yes, yes, yes.
00:41:33
Interviewer: So could we say then to conclude that when they don't see when they don't believe in these prayers anymore because they they converted to Christianity and, for example, there's a religious, no traditional prayer, then they don't see the meaning in it? But if they belief in the prayer, they see also the meaning.
00:42:04
Respondent 1: I could say that on the one hand [bliebblieb]
00:42:18
Respondent 1: we still [onverstaanbaar] within the [onverstaanbaar]. Of course, saying I'm saying that not all of them will see [bliebblieb 5x]
00:42:44
Respondent 1: Hello!
00:42:45
Interviewer: Hello.
00:42:50
Respondent 1: Hello.
00:42:51
Interviewer: Hello, I'm here.
00:42:52
Respondent 1: Hello, I am here now. What I am saying is this. That people may be changing, but the changes are not, we cannot say that everyone now doesn't believe in the prayers. Because a big section of the group do still believe that those prayers are useful, and I see that not just among the traditional African believers, but even some religious people like Christian religious people, still see

that prayers are important in those meetings. Yeah. It will, it may not be right to say that everyone does, everyone thinks that these prayers are no longer useful, but at least [onverstaanbaar] who would think it is not useful, but a majority of the people think prayers are useful.
00:43:45
Interviewer: Yeah. An which emotions and feelings are triggered in these people?
00:43:53
Respondent 1: Yeah. [3 sec] Yes?
00:43:59
Interviewer: And I repeat my question then. Which emotions
00:44:06
Respondent 1: Yeah, it is difficult to hear.
00:44:06
Interviewer: and feelings are triggers in these people, these people.
00:44:13
Respondent 1: Yeah, the emotions, as I said, sometimes they feel elevated like the spirit is lifted by the prayers. Sometimes you could see that they are sad or, you know. And sometimes you see that they're prayerful, in that sense. Yeah. Sometimes you see that they feel they have already accounted the problem, if it is a prayer meeting that follows the callan[?] meeting or something like that. So the feelings and emotions are also mixed in that sense.
00:44:51
Interviewer: Yeah. Well we spoke about already about it, but maybe you can say something additional, I don't know, about how such a prayer influence to meeting, because you were saying already that it set the agenda and set the goals. But does it also set the way people should behave?
00:45:24
Respondent 1: Oh, well, the tone of the meeting.
00:45:27
Interviewer: Yeah?
00:45:30
Respondent 1: It shows whether the meeting should be serious or light or what is it. In that sense.
00:45:37
Interviewer: Uhum. yeah.
00:45:39
Respondent 1: Because it is like, you know, when it said. The way people should behave. It is also telling them we supposed to be serious or not, you know that. So, yeah.
00:45:52
Interviewer: In my my opinion, players are always serious.
00:45:57
Respondent 1: Yeah, yes.
00:46:00
Interviewer: But, if a prayer says you could keep the meeting light. Could it then be a more funny prayer. Yeah, that is not the right word, the right way to express it. But how do I have to think about this? [bliebblieb]
00:46:26
Respondent 1: Actually, doing something like the harvest, the harvest ceremony, you know, prayers that preceded ceremonies where they are celebrating.
00:46:36
Interviewer: Yeah.
00:46:37
Respondent 1: You know. And when the people are doing that, we are giving thanks and we are going to be happy and all that. You know.
00:46:44
Interviewer: I see. I get it. Yeah. [blieb]
00:46:46
Respondent 1: You know. It would be different from. Hello.

00:46:53
Interviewer: Hello. Yeah.
00:46:55
Respondent 1: You get me. To be different from a prayer they say after after war or during war. So it set also the tone of the meeting, yeah
00:47:08
Interviewer: Yeah, yeah.
00:47:10
Respondent 1: Yes, yes, yeah, yeah, yeah.
00:47:15
Interviewer: And when such a meeting is set up, do they, because you're talking about these peace prayers, is there a policy looking at who should conduct the prayer? For example, if you see most of the people are Christian, it should be someone that's Christian or that they chose someone who's from a minority.
00:47:49
Respondent 1: Normally, the chose over prayer depends on the convener of the meeting. [disturbing noise]
00:47:59
Interviewer: I'm sorry, wait a moment. My neighbor is breaking and that is awful noise.
00:48:12
Respondent 1: Oh I hear something.
00:48:13
Interviewer: Yeah.
00:48:13
Respondent 1: Haha.
00:48:15
Interviewer: So I moved to another place in the house. This is better. You still hear it's a bit, but I hope this is not that bad.
00:48:35
Respondent 1: Yeah, actually it is not that bad. So what I was saying is yeah the person that is doing the prayer, is the convener of the meeting.
00:48:51
Interviewer: Yeah.
00:48:53
Respondent 1: Because if the meeting is convened by you say the Catholic Church to try to address to certain communities to [disturbing noise] will be the priest. Yeah. So the convener is also the person who does the prayer. It is determined by who convened the meeting.
00:49:15
Interviewer: Yeah, OK. And even then it is yeah, I don't think this is a good question, but let's try.
00:49:27
Respondent 1: Yeah.
00:49:28
Interviewer: Because you said already you have Christian prayers, Islamic prayers, traditional prayers, and sometimes there's a mixture. But to which extent in these kind of prayers are these players related to traditional indigenous culture? Is this something that was already there before the Western religions came?
00:49:56
Respondent 1: Yeah, yeah, they're like, oh, of course there can be differences even their idea of peace of coexistence, you know, the idea of walking together, being united, loving one another, of course these ideas are different in different contexts, but at least they are there, even in the traditional setup.
00:50:20
Interviewer: Yeah. So this is something that continues then in the tradition of the Kenyans? So from a very long time ago. And then it adapted, because well other kinds of religious are coming?

00:50:42
Respondent 1: Yes, yes, yeah.
00:50:43
Interviewer: [disturbing noise] The noise is really awful.
00:50:44
Respondent 1: Hihi. It is a lot.
00:50:48
Interviewer: Well, um, and I have another question and, wait a moment. [disturbing sound] Yeah. I hope they stop soon, but, um, well, um, I found out that at the beginning of governmental meetings they have this prayer and that one of my responders told me that in the beginning these prayers were the national anthem they start with.
00:51:26
Respondent 1: They start with the national anthem, which is in itself a prayer.
00:51:33
Interviewer: Oh, all right. So do they just have then the anthem that they say or sing or did they change it to a prayer or is this just a prayer?
00:51:48
Respondent 1: They would sing an anthem and also pray. But our national anthem is a prayer. So they would even then say that they would say the prayer twice.
00:52:03
Interviewer: Interesting.
00:52:04
Respondent 1: Yes, yes.
00:52:06
Interviewer: And do you know something about when this ritual started.
00:52:13
Respondent 1: The ritual for singing the anthem and saying a prayer?
00:52:20
Interviewer: uhum. Yeah.
00:52:21
Respondent 1: I think it is as old as the Republic of Kenya. So as old. For every Kenyan national meeting, there is always this national anthem and then someone prays.
00:52:36
Interviewer: Yeah, yeah. Or is this something that the national anthem that's is something I found out was really from the start when Kenyatta was president. And then after Kenyatta you got Moi, if I pronounce it right.
00:52:54
Respondent 1: Moí. Moi, yeah.
00:52:56
Interviewer: Yeah. And that he was a really religious president, a Christian president.
00:53:03
Respondent 1: Yes.
00:53:04
Interviewer: Was it in that time, maybe that [bliebblieb] it became more religious like Anthem plus prayer, or was this already from the start. Do you know something about that?
00:53:25
Respondent 1: [onverstaanbaar +disturbing noise] Because I also watched a view a view films that in the 60s we still have this culture of prayer.
00:53:35
Interviewer: Yeah, yeah.
00:53:40
Respondent 1: Yeah. This is as old as the republic.
00:53:42
Interviewer: Yeah. That is a very good answer, if we have that as prove.
00:53:44
Respondent 1: Yeah.

00:53:47
Interviewer: Thank you so much. You you gave me a lot of information. And how did you experience answering these questions?
00:53:58
Respondent 1: Oh, no, it was it was great because, you know, I also feel nice to share information with you. And this is something I've done for quite some time, so I also feel really nice that I was able to contribute to your research.
00:54:13
Interviewer: Yeah, thank you so much. And it is quite hard to find people that want to talk. So do you know other people that would be willing to to talk with me about this topic?
00:54:28
Respondent 1: Ya, Ya, I know, I will connect you to something like the one I told you did help us to record one or two prayers. I can also ask him to speak with you a little bit.
00:54:41
Interviewer: That would be great then if you know more people.
00:54:44
Respondent 1: And he can connect us to others.
00:54:48
Interviewer: Yeah, yeah. To do the snowball effect.
00:54:53
Respondent 1: Yes, yeah. So let me try to contact him and then I will write to him, probably tomorrow, or Monday at last.
00:55:03
Interviewer: Oh, yeah, yeah, that would be great. Yeah, all right, what I would do is making a transcription of this and you're the first I interview on this. On Monday, I have my second interview. And so, yeah, I have a start now and in the end, well it should become my final thesis for my master studies at the Radboud University here in Nijmegen.
00:55:32
Respondent 1: O, that is great.
00:55:33
Interviewer: But I think I can implement it as well in the research program we are doing with invoking the sacred, because this reveals a lot about worldview actually.
00:55:46
Respondent 1: Yeah.
00:55:49
Interviewer: So, yeah, you will, I will keep you informed about my findings.
00:55:55
Respondent 1: Thank you so much.
00:55:57
Interviewer: Yeah, thank you.
00:55:57
Respondent 1: We keep in touch, hè.
00:55:59
Interviewer: Yeah. We keep in touch.
00:56:00
Respondent 1: OK, OK, I wish you a good afternoon.
00:56:02
Interviewer: Yeah, you too and enjoy enjoy the weekends and we keep in touch.
00:56:11
Respondent 1: OK, thanks a lot. We keep in touch. Bey.
00:56:12
Interviewer: Bey Bey.

6.2 Transcriptie respondent 2

00:00:00
Interviewer: So it is recording now. This interview is a slightly different from the other interview I did with you, because that interview was quite open. So you've got other questions and today it is more. So I will ask you several blocks of questions. And the first block is about personal information. That's important because I want to know whether I can compare the people. So for sure, your name will be not in that. But just that I can compare.
00:00:35
Respondent 2: OK
00:00:36
Interviewer: And then we start with the very important open question about in which settings you're familiar with such a prayer. Because that will be the point where we focus on doing the rest of our interview. And in the second part, the content of this interview, we have three blocks. The first block is about describing the prayer at the start of governmental or business meetings and then it is about the description. And then we get two blocks, one is about your own experience. So your own subjective view on it. And the last part is about how you think other people that attend the meeting will think about it. So this is also about your subjective view on it.
00:01:28
Respondent 2: Allright
00:01:30
Interviewer: Yeah. Everything is clear to you? No other questions?
00:01:33
Respondent 2: Yes. No, no, no.
00:01:38
Interviewer: Allright. So let's start with the personal information. What's your year of birth?
00:01:44
Respondent 2: Nineteen eighty seven.
00:01:46
Interviewer: Uhum. And what's your religious affiliation?
00:01:52
Respondent 2: uhm, none, really.
00:01:56
Interviewer: And does that mean that you are not a believer, not at all or do you have a background in a religion, but that you left your religion?
00:02:11
Respondent 2: Uhm. I think it's not that simple, I kind of was never brought up in any like religion, but I believe in God, but I don't really consider myself religious in the sense that I don't attend a church and never really did, like, have like, you know, I was not like a Muslim, Catholic and then I stopped. Yeah. So I don't have any religious affiliation.
00:02:32
Interviewer: Yeah, that's clear. And what's your highest level of education?
00:02:40
Respondent 2: Postgraduate.
00:02:42
Interviewer: And what is your current job position?
00:02:45
Respondent 2: So like project manager.
00:02:47
Interviewer: At Hivos, isn't it.
00:02:50
Respondent 2: Yeah. Haha.
00:02:53
Interviewer: Allright. This was the this where the questions about the personal information then

we go on with the big question. In which setting or settings are your familiar with a prayer at the start of a government or business meeting.
00:03:11
Respondent 2: OK, but when you say settings, what do you mean, do you mean like the places or?
00:03:16
Interviewer: Yeah, OK. In which occasion did you view or experience such a prayer?
00:03:23
Respondent 2: OK, I know that. [3sec] I think it's like almost all government meetings. So if it's just like, you know, like awareness raising. A meeting at a hotel also like the kind of more public ones. So not like through work, but, you know, just like when the government is doing something big, they'll always have that element as well. Yeah, and then now, even in the last few months now that we've been doing calls on Zoom, they also usually start with something at that type.
00:04:11
Interviewer: And could you give me an example of such a prayer that is not attended at a Zoom meeting, because that's, I will leave this out of my research.
00:04:24
Respondent 2: OK
00:04:26
Interviewer: Because then it becomes more difficult to answer the questions that are coming. But about the physical meetings. Could you describe the last meeting you remember where you had such a prayer?
00:04:47
Respondent 2: [3sec] Well, [4 sec] I don't remember. I don't remember exactly which one it was, like. I just pick one because again, what meeting.
00:04:56
Interviewer: Yeah, that is allright.
00:05:00
Respondent 2: But yes, it was a meeting in which there was a lot of representatives from different governments, but also civil society. It was organized by the Ministry of Environment and yes, it's just in the mid in the meeting when the meeting was beginning and everyone was there, someone says, you know, can - I think they picked someone out - can you do the prayer for us? The opening one? Yeah.
00:05:29
Interviewer: Yeah. And do you know what the aim of that meeting was?
00:05:37
Respondent 2: For that one, I think it was just one of those we usually meet as civil societies, a few private sector and the Ministry of Environment to kind of just review. So it's always a review of something, you know, how is Kenya's strategy, let's say, pre going between the corpora and post meeting, kind of getting feedback from everyone? So it was just that kind of a of a review.
00:06:08
Interviewer: Yeah. All right. Please keep then in this meeting in mind when we start to answering the following questions.
00:06:15
Respondent 2: OK.
00:06:16
Interviewer: And, well, since it is a bit longer ago due to all these meetings on Zoom nowadays.
00:06:24
Respondent 2: Yeah.
00:06:26
Interviewer: Please try to remember as clear as possible. But if you are unsure, just say that you are insure.
00:06:32
Respondent 2: OK

00:06:34
Interviewer: And maybe we can collect more data when you don't remember exactly this meeting so that you can fill the gaps.
00:06:47
Respondent 2: Yes. Uhm. OK.
00:06:50
Interviewer: Just keep that in your mind when these questions are coming. Well, the first six questions are about the description of the prayer. Could you tell me who conducted the prayer?
00:07:08
Respondent 2: Well, I don't remember. It was, I remember the meeting exactly what it was about now, but it was a. Three day or two day? Two day meeting.
00:07:19
Interviewer: Ahah.
00:07:20
Respondent 2: And someone would pray at the beginning, someone would pray at the end. Someone would have done, but I have no idea. I cannot remember who it was.
00:07:30
Interviewer: And in all other meetings, for example, on these two meetings, do you know who's doing the prayer?
00:07:38
Respondent 2: It it depends. Sometimes I know the person. If you're going to like different meetings, there are times when I know the person who's been selected and there are times when they don't. And I, I guess I usually don't really remember them. I don't like all these things in my head. So like, yes, sometimes I know the person. Yeah, sometimes I don't. Yeah.
00:08:02
Interviewer: Are these people chosen or are these people who have an important position in a meeting?
00:08:08
Respondent 2: I think that they are. [2sec] OK, I would not say randomly chosen, but I would say they are not chosen because of, like their importance in the meeting. So it's not like the highest ranking person who will do whatever, or like a senior person. But it's usually, I guess, someone who. Who I guess has impact in the past meeting, would do that prayer, sometimes people will volunteer like if they ask and no one has volunteered, than some will volunteer as well.
00:08:43
Interviewer: Uhmuhm. So you cannot say that they have a special connection with a religion. So for example, a priest.
00:08:52
Respondent 2: I think that. I think that usually if someone if they pick someone, they usually are picking someone who. I don't know how they found it be faster [?], but they know that this person is able to do, you know, the kind of prayer that they want.
00:09:11
Interviewer: And going to the next question, what is said during such a prayer?
00:09:20
Respondent 2: What is said? Just kind of like thanks, giving thanks for everyone, making it safely to the meeting, bringing like good wishes for like whatever is going to be discussed on that day. Yeah, that's usually it.
00:09:36
Interviewer: Uhum. So you can say there are is a thanking part, happy that everyone came. And then the second part is more about the meeting itself?
00:09:49
Respondent 2: Yes, yeah, and the part of. It is not really everyone coming, it's more about like that everyone was safe, like no one in an accident if you traveled out of town especially, but even when

it is just in Nairobi. So it's not really like. Yeah, it's like you're able to go here and everyone made it safe. Yeah.
00:10:08
Interviewer: About safety. Is it rare to come save to a place, or?
00:10:15
Respondent 2: No, I think it's just how people pray.
00:10:18
Interviewer: Oh, aha.
00:10:20
Respondent 2: Yeah.
00:10:21
Interviewer: And when they say the prayer for the for the meeting. Do they say then something about what is on the agenda of the meeting or is it more about how they wish people would behave?
00:10:37
Respondent 2: I think it's a bit of both, because it is always said, like, you know, if we've come here today to discuss blah, blah, blah grant us good you know discussions or fruitful discussions or something. So it's more it's really about. Yeah, I guess it is just a kind of saying like, we want to get the best out of this meeting that we can.
00:10:57
Interviewer: And how long does such a prayer take?
00:11:01
Respondent 2: Not that long, I would say. Maybe like a minute, a minute and a half.
00:11:06
Interviewer: And they are always of the same length?
00:11:11
Respondent 2: They are always quite short because they are always targeted for a very specific thing, right? So it's it's usually quite short.
00:11:19
Interviewer: Yeah. And how do you behave, during such a prayer. How do you sit, look?
00:11:29
Respondent 2: Yeah, you just kind of bow your hat and, you know, close your eyes or not, but keep them down and stop doing whatever else you're doing.
00:11:38
Interviewer: And do you speak certain words or formulas during such a prayer?
00:11:44
Respondent 2: Myself, personally?
00:11:48
Interviewer: No, not personally. But, for example, are there phrases that are so common that they are coming back each prayer, for example, 'amen' or something like that?
00:12:00
Respondent 2: Yes, ja 'amen', of course. The rest that I can think of, I don't really think that I hear them during the work prayers, maybe other kinds of prayers, but not these phrases that we all know. But I don't hear them say very often in the work meeting context. So, yeah, 'amen', yes, yeah.
00:12:24
Interviewer: Yeah, that's [onverstaanbaar] So that is 'amen' you say. But the other phrases, these are for the liturgical prayers and not for work prayers?
00:12:39
Respondent 2: Yes, I think so, yeah. Yeah, it's more like if you're actually in church or you're in a kind of other kind of, yes, something else.
00:12:49
Interviewer: Yeah, like a funeral, for example.
00:12:51
Respondent 2: Exactly. Yes. Yes. Yeah.

00:12:54
Interviewer: All right. These were the questions about the description of the prayer. And now we go to your own experience. Well, I'm very interested in what you will say as a non-believer.
00:13:10
Respondent 2: Yeah.
00:13:12
Interviewer: And the first question, you get five of them, I don't know whether we do all five, because in the end it becomes more related to religion. The first one is: Which meaning has a prayer of the start of such a meeting for you?
00:13:34
Respondent 2: I have to say for me personally, it doesn't really have much meaning. Uhm. Because I don't really think that we should be praying in such contexts, so I kind of disagree with the idea of bringing the prayer into that. So it doesn't do much for me. But I also still respect that other people want to do it. So when we are in those meetings, I would, I'll follow what everyone does, but that's not a place in which I feel like I resonate with this prayer. I might feel it more if I let go to like a funeral or a wedding or something, but not in that context.
00:2:09
Interviewer: Yeah. And why do you think this context is not appropriate for such a prayer?
00:2:17
Respondent 2: Because my feeling is that it's I think that some aspects should be kept separate. So like religion and work. Men is starting to personal religion, when you look at Kenya, which is like I think 90 percent Christian, what happens to like there's a Muslim in the meeting or. Some meetings will be like we'll have a Christian one in the morning and a Muslim one at the end of the day. But usually it's just Christian prayers. And I kind of feel like it's just bringing up things that maybe don't need to be brought up and continuing to exclude people who maybe would like their players to be just as represented and they don't feel that. Yeah, it's also just that, yes, it's work. I just don't feel like it makes sense in that context.
00:15:07
Interviewer: And I found out that Kenya, the nation of Kenya is secular. Is that also something that conflicts in you? You think, maybe a secular nation and a religious start of a government meeting?
00:15:30
Respondent 2: Well, to be honest, I think Kenya is secular in name only, but it operates like a very religious nation. So actually, that part, I mean, it's not that I agree with it, but it makes total sense to me that these prayers come before government meetings and these kinds of meetings, because that's how even in day to day, things are kind of, yeah, how they operate.
00:15:56
Interviewer: Hmm. All right. Um, and this second question could be then interesting and just be honest. Which emotions or feelings are triggered by this prayer for you?
00:16:15
Respondent 2: Um. Wauw, I don't know. I actually don't know. I'm not sure that I would say anything is triggered. It's just one thing that that we usually have to do. So, it's. I. It's like it's like doing another kind of energizer or icebreaker or something, it's just something it's just something else as a part of the day. Like before you go through the agenda, you have the prayer and I don't have any particular feelings. I go to that meeting, like let's go through the agenda. And it's really the same for the prayer. In in in the meetings where I kind of expected, because you also just know it's going to be there. So, yeah.
00:17:07
Interviewer: Yeah. So you sit there and you wait till it's over or?
00:17:11
Respondent 2: No. No, as I said, I really like do like bow my head and do everything. I think I don't have the same connection to it. I don't get any good feeling from it, but I also don't really get a bad

feeling from it. It's kind of I just feel very neutral about it, really. So my my only thing is that as long as I am not asked to do the prayer, then I'm completely fine. Yeah. Haha.
00:17:36
Interviewer: Yeah, I can understand that if you don't have any particular feeling with it and then you are asked to pray, that would be a challenge.
00:17:47
Respondent 2: Yeah. Haha.
00:17:48
Interviewer: Well, you spoke already about that the prayer is about thanking and putting the agenda and how people behave. But how does this prayer influence the meeting? Or maybe 'influence' is a bit too strong to say. But has it an effect on the meeting?
00:18:13
Respondent 2: In my personal opinion, no, because I have also gone to meetings, including government meetings, where no one does a prayer at the beginning. And everything is completely. I mean, it's the same. I don't really feel like there's more argument or motivation or anything. I think. The meetings in which I expect to find people suggesting the prayer, it's usually the same. How can I say? It's it's such a meeting that I know all these people or this group of moabi will be this kind of thing. So it's not even on all government meetings. But I think. I don't know, I guess for them, it's nice. Like for me if I hold my own meeting, I like to do an exercise in the morning where everyone has a good check inn, you're able to say. So, I guess for them, that's the feeling that they get.
00:19:08
Interviewer: We coming to that later.
00:19:10
Respondent 2: Yeah, OK. Haha. But, yeah, I don't I don't feel this prayer is making a difference.
00:19:17
Interviewer: Um, and you said that you don't have a religious affiliation, that you're neutral and. And to what extent do these prayers link to Christianity or Islam or traditional religions in Kenya?
00:19:41
Respondent 2: So as I said, and I think it's also for me, very dependent on the places I work as well. It's usually very, very Christian. In a few, but I've not even had that in the past maybe two or so years, there will be like, oh, someone Christian praying in the morning, someone Muslim in the evening that contributes. But in the end, the prayers all are the same because they follow the same structure and they're saying the same thing. Uhm, traditional? No, never. It's only Christian. And then very, very small percentage Muslim.
00:20:19
Interviewer: Yeah. And never, does that mean that you as a person never did experience that or is it's even stronger than that, that you don't think this will happen in a government meeting?
00:20:36
Respondent 2: OK, the thing is that, again, it's very hard for me to say, because my experience is based on what I know, I'm usually in meetings in Nairobi or in the two specific counties which I work. If you maybe did this happen with someone who works in the north of Kenya, they might have completely different answers. I personally have not worked anywhere where the kind of traditional because so much of Kenya is Christian. So it's really the dominant thing. I would be very surprised to hear of a more traditional thing because a lot of people also perceive the traditional to be kind of like blasphemous.
00:21:16
Interviewer: All right.
00:21:17
Respondent 2: And I would. That's that's that's also just my feeling, right? And by traditional, I just mean I don't mean like praying in your own language, but it is still a Christian prayer. I mean, really the traditional ones.

00:21:31
Interviewer: Yeah
00:21:33
Respondent 2: I would be surprised to hear about it, but who can say, I don't know. Kenya is a big country and my experience is very much based on what I know.
00:21:40
Interviewer: Yeah. And I asked about your personal experience, so we have to stick to that.
00:21:44
Respondent 2: Yeah.
00:21:46
Interviewer: But sometimes I find in it a little hole. But no, it's just fine if you remind me that we should stick with your experience.
00:21:58
Respondent 2: Haha.
00:21:58
Interviewer: But this were the questions about the personal experience. And now we go to how you think, others think about it.
00:22:04
Interviewer: So try to, yeah, to try to place yourself in the shoes of other people.
00:22:11
Respondent 2: Yeah.
00:22:2
Interviewer: And the first question then, to make it easier to answer these questions, is what kind of other people are at such a meeting? Um, so, I mean, you're neutral. Are there also other people that are neutral or people that are strongly Christian or Islamic?
00:22:36
Respondent 2: I think mostly Christian and Muslim.
00:22:40
Interviewer: And then I will ask you the following questions first focusing on Christians and then we do the same questions again, but then for Muslims.
00:22:52
Respondent 2: OK.
00:22:52
Interviewer: Because I think there could be a difference between them.
00:22:57
Respondent 2: Yes.
00:23:00
Interviewer: And then for the Christians, which meaning do they give to such a prayer?
00:23:09
Respondent 2: I mean, I think for the people who who. [2 sec] Who like this ritual, it's a good starting point for them. I think I said that before. It's something that just helps to bring them together and I guess feeling like they are working on the same page, so. Yeah, that's that makes sense to me, that's they thing, yeah, that's how they would feel.
00:23:36
Interviewer: Yeah. And what kinds of emotions or feelings are triggered then, do you think, for Christians?
00:23:44
Respondent 2: Oh, wow. I never thought about it because. [2sec] I guess for me, it's very much like just another thing, but I guess for someone else. Maybe it would be something that is like actually giving you encouragement or. [2sec] I don't know, I think how to say, like, allows you to maybe kind of bring yourself more into the meeting or feel like you have got more motivation or more clarity on what you're doing, but I'm just guessing.
00:24:23
Interviewer: Yeah. And how do they think then that the prayer can influence or affect the meeting?

00:24:39
Respondent 2: [3 sec] Yeah, I think it's it's maybe like kind of like a sign of [2sec] unity, let me say it like that, because most Kenyans who are religious don't really imagine that there's anyone non-religious, especially at the Kenyans. And who even possibly don't believe in God, but from what I also usually know, a lot of people who don't believe in God still were brought up in very Christian households and still not do these routines and stuff. So it's it I think even for them, it's just like, yes, it's a way to bring the whole world together and to make people feel comfortable.
00:25:23
Interviewer: Yeah. And then since it is a Christian prayer, they feel very connected with their own religious affiliation, I think?
00:25:36
Respondent 2: The broader one, so I think because, of course, there is Christian and among Christians, there is a lot of different denominations of Christianity and in in those prayers - and I am guessing it's a simple Muslim - in those prayers, they just pray as of all people who kind of, you know, this is like a routine that brings comfort to all of us, I think.
00:26:03
Interviewer: So you cannot pin it down to a certain type of Christianity?
00:26:10
Respondent 2: No, no, you know, I don't think so. It's very varied.
00:26:15
Interviewer: Yeah. In general, it doesn't matter if you are Catholic or Protestant or Anglican. Everything is the same.
00:26:24
Respondent 2: Yeah.
00:26:25
Interviewer: All right, then we shift to the Muslim sites. And so keep these now in mind. And how do you think? The Muslim, which meaning do they give to such a prayer?
00:26:45
Respondent 2: I don't. I don't. OK, I'm thinking about this now for the first time because, as I said, they're usually not represented in the actual prayer, but it's still a routine that everyone knows. And I guess my thinking is that. Religion still brings some kind of comfort to someone, so even though maybe your religion is really not represented. Maybe you still feel [2sec] comfortable and happy with it. I think it's probably also in the meetings where someone says, oh, well, a Christian will do the morning prayer and a Muslim the afternoon and then they probably get a bit more familiar, because that acknowledgement is also important. But without that. Imagining that they still like their routine, it's still it's strange also because, of course, it's a religious thing, but I think the way I think of it is also just really like a Kenyan thing. So that's why I say even for me, I feel of it, I imagine even for this, just you get into a meeting and it happens and, you know, you don't kind of taking it personally. That maybe they did not someone person pray[?]. But the feeling of coming together in this gesture helps.
00:28:03
Interviewer: Do they have tother kinds of emotions and feelings than the Christians or is that comparable?
00:28:12
Respondent 2: For me, I'm imagining again, I'm thinking that they probably feel less, I'm also imagining some will definitely have feelings of exclusion, but some will also just kind of feel like, well, at least we have done something religious. And at the end of the day, with something like prayer, maybe the Muslim might do their own internal prayer about what is going on? And it may serve them the same purpose for them in the end.
00:28:40
Interviewer: And how does for Muslims then such a prayer influence the meeting.

