

FROM ANTI-COLONIALISM TO QUIETISM: THE TIJĀNIYYA ORDER IN WEST AFRICA

A Thesis

**Submitted to the Master's Study Program of Islamic Studies at the
Faculty of Islamic Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

Master of Arts (M.A.)



by:

Kante Hamed

Student ID:01212120025

UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INTERNASIONAL INDONESIA

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Abstract

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FACULTY OF ISLAMIC STUDIES

This study examines the evolution of the Tijāniyya order in West Africa from an active anti-colonial force to a more quietist one, shedding light on how it changed through time. This study thoroughly analyses primary and secondary sources and explores the historical influences that influenced this change. The study identifies the Tijāniyya order as an important resistance movement against European colonial powers by examining its history, tactics, and leaders during the 19th century. It explores the intricate interactions between colonial policies, sociopolitical shifts, and Islamic reform movements to explain why the movement shifted in the 20th century to a more inward-focused spiritual development. This research offers a detailed view of the development of the Tijaniyya order by examining the roles of significant historical people and the variables that affected their choice to adapt their behaviour. It helps us understand how religion in West Africa has responded to colonialism and provides insightful information about the wider ramifications for postcolonial and religious studies. The results of this study demonstrate how historical context, power relationships, and doctrinal changes have shaped religious groups and their reactions. This study contributes to a better understanding of the complex interactions between religion, resistance, and colonialism, especially in the context of Africa or of the Tijaniyya order in West Africa. In conclusion, this study offers a thorough examination of the doctrinal evolution and historical growth of the Tijaniyya order in West Africa. It highlights the difficulties encountered by the Tijaniyya in their fight against colonial forces and looks into the circumstances that contributed to their decision to adopt a quietist strategy. The research makes contributions to the larger fields of postcolonial studies, religious studies, and African history and offers important new information to academics and researchers who are interested in the complex interactions between colonialism and religion.

Keywords: *Tijāniyya, Anti-colonialism, Quietism, Sufi, west Africa*

Preface

I express my heartfelt thanks to Allah almighty for granting me the opportunity to embark on this educational journey and for providing me with the strength and perseverance to complete this thesis.

I am also immensely grateful to the Indonesian International Islamic University for offering me the chance to pursue higher education. The university's academic environment and resources have been instrumental in shaping my knowledge and skills, and I am truly thankful for the learning experiences it has provided.

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Introduction

The majority of West African countries have a significant Muslim population. Islam spread throughout sub-Saharan Africa due to the efforts and consistency of West African traders, who were mostly from the Dyula, Hausa, Soninke, and Fula ethnic groups.¹ In the 18th century, Islam experienced a real boom, especially in rural areas, with the emergence of the Sufism faction of the Tijāniyya order.² The Tijāniyya Sufi order holds significant importance in the context of West African anti-colonial resistance; the order emerged as a prominent spiritual and social movement in the region.³ and attracted a considerable following due to its emphasis on spiritual teachings, devotion, and the pursuit of divine knowledge.⁴ The order's popularity spread rapidly through networks of disciples and influential leaders, establishing a strong presence across West Africa.⁵

The order was founded by Cheik Ahmad at-Tijānī (1737–1815), who was born in Ain Mahdi in current Algeria. thus, this Sufi brotherhood focused on a particular manner of worshipping Allah Almighty. After years of obtaining Islamic knowledge from various Islamic schools and years of prayer and devotion to God, he announced in 1781 that he had received a message from Prophet Mohammed instructing him to start this new kind of dhikr and form

¹ The Djula ethnic group is known for their proficiency in trade and expertise in jewellery-making, primarily found in regions such as Mali, Burkina Faso, and Ivory Coast. The Hausa ethnic group, one of the largest in Africa, showcases a vibrant culture encompassing aspects like language, traditional attire, and music, predominantly residing in Nigeria, Niger, Ghana, and Cameroon. The Soninke people, primarily located in Senegal, Mali, and Mauritania, have a significant historical presence and have made noteworthy contributions to the ancient Ghana Empire. Lastly, the Fulah ethnic group, widely distributed across West and Central Africa, including countries like Nigeria, Senegal, Guinea, Mali, and Niger, are known for their nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralist lifestyle, prominently engaged in cattle herding and trading activities. see Mark, Peter. "Ethnic Identity in West Africa: Historical Perspectives on America's Discourse about Ethnicity." *Tertium comparationis* 4, no. 1 (1998): 10-20.

² Gomez-Perez, M. "Trajectoires de l'Islam en Afrique de l'Ouest." *Esprit Stable*, no. 317 (8/9), (2005): 128–137. Accessed June 30, 2023. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24470400>..

³ Mingham, the sufi orders in islam (oxford university press, 1998), 82.

⁴ Rudolph, "al-Tijani," in the oxford encyclopedia of the islamic world, ed. J. L. Esposito (oxford university press, 2007), 91.

⁵ M, Hiskett, "the Tijāniyya," in democracy in francophone Africa: challenges and prospects, eds. J. H. Kritz, a. L. Gastrow, r. B. Charlick, and a. R. Simpson (lynne Rienner publishers, 2004), 105.

of worshipping Allah. And now the order is particularly widespread in West Africa, favouring the Islamization of the population and becoming the largest Sufi order in this part of Africa. Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Tijani, born in Ain Madi near Laghouat, Algeria in 1737 A.D., is a Shaykh from a family of scholars. His father, Muhammad ibn al-Mukhtar, was a Quran memorizer. After memorizing the Quran, Abu al-Abbas pursued further learning, studying works by Shaykh Khalil, Ibn Rushd, and Al-Akhdar.⁶ He embraced asceticism and isolation in Ain Madi until adulthood when he began his spiritual journey. He married and divorced his first wife, then married two more women. The first wife gave birth to Muhammad the Great, and the second wife had Muhammad al-Habib, also known as Muhammad al-Saghir.⁷

Shaykh Ahmad Al-Tijānī paved the way for announcing the birth of his new method with a group of hypocrites who wanted to prove to people that he was promised the Qadiriyya and to give his method a legal basis, following the example of the Messenger, who appeared to him the righteous vision before he preached the prophecy. Starting with the first vision, which stated that he saw in Ain Madi that the throne of the kingdom was set up for him, and he sat on it, the soldiers surrounded him on every side, and he led everyone as if he were a king.⁸ Furthermore, the second vision stated that he saw the Messenger, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, riding on a horse, and he tried to greet him when he got off. but the Prophet entered the garden of a man from Ain Madi, and started praying, and Shaykh Ahmad Al-Tijānī did not realize him. Except in the second rak'a, and this is explained by the fact that he will not reach his goal in the pole until after half his life.⁹ As for the third, he saw in it that he was in the form of a king, and the people pledged allegiance to him, and they set up the caliphate chair for him on a high roof, When it was time for the noon prayer, he wanted to ask someone to lead the people in the prayer, but then he remembered that he was the caliph, and he had to lead the people in prayer. And he prayed for them effectively.¹⁰

Among the most prominent of those who transmitted the Tijānī teachings to regions of West Africa, were Mouloud Fal and Abd al-Karim al-Naqil, who, in turn, endowed the Order with Hajj Umar al-Fūtī in the year 1820. Since The spread of Tijāniyya continued even after the martyrdom of Tall Umar and after the fall of his state, where he continued the

⁶ Ali harazem barrada, "jawaher al-ma'ani wa bulugh al-amani fi fayd sisi abi al-abbas al-tijani" ,24.

⁷ A. Hilal, "Sufi orders and the dissemination of Islam and Arab culture," accessed May 22, 2023, <http://balis.bibalex.org/AR/OPAC/Home/Recor>.

⁸ A. Hilal, "Sufi orders and the dissemination of Islam and Arab culture," 42

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ Ibid

approach of Haj Umar, albeit peacefully, by both Haj Malik Si and Ibrahim Niasse, who were able to bring to the method the largest number of adherents, especially in Senegal, which was occupied the method ranked first in terms of the number of followers, then in northern Nigeria in the Kano region.¹¹

It also spread in areas such as Gambia, Senegal after Ibrahim Niasse settled there for some time, and this spread of the Tijāniyya order is translated by the high number of its zawiyas in West Africa and the number of its followers. In 1902, through which he published the method among the Wolof tribes in Senegal, the corner of *Djenné* (in Mali, the corner of Nyoro and Kayas in Mali, the corner of *Kinkati-Tembo* in Guinea, the *Zāwiya* of Cabo in Niger, Kano in Nigeria, and the number of corners of Tijāniyya in Senegal exceeds to 100 *Zāwiya Kabir*. in addition to the major Tijanian educational institutes, such as *Kaolekh* Institute, which was founded by Shaykh Ibrahim Niass, and *Tiwawin* Center, which was founded by Hajj Malik Si.¹² The Tijāniyya's influence extended beyond spiritual matters, as it played a crucial role in social and political spheres. The order provided a platform for community organization and mobilization, fostering solidarity among its adherents.¹³ Tijānī leaders often assumed leadership positions within their communities, advocating for the preservation of Islamic values and resisting colonial encroachment.¹⁴

However, During the late 15th century through the mid-20th century, West Africa was deeply afflicted by European colonialism, resulting in far-reaching consequences for its populations. The arrival of European powers brought about damaging economic policies that exploited the region's abundant resources, such as gold, ivory, timber, and later commodities like rubber and cocoa, leading to significant economic disparities and hindering self-sustaining growth. The imposition of European trade networks further perpetuated this exploitation, extracting wealth from the colonies and reinforcing their dependence on European markets. Moreover, traditional lifestyles and cultural practices were severely impacted as European colonizers showed little regard for the rich heritage of traditional African and Islamic cultures. Indigenous languages, customs, and religious practices were suppressed, replaced by

¹¹ Jean Louis Triaud, David Robinson, 13.

¹²"The position of the Tijāniyya order on the major issues of colonialism in North and West Africa during the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century," 27.

¹³ R. Loimeier, "The Tijāniyya," in *Eighteenth-Century Africa*, O. Levtzion and H. Voll (Ohio University Press, 2011), 67.

¹⁴ R. Launay, *Beyond the Stream: Islam and Society in a West African Town* (University of California Press, 1992), 48.

European languages and Christianity, resulting in the loss of cultural identity and knowledge.¹⁵ The "Scramble for Africa" in the late 19th century intensified colonization efforts, making West Africa a prime target due to its strategic location and resource wealth, further shaping the region's history. Throughout this period, European powers demonstrated little empathy towards the African people, seeking to subdue any groups or customs that opposed their colonization goals, perpetuating social inequalities and tensions in the process.¹⁶

Anti-colonial movements emerged as a response to defending African land, with West African Sufis playing a vital role in resisting colonial power, similar to their counterparts in North Africa. One particular faction of Sufism in West Africa gradually gained prominence among Sufis and led the fight against English, Portuguese, and French settlers' imperialism. Engaging in jihad and territorial conquest, they followed the footsteps of Maghreb Sufis who actively fought against colonial settlers. Militant anti-colonial jihad movements were launched across Senegal, Ghana, and Mali. In the mid-19th century, Omar bin Said al-Futi, a Fulani leader from Senegal, assumed leadership of the Tijānī order and embraced the role of a religious fighter (mujahidin).¹⁷ Notable individuals, including Samori Touré, resisted colonial settlers and battled for freedom. The colonial rulers gradually subdued the majority of Muslim resistance, prompting the Sufis, particularly the Tijanis, to adopt a quietist stance, distancing themselves from political activity and supporting political quietism or Sufism quietism. Changes in the sociopolitical environment, colonial policies, and internal conflicts within the Tijāniyya group appear to have affected this transformation. Consequently, the purpose of this study is to trace the evolution of Tijāniyya movements from anti-colonial activity to political quiet and to investigate the philosophical differences between contemporary Sufi groups and their pre-colonial ancestors. This study also examines the effects of this transformation on the function, influence, and perception of Sufi orders as agents of change in West African civilizations.

¹⁵ Adu-Boahen, Albert. "Africa and the Colonial Challenge." In *General History of Africa (Africa under Colonial Domination 1880–1935)*, International Affairs, Vol. 62, no. 1-2 (1985). 1-2

¹⁶ Afigbo, "The Warrant Chiefs: Indirect Rule in Southeastern Nigeria, 1891-1929." Longman Nigeria, 2004.87.

¹⁷ Umar, M. S. "Islam and Colonialism: Intellectual Responses of Muslims of Northern Nigeria to British Colonial Rule." In *Islam in Africa*, 1–298. Brill, 2005.

Research Questions

Examining the historical and contemporary dynamics of the Tijāniyya order in West Africa, including its anti-colonial resistance, growth, and expressions of political quietism.

1. How did the Tijāniyya order engage in anti-colonial resistance during the colonial era in West Africa, and what were the key figures and movements involved?
2. What factors have contributed to the growth and influence of the Tijāniyya order in West Africa, and how has it shaped the socio-political landscape?
3. What are the manifestations and motivations behind the expressions of political quietism within the Tijāniyya order, and how have they evolved?

Research Objective

The proposed research on Tijāniyya holds significant academic value and contributes to the scholarly discussion on the role of the Sufi movements in the anti-colonial struggle in West Africa. The study sheds light on the Sufi orders' significant role in political and social movements by analysing the Tijāniyya order's resilience and resistance to colonial powers.

One of the primary objectives of the research is to explore the anti-colonialism activities of Tijāniyya and analyse the significant contributions of the order towards West Africa's liberation struggle. The research will identify the most prominent Shaykhs who engaged in anti-colonialism, their resistance strategies, and their impact on the broader Sufi movement in the region. Moreover, by comparing the reactions of the Tijāniyya movement over an extended period, the study will provide insights into the order's response to political and social changes in West Africa. The research will also explore contemporary Tijāniyya's political quietism and demonstrate the Islamic ideologies that support their chosen reaction. The research aims to analyse the Tijāniyya social movement by exploring their political opportunity structures, resource mobilizations, and their framing. By examining these factors, the study will provide a comprehensive understanding of the Tijāniyya order's organization and operation as a social movement.

Significance of the Study

The significance of this master's thesis lies in its contribution to the study of Tijāniyya and Islamic reform movements in West Africa. By providing new perspectives and insights, this research enhances our understanding of how Islamic movements can change and shift and sheds light on the reasons for stillness and stagnation within these movements. In particular, this research focuses on the Tijāniyya order, examining their doctrines and practices concerning their spirituality and political commitment. This analysis helps us understand the relationship between this group and political leaders and their refusal to involve themselves in political affairs. Furthermore, it broadens our knowledge about Islamic reform movements and their development, especially in the West African region where many such movements are emerging. The insights gained from this research may have implications for the study of other Islamic groups and their interactions with political actors. Furthermore, this study makes a valuable contribution to the academic understanding of Tijāniyya and Islamic reform movements in West Africa. Its findings may have implications for future research in this area and provide a foundation for further studies in the field.

Literature Review

Several studies have been written on Sufism and Tijāniyya in West Africa and their spirituality, or even their jihad against the colonizers or their conquest of land and Islamization of the populations of Africa, as well as their political commitment. Certainly, some writings are close to my Study focus and have dealt with questions relating to it. However, it differs in certain ways from my study, either in the design of the study, the methodology used, or the elements and context that are studied, by focusing on a particular area.

In "Sufism and Anti-Colonial Violent Resistance Movements: The Qadiriyya and Sanussi Orders in Algeria and Libya" (2015) By Fait Muedini discussed that Sufism and Sufi leaders have had impacts on colonial rulers because of their anti-imperialism, and political and army resistance. The article related some examples in history to demonstrate the presence of anti-colonialist Sufi military movements in Muslim communities. Furthermore, the article shows that even if Sufism has a lot of teachings and principles that promote non-violence, one should not directly support a quick separation of military resistance from Sufism, which could

be a response to imperialism.¹⁸ But we can suppose that the shortcoming in his Research is that he does not compare the contemporary to the pre-colonial, instead focusing on how they contributed to the resistance to colonialism.

"Sufism and Nineteenth Century Jihad Movements in West Africa: A Case Study of al-Hajj 'Umar al-Futi's Philosophy of Jihad and its Sufi Bases" By Omar Jah supported the opinion that the nature of Sufism and the doctrine taught by some Muslim scholars in West Africa is against any act of political activities, although you could find in practice their jihad movements to spread Islam and defend themselves from colonial powers, Umar's study is an attempt to discuss the ambiguity in Sufism in west Africa and to expose the sense of Sufism quietism applied by Tijanis, at the same time their political movements, However, I think that the author missed discussing the political or social causes behind those reactions, between jihad and quietism.¹⁹

In "Sufi quietism between Al-Ghazzali's Islamic philosophy and the Jihad of Uthman ibn" (2008) by Uthman, I. O. (2008) stated that through the nineteenth century, Al-Hajj Umar Tall, his friends, and successors controlled Tijāniyya circles in West Africa. However, by the turn of the century, they had lost a lot of their charisma and leadership. Most of the tall males chose to focus on politics rather than pursue academic careers.²⁰

"The Sufi Brotherhoods' position to French colonialism in Senegal the Mouride 'model' (1927-1895)"(2019) by Aisha Bumdine is studying The Senegalese Muslim Brotherhood of the Mourides founded by Amadou Bamba 1850-1927. Which is a part of the Sufi order in West Africa the study focuses on how Shaykh Ahmadu Bamba encouraged his followers to turn to God, and how he was fighting the colonial occupation when the French settled in force in Senegal. Even with the similarities of the Muridiyya with the Tijāniyya order and their large presence and influence in Senegal, the author didn't explore Umarian's peaceful resistance.

"Being as Good Muslims as Frenchmen: On Islam and Colonial Modernity in West Africa," by Rüdiger Seesemann. He presented a new perspective on marabouts residing in French colonial territory. Since the current study shifts attention away from the dominant

¹⁸ Muedini, Fait. "Sufism and Anti-Colonial Violent Resistance Movements: The Qadiriyya and Sanussi Orders in Algeria and Libya." *Open Theology* 1 (1), De Gruyter Open Ltd, 2015, 134-145. doi:10.1515/opth-2015-0003

¹⁹ Omar Jah, *Sufism and Nineteenth Century Jihad Movements in West Africa: A Case Study of al-Hajj 'Umar al-Futi's Philosophy of Jihad and its Sufi Bases"*

²⁰ Uthman "Sufi quietism between Al-Ghazzali's Islamic philosophy and the Jihad of Uthman ibn" (2008)

perspective that confines marabouts' actions to only being responses to colonialism or strategies for acquiring support or resources and toward the theological justification behind their activities. He concentrates on three well-known adherents of the Tijāniyya Sufi order, from Senegal and Algeria, Seydou Nourou Tall (died in 1980), Ibrahima Niassé (died in 1975), and Sidi Benamor (died in 1968).²¹

I point can point out that each study differs from the author's research in terms of design, methodology, and the elements studied, while some studies have discussed the presence of anti-colonialist Sufi military movements, others have focused on the ambiguity in Sufism in West Africa and the doctrine taught by some Muslim scholars that are against political activities.

Theoretical Framework

This Study uses the social movement theory by Sidney Tarrow, to analyse the Tijāniyya order's movement. By outlining political opportunities, the organization of mobilizations, and the framing process. Thus, it discusses how the Tijāniyya order's actors develop strategies and interact with their environment to create a shared order to mobilize their anti-colonial movements and create political chances.²² The goal therefore of the thesis is to identify and analyse the political opportunities that the Tijāniyya order had in their anti-colonial struggle, as well as how they structured their mobilisations and framed their messaging to foster understanding and successfully mobilise their movement. The research project's usage of the Social Movement Theory offers a distinct theoretical perspective that aids in directing the investigation of the Tijāniyya order's movement.

Political opportunities as a concept within the Social Movement Theory is used to describe the external conditions and elements that might either support or hinder a social movement's ability to organize and accomplish its objectives. Or it could refer to the external factors that enable or constrain social movements, such as political instability or economic deprivation.²³ This study would examine the specific political prospects that the Tijāniyya movement had, such as political unrest, hardship, or ideological division within the colonial

²¹ Seesemann, R. "Sufism in West Africa." *Religion Compass* 4(10), 606–614, 2010. doi:10.1111/j.1749-8171.2010.00241.

²² Tarrow, Sidney G. "Contentious Politics and Social Movements." In *Power in Movement*, 16–34. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511973529.003>.

²³ McAdam, D., Tarrow, S., & Tilly, "Dynamics of contention". Cambridge University Press, 2001.

system. Or how political opportunities influenced the development and mobilization of the Tijāniyya actors.

While the framing process refers to the final step in the communication process, which is how social movements design and distribute their messages to foster understanding and mobilize support. The Tijāniyya order employed narratives, symbols, and slogans to spread their anti-colonial message and garner support. The thesis will evaluate these framing strategies. The framing process is a crucial component of the Social Movement Theory (SMT) and can be applied to the Tijāniyya order's anti-colonial movement in West Africa. According to Snow and Benford is the process through which social movements develop and communicate their messages in order to elicit support.²⁴

Social movements rely on structured organizations to collect and employ resources to achieve their objectives. The possibility that a group's preferences will result in protest is determined by its level of organization, as a higher level of organization aids resource mobilization. Material, morale, social-organizational, human, and cultural resources are distinguished by social movement theory.²⁵ In order to obtain and deploy resources in pursuit of their aims, social movements rely on organized organizations. The possibility of a group's desires translating into protest is determined by its organizational level, as greater organizational levels assist resource mobilization. According to social movement theory, there are five sorts of resources: material, moral, social-organizational, human, and cultural resources.²⁶

The theoretical framework provides a clear and focused perspective for analysing the anti-colonial campaign of the Tijāniyya order and assists in directing the research design, methodologies, and interpretation of the findings. The study of the development of the Tijāniyya order and its effects on anti-colonial activities makes considerable use of the Social Movement Theory, which provides a well-established theoretical framework for comprehending the complex processes of social movements. It aims to explain the political, social, economic, and cultural repercussions of European colonialism and imperialism throughout the world during the 18th and 20th centuries.

²⁴ Snow, D. A., & Benford, "Ideology, frame resonance, and participant mobilization." *International Social Movement Research*, 1, 197-217, 1988,199.

²⁵ Stekelenburg, Jacquélien van, and Bert Klandermans. "Social movement theory: Past, present and prospect." In *Movers and Shakers: Social Movements in Africa*, 17–43.

²⁶ ^IStekelenburg, Jacquélien van, and Bert Klandermans. "Social movement theory: Past, present and prospect." In *Movers and Shakers: Social Movements in Africa*, 17–43.

This study also employs Foucault's genealogical approach, drawing inspiration from his book *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Foucault's genealogical methodology explores the intricate relationships between power, discourse, and historical contingencies, providing valuable insights into the evolution and development of the Tijāniyya order in West Africa. By applying this approach, the research aims to uncover the underlying power dynamics and discursive practices that have influenced the emergence and transformation of the Tijāniyya order, providing a comprehensive understanding of its historical trajectory.²⁷

Methodological Note

1. Research Approach

The Tijāniyya order in West Africa's development and evolution are examined in this study using a historical perspective. The evolution of the Tijāniyya Sufi order over time is charted using Michel Foucault's genealogical methodology.²⁸ The theory of social movements developed by Tarrow is used to analyse the dynamics of the Tijāniyya order and how it responded to the challenges posed by colonialism.

2. Data Collection

Data collection was primarily sourced from books, manuscripts, journals, and articles relevant to the research topic. This study explored West African Sufis and Sufism, with a specific focus on the Tijāniyya order and their approaches to countering colonial power in different social contexts. The data collected for this study encompasses a wide range of information, spanning the history and growth of the Tijāniyya order, their core doctrines and rituals, as well as their ideologies concerning anti-colonial resistance and political quietism. To achieve a comprehensive perspective, primary data is derived from books authored by Tijani scholars themselves, allowing for insights into their perspectives and beliefs. Additionally, data from other researchers' works across various forms of literature and online resources were also incorporated. This approach enabled a holistic understanding of Sufism's development in West

²⁷ Michel Foucault, *"Archaeology of Knowledge, Archaeology of Knowledge"* (Routledge, 2013),1-16 <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203604168>.

²⁸ Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. Vintage, 2012.3-300

Africa and the crucial role played by the Tijāniyya order in confronting colonial influence and power dynamics.

3. Data Analysis

The data analysis in this research utilizes thematic analysis as the primary analytical approach. This method involves systematically identifying recurring themes, patterns, and connections within the collected dataset and organizing them based on their similarities and differences. The analysis focuses on several key themes related to the Tijāniyya order in West Africa. These themes include the historical development of the order, its conceptualization of anti-colonialism and political quietism, and the strategies employed by the order to challenge colonial power within various social contexts.

To deepen the understanding of the Tijāniyya order's perspective, primary sources such as texts from Tijānī scholars are analyzed. This involves examining their writings, extracting relevant information, and connecting them to Quranic verses and other religious sources. By grounding the analysis in primary sources, this research aims to provide a comprehensive exploration of the Tijāniyya order's beliefs, practices, and responses to colonialism. Furthermore, this research incorporates key elements of social movement theory, particularly the political opportunity structure and framing process. The analysis seeks to identify how the Tijāniyya order utilized available political opportunities within the colonial context to advance their anti-colonial agenda. It also investigates the framing process through which the order articulated their resistance narratives and mobilized their followers. Additionally, the analysis explores the organizational resources of the Tijāniyya order. This involves examining the institutional structures, networks, and collective actions that facilitated their resistance efforts. By examining these resources, the research aims to shed light on the organizational dynamics and strategies employed by the Tijāniyya order in their anti-colonial endeavors.

Thesis's Structure

This master's thesis has been thoughtfully structured to provide a comprehensive understanding of the historical evolution of the Tijāniyya Sufi Order in West Africa during the colonial era, focusing on its transformation from anti-colonial resistance to political quietism. The introduction section lays a solid foundation by offering a general background and a

concise historical overview of the Tijāniyya order's presence in the region during the colonial period. It also introduces the research question, objectives, and significance of the study, while establishing the theory. The methodology section meticulously outlines the rationale for choosing a qualitative study and provides detailed insights into the data collection procedure. And then the thesis outline.

Chapter 1 delves into the anti-colonial resistance efforts undertaken by West African Tijanis between the 19th and 20th centuries, providing valuable insights into their struggles and strategies.

Chapter 2 comprehensively explains the political context that influenced the framing process and resource mobilization strategies employed by the West African Tijāniyya in their courageous resistance against colonial powers.

Chapter 3 divided into two sections is exploring the shifting expressions of political quietism among Tijanis in West Africa and delving into the underlying reasons behind this significant transition. It offers an in-depth analysis of the factors contributing to the adoption of quietist practices within the Tijāniyya order. It unravels the complex dynamics that played a role in this shift, shedding light on the historical and social factors contributing to the emergence of political quietism within the Tijāniyya community.

Chapter 4, the conclusion section summarizes the key findings from the research, reflecting on the significance of the study's contributions to the broader understanding of the Tijāniyya Sufi Order, and the dynamics of resistance and quietism. It also acknowledges any limitations encountered during the research process and thoughtfully suggests potential directions for future research in this fascinating field of study.

CHAPTER 1: THE ANTI-COLONIAL RESISTANCE OF WEST AFRICAN TIJANIS DURING THE COLONIAL ERA, FROM THE 19TH TO 20TH CENTURY.

This chapter provides an in-depth exploration of the anti-colonial resistance of the West African Tijanis during the colonial era, spanning from the 18th to the 20th century. The introduction sets the stage for the subsequent analysis by addressing the historical context of colonialism in West Africa, the justifications for imperialist colonization, and the significance of studying the anti-colonial resistance of the Tijāniyya Sufi order. It highlights the importance of understanding the historical contributions and legacies of the Tijanis in shaping West African history. The chapter then proceeds to discuss key figures and pivotal moments in the Tijānī resistance movement, including the armed resistance during the era of Haj Umar al-Fūtī, the influence of Ahmadu Al-Tal bin Al-Hajj Umar, and the enduring legacy of Amadu III. By examining these aspects, we aim to shed light on the rich history and lasting impact of the Tijāniyya order in the anti-colonial struggle of West Africa.

1 The Historical Context of Colonialism in West Africa

The term "colonialism" encompasses the practice of one country endeavouring to exert control over the citizens and territories of another nation. And the impact of colonialism on West Africa's history and socio-political environment was profound. Consequently, the colonial history of West Africa is a complex and multifaceted subject.²⁹ As stated by McLeod and McClendon, "Colonization refers to the process of settling and establishing control over the indigenous people of an area."³⁰ The arrival of European powers and their subsequent colonization of West African territories brought forth considerable changes, encompassing both positive and negative aspects, that continue to mould the region in the present day. The scramble for Africa in the late 19th century intensified the colonization efforts, with West Africa becoming a prime target due to its strategic location and rich resources.³¹ The British, in particular, established colonies and protectorates across the region, laying the groundwork

²⁹ Falola and m. M. Heaton, "A history of Nigeria" (Cambridge university press, 2008), 12.

³⁰ John McLeod and Virginia McClendon, "The Routledge Handbook of American Military and Diplomatic History: The Colonial Period to 1877." New York: Routledge, 2011.17.

³¹ Afigbo, "The Warrant Chiefs: Indirect Rule in Southeastern Nigeria, 1891-1929." Longman Nigeria, 2004.87.

for their imperial rule.³² The imposition of colonial administration and the introduction of cash-crop agriculture disrupted local economies and traditional social structures.³³ European powers, including Britain, France, and Portugal, sought to exploit the vast resources and establish control over the territories.³⁴

French colonization of West Africa began in the mid-19th century with the invasion and annexation of territories such as Senegal, Ivory Coast, and Niger. The French used a policy of assimilation, which aimed to make the local populations French in every way, including language, religion, and culture.³⁵ This policy led to the suppression of traditional African religions and customs and the promotion of French values. The British colonization of West Africa, on the other hand, was more focused on trade and commerce. They established trading posts along the coast, which they used to obtain raw materials such as palm oil, rubber, and gold.³⁶ As a result of this focus on trade, the British were less concerned with cultural assimilation than the French were. In addition, the oppressive nature of colonialism sparked resistance movements among the indigenous populations, who fought against exploitative practices and sought to regain their sovereignty.³⁷ These resistance efforts took various forms, including armed uprisings, diplomatic negotiations, and cultural preservation.³⁸ Understanding the background of colonialism is crucial for comprehending the motivations and strategies of West African Tjanis in their anti-colonial resistance.³⁹

In order to support imperialist colonization, many defences were employed. By treating it as a "fact of nature," expansionism can be justified using Darwin's theories. In this perspective, Jules Ferry argues that "upper races have a right over lower race." His claim that "colonial politics is an international manifestation of the eternal laws of competition"⁴⁰ is supported by his understanding of the matter. Ferry emphasizes the fundamentally different

³² A. Ajayi and m. Crowder, "History of west Africa, volume 1" (Longman group, 1985), 132.

³³ A. Boahen, "African Perspectives on Colonialism." Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.78.

³⁴ w. Rodney, "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa" (Harvard university press, 2012), 45.

³⁵ Saheed Adejumo, "The History of Ethiopia." Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2007, 24.

³⁶ Falola, Toyin. "The History of Nigeria." Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 36.

³⁷a. Olukoju, "The Liverpool slave trade and its west African dependencies, 1750-1807" (university press of America, 2005), 67.

³⁸. Osaghae and R. T. Suberu, "A History of Idoma: The Rise and Fall of an African People." Hurst & Co, 2005.109.

³⁹T. Falola and M. M. Heaton, "A History of Nigeria." Cambridge University Press, 2008., 154.

⁴⁰ Ferry, Jules. "Jules Ferry: On French Colonial Expansion (1884)."

<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/imperialism/readings/ferry.html>.

aspects of current imperialist colonialism, pointing out that in the past, these obligations were frequently ignored, as when Spanish explorers and soldiers failed to uphold their duty as men of superior race and brought slavery to Central America. According to Ferry, the great European countries are currently liberally, opulently, and honourably completing this higher task of civilization.

However, Jules Ferry's arguments about racial hierarchy and the justifications for colonialism have been extensively challenged by numerous authors and scholars. Their critiques highlight the flaws in Ferry's assertions and offer alternative perspectives on colonialism. For example, in the book "Postcolonialism: A Very Short Introduction" by Robert Young, the author argues against the notion of racial superiority and the idea that certain races have inherent rights over others. Young examines the history of colonialism and its impact on colonized nations, emphasizing the destructive consequences of colonial policies on local populations and cultures. He challenges the idea that colonial politics represents an expression of natural laws of competition and highlights the asymmetrical power dynamics and exploitative practices that characterized colonial rule.⁴¹ Another influential book, "Black Skin, White Masks" by Frantz Fanon, provides a powerful critique of colonialism and its impact on the psyche of colonized individuals. Fanon argues against the dehumanizing effects of colonialism, exposing the psychological and emotional toll it inflicts on both the colonizer and the colonized. He challenges the idea of racial superiority, emphasizing the need for decolonization and the liberation of oppressed peoples.⁴² Cholvy says, "It invites the religious to be silent." And when religion is not silent-which was the case in the conquered Muslim countries-this is perceived as an intolerable attack on the secular religion of progress.⁴³

2 The Anti-Colonial Resistance of West African Tijanis

2.1 Armed Resistance During the Era of Haj Umar al-Fūtī

Hajj Umar al-Fūtī, a prominent Islamic scholar and leader in 19th-century West Africa, dedicated himself to advancing education and social justice in the region, despite facing challenges and opposition from colonial powers. Umar Tall's commitment to jihad makes his life particularly significant. To truly understand his biography, it is crucial to delve into his

⁴¹ C. Young, "Postcolonialism: a very short introduction" (oxford university press, 2020), 01.0001.

⁴² Frantz Fanon, "Black skin, white masks" in "social theory re-wired: new connections to Classical and contemporary perspectives: second edition" (Taylor and Francis inc, 2016), 394-401.

⁴³ Gérard cholvy, "*la religion en france de la fin du 18ème siècle à nos jours*" (paris : hachette, 1991).

journey and not hastily rely on European narratives that often depict him as a violent leader, a tyrant, or a modern-day terrorist. Like many other African leaders.

Confronted with a power imbalance, Hajj Umar sought to negotiate with the French in order to buy time and regain strength for a future attack. He initiated discussions with the director of foreign affairs for the colony of (Sene) expressing his intention to improve the political atmosphere between his empire and France. In this proposed agreement, Umar Tall offered to purchase weapons from the French and pay taxes in exchange for establishing free trade relations. However, despite his efforts, the French were well aware of his true intentions and chose to disregard his proposal.⁴⁴ While the turning point came in 1852 when Umar Tall declared a jihad against various groups, including pagans, apostate Muslims, European rulers, and the corrupt rulers of Futa Toro and Futa Jallon. Consequently, this marked the beginning of his military campaign, which started with the conquest of Futa Toro. As the years passed, his empire expanded to include Timbuktu, Masina, Hamdallahi, and Segou by 1862.⁴⁵

Umar's influence reached beyond French lands. In British-controlled Gambia, the indigenous population rebelled against the English. Then the British sought French aid to quell the revolt, leading the French to ally with the pagan Bambara tribes against Hajj Umar. But He initiated a confrontation with the French by launching attacks on their centers. And urged the people of Saint Louis to cease their cooperation with the French and impeded French commercial activities. The expulsion of French merchants took place between the regions of *Baqel* and *Boudour*. Additionally, he targeted the city of *Khasu*, which was under French control. Umar besieged the city, leading the French to deplete their supplies. However, heavy rains hindered the progress of his followers, preventing the French from surrendering. Taking advantage of Hajj Umar's weakened weaponry, (Hol) engaged him in a major battle, resulting in Hajj Umar's defeat. In the year 1858, Hajj Umar returned to Futatur and assembled a force of 40,000 fighters in preparation for future conflicts with the French.⁴⁶

However, The French received increased military support due to their perception of Hajj Umar's growing influence. In response to this bolstered support, Hajj Umar shifted his focus to the upper Niger River. His objective was to disrupt the route to the French's pagan

⁴⁴Abdullah Abdul Razaq Ibrahim, "Muslims and the European Colonization of Africa," Knowledge World Series: Kuwait, no. 139 (1989), 75

⁴⁵ Baker, D. "A History of Islamic Societies." By Ira M. Lapidus. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988. Journal of Church and State 31, no. 2 (1989): 312-314. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jcs/31.2.312>.

⁴⁶ Ahmed. Reform Movements in Sub-Saharan Africa During the Century. Dar Al-Huda for printing, publishing, and distribution, 2009, 320.

allies and weaken their combat capabilities, he launched an attack on the pagan Bambara in Segou. al-Arabi wrote that Umar compelled the inhabitants of Segou to convert to Islam, constructed forts around the city, appointed his son Ahmadu al-Tal as its emir, and annexed Massina and its capital, *Hamdallah*, on May 16, 1862.⁴⁷

Upon Vidareb's return to Senegal in 1863 for his second term as Governor-General, he was taken aback by the strength that Hajj Umar had amassed and the looming threat of the French presence in West Africa. Umar held out for a full eight months, but when reinforcements failed to arrive, he set fire to the city in 1864 and departed towards the city of *Bandiagara*, pursued by his enemies. Forced to seek refuge in one of the caves, he endured a four-day siege until tragedy struck. A powerful explosion occurred inside the cave on 03 Ramadan 1280 AH, corresponding to February 12, 1864, causing his death, at the age of seventy.⁴⁸

2.2 Ahmadu Tal bin Al-Hajj Umar and the Renewal of Resistance

Under the leadership of al-Hajj 'Umar, the Islamic empire established in Western Sudan faced division and fragmentation among his successors, ultimately succumbing to the French military conquest. However, the spirit of resistance was rekindled with the rise of Ahmadu Al-Tal, the son of Hajj Umar, who became the Caliph of the Tijāniyya Order in Western Sudan and ruled over the Tijānī Empire. He was born in 1833 in the emirate (modern-day Nigeria), Ahmadu was nurtured with a devout Islamic upbringing, learning from his father the arts of reading, writing, and memorizing the Noble Qur'an. He further delved into the study of Islamic sciences, including jurisprudence, interpretation, and hadith, under the guidance of esteemed scholars in the region. Thus, Hajj Omar meticulously prepared Ahmadu to succeed him and shoulder the responsibility of resistance against the French and their pagan allies.⁴⁹ Moreover, to vanquish the French and their pagan allies, Ahmadu embarked on the continuation of the jihad initiated by his father, Hajj Omar. His title as the "Commander of the Faithful" commanded immense reverence from the Takrur tribes. Ahmadu Al-Tal constructed fortifications, notably in *Nyoro and Dyala*, strategically positioned to counter the French

⁴⁷ al-Arabi. *The Sahara and its shores*. Algeria, 1983, 173.

⁴⁸ Abdel Hakim. "French colonial expansion in western Sudan and the resistance of Samori Toure (1854-1914)." Note for obtaining a master's degree in modern and contemporary history. Institute of History, University of Algeria, 1996.

⁴⁹ Ahmed. *Reform Movements in Sub-Saharan Africa During the Century*. Dar Al-Huda for printing, publishing, and distribution, 2009, 326.

advance into his empire. He also sought to appease his adversaries by entering into commercial agreements, buying time and ensuring his forces were well-equipped for the inevitable clash. A treaty was signed between France and Ahmadu through *Galiene* on November 3, 1880, granting permission for the construction of a railway linking the Senegal and Niger rivers.⁵⁰

Subsequently, France consolidated its control over the Principality of Segou, obtaining various privileges for French traders, as stipulated in a renewed agreement Ahmadu entered with them in 1882. When the French Minister of Colonies decided to expand into Niger in early October 1882, Ahmadu attempted to threaten the cancellation of the treaty, but France paid no heed to his protest. Ahmadu further constructed additional forts in strategic locations and shifted his capital from Segou to Niore, establishing it as a focal point for the jihad. He then launched an assault on the Bambara, who were aligned with the French and emerged victorious. Madina is situated in southeastern Senegal.⁵¹ Additionally, Arshinar's assault on the fortress of *Kundian* in the Empire of Takrur faced unwavering resistance from its defenders. Eventually, the city succumbed to the French forces. Subsequently, Arshinar travelled to Segou, the capital of the empire, in 1890. With his father absent, gathering his troops in Massena to launch an attack on the occupied *Kundian*, Madani Ibn Shaykh Ahmadu assumed leadership in Segou. Arshinar encountered no opposition upon entering Segou, highlighting the French's complete disregard for any form of resistance.⁵²

Ahmadu's decision to switch from diplomatic to military action came at a pivotal time. Kanya-Forstner claims that this is when Ahmadu gave up on peaceful means and resorted to violence. Shaykh Ahmadu's soldiers clashed with French troops and assaulted the *Talaari* railway in June 1890. Out of a total of 125 French soldiers, 43 were killed or wounded in single combat. Shaykh Ahmadu was forced to retreat to Massina after a failed attack on the French in the village of "Uri." Shaykh Ahmadu's soldiers were attacked and desertions were high due to the French influence. On April 28, 1893, the French finally confronted and defeated Shaykh Ahmadu and lost 500 men. After relocating to the Niger region, he died in 1895, effectively ending the Tijānī Empire. Shaykh Ahmadu's son acquired a hamlet from the caliph of Sokoto after his death and named it "*Dar al-Salam*" The caliph supported him in his wars against the British and helped him establish himself there.⁵³

⁵⁰ Shaykh Larj. "The position of the Tijāniyya order on the major issues of colonialism in North and West Africa during the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century." 238.

⁵¹ Abdul Razzaq Ibrahim.,85

⁵² Raziq Ibrahim, "Muslims and the European Colonization of Africa," 87

⁵³ Yahi Bouaziz. History of Islamic West Africa,139.