00:28:51
Respondent 2: Haha. [2sec] I think. [3sec] I mean, then I have to just say that if it has done the same job, which is kind of bring everyone at the beginning to kind of focus on something, then it can only have more positive impact on them during the day. Yeah.
00:29:11
Interviewer: Yeah. All right. Thank you. This was the last question and.
00:29:17
Respondent 2: OK
00:29:17
Interviewer: Thank you.
00:29:21
Respondent 2: Yeah. It's very interesting to think about.
00:29:24
Interviewer: How did you experience it? Was it hard? Or was it just that you have to think about things you never thought about?
00:29:34
Respondent 2: Yeah, I think it's mostly that's just thinking. And also thinking from different perspectives, because it's also not something that people ever talk about, you know? So it's not even like I can be like, oh, I actually know because I had this discussion with so-and-so and even if it's one person. I, it was, I think, a lot of guesswork of people's motivations and of people's emotional stakes during and after. So it was interesting to think about. Yeah, yeah. Tricky.
00:30:09
Interviewer: Yeah. Do you have some tips for me to to make it easier or was it fine for you?
00:30:18
Respondent 2: Uhm. To be honest, I think it's hard for me to say again, because I really never thought about this. It was like the other topic, then I would be like, OK, this is, you know, because that's something I really know. But this is not something I know either from my very personal viewpoint or from research or whatever. So it's very, very difficult for me to say. Uhm. I think the questions are good because they gather not only the person's individual thoughts, but also what, how you think it affects other people? I like that part. But so, yeah, I think it might be it will be interesting to see what comes out of it, but I don't really have any tips, to be honest.
00:31:05
Interviewer: Yeah, I'm happy with that, because, well, I tried to to comfort you. Like, at a certain point I noticed that it became hard or a bit ackward. So I really wanted to give this comfort to you that you feel free and to be honest and that it doesn't matter that you doubt or that you that you have to search for your words.
00:31:30
Respondent 2: Yeah.
00:31:31
Interviewer: I think in general, it is quite difficult to speak about this because prayer, it's such personal thing. Each one does it on its own and then you suddenly have to think about it and to find words to express yourself. So yeah, I can totally understand that it isn't that easy.
00:31:51
Respondent 2: No, no it's not. But it was good. Good to think about.
00:31:54
Interviewer: Yeah. Well thank you. And I'm looking for more responders. So do you know or can you bring me into contact with people who would like to speak about this topic?
00:32:11
Respondent 2: OK, I will try to have a think and see if I can get anyone. It's very hard these days because you don't meet people the same way as before the pandemic when it was so easy to just be like, oh, maybe this is going on, you know, not talk with anyone. Even if it's a quick phone call, you have to schedule a call.

00:32:28
Interviewer: Yeah, that is really difficult, but for example, with your with one of your colleagues?
00:32:37
Respondent 2: Yeah.
00:32:37
Interviewer: I can understant that, for example, someone with LHBTQ+, that part,
00:32:44
Respondent 2: Yeah,
00:32:45
Interviewer: There it could be also very interesting, for example, because this is more about inclusion and exclusion. Yeah, and so your colleagues could be interesting, but, well, I'm just looking for people that are working, uhm at organizations that that have these government meetings, um, because otherwise I don't reach my point of interesto.
00:33:13
Respondent 2: Yeah.
00:33:13
Interviewer: So this is very important.
00:33:15
Respondent 2: I'll ask around in the office and see if I can get someone who work for this. Y
00:33:20
Interviewer: eah, that would be great. Thank you so much. So, um, well, this is for my thesis. I have to finish my thesis in the summer.
00:33:29
Respondent 2: OK, not a long time.
00:33:33
Interviewer: Yeah. But yeah, therefore I would like to to do all the interviews in March. I hope I make it otherwise it would be April.
00:33:43
Respondent 2: Yeah.
00:33:43
Interviewer: But I will write it down in Dutch, because, well it is for a Duch university.
00:33:49
Respondent 2: Yeah.
00:33:49
Interviewer: I think I can make a summary with the main findings, the key findings that would be interesting for you to, to read.
00:33:59
Respondent 2: Great. Awesome. Thank you.
00:34:01
Interviewer: Yeah, I will do that because yeah it is also nice if you have, being a participant
00:34:06
Respondent 2: Yeah. Yeah.
00:34:07
Interviewer: to know the outcomes. And I think this information helps us with the other research projects as well to get a better understanding of the world view of the Kenyans. So yeah, I think we can use it for both projects. But the main is my thesis.
00:34:28
Respondent 2: Yeah.
00:34:30
Interviewer: So yeah. it is interesting to think about things we normally don't think about.
00:34:35
Respondent 2: Yeah. For sure. For sure. Yeah. OK.
00:34:40
Interviewer: All right, so thank you.
00:34:45
Respondent 2: I send [the consent form] through the phone by the end of the day today.

00:34:47
Interviewer: That's very nice and I keep you informed if you find your colleagues and then I can reach them. Would it be practical if I sent the information about this thesis projects again to you that you mention?
00:35:03
Respondent 2: Yeah, just a paragraph and then I can forward it easily and say, like, are you able to? Yeah.
00:35:09
Interviewer: Yeah. Then I will write it down in one email and that is very persuasive to people that they want to haha contribute.
00:35:18
Respondent 2: All right.
00:35:19
Interviewer: Wish you a nice afternoon.
00:35:23
Respondent 2: Thank you. You too. Bye.
00:35:25
Interviewer: Bye bye.

6.3 Transcriptie respondent 3

00:00:00
Interviewer: I start the recording. All right, let's start then.
00:00:05
Respondent 3: OK.
00:00:05
Interviewer: So first personal information.
00:00:10
Respondent 3: Yes.
00:00:10
Interviewer: Just answer these questions in one or two words. What is your year of birth
00:00:18
Respondent 3: 1974.
00:00:22
Interviewer: And what's your religious affiliation?
00:00:26
Respondent 3: I am a staunch Roman Catholic.
00:00:30
Interviewer: A staunch Roman Catholic. What does that mean? Roman Catholic, I know, but the first word is unknown to me.
00:00:38
Respondent 3: oh, OK. OK, staunch is just an adjective to describe the fact that I very firmly believing and keep to the Roman Catholic faith. So I should actually just have said Roman Catholic. I was just describing to say that I very affirm I'm a Roman Catholic.
00:01:01
Interviewer: Oh yeah. Now I hear it more clear and I understand what you mean. Yes.
00:01:05
Respondent 3: Yes. Yes.
00:01:08
Interviewer: And what is your highest level of education?
00:01:12
Respondent 3: A I have a postgraduate diploma. So after I did my degree, I did a diploma in marketing.
00:01:19
Interviewer: Yeah. And what is your current job position?
00:01:26
Respondent 3: Currently, I am out of contract, so my last position was project manager, program manager.
00:01:36
Interviewer: Yeah, thank you. So these were the four questions about the personal information. And now we go to the introduction.
00:01:45
Respondent 3: Yeah
00:01:46
Interviewer: In which setting or context, are you familiar with a prayer at the start of a gonvernment or business meeting?
00:01:54
Respondent 3: Yes, very.
00:01:57
Interviewer: Could you describe one of these events?
00:02:02
Respondent 3: OK, it's it's a regular occurrence that in my line of work we have meetings either with government officials or with our beneficiaries. And every time, as a matter of course, at the beginning of the meeting, people generally say, OK, let us start, but we are going to start with a

word of prayer. And then normally there is a request for somebody, one of the participants in the meeting to lead the prayer.
00:02:47
Interviewer: OK, so that description in detail comes later. But
00:02:54
Respondent 3: OK
00:02:51
Interviewer: do have one of these meetings where government officials are attending clearly in mind.
00:03:03
Respondent 3: Yes.
00:03:04
Interviewer: All right. Please keep this meeting in mind, because we will use this to answer the following questions. And then we start with the description of the prayer of that particular meeting that you have in mind. And then we go to the experience parts.
00:03:22
Respondent 3: OK.
00:03:23
Interviewer: All right. In order to describe the prayer, I would like to ask you the following question: Who conducts the prayer?
00:03:34
Respondent 3: Who?
00:03:35
Interviewer: Yeah.
00:03:36
Respondent 3: Any one of the meeting participants.
00:03:42
Interviewer: And with anyone, is there any special connection between the one who's doing the prayer and the position the person has at the meeting?
00:03:57
Respondent 3: No, not at all.
00:04:01
Interviewer: So are they randomly chosen from the participants or?
00:04:08
Respondent 3: they they volunteer. The person to say the prayer volunteers?
00:04:15
Interviewer: And did you volunteer as well?
00:04:18
Respondent 3: Yes.
00:04:21
Interviewer: And. What are the reasons to sa: "yes, I want to do"? Are there more people that volunteer at the same moment that they have to choose or how is it working?
00:04:35
Respondent 3: No. Despite the fact that praying before meetings is a very common occurrence, it is not uncommon to have more than one person volunteer. It tends to be just one person who has volunteered. And the only time I personally volunteer is when there has been no volunteer. So I say: "OK, I'll do it".
00:05:10
Interviewer: All right, and then we go to the second question, what is said during the prayer?
00:05:19
Respondent 3: What is said?
00:05:20
Interviewer: Yeah, which words are said.
00:05:24
Respondent 3: Would you like me to to to say a prayer, for example?

00:05:29
Interviewer: Oh, if you could do. Yeah, that would be great.
00:05:32
Respondent 3: Yeah, normally. The meeting has an objective. So the particular meeting I am thinking about was a brainstorming session with different government officials from different, four different counties to talk about an idea we had for women business hub. So the prayer will generally goes something like:
00:06:02
Respondent 3: Thank you, God, for the day. Thank you for bringing us together today. Thank you for making everybody available. We believe in you. We trust in you. And as we go about today's discussions or today's brainstorming session, we request that you bless our brainstorming session. We request that you bless us with wisdom. That you you bless this meeting, that it may go well. That's the objective of the meeting may be fulfilled, that people will speak what is in their hearts and that at the end of the day, we can have a successful meeting. We ask this trusting and believing in your holy name. Amen. [opmerkelijk, elke zin eindigt op dezelfde toonhoogte, iets omhoog en langgerekt. Heeft wat weg van reciteren.]
00:06:53
Respondent 3: That's that's the sort of example of a prayer that we said.
00:06:56
Interviewer: Yeah, thank you. You're the first one to give me the full example. So I'm very happy with this, because
00:07:04
Respondent 3: OK. Hahaha.
00:07:05
Interviewer: If you hear a lot of descriptions, then you never hear the prayer full, then this is really a contribution to my knowledge. OK.
00:07:14
Respondent 3: OK.
00:07:15
Interviewer: And this one was quite short. How long does a prayer usually takes?
00:07:23
Respondent 3: OK, this prayer will normally depends on the volunteer. There are people who who describe themselves as pastors or as prayer warriors, people who, I will say ,spend a lot of time praying. And when these people say the prayer, you will find that they will see a longer prayer. So they will invoke Jesus' name or God's name and thank God for the day many times and ask him for his blessings many times. So it tends to be a long prayer, but not necessarily a prayer where anything different is being said. It's things, the same things that are being repeated. So you will find that such a person will pray for maybe five minutes. But if if it's a person, I've noticed that a person who does not describe themselves as a pastor like me, for example, my prayer would not be longer than a minute. So it really depends on the person who is saying the prayer.
00:08:43
Interviewer: And is there also a correlation with the gavetiy of the meeting?
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Respondent 3: No, not at all.
00:08:51
Interviewer: And let me go to the to the next question. Does the prayer belong to a certain religious affiliation?
00:08:59
Respondent 3: What is?
00:09:00
Interviewer: Does the prayer belong to a certain religious affiliation, for exemple
00:09:06
Respondent 3: Yes. Yes. The prayer, the prayer that will be said will be congruent with the religious

affiliation of the person saying the prayer. So I have been in meetings where we have Christians and we have Muslims. And if the person who volunteers to say the prayer is a Muslim, then the prayer will be a Muslim prayer. Maybe, maybe I should add at this point, because Kenya is a religious country, even when we have national events at a national level with a president, they always start with prayer. And in that case, for it to be inclusive, there will be a Christian prayer and then there will be a Muslim prayer because those are the two main faiths in this country.
00:10:09
Interviewer: Yeah. So they changed then. Because I found out that they start these meetings with the national anthem, which is a prayer on its own and
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Respondent 3: Oh yeah, for sure.
00:10:22
Interviewer: afterwards, there is one prayer after the anthem, but nowadays there are two?
00:10:28
Respondent 3: Oh?
00:10:28
Interviewer: Yeah. It could be that my information is outdated.
00:10:33
Respondent 3: Because after the new Constitution was promulgated in thousand and seven, the Muslim the the Constitution made it a point to acknowledge that a lot of big faith in the country is a Muslim faith. So, for example, even the Muslim courts, the the Muslim courts
00:10:57
Interviewer: Yeah, the kadhi-courts
00:10:58
Respondent 3: are acknowledged as formal courts. So these days, there is always a Christian prayer and a Muslim prayer before national events.
00:11:07
Interviewer: Yeah, that's good to know because yeah, I, I have also read the Um, how do you say the court, the rechtsspraak
00:11:21
Respondent 3: The Koran?
00:11:22
Interviewer: No, no. The higher courts did a
00:11:27
Respondent 3: The Kadhis-courts.
00:11:27
Interviewer: Yeah. I red about the kadhis-courts and that there was a case from Jesse Kamau and twenty five other churches against the Attohny General in 2010. And this was exactly about, you know, the churches said there was discrimination because there are kadhi-courts and that conflicted with the law against discrimination. And then the high court decided that, um, yeah there was a kind of discrimination, but they wouldn't say that the kadhi-courts should be abandoned. So they instead insisted that they would aim at unity and that the churches and the Muslims should both be acknowledged in the, uh, in the constitutions. So that unity was the main objective to it.
00:12:31
Respondent 3: Yes, yes. Yes, yes. And I think that's also why they they now have the two prayers to foster a sense of unity. So that even the Muslims feel like part and parcel of the of the of the Kenyans. Yeah.
00:12:48
Interviewer: Yeah, yeah. All right. Let's go back to the questionnaire
00:12:54
Respondent 3: OK

00:12:55
Interviewer: Though this is very interesting to talk about. How do you behave during such a prayer? Are you making gestures? How are you sitting? Things like that.
00:13:07
Respondent 3: I found. There. Are you talking about me, myself or generally the people present?
00:13:15
Interviewer: Generally.
00:13:17
Respondent 3: OK, generally the people present will,if we are seated, the person who volunteers to say the prayer will stand to say the prayer. Sometimes, that the person saying the prayer will say, you know, 'let us all stand', sometimes. And then as they're starting to say the prayer, people will generally close their eyes and bow their heads as a sign of respect that the prayer is now ongoing.
00:13:53
Interviewer: Yeah, and is this the same when the prayer is a Muslim prayer.
00:14:02
Respondent 3: Yes, it is the same. Although one of the things that I notice the Muslims do when they are praying is they stretch out their hands with their palms facing upwards. So what I do, if it's a Muslim saying the prayer, I will do the same thing as them. I will stretch my hands out with my palms facing upwards. That seems to be unique to the Muslims saying the prayers, because the Christians were generally close their eyes and bow their heads.
00:14:36
Interviewer: And stretching out your hands means that you do this. Can you see it? [Ik strekte me armen iets voor me uit, draaide de handpalmen naar boven, boog mijn handen iets.]
00:14:41
Respondent 3: Yes, yes, yes.
00:14:44
Interviewer: Oh, right, and are certain words or formulas that you say during such a prayer?
00:14:54
Respondent 3: Oh. Yes. The person praying will always, in the course of the prayer, invoke the name of Jesus or the name of God. So if it is a Muslim, you know, they will keep saying, Allah, Allah, Allah. If it's if it's, what do we call them? Uhm, uhm, I forget what the name of the of the, it is a sect of Christians who when they are praying, they always saying, oh my God, we ask you for this Jehovah God, listen to us Jehova God.
00:15:35
Interviewer: Yeah. Jehova.
00:15:35
Respondent 3: Yeah. So so the name of God is consistently invoked throughout the prayer.
00:15:40
Interviewer: Mm hmm. Yeah. And you ended your prayer with 'amen'.
00:15:46
Respondent 3: Yes.
00:15:47
Interviewer: Do people repeat that 'Amen?
00:15:51
Respondent 3: Yes. Yes, normally they do. Although you will find that not everybody will say amen. But it is generally acknowledged that at the end of the prayer we say amen. So you will hear a chorus of people saying amen after the person who has prayed.
00:16:08
Interviewer: Yeah. All right. And this was about the description. And now we go over to the experience parts. And first, I will ask you five questions about your own experience. So please keep the meeting in mind with the government officials, because keeping one thing in mind makes it easier for you to answer the questions. And I have five questions again. And the first question is: Which meaning has to pay according to you?

00:16:45
Respondent 3: Uh. Uhm For me, as [respondent 7], the prayer, the meaning of the prayer is uhn an acknowledgement that there is a higher being. Whoo whoo we pray to and and that we are requesting for blessings, for success of this meeting from that higer Being. So for me, it has meaning because because I am a believer. So the fact that I am asking, the higher being, whoever the higher being is for, for for blessings on the meeting has has meaning to me as a believer.
00:17:36
Interviewer: Uhum. And which emotions or feelings are triggered in you by this prayer?
00:17:43
Respondent 3: Oh Lord, I'm always I always feel a sense of. Of. Can I say a sense of respect, because we are praying to a higher being, but also a sense of happiness and belonging, because I believe in in in this higher being and in the fact that I'm praying to this higher being is something that I do.
00:18:15
Interviewer: And uhm in which way has this prayer an effect on the meeting?
00:18:26
Respondent 3: I don't I don't think the prayer has an effect on the meeting, because because praying before a meeting in Kenya is is a common practice. I will never hear during the meeting somebody saying. You know, sometimes a meeting can get very heated and people can be arguing about an issue. I would never, for example, hear someone saying: "OK, let's take a moment and remind ourselves that we've asked for wisdom of us for grace. Let's take a moment, take a deep breath". I never hear anybody refer to the prayer or what we requested in the prayer in the course of the meeting. So for me, I think the prayer is it's almost like a tick the box exercise, let's say a prayer, because Kenyans tend to be people who say prayers before a meeting. But after that, I don't think it has an effect.
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Interviewer: Yeah, so this is just an activity that you do. But would you describe then as something that they can see it as a check in people or as an energizer or something like that?
00:19:39
Respondent 3: No, no, it's not, it doesn't even take the place of an energiser or a check in because, you know, we don't even take time to really check in with the people present and see how they're doing. I think it's it's really a tick the box exercise because it's something that Kenyans do as a matter of course. So I don't think anybody really thinks about about the fact that we've said a prayer. We just say because it's what we do.
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Interviewer: And you are working for, you worked for SNV, isn't it?
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Respondent 3: Yes.
00:20:18
Interviewer: This is a Dutch organization.
00:20:20
Respondent 3: Yes.
00:20:21
Interviewer: Are you also familiar with attending meetings there, for example, that do not start with a prayer?
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Respondent 3: Oh, yes, absolutely.
00:20:32
Interviewer: Yeah. And are these meetings then comparable so that you really can say: "well, if we are not starting with a prayer, doesn't matter. The meetings are going the same".
00:20:44
Respondent 3: yeah, yeah, no, the meetings. Ahuh. When I joined SNV I heard that the then country director had said that there will be no praying before meetings, because, I think, he came and felt that this was a practice that Kenyans were doing. But I guess for him it didn't mean

anything. So he said there will be no praying before meetings. So when I joined SNV, I knew that when we are having meetings in SNV, we don't pray. We just start the meeting, which would have been different in another organization. But I cannot say that therefore the meetings went any different. The meetings went the same way they would have gone, whether or not they would have started with a prayer.
00:21:32
Interviewer: All right. And let's move then on to the next question, because I think we know enough about this now. Uhm. Seen from your own religious affiliation, so Roman Catholic, to which extent does the prayer that you have in mind, that's very important for question, fits in your personal religious affiliation.
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Respondent 3: The prayer that I said?
00:21:59
Interviewer: No, the prayer you said at the introduction, the introduction question, the prayer in where government officials were attending.
00:22:16
Respondent 3: To which extent that prayer will fit my own believes?
00:22:20
Interviewer: Yeah.
00:22:21
Respondent 3: It, it did, it did, because it's a very general prayer, praying to God and thanking him for the day and asking for his blessings. That is something that I do personally every day. You know, thank God for giving me life for another day, asking for his blessings on whatever I'm doing that day. So for me, the prayer fits in a hundred percent with my religious beliefs. And I want to say that even if it is a Muslim who says the prayer, because I know the Muslim is also doing the same thing, giving thanks to God for for the day, for the for the gift of life, asking God for blessings on that that meeting that is about to take place. So for me, even if the prayer is set in by a Muslim in Arabic, for me it's still I would say I still I still feel the prayer because personally, I believe in a higher being. I believe in prayer. So it doesn't really matter for me, even if a Hindu or or somebody else had said the prayer, you know, we'll pray to to to a God that I believe in that God. So for me, it fits in perfectly.
00:23:36
Interviewer: Yeah. And the next question turns in another direction, according to your opinion, to what extent is this prayer related to the indigenous traditional knowledge or to the history of Kenya?
00:23:54
Respondent 3: It's not. Not at all, because, unfortunately, when the missionaries came to Kenya at the end of the 19th century, they came and led us to believe that all our indigenous African religions and practices were bad and they were wrong, and that we have to stop that. And that the only sort of way to go is Christianity. And of course, as a result, the country is now, you know, very Christian and and they're very, very a very small part of the population that still practices the traditional beliefs and traditional way of praying, very small. I personally don't know any any person who still practices those traditional ways of praying. I think Christianity has realy taken over.
00:24:56
Interviewer: All right. So these were the five questions about your own experience.
00:25:02
Respondent 3: OK
00:25:02
Interviewer: And now we continue with the experience of the others. And for before we start, which groups were attending the meeting and which groups I mean, you can define them in

different affiliations, for example, Christians and Muslims, or you can divide them among yob positions.
00:25:33
Respondent 3: Or at that particular meeting, we had very senior government officials at director level within the the the department. So we had the directors from the departments. We had the the chief officers of the departments. We had the main county executive committee member for the department. So there were fairly high level people at the meeting. And I think there were also a few a few people at the level just below the director level. And I think I would be right in saying that virtually everybody at the meeting was Christian. I don't remember there being a particular Muslim at this particular meeting.
00:26:28
Interviewer: All right. So then we keep Christianity as the affiliation and we know that there were high placed officials and officers on a lower level. Um,
00:26:44
Respondent 3: Yes.
00:26:45
Interviewer: Yeah, keeping this in mind, we keep them as one group. Which meaning is given by them to this prayer? What do you think?
00:26:58
Respondent 3: I think also for them, uh. Depending on how strong their faith is, they probably fall in one of the two categories. There is the the quality general category where the prayer is a 'tick the box' exercise, because in Kenya we pray before meetings. So we are praying. I think the majority of the people would be in that group, but then there probably are a few for whom the prayer really does mean something. They really are even personally thanking God for the day and asking God for his blessings on the day, simply by virtue of the fact that they have a deep sense of faith. Yeah.
00:27:52
Interviewer: And for the general group, which emotions and feelings are triggered when a prayer is just ticking the box.
00:28:04
Respondent 3: I think it's just what can I call it, maybe resignation? I don't know if resignation is the right word, because I don't think the the meeting participants are against the prayer. They are not against the prayer. It's just something that we do. So I think it's it's a feeling of of 'OK, that's done. Next'. So. So, um, I'm I'm I'm trying to look for a word for a word that
00:28:48
Interviewer: can describe it, but maybe. If we describe how they behave, doing a prayer, maybe we come to the word.
00:29:02
Respondent 3: The behavior is is the normal behavior, you know. We pray, OK, there's no reluctance. Everybody's happy to pray. There's no there's nobody who is not happy to pray. So there's no reluctance. We all all all bow our heads. We all close our eyes. We we we listen to the prayer. We say amen. I think, although, to be honest, I think the prayer does give a sense of. Sort of belonging to the people in the meeting to to to show that, OK, we're here to we're here and we're here in this together. We are doing this together. We are. We are we are discussing or meeting as one. I think there is definitely a sense of togetherness, of belonging that is fostered just by by virtue of the fact that that, again, Kenyans tend to be Christians, people who pray. So, um, yeah. So it really fits in their expectations
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Interviewer: and having this feeling of unity among each other and those that have an influence on how people enter the missing?

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Respondent 3: Oh. Well, I. I mean, I Uhm. I don't know if I can say that it has an influence on how people enter the meeting, what I see happening, people come into the meeting room and they will always greet and speak to, I guess, the people they know. Some people will make an effort to say hello to others who they don't know. [2s] But, you know, now that I'm thinking about it, that's the way they enter the meeting and greet each other and talk to each other, because all this will happen before the formal start of the meeting and the formal start of the meeting will be the prayer. So I don't think I can say that it has an impact on how they they entered the meeting. What was your question again?
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Interviewer: Um, well, I changed the question a bit, but the question was, how does such a prayer influence the meeting? And I changed it to "How does the feeling of unity caused by the party influence the start of the meeting?
00:31:46
Respondent 3: Oh. Uh. Can I say that it does? I don't think it does, because when I think about meetings in SNV, we were all there together to achieve a particular objective, to discuss an issue. We didn't start with a prayer, but we still felt together. We felt a sense of unity when we were in the government meeting. We started with a prayer, but we still felt the same. So I don't think it influences. Ah, uhm. Ehm. I don't know, I uhm
00:32:23
Interviewer: But I'm very happy that you're so honest and that you you research the question and look at it from different angles, I mean, that is really great what you are doing.
00:32:35
Respondent 3: OK, ah.
00:32:35
Interviewer: So I don't feel ashamed that you don't know the answer. That is how research is working. So yes.
00:32:42
Respondent 3: Yeah, OK.
00:32:47
Interviewer: And well, you said already that all the attenters of the meeting were Christian and to what extent do these people experience and a connection between the prayer and the fact that they are Christian?
00:33:08
Respondent 3: I don't know. I do not know, because that's a very personal thing. When we're saying a prayer, we don't check it with each other. Of course, you are not able to see into somebody's heart or soul and see what they're thinking or feeling. So I don't know whether whether there's really any connection felt. I want to imagine that because I am a Christian, I am a believer. I believe in the fact that we are praying for blessings before the meeting and that for me I feel a connection with my fellow Christians. I want to imagine that probably the other Christians in the room feel the same. But I don't know for a fact. There probably those who call themselves Christian, but just in name, hahaha. In name, not in, yeah.
00:33:57
Interviewer: In the Netherlands we have a name for these people. They are cultural Catholics.
00:34:03
Respondent 3: There are called?
00:34:06
Interviewer: Cultural Catholics.
00:34:08
Respondent 3: Yes. Yes, I like that word, because they're doing it because they see other people doing it. They are grown up doing it, but there's no real sense of belief that goes with it. I like that word.

00:34:24
Interviewer: Yes, you can use it and you can say,
00:34:27
Respondent 3: Yeah, yeah.
00:34:28
Interviewer: I learned this they say in the Netherlands.
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Respondent 3: Yeah, yeah. No, for sure. We have lots of cultural I would call them Catholic, I will call them cultural Christians for sure.
00:34:37
Interviewer: Yeah. In the Netherlands this is really said about the people that are living in the south of the Netherlands, in Brabant, which is a certain region in the Netherlands and all, the main affiliation there is Catholics, therefore we call them cultural Catholics.
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Respondent 3: I see.
00:34:55
Interviewer: That this is the reason behind.
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Respondent 3: OK, OK.
00:34:59
Interviewer: Um, and do you think these people attending the meeting, do they see a relationship between the prayer and the culture or the history of Kenya?
00:35:15
Respondent 3: Yes, I think so, because once Christianity sort of took over the religions in Kenya, the fact that Kenya is predominantly a Christian country means that people, people's expectations, people's religious affiliations, people's behaviors will will all generally conform, conform to to the to to the Christian expectation. So so you asked, do I think there is what?
00:36:08
Interviewer: Sorry, could you repeat?
00:36:11
Respondent 3: What did you say your question was sorry, just repeat your question.
00:36:15
Interviewer: How do you think the people that attended the meeting see a relationship or how do they relate prayer to the cultural or the culture or the history of Keanya?
00:36:29
Respondent 3: Yeah, the prayer, even the government officials, the the the the the Kenyan on the street, everybody, I believe, relates prayer and praying before meetings to our cultural identity is something that Kenyans do. It is something that they expect Kenyans to do. I have been in meetings, I think, because of working in SNV and getting used to starting meetings without prayer. I have been in meetings where I have said: "OK, let us start". And then somebody reminds me, "we haven't prayed". And I said, "Oh yeah, I'm sorry, we haven't prayed. Can I have a volunteer?" So it's it's very much, I think, a part of our Kenyan identity. This this praying before a meeting is it's very it's a tough culture. I can see very clearly. It is the Kenyan culture. I know. And the country director said there will be no praying before meetings. A lot of Kenyans were offended and thought, just because you are not a believer as an individual, it doesn't mean that you should interfere with our our practices as believers in Kenya. But, of course, you know, he's the country director. So if he says it, it has to be done. But it's definitely part of our culture. It's very entrenched in what we do. There is, there's almost no no Kenyan gathering that takes place without starting with a prayer.
00:38:00
Interviewer: Uhem.
00:38:02
Respondent 3: Yeah, I mean, for example, when I when I when I visit my parents in law because they leave upcountry in the countryside, when I visit them and we spend the day together before

we leave, it's standard that we will pray, my mother in law will pray for us. 'Thank God for the visit. Pray for a safe journey back home. And that is the case in every even family gathering know when people are about to depart. We will take a moment to thank God for having brought us together to ask for his blessings as we go to all our homes. So it's very much part of the Kenyan culture. Yeah.
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Interviewer: All right. Thank you. This was the last question. So 'we are now at the end of the interview.
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Respondent 3: OK, great.
00:38:54
Interviewer: How did you experience it?
00:38:55
Respondent 3: No, I liked it. And I actually one of the things that it has made me realize, I think I think I knew it, but I never really thought about it before. But in the course of this intervoew, I have realized just how much prayer is part of our culture as Kenyans. I mean, I knew we prayed, but I think for me it was just something that we've always done. So I never really thought about it. But I can say for sure, praying is very much a part of our culture as Kenyans, of course. On the other hand, I have heard lots of questions around, yeah, we pray so much, but then people are also doing so many bad things. So how can it be the same people praying who are doing this? But, you know, I think that's that's a different question. The it doesn't change the fact that I think culturally we we we are very, very we believe in prayer and we are very prayerful people. And in meetings in schools will start with prayers, assemblies and schools will start praying is just it's very much a Kenyan culture
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Interviewer: It is everywhere.
00:40:03
Respondent 3: OK, ok, OK. I've never lived anywhere else, so I don't know how it is in other countries.
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Interviewer: O well, in the Netherlands, for example, we are we don't have this tradition, but when you go to the very strong side of the Protestant church, then they have this tradition of starting meetings with prayer, but they only do it inside their own circle. So when there is a party meeting for a political party, then, of course, a prayer. But they will never say in the Tweede Kamer, which is our parliament, let's do a prayer. Never.
00:40:45
Respondent 3: Oh, I see. I see. I see.
00:40:50
Interviewer: It is interesting to to digg in this situation in Kenya. And yeah, it is really nice to hear this. And I'm so happy that you make the efforts to think about it, to think and give it words to bring your knowledge. Yeah. It came to the front, so we can see it all and that's great.
00:41:21
Respondent 3: Yeah.
00:41:21
Interviewer: So I'm looking for more participants.
00:41:26
Respondent 3: OK
00:41:26
Interviewer: Do you know more people that I can contact or can bring me into contact with someone.
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Respondent 3: Yeah. Would you like to interview somebody else at SNV or outside SNV?
00:41:42
Interviewer: I would like SNV,because that makes it easier to compare all my informants.