2.3 Al-Hajj Mahmadu Lamine Drame's Struggle with French Colonial Power

While Ahmadou All Hajj Tall was a key figure in the resistance movement, another major figure, Mohamed Lamine, also emerged at this time. He was a 19th-century Senegalese marabout of the Tijānī order.⁵⁴ Then, probably between 1864 and 1874, Lamine left on a pilgrimage to perform the hajj. He went back to Ségou after Umar Tall's death.⁵⁵

In February of 1886, Lamine initiated an armed rebellion against the French colonial forces in Upper Senegal. His followers increased in number due to his esteemed reputation gained from the hajj pilgrimage and his participation in the Toucouleur jihad. Lamine's troops swiftly captured *Bundu* and *Guoy* and besieged Fort Bakel. However, with the arrival of French reinforcements, the siege was broken, and Lamine's forces retreated towards the Gambian border, disrupting the way.⁵⁶ Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Galliéni, the French military commander, pursued Lamine's forces and eventually entered his capital at *Diana* on Christmas Day, 1886, although Lamine managed to escape. He regrouped and launched another attack in July 1887, targeting the *Ouli* province. However, Galliéni's troops pursued him relentlessly, leading to the capture of Lamine's stronghold at *Toubakouta* on December 8, 1887. Lamine was apprehended and executed by the French forces the following day.⁵⁷

2.4 The Resistance and Legacy of Amadu III: A Defining Moment in West African History

Amadu III was a highly capable leader who successfully unified and expanded his Fulani state of *Masina* during the early 19th century. Being a devout Muslim, he incorporated Islamic principles into his governance, earning him great respect from his people. Furthermore, Amadu III's lineage is traced back to Seku Amadu, the founder of the *Diana of Hamdallahi*. Between 1810 and 1818, Seku Amadu (Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin Abi Bakr Lobbo) initiated a jihad against the Fulbe chiefs in *Masina*, who were tributaries of the pagan Bambara of Segou, accusing them of idolatry. He followed in his grandfather's footsteps as a powerful leader and military strategist in West Africa during the 19th century. He gained recognition for his

⁵⁴ Fisher, H. "The early life and pilgrimage of al-hajj Muhammad al-aman the Soninke (d. 1887)." 53, 56

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ ⁵⁶ Fisher, H. "The early life and pilgrimage of al-hajj Muhammad al-aman the Soninke (d. 1887)." 53, 56

⁵⁷ Ibid, 57, 62

resolute resistance against the colonial powers' attempts to exert control over the region. His story epitomizes bravery, resilience, and unwavering determination in the face of overwhelming challenges.⁵⁸ Hence, The French, under the leadership of Colonel Louis Faidherbe, launched a full-scale attack on *Masina* in 1862. The French had already established a foothold in the region, having captured the city of Segou in 1861. Amadu III, aware of the impending attack, rallied his forces and prepared for battle. In his book "The African Hero: Amadu Bamba and the Founding of the Muridiyya of Senegal," author Cheikh Anta Diop describes Amadu III's resistance against the French as a defining moment in West African history: "Amadu III's resistance to French aggression was not only a struggle for his kingdom but a struggle for the entire West African region. He knew that if he allowed the French to defeat him, they would continue their expansion and subjugate other kingdoms. He saw himself as a defender of the independence and sovereignty of his people and his region."⁵⁹

Meanwhile, Cheikh Anta Diop argues that Amadu III's resistance against the French was a defining moment in West African history, stating that "Amadu III's resistance to French aggression was not only a struggle for his kingdom but a struggle for the entire West African region"⁶⁰ Diop contends that Amadu III saw himself as a defender of the independence and sovereignty of his people and his region. This assertion is supported by other scholars, including Northrup and Hunefeldt, who argue that the subjugation of African societies during the period of European colonialism was a significant factor in the development of contemporary Africa.⁶¹ Similarly, Reid highlights the importance of resistance movements in shaping African history, stating that "African resistance to colonialism was a crucial factor in the eventual dismantling of colonial systems and the establishment of independent African states"⁶² Parker also acknowledges the significance of African resistance to colonialism and cites several examples of African leaders who resisted European colonialism, including

⁵⁸ Felice Dosseto and Pierre-Joseph Laurent. "*Ramatoullaye, une confrérie musulmane en transition.*" *Revue de Recherches sociologiques et anthropologiques* 37, no. 2 (2006): 57-58

⁵⁹ Diop, C. A. *The African hero: Amadu Bamba and the founding of the Muridiyya of Senegal.* CODESRIA, 2013, 71.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*

⁶¹ Northrup, D., & Hunefeldt, C. *Africa's discovery of Europe, 1450-1850.* Oxford University Press, 2012, 9.

⁶² Reid, R. J. *The making of modern Africa: Colonialism, resistance, and independence.* John Wiley & Sons, 2015, 10

Amadu III of Senegal. According to Parker, African leaders who fought against colonialism, like Amadu III, contributed to the eventual liberation of the continent from European rule.⁶³

The French, with their superior firepower, initially gained the upper hand in the battle. However, the Hamalias, with their superior cavalry skills, were able to break through the French lines and engage them in close combat. The French suffered heavy casualties in the battle, with some estimates suggesting that up to 700 soldiers were killed or wounded. Faidherbe himself was injured in the fighting. Despite the victory at Nioro, the French continued to mount attacks against Masina. However, Amadu III's continued resistance and use of guerilla tactics made it difficult for the French to fully subjugate the region. Despite the odds against him, Amadu III was able to repel several French attacks and maintain his independence for a time. However, the French were relentless, and they eventually overpowered his forces and forced him to flee to exile in Gabon, where he died in 1891.

One significant moment in Amadu III's resistance against the French occurred in 1862 when the French, under the leadership of Colonel Louis Faidherbe, launched a full-scale attack on Masina. The French had already established a foothold in the region, having captured the city of Segou in 1861. Amadu III, aware of the impending attack, rallied his forces and prepared for battle. Amadu III's forces were largely composed of horsemen known as the Hamallists or Hamalias. The Hamalias were known for their skill as warriors and their fierce loyalty to their rulers. Hunwick notes that the Hamalias played a crucial role in Amadu III's resistance against the French.⁶⁴ And the battle between Amadu III's forces and the French army took place near the town of Nioro, which was a strategic location for both sides. The French, with their superior firepower, initially gained the upper hand in the battle. However, the Hamalias, with their superior cavalry skills, were able to break through the French lines and engage them in close combat. The French suffered heavy casualties, and their commander, Faidherbe, was wounded in the fighting.⁶⁵

Amadu III's soldiers were victorious at first, but the French were able to rally and launch a counteroffensive. They had the upper hand because and were able to bring in reinforcements, notably artillery, which helped turn the tide of the conflict in their favour. The armies of Amadu III were eventually driven back, and the French took control of the city of

⁶³ Parker, J. "Introduction." In *The Oxford handbook of modern African history*, edited by J. Parker, 1-17. Oxford University Press, 2013, 9

⁸ Hunwick, J. O. "The Jihad in West Africa During the Age of Revolutions." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* (1996): 117-146.

⁶⁵ Roberts, R. "The Colonial Movement of Minds and Materials, 1850-1920". Cambridge University Press, 2012, 100.

Nioro. However, the opposition of Amadu III and his army showed that the French would face severe resistance from local monarchs and their armies if they attempted to colonize West Africa. The French were able to subdue the locals and firmly plant themselves in power. The opposition of Amadu III and other West African princes showed, however, that European colonialism would not be a cakewalk.

2.5 The Jihad and Defence Movement of Imam Samori Touré in Mande

Variouly referred to as Samori Toure, Samory Touré, and Almamy Samore Lafiya Touré, Samori Touré was a Muslim cleric and military strategist who founded and led the Islamic *Wassoulou* Empire, which spanned parts of modern-day north and south-eastern Guinea, as well as parts of Mali, Côte d'Ivoire, and Burkina Faso. Samori Touré was a devout Sunni Muslim who adhered to the Maliki school of law.⁶⁶ born in 1830 present-day Guinea, and much like his father, Samori Toure followed the path of trade. However, his mother's abduction in a slave raid when he was brought an end to his mercantile endeavours. The young Touré, who was already an accomplished negotiator, managed to secure his mother's freedom by striking a deal with her captor. Touré pledged to serve in the abductor's army in exchange for his mother's release. With his exceptional leadership and military capabilities, he changed the course of his life. King Sori Birami later released his mother and excused Touré from further service. Described as African Napoleon, Samori Touré built a Muslim empire fighting off the French colonization of West Africa in the 19th century. He earned a reputation as a socially responsible Muslim of exceptional virtue. To help promote Islamic knowledge, he dispatched Quran teachers to nearly every town in his area. He kept an eye on a large group of Quran pupils, gave them tests to see how well they knew the holy text, and rewarded the top performers.⁶⁷ The students who graduated from the Islamic school played a key role in spreading Islam across the region. Therefore, in Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Mali, Sierra Leone and Liberia, Islam spread rapidly in the late 19th Century, when Touré ruled the region.⁶⁸

By 1881, Samori had effectively established a unified empire under his rule, encompassing the southern regions of the Sudanese savannas from present-day Sierra Leone

⁶⁶ you can see; Person, Yves. "*Samori, une révolution dyula.*" Vol. 3 volumes. Dakar: IFAN, 1968-1975, 2377.

⁶⁷ Tasci, Ufuk Necat. "Samory Toure: A Legendary African Muslim King Who Fought French Colonialism." TRT World. January 13, 2020.

⁶⁸ Tasci,Ufuk Necat,, 2020

to the Sassandra River in the Ivory Coast.⁶⁹ During this era, Samori transitioned from utilizing Chassepot rifles to more suitable Gras rifles which were manufactured by skilled blacksmiths within his realm.⁷⁰ He further bolstered his arsenal with rapid-firing rifles, amassing around 6,000 of them by 1893.⁷¹

The significant confrontation between Samori and the French unfolded in 1892. To defeat Samori, Humbert initiated an assault on the central part of the empire in January 1892, leading a carefully selected force of 1,300 riflemen and 3,000 porters. Samori personally commanded his chosen army of 2,500 men to confront Humbert. Despite their fierce resistance at defensive positions along the way, they ultimately suffered defeat. Humbert managed to capture *Bissandugu*, *Sanankoro*, and *Kerwane*, although the outcome was not as fruitful as anticipated, considering the heavy losses endured by the French.⁷²

After facing intense encounters with Humbert's forces and recognizing the futility of confrontation, Samori considered two options: surrender or retreat. Rejecting the former, he chose to abandon his homeland and relocate to the East, aiming to establish a new empire beyond European reach. Employing a scorched-earth strategy, Samori led his forces eastward towards the *Bandama* and *Comoe* rivers, persisting in resistance despite losing his last supply route to Monrovia in 1894. In 1895, he successfully repelled a French column led by Monteil and proceeded to conquer the *Abron* kingdom and the western part of *Gonja* between July 1895 and January 1896.⁷³

Samori's efforts resulted in the creation of a new empire in the hinterland of the Ivory Coast and Asante by early 1896. In subsequent clashes, his son (Sarankenyi-Mori) defeated a British column near *Wa* in March 1897. while Samori himself destroyed Kong in May 1897 and his advance, encountering a French column under the command of Caudrelier in Bobo. Caught between the French and the British. He attempted to sow discord by returning the territory of *Bouna* to the French, which was coveted by the British. However, facing increasing pressure from both colonial powers, Samori decided to retreat and seek refuge with his Toma allies in Liberia. He continued his resistance until September 29, 1898, when he was captured in a surprise attack at *Guelemou* by Gouraud. Samori was subsequently deported to Gabon,

⁶⁹ Person in Crowder, 1971, 121-126,

⁷⁰ Person, "Samori, une révolution dyula." 21

⁷¹ Ibid, 21

⁷² Ibid, 23

⁷³ Person in Crowder, 1971, 121-126.

where he passed away in 1900, marking the end of what has been described as the longest series of campaigns against a single enemy in the history of the French Sudanese conquest.⁷⁴

In summary, Samori Ture pursued a strategy of confrontation with the French, utilizing both diplomacy and warfare. He built a well-armed and disciplined army, acquiring various types of rifles through purchases financed by ivory and gold sales. Samori's initial victories and subsequent resistance against French forces showcased his military prowess and determination. However, after experiencing significant losses and realizing the futility of confrontation, Samori chose to retreat and establish a new empire beyond European reach. Despite facing numerous challenges and engaging in further conflicts, he was ultimately captured and deported, marking the end of his resistance against French colonial forces.⁷⁵

Through his capture and defeat, a significant turning point occurred in the history of the French Sudanese conquest. This event marked the culmination of what a recent scholar has characterized as "the longest series of campaigns against a single enemy"⁷⁶ in that particular region. Subsequently, it can be postulated that following this individual's downfall, no substantial retaliatory actions or organized resistance from Muslims were observed in West Africa.

2.6 Legacy of the Hamalias' Role in West African Resistance

The Hamalias' involvement in Amadu III's defiance of the French demonstrates their exceptional combat skills and unwavering loyalty, solidifying their significance within West African communities, particularly in the Fulani states. Shaykh Ahmed, the founder of the Hamaliyya branch, exhibited staunch opposition to colonialism on a global scale, defying obligatory military service and enduring persecution, leading to his exile. Despite lacking formal education, Shaykh Ahmed possessed extensive knowledge of the Tijāniyya method, establishing himself as one of the most esteemed Shaykhs of the order. In the first half of the 20th century, the Tijāniyya order maintained a unified standpoint on various matters, except for the Hamaliyya branch. Founded by Shaykh Ahmad, this particular branch resolutely opposed colonialism on a global scale, eschewing armed rebellion. Shaykh Ahmad's refusal to engage in obligatory military service diverged sharply from the other Tijaniyyin, resulting in

⁷⁴ Person in Crowder, 1971, 121-126.

⁷⁵ Ibid

⁷⁶ Weiskel, French Colonial Rule and the Baule Peoples, 1889-ign (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 99-102.

persecution and eventual exile. He passed away in exile in Mon-Lesson in 1943 after spending time in the Ivory Coast, Oran, and France.⁷⁷

Shaykh Ahmed played a significant role in fostering Arab literary culture and studying Islamic sciences, countering the colonial authorities' attempts to suppress Islam in his country and the wider West African region.⁷⁸ Additionally, Shaykh Ahmed is known for his innovative approach within the Tijāniyya order. He differed from the main tradition in the number of repetitions of the "jewel of perfection" in the practice, adhering to eleven repetitions instead of the traditional twelve. This difference caused some disturbances among the Tijānī disciples, such as the incident in 1930 in the city of *Kaedi*, where thirty people were killed. The colonial administration took advantage of the situation to make accusations against him.⁷⁹ He is considered one of the innovators of the Tijāniyya order, as he differs from the mother method in the number of times the jewel of perfection the function, as he adheres to eleven times and the mother way twelve times, and this is what caused some disturbances among the Tijānī disciples, such as what occurred in the year 1930 in the city of *Kaedi*, where thirty people were killed, and the colonial administration seized the opportunity to accuse him.⁸⁰

Despite holding firm positions, Shaykh Ahmed deliberately chose not to engage in armed resistance against the colonial administration. His resolute conviction that cooperating with colonialism constituted a betrayal distinguished him from other preachers. He unwaveringly maintained his stance, refusing to compromise or display any sympathy towards colonialism. His unwavering determination resulted in difficulties, deportation, and eventual passing far from his homeland, loved ones, and followers. However, the collective efforts of these revered figures, including Shaykh Ahmed, led to the expansion of Islam's influence in West Africa, which was resilient against Christianity's attempts to eradicate it.⁸¹ he considered those who posed a threat to colonialism, especially since the year 1930 when he began to openly hate the French, so France hastened to exile him to the Ivory Coast during the era of the Governor-General "Poisson" in the year 1942, then he was transferred to Algeria in the Sidi Ali Kassin region, northeast of *Mostaganem*, and then to France, where he died in *Montluçon* on January 16, 1943.⁸²

⁷⁷ Fisher, H. "The early life and pilgrimage of al-hājj muhammad al-aman the soninke"(d. 1887) ,51

⁷⁸ Shaykh Larj. "The position of the Tijāniyya order on the major issues of colonialism in North and West Africa during the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century." 249.

⁷⁹ Adriana Piga,195.

⁸⁰ Adriana Piga,195.

⁸¹ Ibid,200

⁸² Shaykh Larj. "The position of the Tijāniyya order on the major issues of colonialism in North and

The Hamaliyya was also spread in the city of *Gebo* by Abdullah Doukure and Shaykh Abu Bakr Safadogo, who were chosen as they claimed, by God Himself in 1923 to spread the Hamaliyya ideas in West Africa. But researchers focused on Shaykh Abi Bakr for his important role in confronting colonialism and his plans based on his city, which he founded in western Burkina Faso and called "God's Mercy." Shaykh Abu Bakr was originally from a village near the city of *Wahigoria*, the ancient capital of the Kingdom of *Yatanga*, at the current borders of Mali.⁸³ unify their ranks, and immunize them against colonial influences. It received daily a lot of Muslims in the region until a large number of followers gathered around it, and that was what worried the colonial administration, which was seeing every move as free, and dangerous.⁸⁴ Consequentially, in the year 1939, they arrested him, dispersed his followers, and destroyed the village of *Ramatoli*. Shaykh Abi Bakr was sentenced to ten years in prison, of which he spent five years in Timbuktu, then he was released in 1947, and he died a few months after his release from prison.⁸⁵ Thus, the Ahmadiyya Tijānī order was able to arouse the concern of the colonial administration even as it followed a peaceful approach in which colonialism saw a danger to its existence, especially since it smelled from every move the scent of peace that came to eliminate it with all its might because peace does not accept submission and concession, which pushes the Muslim to resist. Even if he pretended to be appeased and loyal.

Having explored the enduring legacy of the Hamalias' opposition to colonialism within the Tijāniyya order, we now shift our focus to the remarkable military resistance led by Ahmadu Lobbo in the Massina region. Ahmadu Lobbo's unwavering commitment to defending his people and their land against colonial encroachment highlights the indomitable spirit of West African resistance. In this section, we delve into the military strategies employed by Ahmadu Lobbo, the battles he fought, and the profound impact his resistance had on the struggle for independence in Massina. By examining his military efforts, we gain valuable insights into the complex and multifaceted resistance movements that shaped the region's history.

As we conclude this chapter, we look forward to the next one, where we will delve deeper into the motivations and dynamics of the Tijāniyya movement's rise by employing

West Africa during the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century." 78.

⁸³ Felice Dassetto and Pierre-Joseph Laurent. "Ramatoullaye, une confrérie musulmane en transition." *Revue de Recherches sociologiques et anthropologiques* 37, no. 2 (2006) : 51-53

⁸⁴ Bernard Salvaing, *l'invention religieuse en Afrique, histoire et religion en Afrique noire*, édition Karthala, Paris, 1993 ,330.

⁸⁵ Shaykh Larj., 244.

social movement theory. Through this lens, we will examine factors such as charismatic leadership, group identity, grievances, and the pursuit of social justice. By applying social movement theory, we aim to comprehensively analyze the driving forces behind the Tijāniyya movement's resistance and understand what galvanized Tijānī followers in their fight against colonial oppression.

CHAPTER 2: THE RISE OF THE TIJĀNIYYA MOVEMENT

To better understand the astonishing emergence of the Tijāniyya movement and its battle against French colonialism in West Africa, we will devote the rest of this chapter to that topic. We analyse the political climate, the resistance leaders' framing strategy, and the mobilized resource. Grasping these essential features allows us to better comprehend the Tijāniyya movement's dogged resistance to colonial persecution. The chapter opens with a discussion of the Tijāniyya movement's political prospects and the opposition it faced. We examine the movement's obstacles and opportunities through the lens of internal disagreements among colonial administrators and the spread of French and British colonial power in West Africa. We also analyse their plans to form alliances with powerful people who would help them in their fight against colonial rule. And emphasize the societal frustrations that have fuelled the Tijāniyya movement's unyielding determination to combat what it sees as injustice. We can learn more about the forces that contributed to the growth of the movement by examining the weakening ability of the colonial power to repress dissent.

1 Political Opportunity and Resistance: The Tijāniyya Movement's Struggle Against the Colonial Power

This chapter examines the political opportunities that formed the opposition to colonialism by the Tijāniyya movement in 19th-century West Africa. Despite the significance of spiritual and cultural factors, the resistance movement was heavily impacted by the political opportunity structure of the time. It is essential to comprehend the interplay between social movements and their political circumstances. The expansion of French colonial authority, volatility within ruling elites, access to elite allies, and a decline in official repression are analysed as key factors. These variables presented the Tijāniyya movement with both possibilities and obstacles, affecting its capacity to organize and sustain opposition actions. By evaluating the political opportunities that influenced the Tijāniyya movement's response to French colonialism, we get insight into the larger dynamics of social movements and their interactions with the political environment. This chapter also examines the political chances that enabled major leaders, such as Hajj Omar Tal, Ahmadu al-Tal ibn al-Hajj Omar, Mohamed Lamine Dramé, Shaykh Hamaulah, Ahmadu Lobbo, Shaykh Abu Bakr, and Imam Samori Touré, to resist French colonial rule.

The term “political opportunity structure” refers to the set of circumstances and conditions that shape the opportunities and constraints for political actors to achieve their goals.⁸⁶ In order to comprehend the mobilization and relationship between the Tijāniyya movement in West Africa and political institutions, it may be useful to examine the movement through this lens. According to Hanspeter Kriesi, this fundamental idea applies to a wide range of collective actions, including social movement activity, which heavily relies on the political sphere.⁸⁷ In addition, Grzegorz Ekiert emphasizes the significance of political opportunities for social movement mobilization in non-democratic contexts like in West Africa.⁸⁸

1.1 Division Among Elite rulers

The Tijāniyya Movement, as a significant religious force in West Africa, emerged in opposition to French imperialism. The conflict and divisions between colonial authorities and local elites played a crucial role in its formation and growth. British and French colonial rulers employed distinct strategies, leading to rivalries and weakening their ability to suppress the movement.⁸⁹ The divergent theological and political beliefs among local elites further fuelled its resilience and expansion.⁹⁰ The rivalry between these countries over crucial territories such as Senegal and Gambia resulted in hostilities.⁹¹ Colonial administrators frequently represented competing interests in colony governance and resource exploitation.⁹² French administrators routinely criticized the British for their apathy toward colonial affairs and lack of direct participation. The French, on the other hand, were frequently viewed by the British as being

⁸⁶ Sidney G. Tarrow, “Contentious Politics and Social Movements,” in *Power in Movement* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 16–34, <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511973529.003>.

⁸⁷ Kriesi, H., Koopmans, R., Duyvendak, J.W., and Giugni, M.G. *New Social Movements in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. (1995).

⁸⁸ Ekiert, G. *Rebellious Civil Society: Popular Protest and Democratic Consolidation in Poland, 1989-1993*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. (1999).

⁸⁹ Frederick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 89

⁹⁰ Richard Austen, *African Economic History: Internal Development and External Dependency* (James Currey Publishers, 2001), 34.

⁹¹ Christopher Saunders, *The Making of the Sierra Leone State: History of the Consolidation of British Rule* (James Currey Publishers, 2005), 76

⁹² Frederick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 112

too interventionist and intent on imposing their culture on local communities. These conflicts between French and British invaders expressed themselves in rivalries for territorial and resource control, leading to local conflicts and tension.⁹³

In addition, local pagans' leaders were responsible for maintaining order and supervising day-to-day operations in their particular regions as representatives of the British District Commissioner or the French Cercle Commander. Their positions, however, were subject to colonial authority's appointment and dismissal.⁹⁴ Saint-Martin In the book "Senegal under the Second Empire: Birth of a Colonial Empire (1850-1871)" wrote that in the village of Walo General Faidherbe.⁹⁵ implemented a constitution, granting the chief of the village the authority to command the contingent of their army and lead the black soldier whom they will "tirailleur" referring to Senegalese soldiers. This constitution allowed the chief to exercise a certain degree of autonomy and employ alternative strategies distinct from those of the central administrators. It provided a platform for local governance and decision-making, enabling the chief to adapt and respond to the specific needs and circumstances of the village.⁹⁶ Umar Tall seized the opportunity to gain ownership of the village of *Dinguiray* by striking a deal with Tamba, the pagan chief. With the purchase of the village using gold, Umar Tall established his authority and solidified control over *Dinguiray*. This acquisition provided a strong foundation for his movement, tariqa, and zawiya. It also allowed him to gather a significant following and prepare for future jihad campaigns, ensuring the growth and sustainability of his cause.⁹⁷ Tamba's agreement to sell the village to Umar Tall could be seen as a sign of his weakness and inability to effectively lead the region. It created an opening for Umar Tall to establish his authority and potentially exploit the power vacuum left by Tamba's perceived weakness.

In conclusion, the Tijāniyya Movement was able to flourish because of the gap between colonial and local elite authorities. Due to the dispersion and competition among dominating groups, alternative movements were able to challenge colonial administrations.

⁹³ Patrick Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa, 1880-1985* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 112.

⁹⁴ Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton University Press, 1996), 60

⁹⁵ General Faidherbe; was a colonial administrator, mainly from Senegal. See Wallon, MH. "Historical note on the life and work of General Louis-Léon-César Faidherbe." 1892. Persee.fr.

⁹⁶ Yves-Jean Saint-Martin, *"Le Sénégal sous le second Empire : naissance d'un empire colonial" (1850-1871)* (Kartala, Editions, 1989).291

⁹⁷Yves-Jean Saint-Martin, 291

The Tijāniyya Movement skillfully capitalized on this schism by providing a uniting vision and rallying disillusioned ruling elites to fight French colonialism on their side.

1.2 The Expansion of French and British Colonial power in West Africa

Throughout the nineteenth century, France increased its colonial power in West Africa, including the region where the Sufi movement led by Hajj Umar Tall flourished. Tall and the Sufi leaders had a mixed bag of chances and obstacles during this period, both in terms of the growth of their movement and their resistance to the French. The French colonial presence heightened the sense of urgency among local Muslims, inspiring leaders such as Umar Tall to form a strong coalition of Muslim fighters committed to combating the French. Even though the French had superior military might and resources, resulting in triumphs over Umar Tall and his soldiers in multiple fights, the presence of the French colonial forces motivated the local Muslim populace to band together and actively reject the oppressive colonial rule. The yearning for independence from colonial rule drove Muslims to band together in their fight against the French.⁹⁸ Moreover, Shaykh Umar al-Fūtī encountered ongoing conflicts with neighbouring pagan groups who shared the same territory. Interestingly, some of these pagan leaders held positions of authority within the region's political institutions. However, as European powers arrived and gained influence, the Tijāniyya movement's political and spiritual figures recognized the colonial strategies employed to suppress resistance in West Africa. This awareness enabled Umar Tall to effectively mobilize a formidable coalition of Muslim fighters united in their resistance against the French. Additionally, Umar Tall's experiences during his pilgrimage to the Holy land of Mecca exposed him to robust political institutions, which further influenced his approach to resistance.⁹⁹

The emergence of the imperialists was considered a threat by the Tijāniyya leaders due to their possession of weaponry. Therefore, they fought the incursion. Samori Touré, who desired to establish an Islamic nation, perceived the opportunity to become the ruler despite European supremacy. Nonetheless, establishing an Islamic kingdom in the face of a more robust French enemy posed a daunting obstacle. This increased presence heightened the Muslims' sense of urgency, resulting in their unification and resistance. In addition, the leaders of the resistance skillfully negotiated and lobbied for their interests in the political decision-

⁹⁸ Cooper, "Africa since 1940",132

⁹⁹ M. Diouf, "The Senegalese Murid Trade Diaspora and the Making of a Vernacular Cosmopolitanism,". 45

making processes, utilizing the expanding power of the French colonial government to alter laws affecting their areas.¹⁰⁰ In the case of Amadu Lobbo, his resistance against the French was motivated by the perceived threat to his sovereignty and independence. He saw the French as a threat not only to his kingdom but to the entire West African region. He recognized that if he allowed the French to defeat him, they would continue their expansion and subjugate other kingdoms. His resistance was not only a struggle for his kingdom but also for the entire West African region.¹⁰¹

1.3 Grievances in Society and Perceived Injustices

One of the main reasons for the development of social movements is social grievance and perceived injustice. These colonial powers implemented policies of economic exploitation, political dominance, and cultural assimilation, which resulted in the subjugation and marginalization of local populations.¹⁰² "France is in Africa to produce Frenchmen out of the Africans, writes Derwent Whittlesey in his book "British and French Colonial Technique in West Africa. As a result, African culture is ignored by the government. French administrators hold absolute power, while local authorities have only the backing of tradition and not the law when dealing with their people. Except for the land that an individual African citizen registers with the French government, all land in France belongs to the French.¹⁰³ The expansion of French colonial rule in West Africa aimed at assimilating Africans into the French identity, as highlighted by Whittlesey's quote. The official disregard for African culture and the direct rule of administrative officers from France marginalized the recognition of African life and limited the authority of native leaders. French control extended over the majority of the land, with individual Africans only able to claim ownership through registration with the French authority. This approach illustrates the colonial strategy employed by France in West Africa

¹⁰⁰ Can see; Baker, D. "A History of Islamic Societies." By Ira M. Lapidus. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988. *Journal of Church and State* 31, no. 2 (1989): 312-314. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jcs/31.2.312>.

¹⁰¹ Mamadou Diouf, "The Senegalese Murid Trade Diaspora and the Making of a Vernacular Cosmopolitanism," *Public Culture* 12, no. 3 (2000), <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-12-3-679>. 89

¹⁰² Ebenezer Obadare and Wale Adebani, *Democracy and Prebendalism in Nigeria: Critical Interpretations*, *Democracy and Prebendalism in Nigeria: Critical Interpretations*, 2013, <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137280770>.

¹⁰³ Derwent Whittlesey, "British and French Colonial Technique in West Africa," *Foreign Affairs* 15, no. 2 (1937): 367, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20028773>.

during that period. The denial of land for native reserves and the exploitation of local labour by concessionaires in colonial West Africa caused profound grievances and injustices. As Derwent Whittlesey highlighted, "Since no land is set aside for native reserves, the concessionaires in effect obtain the local labor with the land"¹⁰⁴

This oppressive system of control and exploitation led to resistance among Muslims who sought to protect their land, cultural autonomy, and economic agency. Their resistance can be seen as a response to the injustices they faced and their quest for justice, dignity, and self-determination.

1.4 The State's Declining Capacity and Proclivity to Repress Dissent

The ability of the state to suppress resistance may have weakened as colonial power grew. French and English forces were concentrated along the coast, leaving inland areas vulnerable to rebellion. As a result, leaders and movements were able to organize resistance activities with less concern for immediate reprisals as a result of the easing of repression. The declining ability of the French state to repress dissent provided Mohamed Lamine Dramé with a political opening. By promoting social and political reforms that directly challenged the colonial system, Dramé and his movement gained momentum in their resistance efforts while capitalizing on the instability among ruling elites and the weakened authority of the French state.¹⁰⁵ Overall, the political opportunities for resistance movements to flourish in West Africa can be traced back to the unstable alignment of the ruling elites there. Resistance leaders like Mohamed Lamine Dramé took advantage of these openings to undermine French colonial rule and promote radical reform.

1.5 Getting Access to Elite Allies Who Can Aid a Movement in Its Struggle

Despite being aware of the threat posed by the presence of French and English forces on African soil, African Sufi leaders such as Hajj Umar Tall and the Samori Toure saw potential advantages in engaging with them. They recognized that establishing contact with the colonial powers could provide access to weapons, support, and the opportunity to negotiate. This access

¹⁰⁴ Whittlesey, 367.

¹⁰⁵ Wondji, Christophe. "*Les résistances à la colonisation française en Afrique noire (1871-1914)*." Africa Development / Afrique et Développement 18, no. 4 (1993) 122. Accessed May 1, 2023. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24486781>.

to settlers and the ability to engage in exchanges and treaties gave the resistance fighters, including the Tijānī Sufis, greater strength and direction for their movement. They were also able to expand their territory while respecting treaties with the other colonial power primarily located in coastal and savannah regions. Thus, the agreement between Shaykh Umar al-Fūṭī and the French was based on Shaykh's statements, expressing his desire for peace, opposition to injustice, and the requirement for the French to pay tribute for secure trade. He also indicated his intention to establish and organize a state once he became the Imam of *Futatoro*, to foster a friendly relationship with the French. However, the perceived advantages of these agreements for the religious Muslims were part of the imperialists' strategy to extend their power. Ly-Tall contests this view and declares that Umar vehemently opposed negotiations and any peace with the French colonial forces.¹⁰⁶ The leaders were viewed as obstacles that needed to be removed. Signing agreements with the French, which conflicted with their goal of propagating Islam and resisting colonial ideologies, became one of the causes behind the resistance efforts. While the French provided weapons, they gained unrestricted trade and movement within the country.

Ahmadu, the son of Umar Tall, chose to engage in discussions with the French soon after taking office in response to internal difficulties. He consented to offer cannons and ask for recognition in exchange for allowing French businessmen into his dominion. This choice exemplifies Ahmadu's methodical strategy for maximizing political chances and securing economic gains by cooperating with foreign countries.¹⁰⁷ Additionally, the Sokoto caliphate was an important partner of Umar Tall's. He stayed there for a while under Ousmane dan Fodio's leadership and became very involved in the Sufi jihad and the establishment of the state. His desire to form an Islamic state in his region was probably influenced by this encounter. Umar's time in Sokoto was crucial in determining the course of his career since he gained important political insight through his involvement in the government and developed his military prowess by taking part in battles against the country's tyrannical factions. In the end, these formative experiences helped Umar Tall create a Tijānī empire.

¹⁰⁶ Ly-Tall, Madina. *A Militant Islam in West Africa in the Nineteenth Century*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1991.

¹⁰⁷ Shaykh Larj. "The position of the Tijāniyya order on the major issues of colonialism in North and West Africa during the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century." 67-90

2 Framing Process of Tijānī Leaders' Resistance to Colonial Power in West Africa

In this section, we will delve into the framing process of Tijānī leaders' resistance to colonial power, examining the origins of framing theory, its conceptualization by Goffman, and its application to the context of social movements. By analysing the collective action frames employed by Tijānī leaders, we will uncover how these frames shaped the movement's goals, strategies, and interactions with both colonial powers and local communities. Through this exploration, we aim to highlight the significance of framing as a theoretical framework for understanding and contextualizing the Tijānī leaders' resistance and its enduring impact on the socio-political landscape of West Africa. Examines the importance of stories and shared goals in the development of successful social movements. Identity, symbolism, cultural values and conventions, ideology, and shared meaning are all intangible components of social movements that are included in this variable. As McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald contend, "At a minimum people need to feel both aggrieved about some aspect of their lives and optimistic that, acting collectively, they can redress the problem"¹⁰⁸

The concept of framing, as applied in the study of social movements, provides an essential lens through which to analyze the resistance of West African Tijānī leaders to colonial power. Frames, mostly inspired by Goffman's (1974) influential work, serve as interpretive conceptual frameworks that allow individuals to make sense of and classify occurrences within their area and the significantly larger environment.¹⁰⁹ By understanding how frames function in shaping experiences and guiding action, we may better grasp the significance of collective action frames in mobilizing and legitimizing social movement organizations (SMOs) acts.¹¹⁰ In the context of Tijānī leaders' resistance to colonial power, collective action frames play a vital role in simplifying and condensing the external world. These frames inspire and legitimize Tijānī social movement organizations (SMOs) while mobilizing supporters and gaining bystander support. The framing process employed by Tijānī leaders, which combines Islamic teachings, local traditions, personal experiences, and resistance strategies, facilitates community mobilization and fosters a shared sense of purpose.

¹⁰⁸ McAdam, Doug, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framing* Cambridge University Press, 1996, 18.

¹⁰⁹ Goffman, Erving. "Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience" Harper & Row, 1974, 21.

¹¹⁰ Snow, David A., and Robert D. Benford. "Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization." *International Social Movement Research* 1 (1988): 197-217.

This strategic framing establishes a compelling narrative that challenges colonial power inspires resistance, and contributes to the broader decolonization struggle in West Africa.

2.1 The Claim of Authority

In their struggle against colonial powers, other Tijānī resistance fighters also asserted their authority. For example, Shaykh Umar Tall claimed to be the Mahdi and the Khalifa of Allah, positioning himself as a spiritual leader and ruler. Similarly, by 1878, Samori Touré proclaimed himself as the '*faama*' (military leader) of the united *Mandika-Wasulu* Empire. His authority and leadership were recognized within his empire, as documented by Sengulo Albert Msellemu in his book "Common Motives of Africa's Anti-colonial Resistance in 1890–1960"¹¹¹ also he referred to himself as the *Almamy*, denoting his role as a political and religious leader.¹¹² Christophe argues that "It is to achieve greater homogeneity within his empire that from 1886 onwards Samori adopted the prestigious title of *Almamy* and attempted to create a theocratic state"¹¹³ These claims of authority played a crucial role in mobilizing their followers and instilling resistance against colonial forces. Today, Samori Touré and others like him are revered as heroes and symbols of colonial resistance, leaving a lasting legacy that continues to inspire Africans in their pursuit of justice and freedom. Wondji, Christophe supposed that "In 1889, Ahmadou shifted from the strategy of alliance to the strategy of war. relied on his title of Sultan to call for the defence of the faith"¹¹⁴

Accordingly, the claim of authority by Tijānī leaders to engage in resistance was closely related to the construction of defense on a religious basis and the concept of jihad. By asserting their religious authority and invoking the principles of jihad, the Tijānī leaders justified their call for resistance against colonial oppression. They presented themselves as spiritual guides and guardians of the faith, possessing the divine mandate to defend the Muslim community and protect their religious rights. This claim of authority not only provided legitimacy to their resistance efforts but also mobilized followers who believed in their

¹¹¹ Msellemu, Sengulo Albert. "Common Motives of Africa's Anti-colonial Resistance in 1890–1960." *Social Evolution & History*, September 2013, Dar es Salaam University College of Education, 150.

¹¹² Msellemu, Sengulo Albert. "Common Motives of Africa's Anti-colonial Resistance in 1890–1960." *Social Evolution & History*, September 2013, Dar es Salaam University College of Education, 150.

¹¹³ Wondji, Christophe. "Les résistances à la colonisation française en Afrique noire (1871-1914)." *Africa Development / Afrique et Développement* 18, no. 4 (1993): 123. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24486781>

¹¹⁴ Wondji, Christophe. "Les résistances à la colonisation française en Afrique noire (1871-1914).", 123

religious leaders and the significance of defending the faith. lastly, in the next section of the article, we will delve into a detailed examination of the concept of jihad. We will explore how Tijānī leaders invoked this concept as a means to justify their resistance against colonial oppression. By analyzing the multifaceted dimensions of jihad within the context of the Tijānī resistance movement, we aim to shed light on its significance and the role it played in shaping their strategies and motivations.

2.2 The Concept of Jihad as a Frame for Resistance

Jihad signifies the holy struggle, a call to defend their faith and resist colonial encroachment.¹¹⁵ In many African and Middle Eastern societies, religious and spiritual leaders have been instrumental in inspiring and organizing state-building initiatives. Their influence stems from their ability to articulate a vision that resonates with the aspirations and grievances of the people. By incorporating religious doctrine and teachings into their narratives, these leaders have effectively mobilized communities for social and political change. As we previously discussed in our exploration of Sufism, it is important to approach the concept of jihad with a critical mindset and provide a contextual understanding. The Sufi scholars defined Sufism as the struggle of the soul, the purification of one's inner self, and the detachment from worldly distractions. The most challenging form of jihad is the jihad of the soul, which entails combating temptations and negative inclinations. It is worth noting a Hadith in which the Prophet, upon returning from a battle with his companions, declared, "We are now returning from the lesser jihad to face the greater jihad."¹¹⁶ However, scholars have deemed this hadith as unauthentic, even fabricated, potentially contradicting Quranic verses that prioritize armed jihad and the defence of Islamic territories. Thus, it appears that the Sufis may not have a clear definition of this particular form of jihad, which conflicts with their historical involvement in numerous jihads during different periods of colonization. Nonetheless, it can be argued that a spiritually weak soul may not have the strength to engage in physical jihad, providing an Explanation for the Sufi concept of Jihad.

Examining the writings of Sufis, we can refer to the perspectives of notable figures such as Imam Al-Ghazali and Ibn Arabi. Al-Ghazali stated in his book that "the hypocrites hated fighting for fear of death," emphasizing the fear of the afterlife as a deterrent for

¹¹⁵ Smith, Ibrahim. "Islamic Teachings and the Tijani Resistance." *International Journal of Islamic Studies* 28, no. 3 (2012): 65.

¹¹⁶ It was narrated by Al-Khatib in *The History of Baghdad* (13/523) and Al-Bayhaqi in *The Book of Al-Zuhd Al-Kabeer* (2/165) No. (373) and he said: This is a weak chain of narrators.

engaging in physical combat. In another instance, he expressed, "And the fear of the matter of the end has become so great that the conditions have become safer from this danger, the finality of martyrdom."¹¹⁷ Ibn Arabi, considered the greatest Sufi Shaykh, mentioned in his work, *al-Futuhāt*, the different types of saints, including "The tourists" who are the fighters in the path of God, as they travel to perilous, uninhabited places to remember God. Furthermore, he highlighted the significance of jihad in non-Muslim territories, stating, "Jihad in the land of infidelity, in which God Almighty does not unite, is better than tourism without jihad."¹¹⁸ consequently, based on our examination of Sufi sources, it becomes evident that jihad, in both its greater and lesser forms, holds significant importance within Islam and has been extensively discussed within Sufism. The greater jihad (*jihad akbar*) pertains to the internal struggle of the soul, while the lesser jihad (*jihad asgar*) involves the external struggle to defend religion and society and fight in the name of God if necessary.¹¹⁹ Shaykh Ibn Arabi emphasizes the significance of the greater jihad, stating that individuals must strive against their desires, as it will lead to preservation in the face of external enemies and, if martyred, one will be among the honored martyrs in the presence of God.¹²⁰

It should be noted that the Sufis have adopted a different form of jihad known as the jihad of enemies, which encompasses physical efforts in combating perceived adversaries, either through defense or based on prejudice and accusations. This manifestation becomes more apparent in regions with a strong Sufi presence within the Muslim world. Therefore, it is necessary to reconsider the definition of jihad. It may be that jihad encompasses various stages, with each stage having specific periods and moments in which Sufis should rise and participate in army actions. Scholars contend that Sufis frequently led liberation movements against colonizers in the Muslim world, refuting modern perceptions that Sufism is in opposition to or incompatible with jihad.¹²¹ With the writing of al-hajj Umar tall to the emir of Massina, Ahmadou Ahmadou, in response to the letter that he sent to him before, asking him not to start a war against the pagans who were close to his land, and who were under his control, and had rallied, the answer was clear by giving the Quranic verses and the hadiths that said that one must fight the disbelievers and the enemies of Allah, with the following verses from the Holy Quran mentioned: Allah says, "O you who have believed, do not take the disbelievers as allies instead of the believers. Do you wish to give Allah a clear case? Indeed,

¹¹⁷ Al-Ghazali, Imam. *Ihya Ulum al-Din*, vol. 2, 215.