00:41:48
Respondent 3: OK, yeah, OK, so so I have a colleague that I work I was working closely with in SNV and she is still in SNV. She joined a different program in SNV. So what do I do? Do I, the email that you sent, or do you want to send me a specific email that I can then forwarded to her and copy you?
00:42:13
Interviewer: Yeah, I can do. I will go to the university. So when I'm at university in two hours or so
00:42:22
Respondent 3: two hours.
00:42:24
Interviewer: I will send you that email, OK, and forward that email, because that email has a bit of different information because I asked you before, but I have also information for informants that are new to this research project.
00:42:37
Respondent 3: Yes. OK, yes. Yeah, OK. So when you send it to me, I will forward it to her. Tell her I've spoken with you and and I've suggested that she she she becomes part of your informants and I'll copy you in the email so that now you can take contact with her.
00:42:54
Interviewer: Yeah. And now this would be a part of the bigger project. But this also part of my master thesis and my Master thesis is in Dutch, but I will provide a summary. Are you happy to to read that summary so that you know what
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Respondent 3: Yes. Yes. Very much
00:43:16
Interviewer: so you know what comes out of all these questions.
00:43:17
Respondent 3: Yes, please. If you can share it, I will be very grateful.
00:43:20
Interviewer: Yeah, I expect to finish my thesis in the summer. So I think you can expect an email with the summary.
00:43:29
Respondent 3: OK, ok, great. I appreciate it. Thank you very much. What did you to decide to to look into this issue of praying and in meetings. It's I found it very interesting and I wondered what the genesis of that idea was.
00:43:46
Interviewer: Well, I did the interviews for our research project invoking the sacre, and I interviewed Dutch NGOs, as you know, and in my sample, there were Dutch people and Kenyan people and all people said, well, this meeting starts with a prayer.
00:44:04
Respondent 3: Ahah
00:44:05
Interviewer: And I asked my Dutch informants about it and these Dutch informants were researchers working for different universities in the Netherlands and working on projects in Kenya. And they said, well, yeah, we start with a prayer. that is something to do. We have. I don't see the meaning of it, but
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Respondent 3: yeah, yeah,
00:44:28
Interviewer: because if you don't, we get troubles. So you do.
00:44:31
Respondent 3: Yes.
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Interviewer: And then I was triggered by this and I asked the same question to a Kenyan informant, asking her. I heard this from from the Dutch people. How did you view it yourself?

00:44:48
Respondent 3: Yes
00:44:48
Interviewer: No, it's very important.
00:44:50
Respondent 3: Yes.
00:44:52
Interviewer: From that point on, I started to ask every Kenyan person about it and I got a lot of different answers
00:45:00
Respondent 3: AAHH
00:45:00
Interviewer: That made me like what's going on here and.
00:45:05
Respondent 3: Right, OK.
00:45:07
Interviewer: And these interviews were, yeah, well, as you experience, they were really open. And I had to dig in on what you were saying. So there was not really a plan. We had just some topics that you have to check that really depends on what you were saying. Yeah. So in this point of the resource, I made the questionnaire, which is very structured to get really precise all the information.
00:45:34
Respondent 3: Yeah.
00:45:34
Interviewer: And so I yeah. This is the development on the first project.
00:45:41
Respondent 3: I see. OK, ok, I get that. Yeah. OK, cool,
00:45:48
Interviewer: So thank you. And then I wish you a very nice day today.
00:45:53
Respondent 3: Thank you. Have a good day and thank you for being willing to do this very early. I appreciate it.
00:45:57
Interviewer: Yeah, we will stay in contact.
00:46:00
Respondent 3: OK, great. Thanks. OK, bye
00:46:03
Interviewer: Bye. Bye.

6.4 Transcriptie respondent 4

00:00:00
Interviewer: And I sent you as well, a form of Consent. You didn't sign it yet? I guess I can't remember
00:00:10
Respondent 4: Is it handed to me? Oh my God. Oh, I am extremely busy. Some things just fall through the cracks. I did see that.
00:00:18
Interviewer: I can do this after this meeting. I sent it directly to you. So it's on top of your inbox. if you sign it.
00:00:24
Respondent 4: Thank you. Excuse me.
00:00:25
Respondent 4: Totally fine.
00:00:27
Interviewer: Yeah. All right.
00:00:28
Interviewer: All right. Let's start and. Well, if there is space or you have more information, feel free to to add it to the questions. But first, we start with the very short answering questions so you can answer this in one or two words. The first question is, what is your year of birth?
00:00:51
Respondent 4: Good question. Haha. My year of birth is 1968.
00:00:56
Interviewer: Mm hmm. And what is your religious affiliation?
00:01:03
Respondent 4: Haha. I am untouched
00:01:06
Interviewer: And untouched or untouched. Does that mean that do you believe in God or not?
00:01:16
Respondent 4: I I believe in God, I simply just don't go to church, so well, I believe I believe in God. I am I'm more spiritual than I am Christian and I practice a lot of spirituality on my own. I pray I think about powers that be better than myself. I believe in the environment. I believe in climate. I believe in all those things. So I'm deeply spiritual, but I do not have spiritual, I don't have an affiliation with, you know, any Christian organization.
00:02:00
Interviewer: Yeah. That's clear. And then the third question, what's your highest level of education?
00:02:05
Respondent 4: PhD, I am a professor.
00:02:09
Interviewer: And what's your current job position?
00:02:13
Respondent 4: That's associate professor at the [name of the university, unclear] university.
00:02:18
Interviewer: All right, well, these were the very short questions.
00:02:22
Respondent 4: OK
00:02:22
Interviewer: Now we continue with the first question, and this question is quite important because the answer we will use that for the rest of the interview. And in setting or context, are you familiar with a prayer at the start of a government or business meeting?
00:02:41
Respondent 4: Oh, yes, oh, it's a very common thing in Kenya. I mean, I don't really think there's any any place where any meeting can start without a prayer whether it is in government or in university, senate or the committee or departmental meetings or whatever. Everything starts with

prayers in this country. So you take a journey before you eat food, it is prayers, prayers, prayers. We pray a lot.
00:03:08
Interviewer: Yeah. I am very interested in government prayers. Can you keep such a prayer clear in minds or a meeting, a government meeting very clear in minds.
00:03:23
Respondent 4: Would you let me give you an example?
00:03:26
Interviewer: Yeah.
00:03:28
Respondent 4: Oh, absolutely. Our national parliament, this seems the easiest one that I can tell you, and you can google that and find it. Before parliament session starts or that there is a national event in parliament or something like that. And they will do three prayers. They say a prayer by a Muslim cleric. They say a prayer from a Christian when they talk about Christianity. Of course, you know there are many dimensions of Christianity, but they would probably just bring one. And that is a traditional spiritual prayer. Mainly, it is a Masai person where it comes from. So they they bring a traditional guy who just runs his own things. Nobody is hearing what he's saying because he's saying it in his language and blesses the parliament and that they start meeting. So that that is when our national, you can you can online see that you can find that on YouTube or Google. And then when we we always have national prayer because every day they every time they said he says that we do that and it's a whole religion and political mix. So, yeah, that are examples that I can give.
00:04:37
Interviewer: OK, well, please keep this meeting in mind when we start answering the following six questions because then we dig into this example to try to describe it as full as possible. And you said already, well, there are three prayers and they are conducted by three different people. That's the first question, just to repeat, very short. Who conducts the prayer?
00:05:08
Respondent 4: Well, government?
00:05:10
Interviewer: Yeah.
00:05:10
Respondent 4: If it's if it's a government meeting, so I've never sat in a government meeting because I don't work for government, but I know cabinet does prayers also depending on the composition of the cabinet and someone will do a prayer from among them when one person will just be asked: "and you can you lead the prayers?" and they will do that.
00:05:34
Interviewer: Yeah, but please, could you take a prayer and a meeting in mind that you attended? Because that makes it easier to to answer the questions.
00:05:47
Respondent 4: So I haved, I served in the university management for a long time and the highest, the highest university management meeting that I have attended the Senate candidate for seven years every week, and we could not start Senate without a prayer or things coming out without prayer. And universities' senate is composed of people from different. It's a very diverse lot of academics and very senior academics. We have Muslims, we have Christians. Those are those are the two percentage[?] of the major religion in this country, followed by Islam. And the statistics are fantastic. But at least 85 percent of Kenyans identify as Christians and about 11 percent identify as Muslim. And in our assembly I remember I used to sit in between two Muslim guys because they were my best friends and they would do a Christian prayer and nobody cares about the two Muslim senators. So the prayer would go like: "oh, Lord, before we know, we thank You for today. Thank You for bringing us together to deliberate on university business affair, we pray that You

start with us. We pray that You guide us. We pray that You give the chair of the Senate wisdom to leave this meeting. Guide us from start to finish. In Jesus name we pray. Amen." [opvallend is de toon, langgerekt aan het einde van elke zin]. And we are done.
00:07:13
Interviewer: Oh, and then we have answered the second question 'what is said during the prayer?' Thanks for that. Is very nice to get an example during the interview. Then, this kind of prayer, was it just one of the members of the meeting or was it the chair of the meeting?
00:07:33
Respondent 4: So that in the Senate that I sat in from 2012 to 2019, the university chaplain, and we have various chaplains, but this was a particular Catholic chaplain who was professor and was serving with me as director of student welfare. And and so by virtue of being a chaplain, he would lead the prayers. Now, if the chaplain was not in Senate, then a member would just be picked mainly one who looks really very spiritual or of whom people know that he goes to church a lot and is on speaking things to do with religion. They would ask them to pray. Nobody ever asked me to pray for the seven years I served in senate, because I, I am one of the people who really, really created hell about the lack of an ecumenical prayer that. It is always a Christian that is praying in total disregard of the Muslims and other affiliated ones like myself.
00:08:39
Interviewer: Yeah. And how long does such a prayer take?
00:08:43
Respondent 4: Probably a minute or two. Not very long.
00:08:47
Interviewer: Now, and is there a relation between the prayer and the gravety of the subjects on the table?
00:08:56
Respondent 4: Say that again.
00:08:58
Interviewer: Well, is there a relation, correlation between the duration of the prayer and the topics that are discussed so when the topics are more heated, for more though?
00:09:11
Respondent 4: No, no. I mean, university's senate is really about approving, approving student reserves, preparing for graduation or we have disciplinary issues or or, you know, we are planning for, you know, a big person coming. It really didn't matter. There will always be a prayer whether the senate is hor or not. I don't think I ever attended a hot senate meeting. People would really just speak about the issues that they are working on. The thing that I noted, though, was that we would pray at the beginning, but most times forget to pray when we finish. And I found that laughable. Haha. I found that laughable. Haha.
00:09:56
Interviewer: And why is that laughable?
00:09:58
Respondent 4: Yeah. I mean, so why are we praying when when we want to start? But when we have finished, that we are deliberated, that the business of the day and we had asked for wisdom from God and guidance, why aren't we thankful for the wisdom and guidance of that? We have finished our deliberations. I just found it very I mean, really funny. But, you know, you know, for me, a religion is something that I study, not something I practice. So I find many things laughable. And the other reason I found it laughable is because we are such hypocryps, you know, we we pray before we start these meetings, but we know it really doesn't lead to any social transformation. We seem to be one of the most corrupt countries in the world, the same people who pray, people who are caught up in all kinds of scandals. So, you know, that's why I laugh. That's why I laugh, a sarcastic laugh.

00:10:49
Interviewer: Yeah, I see. And, you also said well, that you find it a problem that it is a christian prayer, though there are Muslims in the meeting as well. And in this kind of meeting, there was never a prayer that has a Muslim background or an eucumenical background? Never?
00:11:16
Respondent 4: [schudt hoofd] None. None. And even on our graduation day, which is a big a big a big thing. We have government ministers coming. Sometimes, sometimes the presidents used to attend graduation, not any more, but we would have a high ranking government official or just somebody big coming. And, you know, we get excited about empowered people. And then they said, you know, we have Muslim students graduating, we have Muslim colleagues, and sometimes we've had Indian students because India has a high population of Indian. Nobody says a prayer that is inclusive of them. Nobody says an ecumenical prayer that is inclusive, inclusive of everyone. We really just pray to the Christian God and Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit. So and I I find that problematic again. And when you try to raise it, then people look at you as a rebel, you know, like, you know, you like bringing in a lot of politics, even to issues that have nothing to do with politics. So. Problematic prayer.
00:12:20
Interviewer: So, we come back to that later. Now, we stick to the description. How do you behave during such a prayer? So how do you sit? How do you look? How do you?
00:12:36
Respondent 4: Most people close their eyes as they are praying. In most cases, I just go to Facebook and, oh, I look at my phone, but I don't want to attract attention. So I guess keep quiet. Even when I'm sitting next to my Muslims, we just keep quiet and we look at each other. Nobody's closing their eyes. Yeah. As I say, I really find it very hypocritical. So it's not something that I want to participate in, but I find myself forced to by the circumstances.
00:13:19
Interviewer: So, your behavior, then, is something like: waiting till it is over?
00:13:26
Respondent 4: Ah, yeah, yeah, keep quiet until it's over.
00:13:31
Interviewer: And are there certain words or formulas that are set, always doing since a prayer?
00:13:37
Respondent 4: Are there?
00:13:41
Interviewer: Certain words or formulas, sentences that are always there, in a prayer?
00:13:49
Respondent 4: Well, and really asking God to give us wisdom to help us finish the business of the day, guide us to make decisions. Uhm yeah, really that that's what I have seen, especially in Senator Dean's committee. When we pray for the business of the day to to take on smoothly.
00:14:12
Interviewer: and are there words that people answer, for example, Amen?
00:14:19
Respondent 4: Well. I know, no, I haven't. I haven't seen that and I don't I don't recall that, but at the end of the prayer, all people say 'amen', those who wants to say 'amen', I mean.
00:14:35
Interviewer: So it is the finish off it.
00:14:37
Respondent 4: Yeah. Yeah. It's not like the Pentecostal prayer we are doing is shouting. WhoWho Yeah, Alleluia. Yes. No. it's sort of a calm, a calm situation.
00:14:49
Interviewer: Yeah. And someone says it is more comparable to a Protestant way of praying.
00:14:56
Respondent 4: Yes, yes, it is quite organized. Yeah.

00:15:01
Interviewer: Right now, we come to a more exciting part of our interview, which is about your own experience and well, you told already that you have a certain, yeah, view on it. And, well, answering these questions keep the same session or the same meeting in mind and just be as honest as possible when answering these questions. So if you say "no, I totally disagree". Just explain why, why, why you don't agree with it. The first question is: Which meaning has the prayer according to you?
00:15:46
Respondent 4: Uh?
00:15:48
Interviewer: Which meaning has the prayer according to you?
00:15:53
Respondent 4: Which meaning.
00:15:55
Interviewer: Yep.
00:15:58
Respondent 4: I'm not sure I get it. The meaning of what?
00:16:01
Interviewer: The meaning of the prayer, so does the prayer has some meaning. Does it say something or are it's just empty words?
00:16:15
Respondent 4: Well, I think, first of all, I think people pray because they have been socialized to do that in our homes, in our churches and everywhere, in functions, in political events. People have been socialized to start a meeting with prayer. So I think the meaning is there is very deep spirituality among people, that people are religious and they practice that even in their jobs, even in policy situations like in ones we do in the university.
00:16:47
Interviewer: And for you as a person. How do you answer then the question?
00:16:55
Respondent 4: About the meaning. I mean, I personally think it's absolutely useless, but I respect. I respect people and wanting to prayer, I mean, wanting to do the prayer, that's that's that's absolutely OK with me even if I don't I don't agree with it. And I certainly find it very hypocritical that people start a prayer, you know, a meeting with prayer, but I'm not necessarily ethical, ethical, you know, people or people that are striving to do what is right. You you find someone really asking for prayers but has run down the university in terms of the finances or appointed people based on their their tribes and not qualifications. So the hypocrisy is what makes me feel mad, you know. It's not really the prayer, I say. It's just that I think that people hide so much within religion.
00:17:55
Interviewer: Yeah. So I'm changing the question, which meaning should[+stress] the prayer have? [3sec] According to you.
00:18:06
Respondent 4: What, what meaning the prayer
00:18:09
Interviewer: should have.
00:18:12
Respondent 4: I. [3sec] I really don't know how I can answer that question. I simply think that. Really, people don't even think about these things clearly. As I said, it's a tradition, so we just do it because it's a tradition. It's a normal thing. It's a normal thing to do. So as far as the meaning is concerned, I really cannot answer that. Maybe people also use prayer as a way to mask their weaknesses or a way to soften people to understand to to to you know, to to sort of. [3sec] You know, think of you as a religious person, which is which is something that is prived in this country, that people think of you as a religious person, as a prayer person, is supposed to be a virtue irrespective of what you do and how you live your life. So I can't answer that. And I don't know the

motive. I other than the fact that people have been sociolized or rather that they use religion to hide some of their, to mask some of their problematics that I'm talking about. Yeah.
00:19:33
Interviewer: Yeah. And. When attending such a prayer, you said all ready you are religious unaffiliated but which emotions or feelings are triggered by the prayer in you?
00:19:51
Respondent 4: Well, not not really emotions are set like that. I I am just indifferent. And that indifference is also an emotion, isn't it?
00:20:03
Interviewer: Yeah.
00:20:06
Respondent 4: I couldn't care. I couldn't care less whether you feel or not, that's the kind of emotion that I I feel at that particular time. However, when when the composition of this the the meeting is multicultural and multireligious, then I feel offended. I feel offended, I feel angry that you do such a thing in total disrespect of other faiths. It's like you are minimizing the rest of the people and saying, we really don't care. We are a Christian majority country, that's your problem. You have to close your eyes because as Christians are praying that that that that I find problematic.
00:20:53
Interviewer: Yeah. And. Uhm. Then you have this feeling. How does such a prayer affects the meeting? Has it than for you a negative influence on the meeting?
00:21:11
Interviewer: For me, I mean, I just ignoid and then I wait for the business of the day and then when I'm done, I go. But conversations with my Muslim colleagues suggest that they feel deeply offended by that, really deeply offended. But they are calm, calm professors who don't want to rock the boat so they don't even close their eyes. They just wait for the one minute or two minutes prayer. And we are done and we move on to the business of the day.
00:21:44
Interviewer: Yeah.
00:21:44
Respondent 4: And they participate. Yeah.
00:21:46
Interviewer: And you're very well in separating the prayer from the meeting. So you say, well, the prayer was offensive, but we carry on with the meeting as nothing happens.
00:22:04
Respondent 4: I tried to at one point, I tried to say that if we must do prayers, let's do an ecumenical prayer that is inclusive of everyone and people borthered me. And and that was it. And the Muslim people who I sit with. did not say a one. They just kept quiet. So I was left almost alone. And and since that time, I simply does not know what's going on and wait for the agenda of the day.
00:22:36
Interviewer: And. Well, [3sec] the next question is a bit strange, maybe, but I simply follow my questionnaire. Seen you from your own religious affiliation, which was not attached to a certain institution, to which extend does such a prayer fits to your own affiliation?
00:23:04
Respondent 4: You know, I grew up as a Christian, baptized in the Presbyterian Church as a child, and I simply just stopped, you know, being affiliated like maybe 10 years ago. And so I think I think it really fits just the usual normal Kenyan prayer. Prayer is not demarcated to Pentecostal, to this, or that. People just really pray, except Pentecostals create a bit of drama. But but but the prayer is just the same, really. So, hi, yeah.
00:23:46
Interviewer: Hihi. And to an extent, this this prayer related to the traditional religion or indigenous traditional knowledge of Kenya. Is there a relationship at all?

00:23:59
Respondent 4: Nope, not that I know.
00:24:01
Interviewer: And how is it related to the history of Kanya? Is it then related to the Christian history?
00:24:11
Respondent 4: Yeah, because historically, Kenya is a Christian country historically tied to the colonial missionary Christianity, of course, at the traditions game later on. So I don't know how to answer that.
00:24:29
Interviewer: I have another question, related to this though. The Muslims that are living in the north and along the coast; they are there already for a long time ago before Christianity came to Kenya. How was the relationship between the Christians and the Muslims when Christianity came into Kenya?
00:24:56
Respondent 4: So I am not a church historian. What I know, though, is that, you know, Muslims, the majority of them live predominantly in the north and at the coasts, but also. A lot of Muslims now live in Nairobi and are spread across, you know, a majority of urban centers in Kenya and and until until the first bombing of Nairobi by terrorists in nineteen eighty nineteen ninety eight [1998], Christian Muslim relations has actually been really good in this country. And it's just been complicated by terrorism. But also, more recently, because of terrorism, the government began to crack down on Muslim youth and they have been denied visas, passports and, you know, and ID cards and driving licenses. And so that's how it used to be. And that has seriously sort of eroded Christian Muslim relations. But on the whole, as neighbors, as colleagues as, you know country people, citizens, we really don't have a problem with each other until there is there is a terrorist attack, which is assumed is is perpetrated by young radicalized Muslim men and yeah women. You know, that that was never really a big problem. But since then, we have looked at a lot of Islamophobia, you know, around that. So so so probably also the fact that in policy situations, ignore Muslim prayers may also emanate from that kind of tension, I don't know. I'm just suspecting. Yeah, so so people actually relate very well together. There is some sort of element of intermarriage, good neighbors and you know that sort of thing. No, no attention until there's a terrorist attack.
00:27:04
Interviewer: And I start to investigate further more tomorrow because a part of my thesis is to describe the religious landscape in Kenya. And so, yeah, then this is one of the subquestions I have to answer.
00:27:24
Respondent 4: Yeah. So I just published an article on Islamophobia in Kenya and unfortunately I don't have a hardcopy or a soft copy. The book came out. I think probably last year, late last year, I haven't received a hard copy, and the only one I have is the prepublication copy, which I could send you, but I think you can access I think your university can buy for for you the chapter. I think so. I'm not sure. Even I myself have not seen the the the the final publication. But these days, quite a bit of work that has been done on Islamophobia and Muslim Christian relations you find online.
00:28:08
Interviewer: I will search for that tomorrow. And then we continue now with the last part, the last set of questions. This is about the experience of the others. And so what I will do now is ask you to answer these questions, standing in someone else's shoes. And you you said, well, at meeting your Muslim colleagues and other Christian colleagues, where other religion affiliations involved?
00:28:47
Respondent 4: So you see in the senate this high ranking professors, you simply, yes, know them as Christians. Kenyans are not people who are comfortable talking about, you know, their religiousness or or if they are secular or if they are liberal, like myself, they are not comfortable

because they're saying that puts you in a situation where you are looked at as anti as an anti-ethist [tegen ethiek of antitheïst]. Even if you none, even if you are not. So so it is incomfortable, people don't really ask others. They just know they are Christians, some based on your relationship then people know you go to this church or to to that church. That has never been a factor for me in how I relate with my colleagues. And I honestly do not know the religious affiliation of most of my colleagues. So I'm not sure I can answer that question.
00:29:44
Interviewer: Yeah. But let's assume that, for sure, you know, that there are Muslims and now we can assume that there were some Christians as well. Let us stick then to these two affiliations and then we will answer the following questions first for the the Christians and then we will answer the same questions for the Muslims. Are you fine with that?
00:30:09
Respondent 4: Mm hmm.
00:30:10
Interviewer: All right. Umh. To the Christians, which meaning is given to to this prayer by them. What do you think?
00:30:22
Respondent 4: Meaning? Well, I I think that people feel good when they are committed the work ahead of them to vote and they feel that the decisions that they will make in honor by God or blessed by God, and I think so. Oh, just really inviting a power beyond yourself to the meeting. Maybe it takes away someone's anxieties from people, because I think also religion is a big, plays a big part in the management of anxiety around policy issues that we have to make, that that's just really my thinking as an academic, I really do not know how to input[?] any other motive.
00:31:17
Interviewer: And shich emotions or feelings do such a prayer trigger in them?
00:31:26
Respondent 4: And. Maybe peace and and and comfort and maybe a sense of security.
00:31:40
Interviewer: Could you repeat that last one.
00:31:43
Respondent 4: A sense of security that you have told God what you want to say and unhappy or something like that? I don't know what.
00:31:55
Interviewer: And well, do they see that such a prayer influences the meeting?
00:32:09
Respondent 4: And I do think that what is in the mind of the person praying and the people listening to the prayer that God has influenced that as well as the deliberations that you take. I think that must be the underlying reason why we pray in the first place. An invitation of God to influence our decisions and guide us in our decision making.
00:32:42
Interviewer: And. To what extent do these people experience a relationship to their own affiliation?
00:32:58
Respondent 4: I don't know. I don't know, given that I don't know the affiliation and given how problematic affiliations are, because you have Angelakos, Pentecostals, charismatics, you have mainline churches and you have vertically instituted churches, then you have the Muslims and you have whoever else. I don't know how that works. Yeah
00:33:22
Interviewer: Oh, I. And do they see that this prayer is connected to the history of of Kenya?
00:33:34
Respondent 4: No, nobody talks about history. I don't think I've ever had anything like that.

00:33:43
Interviewer: Uhum. Well, let's then move on to the Muslims. I guess we get then different answers. Um. Which meaning is given to this prayer by the Muslims?
00:33:59
Respondent 4: And that's a question I could never answer, because they don't verbalize that they the only thing I know is that I have had private conversations with them, that they feel seriously offended by the Christian prayers, it is finished, and on traditions and peace strategy [?]. And they are peacemakers and they don't want to rattle them. So nobody says anything. So I can't answer that for them. I know they are deeply uncomfortable. That's that's that I can tell you.
00:34:33
Interviewer: Do you know whetter there are other emotions or feelings involved?
00:34:39
Respondent 4: Of course, their feelings of anger and exclusion. So, you know what is interesting to me, because they do Christian prayer during you know policy making decision in meetings like that, but Muslims are allowed these events are designated for them to pray. And and and people have their little cupboards where they can pray outside the offices without any problem at all. So I'm not able to understand what that means.
00:35:13
Interviewer: And in which way does such a prayer influence the meeting for them?
00:35:22
Respondent 4: Well, I wouldn't I wouldn't know how to answer that. And with an.
00:35:29
Interviewer: Yeah, and then the last two questions are already answered. Well, thank you for answering these questions. I noticed that it was not always easy to do it and sometimes you cannot give an answer. But this is part of the research process. So I am still very happy that you took the time to think about it and to answer it. At the. Well, what I don't do now is to to make a transcription and start coding, et cetera. That I'm looking for more responses. Do you know maybe more people, that will take part and, due to the fact that it is not that easy to talk about religion, feel free to to answer these questions?
00:36:22
Respondent 4: Unless I connect you with my students, I I think I have one particular student that I have in mind was born again Pentecostal and does amazing work with with women and does and spirituality is very important to her. She might be able to answer those questions better because she she's not as critical as I am. So she might be able to answer and give you the kind of access that you looking for and I could connect you with. However, she's very busy, though, and she lives in a place where the Internet is hard. But you could do that on WhatsApp. You have WhatsApp, I think?
00:37:06
Interviewer: I have WhatsApp. Yeah. And otherwise I can translate this questionnaire to a written questionnaire so she can write the answers, if that's easier. Right. Yeah, so, yeah, I would be very happy if you can bring me into contact with some other people and then what's coming out of that, because maybe some don't have time and an. So how shall we do this? I sent you an email with the information about the project. So you have an information you can send to these people, would that work for you?
00:37:53
Respondent 4: Right. Right.
00:37:55
Interviewer: And then I will send the second email. It's a form of consent for you to sign and send back.
00:38:01
Respondent 4: All right. OK.

00:38:03
Interviewer: Yeah. And how did you experience this this whole questionnaire? Do we have tips for me?
00:38:14
Respondent 4: Haha. Uh. Some questions are difficult to answer because then it depends on the expenses of the people, like if you ask me a question about the Muslim people seeking to listen to a prayer in a Senate meeting, how do they feel it's had unless they verbalize their, you know, their feelings. For me, if they verbalize to me because they are my colleagues and they they know I don't like exclusion. But then again, they could only say about their frustrations, but actually do not know what they feel inside, you know, and and we know eachother for years, because you are appointed to the Senate or this committee for at least five years and beyond. So and we meet every week, sometimes twice, twice a week, because you can do [?] you can do seminars every week. So you can imagine going through that for five years, it must be hard. But then also you can get used to it and simply just ignore it and say, OK, I tune in when when the meeting, when the prayer is done. So some questions I really had to answer.
00:39:32
Interviewer: Yeah, I know. But I choose this waybecause since it is that difficult to get enough responses, this is a way to to double somehow the data. But I notice this is very hard. And therefore, I well I also ask people if they like meetings, like business meetings, because then most of the time you are with colleagues and sometimes you know your colleagues better then it is just a government meeting. There you see people you you met once a month or less.
00:40:13
Respondent 4: Right. Uhum.
00:40:17
Interviewer: OK if you say, well, I don't have an answer, then I have to accept the answer to this question.
00:40:25
Respondent 4: Yeah, yeah. And well, I think on the whole, they are great questions. They are just sometimes difficult to answer. I was just wondering whether you are able to interview Muslim Muslim people about how they feel about prayers in a predominantly Christian country.
00:40:44
Interviewer: I would like to speak with Muslims, but until now I was not able to speak to them. So they are not in my sample. So, yeah, I would be very happy to get into contact with someone that despite the fact that Kenya is a very religious country I met already some people that say, well, I believe that I'm not affiliated to an institution. So you're not the first one to say this to me.
00:41:15
Respondent 4: Yeah! So I have a colleague within Germany. He's Muslim. He has been in university management and right on Islam, a really great scholar. He's in Germany now. I don't know whether he has time to answer your questions, but I can introduce you to him. I think I also have a female Muslim colleague in another university. She's female. She's I think she's the chair of the department. And she I'm sure she encounters them things in her university because we pray across the board with many universities she might be able to answer. So I just try to introduce the three of you to each other to see whether the they have time. Hassan Hessan is in Germany, is an extremely busy person. But you can use your description and say, I just want to call you very briefly and ask you to help me with this questionnaire. It will support you.
00:42:16
Interviewer: Yeah, well, that would be great. Thank you. So I sent you this message after I closed the session. So you will. Yeah, well, you can expect that then in less than 15 minutes and then we see how it continues. And according to the research projects Invoking the Secret, let's keep our fingers crossed and hope you can start soon. Well, I think if I hear how it's going the vacinations,

you should think them should open soon, but still, if the numbers are so high, this is enormous. In the Netherlands, they block everything and.

00:43:03

Respondent 4: Right, right. OK, so so thank you. Thank you so much for your time.

00:43:11

Interviewer: Thank you as well. It was a pleasure.

00:43:15

Respondent 4: Thank you, bye bye

00:43:16

Interviewer: Bye. .

6.5 Transcriptie respondent 5

00:00:01
Interviewer: All right, let's start then with the questions and the first questions, please answer them very shortly. Just one or two words. What is your year of birth?
00:00:12
Respondent 5: 1986.
00:00:15
Interviewer: And what is your religious affiliation?
00:00:18
Respondent 5: Catholic.
00:00:20
Interviewer: And what is your highest level of education?
00:00:24
Respondent 5: A bachelor's degree.
00:00:27
Interviewer: And what is your current job position?
00:00:31
Respondent 5: Project manager for a voice program. At Hivos.
00:00:36
Interviewer: Yeah, I am very happy that you are here.
00:00:40
Respondent 5: Haha.
00:00:42
Interviewer: So these were the four personal questions and now we go more into detail. In which setting or context are you familiar with the prayer of the start of a government or business meeting?
00:00:59
Respondent 5: When you mean by setting?
00:01:02
Interviewer: I mean in which occation or in which situation.
00:01:09
Respondent 5: Oh, any any meetings that I held that with government officials as well as also civil society NGOs.
00:01:18
Interviewer: When you have a meeting with a government officials, euhm, can you describe such a meeting briefly?
00:01:28
Respondent 5: So one meeting I've had with government officials was in terms of presenting data so that we can be able to work together in a private public partnership to develop a policy for trade.
00:01:45
Interviewer: And you have this meeting still clear in mind that you can remember a lot of the meeting. Because that makes it easier to answer the questions.
00:01:55
Respondent 5: Yes. Yes, I do. I do. I do. I do have this. I make clear.
00:02:01
Interviewer: Yeah. OK, well, then we continue with the next questions and please take the meeting then all the time in mind. So this is your anker point to answer the questions. So the first six questions are about describing the prayer.
00:02:20
Respondent 5: OK
00:02:21
Interviewer: Can you remember who conducted the prayer?
00:02:26
Respondent 5: Somebody from the government.

00:02:32
Interviewer: Was that a high placed person from the government or was it the chairman or?
00:02:41
Respondent 5: No, it was any individual, but it was a ministerial meeting, so there were all ministers of trade in different governments.
00:02:51
Interviewer: and then they volunteer, or is there a schedule that says today it's your turn?
00:02:59
Respondent 5: No. So the chair asks for a volunteer and somebody volunteers. But the prayer is part of the agenda.
00:03:07
Interviewer: Yeah. All right. And what is said during this prayer?
00:03:14
Respondent 5: So mostly it's just a prayer for Thanksgiving for the day and for bringing everybody together safely, because they were from different countries and then just asking for blessings during the meeting conversation.
00:03:32
Interviewer: Uhum.
00:03:32
Respondent 5: Yeah.
00:03:33
Interviewer: And how long does this prayer take?
00:03:36
Respondent 5: Oh, about three minutes.
00:03:39
Interviewer: Mm hmm. And does such a prayer relate to a certain religious affiliation?
00:03:48
Respondent 5: It's most often Christian.
00:03:51
Interviewer: And you say most often. What are the affiliations in other occasions?
00:03:58
Respondent 5: Because in some cases it could be more inclusive in that, we are also used to have Christian and you also have Muslims. So some some meetings do have options of both prayers being said
00:04:14
Interviewer: And then both prayers are said. So then you have two prayers on the agenda?
00:04:18
Respondent 5: Yes, yes, yes,
00:04:20
Interviewer: And about inclusive, of being inclusive, uhm it's checked then beforehand which affiliations are there at the meeting or. Um?
00:04:37
Respondent 5: No, I actually have no idea how that is done, but I would like to believe it is based on the organizers having invited people. So from the names, it's easy to tell who is, who practices Islam. So then that way they know that there are some Muslim people within the meeting.
00:05:01
Interviewer: And so it's then in the name that you can see whether you are Muslim or not?
00:05:10
Respondent 5: Most often in Kenya, you can always tell a Muslim person. Yeah, in the name, huh.
00:05:15
Interviewer: And how is such a name then build up?
00:05:19
Respondent 5: It could be like a name like Fatuma or Abdul or Hussein. Yeah. Such that common names like that are pretty clear. Yeah, yeah, yeah.
00:05:34
Interviewer: Yeah. Clear, for me as well.

00:05:39
Respondent 5: Haha
00:05:39
Interviewer: Um yeah. And when such a meeting starts with a prayer, how do you behave?
00:05:50
Respondent 5: We, me, myself, or everybody?
00:05:53
Interviewer: No, in general.
00:05:53
Respondent 5: Oh, in general, it's quiet and we all our heads and some people tend to close their eyes as well. Yeah.
00:06:03
Interviewer: And are there certain words or formulas that everyone says during such a prayer, like answering or at the end of the prayer?
00:06:17
Respondent 5: So in a Christian meeting, you always end with Amen. So everybody pretty much says that if they practice Christianity.
00:06:25
Interviewer: And in a Muslim prayer is there something you say?
00:06:30
Respondent 5: I don't say anything because I don't know what they say at the end, but I have never had any response back at the end.
00:06:41
Interviewer: All right. This was the description part.
00:06:45
Respondent 5: OK.
00:06:46
Interviewer: Yeah. It does not take that long. And now we go through the experience part and now you can talk more.
00:06:54
Respondent 5: Haha.
00:06:58
Interviewer: Hah. So in this experience for this first part is really about your own experience, your own feelings, your own thoughts. And the first question is, um, which meaning has the prayer according to you?
00:07:20
Respondent 5: Hmm, I've never thought that much about it, because I feel it is it's something that we have practiced since we were old. There's always the belief that prayer is very important in our lives. So I have never been surprised when a prayer, when a meeting starts with prayer. So I just take it like I am praying myself. And so that's the belief. But not, I haven't really thought that much into it. Haha. It's just automatic,
00:07:52
Interviewer: automatic that you do it.
00:07:53
Respondent 5: That you do it. Yeah.
00:07:55
Interviewer: Personal prayer.
00:07:57
Respondent 5: Yeah.
00:07:58
Interviewer: Um what does it give to you?
00:08:03
Respondent 5: It's, so for me, especially at the moment. So I just take it as an opportunity to, to have that. It's like a reminder that I need to give thanks in the morning for my day, when in most cases I probably will not remember to pray in the morning. So I always feel like, OK, like this is

probably something I should have done and I get to do it now, but I never feel it like an obligation to do it. Yeah.
00:08:38
Interviewer: So. Instead of a point of the business agenda, you take it more personal?
00:08:48
Respondent 5: Yes, I take it personal by that, whenever anybody prays with the meeting.
00:08:53
Interviewer: And if you give thanks. What does that do to your day?
00:09:02
Respondent 5: So it's, it just, it makes me feel like more connected personally, I think, to God and just to to keep in mind that it is important for me to be able to continuously be grateful for everything that happens in my day. And sometimes I actually feel like my day is brighter. Yeah.
00:09:35
Interviewer: Now, it's still a bit dark outside, but if you say brighter, I think
00:09:39
Respondent 5: No, haha, something like things just get to go a bit more smoothly.
00:09:45
Interviewer: Yeah.
00:09:46
Respondent 5: But I'm not sure whether that's just because of my faith or it was intentional to go that way. So it's religion
00:09:57
Interviewer: The mystery of belief.
00:09:59
Respondent 5: Yes, hahahaha
00:10:03
Interviewer: Euhm. Well you told already about it, but maybe there are more. Which emotions or feelings are triggered in the prayers?
00:10:18
Respondent 5: So I feel calm, calmer. I feel more hopeful, so I know things are going to go well. And it kind of gives me strength, I guess, to just know that this is a meeting that has been blessed. So all conversations here will be done respectfully. But then also all of this is just my assumption, based on the fact that we prayed. Things do not always go like that. Yeah. haha.
00:10:51
Interviewer: That is my thirth question, actually. In which has the prayer an effect on the meeting.
00:11:00
Respondent 5: It's... I don't think so, because I might take it as a good thing to pray, and they feel like there's the presence in the meeting with us, but not everybody probably shares my same belief and it could be considered that prayer is just part of the agenda. So it must be done and considered, not considering whether somebody else believes in the prayer or not. So, no, the meeting doesn't always go as calm haha as I expect, but I guess that's the difference in terms of the diversity within the room.
00:11:38
Interviewer: Yeah, but if you feel more relaxed. Well, you are working at Hivos and Hivos is a Dutch organization.
00:11:47
Respondent 5: Yeah.
00:11:48
Interviewer: So are you also familiar with meetings that start without a prayer, for example, in in Hivos?
00:11:57
Respondent 5: Yes, we actually. I particularly in my program, I want to say we, as Hivos, we do not initiate starting a meeting with prayers, but there are instances in a meeting with some of our

partners who actually request for a prayer. So I think for us, we just keep that open. But personally, for me, whether we begin a meeting with prayer or not, it doesn't really impact me that much.
00:12:30
Interviewer: Yeah.
00:12:31
Respondent 5: Yeah.
00:12:31
Interviewer: So there's no transition for your calmness and your thankfulness to the point on the agenda that's coming after the prayer?
00:12:44
Respondent 5: Not really, because I still feel prayer and my faith is on me. It's not on somebody else to impart that on me by starting a meeting with prayer. So if I come into a meeting already feeling calm, because I said a prayer or because I just feel more calmer, that's on me. So if we start a meeting without prayer, I'm also good. I'm still okay. Yeah, yeah.
00:13:13
Interviewer: Yeah, I'm. And then the next question. You said you are Catholic.
00:13:21
Respondent 5: Yes.
00:13:22
Interviewer: And to which extent, those your religious affiliation fits with the affiliation of the prayer.
00:13:32
Respondent 5: So. I think because most of the prayers of pretty general Christian prayers, so while some other denominations do not do the sign of the cross, if we start a prayer, because, I as a Catholic, we do the sign of the cross, I do that with the person saying the prayer does or not. And then, yeah, that I think that's the extent we just pray like everyone else and we still, I still bow my head and sometimes close my eyes and pray all that. But that's for the Christian side. But the Muslim side, I just I paid the same respects and I just blew my head and let the prayer continue for those who practice that religion.
00:14:25
Interviewer: Yeah. Yeah. So you can say then the prior whether this is Christian or Islam, that it is very general Christian general Islam. So everyone who is Christian fits in the box of Christian prayer.
00:14:40
Respondent 5: Yeah.
00:14:41
Interviewer: And if it is not a kind of affiliation, for example, Muslim, then you think, well, I pay respects and.
00:14:48
Respondent 5: Yeah. Yeah. Do that.
00:14:51
Interviewer: Yeah. And according to your opinion, is there a connection between this habit of praying with the history of Kenya?
00:15:09
Respondent 5: I believe so, because we've always been taught since we were kids that it was important to pray and to be spiritual and to obey the rules so like keep towards the... I feel like religion has been used as a way of disciplining. So if you do good, you go to heaven. If you do bad, you go to hell. So that practice has continued. And so that's what makes prayer, I guess, the the the basic or the custom and practice at every meeting, particularly when it comes to government, I just, I my opinion, I feel they use it, as would you call it, kind of like retribution, like if you had not... If you don't respect the law or if you don't obey the rules, then, things will go badly. Yeah, so I don't think everybody takes it as faithfully as some do with those who really practice it. Yeah,

00:16:16
Interviewer: Yeah. This is the interesting part of this research. I speak with many people and I get different answers. Yeah.
00:16:22
Respondent 5: Haha.
00:16:25
Interviewer: That makes it interesting. And I but I have to make something out of this mess of answers.
00:16:30
Respondent 5: Hahaha. I hope it's not too complicated. Haha.
00:16:38
Interviewer: Well, that's my problem, actually, is that it is difficult to get enough responses. And so until now, I have interviewed some people, unaffiliated people, a muslim person. And all give different answers. Um, though I think there is a relation between someone's own affiliation and how the prayer is taken.
00:17:06
Respondent 5: Yeah, yeah, yeah.
00:17:09
Interviewer: But we'll find out. And I hope maybe you can contact me to others and then I find more persons and then my answers become more relaileble.
00:17:20
Respondent 5: Yeah.
00:17:20
Interviewer: But we will sit at the end of this meeting.
00:17:25
Respondent 5: OK
00:17:28
Interviewer: Because we came out at the end of the block with your own experience.
00:17:32
Respondent 5: OK
00:17:33
Interviewer: Now we continue with the experience of the others. Remembering that meeting with the government officials. Um. Who were attending that meeting and do you know their affiliations. Were there all Christians, were there Muslims?
00:17:57
Respondent 5: It was a mixture of NGO staff and government staff, and I am not sure if there are any muslims?. I don't remember exactly, but there could have been one or two because the meeting was in Mombasa, which is very, which has a lot of Muslims in it. So there might have been one or two people.
00:18:27
Interviewer: All right. Let's assume then that were Christians or maybe some Muslims.
00:18:32
Respondent 5: OK.
00:18:32
Interviewer: We don't know. But let's assume and then the next questions we will ask them twice. First we will answer them for the Christians who were attending. And then the second time we repeat the questions, but then we focus on the Muslims.
00:18:49
Respondent 5: OK.
00:18:49
Interviewer: So focusing on the Christian members. Which meaning is given to prayer by them?
00:19:06
Respondent 5: What do you mean by meaning?

00:19:09
Interviewer: Well, as you answered it at the beginning for yourself, like. Uhm that uhm, you has a certain feeling or you think, well, I do this because.
00:19:27
Respondent 5: OK, so. I I guess for them, the meeting now, I'm assuming I'm assuming how they would have felt or ment by the prayer.
00:19:40
Interviewer: Yeah, that is fine.
00:19:42
Respondent 5: OK. They, I think for them was just grateful for safe travel because there are some people who came out of Kenya and then just blessing for the meeting and the deliberations.
00:19:58
Interviewer: Uhum, and which emotions and feelings are triggered?
00:20:07
Respondent 5: I guess it would depend on the level of faith that might have been some who just considered it a normal practice and so did it as part of. It has to be done and then there could have been some who just really felt connected and truly prayed with the person who was saying the prayer.
00:20:29
Interviewer: Yeah, and when they truly prayed, what kind of emotions and feelings are triggered then?
00:20:36
Respondent 5: Um. Oh, I actually don't know. Because it's, I don't know if I can give a specific answer, because it's not like a conversation that we had afterwards, but I, I just especially when it came to the government officials, it just felt like it's something that's done. So it's done and we move on. I'm not sure that they felt any different from when they walked into their room. Yeah.
00:21:11
Interviewer: Yeah. And. Earlier, I spoke with someone who also was telling me about Christians that did it as a general practice, and then I said, well, can we see this as cultural Christians? And she said, well, I don't know that term. But cultural Christians, we have them in the Netherlands, are Christians that are Christian by culture. So they have the habits and they go to church, but you do it because it's part of your culture, not because you're a believer. Is this a term you can also use for this kind of persons that take it just as a point on the agenda, something w have to do.
00:22:09
Respondent 5: Yeah, I feel. OK, well, I want to say yes. But it's difficult to know if the person who is initiating actually is doing it out of practice and habit or whether they really feel it's important for prayer to take place because it then unifies the people in the meeting. So, OK, that's a bit complicated question. Haha
00:22:46
Interviewer: Complicated question. Yeah.
00:22:46
Respondent 5: Yeah [langgerekt uitgesproken]
00:22:46
Interviewer: But another question, because now you say, well, it also can depend on the person who conducts the prayer.
00:22:54
Respondent 5: Yeah.
00:22:56
Interviewer: But he or she takes it very personal or really intened. And then I have some examples of of prayer by my interviewees. And I noticed that there was a certain way of saying the prayer. And I cannot repeat the prayer because I don't have it on paper. But, um, what was very common was that at the end of a sentence the tone of voice became longer and a bit nasal. Well, for example, you can say 'different groups are mentioned' [normal speech], but you can also say and

'different groups are mentioned, like believers and nonbelievers' [uitgesproken met langerekt en iets omhoog gaand einde], that the phrase at the end. And is that common to prayer or is there a difference in it when the prayer is taken more serious or no?
00:24:04
Respondent 5: I think there's a difference in terms of those, from what I have seen in the meetings, like those who truly uhm believe that meetings should start with prayer, are more passionate and more forceful, sometimes their voices go high, their eyes are closed, their hands are lifted. They really, you can really feel that they are truly praying for themselves also as well as the meeting. And then there are those who just feel like it is a habit that they have to do and it's something that they need to get over with. And so you can always feel like it's just a rush, almost like a rush. Monotone speech and we're done. So definitely a difference there.
00:25:02
Interviewer: All right, thank you. This is very interesting.
00:25:04
Respondent 5: Haha. Yeah.
00:25:07
Interviewer: Yeah. And, um. Well, you make the difference between intended prayer and prayers that just get over it. Is there a difference than as well in the meetings that are after the prayer?
00:25:35
Respondent 5: Uhm... No, I wouldn't say there is a difference in depending on who prays. No, I always feel like the prayer at the beginning of the meeting is more for the person who's praying and what they believe. Yeah, and not really for the meeting as a whole. Yeah.
00:25:55
Interviewer: All right. Now, you alreay answered this question for yourself, and I am asuming this is just the same for for the Christians then that well, because they are Christian, doesn't matter which Christian affiliation, they feel connected to the prayer since it is a Christian prayer.
00:26:20
Respondent 5: Yeah.
00:26:20
Interviewer: And do they feel a connection with the history of Kenya?
00:26:34
Respondent 5: I guess it's it's. I... Probably. Again, because I feel that it is something that has been ingrained in us as Kenyans, the importance of religion in everything we do in life. So I think in that aspect, they just feel like it's something that must be done. Yeah.
00:27:02
Interviewer: Yeah. All right. This was the end of the Christians part. OK, let's continue now with the Muslim side. How do you think Muslims takes such a prayer?
00:27:19
Respondent 5: I'm. I think. I want to say I feel they take it more, most serious and don't just take it as a formality, but that's also because I believe that comparing the two religions, I always feel like through their practice and the way they live, Muslims take their religion a lot more seriously than Christians do. But that's just my own belief. So it could influence how I answer this question. haha.
00:28:06
Interviewer: Well, yeah, as I said, you might say how you think the others think, so. Yeah.
00:28:13
Respondent 5: Yeah.
00:28:15
Interviewer: Well, it's interesting that they take it more seriously. Yeah, I can see why you say that. Yeah, and which emotions or feelings are triggers in prayers for them. And do you have any idea?
00:28:34
Respondent 5: Um. I feel like it's just something [3sec] like they would feel how they felt when they walked in the room, because I tend to believe prayer is something that is very important and

constant throughout their day. So even though the meeting starts with prayer, they still feel like they are connected to whoever they are, they are worshipping at that, yeah.
00:29:09
Interviewer: Yeah, yeah, let's say to Allah.
00:29:13
Respondent 5: Pray to Allah. Yes.
00:29:16
Interviewer: And so if you say that the prayer is continuing during the day euhm. Does it have or doesn't have an influence then on the meeting?
00:29:34
Respondent 5: I don't think it has an influence on the meeting, because they still, at least in the meetings I've been in with Muslims, they still tend to engage in the meeting. In the same way as you would engage outside a meeting.
00:29:53
Interviewer: Yeahm are you now speaking of the Muslims, when that meeting is starting with a Muslim prayer? But how will they behave when a Christian prayer is said?
00:30:09
Respondent 5: and they also are just respectful.
00:30:12
Interviewer: Yeah, yeah. And if it's emotions and feelings are triggered when this is a Christian prayer?
00:30:22
Respondent 5: Wow, that's a hard question. Haha. Because I have no idea how they feel, but I would want to imagine that if they have to listen to a Christian prayer, they would also expect a Muslim prayer to be said. And then in that instance, it's, I guess they would wait for the Muslim prayer, actually feel something. But I don't think the Christian prayer affects them in any way.
00:30:57
Interviewer: Right.
00:30:58
Respondent 5: Yeah.
00:31:00
Interviewer: So you can say that actually, it is the same as, for example, you attend a Muslim prayer and wait till it's over and then you pay respects and.
00:31:12
Respondent 5: Yeah. Yeah.
00:31:16
Interviewer: And. And. How do Muslims think about Christian prayers and Muslim prayers relate to to the recent history of Kenya?
00:31:33
Respondent 5: Um. I think it's the same as the way Christians would feel because Muslim and Christianity is kind of the two main religions in Kenya. So it's definitely side by side. So if you have a Christian prayed, praying, a Muslim is also expected to pray just so that it's all inclusive. So it's. Something that is also just ingrained from childhood. Yeah.
00:32:16
Interviewer: uhmuhm. Yeah. Mooi. Well, that was my last question, so we are at the end. Yeah.
00:32:23
Respondent 5: Oh, OK.
00:32:24
Interviewer: I was asking you sometimes difficult questions.
00:32:28
Respondent 5: Yes. Hahaha.
00:32:29
Interviewer: How did you experience it?
00:32:32
Respondent 5: No, it was. It was fine, it was it was OK. And it was. It made me think a lot because I

realize that sometimes we will pray for the sake of praying, and it has become such a practice in meetings that if a meeting doesn't start with prayer, you almost kind of wonder, like what is what's what's wrong? What is happening? Like, have we lost our belief in our faith, especially when it comes to government meetings. And also some NGO meetings tend to be very faith driven. So I think it's just, you know, it's it's interesting. And I'm really interested to read your research because we never really think of the impact of religion in our meetings and why we actually do pray before meetings other than just being told you have to pray. Haha.
00:33:29
Interviewer: Yeah, well, what I do is I write my thesis and well my thesis is in Dutch. That will dificult to read for you allsince I interview only people in Kenya. I will write a summary in English and I will send it to all my interviewees.
00:33:50
Respondent 5: O yes, that would be wonderful.
00:33:51
Interviewer: So you have an overview. Because otherwise, it would be so sad. I have triggered you and you spoke a lot about it and want to know what is becoming out of it.
00:34:02
Respondent 5: Yeah, I have you interviewed people who are not who are who don't believe in God or in prayer.
00:34:13
Interviewer: I spoke to two people who are
00:34:16
Respondent 5: OK
00:34:16
Interviewer: who said that they are unaffiliated, but they affirm that they believe in God, that they believe, that they are spiritual, that they pray, but they are not connected to a church.
00:34:28
Respondent 5: OK.
00:34:30
Interviewer: And, well, I see completely different answers then.
00:34:35
Respondent 5: Yeah.
00:34:36
Interviewer: Um. So. Yeah, I get the feeling, actually, and you said this as well, so something is my mind is working as well at the moment. I think one of the hypothesis could be that if you believe in prayer, if you truly believe in prayer. And I think it is a personal prayer as a way to connect the God, then a prayer at the start of a meeting is something strange. And and I see it from the Netherlands, so I am an outstander, not a first perspective, so it sounds a bit strange, but many of you report that there is no influence on the meeting. This is just something on the agenda. You have to do this, because it is there on the agenda. But when you have a meeting without a prayer, it doesn't affect the meeting.
00:35:35
Respondent 5: Yeah.
00:35:39
Interviewer: And if you take it personal, if you see prayer as something personal, like should you start meeting with it with this private and public, I mean.
00:35:47
Respondent 5: Haha.
00:35:51
Interviewer: This is just a question. How do you think about?
00:35:59
Respondent 5: I think it would depend on who is organizing the meeting, so I feel if I was to do a meeting, I wouldn't start a meeting with prayer. It's not my practice because I also acknowledge

first the different religious affiliations there, and we cannot pray for all, for everybody. We'll kind of take a whole day if we will consider everyone's beliefs. And also I just feel like it's it could be something that is forced on those who don't really believe in prayer, also on those who feel like prayer is something they should do on their own. So I don't. I don't start a meeting with prayer, but in instances where somebody wants to pray, I always feel it's important to ask the group if they are OK with praying before the meeting, because it's not everybody who is comfortable with praying before meeting. Yeah.
00:37:06
Interviewer: Yeah, and well, if I hear you talking now, think, well, this is quite liberal to to take it in this way? Because I also spoke with someone who said, well, we always start with the prayer which is always a Christian prayer even when Muslims are included, it is always Christian.
00:37:28
Respondent 5: Yeah, yeah, yeah. No, it's not. It's not liberal, and I feel like it would be a lot of the older generation are those who would say a meeting has to start with prayer, but a lot of the so the millennials going down would be it's an option. It's not a must ,but older generation, there is no meeting that starts without prayer because then they don't believe that God is in their meeting and they are not blessed. And it's. Yeah. hahaha. Yes,
00:38:10
Interviewer: All right.
00:38:10
Respondent 5: But but I also feel like it's kind of unfair that we when meeting started prayer, we always assume everybody in the room is a Christian. There's always a Christian prayer and we expect everybody else to be respectful and also pray, even if you don't believe it. So I kind of feel like that's, yeah, that's not a good practice, but some things you just can't change.
00:38:40
Interviewer: Yeah. Oh yeah, interesting. Well, I would really like to speak more people about this.
00:38:49
Respondent 5: Yeah.
00:38:50
Interviewer: Can you connect me to people? Because this is very difficult for me from the Netherlands to get access. So if you can bring me into contact with other people who who are fine with answering these questions. Yeah. Everyone wants um.
00:39:07
Respondent 5: Yeah I will. Yeah. Let me think of some people who would be able to answer and I guess a more diverse group. I think that would be interesting. So I'll think about it and reach out to them and then see if it's something that would be interested in the area.
00:39:26
Interviewer: Thank you so much, because the more I hear about it, the better I can see. How how is this going? Yeah, this is I really like this kind of research that you really have to ask people and then you get a lot of data and then is like, here's the data.
00:39:46
Respondent 5: You Yeah. Yeah.
00:39:52
Interviewer: At this next. And there's now no research done on this point yet. So I just found out that in a Northern Ireland there was one person who published about this topic into in January 2000 one. Oh, wow. So, yeah, you're part of something new in it.
00:40:14
Respondent 5: Yes, yes, yes.
00:40:18
Interviewer: So let's end our meeting. So you want to ask other people when they will participate? Is it helpful if I sent you? Well, I sent you yesterday information. The participation information, the form of. Yeah, um, you can add that to your email when you reach to other people to explain about

the project. Yeah. OK. Or if you just check through them to convince them this is a good thing to do. Yeah. Yeah that would be nice.
00:40:58
Respondent 5: OK, I'll do that. Yeah I'll use that. One of the documents you shed had some
00:41:03
Interviewer: pretty please let me know whether people are interested that I can reach them as well. OK, because now I was waiting for you and looking you repeat the answer to me but sometimes people think yeah I will do it. Then it's a summary of the size, an idea. So after one week and then I can start something on your mind. I can have a tremendous email. Yeah.
00:41:30
Respondent 5: OK, I will, I will do that. Oh thank you. OK, thank you so much.
00:41:37
Interviewer: Yeah I enjoyed it. So I mean so did I. You too. Nice thinking. OK, now we keep in contact. Bye bye.

6.6 Transcriptie respondent 6

00:00:01
Interviewer: I'm very happy to to have you here, especially because that well, I'm looking for respondents are always happy with that, but I'm working on my thesis and I red a few articles written by you. So in first instance, I didn't realize that it was the same person until last week that I sent a reminder. And then I was thinking, oh, this is the same. Yeah. And I'm very happy to read these articles because, well, focusing on prayer in Kenya in this situation of government or business meetings,
00:00:45
Respondent 6: I need to put my mike, so i can hear better.
00:00:52
Interviewer: Yes, fine.
00:00:55
Respondent 6: Haha. I am missing some
00:00:55
Interviewer: So, if you focus on prayer in Kenya and tounderstand that well, I want to know the context. And so the first part of my thesis is about describing the landscape, the religious landscape. And so your articles about the position of the Muslims and the history of Islam in Kenya and how colonialism and Christianity interacted with that, gives me a good understanding of what is going on. And to understand as well the current situation. So thank you.
00:01:44
Respondent 6: Yeah, Thank you. Thanks. Yeah. OK
00:01:47
Interviewer: Yeah, um, so today.
00:01:50
Respondent 6: Jaa
00:01:52
Interviewer: I would like to interview you about prayers in a governmental or business setting in Kenya.
00:02:03
Respondent 6: That's right.
00:02:04
Interviewer: The reason why I came to this issue was because I was working for the research project "Invoking the sacred" together with Damaris and Joram and other people.
00:02:17
Respondent 6: Yeah,
00:02:18
Interviewer: and I was focusing on the NGOs. And I found out that, um, the Dutch people don't have a clue about this kind of prayer. And so I started to investigate how Kenyan people were thinking about it.
00:02:38
Respondent 6: Yeah.
00:02:38
Interviewer: And a found lot of different answers. So I tried to make some something out of this mess of answers.
00:02:47
Respondent 6: OK
00:02:49
Interviewer: So, yeah, I developed an interview instruments.
00:02:54
Respondent 6: Yeah.