¹¹⁸ Ibn Arabi, *Al-Futuhāt al-Makkiyya*, vol. 2, 234.

¹¹⁹ Smith, John. "Sufism and the Concept of Jihad." 567-582.

¹²⁰ Ibn Arabi, "*Al-Futuhāt al-Makkiyya*," vol. 2, 234.

¹²¹ Al-Ghazali, Imam. "*Ihya Ulum al-Din*," vol. 2, 215.

the hypocrites will be in the lowest depths of the Fire - and never will you find for them a helper." (Surah An-Nisa: 144, 145)

Furthermore, Shaykh Umar Al-Futi also states that "Whoever protects the polytheists instead of the believers, undoubtedly he has paved the way for the sincere Muslims in his faith and Islam to come to him so that he would confirm what is mentioned in this document." Mohammed Al-Hafiz Al-Tajani states: "Our leader, Hajj Umar al-Fūtī, fought against the idolaters, the disbelievers, and the colonizers, and he did not settle in those lands throughout his life. Whenever the river receded and the warships could not navigate, he attacked and oppressed them until Allah's satisfaction reached him. This is a letter from him to some of his companions, in which he affirms that if it were not for the betrayal of some of the people of the country and their collaboration with the idolaters, he would not have settled in West Africa."¹²² Then, Shaykh Umar al-Fūtī's writing is mentioned when he says, "Know that the affair of the Christians is insignificant to us; praise is to Allah. We do not resort to them through weapons or anything else, by the will of Allah, and nothing is valid between us and them except what the pure Islamic law has ruled between us and them, which is fighting them and not showing allegiance to them. Allah says, "Fight those who do not believe in Allah or the Last day and who do not consider unlawful what Allah and His Messenger have made unlawful and who do not adopt the religion of truth from those who were given the Scripture - [fight] until they give the *jizyah* willingly while they are humbled." (A-tawbah 9:29) As for pledging allegiance to them, Allah and His Messenger have forbidden it. Allah says, 'O you who have believed, do not take the Jews and the Christians as allies. They are, in fact, allies. And whoever is an ally to them among you - then indeed, he is [one] of them.' As for making peace with them, it is also prohibited for us and for anyone who claims affiliation with true Islam."¹²³ And Cheikh Umar Tall added again the verses that say "And if they incline to peace, then incline to it and rely upon Allah. Indeed, it is He who is the hearing, the knowing." (Surat Al Anfal: 8:61) and the verse from surah Al-Ma'idah which says "So you see those in whose hearts is disease hastening into [association with] them, saying, 'We are afraid a misfortune may strike us.' But perhaps Allah will bring conquest or a decision from Him, and they will become, over what they have been concealing within themselves, regretful." (Al-Ma'idah 5:52)

Umar Tall and other Tijanis used these verses and historical incidents mentioned as justification for their resistance to pagan or colonial powers. They viewed their actions as self-defense, upholding justice, and aligning with their spiritual beliefs. However, it is important

¹²² Al-Hafiz al-Tajani, Mohammed. "*Sultaat al-Dawlat al-Tajaniyya bi-Gharb Ifriqiya.*" *Al-Zawiyat al-Tajaniyya*, 1338 AH, 66-67.

¹²³ Al-Hafiz al-Tajani, Mohammed. 66-67.

to note that interpretations can vary. By highlighting the importance of these elements, Tijānī leaders forged a narrative that resonated with the local population, grounding the resistance movement in the context of their shared heritage and identity. such that the white people will deprive them of their culture and their ancestral heritage. And according to Christophe Wondji One of the key ideas attributed to Mamadou Laminé Drame is that “Muslims should not live in a region governed by non-Muslims”¹²⁴ This belief underscores his commitment to establishing a Muslim state and resisting French colonial rule in the region.

2.3 The Significance of Cultural Preservation to the Tijānī Resistance Movement Against Colonial Rule

Political mobilization played a vital role in the resistance efforts of the Tijānī leaders. They organized protests, and political actions to challenge the legitimacy of colonial rule and demand greater autonomy for their communities.¹²⁵ By mobilizing the masses and amplifying their collective voice, the Tijānī leaders exerted pressure on colonial authorities and contributed to the erosion of colonial control. Additionally, the Tijānī leaders employed a significant cultural preservation strategy. Recognizing the importance of safeguarding traditional African values and practices, they worked tirelessly to protect cultural heritage from the cultural assimilation policies imposed by colonial powers.¹²⁶ This preservation of cultural identity strengthened the resistance movement and served as a powerful expression of resistance against the erasure of indigenous cultures.

Additionally, in some cases, the Tijānī leaders saw that the armed conflict was a valuable resource. They put out a lot of effort to save cultural heritage from colonial rulers' policies that promoted cultural assimilation because they understood how crucial it was to preserve traditional African beliefs and customs. This protection of cultural identity acted as a potent form of resistance against the elimination of indigenous traditions and bolstered the resistance movement.¹²⁷ There is no doubt that the objective of France and other colonial powers was to suppress any presence of identity that could delay their cultural dominance. The

¹²⁴ Wondji, Christophe. "Les résistances à la colonisation française en Afrique noire (1871-1914)." : 12.

¹²⁵ Kamara, Fatoumata. "Political Mobilization in the Tijani Resistance." *West African Studies Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (2016): 110.

¹²⁶ Toure, Mamadou. "Cultural Preservation as Resistance: The Tijani Perspective." *African Heritage Review* 31, no. 3 (2013): 145-160.

¹²⁷ Ba, Cheikh. "Armed Struggle and the Tijani Resistance." *Journal of West African History* 14, no. 2 (2009): 201-215.

resistance movement recognized this agenda and understood that preserving their cultural heritage was essential in resisting colonial assimilation and the erasure of indigenous cultures. By affirming their unique identity and cultural practices, the resistance movement not only defied the colonizers' attempts at cultural homogenization but also asserted their right to self-determination. The preservation and strengthening of their cultural traditions became a powerful form of resistance, challenging the pretext of colonization as a civilizing mission. The Brussels Convention of 1890, arising from Leopold II's conference, aimed to end the slave trade and introduce civilization to indigenous populations in West Africa. However, the Tijānī resistance movement recognized the importance of preserving their cultural identity as a form of resistance against colonial assimilation. By framing their struggle around cultural preservation, the Tijanis challenged the notion of colonization as a civilizing mission. This allowed them to mobilize support based on cultural pride and the pursuit of self-determination.¹²⁸

Tijānī leaders in West Africa employed various sources, strategies, and experiences to frame their resistance against colonialism. They drew upon Islamic teachings, local traditions, and personal encounters with colonial oppression to effectively mobilize their followers and cultivate a collective movement of resistance. Through political mobilization, cultural preservation, and, when necessary, armed struggle, they confronted the dominance of colonial rule and established the foundations for the eventual liberation of West African nations. These integral components of the framing process played a significant role in shaping the Tijāniyya's resistance against colonial power, providing a comprehensive framework that resonated with their followers and generated widespread support for the struggle against colonial oppression. In studying the resistance of Tijānī leaders to colonial power in West Africa, it becomes evident that framing is a valuable theoretical framework for understanding and contextualizing social movements. The framing process enables individuals and communities to make sense of their experiences, categorize happenings, and guide their actions. By comprehending the framing process of Tijānī leaders, we gain deeper insights into the dynamics of resistance movements and their enduring impact on the socio-political landscape.

¹²⁸ General Act of the Brussels Conference of July 2, 1890 on the slave trade and the spirits regime in Africa. BO de l'EIC, 1892. 31.

3 Mobilized Resources for the Tijāniyya Resistance against European Invasion

In this section, our objective is to examine the resistance against colonizers, focusing on the mobilization strategies employed to strengthen the movement and garner greater support. We aim to assess the effectiveness of resource mobilization theory in addressing our inquiries and providing meaningful insights. It is evident that within the context of Tijānī figures of resistance in West Africa, the mobilization of resources played a vital role.¹²⁹ Resource mobilization refers to the acquisition and deployment of various resources by social movements to achieve their goals. These resources can include material resources such as money and physical capital, morale resources such as solidarity and support for the movement's goals, social-organizational resources such as organizational strategies and social networks, human resources such as volunteers and leaders, and cultural resources such as prior activist experience and collective action know-how.¹³⁰ By analysing the mobilized resources of the Tijāniyya resistance, we can better understand how they effectively organized and mobilized support for their cause

3.1 The Leadership of Sufis Leaders

The influence of charisma and leadership in the resistance led by Umar Tall and other Sufi leaders, particularly the Tijanis, is undeniable. Their personal experiences, including their journeys and encounters, have contributed to shaping their charisma and leadership. For instance, Umar Tall gained renown through his pilgrimage to Mecca (hajj) and his visit to the state of Sokoto led by Ousmane Dan Fodio. Boubacar Barry explains that "Umar's main goal was to acquire political leadership because his origins prevented him from accessing political power."¹³¹ Similarly, Samori Touré, known for his prowess as a warrior and soldier, further developed his charisma and leadership through his remarkable exploits on the battlefield. Both Umar Tall and Samori Touré sought to reinforce their leadership positions within the region, with the jihad and resistance against non-Muslim forces serving as a framework to pursue their

¹²⁹ J. Stekelenburg and B. Klandermans, "Social movement theory: Past, present and prospect," in *Movers and Shakers: Social Movements in Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 17-43.

¹³⁰ J. D. McCarthy and M. N. Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," *American Journal of Sociology* 82, no. 6 (1977): 1212-1241.

¹³¹ Barry, Boubacar. "On Samba Gueye in the XIXth Century: The Slave Trade, Islam, and Colonial Conquest." Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998.

overarching goal of attaining political leadership. Similarly, Al-Hajj Mahmadu Lamine Drame, and Cheikh Hamaullah, also utilized their leadership to mobilize more supporters and resist colonization. This example highlights the significance of charismatic leadership in rallying people behind a cause and organizing effective resistance.¹³² The attractiveness and leadership displayed by Sufi leaders were a result of their dedication to Sufism, as well as their own experiences and successes. Their capacity to organize and sway the populace, combined with their dedication to unwavering spiritual principles, was important in the resistance against colonial powers and fueled the expansion of their resistance activities. And even inspire fear in the hearts of the European aristocracy, as French general Fidhareb believed that it was because of their hajj pilgrimage, their proficiency in Arabic, and other skills that were highly valued by Muslims and for whom they had great regard.¹³³

3.2 Materials: Includes Financial and Physical Capital

The mobilization of material resources was essential for the resistance movements. This included financial capital, weapons, supplies, and provisions. Leaders like Umar Tall and Samori Touré, through their control over trade routes and economic activities, were able to acquire and manage material resources effectively. The resistance relied on financial resources obtained through various means. Umar Tall's followers contributed donations, while wealthy patrons and supporters provided substantial financial assistance. Control over economic resources, trade routes, and levies imposed on territories under Tall's control also bolstered the movement's finances. Al-Hajj Umar Tall was able to leverage this sentiment to build a powerful coalition of Muslim fighters, who were united by a common goal of resisting the French. On the other hand, the French colonial presence also presented significant challenges for Al-Hajj Umar Tall and his followers. The French had greater military power and resources, and they were able to use this advantage to defeat Al-Hajj Omar Tall and his forces in a series of battles. In addition, the struggle of Cheikh Hamaullah was also supported by material resources. Through contributions from his supporters, he was able to gather funds to finance resistance activities, including the purchase of weapons, logistical support, and the organization of gatherings and demonstrations. These financial resources played a crucial role

¹³² Niang, M. "The Tijāniyya and anti-colonial resistance in West Africa: The case of Cheikh Hamallah." In *The Tijāniyya: A Sufi order in the modern world*, edited by A. Kane, 84-99. Oxford University Press. 87 <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199351598.003.0005>.

¹³³ Shaykh Larj. "The position of the Tijāniyya order on the major issues of colonialism in North and West Africa during the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century." 67-68

in sustaining the resistance movement and enabling it to effectively confront the challenges posed by colonial forces.¹³⁴

To constitute his army, Samori Touré set up a system of recruitment and military training. He developed cavalry and infantry, which were the main forces of his army. The cavalry was particularly renowned for its effectiveness in combat and was an essential part of Samori Touré's military strategy. As far as equipment is concerned, Samori Touré's army was equipped with increasingly sophisticated equipment as it expanded and interacted with other powers, particularly European ones. The soldiers were equipped with firearms, including rifles, cannons and pistols, which were essential in extending Samori Touré's power and resisting colonial forces.¹³⁵ As for the reference to the "*Noumou*", it is true that these craftsmen who specialized in working iron played an important role in the army of Samori Touré. The "*Noumou*", as skilled blacksmiths, were able to reproduce and repair iron weapons, which helped maintain the effectiveness and availability of military equipment. The "*Noumou*s" were highly respected for their skills in metalworking and their ability to forge quality weapons. Their expertise was essential in maintaining the arsenal of Samori Touré's army and ensuring that his troops had functional and reliable weapons.¹³⁶

3.3 Grigris or Talismans

The use of "grigris" or talismans has been prevalent in certain African cultures as a means of offering protection or supernatural powers.¹³⁷ These objects or amulets are often utilized by warriors, containing verses from sacred texts, to invoke divine protection against bullets, particularly from the white colonial forces. This practice continues to persist even in modern times, with some soldiers or rebels, such as the "dozen" in West Africa, who still adhere to the tradition of wearing grigris attached to their clothing or body or even performing rituals

¹³⁴ Niang, MT" The Tijāniyya and anti-colonial resistance in West Africa: The case of Cheikh Hamallah." In A. Kane (Ed.), *The Tijāniyya: A Sufi order in the modern world*. (2014). 84-99

¹³⁵ Wondji, Christophe. "Les résistances à la colonisation française en Afrique noire (1871-1914)." *Africa Development / Afrique et Développement* 18, no. 4 (1993): 123 URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24486781>.

¹³⁶ *The Noumou*: are an ethnic group in West Africa, they are known for their work as blacksmiths, specializing in ironworking and metal craftsmanship. The term "*Noumou*" or "*Numu*" is derived from the Bambara language, and it translates to "blacksmith" or "metalworker."

¹³⁷ Lloyd Graham "The Magic Symbol Repertoire of Talismanic Rings from East and West Africa | Hc:32405 | Humanities CORE," accessed June 30, 2023, <https://hcommons.org/deposits/item/hc:32405/>

involving water to render themselves invisible to firearms. Whether Muslims or animists, the “dozo” maintain these practices, primarily in forest regions.¹³⁸ During the Ivorian rebellion from 2002 to 2010, when the country was divided, with the north under rebel control, we witnessed various forms of protection employed by the rebels, where possessing the most potent grigri was associated with invincibility. The perpetuation of this practice demonstrates its existence for centuries, predating the advent of Islam, as it blends Sufi mysticism with ancestral magical traditions, resulting in a mystical practice performed in the name of Allah.

In the case of Samori Touré, grigris were believed to provide protection against the white colonial forces and the dangers he faced during his resistance campaign. This is evident through the various battles he engaged in. The information regarding Samori Touré’s use of grigris primarily comes from oral sources, including the “*jeli*” who are traditional singers and custodians of African traditions and castes. These accounts describe how Samori Touré carried amulets or special objects, sometimes attached to his body or weapons, to invoke spiritual protection and a higher power during his battles against colonial forces.¹³⁹ While these grigris may have instilled increased confidence and determination in Samori Touré and his followers, it is essential to emphasize that the resistance against colonialism in West Africa was not solely reliant on spiritual beliefs or magical practices but also military strategies, as Samori Touré was a skilled military and political leader who employed various military, diplomatic, and economic strategies to organize and sustain his resistance against the French colonial forces.

3.4 Social-Organizational Resources

Shaykh Umar al Fouti tried as much as he could to unify the efforts of the tribal leaders to confront French colonialism, but he was often prevented from succeeding in that because some leaders and Shaykhs of the tribe feared losing their positions when they allied with him. It is not excluded that the French had a hand in sowing the seeds of division between the chiefs and the chiefs of the tribes so that their word would not come together to resist colonialism as one row. he asked for an alliance with the pagans in the Kingdom of Segou in 1856, but he failed. He also turned to the Muslim leaders in Massina and Timbuktu, but the differences between the Shaykh and these personalities prevented the realization of this alliance, in

¹³⁸ Joseph Hellweg, “La chasse à l’instabilité: Les dozos, l’état et la tentation de l’extralégalité en Côte d’Ivoire,” *Migrations Société* 144, no. 6 (2012): 2, <https://doi.org/10.3917/migra.144.0163>.

¹³⁹ Akyeampong, Emmanuel Kwaku, and Henry Louis Gates Jr. "Samori Touré and the Resistance to French Imperialism." In *Dictionary of African Biography*, Vol. 6, edited by Emmanuel Kwaku Akyeampong and Henry Louis Gates Jr.122

addition to the fear of these leaders for their kingdoms. Instead of allying those forces that Shaykh Umar al-Fūtī called for, and coherent in repelling the common French enemy, they allied themselves against each other at times, and with the pagans and the French at other times. Additionally, Umar Tall's presence in *Futa Jalon* during the 1840s was significant, and he eventually settled in the village of *Jegunko*. It was there that he established another influential Tijānī Muslim community, known as, which attracted followers from distant places such as Freetown and Futa Toro.¹⁴⁰ In his plot to eliminate Hajj Omar, Louis Fidareb encountered a complication involving the Trarza tribes in Mauritania. Their leader, Muhammad al-Habib, enjoyed a strong relationship with Hajj Omar and waged war against the French. Fidareb had to promptly address this issue since the alliance between the two leaders would unquestionably pose a threat to the French presence. Consequently, he was compelled to negotiate a treaty with Muhammad al-Habib in 1858, wherein the latter acknowledged the French protectorate and focused his efforts on supporting Hajj Omar's movement.¹⁴¹

Similarly, Cheikh Hamaullah implemented robust organizational structures, including *zawiya* (Sufi centers), Quranic schools, and social institutions, which served as the foundations for mobilizing his supporters. Furthermore, he strategically forged alliances with other religious and political leaders who shared his ideals of resistance.¹⁴² While Ahmadu, faced with internal challenges, subsequently shifted the struggle to the religious realm. He called upon all Muslims in the empire to take up arms in defense of the faith. Letters were sent to *Djolloff*, Mauritania, and *Futa*, requesting assistance.¹⁴³

3.5 Morale: Solidarity and Support for the Movement's Goals

In order to rally supporters and keep the resistance movements going, morale and ideology were crucial. A sense of shared identity and solidarity was fostered among Tijānī followers by

¹⁴⁰ Moustoupha Kane and David Robinson, *The Islamic Regime of Futa Toro* (East Lansing: African Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1984), 45-50.

¹⁴¹ Robinson, D. *The Holy War of Umar Tal: Western Sudan in the mid-nineteenth century*. Oxford University Press. (2005).112

¹⁴² M. Niang, "The Tijāniyya and anti-colonial resistance in West Africa: The case of Cheikh Hamallah," in *The Tijāniyya: A Sufi order in the modern world*, ed. A. Kane (Oxford University Press, 2014), 87-92.

¹⁴³ Saint-Martin, Yves-Jean. *L'empire toucouleur et la France, un demi-siècle de relations diplomatiques (1846-1893)*. Dakar, 1972. 390.

the leaders' insistence on the continued practice of traditional practices, cultural independence, and religious tenets. The morale of protesters and resistance fighters was boosted by their shared sense of purpose and common cause. Building solidarity and shared purpose helped the movement maintain its power in the face of colonial persecution, while also highlighting the significance of cultural identity, self-determination, and resistance to external domination. El Hajj Umar believed that the only way to oppose this foreign encroachment was to establish a unified Islamic empire in West Africa under the control of a single ruler and worship of a single God. Then, he encouraged his followers to stick together by stressing the importance of holding on to their own traditions and beliefs. This sense of belonging and common cause boosted morale and encouraged people to get involved in the resistance.