00:02:55
Interviewer: And this contains three parts. The first part is very short, is about personal information to make me enable to to compare the interviewees.
00:03:09
Respondent 6: That's right.
00:03:10
Interviewer: Yeah. And then we do a description of the prayer which are six questions about, yeah, the description of what is going on. And then we move on to the part about your own experience and the experience of others. And when it comes to your own experience and the experience of others, it is really about what you think, what you feel. So it is about your subjective opinion. Well, the description parts, we try to do that more objective and we'll keep in mind when it comes to your own subjective answers, there are no goods and no wrongs. So just be honest. And that is what it is about.
00:04:08
Respondent 6: That's right.
00:04:10
Interviewer: Do you have any questions before we start?
00:04:13
Respondent 6: No.
00:04:14
Interviewer: Let us start.
00:04:19
Respondent 6: Yeah
00:04:20
Interviewer: It starts with four personal questions and please, answer them in one or two words.
00:04:29
Respondent 6: Yes.
00:04:30
Interviewer: The first question. What's your year of birth?
00:04:35
Respondent 6: 15th August, 1969.
00:04:37
Interviewer: Mm hmm. And what is your religious affiliation?
00:04:40
Respondent 6: Islam.
00:04:44
Interviewer: And what is your highest level of education?
00:04:47
Respondent 6: PhD
00:04:49
Interviewer: And what is your current job position?
00:04:53
Respondent 6: Senior lecturer.
00:04:56
Interviewer: And you are in Germany, I heard
00:04:57
Respondent 6: Yeah, I'm. Yeah, I am in Germany for a Research Fellowship for six months. And then after the six months I go back to Kenya to continue to invest more to invest. Yeah.
00:05:13
Interviewer: We continue now with the the content of the interview. The first question is in which setting our context are you familiar with a prayer atthe start of a government or business meeting? So can you give an example?
00:05:34
Respondent 6: Like In which setting?

00:05:36
Interviewer: Yeah, so in which setting or context. So in wich occassion or in which situation, have you attended a meeting that started with prayer?
00:05:48
Respondent 6: Yeah. So like at my place of work, because I'm affiliated in the department, I would say in the Department of Religion and they, when we have departmental meetings they always begin with a prayer and will end with prayers. I've also been a Senate member of the university. So if we have Senate meetings, they'll also they did start with prayer and end with a prayer. So it's like virtually every meeting at the university, irrespective of how small the gathering, how large that gathering is, they always will begin with a prayer and end with a prayer. And it depends. There will be moment if that gathering they realize there is a Muslim, then they'll ask that Muslim to open, begin with prayer and also at the same time to end up with an Islamic prayer. So it depends on the description. Sometimes they ask Christians to open the meeting with the Christian prayer and to closely to the Christian prayer. So it is virtually every meeting, whether they are small or bigger, they will always begin with a prayer and end with a prayer.
00:07:06
Interviewer: All right. For the next questions, please keep one meeting in mind, really clear in minds that you can remember in detail. Because that makes it easier to answer the following questions.
00:07:21
Respondent 6: That's right.
00:07:22
Interviewer: Do we have such a meeting in mind?
00:07:26
Respondent 6: Yes, I have like I told you, a departemental meeting. Yes
00:07:30
Interviewer: Who conducted that prayer?
00:07:39
Respondent 6: A Christian colleague, I mean, Department of Religion and in the department, we have colleagues who are pastors within the Christian tradition and others are fathers within the Catholic Church. So sometimes they will be asked to open the meeting with a prayer. So the last meeting I was, the one, as I remember, it was a Christian, a Catholic father who opened that meeting with a prayer.
00:08:09
Interviewer: And then after the Catholic prayer or the Christian prayer
00:08:14
Respondent 6: Yeah
00:08:15
Interviewer: there is a Muslim prayer?
00:08:16
Respondent 6: No, no, no, no, no, no. There wouldn't be a Muslim prayer. I'm saying in that particular moment, they say it is April 16. We are having a meeting this day will decide the prayer will be opened by a Christian college. And then after a month we hold another prayer. We will see, at this time it is a Muslim brother who open the meeting.
00:08:42
Interviewer: Oh, all right. So,
00:08:43
Respondent 6: Yes
00:08:44
Interviewer: it is devided over days.
00:08:46
Respondent 6: Exactly. Different days. Not at the same time.

00:08:48
Interviewer: All right. Yeah. I heard they also responses telling me that at the same moment, they have different prayers.
00:08:54
Respondent 6: Ah, no no no. OK, that's a different arrangement, but for that, for us and even the one in the Senat I'm taking, which is the highest governing body of the university when they meet, when they often do Christian's prayer. So that would be it. No, they will not ask for an Islamic prayer. Maybe [+stress] what they can do, at the end, maybe [+stress] they can ask a priest, a Muslim colleague to close that meeting with an Islamic prayer.
00:09:25
Interviewer: Thank you. And what they said during the prayer? Can you remember?
00:09:36
Respondent 6: It depends. I can remember what words, but most of the time, from the Christian colleagues, they will be like thankful to God for offering us the gift of life that day from the Lord, for having been able enabled us to travel from whatever places where we live, to come and meet on that particular day. Appeal to go to be with us during that meeting so that we do the blessing, it blessed the deliberation for the benefit of the university, for the department and even the [onverstaanbaar] So basically it will be that kind of a prayer. Yeah.
00:10:21
Interviewer: Yeah. And how long does such prayer take?
00:10:25
Respondent 6: Not more than, if it is a long one, I think two minutes, but not more than that.
00:10:34
Interviewer: Yeah.
00:10:35
Respondent 6: It is a short prayer.
00:10:35
Interviewer: Two minutes is already long.
00:10:38
Respondent 6: Yeah. Yeah, yeah. [lacht]. So that is one meting, because they are very short prayers. They are very short prayers. Yeah.
00:10:44
Interviewer: And how do you behave during prayer.
00:10:49
Respondent 6: Sometimes, and this is, I find out with the different Christian denominations that, I don't know, because I can't remember exactly, but they are moments when we are asked guidens in a prayer, the guider will ask all of us to stand and there are moments, another colleague will be asked, but will not ask everybody to stand. So I really don't know when we're standing and not standing. It happens that at this particular moment, the person who has been asked to guide us, he will ask all of us to stand. And in another time, the person, a different person is being asked, that he doesn't ask the people to stand.
00:11:31
Interviewer: And if you stay seated,
00:11:34
Respondent 6: Yes.
00:11:36
Interviewer: How do you behave when you sit.
00:11:38
Respondent 6: Everybody is quiet like you bow your head. You are kind of meditation. Yeah, being quite.
00:11:46
Interviewer: And when you stand, how do you hold your hands then?

00:11:51
Respondent 6: Oh, [hij staat op om het te laten zien. Handen voor het lichaam bij elkaar, armen licht gebogen.]
00:11:55
Interviewer: Sorry. Could you repeat?
00:11:56
Respondent 6: You're holding your hands with humility.
00:12:00
Interviewer: O ja, I see.
00:12:02
Respondent 6: Haha. You are humility and humble. You are standing or you hold your arms on your lap when you sit.
00:12:09
Interviewer: And are there certain words or formulas that you are used to say during a prayer.
00:12:17
Respondent 6: So, what the pastor offers in prayer?
00:12:21
Interviewer: No, you as a responder to the prayer.
00:12:26
Respondent 6: Oh, no, no, you just keep quiet and then at the end, like myself for I just be quiet mostly out of respect. My Christian colleagues who I described, at the end of the prayer they say in chorus 'Amen' and they respond like that. And then that's the end of the prayer. Yeah.
00:12:48
Interviewer: And you stay quiet then?
00:12:50
Respondent 6: You stay quiet, yeah. Yes, everybody, not only me, everybody would stay quiet and listen [+stress] to that person who is guiding us in the prayer. Nobody talks and there are some, there are some, there are some [+stress] when they are maybe wearing a hat, they will remove it and stay quiet. Yeah.
00:13:13
Interviewer: But if people say 'Amen' at the end,
00:13:15
Respondent 6: I do also. I do say 'Amen'.
00:13:20
Interviewer: You also say 'Amen'?
00:13:23
Respondent 6: Yeah. Haha.
00:13:23
Interviewer: All right.
00:13:23
Respondent 6: I always say that with my colleagues. We stend there equall like brothers.
00:13:29
Interviewer: And you are the first person who can tell me more about Muslim prayer in the situation. So Muslim prayer.
00:13:40
Respondent 6: I mean, a Muslim prayer like, I personally, I would say I'm not so good in leading people in prayers, but in case I am asked, I usually, because of who will do this prayer, as you Google, you will find some, we do the Fatwa, the opening chapter of the Koran. That is the Fatwa
00:14:03
Fatwa, soera 1: [In de naam van God, de erbarmer, de barmhartige. Lof zij God, de Heer van de wereldbewoners, de erbarmer, de barmhartige, de heerser op de oordeelsdag. U dienen wij en U vragen wij om hulp. Leid ons op de juiste weg, de weg van hen aan wie U genade geschonken hebt, op wie geen torn rust en die niet dwalen. (N.n. 2013. Studie Koran. Een Arabische Koran met drie vertalingen voor studiedoeleinden. Versie 0.3 16 januari 2013).

00:14:05
Respondent 6: So that's the one I read the opening prayer. When you are asking God to guide us, to bless you, to show you this trip by those kind of things. A very short prayer. And that's the one I really requested when I am asked to lead the Islamic prayer. Yeah. So I read at this translation there is a translation of Swahili Fatwa and this is one which I really can guess that it is from the opening chapter of the opening sura.
00:14:37
Interviewer: Yeah, I red that last year when I followed the course about Islam and reading the Koran.
00:14:44
Respondent 6: That's right. Yeah, right, that's right. Yeah, yeah.
00:14:51
Interviewer: And I found it beautiful.
00:14:51
Respondent 6: Yes, so that is the one I would use. Basically it is a short prayer, a short sura and I can read that and that will be the end of it. No elaborate kind of
00:15:06
Interviewer: So, just short.
00:15:07
Respondent 6: Yeah, very short yeah.
00:15:09
Interviewer: And when it is a Muslim prayer, how do the other people in the room behave?
00:15:13
Respondent 6: They behave the same way because I think it's just the same way they think that this is a prayer that's being offered to God, to the Lord. So the same way they handel and sit when aa Christian prayer is read, they just do the same with that Islamic prayer. There is not any different. Yeah. And this is how I also behave in when a Christian prayer is being led. There is like an uniform way of people behaving. Just keeping quiet, silent, listening to the person who is leading. And then at the end you all respond if you want, 'Amen', if you don't you can keep quiet.
00:15:51
Interviewer: So, even in a Muslim prayer you end with 'amen'?
00:15:54
Respondent 6: Yeah. Yeah, yeah, yeah.
00:15:58
Interviewer: All right. That's nice to hear. I always like it when I hear new things. So.
00:16:00
Respondent 6: Haha.
00:16:04
Interviewer: Yeah I really like that.
00:16:06
Respondent 6: I like it that you say this.
00:16:07
Interviewer: And now we continue with the next part and then we go to the experience part. And and I would like to ask you five questions about your own personal experience with prayer. So this is about what is going on in your own mind.
00:16:26
Respondent 6: Yeah
00:16:26
Interviewer: And the first question then, is with meaning has the prayer according to you. So which meaning do you assign to a prayer?
00:16:40
Respondent 6: Oh, which meaning.
00:16:42
Interviewer: Yeah.

00:16:44
Respondent 6: I think for me, when somebody asked to open with pay, just the meaning that comes to my mind is that we are offering that particular prayer at that particular meeting, which is about to begin to go to blessed, so that's the meaning I get. We cannot do anything before putting it before God. Yeah, yeah, yeah.
00:17:10
Interviewer: And which emotions or feelings are triggered by the prayer?
00:17:20
Respondent 6: I think the emotion and feelings of humility, we need to humble ourselves, that nothing for us, who believe, would be able to be attained before seeking the appeal of God. So it is just to remind us that we need to be humble. Yeah, and whenever we are doing our daily activities and interaction it s important that at the back of my mind, we be remembering that the most important thing is to be humble because the moment that ideal thing is brought that you need to present yourself before God and the emotion that comes in is that of humility.
00:18:14
Interviewer: So could you repeat the last one, because a big truck is just in front of my window.
00:18:21
Respondent 6: Sorry. So now, the emotion that comes in just reminds us that we cannot do anything successful before humbling ourselves, before God. Yeah.
00:18:37
Interviewer: Oh, all right. I get it.
00:18:39
Respondent 6: Yeah.
00:18:39
Interviewer: Sometimes it's a bit annoying.
00:18:43
Respondent 6: I know the accent. The accent is also something.
00:18:48
Interviewer: So, yeah, they are emptying the rubbish bins outside and that makes a lot of noise.
00:18:59
Respondent 6: O that, oh. Sorry.
00:18:59
Interviewer: Yeah. And of course you need to adapt your ear to the different accents.
00:19:10
Respondent 6: Yeah. Exactly. Exactly.
00:19:13
Interviewer: And therefore I really
00:19:15
Respondent 6: So you are human and when you are speaking you think, eh? That is what she meant with the accent.
00:19:22
Interviewer: And therefore I really like it to see each other because
00:19:25
Respondent 6: Exactly.
00:19:25
Interviewer: then we can see the facial expression and the mouth.
00:19:29
Respondent 6: Yeah, that is right. Yeah, that is right. Yeah.
00:19:32
Interviewer: Yeah, but let's continue.
00:19:36
Respondent 6: Yeah.
00:19:38
Interviewer: In which way has the prayer an effects on the meeting?
00:19:45
Respondent 6: I don't think there's any way that prayer has an effect on the meeting. I don't think.

But in most cases in those prayers, most [+stress] of them will say we are putting this big prayer meeting before You, Lord, to guide it so that we can come up with fruitful deliberation. That's the appeal, which is always there. But I don't think that has affected the meeting in any other way, and I don't think. It does not, yeah. It's just like to me now. So it's just kind of like a ritual [+stress] that you cannot do this before you do this. But it doesn't mean when the moment you do this, this is how it will develop prayer. I don't know so.
00:20:41
Interviewer: So, if it is a ritual and a ritual that marks the start and the ends of the meeting
00:20:49
Respondent 6: Yes, yes.
00:20:51
Interviewer: Yeah, and, um, I suppose you are also familiar with meetings that starts without a prayer.
00:20:59
Respondent 6: Yes, like I myself, I'm not like, I'm telling you, I'm not so much into prayers and by times I would be requested to lead some meetings of a few people like five or seven maximum. And sometimes I would want to begin that meeting without prayer and they remembered oh we should do prayer. Please, we did not start with that prayer. They are upset about that. My colleagues will just remind me: no, no. You have to do. There are moments where I would want to do this way, but they reminded that we didn't begin with a prayer.
00:21:40
Interviewer: And so the ritual for you is not that important?
00:21:44
Respondent 6: It is not, for sure. It is not that important. And this is my personal opinin. It is not, because I appreciate how it is affecting the meeting. I don't see the effect on the meeting in any way. So for me it's not important. But because it's part of the ritual, the custom that we need to respect it and remind it. I also ask somebody to lead us in prayer.
00:22:16
Interviewer: Yeah, but this totally fine, of course, because I'm asking for your own [+stress] experience. Yes, of course it is your own [+stress] view on it.
00:22:24
Respondent 6: Yeah.
00:22:25
Interviewer: And do not worry. Your view, well, more people told me the same view on it. So, yes, it will be interesting to see in the end what comes out.
00:22:38
Respondent 6: Yeah
00:22:40
Interviewer: But since you're Muslim.
00:22:43
Respondent 6: Yeah.
00:22:45
Interviewer: And the prayer is a Christian prayer, to which extend do you have the feeling that the Christian prayer is also appealing to your own affiliation or not, I don't know.
00:23:04
Respondent 6: I do not know. This may be, you know, my background is in religious studies and the way I have been trained and then come to this realization. I tend to take a religion like to be equal. There's no superior, there's no law. So if it is a Christian prayer being said, then I don't have any like emotion, the only emotion that I have is that of humility when somebody leading us in a prayer and we have to respect it. That's the mindset. Maybe I can, it is the feeling that I get not more than that. Hmm.

00:23:45
Interviewer: Mm hmm. And to your own opinion, in which way is this ritual of prayer connected to the history of Kenya?
00:23:59
Respondent 6: Oh. OK. I think it is not only connected to the history of Kenya, I think it is connected to the histroy of Africans and there is this famous quote, people people like to quote most of the time when they are referring to Africans vis a vis religion where Mbiti had indicated that when you prayer Africans are notoriously religious. So where ever they are, where ever they go, they are their with the religion. So this might be an Christian, might be a Muslim. But I think that an aspect of African is, for whole Africa, Africa is the one that makes them believe you cannot do anything before we begin it with a prayer. So, yeah, that's I think that's an aspect that people need to take into consideration. Always say it is not only Kenyan, but I think it's this African aspect that is the one which has influenced people that we wouldn't want to do anything before.
00:25:10
Interviewer: And that's related to the traditional indigenous religion or the ubuntu philosophy?
00:25:21
Respondent 6: Yes, I guess to a certain extent it is related to this. Because, way back to the indigenous African religion about Africans taking as religion wherever they go. I think this is the same thing when he goes to the office, he wants to be in the meeting, then he has to offer to begin with a prayer. Maybe people are not looking at this as an aspect of African religion that has been kind of maybe they see it as an aspect of either Islam or Christianity. But I think when you research it further, who made this element of indigenous African awareness that is making this an African behavior, the way that we are behaving in our meeting.
00:26:09
Interviewer: Yeah, I think the same after my research.
00:26:12
Respondent 6: That is right.
00:26:15
Interviewer: Because I think Christianity came later and
00:26:20
Respondent 6: That is right.
00:26:20
Interviewer: And is put on the traditional religion.
00:26:22
Respondent 6: Yes.
00:26:22
Interviewer: And then there is a mixture, of course, some elements that are very common to Kenyans are realy strange for me as a Dutch Chatholic.
00:26:35
Respondent 6: Yeah. Exactly, exactly. Because you are Christian.
00:26:37
Interviewer: Yaeh, I come from a different country
00:26:39
Respondent 6: Different setup, exactly
00:26:40
Interviewer: Background. And of course, we are mixed with German religion things
00:26:47
Respondent 6: And I think that's a good observation. And I think that's the one that can be able to be used now to make sense of this behavior we're witnessing about Africans.
00:27:01
Interviewer: Yeah.
00:27:01
Respondent 6: yeah.

00:27:03
Interviewer: Yeah, now we continue with the other part, and most interviewees find more difficult, because now we have to put you in the shoes of your colleagues that are there, and I hope you will try to think about it.
00:27:26
Respondent 6: OK.
00:27:27
Interviewer: But is this now about how the others, according to you, will think about a prayer? But, to start with, because if there are different groups attending the meeting, I would like to do this set of questions for the different groups, separatedly. So, for example, when there are Christians, we do first the Christians for the Christians and then there are also Muslims we do it also for the Muslims.
00:27:55
Respondent 6: Euh.
00:27:57
Interviewer: You understand?
00:27:59
Respondent 6: Understand. Because in a meeting, there would be a possibility because we know we like work with a majority of the peer colleagues are Christian. So maybe in our department, in some department, you will not find a Muslim. They are all Christian.
00:28:15
Interviewer: Yeah. But you are in the department. So.
00:28:17
Respondent 6: Yeah, in my department. That's the department I'm the only Muslim. So that would be a possibility in that meeting. Yeah, that would be Christian and ons Muslim. Yeah. Now we can use that as an example.
00:28:30
Interviewer: Yeah. Yeah. Yeah. Well maybe also interesting to see when we answer the questions for the Muslims and there are two Muslims.
00:28:43
Respondent 6: haha. That is funny. Haha.
00:28:43
Interviewer: Where there is one supporting you as a Muslim. How do you think that the Christians will, uh, yeah, give meaning to the prayer.
00:28:56
Respondent 6: I think they will give a lot of meaning, and see a lot of emotion, especially because I told you this department I am, some of the colleagues have a background either they are trained as pastor, or they are also joined us Catholic fathers. So you can see if it is one of those who have been asked to lead us in prayer, they lead it with that kind of emotion the way they did maybe when they're in the church. So you can see they put a lot of meaning, emotional attachment to that particular prayer than any other colleagues who might just asked and he doesn't have this background either as a pastor, a priest or Catholic. Yeah, that's what I have observed, yeah.
00:29:47
Interviewer: And when such a father conducts the prayer,
00:29:51
Respondent 6: Mm hmm.
00:29:54
Interviewer: What kind of meaning does he put in that?
00:30:02
Respondent 6: I don't know if I'm getting your question. But the kind of meeting, the way I explained earlier, it will be a prayer. Thanking for the gift of life. It will be a prayer thanking for the journey one must make, because we traveled from different places to come to the office. It is the same prayer as I saying know. Asking, appealing to God, to be with us throughout the prayer. So

that we can have a successful prayer. After the prayer, it is not a prayer, after the meeting, sorry. We are praying to thank God, we had a good deliberation. Now we're about to discuss. We asking God to protect us, to give us the masses[?] as we go back to our respected people. This is the meaning I think they are giving to that particular prayer.
00:30:50
Interviewer: And do you notice a difference between church fathers and the 'normal' Catholics?
00:30:59
Respondent 6: Yeah.
00:31:00
Interviewer: This is very strange to say, but in how they pray to God, maybe that the one is having a stronger connection with God than the others, or?
00:31:16
Respondent 6: I think maybe they will be biased in a sence, because I already know he is a father. Then I tend to think, maybe it tends to be more like connected to God than an ordinary Christian. But I think if you look at, say, without saying this is the place and this is another Christian, all of them came to find out that they structure that particular prayer in a model in a more or less same fashion without much differences. Yeah
00:32:02
Interviewer: And it's emotions and feelings today attach to that prayer?
00:32:08
Respondent 6: I do not think they really attach to that prayer. Althought the very strong feeling that I really can't tell, because it is as short period. So it is not possible really to to see if there is really strong attachment. The only attachment is that of tipping quite humbling yourself. Other than that, there's not anything that you can say this particular person was really touching some emotional feeling to that prayer. No. Maybe it is a bit different when the same is being offered within the church context. But here it's just like a casual prayer that's being offered.
00:32:51
Interviewer: Yeah. And do the Christians see an influence by prayer on the meeting?
00:33:03
Respondent 6: OK, I didn't know, but since you told me just to speculate, we didn't know, but I think from my part, I would think they also just do it as a ritual, but not with a strong sensation, that this particular prayer will ultimately influence our deliberation. I don't.
00:33:31
Interviewer: So you rather would say that it is something that is institutionalized.
00:33:40
Respondent 6: Informally, institutionalized, I think, informally part because it's not in any way has to part in the rules and regulations of the university, but informally, it islike we need to do it.
00:33:57
Interviewer: Yeah, and if you are opposed to it, what would happen then?
00:34:03
Respondent 6: If you were opposed to it, there would be a lot of, people will questioning you why. Because I have a colleague also at the Senate meeting, the one I was telling about. This is the highest governing body of the university and she's a professor. And she was no time amused of this idea of beginning the meeting with prayer. She was arguing that some who do not believe in God, we have some who are without faith, we have these people of different faith. It is better than we can ask people to keep quiet for this brief moment, than everybody to talk to rather being the leader, begin a prayer, rahter than asking one person, so they are. She really critizized this, but this was not supported. Haha.
00:34:57
Interviewer: I heard such a story.
00:35:06
Respondent 6: The tradition has continued. But, yeah, she opposed it. Yeah. But the tradition has continued.

00:35:11
Interviewer: And to which extend do Christians feel that the Christian prayer is connected to the different Christian denominations?
00:35:28
Respondent 6: Maybe they do, because at the end, I don't know whether this would become a colleague or what, because of this, I would find that they are on the same line or ending that prayer by saying 'pray in Jesus' name', that kind of thing. We pray in Jesus name, that kind of thing. And I tend to see whether it is a Catholic priest or these other Christian traditions. That's the last line of the prayer they would both like to invoke that we pray in Jesus name, our Lord, Amen. That's how they will end it. So I tend to say that there are some that kind of that similarity in the Christian prayer. Uhum. I don't know when.
00:36:14
Interviewer: is it rather there is a general Christian prayer that it's to all the nominations?
00:36:21
Respondent 6: Exactly. It ss this just a general. Because as I told you, this prayer is not a specific like tradition. If you say this is a Catholic, Protestantic, they will start in the same way. In the Father and the Lord. And then after that, now you will now reflect on that particular meeting that this is meeting to discuss on this or now we are asking to this meeting so that you can come with good deliberation so that they can put our university in condition, that kind of thing. Yeah.
00:36:57
Interviewer: Yeah, but it is not a liturgical prayer, but this is always adapted to the meeting?
00:37:05
Respondent 6: Adapted to the meeting. Exactly. Exactly, it is adapted to the meeting. But for me, because I'm not within conducting prayer, if I am ask, I only say the Fatwas, i should really compose this thing. Yeah. But for this group now, they come leading in prayer and they can be able to adapt it depending on the setup. Yeah.
00:37:34
Interviewer: All right. And how do these people think about the connection between this kind of prayer and the history? And do the mainly relate to the Christian history, are are they seeing as well a link to the traditional religions?
00:37:57
Respondent 6: The thing that most of the time they seem to connect it to the Christian history, though they don't think the way we are, because most of them don't have this kind of rigorous training in religious studies. So they've got to indigenous African face. They don't see it any more. They feel it as already died. So they see this either as the Christian or the Islamic faith that's how they view this particular area. Yeah, yeah, yeah. And interestingly, they never ask, they will always assumed the believers in that particular gathering would either be a Muslim or a Christian, they never ask 'can somebody lead us in an indigenous prayer, that kind of thing. Never. They are only asking the Christian or Muslim. They never thought maybe they could be adults who are believers of indigenous religion, maybe if they could also lead us in that kind of prayer. No.
00:39:02
Interviewer: Yeah, I heard one example of this. And that was given by a person that is specialized in traditional indigenous communities and therefore also their religion. But I yeah, most people I spoke to, they said, well, I never heard about it.
00:39:23
Respondent 6: Yeah.
00:39:23
Interviewer: They even would doubt wether it exists.
00:39:25
Respondent 6: Yeah. Uhum.
00:39:26
Interviewer: So now, I want to do the same sort of questions but now for the others. But now keep

in mind, a collegue that is Muslim as well and attends such a meeting. And how do you think your Muslim colleague would assign a meaning to that prayer?
00:39:54
Respondent 6: Uh. Yeah, because I think since that meeting, sorry, the prayer is being adapted to that particular context, then I think they take it to the positive meaning that it is an invitation for guidance so that we can have a successful meeting because it's being adapted to that particular context. So I see some of my Muslim colleagues sometimes in that meeting, they will also humble, be polite and quiet because a prayer is being conducted. So they take it in a positive way.
00:40:36
Interviewer: And does this also mean that you feel then that this prayer, this general Christian prayer is inclusive for both Christians and Muslims and maybe other affiliations?
00:40:53
Respondent 6: Yeah, yeah that that [+stress] is the feeling. That's the general feeling that that particular meeting, that particular prayer, sorry, yeah, because there is a certain way to begin. If it is Catholic, they will have that no more way in the name of the Father and the Son and then in the middle they will contextualize that prayer to that particular meeting and the end, they will end it now, we pray in Jesus name, that's how they'll be ending the prayer. But here it is contextualized Ant then at the beginning, the beginning to the way maybe a Chatolic Christian will begin that prayer with that salutation in the name of the Father and the Lord and the Son. Yeah.
00:41:41
Interviewer: Yeah. How do you think, then, about the opinion that people think that Muslims are excluded by Christian prayer? Do they have a point or do you disagree?
00:41:55
Respondent 6: Yeah, yeah, yeah, I think they are not excluded now because with context. And she was brought to a predominantly Muslim region like Mombassa, most of the prayer, they'll be asking for an Islamic prayer. And in that gathering, if there are only one or two Christians I doubt, I had never have experienced, but I doubt if they will even think that we have a Christian colleague, let ask them to open, because I think it depends with the context where the majority are, unless there's somebody who is sensible at times, will ask the minority also to lead us. But it depends with the place where you are. If in a predominantly Christian or northeastern region where you have the Somali, I can assume that they will open with an Islamic prayer. And if there is only one Christian collegue, I doubt would even think of requesting that. So I think it depends on the context and where you are. And in most cases you don't. And for me, I don't know if I don't feel like I'm marginalized. And I've never had my colleague complaining to me openly, why do they marginalize they don't give us a chance to our prayer. Also to lead our Islamic prayer, I've never had a complaint. Those kind of complaints.
00:43:20
Interviewer: Yeah, yeah. And maybe you have.
00:43:26
Respondent 6: And the reason I think they do not complaint is because we think that these old traditions you are researching for your studies, that in an office or wathever context, people take them as tradition. So they did not really feel like it has them, if they are not requested to be. Just take them as a custom, a tradition that has to be observed. Yeah, yeah. And and this is certainly you have to look it from the bigger picture of Kenya. In public holidays before and the people gather in a stadium the meeting, the prayer is said and then the meeting starts. Christian prayer will be laid and mostly an Islamic prayer will be laid. And then an African Religion wil be laid. That's how they do it now,
00:44:26
Interviewer: Yeah, I know.