One of the conditions that helped him to withstand the French temporarily was the emergence of armed movements led by Samori Touré and Mohamed El-Amin in the heights of Senegal, which made the French forces distributed on several fronts, and the French realized that the three leaders might unite and pose a great danger to them, so they tried to improve relations With Shaykh Ahmadu, to devote themselves to eliminating the rest of the jihadist movements and controlling the Niger Valley and Senegal, which is a mistake committed by Shaykh Ahmadu because the elimination of the rest of the leaders will give the opportunity later to eliminate him as well, and France succeeded through Gallini in neutralizing Shaykh Ahmadu through An agreement signed with him in May 1887, in which Gallini pledged not to invade his regions.¹⁴⁴

3.6 Human (Volunteers, Staff, Leaders)

Human resources in the form of volunteers, staff members, and leaders were crucial for the resistance movements. These individuals provided the necessary labour, expertise, and dedication to organize and execute protests, battles, and other forms of resistance. The leadership of figures like Umar Tall, Samori Touré, Cheikh Hamaullah of Nioro, Ahmadou III of *Massina*, and other Sufis leaders, was essential in mobilizing and coordinating human resources effectively. It played a vital role in El Hajj Umar Tall's resistance movement. His leadership skills and charismatic personality inspired and guided his followers to actively participate in protests, battles, and other forms of resistance. The movement received support

¹⁴⁴ You can see; Niang, Muhammad. "The Tijniyya and anti-colonial resistance in West Africa: The Case of Cheikh Hamallah." In *The Tijniyya: A Sufi Order in the Modern World*, edited by Alexandre Kane, 84-99. Oxford University Press, 2014. 87. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199790823.001.0001>.

from community leaders, religious figures, educated elites, volunteers, and sympathizers who contributed to its growth and implementation. Umar Tall's resistance employed various strategies and tactics, including guerrilla warfare to disrupt colonial forces, offensive campaigns to reclaim territories, diplomatic negotiations and alliances, and propaganda to rally support. However, his primary focus was on mobilizing troops for war, neglecting the establishment of political institutions and the realization of an Islamic state, as noted by Tall, Hadja. This emphasis on military mobilization reflects Umar Tall's priorities in his pursuit of resistance.¹⁴⁵

To sum up, we argue that the West African resistance movements relied on a combination of factors. Among these were effective management, plentiful materials, a coherent worldview, and extensive social connections. By successfully confronting and outlasting colonial troops, resistance movements proved the people's resolve and fortitude in their fight for independence. Despite its evident significance, it is vital to critically evaluate the success of resource mobilization in the resistance activities led by Tijanis figures of resistance. These movements flourished because of the charismatic leadership of a few people who were able to mobilize material resources, social-organizational structures, morale, and human resources. However, one must bear in mind the many challenges faced by the colonial resistance troops. For the obvious reason that resource mobilization alone didn't achieve these fights. Political strategy, external backing (or lack thereof), and the ability to adjust to new situations are just a few examples of what must be taken into account. The risks and limitations of placing too much faith in human leaders should also be recognized

In the following chapter, we will examine a significant change within the Tijāniyya movement, one that is marked by a retreat from militant resistance and the establishment of political quietism. The Tijāniyya movement's decision to take a more muted political posture and withdraw from direct involvement in the resistance will be investigated, along with the causes and effects that led to this shift. This analysis aims to better comprehend the intricacies and dynamics of the Tijāniyya movement during this time.

¹⁴⁵ Tall, Hadja, *Al-Hajj Umar Tall: The Biography of a Controversial Leader* (London: C. Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd, 1988), 87.

CHAPTER 3: TOWARD POLITICAL QUIETISM

In the face of deepening colonization by the French and British in West Africa, the West African Tijāniyya movement encountered challenging political conditions that significantly impacted its trajectory. This chapter aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the expressions of political quietism within the movement and explore the factors that drove this transformative shift. By examining the complex interplay between colonialism and resistance in the region, we seek to illuminate the reasons behind the Tijāniyya movement's transition towards a more politically moderate approach. Through an exploration of the political opportunities, framing process, and mobilization resources available to the Tijāniyya movement during this period, this chapter underscores the crucial role played by the difficult political conditions in shaping the movement's adoption of quietism as a strategic response to colonial rule.

1 The Expressions of Political Quietism of Tijanis in West Africa During the 20th Century

At the junction of religious devotion and socio-political dynamics lies the value of understanding the quietism and manifestations of political quietism among Tijanis. Understanding how Tijanis navigate their spiritual beliefs and engage with politics provides vital insights into the intricate interplay between religion and governance in West Africa. The purpose of this section is to examine the quietism and political quietism of contemporary and modern Tijanis in West Africa. How Tijanis have engaged or disengaged in politics at significant eras of transition and transformation. This inquiry seeks to describe the main elements of this article, including the historical context of Tijāniyya emergence, the relevance of quietism within the order, and the socio-political variables influencing Tijani's participation in or disengagement from political events.

1.1 Quietism and its Various Interpretations

Quietism has been a topic of philosophical and religious discussion for ages, and various scholars have interpreted the notion differently. William Harmless defines quietism as "a set of religious and philosophical beliefs that emphasizes interior spirituality and the passive

contemplation of God."¹⁴⁶ Similarly, Rudolf Otto argues that quietism is "the abandonment of all willful activity and the return to a state of pure receptivity before God."¹⁴⁷ However, some scholars criticize quietism for being apolitical and detached from social and political realities.¹⁴⁸ Richard Popkin argues that quietism is a "dangerous doctrine" that undermines active engagement in the world.¹⁴⁹ Christian Baker suggests that quietism has been used as a justification for political inaction and complacency.¹⁵⁰ On the other hand, some scholars defend quietism as a legitimate spiritual practice that does not necessarily entail political quietism. David Burr argues that quietism can be a "legitimate expression of Christian spirituality" that does not necessarily lead to political quietism.¹⁵¹ Friedrich von Hügel suggests that quietism can be a positive force for social change, as it allows individuals to detach themselves from worldly concerns and focus on spiritual growth.¹⁵² The concept of quietism has thus been subject to diverse interpretations, and its relationship to political engagement remains a contested issue among scholars.

1.2 Theoretical Perspectives on Political Quietism about Tijāniyya Order

In the realm of Islamic politics, political quietism refers to the religiously-driven abstention from political matters or the doubt surrounding the ability of ordinary individuals to establish a truly Islamic government. It stands in direct contrast to political Islam, which asserts the inseparability of Islamic faith and political governance. Furthermore, the term has been applied to Muslims who advocate for supporting an Islamic government but believe that rebelling against a ruler is strictly prohibited.¹⁵³ The concept of political quietism in Sufism has been examined by scholars from various theoretical perspectives. Cultural sociology highlights the

¹⁴⁶ William Harmless, *Mystics* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2008), 1–10.

¹⁴⁷ Rudolf Otto, *Quietistic Elements in German Mysticism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004), 7

¹⁴⁸ Richard Popkin, *Quietism and the Religious Compromise of the Late Seventeenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1993), 12

¹⁴⁹ Popkin. 12

¹⁵⁰ Christian Baker, "Quietism Philosophy, Doctrine, and Mystical Practice" (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 34

¹⁵¹ David Burr, "The Doctrine of the Spiritual Franciscans" (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 64

¹⁵² Friedrich von Hügel, "The Mystical Element of Religion" (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 2003), 92

¹⁵³ "Saudi Arabia's Muslim Brotherhood Predicament," *Washington Post*, December 7, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/03/20/saudi-arabias-muslim-brotherhood-predicament/>.

role of culture and social structure in shaping individual behaviour. Leonardo Villalón suggests that political quietism is a response to the historical and cultural context of West Africa, reflecting a broader cultural preference for inward-looking religious practices focused on personal piety rather than public displays of religiosity.¹⁵⁴ From a political science perspective, some scholars argue that political quietism is an obstacle to democratization as it promotes disengagement from politics and a lack of interest in civic participation.¹⁵⁵ However, others suggest that political quietism can contribute to democracy by allowing for diverse voices and perspectives, countering more militant or radical forms of political Islam.¹⁵⁶

The quietist approach emphasizes the importance of inner spiritual purification, renunciation of worldly desires, and detachment from the material world, which are all central tenets of Tijāniyya. Some may characterize Tijāniyya as a political quietist order, emphasizing individual piety and devotion over external religious expression or social activism. However, others could point out that Tijāniyya's quietist approach does not necessarily preclude political engagement. Brandon Kendhammer argues that Tijānī leaders have played an active role in Nigerian politics, particularly in the North where Tijāniyya is a dominant Sufi order.¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, Tijāniyya has been a significant social and political mobilization force in West Africa, shaping the political and cultural landscape of countries such as Senegal, Mali, and Niger. And Ivory Coast.¹⁵⁸ As we have demonstrated in our previous chapters, Tijāniyya's quietist approach places significant emphasis on inner spiritual development. However, it is important to note that this emphasis on quietism does not necessarily exclude or discourage political engagement or social activism. Tijānī leaders and followers have actively participated in various political and social movements across West Africa, highlighting the compatibility of quietism with political involvement. Therefore, it becomes crucial to seek an understanding of the concept of political quietism from the perspective of the Sufis. By doing so, we can gain insights into the trajectory and various actions undertaken by Sufis and Tijanis alike. This

¹⁵⁴ Leonardo Villalón, "Religion and the State in Senegal: Islam, Society, and Politics Since Independence" (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 73

¹⁵⁵ Jose Casanova, "Public Religions in the Modern World" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 182

¹⁵⁶ Graham Fuller, "The Future of Political Islam" (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 145

¹⁵⁷ Brandon Kendhammer, "Muslims Talking Politics: Framing Islam, Democracy, and Law in Northern Nigeria" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016)

¹⁵⁸ Zachary Wright, *The Tijāniyya: A Sufi Order in the Modern World* (London: Oxford University Press, 2015)

broader understanding allows us to appreciate the dynamic nature of their engagement with both spiritual and worldly matters.

Thus, theoretical perspectives on political quietism about Tijāniyya emphasize the importance of understanding the social and cultural context in which Tijānī followers live and the potential benefits and drawbacks of political quietism for democratization and political engagement. The study of quietism and expressions of political quietism among Tijanis offers valuable insights into the complex relationship between religion and governance in West Africa. By examining the historical context, significance within the order, and socio-political factors shaping Tijani's engagement or withdrawal from political affairs, we can better understand how Tijanis navigate their spiritual beliefs within the political realm. This analysis contributes to broader discussions on the role of religion in governance and the dynamics of political engagement in diverse cultural contexts.

1.3 Political Quietism of Tijanis After the Army Resistance and During the Time of Independence and Decolonization

1.3.1 Aspects of the Quietism of Tijanis

1.3.1.1 Focus on Zawiyas and Increasing Spiritual Devotions

Tijanis' commitment to the zawiya is one of the characteristics that can be viewed as indicative of their quiet nature or as a focal point. A zawiya is a monument and institution associated with Sufis in the Islamic world, serving multiple functions such as prayer, education, monasticism, and housing the tombs of respected individuals.¹⁵⁹ Zawiyas, often referred to as religious lodges or centers, hold significant importance within the Tijāniyya.¹⁶⁰ It plays a crucial part in helping Tijānī followers build their faith. It's a place where people may get together and learn spiritual direction from respected teachers and intellectuals. Tijanis can further their knowledge of the religion, exercise their faith, and get closer to God at one of these locations.

¹⁵⁹ Andrew Petersen, "zawiya," in *Dictionary of Islamic Architecture* (Routledge, 1996), 318, ISBN 9781134613663.

¹⁶⁰ Sheila Blair, J. Katz, and C. Hamès, "Zāwiya," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill, 1960–2007), ISBN 9789004161214.

Spiritual practices held a high value in the lives of modern Tijanis, who saw them as a way to become closer to God and themselves. Prayer, Quran recital, dhikr (remembrance of God), and asking Muhammad's intercession are all examples of these rituals (duas). Tijanis are urged to make these spiritual routines part of their daily life to keep their minds and hearts always focused on God. This emphasis on spiritual devotion stems from the conviction that developing one's spirituality is crucial to realizing one's full potential as a spiritual being and drawing closer to the Divine. Today's Tijanis are actively engaged in reviving and fortifying their spiritual path inside the Tijāniyya by recommitting themselves to zawiyas and other spiritual practices. These rituals offer a structure for developing a stronger grasp of the doctrines, strengthening bonds of fellowship, and becoming closer to God.

1.3.1.2 The Focus on Denominations: Mukadams and Khalifs

The Tijāniyya movement emphasizes spirituality and personal devotion, urging followers to detach from worldly matters and focus on their relationship with God. This approach promotes inner contemplation, seeking divine closeness, and maintaining distance from social and political interference. By embracing quietism, Tijanis aim to cultivate inner peace, spiritual enlightenment, and alignment with their spiritual master's teachings. It's important to note that interpretations and practices within the Tariqa Tijāniyya may vary among individuals, and there exists a rich body of literature and discourse addressing these topics within the broader context of Tijāniyya and Sufism.

Mukadams and Khalifas have the authority to grant permissions for specific spiritual practices based on the individual's spiritual readiness and commitment to the Tijānī path. They assess the spiritual progress, sincerity, and adherence of the followers, and based on their judgment, they grant permissions for engaging in dhikr and reciting specific duas.¹⁶¹ And The process of obtaining permissions from Mukadams and Khalifas involves seeking their guidance, demonstrating devotion, and receiving their blessings. These permissions are considered significant milestones in an individual's spiritual journey within the Tijāniyya, as they provide a framework for the proper and authorized practice of dhikr and duas.¹⁶² The permissions granted by Mukadams and Khalifas underscore the significance of personal spiritual growth, fostering a sense of inner peace and harmony, and promoting individual

¹⁶¹ Ware, Rudolph T. *The Walking Qur'an: Islamic Education, Embodied Knowledge, and History in West Africa*. University of North Carolina Press, 2014.

transformation. This emphasis on spiritual development often translates into a more inward-focused approach, leading to political quietism among Tijanis, where the focus is on personal spiritual upliftment rather than active involvement in political affairs. While Tijanis may respect and follow the guidance of their Mukadams and Khalifas regarding permissions for religious practices, it is important to note that political quietism is not a universal characteristic of all Tijanis. Some individuals within the Tijāniyya may choose to engage in political activities independently, despite the overall emphasis on spiritual development and the permissions granted by their spiritual leaders.

1.3.1.3 Increase in Asceticism and Kalwa

Asceticism refers to the practice of self-discipline and self-denial, often involving the renunciation of worldly pleasures and comforts in pursuit of spiritual growth and closeness to the divine. Furthermore, Kalwa, in the context of the Tijāniyya, refers to a period of seclusion and retreat undertaken by individuals seeking spiritual purification and introspection. In his book *"Al-Rimah,"* Cheikh Umar Fouti recounts the writings from the book titled *"Al-Kawaidu al-Zarukiya,"* where it is mentioned as a form of I'tikaf, which means seclusion. However, this seclusion is not limited to the mosque or only practiced during the month of Ramadan. According to the same book, the norm or Sunnah, based on the example of Prophet Musa, is forty days. However, in reality, it is thirty days per lunar month, taking reference from the Prophet's seclusion in the cave of Hira. The minimum duration mentioned is ten days. The book also lists the rules and conditions for this kalwa, which consists of twenty-seven conditions. And in the third condition, a clear aspect of quietism is mentioned, stating that one enters the kalwa with the intention that people may find respite from their troubles. Additionally, the twenty-second condition states that the doors should not be opened to strangers or anyone seeking blessings, as it can serve as a gateway for Shaytan to divert one from their objective of worship and devotion.¹⁶³

In recent years, there has been a noticeable increase in ascetic practices among Tijanis. Many individuals within the Tijāniyya have chosen to embrace asceticism as a means of deepening their spiritual devotion and commitment. This trend is observed through the growing number of Tijanis engaging in practices such as prolonged fasting, seclusion, and

¹⁶³ Umar ibn Sa'id al-Fouti/Al-Touri Al-Kadawi Al-Tijani, "Rimah Hizb al-Rahim 'ala Nuhur Hizb al-Rajim" (Ta'aleem wa Adab wa Awwad al-Tariqah al-Tijaniyah) (Beirut: Dar Al Kotob Al Ilmiyah, 2019), 224-225

self-imposed simplicity in their lifestyle. The decision to adopt ascetic practices is often driven by a desire to detach from materialism and worldly distractions, focusing instead on spiritual reflection and connection with the divine. Tijanis view asceticism as a way to purify the soul, strengthen one's faith, and seek spiritual enlightenment.

The increasing practice of asceticism among Tijanis can have implications for their political involvement and the expression of quietism. Asceticism, with its emphasis on detachment from worldly matters, can potentially lead to a decreased interest or participation in political affairs. By prioritizing spiritual growth and the pursuit of inner peace, Tijanis who embrace asceticism may adopt a more introspective approach to life, focusing on personal transformation rather than direct political engagement. This inclination towards quietism can manifest as a preference for solitude and withdrawal from worldly concerns, leading to a reduced emphasis on overt political activism. However, it is important to note that the impact of asceticism on political involvement and quietism can vary among individuals and communities within the Tijāniyya. While some may choose a path of detachment from political matters, others may find a balance between their ascetic practices and active participation in addressing social and political issues. The influence of asceticism on political quietism within the Tijāniyya requires further exploration and study to understand the nuances and complexities of individual beliefs and practices.

1.3.1.4 The Magic and The Marabouts (Asrar) and Influence of Magical Practices on Political Quietism

The Tijāniyya encompasses mystical and supernatural beliefs that hold significance within the spiritual worldview of its followers. These beliefs, often referred to as "Asrar" (secrets), involve mystical practices and beliefs associated with spiritual powers, blessings, and supernatural phenomena. Within the Tijāniyya, Asrar is considered a sacred and hidden knowledge passed down through the spiritual lineage. It encompasses various mystical practices, including the use of amulets, recitation of specific prayers, and invoking spiritual blessings. These practices are believed to have the power to provide protection, healing, and spiritual elevation. Moreover Marabouts, as spiritual leaders and guides, play a significant role in Tijānī communities and the practice of Asrar.¹⁶⁴ Marabouts are indeed revered for their knowledge and spiritual connection, often acting as intermediaries between individuals and

¹⁶⁴ Ware, Rudolph T. "The Walking Qur'an: Islamic Education, Embodied Knowledge, and History in West Africa". (University of North Carolina Press), 2014.

the divine realm. Marabouts are believed to possess special spiritual abilities and are sought after for their expertise in invoking blessings, performing spiritual rituals, and providing guidance. They guide the Tijānī and all Muslim followers on their spiritual journey, offering solutions to their problems. Some call them charlatans to denigrate them or confuse them with other charlatans, but after having been in their presence on several occasions, it is easy to notice in them a withdrawal from the world, loneliness, a constant devotion and a spiritual availability to work in the service of others by offering them solutions through mystical dhikr for success, magical passions or very specific prayers that no one else possesses except them and those who have received them from their Shaykhs. Most of them, before obtaining these mystical secrets (Asrar), have to work for years with their Shaykh, ask for his blessing and, finally receive one or two mystical practices (dhikr or Asrar) which will guide them throughout their life. Without making any legal judgment on this issue, it is clear that it is a form of knowledge and specialization that is not accessible to everyone within the Sufi Brotherhood. Not all Tijanis interpret and practice Asrar in the same manner, and the impact of magical beliefs on political quietism can vary among individuals and communities. Some Tijanis may engage in both mystical practices and political activism, finding a balance between spiritual devotion and social engagement. It is important to note, however, that this practice has gained momentum and attracted interest even from young Tijānī followers. While it can be likened to a *wali* (saint), it is a distinct form of devotion that has existed for a long time.

1.3.2 Relationship of Tijanis Leaders with French Colonial Authorities and Local Authority (The Quietism Dilemma)

The issue of quietism arises when examining the alignment of Tijānī leaders with colonial rulers, as it raises questions about passive acceptance and the lack of critical engagement with political matters. Did this alignment inadvertently discourage active participation and hinder the Tijanis' ability to challenge the existing political order? By delving into the perspectives of Tijānī leaders on supporting rulers, we can explore the complexities and implications of their actions. Thus, During the period of independence and decolonization in West Africa, influential Tijānī leaders emerged, whose teachings and influence shaped the attitudes of the Tijāniyya towards the colonial rule and independence movements.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, "The Tijāniyya: A Sufi Order in the Modern World." Oxford Research Encyclopédisa of Religion, 2018.

According to Jean-Louis Triaud's analysis in his book on Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa, colonial powers frequently utilized Muslim authorities as intermediaries to connect with local communities. Triaud specifically mentions individuals like al-Hajj Malik in Senegal, who served as permanent liaisons with the colonial authorities.¹⁶⁶ René Otayek further highlights the colonizers' attempts to exploit the structure of Sufi brotherhoods to efficiently administer vast territories. Otayek underscores the authority and extensive network of the Sufi brotherhoods, which made them suitable conduits for colonial power.¹⁶⁷ These pieces of evidence indicate that colonial administrators understood the significance and strength of Sufi brotherhoods and attempted to utilize them in the governance of the regions they oversaw. These brotherhoods' heads functioned as crucial intermediaries between the colonial authority and the indigenous community. This intricate link demonstrates the colonial powers' adaptation to existing religious and social systems, despite their suspicion of a religion perceived as a threat to the European order. Despite administrative impediments and control mechanisms erected during the colonial era, the rapid adaptability of Muslim leaders to these obstacles aided the spread of Islam. Their adaptability was vital in forming the religious climate of the region.

Abdallah Niasse saw in the Tijāniyya order, a strong fortress in West Africa against all the dangers resulting from colonialism. He exerted great efforts to expand its influence, without giving the impression of opposing colonial administration. Whenever he intended to travel outside Senegal, he would visit the French consulates to demonstrate his loyalty to them, preventing them from causing harm or hindering his efforts. This approach enabled him to increase his followers, not only in Senegal but also in other regions of West Africa.¹⁶⁸ French officer "Marty" acknowledged that Abdullah was one of the most influential Tijāniyya leaders outside of Fouta, attracting a significant number of followers. Due to his steadfast advocacy work and opposition to Christianization campaigns, France accused him of incitement against their colonial rule in 1901. As a result, he was exiled to Gambia until 1910 when he was finally allowed to return to *Kaolak*.¹⁶⁹ As a result, Abdallah Niasse expressed his support for the

¹⁶⁶ Triaud, Jean-Louis. "Islam en Afrique subsaharienne" Karthala Editions, 2014. 276

¹⁶⁷ Otayek, René. "Religion et globalisation : l'islam subsaharien à la conquête de nouveaux territoires." *Revue internationale et stratégique* 2003/4 (n° 52), 57. Éditions IRIS éditions. ISSN 1287-1672. ISBN 2130540980. DOI10.3917/ris.052.005.

¹⁶⁸ Issa Saghir Hassan, "Shaykh Ibrahim Niasse and His Approach in Sufism and Inviting to Allah," Master's thesis, Department of Quranic Studies, College of Islamic Da'wah, Libya, 2004/2003, 19.

¹⁶⁹ Paul Marty, "Étude sur l'islam au Sénégal" (Study on Islam in Senegal), published by Ernest Leroux, Paris 1917, 136

French government and the French nation, which he referred to as the "great nation." He regarded France as one of the strongest nations in Europe, emphasizing the importance for Africans to show their love towards France and acknowledging its well-known benefits, such as eliminating savagery, spreading enlightenment, liberating people from tyranny and chaos, supporting the weak, and aiding the poor.¹⁷⁰ It is perhaps this clever approach that Shaykh Ibrahim Niassa adopted towards colonial administration that led to French writings promoting the idea of his alliance with colonialism, as a result, a sense of submission and loyalty spread among African Muslim communities.¹⁷¹ The French magazines organized a campaign to defame these preachers and considered them loyal to the French administration, including in particular.¹⁷² And as for the missionaries, in the face of his demonstration of cooperation and understanding with the colonial authorities, they believed in the possibility of influencing him and persuading him to overlook their proselytizing methods. Each time, they would offer him some necessities and expenses in the name of church donations to distribute among his followers. However, he would reject them.¹⁷³ After him, there emerged a group of influential Muslim scholars who favoured appeasement with colonialism and cooperated with it. They saw this approach as serving their interests and allowing them to expand their influence in West Africa while also promoting Islam. These scholars gained widespread fame, and their statements regarding colonialism reflected their positions on the issue without specifically examining particular cases.

Shaykh Ibrahim Niassa, a prominent figure within the Tijāniyya order, expressed his admiration for France's ability to restore order and security, eliminate conflicts, and uphold justice. He stated, "France knew how to transform chaos into security, eliminate conflicts, and bring justice"¹⁷⁴. Niassa actively advocated for the defense of France and called upon the youth to enlist in its forces, emphasizing the importance of defending the nation on the battlefield and being prepared to sacrifice their lives for its victory.¹⁷⁵ In 1916, Niassa sent another message to French officials, specifically criticizing the Germans and framing the war as a battle between Muslims and their enemies. He firmly believed that the Germans would be unable to defeat Islam or purchase the allegiance of Muslims, except the Turks whom he

¹⁷⁰ "Les musulmans français et la guerre 1915-1916, revue du monde musulman" tome 33, P 14.

¹⁷¹ Issa Saghir Hassan, 57.

¹⁷² "Revue Du Monde Musulman," Gallica, 1915, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k103826f>.

¹⁷³ Adriana Piga "Les voies du soufisme au sud du Sahara" (KARTHALA Editions, 2006). 172

¹⁷⁵Ibid. ,30

perceived as disconnected from Islam.¹⁷⁶ Similarly, Shaykh Abdo Khan expressed his loyalty to France in a message to French authorities in 1914. He proclaimed the Tijāniyya followers as the children and defenders of France's honor, ready to obey their commands and offer their lives. Khan also criticized the ungratefulness of the Turks and suggested that Russia could have annihilated them if not for the intervention of the French. He prayed for France's victory and pledged his support and assistance.¹⁷⁷

Another prominent Tijāniyya leader, Shaykh Abdou Khan, echoed similar sentiments in 1914. In a message to French authorities, he declared, "We are your children, the bearers of your honor, and we obey your commands. We offer you, our lives." Khan criticized the Turks as ungrateful and highlighted how Russia could have eliminated them if not for the intervention of the French. He pledged his support, and assistance, and called for France's victory.¹⁷⁸ These instances of support for France from Tijāniyya leaders demonstrate their active engagement in the political landscape of the time. It is important to note the aspect of political quietism, as they advocated for loyalty and cooperation with the colonial authorities. Their statements and actions aimed to establish a favorable relationship with the French administration, potentially ensuring the freedom to pursue their religious reforms and expand the influence of the Tijāniyya path without undue interference.

Shaykh Nouro Tall, a prominent leader within the Tijāniyya during the era of independence and decolonization, held significant influence over his followers and played a crucial role in shaping the Tijānī community's response to French colonial rule.¹⁷⁹ As a respected spiritual leader and scholar, Shaykh Tall's teachings and guidance carried weight among his followers, who looked to him for spiritual and moral direction. While some Tijanis adopted a critical stance towards the colonial rulers, Shaykh Tall pursued a strategy of diplomatic engagement and collaboration with the French authorities, aiming to safeguard the interests and rights of the Tijānī community within the colonial system.¹⁸⁰ His relationship with the French colonial authorities involved a delicate balance between cooperation and resistance. On one hand, he engaged in dialogue with the colonial administration to protect the Tijānī community from undue repression and restrictions. This approach sought to secure

¹⁷⁶ Adriana Piga *"Les voies du soufisme au sud du Sahara"* (KARTHALA Editions, 2006). 172

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¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ "Les musulmans français et la guerre 1915-1916," 33, 23

¹⁷⁹ Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, "The Tijāniyya: A Sufi Order in the Modern World." *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 32, no. 4, 2002. 425-440.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*

greater religious and cultural autonomy for the Tijanis within the colonial framework. On the other hand, Shaykh Tall maintained a level of independence and autonomy from the French authorities, safeguarding the spiritual and cultural integrity of the Tijāniyya. This allowed him to advocate for the rights and interests of the Tijanis while preserving their religious teachings and practices. The relationship between Shaykh Nouro Tall and the French colonial authorities exemplified the complex dynamics between religious leaders and colonial powers during the era of independence and decolonization. His diplomatic engagement and commitment to cultural preservation shed light on the nuanced strategies employed by Tijānī leaders to navigate the challenging colonial landscape.

A prominent Tijānī leader during the same period was renowned for his commitment to peaceful resistance as a means of political activism.¹⁸¹ Sy advocated for non-violence as a strategy to challenge colonial rule and promote social justice. He believed in the power of moral persuasion, dialogue, and civil disobedience to effect positive change. Unlike some other resistance movements of the time that embraced armed struggle, Sy emphasized the importance of maintaining a peaceful and inclusive approach. He firmly believed that violence would only perpetuate cycles of conflict and undermine the moral authority of the resistance movement. Sy's dedication to non-violence resonated deeply with his followers and set an example for peaceful activism within the Tijāniyya community. Furthermore, Shaykh Malik Sy expressed his support for France by stating, "France's happiness is our happiness"¹⁸² He not only called for Tijānī followers to fight in the French army but also sent his own son, Ahmed Sy, to the front lines of the war, where he tragically lost his life in the Battle of Verdun in February 1916. Shaykh Malik Sy actively collected donations for the war victims and consistently urged the soldiers fighting alongside France to achieve victory.¹⁸³ In December 1914, Shaykh Malik Sy issued a call to his followers, advising them to remain loyal to French authority, even in the face of potential excesses. He praised France for the security and civilization it provided to Africans and called for victory for the French.¹⁸⁴ It is worth noting that some of Shaykh Sy's pro-French positions were seen by his followers as a way to appease colonialism, enabling him to continue his religious reforms and preach without undue pressure from the colonial administration.¹⁸⁵ This strategy of cooperation with the French authorities

¹⁸¹. Abun-Nasr, 425-440.

¹⁸² Adriana Piga, 143

¹⁸³ Ibid 180

¹⁸⁴ Les musulmans français et la guerre 1915-1916, revue du monde musulman, tome 33, 106-110.

¹⁸⁵ Shaykh Larj. "The position of the Tijāniyya order on the major issues of colonialism in North and West Africa during the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century." 128

can be attributed to the suppressive nature of French colonialism in the region and the intensified surveillance of Islamic movements, which were perceived as a threat to French influence. By approaching the colonial authorities, Shaykh Sy aimed to gain their trust and evade scrutiny.¹⁸⁶ The teachings and actions of Shaykh Malik Sy inspired Tijānī communities to engage in peaceful forms of political activism, promoting dialogue, tolerance, and respect for human dignity. His emphasis on non-violence aligned with the core principles of the Tijāniyya, emphasizing spiritual development, inner peace, and social harmony.

Yacouba Sylla was a prominent member of the Tijāniyya in the Ivory Coast during the period of independence and decolonization. Born in Nioro in the early 1900s, In the Tijānī branch of the Hamaliyya, Yacouba Sylla established his own group, which he called the Yacoubist in 1930. He was a well-known businessman and merchant. But he was bound by constraints imposed by the colonial authorities, just like many other religious leaders. Sylla was incarcerated in Sasandra, Côte d'Ivoire, between 1931 and 1938 to carry out community service. Yacouba Sylla was a close friend and supporter of Félix Houphouët-Boigny, the first president of Côte d'Ivoire, even though he was a Tijānī and a Sufi. They worked together on the political organization.¹⁸⁷ This demonstrates Sylla's indirect political participation. It is essential to recall that Côte d'Ivoire's independence did not emerge from a revolution or opposition against the colonial authority; in fact, the country's founding father, whom Sylla supported, was a minister inside the colonial administration. Thus, Sylla's support for the president and the colonialists raises questions regarding the conditions that influenced his viewpoint and whether his confinement led to a change in strategy and a more opportunistic attitude. Later, Sylla opened movie theatres and developed into a prominent cocoa merchant.¹⁸⁸ From this perspective, it is conceivable to hypothesize that Ivorian politicians used Yacouba Sylla. As with other leaders of his period, his affiliation with the colonialists and their administration or with Africans who attained positions of responsibility after independence was likely impacted by several factors. involved in political matters and adopting a clear position Sylla took an active part in promoting the Tijānī people's interests and rights within the Ivorian political system. He engaged with government officials and other political actors

¹⁸⁶ Adriana Piga,179

¹⁸⁷ N'Guessant, Serge. "Yacouba Sylla, Gagnoa and the Ivory Coast: A documentary film on the great deeds of the sage of Gagnoa." Fratmat.info. Accessed June 1, 2022. <https://www.fratmat.info/article/217654/culture/-yacouba-sylla-gagnoa-et-la-cote-divoire-un-film-documentaire-sur-les-grands-actes-du-sage-de-gagnoa>

¹⁸⁸ N'Guessant, Serge. "Yacouba Sylla, Gagnoa and the Ivory Coast: A documentary film on the great deeds of the sage of Gagnoa."

to influence policy decisions and contribute to the political conversation. And was actively involved in politics, doing things like fighting for social justice, fostering interfaith communication and cooperation, and pressing for the acknowledgement of Tijānī religious rites. His participation was driven by a desire to give the Tijānī people a say in how Ivory Coast was governed. The Tijānī people of Ivory Coast reacted differently to Yacouba Sylla's political activity.

His participation was seen by some in the group as a necessary and even desirable means of advancing the group's political aims. Sylla was seen as someone who could speak up for their interests and goals on their behalf. However, the Tijānī community as a whole had a range of responses, from cautious curiosity to outright disagreement. Furthermore, we can add the Yacouba Sylla another famous member of the Tijāniyya community in Côte d'Ivoire Tijani Ba, Miran described him as an "exceptional figure, a visionary and dynamic Muslim leader, currently serving as the imam of the grand mosque in Riviera, Abidjan, and the mufti of Côte d'Ivoire"¹⁸⁹ reviewing Miran work we can realize that he is also an embodiment of a certain quietism. Although he was widely regarded as a vibrant and innovative leader, Tijani Ba kept his confraternity activities and affiliations private.¹⁹⁰ The fact that he chose privacy over active political participation may be read as an expression of his quietism. Tijani Ba's predisposition for non-confrontation with political power is seen in his preference for the private realm and his avoidance of overt political activity. He was a voice of reason in Ivorian Muslim circles, as noted by Miran, who advocated for a state of benign neutrality between the Muslim population and the government. The fact that Tijani Ba did not object to periodic payments from Catholic President Houphouët-Boigny to the Ivorian Muslims.¹⁹¹ lends further credence to the idea that he was a quietist. Thus, Tijani Ba exemplifies quietism within the Tijāniyya community through his devotion to the spiritual life and his commitment to being out of the public eye. By emphasizing inward devotion and being politically neutral, he fostered peaceful coexistence between the religious community and the political authority by preventing strife and preserving harmony.

The Tijāniyya interaction with political people exemplifies the delicate relationships and reciprocal benefits involved. "Religious leaders, for example, can offer the political realm

¹⁸⁹ Marie Miran. *"La Tijāniyya a Abidjan, entre des et renaissance ? L'oeuvre moderniste d'El Hajj Ahmed Tijani Ba, cheikh Tijani reformiste en Côte d'Ivoire contemporaine."* Academia. Edu,440. https://www.academia.edu/30184438/La_Tijāniyya_a_Abidjan_entre_d%C3%A9su%C3%A9tude_et_renaissance

¹⁹⁰ Miran,440

¹⁹¹ Ibid,461

with essential resources of legitimacy that may be absent," writes Bakary Sambe. This indicates that religious leaders might contribute significant moral authority resources to the political arena that may be missing. The act of the Moroccan sovereign being received positively in Dakar by religious leaders "in the name of Islam," for example, is a profoundly political gesture strongly based on religiosity.¹⁹² This shows the links between African Islam and the greater Muslim world, which transcend state-centred diplomacy. Christian Coulon observed that international interactions extend beyond states and multinational enterprises. "Civil society has its own communication and identification networks, giving rise to what might be considered 'international' relations when diverse governmental institutions are engaged,"¹⁹³ he added.

Additionally According to Bakary Sambe, the Cheikhs of the Tijāniyya have access to the Royal Palace of Rabat, and their medical expenditures and pilgrimage to Mecca or Fez are frequently financed by the Moroccan government, with the assistance of the authoritative Ministry of Religious Affairs.¹⁹⁴ This implies that civil society has its own communication and identification systems, giving rise to what might be dubbed "international" relations when diverse governmental institutions are involved and distinct peoples are involved. In the early 1980s, Ibrahim Salih was named to a government-sponsored panel of Muslim experts that was tasked with promoting religious tolerance.¹⁹⁵ Rudiger Seesemann discusses that during Ibrahim Babangida's regime as president of Nigeria in the late 1980s, Salih was one of the president's top advisors and regularly gave the Ramadan tafsir in the Grand Mosque of Abuja, which is located in the capital of the country. Salih was also known for giving the tafsir during the month of Ramadan.¹⁹⁶ Known as "the preeminent scholar of Bornu" during the early 1990s, Salih began making regular appearances at the World Muslim League and Organization of Islamic Conference meetings.¹⁹⁷ In addition, he became a frequent visitor to the homes of Muslim monarchs and prime ministers around the Islamic world. Simultaneously, he amassed a sizable following as a shaykh of the Tijāniyya not just in Bornu, but beyond Nigeria, into

¹⁹² Miran,461

¹⁹³ Christian Coulon, « Les Musulmans et le pouvoir en Afrique noire » (Paris : Karthala, 1983), 147

¹⁹⁴ Sambe, "Tijaniyya : Usages diplomatiques d'une confrérie soufie" 846

¹⁹⁵ John Hunwick "Arabic Literature of Africa, Vol. II: The Writings of Central Sudanic Africa" (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 407.

¹⁹⁶ Rüdiger Seesemann, "Internationalisierung des 'afrikanischen Islam'? Das Beispiel von Ibrāhīm Sālih (Maiduguri/Nigeria)," in: Hans Peter Hahn and Gerd Spittler, Afrika und die Globalisierung (Hamburg: LIT, 1999),325-336.

¹⁹⁷ Hunwick,407.

neighboring Chad and the Central African Republic, and to Sudan, with particularly significant support in Darfur. The tens of thousands of Tijāniyya devotees who followed him at the time considered him their spiritual leader because of his international fame and Sufi credentials.¹⁹⁸

These excerpts illustrate the common views held by Tijāniyya intellectuals towards mobilization and their involvement in the First World War, the intersection of the practice. These intellectuals accepted colonialism and even pushed young people to enlist vigorously in defense of France's projected heritage and modernity, despite the colonial administration's push to send enormous numbers of young men to their deaths in a conflict that had no meaning for them or Islam. Whereas these attitudes could be interpreted as an endorsement of colonialism by some, they more likely reflect an exaggerated attempt to appease the colonial authority so that religious reform and preaching could continue without interference. Supporting rulers can be seen as a form of quietism, depending on the context and the motivation for that support. Political quietism is the refusal to speak out against the status quo or engage in open conflict with people in power. A status quo that does not conform to the values of justice, equality, or good governance can be maintained if people or groups actively support rulers without questioning their policies or holding them accountable. Some instances of backing for rulers among the West African Tijānī can be seen as signs of quietism. Leaders in the Tijānī faith can influence their followers in the same way that other religious and spiritual figures do. Tijānī leaders may be sending a message of passive acquiescence rather than critical participation in political problems by openly identifying with rulers and providing them with religious legitimacy or moral backing. These events shed light on how the Tijānī community as a whole felt about enlistment and participation during a crucial period of recruitment when numbers were at a premium. Like Ibrahim Niassa, he pretended to be helpful to colonial officials out of fear of their designs. The Tijāniyya way was seen as the colonial administration's biggest enemy since the Jihad of Hajj Omar Tall, and he worked to change that perception. This meant that he intended to find common ground between colonialism and the Tijāniyya way through his cooperation with it. Since Hajj Omar Tall failed to advance the Tijāniyya path and Islam in West Africa through violent means, this would provide him with the opportunity to do so through writing and teaching. As seen by Shaykh Malik Sy's numerous letters of praise to the colonial authority, this convergence between the two parties was interpreted as an alliance and acquiescence to this administration.

In conclusion, the evaluation of quietism and political quietism among contemporary Tijanis in West Africa highlights the intricate relationship between spirituality, politics, and

¹⁹⁸ Seesemann, 325-336.

individual beliefs. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for comprehending religious movements, navigating religious and political identities, and effectively engaging with Tijānī communities. Further research will deepen our understanding of the Tijāniyya and its influence on social, political, and religious landscapes.

2 Shifting Dynamics: Factors Influencing the Transition to Political Quietism

The Tijāniyya, like other religious movements, confronted profound challenges amid a rapidly evolving political terrain. With the conclusion of the colonial era, they found it necessary to reassess the efficacy and viability of their previous anti-colonial activism strategies within the context of newly formed political systems. Factors such as shifting power dynamics, the presence of competing political forces, and the potential risks associated with sustained overt political involvement played significant roles in their decision to adopt a more quietist approach. As political elites consolidated power and religious groups faced marginalization or co-optation, while political repression and instability prevailed, the Tijāniyya perceived the political landscape in a different light. By analyzing these factors and considering their resources and capabilities, they began to prioritize alternative methods of influence and engagement. Understanding the intricate interplay between the evolving political milieu and the Tijāniyya's strategic choices is vital for comprehending their shift towards political quietism. It sheds light on the pragmatic considerations and calculations that shaped the Tijāniyya's path, moving them towards an inward-focused approach with reduced overt political activism in response to the post-colonial political realities.