00:44:25
Respondent 6: in this public occassion. So it is the same. This because it is in the national then it has been cascaded to the lower label, whether it is an office or it is the same principle.
00:44:39
Interviewer: Yeah, and that's exactly why I started my thesis describing the landscape and how secular the state is and.
00:44:49
Respondent 6: Yeah, yeah.
00:44:51
Interviewer: And thank. it is also nice to hear this. With this feedback I know I'm on the right track.
00:44:59
Respondent 6: Yeah. That's right. That's right. Yeah.
00:45:08
Interviewer: Yeah, does your colleague, does your Muslim colleague think that the prayer influences the meeting, or not?
00:45:19
Respondent 6: I think they don't. I think they do not. I think they don't. I, for me, this is it seems the way they are taking this is just as a normal habit. So I don't think they take them lightly to influence meeting because I don't know, influencing, like, in a positive way that we agree with everything we are deliberating, that is what you mean. Just because I do not know what influencing means. influencing to me is people do not fight
00:45:53
Interviewer: Yeah, that they do not fight.
00:45:53
Respondent 6: If it means that people don't defight. I appriciate the way you define. So I don't know what you mean by influencing.
00:46:05
Interviewer: If you could think that if you pray to to have a good meeting come together, that you find a solution to a problem, then I should assume you if you pray for that and if you say that, and you start to have really fights and a hot debate or discussion
00:46:30
Respondent 6: depending on the thing they say. So if that's what you mean by influencing, it depends on what has been deliberated. If it is something which people are happy, they will agree to agree. But if it is something which has to be contested, people will stay very divergent opinions. So it does not really influencing. All right.
00:46:53
Interviewer: I see and. And in which way, because it's just a general prayer. And do you see that your Muslim colleague sees a connection to its own Islamic Islamic faith?
00:47:13
Respondent 6: I had to think about someone else. That is difficult, but I would assume so, I would assume because I really don't know what's going on in their mind, but I'm assuming it does feel it is speaking to them to the Christian, the pope, the [onverstaanbaar] also respecting the person who is leading the prayer. So I think they feel that it is connecting with them.
00:47:48
Interviewer: Yeah, and do the Muslims see a connection between this prayer and the history of Christianity or Islamic faith or traditional faith in Kenya?
00:48:05
Respondent 6: Really, I need to ask them, because we never ever discussing it and I find it very difficult
00:48:23
Interviewer: Is that also because in Kenya people are not used to speak about this?
00:48:27
Respondent 6: Yeah, we don't. it is not something that is an issue. Right. Why we are not being given also time to do. In fact, because we split and I'm speaking for my own. If sometimes I ask

uncomfortable, I don't want to do a prayer, they say we ask somebody else. It's not that I feel if a Muslim doesn't offer a prayer, there is something that is missed. To me it is not my thing, that means that why they need someone else. Kenya has a leader. Lets ask a father, annotate it here. Haha, yeah, because I'm not that kind of prayer person. But maybe there won't be a Muslim colleague who really desires that he is given that opportunity everyday, so that he can lead the department in prayer or whatever meeting. There might be does. But I mean, from my own personal, I'm not that prayer person I can see. I like doing my own individual prayer, but not that kind of partly because to lead other people, yeah.
00:49:44
Interviewer: Well, all right. This was my last question of the questionnaire. So, yeah, that's for a time and the effort you made. The questions are hard and, you know, use the scientific knowledge to not have to speculate.
00:49:57
Respondent 6: Yeah, uhum. That is right. That is right, yeah. How do you pronounce your name, because I'm having difficulties. Is it JUMMEL?
00:50:06
Interviewer: [name interviewer]
00:50:09
Respondent 6: Oh [name interviewer] is you surname?
00:50:18
Interviewer: My family name is [name], so you have a prefix, which means you're from the place Hummel and Hummel is a place in Germany. That's my family history, somewhere there is a connection with this place.
00:50:38
Respondent 6: OK. OK. But your first name is [name] .
00:50:40
Interviewer: Yeah. Yeah.
00:50:41
Respondent 6: So you do a doctorate or master's degree?
00:50:45
Interviewer: This is my master's degree
00:50:48
Respondent 6: iand you doing it in shich university?
00:50:49
Interviewer: At the Radboud University Nijmegen.
00:50:53
Respondent 6: Oh yeah, I've heard of it. I spent some time at Leiden for three months. Fellowship. That was 2010. Yeah.
00:51:02
Interviewer: And well I do my internship in Groingen, at the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Groningen University.
00:51:11
Respondent 6: OK, OK, OK.
00:51:12
Interviewer: And there I'm working with a research group let by Joram Tarusarira
00:51:19
Respondent 6: O, that's right. Yeah.
00:51:21
Interviewer: And therefore I know for example Damaris, because Damaris is part of the same group.
00:51:29
Respondent 6: Oh Damaris is part of the same group of the project.
00:51:33
Interviewer: Yeah. So that makes the circle.

00:51:38
Respondent 6: I wanted asking how you met Damaris.
00:51:41
Interviewer: By that way.
00:51:42
Respondent 6: Yeah, OK. OK, OK. OK, so this is your masters for religious studies?
00:51:51
Interviewer: Yeah, I am doing religious studies, specialization religion and policy. So we are specialized in. Well, in the Dutch situation, what is written in the law about religion and the relation between state and religion and between state religion and society. So a big part of our studies is about integration issues.
00:52:19
Respondent 6: OK.
00:52:20
Interviewer: And you got to lot about writing policy advices and how to deal with all kinds of problems minorities in the Netherlands do have or how minorities and and and minorities and majorities live together, things like that.
00:52:45
Respondent 6: That is right. OK, that is great, [interviewer]. I wish you all the best. And I'm looking forward to read the thesis when it is completed.
00:52:54
Interviewer: Yeah, my thesis will be completed in Dutch. I don't know how good your Dutch is?
00:53:01
Respondent 6: Haha. [onverstaanbaar]
00:53:05
Interviewer: for all my interviewees to thank them, I will write a summary in English, so you know the findings and the outcomes.
00:53:18
Respondent 6: OK. Thank you and all the best.
00:53:22
Interviewer: Yeah. And I have my last question because.
00:53:25
Respondent 6: That's right.
00:53:26
Interviewer: It is difficult to get interviewees. So, do you know some people who would like to speak with me about this topic?
00:53:33
Respondent 6: OK, so I saw your email also getting to Aisha. Has Aisha responded to your email?
00:53:41
Interviewer: No, not yet.
00:53:43
Respondent 6: Has not yet responded. OK, I'll ask my friend, who is called Suleyman. He completed his PhD here in Beiroet. he has a high position in Kenya. I will write an email to him and I copy to you and I think he is very reliable. You can arrange when to have a conversation with him, I think.
00:54:11
Interviewer: Thank you.
00:54:11
Respondent 6: Yes. And he is another guy who I think is also reliable. He is a PhD student currently in Norway. And he can also be. No. Yeah, Norway yeah. I think you can. And I think he has been working in Kenya. I don't know much about it, but he can also be another person that you can also put in to interview. So I have a few people who I think will not let you down in terms of fixing an appointment. You already have to mind to think about more and write emails and then I'll be able to you and then they should be able to arrange a meeting with you. Yeah.
00:55:05
Interviewer: Thank you. Because due to Covid and

00:55:09
Respondent 6: yeah, I know, I know it's quite difficult, o yeah. Had you the plan to travel to Kenya for fieldwork, if it was not for Covid?
00:55:20
Interviewer: Euh, well because it is already Covid it didn't came up in my mind. But I started in November with my internship and my internship was focusing on Dutch NGOs and when my research was continuing, I discovered I had to speak with Kenyan staff members. And then I started to realize, and when the interviewees aid to me, Oh, you should have come here. It would be so nice if you are here. Then I show you everything.
00:55:54
Respondent 6: That is right. Haha.
00:55:56
Interviewer: Yeah, but then we were already in this Covid situation.
00:56:01
Respondent 6: That's right.
00:56:01
Interviewer: And the current situation in Kenya is also that it is in lock down.
00:56:05
Respondent 6: Yes. Yes. It's not so good at the moment. Uhum. Lock down. It's very minimal. Exactly. So it's not realy visible for somebody. Yeah.
00:56:18
Interviewer: So therefore Covid blocked it out of my mind. But in other cases, in a normal situation. Yeah, I think I would have booked the ticket and go.
00:56:29
Respondent 6: Yeah that would have been nice, that would have been nice. But anyway you can also do it online and still the same principle. yeah it is OK, yeah, OK. And I like it.
00:56:43
Interviewer: So, thank you for your help
00:56:45
Respondent 6: No problem.
00:56:46
Interviewer: And I wish you a good day.
00:56:48
Respondent 6: Yeah, have a good day, too. And I write an email, maybe in the cause of today.
00:56:55
Interviewer: Yeah,
00:56:56
Respondent 6: OK. Bye
00:56:57
Interviewer: Bye. Bye.

6.7 Transcriptie respondent 7

00:00:00
Respondent 7: As long as you'll do your things right.
00:00:03
interviewer: Yeah, well, in the Netherlands, they are very strict in this because the very same scientists that just invented data by themselves. So therefore, they are so strickt you have to have a consent form. You have to ask the people whether they accree with the recording.
00:00:18
Respondent 7: It is the procedure.
00:00:19
interviewer: Yeah.
00:00:19
Respondent 7: That's some of some of this some of these academic procedures we think are illogical. But as long as they are there, they have been set up, have to follow and we have to adhere to procedures and rules and processes. I understand. That's no problem for myself. Right. Yeah.
00:00:36
interviewer: All right, so let us start then. The first question, what is your year of birth?
00:00:41
Respondent 7: 1979, December. So I'm very I'm an old person now for I was born like almost four decades ago.
00:00:55
interviewer: Yeah, yeah, you're 10 years older than me, but does not matter. What's your religious affiliation.
00:01:04
Respondent 7: I'm a Muslim, Sunni Muslim, to be specific.
00:01:08
interviewer: Yeah, thank you. And what is your highest level of education?
00:01:15
Respondent 7: I'm now doing my Ph.D.
00:01:18
interviewer: Yeah
00:01:19
Respondent 7: So my highest level actually would be Masters because I'm not complited a PhD yet.
00:01:24
interviewer: Yeah. And what's your current job position?
00:01:30
Respondent 7: Now, at University of Bergen, if you are, in Norway actually, a PhD-student, then you are an employee of the university.
00:01:37
interviewer: Yeah.
00:01:38
Respondent 7: So an employee at the university because I'm a PhD-student.
00:01:44
interviewer: So that means
00:01:45
Respondent 7: So I am a PhD-student.
00:01:46
interviewer: Yeah. That means then that you also have duties like teaching?
00:01:52
Respondent 7: Yeah, absolutely.
00:01:53
interviewer: Do you like that?
00:01:54
Respondent 7: We have, according to that, there's no choice. haha. But I like teaching, because my

background before pursuing a PhD I in Kenya was a teacher, secondary school teacher. So I'm a teacher by profession and by college that is. So I like teaching a lot.
00:02:13
interviewer: Yeah.
00:02:13
Respondent 7: So a part of the program that the PhD at the University of Bergen you have to teach and for me I have to develop a course and then teach it at the university and that's part of the program before I'm able to qualify, yes, as a PhD.
00:02:31
interviewer: Nice to hear. I have been a high school teacher myself as well, so.
00:02:37
Respondent 7: Oh that's haha.
00:02:40
interviewer: That is fun.
00:02:40
Respondent 7: That's cool.
00:02:41
interviewer: Yeah. But let's stick to the interview. And so in which setting or context, are you familiar with the prayer of the start of a government or business meeting or maybe meeting at the school where you worked?
00:02:58
Respondent 7: Absolutely, absolutely not In Bergen, we don't have prayers before we teach.
00:03:03
interviewer: No, I am fociusing on Kenya.
00:03:06
Respondent 7: Yeah, in Kenya, normally before any meeting we will have prayers. Because Kenya is multireligious, it's a multireligious country. We have a big population of Christians because the Christians are the majority in Kenya and quite a substantial population of the Muslim community, like 30%, if I'm not mistaken, or so. So before every meeting, if they are Muslims and Christians, then there will be two types of prayers. There will be a Christian prayer and a Muslim prayer. But if it's Muslims only, then it will be a Muslim prayer only. If it it's a Christian all meeting, then it should be a Christian. But in any meeting, even in government meetings, even during government like rallies and vote and public rallies for the government, there will be prayers. So it's a very, very important aspect of our life and how we do our activities, particularly when we we have to attend to meetings before any any type of meeting whether the official with the government meeting or an official meeting. There must be a prayer before the meeting and even after the meeting most of the time.
00:04:16
interviewer: Yeah, I know that there are also prayers after, but I'm just focusing on the prayers at the start of the meeting
00:04:22
Respondent 7: Before. Yeah.
00:04:24
interviewer: Yeah. Or before yeah.
00:04:26
Respondent 7: That's a must.
00:04:27
interviewer: Yeah. And exactly. And I found out that the prayers at the end are not always there, so therefore I narrowed it down. Uhhm do have one event particularly in mind, so that you have a clear mind who were attending there, or what was said?
00:04:49
Respondent 7: Yeah, for example, when I was a teacher here in schools, now we have this staff

meetings for teachers, whether they are like schedule meetings or just abrupt meetings in case there's something teachers need to discuss. Before the meeting there will be prayers.
00:05:09
interviewer: Yeah.
00:05:09
Respondent 7: It's like it's that instinctive.
00:05:12
interviewer: Yeah.
00:05:12
Respondent 7: So so you don't, you don't plan it in the schedule on the program that at this time there will be no no strike. Whatever there's a meeting then there will be.
00:05:22
interviewer: Yeah. Yeah. Please keep then it's a staff meeting at your school in your mind when we start with the discussion parts. So then we take this as the anchor point. And from that particular meeting, was that the meeting where you had two prayers, so Christian and Muslim prayer or just one?
00:05:46
Respondent 7: Yeah.
00:05:46
interviewer: Two?
00:05:48
Respondent 7: Because I'm there, there will be two prayers. If, like I say, if, even if there is a meeting, the whole members in the meeting, if there's one Muslim, then there will be a Muslim prayer. Even if there will be one Christian, then there will be a Christian prayer.
00:06:05
interviewer: Yeah.
00:06:06
Respondent 7: So it's like a sign of respect, OK? A sign of respect. The other person with their religion. So in case it's a Muslim only meeting, then there will be only Muslim prayer. If it's Christian only meeting with Christian prayer. But if there is a person of different religion within the meeting, then there will be two prayers, Muslim and Christian.
00:06:29
interviewer: Yeah. And so
00:06:31
Respondent 7: And there's a new trend.
00:06:32
interviewer: There is a new trend?
00:06:33
Respondent 7: There is a new trend, especially at the costal, just that you keep this in mind also because there's like a revival of the traditional religion, especially at the cost with the medi, with the meditaki [?] community. People are going back like they are reverting back to the traditional African religion. So sometimes not as always, but sometimes there will be also a prayer in the African traditional religion. If there are people in the meeting who are followers of the African traditional religion. So actually there will be three prayers.
00:07:11
interviewer: Yeah. So this
00:07:13
Respondent 7: This is just an exception. This is not a norm, this is an exception.
00:07:17
interviewer: Yeah. So, um, so then I will do these six questions that the following now two times. First to focus on the Christian prayer and then the second time to focus on the Muslim prayer. And so we describe both prayers because I suppose there is a difference between them.
00:07:39
Respondent 7: Absolutely.

00:07:40
Respondent 7: So with the Christian prayer, who conducts the prayer?
00:07:45
Respondent 7: Anybody. If there's a pastor, somebody who is very religious within the, I mean, the meeting, then they will be given priority to lead a prayer. But if there's no, if it's all Christians, all Christians pray. So it will anybody will be will volunteer to give their prayer. That's similar to the Muslim situation.
00:08:10
interviewer: Yeah. And people who
00:08:12
Respondent 7: Anybody.
00:08:12
interviewer: Do they volunteer by themselves or are people ask, hey, would you like to volunteer now?
00:08:22
Respondent 7: It can happen both way. So, for example, maybe the committee member, the chairman of the meeting will request that an anybody volunteer to do a prayer. Or, they, the chairman or anybody, the leader of the meeting, can appoint somebody: "please, some lead us in prayer". So it happens. It is not like a specific way. It can happen both ways, by voluntering or by requesting to a specific person or individual.
00:08:52
interviewer: And what is said during such a Christian prayer?
00:08:55
Respondent 7: Pardon?
00:08:59
interviewer: What is said during the a Christian prayer. So what are they saying?
00:09:04
Respondent 7: There is a prayer, they pray to God and to Jesus that they make the meeting successful, they pray for blessings, and that whatever we intend to do. whatever we want to achieve whatever the objectives of the meeting met through the blessings of Jesus and God. So this is mostly a general prayer where we pray for success, for the meeting and for for for for God and for Jesus to protect our lives and protect our families, protect the institution which we work on or whatever meeting that we want to do. So it's normally a general prayer for protection and success. Yeah.
00:09:49
interviewer: And how long does it take?
00:09:52
Respondent 7: Oh, hardly, one, two, three minutes, maybe. It is long, maybe two, three minutes, but it's normally a very short prayer.
00:10:02
interviewer: Thank you.
00:10:03
Respondent 7: Like a few statements.
00:10:06
interviewer: And does the prayer belong to a certain religious affiliation?
00:10:13
Respondent 7: No, normally it will be a general, because I, like you, you understand there different denominations, Catholics, Protestants, Anglicans, and even now we have African Christian Churches such as the African Union Church, which is basically African, this church like stepped away from the original Anglican Church and they formed their own church in African ways. The African Union Church. So there will be so many people belonging to many denominations, but it will be a general prayer, a solid prayer for Christians. So there will be no like like focusing on a certain specific denomination, the general Christian faith.

00:10:58
interviewer: Mm hmm. And how do people behave when the prayer is a Christian prayer?
00:11:06
Respondent 7: Yeah, when the Christians pray then we close our eyes and then we look down, then the prayer goes on until it ends and then and then we open our eyes. This is how the Christians pray, the one who is leading the prayer will be reciting the prayer, but the rest will be closing their eyes and facing down or being that peaceful, like concentrating, but closing their eyes is the most important. You close your eyes and you bow first down as a sign of humility to God. So this is how the Christians do.
00:11:41
interviewer: And do you speak certain words?
00:11:44
Respondent 7: This is what I observed.
00:11:45
interviewer: That is very good.
00:11:47
Respondent 7: So, yeah, this is what I have observered.
00:11:49
interviewer: Yeah.
00:11:50
Respondent 7: I have observered.
00:11:52
interviewer: Yeah. Yeah. That is all right. I mean. Therefore I do different interviews to compare all the data of course.
00:12:02
Respondent 7: Sure. Sure. Thank you.
00:12:04
interviewer: And do you speak certain words or formulas during that prayer? So the question is more the people that attend such a prayer, do they say words?
00:12:18
Respondent 7: No. Yes, yes, because when the person who leads the prayer will start in the name of the father, in the name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, we pray to You, Father, that You give us these and that and protect our family, to protect our our students, our teachers and the school and provide. And then at the end of the prayer, everybody will recite Amen. And that's all.
00:12:46
interviewer: Yeah.
00:12:46
Respondent 7: At the end of the year, we will all say 'amen'. That is it.
00:12:51
interviewer: Yeah. All right. This were the six questions about the Christian prayer. Let's move on now to the Muslim prayer. It are the same question. So who conducts the Muslim prayer?
00:13:05
Respondent 7: If there is a person who is knowledgeable in the Muslim religion within the members of the meeting, then they will be given priority. But when there us no other person than anybody can volunteer or anybody would be requested to give the prayer, similar to what happened with the Christian colleagues.
00:13:18
interviewer: Yeah. And what is said?
00:13:22
Respondent 7: So anybody can do.
00:13:22
interviewer: Yeah. And what is said during the Muslim prayer?
00:13:27
Respondent 7: Normally. The meetings I've attended, mostly people recite the first chapter of the Koran that is the Fatwa, so they will say it in English or in Arabic or in Swahili. They have a

preference. That will be considered a prayer because it is a prayer in itself, the opening chapter of the Koran. But people may give other prayers like common prayers we Muslims have, give general prayers, like I said, for success and confiction and so on and so forth. But there is a trend of using the opening chapter of the Koran for prayers in meetings.
00:14:04
interviewer: And how long does that take?
00:14:09
Respondent 7: Two minutes or three minutes, one minute, a very, very short. These are very short prayers, it is like a procedure, so they're very short times, but they don't take too long.
00:14:21
interviewer: Yeah. And does the Muslim prayer belongs to a certain Muslim affiliation or is it also general muslim?
00:14:32
Respondent 7: General. I said general, I know Muslims, we have our own affiliation like we are the Sunni and the Shia affiliation, but mostly in Kenya, the majority are the Sunnis, there is a growing population of the Shia community, but the majority is Sunni. But again, within the Sunni tradition, there also sects like the Salafi , the Sufi so fort and so fort. But the prayer will be general. Like it will not be affiliated to any to any sects, and particularly if it is the opening of the Koran, the chapter of the Quran, because all Muslims, they read the same Koran. So the first chapter will be the same for all denominations, for all sects for all affiliations. So it will be a general prayer.
00:15:22
interviewer: And how do you behave during a Muslim prayer?
00:15:27
Respondent 7: Not we don't close our eyes, we just raise our hands like this when the person is bagging on this, saying 'amin', 'amin' or we keep quiet until the end, but mostly they will be breaks where Muslim will say 'amin', after a break and at the end of a sentence. And then before the other sentence, there would be also we say 'amin', but because it's a very short prayer. So just wait until the end of them to say 'amin'. We don't close our eyes, we just raise our hands like this or like this, I mean, as long as we raise our hands, or like this. So that's what we do. [the interviewee holds his hands in different positions]
00:16:03
interviewer: Yes. And when I was doing this, I saw your eyes were looking up to the sky. Is that also a feature?
00:16:13
Respondent 7: Yes, for some people it is a feature. They do this something. Now they are facing God, but it's not a must to do this or not. You can look at your hands, you can look down and can just look straight. It's like it's like a habit that you grow up with them. We see when you are in madrassah, the way you teacher is praying, so you are imitating them. It becomes a habit when you grew up. So there's no there's no like priority whether to face up or face down, but it is just a habbit. Everybody has their own habits.
00:16:51
interviewer: And are there certain words that are said as a reply to this prayer?
00:16:59
Respondent 7: Yeah, we say 'amin'. We say 'amin', instead of 'amen'. Amen is the English version, but ours is Arabic. So, 'amin'.
00:17:08
interviewer: All right.
00:17:12
Respondent 7: We say the same but a different pronunciation.
00:17:15
interviewer: Yeah. It's really great that you put the finger on this because otherwise I could have scipt over it when I was analyzing my data. So thanks for this explanation. Yeah. All right. We are

now done with the description part, so we move on to your own experience. And I will do this in two parts as well. First, then we focus on your own experience to the Christian prayer, and then you focus on your experience on the Muslim prayer. And the first question, you get five, by the way, the first question is which meaning do you assign to a Christian prayer?
00:18:04
Respondent 7: No, this is a tricky question. Yeah, no, we respect and we respect otherone's religion. So when they pray, we also like pay attention and try to become as much as conscious as much as possible to whatever is being said, because we are religious. Whether you are Muslim or Christian, we are generally Kenyans, we are religious, because we are religious persons, we are religious people. And we have we have an importance in this in these types of prayer. So we pay attention, we listen, we try to concentrate to whatever is being said. Then we also we also like to have recite like our fellow Christians 'amen'. So we go through the same experience as them. Similarly, when we pray as Muslims, they they like to also, like, concentrate and and pay attention and consider that it is an act of worship. That's very, very important, because for us, prayer is an act of worship to Christians and to Muslims. So we will concentrate and pay attention.
00:19:19
interviewer: And shich emotions or feelings are then triggerd?
00:19:25
Respondent 7: Yeah, yeah, yeah, now you're praying to God because, for example, it's like now you're communicating to the supernatural, to the divine, OK. So you humble yourself first. That's very important. And you make sure you purify your intentions and then you pray to God. You ask like God to answer your prayers. So the most important thing is intention. So you purify your intention and you want success from God. So humility and concentration and intention, three most important aspects of the prayer. So when we pray, we like we we remove every other worldly thinking and every other worldly thing. And then we just concentrate on speaking to God. So whether there is somebody else who is speaking to God, and we are just listening, is the same. It doesn't matter whether I pray directly or through somebody else. So it's a very important experience. It's a spiritual experience. Because it's spiritual, then it becomes very, very important to us. I hope I'm putting words in the right order.
00:20:52
interviewer: I can understand.
00:20:54
Respondent 7: I hop you can understand what I'm talking about.
00:20:55
interviewer: Yeah, I can understand.
00:20:56
Respondent 7: I'm confused.
00:20:59
interviewer: Because?
00:20:59
Respondent 7: You know, I'm sorry for my English, I'm sorry for my English, because sometimes I get confused. I started with Swahili and then I studied English, but now I live in Norway, so I'm learning Norwegian. So sometimes I am lost for words.
00:21:13
interviewer: But that doesn't matter at all because I'm Dutch, I'm native Dutch, English is my second language and I have been in Norway and I discovered that Norway, the Norwegian language has a lot of similarities with with our own language, the Dutch language. So sometimes I think, well, there is something, a Norwegian accented to your English, but since I'm used to that kind of accent, I can follow you perfectly fine. So there's no problem at all with that.
00:21:43
Respondent 7: Thank you.

00:21:43
interviewer: And it is more context wise that I try to to understand you. And well I read already a lot, and you're my last person I interview. So I have enough background information to to make sense of what you're saying. So that's also great.
00:22:03
Respondent 7: Thank you.
00:22:05
interviewer: OK, let's go on with the third question. Do you think that this Christian prayer has an effect on the meeting?
00:22:17
Respondent 7: We believe it will touch, though we may not see it because we pray and then we believe that God will answer our prayers, and even if nothing happens, for example, we pray that we are able to meet certain objectives. For example, we are in a class for examination. I would like to give you a context now. We are praying for this class to to pass this examination and maybe the class doesn't pass. It doesn't mean that our prayer is not heart, because maybe we don't know, but we normally believe very strongly that prayer has an effect, whatever we intend to do. And so God will ask our prayer and if we do not pray, then we are we are doing things in the wrong way. We need to pray. Normally, although we may not experience like experience like first hand the effect of the prayer, whatever we do, because we believe it does, then subconsciously, subconsciously, there is that belief in our system that our thought and our thinking that the prayer will have an effect, even though sometimes we may not see the effect itself. But it's a belief and that's what it is. Just a belief.
00:23:46
interviewer: Yeah. And you as a Muslim, how do you feel when there is a Christian prayer? Do you feel included by it or excluded?
00:24:03
Respondent 7: You know, that's another tricky question, you see. No, as Muslims, we normally pray to God directly. We don't have intermediaries, the Christians who pray through Jesus. And because Christians believe Jesus is the son of God and to Islam this is a blasphemy. Sorry to say that, because we believe that God does not have a child that see bigger children, [onverstaanbaar]. So God, and we believe Jesus is a prophet, like the prophet Mohammed, the prophet Mozes and Abraham and the rest. And so sometimes when they pray through Jesus, you know, it's just a sign of respect that we follow the prayer. But for us Muslims, more fundamentally, that's that's a flaw because we don't pray through somebody like Jesus. We pray directly to God. We just follow them and we participate. And we we include ourselves in the prayer as a sign of respect but not as a qualification for prayer itself. That's why we are given the opportunity for us to pray on our own.
00:25:20
interviewer: Yeah. And and is then the reason behind this that you can contribute to this Christian prayer because you believe that people in in Kenya are so religious that it is because you're all religious and that you understand this worship to God, to the higher being, the higher power connects people on a different level.
00:25:47
Respondent 7: Yeah, yeah, yeah, because we believe that they believe that it's true to them, it's correct to pray to Jesus, maybe they are praying to will be awesome because they, according to their belief, they are doing the right thing. OK, fo us that's not right. Because we don't pray. We don't believe that Jesus is a son of God, I feel like I said it's blasphemic for me to associate a son to God. So we as a sign of respect, again, maybe because they are doing it the way they believe is right. Maybe they are going to accept their prayer. And so at the end of the day, yeah, the end justifies the means. So we have no problem with that prayer. For us Muslims we pray on our own, on our own style, if you like.

00:26:39
interviewer: Yeah.
00:26:40
Respondent 7: Our own style on how the Islamic teachings have guided us on how to pray.
00:26:45
interviewer: Yeah. And this Christian prayer, how is it related to the indigenous traditional religion of Kenya or the history of Kenya in general?
00:26:59
Respondent 7: OK, and now Islam has been in Kenya for a very, very long time, especially at the costs where I come from. So it's been here for like of a thousand years and Islam. But Christianity came with the missionaries. The first time, Christianity also has a long history because Christianity came here first with the Portuguese, with Vasco da Gama who came in the 16th and 15th century. But it did not have a very big impact in our part of Africa. But when the English came to colonize, you know, when the British came to colonize our part of Africa, it had a major, major impact. And that's why today Kenya is majority Christian, majority by far, so many people here are Christians. And and most of this vision that we have today are born Christians, like their ancestors or their forefathers may have been people who practice African tradition. The majority now of this generation and a few generations ahead of my generation are born Christians. So they are very, very much affiliated to the religion, although, OK, like like all other human beings, OK we are considered ourself religions, but we have our own limitations and we have our own flaws. So so some of the teachings we may not follow, not because we don't believe they are teachings of the religion, but because of laxity and because of lack of knowledge and some some laziness, for example. OK, so but generally generally religion in Kenya is one of the most important aspects of our lives. Even in the Constitution, now the Constitution of Kenya is a secular state, is a secular state. It's not a religious state. But if you read the Constitution of Kenya from the preamble of the Constitution, you will see the effect of religion on that constitution.
00:29:19
interviewer: Yeah. And I know I red it.
00:29:22
Respondent 7: Absolutely. So from, for example, although we believe sovereignty belongs to the people of Kenya, that's the preamble of the Constitution. But we also have like a belief in God. And so we have the churches, we have the mosque an the other religions. We have other other small regions. For example, we have a Hindu community in Kenya where they have their own temples. And if it happens that they attend a meeting, they will also be given the opportunity to make a prayer according to their religion. And nowadays we have like a revival of the African tradition. Even in university, the university where I went, [name of that university], where it's situated on the coast, there is a course for African religious heritage. So if you want to study religion, you may choose whether you want to study Christianity, Islam or African religious heritage, because there's a revival to that. And again, because of modernity, there is a population coming up who are not religious at all. They call themselves atheists. You know about this. That is a new trend in this context. Pardon, you yourself are an atheist?
00:30:35
interviewer: No, I'm not. But I interviewed some people and well people say, well, that everyone assumes that you're a Christian in Kenya. I also met some people that said, well, yeah, people think I'm Christian, but actually.
00:30:52
Respondent 7: Yeah, yeah. This happens.
00:30:53
interviewer: I am not a Christian at all. So, yeah, I met two people that said, no, I'm not affiliated to anything, so.

00:31:04
Respondent 7: Yeah, they call themselves New Atheists. These are the followers of Richard Dawkins and Christopher Hitchens and others. So of Harris this are the new atheist leaders that are becoming very prominent in atheism. So we have like an association of atheists. There's a guy called Nabongo who is a champist and he was a Muslim, but then, like, turned into an atheist and became the chairman of this association. So we have an atheist association.
00:31:34
interviewer: And so the atheists become a religion on their own?
00:31:39
Respondent 7: Yes, haha, they do want to be they don't want to be referred as such, they don't want to criticise religion, but they are forming like associations. So it's almost a religion so on. But they don't want to call it a religion of course.
00:31:52
interviewer: Yeah, yeah.
00:31:54
Respondent 7: And then we also we have a few of the people who are agnostic, so they don't like, OK, this God, we don't care whether this God is not God, we don't know. We just live our lives. But these are very small groups, a the very small majority. Christian is number one and Islam number two.
00:32:13
interviewer: Yeah, all right. And I will do the same questions again, but now, according to a Muslim prayer. So which meaning do you assign to a Muslim prayer?
00:32:28
Respondent 7: Oh, yeah.
00:32:31
interviewer: It is a hard question.
00:32:31
Respondent 7: Haha. I understand, I understand, that's no problem, but but no Muslims for Muslims prayer is an act of worship. So whatever you want to do, you have to pray fast, so that God what we call Allah gives you, avails to you your requests. And so it's a very, very important aspect of religion. Even the Koran itself, the first chapter is a prayer. The five daily prayers, which we pray as Muslims, as you may know, we pray five times a day. We call them prayers. We don't call them any other thing. We call them prayers because praying and Islam is very, very much connected. So basically, the Muslim religion is based on prayers, because of this super divine being that we believe is the creator and sustainer of life and everything. So whatever we want, we have to ask it from Him. I'm using Him, I know nowadays there is this gender issue, a problem to many, but we normally refer to the God as him, and that is our tradition. So and so, whatever you want, whatever you want to achieve, if you want to eat want to sleep, if they want to go to the toilet, if you want to travel, you want anything you want to do first you have to do that. You have to proceed with a prayer. So even, you can imagine, you're going to help yourself in the bathroom. Then first you have to pray that God protects you in that room, in that special room. So everything you do is about prayers, so even at the begining of meetings and at the end of meeting
00:34:26
interviewer: And which emotions and feelings are triggered then?
00:34:32
Respondent 7: Now, you are, now you can imagine you're communicating with the divine. So, it's like very spiritual. And in Islam, the standard is the more you concentrate, the more you pay attention, the more you humble yourself when you want to request God for something and then the more chances that God is going to ask you. So so you have to pay attention. We call it Gushot[?] in Arabic, concentration, total concentration. So you cannot ask God for something and then you are absent-minded, that is a lack of respect towards God, you understand. So when you

pray, you have to pay attention completely. So the more attention you pay, the more chances that God will accept. So it's in the end It is a spiritual experience spiritually, completely. So you master yourself in this experience and you pray to God, specially if it's something that you wanted like you wanted so much you wanted for real. You want to pass your thesis. Now you're going to defend your masters thesis. So you want to pass it. You want to be successful. So you pray very hard, God, to ensure that you become successful. So that's what it is. It's a different experience that you cannot explain a spiritual experience just out, just out, you just experience, but you cannot explain because it is spiritual at the end of the day.
00:36:08
interviewer: Yeah, and in which way has it an effect on the meetings at school, for example?
00:36:17
Respondent 7: Well, again, again, it's a belief system, a belief. Some believe in this paranational [?]. So sometimes when they see things happening and then you attribute the success to a prayer because we prayed, that's why we met our objectives in this meeting, or sometimes you don't see anything happen. So you assume that maybe God would answer your prayer later on. But normally, because you pray and because we associate this prayer with importance and that's why we believe there is a function in prayers.
00:36:54
interviewer: Uhum
00:36:59
Respondent 7: And that's a believe.
00:37:01
interviewer: And I understand. And how does your own religious affiliation, Sunni Muslim, relate to the general Muslim prayer?
00:37:20
Respondent 7: Yeah, no, like I said, yeah, in Kenya the majority, you can imagine in Iran, in Iran, where the majority is Shia, so when they pray the will, of course, involve the Shia, they mention in their prayers. So so but in Kenya, because the majority of Muslims, if they would be Shia not, but we use the general prayer where there's no like we don't like specify or attach such a very, very Sunni dimension for the prayer. It would be just a general prayer where every Muslim can participate no matter what affiliation they have. So it will be a job, like the opening chapter of the Koran. We are all Muslims at the site. So that's that's it.
00:38:14
interviewer: So that means then when is this a general meeting but it is about your own intention you put into the prayer that everyone can put their own full attention and intention to that general prayer?
00:38:29
Respondent 7: Yes. Yes. Though it's communal, but it's also individualistic. So it's communal because you are praying as a group in a meeting. But you also as an individual, you have your own intension. So you attached the intentions to the prayer. Yeah. It's like one package, I mean, two packages
00:38:53
interviewer: In one. Haha.
00:38:53
Respondent 7: Awesom
00:38:53
interviewer: Yeah, and how is the Muslim prayer related to the history of Kenya?
00:39:03
Respondent 7: Oh, well, you're a Muslim, there's no like in the history behind it. No, we are in a meeting that you are requested to pray. So you pray. So it's like it's a nonm. So there's no attachment to history or something like that. It's not historical. As I said, because I said you whenever you go in the world, whenever there's a Muslim community, when they pray, they do

the same. So so it's a norm all over the Muslim world or the Muslim community all over the world. So it's not like it has specific attachment to the history of Islam in Kenya, doesn't it? It's a it's a global it's a global aspect. Yeah.
00:39:48
interviewer: All right. Then we will move on to the last part of questions. This is about the experience of the others.
00:39:58
Respondent 7: OK
00:39:59
interviewer: Now, you mentioned already that there are Christians and Muslims attending the prayer and in this part, I would like to ask you to step in the shoes of your colleagues, so in the shoes of your Christian colleagues and in the shoes of your Muslim colleagues and try to answer the questions. And so if you are pretending that you are like your Christian colleagues, how do you think your Christian colleagues see the meaning of the prayer?
00:40:38
Respondent 7: Yeah, to them, it's I know I would like to believe that like to believe and assume for sure that they have the same feelings as we have when we pray, because to them, prayer is also an important aspect of their religion. And so they they give a lot of meaning. In any case, they would not have prayed if it was of no importance. So I've just started the meeting. But the fact that they insist on praying, in fact, if the meeting does not start with a prayer, maybe the leader of the meeting or the chairman forgets to start the meeting with the prayer, then they would be reminded by members that we have to pray first, then the meeting will go on. Without prayer there's no. So they attach strong importance. They also believe, like ourselves, that they have to request the divine for the success of whatever they intend to do. So they know when they pray about this aspect of closing the eyes. You feel, I'm not, I'm not a Christian, but I see them. So I feel like these people are on a very different level of spiritual experience because they close their eyes and they pay attention and then say 'amen' and see, the expressions from what I see, because like I say I I'm no I'm not a member of this community, so I just observe and see what's happening. And you feel how strong you feel, a strong expression of spirituality from the way they pray. So they attach. I want to believe that. I want to asume and to believe that they touch a lot of importance to the prayer. Otherwise they will not pray.
00:42:35
interviewer: And which emotions and feelings do they have?
00:42:41
Respondent 7: From there, from their face, from their face and how they pray.
00:42:51
interviewer: Which feelings are shown?
00:42:51
Respondent 7: I don't I don't have words for you. I'm just, like, showing you what I can see. They close their eyes and pray: Jesus, son of God, we pray to your father, our heavenly father. We pray that You bring us to success, will protect us from the devil and so on and so forth. See, they express a lot of emotion. And so you feel even if you're not a Christian, you feel that this people are involved in a very, very spiritual experience. That is how I feel it?
00:43:25
interviewer: Yeah, and do they believe that the prayer has an influence on the prayer, euh on the meeting? Sorry.
00:43:33
Respondent 7: From the Muslim side, from the Muslim side.
00:43:36
interviewer: No, from the Christian side.

00:43:41
Respondent 7: For them, as Christians, they believe anything but for me as a Muslim. Like I said before, that we believe that way they pray is very wrong, blasphemous.
00:43:55
interviewer: So you would say then for me the Christian prayer has no effect on the meeting?
00:44:02
Respondent 7: Yeah, that's yeah. That's an assumption. An assumption. But for them, you know, speaking from the Muslim perspective, the prayer is null and false. That's to be very honest with you. Now, I am very frank, I want to be very frank and honest from the Muslim perspective, just form the outlook of it, their prayer is to avoid, because they are not praying avording to the Hadith. But actually they are not only praying to God, they even associating a son to God. This is a grave sin. They are doing it very wrong. But from from their, from themselves as Christians, they believe they are doing the right thing. But for us Muslims, that's is not the way to pray. We pray to God directly, not to a assigned person or anything else, but that's how we do it.
00:44:55
interviewer: And how do the Christians think the prayer is related to the history of Kenya?
00:45:03
Respondent 7: Yeah, I don't know, but I'm not very sure. I've not thought about that. But I would like to assume also that they also don't have a historical attachment to the history of Christianity. I think it is only that it's a global aspect, because Christianity is global. So wherever there are Christians in the world, the way they pray, I've seen no in in University of Bergen, where where our offices are, now I work in the department of, our department has the longest name in the whole University, the Department of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies and religion the longest. That's my department. So our department is situated just across the cathedral, very old cathedral, very big. So sometimes when I pass by, I see people inside praying, kneeling down, closing their eyes and praying. So this is what I normally see also happens in Kenya. And so I would like to understand it is the same. There's no like there's no like a specific societal attachment, historical attachment to prayer. It is global.
00:46:23
interviewer: It is more global, global that Christians everywhere in the world are doing.
00:46:29
Respondent 7: Exactly. Exactly.
00:46:31
interviewer: All right. Let's now put yourself in the shoes of a Muslim colleague.
00:46:37
Respondent 7: Of course, that I am.
00:46:39
interviewer: Yeah, but you are a Muslim already, now, you have to think for your colleague. So hopefully you have a colleague in mind, maybe you talked with each other about how you view your religion and things like that.
00:46:53
Respondent 7: For sure.
00:46:54
interviewer: So how do other Muslims assign meaning to the prayer, and then to the Muslim prayer?
00:47:06
Respondent 7: So it depends on the amount of faith, you know, people are on different levels of faith. People are very religious and although Muslims some are not very religious, just religious, just so you know, we have this also in Christianity. People who are very much attached to the religion. Others are just followers of that. So, yeah, normally we refer to this as the levels of faith. And so the more faith you have, the more importance you put in, the less faith you have, though you are a Muslim, it becomes just like a procedural process. So we just have we just we have to go

through it. We go through it. But if we are now, I don't want to put myself consider myself very religious, OK, but for my for my own OK. Although you want me to think of somebody else, my colleague, but of my own, I take these things very seriously.
00:48:10
interviewer: Yeah.
00:48:10
Respondent 7: So so, so for others it depends on their level of faith.
00:48:17
interviewer: Yeah. So that means that actually there is a skill so to say. So when people are really religious then you have a high level of intention, but if they are
00:48:29
Respondent 7: Absolutely.
00:48:29
interviewer: less religious, it becomes more procedure. So it is a ritual you just do. And then the things that you do
00:48:37
Respondent 7: Just a ritual.
00:48:38
interviewer: is more important than the intention. So on the international level, you aim at connection with God, so to say. And on the other level, you think this is just practice. We do the practice because otherwise maybe God becomes angry, but we just do it and we go on.
00:49:00
Respondent 7: Yeah, you're right, you're right, you're right, it depends on the level. For some people, there's so much attachment to their religion. For other people, it's just a procedure. They have grown up. It's a way of life. I've seen these things happen. It's a norm to them, a habbit. They just participate in the prayer. OK they believe that it's important, but there's no like a strong attachment to it. So it depends on the level of religiosity of an individual. So this is I would like to think of others.
00:49:36
interviewer: So when people are much less religious, are these people also then the people that maybe forgets to pray before, or are they more fine with starting a meeting without a prayer?
00:49:53
Respondent 7: Yeah, some people. Yeah, you're right. We have to be honest with this thing now that you are researching, you need to get the right information so we cannot like put a very rosy picture to these things. We have to be very realistic. And they are people who are Muslims. Yeah, but there's the level of religion is not as high as it should be, according to me. That's my opinion now. So whether there's a prayer before meeting or there's no prayer before meeting, that doesn't matter. In fact, they believe that they can pray on their own. It is a very personal issue and prayer is a very personal issue. We can pray on you own and then proceed with the meeting. That's no problem. We don't we don't have to pray as a community as a group. Mm hmm. And so there are people who have these beliefs and they may be right in one way or another, but that's their belief. But for me, there's the importance to pray, so before meeting, we must pray.
00:51:00
interviewer: Yeah.
00:51:01
Respondent 7: It's according to me and in the beginning when I was in Norway, in the beginning, so in the beginning during meetings, I work on a project. So we have this project meetings. Mm hmm. So the meeting will just kick off without prayer. So I would feel very uncomfortable. But now I'm used to it. The beginning I used to get a little bit uncomfortable. We have a meeting without prayer while I'm coming from Kenya where all meetings we have to start with prayer. So then I got used to the situation and now I'm adapting. But there are others who do not considered it to be an important thing to pray for meeting, and they are Muslims.

00:51:47
interviewer: Yeah. So this also then depends on whether, well, you can see religion in two ways. You can see it as priveleged . So it is just an individual thing to do. Or you can see religion as a community building institutes as well. And if you have this broader view
00:52:11
Respondent 7: You are right.
00:52:12
interviewer: of religion, this is already there since the start of religion, it never started as an individual thing. And then, because of this community aspect, of course, prayer should be communual as well. I mean.
00:52:28
Respondent 7: Yes, yes. Yes. Especially especially in Islam, because there is a prophetic tradition that says in Arabic 'hemangioma'[?] means 'the hand of God is with the community'. So if you do a thing as a group, then it's much more appreciated by God than doing it on your own at an individual level. So there this prophetic tradition, a hadith of the prophet [Arabic] [translation>] the hand of God. And this hand is a symbol that the blessing, like the protection of the success we want, we're praying for is to the community. So you pray as a community is much more referable to God than, say, pray alone although the same both can walk. It is just a matter of preference. It is just a matter of preference. There's not a master[?] you pray as a group, but as a matter of preference. And that's a tradition of the prophet himself. So impressive.
00:53:33
interviewer: Yeah, yeah. And let me see where we are. Jay. Yes. And do you Muslim colleague think or do your Muslim colleagues thinks, colleagues think sorry and that prayer has an influence on the meeting?
00:54:00
Respondent 7: Yeah, they do. that for those, at least for those who are religious, they believe that the prayer has an effect on the meeting they do. Without praying, then success will be very limited, if it is ever achieved. Yeah, so it's like like I say, you know, the fact that they insist on praying before the meeting. It's, no, it is like I said before, when the leader forgets to pray before or to like initiate a prayer before the meeting, then the leader is reminded, no, we are forgot, please let us pray first and then we proceed with it. So because of this, only these aspects ensure a meaning, expresses a very strong dimension of their belief on the attachment of the prayer and the meeting and the effect it has on it.
00:55:02
interviewer: And. Well, I think the last two questions you can answer quite short, because we were speaking about it already, um, so to which extend do people experience a connection between the Muslim prayer and their own Muslim affiliation.
00:55:23
Respondent 7: Yeah, because they know they believe that their way of praying is the right the right way. Mm hmm. And the only way that God is going to accept their prayer. So that's why they would like to pray in the Muslim way.
00:55:41
interviewer: And to which, sorry.
00:55:44
Respondent 7: Yeah. Yeah, no problem.
00:55:45
interviewer: And to what extent do people think this prayer is related to the history of Kenya?
00:55:52
Respondent 7: Yeah, again, this is a global aspect. There's no there's no much connection with this, the only connection, I think, with with the trend of Islam that is being practiced again. So happens that in Kenya, the Sunni Islam is the majority. And because it has a long history in Kenya, so they pray yeah, according to the Sunni Islam. But because the are so general, it has a general

demension specifically Sunni, but because they are Sunni and the Muslim Shia have been practicing that Sunni tradition historically there for hundreds of years, like a thousand years. So it has a connection in that way only, but not in the prayer sense. The prayer has no connection, as I think, there's no connection in prayer and local.
00:56:48
interviewer: Yeah. And do you know at what time it became a practice at the government level that they started with the Christian and a Muslim prayer? I know that it was quite recently, I think in 2010 or 2011 that they started with three prayers; that they include as well, the traditional prayer. Do you know when they start with, including the Muslim prayer.
00:57:17
Respondent 7: Actually, I don't remember. I know like no absolute answer to that, but I would like to believe immediately after Kenya gained independence, Kenya gain independence in 1963. So that's what we say again. And that's what's important to historians. So sometimes they have adifferent perspective on this issue, so let's say Kenya got independence 1963, or even before that, Muslims will be given opportunity to pray before a public meeting or a government meeting.
00:57:53
interviewer: So. So it's already there in the colonial times?
00:58:00
Respondent 7: That's what I would like to believe. I imagine when there's a bahazar, meeting between the global administrations and the locals, so they want to start a meeting, I would like to believe that there will be a prayer for this meeting. So this would be a normal thing. And that's what why we inherited this tradition from them. I'm not very sure, but this is what I imagine. And it's a tradition that has been merited because people have been the colonialists themselves where Christian, and the population were Christians and Muslims. So so because of this reason, there will be prayed before and even before independence and when independence came in 1963 so the tradition continues. So it became like a norm without correcting a rule. It's not a written rule in a situation that they must step on it. No, no. But it's what the people used to. It was around 2010 when the new constitution was put in place, there it just continued. It's not like it began in 2010. It became before.
00:59:12
interviewer: Yeah.
00:59:13
Respondent 7: So it's just a continuity of a norm. And it's not like a written rule. We must pray before, no, it is a norm that people are used to. It's part of the tradition of people are Muslims and Christians. Maybe this African tradition aspect came on later on because of the revival of the movement.
00:59:32
interviewer: Yeah, yeah, maybe elsewhere because the Constitution changed and became a bigger,
00:59:40
Respondent 7: we grew more inclusive
00:59:41
interviewer: yeah, it became more inclusive. Exactly, I was looking for the word.
00:59:44
Respondent 7: Yeah, yeah. Yeah. So. So it's a norm. So I don't know. I don't know. Maybe maybe during the colonial period, people who are not praying before. But I would not imagine a situation where especially of those old days where people are much more religious than we are today. So a meeting will start without some kind of prayer any prayer. Yeah. So it's a tradition that has been going on for a long time. Yeah. I hope it will continue to go or not disappear like what happened in Norway.
01:00:24
interviewer: Yeah, but I think when you compare Europe with Africa, the worldview is totally

different. And scince we know that things like worldview and values and stories that you are brought up with
01:00:43
Respondent 7: Yeah
01:00:44
interviewer: Even if the top is changing, like you're not going to church or mosque anymore and the worldview and the values you stay for over so many, many generations. So I don't think Africa will change in that direction as Europe did. Not at all. I don't think so.
01:01:04
Respondent 7: Haha.
01:01:06
interviewer: And that makes it very interesting, actually, for me as a Dutch person to look at Kenya, because as an outsider, you look at it with so to say new eyes. So you have a kind of clue because you read and the more you hear, the more you you listen and the more you do research, the more you get an understanding. And sometimes it is very useful. I noticed that as an outside you sometimes can ask the questions or ask things like I can ask nasty questions because I'm an outsider so you can be free and frankly telling me things that if I was an insider, you wouldn't tell me.
01:01:50
Respondent 7: Sure, sure, no problem. No, I said I'm a student, so I understand. Sometimes you you have questions that you may ask somebody and maybe they would feel like why does this person ask this question? But I'm a student like you. I'm also studing in the field of religion and history. And so I understand exactly your position and your situation, what you are going through now, went through the same. So I have no problem. I hope I've been useful.
01:02:26
interviewer: Yeah, I really enjoyed this conversation.
01:02:28
Respondent 7: You very. I may not. I may not be very, I mean, correct or exactly what you wanted to hear, but I hope I've been useful to you.
01:02:42
interviewer: I came with an open minds to this, so I don't have expectations on beforehand. Of course, I did some analysis already, so I have some hypotheses. I'm I'm testing, of course, because I, when you tell me things I think 'check' or 'no'. I'm not here to guide you in a certain direction. So, yeah, of course my questions are guarding you.
01:03:09
Respondent 7: OK
01:03:09
interviewer: But it's not that I'm pulling out some answers.
01:03:12
Respondent 7: Sure.
01:03:12
interviewer: So I hope you enjoyed this conversation.
01:03:18
Respondent 7: And yeah, very much, very much the most important things that. You're. OK
01:03:23
interviewer: um, and, um, well, I tried to finish my thesis in June, and this is quite soon already, um, and well, I write my thesis in Dutch and I don't know how good your Ducht is, but probably you will have some problems with reading it. So I will provide a summary in English that I will send to all my interviewees.
01:03:49
Respondent 7: That is great.
01:03:51
interviewer: Ans also an acknowledged. I said I'm so happy with the time and the courage people,

as you, brought on the table just to answer the questions and some questions were very hard for interviewees to answer. Um, so yeah, I'm just thankful that you took your time and, uh, and answered me free and frank. Yeah.
01:04:20
Respondent 7: Oh. Two things, because two things I have a feeling myself because of two things, and I understand the needs of our students or any student who want to contact and interact with me. Whether there is some information that can help them, I will always happy to offer myself, whether I know the student or I don't know. As long as it is a student and is doing some academic work. So I will offer myself, but also because of dr. Hassan a good friend of me, had referred you. Dr. Hassan Ndzove who is one of my good friends. He is now in Germany.
01:05:00
interviewer: Yeah. I know.
01:05:00
Respondent 7: And he is one of my good friends. Like he's much, much older than me and much ahead academically also. Has a doctor's now, almost becoming a professor the next few years, I think.
01:05:14
interviewer: Yeah.
01:05:14
Respondent 7: So, he's a good friend of mine. He's helped me in one way or another. So and because of him. So that's why I wanted to actually I wanted us to do this interview earlier, because I was traveling and dod not know exactly what would happen along the week, but that's why I decided on the last day, that is today, where I knew it would be absolutely that I'll be at home.
01:05:37
interviewer: Yeah.
01:05:37
Respondent 7: So I wish you all the best.
01:05:39
interviewer: Thank you.
01:05:40
Respondent 7: I will pray for yourself, for your success or your prayer for your success and hope we meet again soon.
01:05:47
interviewer: Yeah, maybe we will.
01:05:49
Respondent 7: We have to.
01:05:52
interviewer: We have to what?
01:05:54
Respondent 7: I have a friend I have a friend of mine who works at Leiden, Morth Korean [?]. We work in the same projects. He's a lecturer in Leiden universities and such a [overstaanbaar]. And we work together. We are in the same projects and we have a project working on.
01:06:12
interviewer: Yeah. And what's your point?
01:06:13
Respondent 7: One day I come to maybe one day is good.
01:06:15
interviewer: What kind of projects are you doing?
01:06:22
Respondent 7: We are looking at the canonization and codification of legal texts and for my case, this is specifically Islamic early legal texts. So I'm looking at how this legal text were either canonized or codified. I am basing my study on the staffina. So you have Islamic legal texts in East Africa that we believe were canonized in the precolonial period. So so I'm looking at that line. That's my my part in the project with Machmoet because Machmoet has done a study on the

Indian Ocean and he's done a study on the Indian Ocean. West Africa is part of the Indian Ocean. So so it's it's a wide project. We are doing it now and the next few years or a couple of years to be able to finish and then see what happens next. So even before that, maybe Machmoet is inviting me to Holland. So I don't know. So.
01:07:29
interviewer: That would be great.
01:07:30
Respondent 7: That's academic life. We don't know what happens next.
01:07:34
interviewer: No, that is true.
01:07:35
Respondent 7: And yeah, you know, with academic life, you don't know you don't know what happens next. For your case. I, I just advise strongly that you don't relax after you submit your thesis to defend it, even even before june. If you submit it, you should go for a PhD now.
01:07:51
interviewer: I know what to do. I will finish early because I, I'm going to summer school after. And this week hopefully we hear whether a big project is approved that they can get funds for it and maybe then I can apply for a position. So fingers crossed for me.
01:08:16
Respondent 7: Sure.
01:08:17
interviewer: Because I would like to continu
01:08:20
Respondent 7: But do not stop here, please. Whatever. Yeah. Yeah. That's my advice. Do not stop. Just procede. Just continue the journey. It's a long journey, but it's also very interesting. You come at places you never imagined.
01:08:35
interviewer: Yeah it is fun. Exactly. And you meet people and you discover and this is the part I like most. I mean, I love to do the interviews, but I also love to do the data analysis that you sit there with all the data and think, this is a big mess, and then you start to switch and to search. And then you have the narrative and I know what's going on here and then searching, but also that feeling, that great feeling that comes after it. And you think I understand! And then you move on and think again: "I thought, I understand. I know now it could be better".
01:09:13
Respondent 7: Yeah, sure. Thank you. Thank you for your time.
01:09:16
interviewer: Thank you as well.
01:09:16
Respondent 7: I have to go to prayers, it is Friday.
01:09:19
interviewer: Yeah. So have a good friday.
01:09:21
Respondent 7: You will always say I will sign the document, I will send the document, then send it to you in a few days.
01:09:29
interviewer: Yeah. Thank you so much. And I keep you informed. You get my summary. Bye bye.

Bijlage 7: Citaten uit eerder onderzoek

De citaten hieronder zijn afkomstig uit de transcripties die gebruikt zijn voor het onderzoek *Invoking the Sacred: Towards Alternatieve Strategies Against Climate Conflicts,* uitgevoerd door het centre for Religion, Conflict and Globalization aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. Ik heb hieruit citaten gehaald ter illustratie van mijn verhaal, maar deze citaten maken geen deel uit van het onderzoek naar de betekenis van het gebed.

00:53:00
Respondent RUG 8*:* Ja, In dat laatste is wel een kleine rol hoor, dus dat dat dat zit gewoon in de; het is veel meer een religieuze cultuur dan Nederland. Nederland is heel seculier, zullen in Nederland zijn er weinig plekken denk ik waar vergaderingen of een bijeenkomst wordt gestart met een gebed. In Kenia is dat heel gebruikelijk. Dus ik denk wel dat dat ook gewoon een beetje in het vocabulaire zit, om het op die manier te framen. Ik denk in het dagelijks leven is het misschien meer zou met het is iets meer laissez faire van als, maar dat is ook ja, dat heeft ook misschien wel te maken met een meer bureaucratische, meer corrupte overheid waardoor je überhaupt minder grip hebt op je, je op de toekomst. De toekomst is sowieso onzeker.
00:53:42
Interviewer: Ja.
00:53:42
Respondent RUG 8: Dus ik ik ja, ik denk dat religie daar een relatief kleine rol in speelt.

Interviewer*:* And and and. What is the meaning of these starting and ending prayers?
00:29:21
Respondent RUG 9*:* So I don't know where it started or where it came from, but it's become like known almost everywhere, even in not just community level meetings with government meetings. So you start with a prayer, because previously you'd started with a national anthem, which we see is a prayer. But I believe what I sense and I suspect would be to soften people's hearts, particularly if you're going to discuss something that would, uhm, touch on, say, a conflicting something that is contentious or controversial. When you start with a prayer and then doing the prayer, you can talk about bringing this and this together, you know, we can talk about make help people understand or things like that. So it's something that I think it has been it's it's common practice starting and ending with a prayer. But, of course, sometimes I have noticed that the person who leads the prayer would put in would be very strategic in their wording, in the prayer that they're going to put out to try and maybe the influence already. I don't know if it works psychologically with people and to change positions, but I think I think it's a strategy. Yeah.

Interviewer*:* What is the meaning or what is the function of such a prayer?
00:22:50
Respondent RUG 10*:* Well, we are predominantly a religious nation. Naturally, we are we are secular. So you would not say that. You know, you go to Saudi Arabia and it's straightforward. This is a Muslim nation. So you cannot say that Kenya is a Christian nation. It's categorized as a secular nation, I think. However, if you look at the census, 80 percent of the population is Christian. It's a practice that has been there for a long time, ever since I worked with. Yeah, I worked in the development space. It's a practice that is there, especially with government. And if you go to the Muslim side of the country, they still pray the Muslim prayer, if you go to the Muslim part of the

country those still pray the Christian prayer. So it's a practice that they have because we are predominantly religious in that sense. And it's a practice that is that it's una, it's acceptable. It's very; it's a norm. And it's mostly with government. Government meetings will start with prayer and end with prayer.

00:27:14

Respondent 10*:* No, actually, I don't think I need to think about [prayer] because it's just the way you put on your clothes. So some of us put on clothes, if you go to other communities, they don't put on clothes, for instance. And if they come down to the city and find that are putting on clothes, they'll put on clothes just to adapt. So I think it's adapting. It, it doesn't cost anything. When you pray or you don't pray. So in that case, you just flow with the flow, basically. So it's not. It's not a big issue whether you're praying or not praying, it's not a big issue. It's all dependent on the host. And and as I was saying, you know, if you're going to a meeting hosted by the Kenyan government, you definitely pray and it will not be a whole day prayer, but you will pray for two to three minutes or even less and then get on with the business of the day. When you come to the embassy, you not pray. You get straight into the business of the day, still fine. You do it. Nobody else, even if it's a government official that you invited for that meeting at the embassy, will stop and say "let's pray". It's really the host who gives the direction. Yeah, so. So that's what I was very particular to say, that government meetings, more often than not, you start with a prayer and probably also local NGOs, the local ones, you will start with a prayer. But if you if you now go to the international organizations, apart from the likes of world visions, more often than not, you go right straight right into business and get on with the business of the day. It does not make a difference for me. It really does not make a difference.

00:14:15

Respondent RUG 12: I'm saying, what. These people lived almost entirely in the forest. When land was subdivided, when their land was subdivided, other people came in and encroached more of the land, and that's why I want of the forest, the forest was destroyed. And then they were required by government to move out of the forest so that they can be resettled. And resettling here means you cut the forest. And then we give them a kind of titles[?] on the land as far as they're understand, they always own the land without any titles and they could extract from the forest without asking anybody. So we are now in that place where we are trying to get a balance. Get the forest back, where these people, of course, are got pieces of land that have been left for them to do the modern economy. And you'll find that in one of our projects we're doing livelihood's on cattle. So we're helping them with cattle keeping. They graze partly in the forest and partly in their lang direct. We let them grow dairy cattle and sell the milk so that they get earnings. When we are reforest the forest, we are planting trees in the forest to trying to get back to the forest and then trying a bit to modernize to commercialize their honey. Even in the process, we are trying to commercialize them by giving them what people call modern behaves. I don't know whether they are modern, but they, so that they can harvest the honey, let them pro [?] on that, instead.

00:04:55

Respondent 14: Now, yeah, so you see a lot of times that the people with money are always going to be the ones who control everything and the people without money don't even have access. So people in communities don't usually even a project is happening until everything's already been decided. They might be public participation, but it's very cosmetic and. And you as a citizen or a

member of that community, you are not probably changing anything. So it's yeah, and that's usually the cycle that happens with all of these things.

00:05:29

***Interviewer**:* Yeah. And are these structures everywhere in the country the same? Or are these structures more intense in this way in the poorer area. So the, the poorer area is the the less influence people have or is it's everywhere in society?

00:05:52

***Respondent 14**:* No, of course the poorer the area is and usually it's also like the more rural you are, the less influence you will have. These these kinds of projects usually will find most individual [?] impact in indigenous communities more or communities from northern Kenya who are also marginalized in different ways. And in some areas you'll find it much less, or the projects are much have much less impact on the community.

00:01:13

Respondent 15: Nou ja, kijk, laat ik even een context van Kenia kort schetsen van het is als het gaat om gewelddadig extremisme. Los van wat er in het verleden heeft gedaan, is 2013 een belangrijk moment geweest. Natuurlijk, toen was de West Gate Mall aanval hier in Nairobi. Er zijn 60 mensen of iets dergelijks omgekomen en het was een aanval van Al shabaab in Nairobi zelf en maar eigenlijk nog belangrijker was de aanval in 2015 op de universiteiten in Karissa. En waarom ik zeg dat die eigenlijk nog belangrijker was, is omdat toen de autoriteiten erachter kwamen dat het niet alleen maar een probleem was van Al shabaab die niet blij was dat Keniaanse troepen bij Amisom zaten, maar ook dat het deels een homegrown probleem was, want een deel van de attackers waren Kenianen in Karissa. Dus sindsdien heeft ook de autoriteiten een beleid veranderd dat zij dus naast counter terrorisme, eigenlijk ook veel meer countering violent terrorisme, maar ook de de de preventieve kant op zochten. De de softere benadering opzochten, omdat je dus blijkbaar ook aandacht moet gaan geven aan de de drivers van mensen om geweld willen plegen te radicaliseren. Dus daar hebben ze ook op die manier stappen in gezet ehm. Dat is een belangrijk iets.

Bijlage 8: Codeboek

Aim_peaceful coexistence		Description	
Algemeen gedrag			
Betekenis is hypocriet			
Betekenis is hypocrite			
Binding met god			
Birth_1968			Experience, own
Birth_1969			Experience, own
Birth_1974			Experience, own
Birth_1977			Experience, own
Birth_1978			Experience, own
Birth_1979			
Birth_1986			Experience, own
chr and isl are equal		D_rel.aff	
Christelijk			
Christelijk gebed			
christian vision			
Christianity_main dominination		Description	
Critic on prayer_seen as blasphemous			Experience, own
D_behavior	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_all are	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_bow he	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_closed	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_conductor stands	D_conductor	Description	
D_behavior_depend	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_directin	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_everyo	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_genera	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_humble	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_humilit	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_isl_han	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_isl_han	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_isl_look	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_isl_oge	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_listenin	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_no hat	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_positio	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_quiet	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_showin	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_silence	D_behavior	Description	
D behavior standin	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_standin	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_stop wi	D_behavior	Description	
D behavior trad fa	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_trad_p	D_behavior	Description	
D_behavior_trad_u	D_behavior	Description	
D_conductor	D_conductor	Description	
D_conductor = chairman	D_conductor	Description	
D_conductor_a volunteer	D_conductor	Description	

D_conductor_Chr Father	D_conductor	Description
D_conductor_Chr, niet isl	D_conductor	Description
D_conductor_convert to Chr	D_conductor	Description
D conductor elder high com	D_conductor	Description
D_conductor_elder_trad!	D_conductor	Description
D_conductor_elders_trad	D_conductor	Description
D conductor elders trad^(chr	D_conductor	Description
D_conductor_eldery men	D_conductor	Description
D_conductor_government per	D_conductor	Description
D conductor influenced previ	D_conductor	Description
D_conductor_not many volunt	D_conductor	Description
D_conductor_rel persons	D_conductor	Description
D conductor religious>volunt	D_conductor	Description
D_conductor_should be able t	D_conductor	Description
D_conductor_voluntair	D_conductor	Description
D conductor zelf of aangewe	D_conductor	Description
D_conductor=convener	D_conductor	Description
D_conductors_coexistence be	D_conductor	Description
D condutor do not remember	D_conductor	
D_conent_behavior	D_content	tion
D_contenct_connection worldview	D_content	Description
D_contenct_What they want	D_content	Description
D_content	D_content	Description
D_content_aim_review	D_content	Description
D_content_Almighty guide	D_content	Description
D_content_blessing_wisdom	D_content	Description
D_content_circumstances they face	D_content	Description
D_content_example	D_content	Description
D_content_fixed formulas	D_content	Description
D_content_fulfill the objective of the mee	D_content	Description
Dcontentgeneralsucces, confiction, p	D_content	Description
D_content_hope to come to peace	D_content	Description
D_content_inviting the Almighty	D_content	Description
D_content_isl_fatwa	D_content	Description
D_content_isl_fatwa>general prayer	D_content	Description
D_content_offer a promise	D_content	Description
D_content_open harts	D_content	Description
D_content_prepares the meeting	D_content	Description
D_content_preparing the audience	D_content	Description
D_content_request for blessing	D_content	Description
D_content_success	D_content	Description
D_content_thanking	D_content	Description
D_content_thanking for savety	D_content	Description
D_content_what to achieve	D_content	Description
D_convener chose prayer	D_conductor	
D_formula_Amen is general to all religions	D_formula	Description
D_formula_amin is arabic for amen	D_formula	Description
D_formula_isl_Amen	D_formula	Description
D_formula_isl_amin	D_formula	Description
D_formula_isl_opening soera	D_formula	Description

D_formula_no liturgical ones	D_formula	Description	
D_formulas	D_formula	Description	
D_formulas_Amen	D_formula	Description	
D_formulas_amen = christian	D_formula	Description	
D_formulas_help	D_formula	Description	
D_formulas_name of God	D_formula	Description	
D_formulas_no end resonse when islam	D_formula	Description	
D_formula's_Prot_"Yes God"	D_formula	Description	
D_formula's_trad_grunting	D_formula	Description	
D_formula's_trad_humming	D_formula	Description	
D_formula's_trad_unison voices	D_formula	Description	
D_formulas_wisdom	D_formula	Description	
D_general description Kenya			Description
D_meaning_comfort	D_meaning	Description	
D_meaning_unity	D_meaning	Description	
D_members_chr^isl^others	D_rel.aff	Description	
D_members_exclusive prayer	D_rel.aff	Description	
D_members_two sides	D_members	Description	
D_members_what they expect	D_members	Description	
D_members_who they are	D_members	Description	
D_members_why they came	D_members	Description	
D_payer acknowledge the members	D_members	Description	
Dpeople are social	D_behavior	Description	
D_prayer is cultural			Description
D_prayer is Kenyan thing	D_meaning	Description	
D_prayer is tradition			Description
D_prayers helps to understand the matter	D_meaning	Description	
D_procedure			Description
D_ref.aff_trad. never	D_rel.aff	Description	
D_rel.aff	D_rel.aff	Description	
D_rel.aff._assumed			D_rel.aff
D_rel.aff._mix chr ^isl	D_rel.aff	Description	
D_rel.aff._mix chr ^isl_national level	D_rel.aff	Description	
D_rel.aff._mix chr^isl^trad			D_rel.aff
Drel.aff.unknown			D_rel.aff
D_rel.aff_Christian	D_rel.aff	Description	
D_rel.aff_gen. isl	D_rel.aff	Description	
D_rel.aff_inclusive	D_rel.aff	Description	
D_rel.aff_mixed chr^trad	D_rel.aff	Description	
D_rel.aff_Protestant way of praying	D_rel.aff	Description	
D_rel.aff_rarely Islamic	D_rel.aff	Description	
D_rel.aff_Trad	D_rel.aff	Description	
D_school			Description
D_three prayers_revival ATR			Description
D_time	D_time	Description	
D_time_1-1.5min	D_time	Description	
D_time_3 min	D_time	Description	
D_time_Catholic mass	D_time	Description	
D_time_correlation time and matter	D_time	Description	
D_time_mini prayer session	D_time	Description	

D_time_short_one target	D_time	Description	
D_time_varies	D_time	Description	
D_time_varies_depends on conductor	D_time	Description	
D_time_varies_no relation to gravety	D_time	Description	
D_two prayers			Description
D_two prayers_chr en mosl			Description
D_two prayers_depends on members			Description
D_two prayers_respect			Description
Description			Description
Description_Anthem+prayer since start republic	D_meaning	Description	
Description_government meeting_anthem+prayer	D_meaning	Description	
E_affiliation_God	E_rel.aff	Experience, own	
E_affiliation_muslim	E_influence	Experience, own	
E_affiliation_muslim_sunni	E_influence	Experience, own	
E_affiliation_none	E_rel.aff	Experience, own	
E_affiliation_spiritual	E_rel.aff	Experience, own	
E_behave_isl_humble	E_behavior	Experience, own	
E_behavior_because it is a ritual	E_behavior	Experience, own	
E_behavior_bowing head	E_behavior	Experience, own	
E_behavior_catholic dus kruisje slaan	E_behavior	Experience, own	
E_behavior_closing eyes	E_behavior	Experience, own	
E_behavior_concentration/attention> God will accept	E_behavior	Experience, own	
E_behavior_ignoring	E_behavior	Experience, own	
E_behavior_like it			Experience, own
E_behavior_on phone	E_behavior	Experience, own	
E_behavior_respect for other rel. aff prayers	E_behavior	Experience, own	
E_behavior_respect the ritual	E_behavior	Experience, own	
E_behavior_waiting till it's over	E_behavior	Experience, own	
E_chr prayer_blasphemy	E_rel.aff	Experience, own	
E_chr prayer_included since respect for prayeer	E_rel.aff	Experience, own	
E_conductor_bepaalt wel/geen			D_conductor
E_connection to the prayer differs from others			Experience, own
E_emotion	E_emotion	Experience, own	
E_emotion_angry because disrespect	E_emotion	Experience, own	
E_emotion_communication tot the supernatural	E_emotion	Experience, own	
E_emotion_concentration	E_emotion	Experience, own	
E_emotion_happiness	E_emotion	Experience, own	
E_emotion_humility	E_emotion	Experience, own	
E_emotion_indifferent	E_emotion	Experience, own	
E_emotion_intention	E_emotion	Experience, own	
E_emotion_isl_attention to God	E_emotion	Experience, own	
E_emotion_lifted>spirit of triumph	E_emotion	Experience, own	
E_emotion_offended	E_emotion	Experience, own	
E_emotion_respect to Higher Being	E_emotion	Experience, own	
E_emotion_sad>touched	E_emotion	Experience, own	
E_emotion_spiritual experience	E_emotion	Experience, own	
E_emotion_varies	E_emotion	Experience, own	
E_emotion_you put yourself in their shoes	E_emotion	Experience, own	
E_emotions_calmer	E_emotion	Experience, own	
E_emotions_chr prayer_no, only humility	E_emotion	Experience, own	

E_emotions_hopeful			E_emotion		Experience, own		
E_emotions_hypocrypt			E_emotion		Experience, own		
E_emotions_isl_concentration			E_emotion		Experience, own		
E_emotions_isl_humble			E_emotion		Experience, own		
E_emotions_isl_humility			E_emotion		Experience, own		
E_emotions_no			E_emotion		Experience, own		
E_emotions_strenght			E_emotion		Experience, own		
E_formula_amen_out of respect						Experience, own	
E_gs			E_gs		Experience, own		
E_gs_African trad religion			E_gs		Experience, own		
E_gs_isl_no, want norm		E_gs			Experience, own	O_ITK	
E_gs_missionaries		E_gs			Experience, own	O_ITK	
E_gs_no ITK_chr took over	E_gs			E_ITK		Experience, own	O_ITK
E_gs_ubuntu philosophy		E_gs			Experience, own	O_ITK	
E_influence			E_influence		Experience, own		
E_influence_aim and goal of the meeting			E_influence		Experience, own		
E_influence_belief system			E_influence		Experience, own		
E_influence_function in prayer want prayer is important			E_influence		Experience, own		
E_influence_God asks us to pray			E_influence		Experience, own		
E_influence_God will answer the prayer			E_influence		Experience, own		
E_influence_icebreaker			E_influence		Experience, own		
E_influence_no			E_influence		Experience, own		
E_influence_no_because div. rel. aff			E_influence		Experience, own		
E_influence_no_cultural practice			E_influence		Experience, own		
E_influence_respect			E_influence		Experience, own		
E_influence_roadmap			E_influence		Experience, own		
E_influence_subconsciousness			E_meaning		Experience, own		
E_influence_tick the box exersice			E_influence		Experience, own		
E_influenct_energizer			E_influence		Experience, own		
E_ITK		E_ITK			Experience, own	O_ITK	
E_Kenya is secular just in name					Experience, own		
E_meaning			E_meaning		Experience, own		
E_meaning_act of worship			E_meaning		Experience, own		
Emeaningbecause believer			E_meaning		Experience, own		
E_meaning_belonging			E_meaning		Experience, own		
E_meaning_brighter day			E_meaning		Experience, own		
E_meaning_brighter day_mystery of belief			E_meaning		Experience, own		
E_meaning_conscious_want gelovig			E_meaning		Experience, own		
E_meaning_contextualized			E_meaning		Experience, own		
E_meaning_discipling the society			E_meaning		Experience, own		
E_meaning_general prayer/religious			E_meaning		Experience, own		
E_meaning_grateful for what happens			E_meaning		Experience, own		
E_meaning_hiding			E_meaning		Experience, own		
E_meaning_Higer Being_acknowledgement			E_meaning		Experience, own		
E_meaning_hypocriet			E_meaning		Experience, own		
E_meaning_in the end all prayers are the same			E_meaning		Experience, own		
E_meaning_instead personal prayer			E_meaning		Experience, own		
E_meaning_isl_act of worship			E_meaning		Experience, own		
E_meaning_isl_ask God what you want			E_meaning		Experience, own		
E_meaning_more connectred			E_meaning		Experience, own		

E_meaning_no		E_meaning	Experience, own
E_meaning_no prayer_no difference		E_meaning	Experience, own
E_meaning_no social transformation		E_meaning	Experience, own
E_meaning_no, cultural habit		E_meaning	Experience, own
E_meaning_personal prayer_thanksgiving		E_meaning	Experience, own
E_meaning_prayer for succes>success		E_meaning	Experience, own
E_meaning_relation to Higher Being		E_meaning	Experience, own
E_meaning_request blessing		E_meaning	Experience, own
E_meaning_request success		E_meaning	Experience, own
E_meaning_respect other religion		E_meaning	Experience, own
Emeaningrespect to prayer in general		E_meaning	Experience, own
E_meaning_sence of purpose		E_meaning	Experience, own
E_meaning_sence of unity		E_meaning	Experience, own
E_meaning_useless		E_meaning	Experience, own
E_prayer // work		E_influence	Experience, own
E_prayers make sence, but no meaning		E_meaning	Experience, own
E_problem: no eye for other rel. aff		E_rel.aff	Experience, own
E_rel. aff_other_no influence		E_rel.aff	Experience, own
E_rel.aff._general christian		E_rel.aff	Experience, own
E_rel.aff_affects prayer influence		E_rel.aff	Experience, own
E_rel.aff_general prayer, ind. intention		E_rel.aff	Experience, own
E_rel.aff_isl_also pos. influence		E_rel.aff	Experience, own
E_rel.aff_islam		E_rel.aff	Experience, own
E_rel.aff_no		E_rel.aff	Experience, own
E_rel.aff_same_neg. influence		E_rel.aff	Experience, own
E_rel.aff_same_pos. influence		E_rel.aff	Experience, own
Edu_PhD			Experience, own
E-gs_isl_institutie	E_gs		Experience, own
E-gs_K:religion is most important	E_gs		Experience, own
E-prayes is not inclusive	E_meaning		Experience, own
E-rel.aff.	E_rel.aff		Experience, own
Experience Own			Experience, own
Geen betekenis (uitgesproken)			
Geen betekenis toekenning			
Islamic vision			
Islamitisch			
Islamitisch gebed			
Job_lecturer at uni			Experience, own
Job_project manager			Experience, own
Kenyan culture not open over religion			Others experience
Meeting:start chr end isl (sometimes)			D_content
Meeting_Department of Religion			Others experience
Meeting_government officials			Others experience
Meeting_NGOs			Others experience
Meeting_Potok community members			Others experience
Meeting_religious organizations			Others experience
Meeting_Senate of University			Others experience
Moeite met betekenis			
negatieve emoties			
negative vision			

No protest possible	Experience, own		Others experience
no response			
O_behavior_calm	O_behavior		Others experience
O_behavior_chr_eyes closed	O_behavior		Others experience
Obehaviorhow to		Others experience	
O_behavior_notorious religious	O_behavior		Others experience
O_behavior_waiting	O_behavior		Others experience
O_CC or Chr = moeilijk te zeggen	O_rel aff		Others experience
O_CC_emotions_no	O_emotion		Others experience
O_CC_influence_no	O_influence		Others experience
O_CC_meaning_no	O_meaning		Others experience
O_CC_meaning_tick the box	O_meaning		Others experience
O_chr_behavior_truly connected	O_behavior		Others experience
O_chr_emotion_claerity	O_meaning		Others experience
O_chr_emotion_encouragement	O_meaning		Others experience
O_chr_emotions_many	O_emotion		Others experience
O_chr_emotions_no	O_emotion		Others experience
O_chr_meaning_co-operation	O_meaning		Others experience
O_chr_meaning_feeling comfortable	O_meaning		Others experience
O_chr_meaning_happy with blessing	O_meaning		Others experience
O_chr_meaning_thankful for save travel	O_meaning		Others experience
O_chr_meaning_uniting	O_meaning		Others experience
O_chr_prayer is general chr	O_rel aff		Others experience
O_chr_rel.aff_Christianity general	O_rel aff		Others experience
O_content_met aandacht	O_content		Others experience
O_content_rushed trough	O_content		Others experience
O_emotion	O_emotion		Others experience
O_emotion_accounted the problem	O_emotion		Others experience
O_emotion_happy to do	O_emotion		Others experience
O_emotion_isl_anger	O_emotion		Others experience
O_emotion_isl_exclusion	O_emotion		Others experience
O_emotion_lifted spirit	O_emotion		Others experience
O_emotion_peace	O_emotion		Others experience
O_emotion_prayerful	O_emotion		Others experience
O_emotion_sad	O_emotion		Others experience
O_emotion_security	O_emotion		Others experience
O_emotions_chr_no words	O_emotion		Others experience
O_emotions_chr_spiritual experience	O_emotion		Others experience
O_government off_all aff	O_rel aff		Others experience
O_gs	O_gs	O_ITK	Others experience
O_gs_becoming more incl	O_gs	O_ITK	Others experience
O_gs_chr_global, not Kenyan	O_gs	O_ITK	Others experience
O_gs_culture	O_gs	O_ITK	Others experience
O_gs_isl_global	O_gs	O_ITK	Others experience
O_gs_kerstening	O_gs	O_ITK	Others experience
O_gs_no one talks about it	O_gs	O_ITK	
O_gs_norm, colonical times	O_gs	O_ITK	
O_gs_one would think chr and isl no ITK	O_gs	O_ITK	
O_influence_chr_chr will believe	O_influence		Others experience
O_influence_depends on how religious	O_influence		Others experience

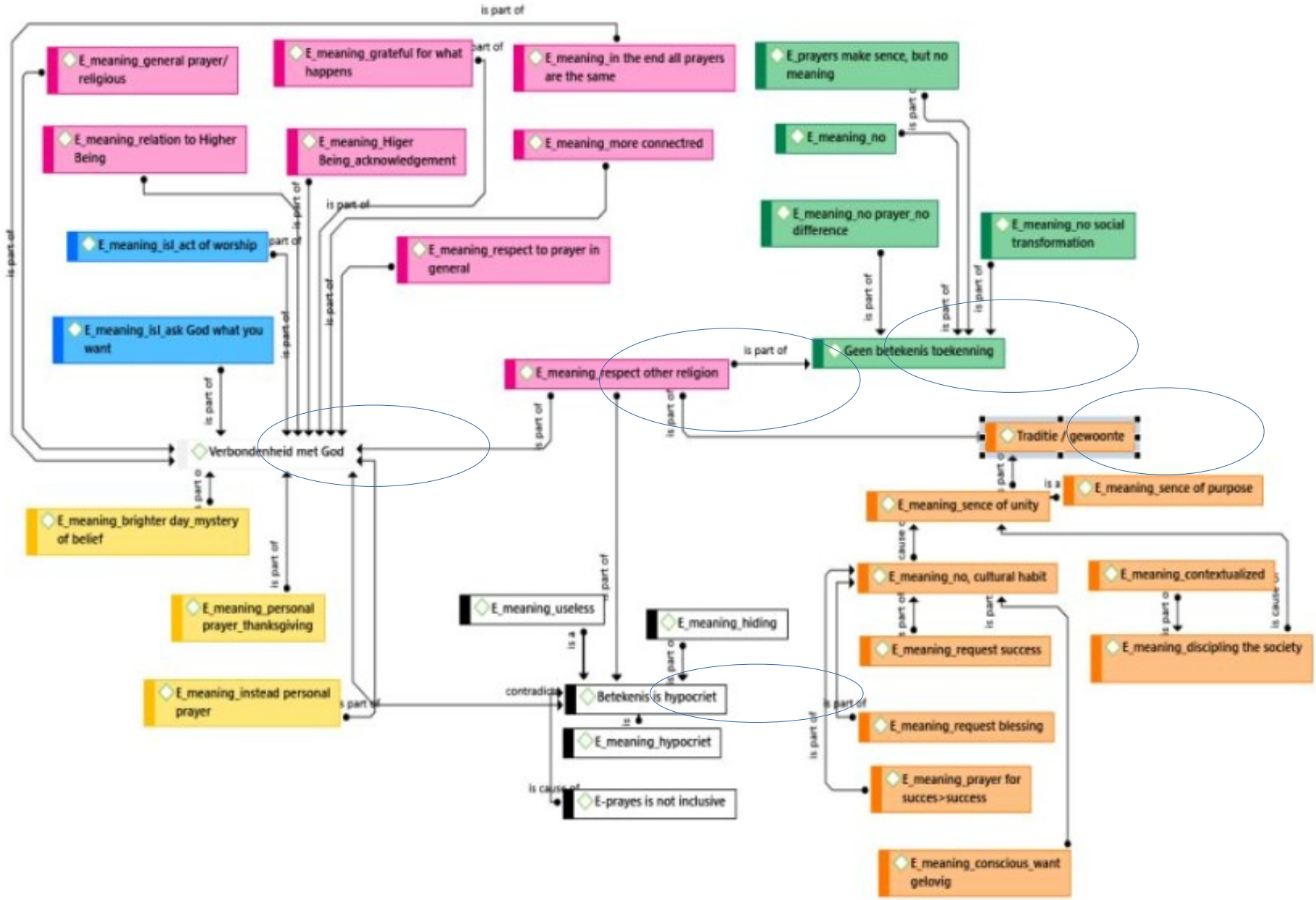
O_influence_depends on rel.aff	O_influence					Others experience
O_influence_energizer	O_influence					Others experience
O_influence_isl_without prayer less success	O_influence					Others experience
O_influence_no on	D_behavior		O_influence			Others experience
O_influence_not on meeting	O_influence					Others experience
O_influence_only on the person who lead the prayer	O_influence					Others experience
O_influence_tone of the meeting	O_influence					Others experience
O_influence_weakened by diversity	O_influence					Others experience
O_influence_yes	O_influence					Others experience
O_isl_behavior_humble	O_behavior					Others experience
O_isl_behavior_polite	O_behavior					Others experience
O_isl_behavior_quiet	O_behavior					Others experience
O_isl_behavior_take it positively	O_behavior					Others experience
O_isl_emotion_exclusion	O_influence	O_meanin			O_rel aff	Others experience
O_isl_inclusive	O_rel aff					Others experience
O_isl_meaing_agenda	O_meanin		O_rel aff			Others experience
O_isl_meaning_uniting	Omeanin		O_rel aff			Others experience
O_isl_no complaints						Others experience
O_isl_offended						Others experience
O_isl_prayer is inclusive, want contextualized						Others experience
O_isl_uncomfortable						Others experience
O_ITK	O_ITK					Others experience
O_ITK also in inst. rel	O_ITK					Others experience
OITKcoexistence	O_ITK					Others experience
O_ITK_loving one another	O_ITK					Others experience
O_ITK_peace	O_ITK					Others experience
O_ITK_united	O_ITK					Others experience
O_meaning				Others experience		
O_meaning_chr_anxiety management	O_meaning					Others experience
O_meaning_Chr_blasphemous volgens isl	O_meaning					Others experience
O_meaning_chr_bledded	O_meaning					Others experience
O_meaning_chr_decisions in name of God	O_meaning					Others experience
O_meaning_chr_inviting Higher power	O_meaning					Others experience
O_meaning_chr_request divine for success etc	O_meaning					Others experience
O_meaning_coping	O_meaning					Others experience
O_meaning_depends on circumstances	O_meaning					Others experience
O_meaning_if one beliefs in the prayer/aff	O_meaning					Others experience
O_meaning_important	O_meaning					Others experience
O_meaning_isl inclusive in unity	O_meaning					Others experience
O_meaning_isl_ind>communial praying	O_meaning					Others experience
O_meaning_isl_scale	O_meaning					Others experience
O_meaning_majority says yes	O_meaning					Others experience
O_meaning_not so serious_diff persuastions	O_meaning					Others experience
O_meaning_people are religious also in publik	O_rel aff					Others experience
O_meaning_unity	O_meaning					Others experience
O_meaning_unity_also without prayer	O_meaning					Others experience
O_meaning_very deep spirituality among people	O_rel aff					Others experience
O_member_ethnic group	O_meaning					Others experience
O_member_ethnic_heterogenous	O_rel aff					Others experience
O_member_government officer	O_rel aff					Others experience

O_members_Christian	O_rel aff			Others experience
O_members_Civil societies	O_rel aff			Others experience
O_members_Muslim	O_rel aff			Others experience
O_memeber_institutional rel. groups	O_rel aff			Others experience
O_musl_also isl prayer verwachten	O_rel aff			Others experience
O_musl_behavior_meer aandacht	O_behavior			Others experience
O_musl_influence chr prayer_not at all	O_influence			Others experience
O_musl_influence_no	O_influence			Others experience
O_musl_influence_no want eigen gebedsleven	O_influence			Others experience
O_musl_meaning_connected to Allah	O_meaning			Others experience
O_muslim_chr prayer_respect	O_behavior	O_rel aff		Others experience
O_rel aff_CC no connection to prayer	O_rel aff			Others experience
O_rel aff_Christians feel connections to prayer	O_rel aff			Others experience
O_rel.aff	O_rel aff			Others experience
O_rel.aff_isl_important, want eigen, juiste manier		O_rel aff		Others experience
O_rel.aff_other_no influence		O_rel aff		Others experience
O_rel.aff_same_pos. influence		O_rel aff		Others experience
O_some ethnic_prayer is meaningful		O_ITK		Others experience
O_some ethnic_prayer is not meaningful		O_ITK		Others experience
O-meaningislscalepractice>intention		O_meaning		Others experience
Others experience				Others experience
positieve emoties				
Prayer is personal				Experience, own
Prayer is ritual		Description		Others experience
Prayer_informally institutionalized		Description		Others experience
Prayer_sometimes chr, sometimes isl not combined		Description		O_rel aff
Rel.aff_Catholic				Experience, own
Rel.Aff_neutral (god, no inst)				Experience, own
rest				
rest categorie				
ritual_no strong sensations				O_emotion
Setting_all government meetings				Description
Setting_peace meeting Potok				Description
Specifiek gedrag				
Traditie / gewoonte				
Traditional_seen as blasphemous				Experience, own
Traditioneel				
Traditioneel gedrag				
Verbondenheid met God				
Vergadering				
Yougher generations are more inclusive				Others experience

Bijlage 9: Netwerken

9.1 Netwerk eigen betekenistoekenning

De belangrijkste codes, de vier categorieën en de centrale code zijn omcirkeld.
Kleurlegenda: roze is algemeen gelovig, geel is christelijk, blauw is islam, oranje is traditioneel, groen is geen betekenistoekenning aan het gebed, zwart is negatieve betekenistoekenning. Omdat het netwerk zo groot is, is het afgebeeld op de volgende pagina.


is part of
E_meaning_general prayer/ religious
E_meaning_grateful for what happens
E_meaning_in the end all prayers are the same
E_prayers make sence, but no meaning
E_meaning_relation to Higher Being
E_meaning_Higer Being_acknowledgement
E_meaning_more connectred
E_meaning_no
E_meaning_isl_act of worship
E_meaning_respect to prayer in general
E_meaning_no prayer_no difference
E_meaning_no social transformation
E_meaning_isl_ask God what you want
E_meaning_respect other religion
Geen betekenis toekenning
Traditie / gewoonte
Verbondenheid met God
E_meaning_sence of purpose
E_meaning_brighter day_mystery of belief
E_meaning_sence of unity
E_meaning_personal prayer_thanksgiving
E_meaning_useless
E_meaning_hiding
E_meaning_no, cultural habit
E_meaning_contextualized
E_meaning_request success
E_meaning_discipling the society
E_meaning_instead personal prayer
contradicts
Betekenis is hypocriet
E_meaning_request blessing
E_meaning_hypocriet
E_meaning_prayer for succes>success
E-prayes is not inclusive
E_meaning_conscious_want gelovig

9.2 Netwerk wat anderen als betekenis ervaren

Kleurlegenda: donkergroen is geen betekenistoekenning, lichtgroen is eenheid, roze is algemeen gelovig, blauw is islamitisch, geel christelijk en turquoise is coping.