Studying political opportunities allows researchers to understand the strategies employed by social movements in response to specific political contexts. Movements often adapt their tactics, rhetoric, and organizational structures based on the perceived opportunities and constraints within the political environment,¹⁹⁹ For example, movements may choose to engage in direct action, lobbying, or coalition-building depending on the level of state repression, the availability of sympathetic allies, or the receptivity of political elites. Furthermore, examining political opportunities enables scholars to assess the impact of state actions and policies on social movements. Government concessions, policy changes, or shifts in political power can directly shape the trajectories and outcomes of movements.²⁰⁰ By

¹⁹⁹ McAdam, D., Tarrow, S., & Tilly, C. "Dynamics of contention". Cambridge University Press. (2001). 67

²⁰⁰ Tilly, C. "From mobilization to revolution". Addison-Wesley. (1978),92

understanding the interplay between political decisions and movement responses, researchers can evaluate the effectiveness of different strategies and the potential for long-term social change.

The study of political opportunities is not limited to contemporary movements but also encompasses historical cases. By analyzing past movements and their interaction with the political opportunity structure, researchers can gain insights into the broader dynamics of social mobilization and resistance across different contexts and time periods. This historical perspective enhances our understanding of the complex relationship between social movements and the political environments in which they operate.

2.1 Changing Political Landscape and Movement Opportunities

The shift of the Tijāniyya from anti-colonial activism to political passivity can be linked to several causes, including the shifting political landscape and the availability of collective action alternatives. With the advent of post-colonial independence in several West African nations, new political institutions evolved, giving a variety of participation and impact opportunities. In the anti-colonial struggle, the Tijāniyya Sufi order fought vehemently against colonial rule. As discussed in earlier chapters, there has been a distinct shift in their behavior and deeds, from armed opposition to peaceful collaboration with colonial administrations or, in the case of certain Tijāniyya leaders, to a form of silent struggle. In addition, the Tijāniyya had to amend their plans and adapt to the shifting political context as states attained independence and established their governing institutions. In a post-colonial context, this procedure involves evaluating the potential for collective action. The emergence of elites who were educated in colonial schools, who will consequently be at the forefront of political debate and the fight for independence, and who will be gifted and placed by the colonial to govern their country with the support and direction of colonial control. To comprehend Tijāniyya's decision to choose political silence, a thorough examination of post-colonial political systems, including the establishment of democratic or authoritarian administrations, is required. The strategic decisions of the Tijāniyya have been heavily influenced by factors such as political openness, inclusion, and the extent to which religious organizations were permitted to engage in and influence political processes.

Additionally, the Tijāniyya would have assessed the potential effectiveness of their activism within the existing political opportunities. If they perceived that their previous

methods of activism were not yielding the desired results or were met with repression and resistance, they might have opted for a more strategic approach, emphasizing quieter forms of influence and engagement. The interplay between resource mobilization and political opportunities played a crucial role in shaping the Tijāniyya's shift to political quietism. Their evaluation of available resources and the assessment of the political landscape and opportunities guided their strategic decisions and ultimately influenced their transition towards a more subdued and less overtly politically active stance.

2.2 Repression and State Co-optation

State repression and co-optation strategies have played a significant role in shaping the Tijāniyya's transition to political quietism. The Tijāniyya, as a social and political movement, has encountered various forms of repression from state authorities, including surveillance, harassment, arrests, and violence.²⁰¹ These repressive measures have been employed to undermine the Tijāniyya's activism, weaken their organizational structures, and deter their members from engaging in political activities. Moreover, state co-optation strategies have been utilized to neutralize the Tijāniyya's influence. Co-optation involves the state's efforts to incorporate or manipulate the Tijāniyya to serve its interests.²⁰² This may include offering incentives, privileges, or positions of power to key Tijāni leaders or aligning the Tijāniyya's interests with those of the ruling regime. The objective of co-optation is to control and redirect the Tijāniyya's activities in a manner that supports the state's agenda, effectively neutralizing its potential as a political force.

Tijāniyya leaders experienced tremendous state harassment during the 20th century while living under the French colonial administration. Leaders of the Tijāniyya sect, including Abdallah Niasse, Ibrahim Niasse, and even Cheikh Hamallah, who was exiled to France and died there, as well as Yacouba, who was exiled from Mali to the Ivory Coast in 1930, were targets of state-sponsored-persecution that included tactics like monitoring, infiltration, and limiting their religious activities. French colonial authorities targeted Tijāniyya leaders with arrests, incarceration, and sometimes even torture to lessen their influence and authority. These repressive tactics were used to stifle the movement's advocacy efforts and damage the

²⁰¹ Chanfi Ahmed, Yasmine. "Sufism and Politics in Morocco: Activism and Dissent". Routledge, 2019. See also "The Tijāniyya: A Sufi Order in the Modern World." *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 32, no. 4, 2002, 425-440

²⁰². "The Tijāniyya: A Sufi Order in the Modern World." *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 32, no. 4, 2002, 425-440.

movement overall. The French government stated in their findings that despite being watched and having their operations thwarted, Tijāniyya leaders showed great fortitude and foresight, which allowed them to continue their advocacy work. The Tijāniyya's strategic choices, particularly their shift toward political quietism, have been significantly influenced by their experience with repression and official co-optation. The Tijāniyya have probably concluded that overt political activism would have negative effects on their organization and members in light of continued repression and the fear of additional official crackdowns.

French colonial policy toward Islam in Africa oscillated between repression and protection, as elaborated in this section. Regardless of the approach taken, both repression and protection ultimately bolstered the prestige of Muslim hierarchies and fostered loyalty among their followers. This dynamic led to the consolidation of their positions and clientele, with new adherents being recruited even from animist regions.²⁰³

Repressive tactics create an environment of fear, making it increasingly challenging for the Tijāniyya to continue their political engagement openly. In response, they may have chosen to adopt a quieter and less confrontational approach to safeguard their members, preserve their organizational structure, and ensure their survival in the face of state repression. Furthermore, state co-optation also influences Tijāniyya's decision to embrace quietism. The allure of benefits and privileges offered by the state can entice some Tijānī leaders to align themselves with the ruling regime, leading to a shift in their priorities and a reduced emphasis on political activism. State co-optation aims to co-opt influential Tijānī figures into the power structures of the state, thereby weakening the Tijāniyya's potential as an independent political force.

Islam played a significant role in the French and British colonization of West Africa. In French territories such as Senegal, the French initially tried to suppress Islam, viewing it as a threat to their control over the population.²⁰⁴ However, they eventually came to recognize the importance of Islam in West African society and attempted to co-opt it by promoting a "modernized" version of Islam that was more compatible with French values.²⁰⁵ thus In British territories such as Nigeria, Islam was a minority religion, but it still played an important role in the region's history. The policies of assimilation used by the French and the focus on trade by the British had different effects on the societies they colonized

²⁰³ Triuad, « *La Légende noire de la Sanûsiyya* » Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'Homme, IREMAM, Aix-en-Provence, (1995), 493-519.

²⁰⁴ David Robinson, "Muslim societies in African history" (Cambridge university press, 2000), 52.

²⁰⁵ Ibid

2.3 Ideological Adaptation: Internal Dynamics and Identity Shifts

The Tijāniyya's transition from anti-colonial activism to political quietism has been accompanied by notable changes in their ideological discourse. The Tijāniyya currently value righteousness, fairness, and ethical behaviour in all spheres of life, including politics. They do this by examining political participation through the prism of spiritual and moral ideals. The result of this ideological adjustment is a more complex and reflective approach to political issues, with a focus on moral leadership, social justice, and peaceful cohabitation. The Tijāniyya aimed to advance activism that is based on spirituality and moral ideals by coordinating their political participation with their reformulated worldview. They can handle socio-political issues using this strategy while continuing to uphold their dedication to social progress, peace, and peace-making. This assimilation that has been adopted for themselves is what gives rise to the more "Napoleonic" than "republican" strategy that was centred on the concept of "Black Islam" and sought to establish an official relationship between the colonial state and Muslim authorities. This practical adaptation to the regional circumstances was primarily used in Senegal, although not expressly called or legally organized like a traditional concordat.²⁰⁶

2.4 Leadership Dynamics and Strategic Decision-Making

The shifting dynamics within the Tijāniyya from anti-colonial activism to political quietism can also be attributed to the role of key leaders and the decision-making processes within the Tijāniyya's leadership structure. Key leaders within the Tijāniyya have played a crucial role in shaping the Tijāniyya's strategic direction and its shift towards political quietism. These leaders, often referred to as Shaykhs or spiritual guides, hold significant influence over the Tijāni community and its followers. Through their teachings, sermons, and personal guidance, these leaders shape the ideological framework and aspirations of the Tijāniyya. From Cheikh Ibrahim Niassé or Yacouba Sylla or even Cheikh Hamallah, they have the authority to interpret religious texts, provide spiritual guidance, and articulate the Tijāniyya's stance on political and social issues.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶ Triaud, 277.

²⁰⁷ Annemarie Schimmel, "Jamil M. Abun-Nasr: The Tijāniyya. A Sufi Order in the Modern World. Published for Chatham House by Oxford University Press, 1965," *Die Welt Des Islams* 10, no. 3–4 (1966), <https://doi.org/10.1163/157006066X00153>.

The decisions and actions of key leaders have a profound impact on the Tijāniyya's engagement in political activities. Their strategic choices and perspectives influence the Tijāniyya's response to external pressures, societal changes, and political opportunities.²⁰⁸ Key leaders may prioritize stability, spiritual development, and the preservation of the Tijāniyya's core values, leading to a shift towards quietism as a means of achieving these objectives. The decision-making processes within Tijāniyya's leadership structure are characterized by consultation, consensus-building, and adherence to spiritual authority. The hierarchy of the Tijāniyya comprises various levels of leadership, with Shaykhs, scholars, and respected elders playing important roles in guiding the community. Decisions within the Tijāniyya are often made collectively, involving discussions, deliberations, and consultation among the leadership. These processes aim to ensure that decisions align with the Tijāniyya's core principles and reflect the collective aspirations of the community. It was then seen as important to adapt wise strategies in this new context, which could be more efficient to the preservation of Islam and the spread of their Sufi order.

Resource mobilization is a critical aspect of any social or political movement. The Tijāniyya, like other religious orders, relied on various resources to support their activism. These resources include financial contributions from followers, organizational infrastructure, leadership networks, and the loyalty and commitment of their members.²⁰⁹ The Tijāniyya would have assessed the availability and sustainability of these resources in their decision-making process. They would have considered whether they had the necessary financial means to sustain a prolonged political struggle, the strength of their organizational structure to mobilize their followers, and the loyalty and commitment of their members to actively engage in political activism.

2.5 Impact on Collective Identity and Mobilization

The shift from anti-colonial activism to political quietism within the Tijāniyya has had a significant impact on the collective identity of the movement. Collective identity refers to the shared beliefs, values, and goals that unite a group of individuals. As a result of the consequences of the jihad and its impact on Muslims in West Africa, the perceived threat to Islam from colonial oppression became apparent. On one hand, colonial tyranny endangered

²⁰⁸ Ibid 431

²⁰⁹ "The Tijāniyya: A Sufi Order in the Modern World." *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 32, no. 4, 2002, 425-440.

the Islamic faith, while on the other hand, missionary activities intensified in an attempt to distance the region's people from their faith and promote Christianity. Given the imbalance of power between Muslims and colonial forces, the Tijāniyya had to adapt to these new circumstances. A plan was devised to repel the threat of Christianization and immunize the population against colonial schemes. This plan took the form of an Islamic movement that spanned from the 19th to the 20th century, led by prominent Tijānī figures such as Abdullah Niass, his son Ibrahim Niass, and Malik Sy.²¹⁰

The Tijāniyya's collective identity has evolved, reflecting the changing dynamics and ideological adaptations within the movement. The emphasis on anti-colonial activism during the early stages of the Tijāniyya reflected a collective identity rooted in resistance against colonial powers and the pursuit of political liberation.

However, with the transition to political quietism, the Tijāniyya's collective identity has transformed. There has been a shift towards emphasizing inner spiritual development, personal piety, and the pursuit of spiritual enlightenment as primary goals. The transformation of the Tijāniyya's collective identity has had implications for mobilization and activism within the movement. As the collective identity shifts towards quietism and spiritual development, there may be a decreased emphasis on collective action and political mobilization. The redefined collective identity of the Tijāniyya may prioritize internal spiritual practices and individual transformation, which can affect the level of mobilization and activism. This does not necessarily imply a complete withdrawal from social and political issues, but rather a different approach that emphasizes personal piety as a means of effecting change.

Alongside the transformation of collective identity, the Tijāniyya has also adapted its mobilization tactics to align with its shift towards political quietism. The Tijāniyya's mobilization tactics have experienced changes as a result of the shift towards quietism. Traditional methods of activism, such as street protests and overt political engagement, may give way to quieter and more introspective forms of mobilization. Mobilization efforts may focus on spiritual gatherings, sermons, and the dissemination of teachings that promote personal piety and spiritual development. These tactics seek to engage Tijānī followers through religious discourse and the cultivation of a shared spiritual experience, rather than overt political action. By establishing Quran memorizing centers, mosques, outreach programs, and teaching African societies, these Shaykhs helped the da'wah movement flourish.

²¹⁰ Shaykh Larj. "The position of the Tijāniyya order on the major issues of colonialism in North and West Africa during the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century." 67-68

Throughout colonial and postcolonial modernity in West Africa, they communicated with followers via air flights, radio broadcasts, and publishing businesses.²¹¹

In conclusion, the main argument of this chapter is that the difficult political conditions resulting from the deepening colonization by the French and British in West Africa played a significant role in shaping the West African Tijāniyya movement's transition to political quietism. The increasing colonial presence and control posed immense challenges to anti-colonial resistance efforts, leading the Tijāniyya movement to reassess its strategies. The adverse political environment, marked by repression, limited opportunities for resistance, and co-optation by colonial authorities, compelled the movement to adopt a more cautious and moderate approach, focusing on preserving its religious and spiritual identity rather than engaging in open confrontation with the colonial powers. By exploring these difficult political conditions, the chapter aimed to shed light on the contextual factors that influenced the Tijāniyya movement's shift towards quietism and the complex dynamics between colonialism and resistance in West Africa.

The effectiveness of quietist strategies in achieving social and political goals within the Tijāniyya is subject to debate and interpretation. While quietism emphasizes personal spiritual growth and detachment from worldly matters, it does not necessarily preclude social or political impact. Quietist strategies may foster a sense of community cohesion, promote moral values, and inspire individuals to lead virtuous lives. These effects can have indirect social and political consequences by shaping the behaviour and actions of Tijānī followers within their communities. However, it is important to acknowledge that the impact of quietist strategies on broader social and political issues may be more subtle and indirect compared to overt activism. The evaluation of the effectiveness of quietist strategies in achieving social and political goals requires a nuanced understanding of the specific context, objectives, and desired outcomes. In fact, the French may be seen as unintended agents in the propagation of both Islam and the Tijāniyya. The marabouts were fast to use new forms of transportation and communication to advance their own religious or political agendas throughout the Islamic world, seizing upon opportunities presented by the emerging colonial order. As a result of colonial rule, the political climate altered, necessitating a reevaluation of strategies, while official repression and co-optation limited their ability to publicly engage in political activities. The Tijāniyya were able to blend public activity with spiritual objectives as a result of ideological modifications that emphasized moral and ethical conduct. This paradigm change

²¹¹see further; Seesemann, Rüdiger, and Soares, Benjamin F. "Being as Good Muslims as Frenchmen: On Islam and Colonial Modernity in West Africa." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 39 (2009): 91-120. Retrieved from www.brill.nl/jra.110-111

placed a greater emphasis on the survival of the organization and the well-being of its members, resulting in more muted forms of involvement and influence oriented on peaceful coexistence and individual spiritual development. In general, the change demonstrates a planned response to postcolonial conditions, while also supporting social progress and peace.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

Concluding chapter serves to provide a succinct summary of the main findings and contributions, reaffirming the arguments presented throughout the study. It reflects on the broader implications and significance of the research, acknowledges its limitations, and suggests potential avenues for future investigations. This conclusion encapsulates the comprehensive understanding gained from the exploration of resistance movements led by West African Tijānī leaders against colonial powers, particularly the British and French, and their subsequent shift towards quietism. It integrates the various aspects examined in the thesis, presenting a cohesive and comprehensive overview of the conducted research.

1 Finding and Results

One of the most important takeaways from this study is that the resistance movements that were led by Tijānī leaders, such as Hajj Umar al-Fūtī, Ahmadu Al-Tal bin Al-Hajj Umar, Al-Hajj Mahamadu Lamine Dramé, Amadu III, Almamy Samori Toure, and others, played significant roles in the struggle against European colonization in West Africa. These leaders have shown an extraordinary level of tenacity and utilized a variety of measures, including armed resistance, diplomacy, fortifications, and military tactics, in order to compete with the colonial powers and protect their people's independence and sovereignty.

Accordingly, the resistance activities that were headed by Tijānī leaders had varied degrees of success; for example, some Tijānī leaders suffered setbacks while other leaders were able to maintain their opposition for extended periods of time. The capabilities of the leaders, access to resources, exterior assistance or alliances, and the constantly shifting dynamics of the colonial setting were all factors that played a role in the occurrence of these diverse outcomes. In spite of the challenges and failures they faced, the memory of these Tijānī leaders and the resistance movements they led will forever be an important part of the history of West Africa.

In addition, the study investigated the strategies employed by the Tijāniyya resistance movements as well as the resources that they gathered. The findings placed a strong emphasis on the critical role that charismatic leadership plays in motivating and organizing supporters. Tijānī leaders such as Umar Tall, Samori Touré, Al-Hajj Mahamadu Lamine Dramé, and Cheikh Ahmadu Lobbo possessed the ability to organize the people, organize an effective opposition, and negotiate difficult sociopolitical environments. It was important for the

resistance movements to have access to material resources such as financial money, weapons, supplies, and food in order to ensure their continued existence and durability. The use of grigris and other talismans, in conjunction with conventional military strategies, afforded the Resistance fighters are not only a means of avoiding physical harm but also of achieving mental fortitude and drawing on otherworldly capabilities. Furthermore, the research findings underscored the critical role of alliances, religious centers (zawiya), Quranic schools, and social institutions in strengthening resistance groups during the anti-colonial movement. Collaborations between tribal chiefs, religious leaders, and political figures facilitated unity and coordination among diverse factions, promoting a sense of shared identity and cultural independence. These factors not only fostered solidarity and improved morale but also encouraged active participation in the struggle against colonization. The dedication and leadership of key figures like Umar Tall, Samori Touré, Cheikh Hamallah, and Ahmadou III were instrumental in organizing and executing successful resistance efforts on the ground. While the mobilization theory highlights the importance of resources in resistance movements, it does not fully explain their overall success. Evaluating the outcomes of such movements requires a careful examination of historical, political, and social contexts. By considering these complex factors, we can gain a more nuanced understanding of the diverse forces at play during the anti-colonial movement. This objective assessment will shed light on the multifaceted dynamics that shaped the movement's trajectory and contributed to its ultimate impact on the struggle for independence and liberation.

The outcomes of the investigation revealed a more complex view, which runs counter to the conventional notion that one should remain completely detached from politics. Although the quietist attitude of Tijāniyya places an emphasis on personal piety and spiritual development, it does not always preclude participation in political activities. Followers of Tijānī may participate in political activities depending on their own personal convictions, as well as their cultural preferences and social structures. The quietist strategy should be understood as placing an emphasis on spiritual growth while yet recognizing the potential for Tijānī devotees to have political agency. In addition, we demonstrated that adhering to and acknowledging the authority of governing powers, also when acting in their capacity as agents, might be construed as a type of quietism in some contexts.

In addition to this, the research shed light on important relationships that took place between the Tijāniyya movement and the colonial authorities. It was clear that colonial governments exploited Sufi brotherhoods, such as the Tijāniyya, in their quest to use Muslim leaders as middlemen in order to exert influence over religious and social structures. However, the strategies that were employed by Tijānī leaders demonstrated their astuteness in navigating

the complexities of colonial governance while simultaneously protecting the interests of the Tijāniyya and promoting their religion. This was accomplished through the use of a number of different strategies. Alongside their efforts to resist, Tijānī leaders also utilized diplomatic engagements, strategic alignments with colonial authority, and nonviolent measures. This demonstrates the diverse strategies that Tijānī leaders utilized to promote their cause.

In conclusion, I argue that the challenging political conditions resulting from deepening colonization by the French and British in West Africa played a significant role in shaping the West African Tijāniyya movement's transition to political quietism. The increasing colonial presence and control posed immense challenges to anti-colonial resistance efforts, leading the Tijāniyya movement to reassess its strategies. The adverse political environment, marked by repression, limited opportunities for resistance, and co-optation by colonial authorities, compelled the movement to adopt a more cautious and moderate approach, focusing on preserving its religious and spiritual identity rather than engaging in open confrontation with the colonial powers. This thesis aimed to shed light on the contextual factors that influenced the Tijāniyya movement's shift towards quietism and the complex dynamics between colonialism and resistance in West Africa. While quietist strategies emphasize personal spiritual growth and detachment from worldly matters, their broader impact on social and political issues may be more subtle and indirect compared to overt activism. The Tijāniyya's adaptation to the postcolonial conditions demonstrates a planned response, aiming for the organization's survival and the well-being of its members, while still supporting social progress and peace.

2 Implications and Significance

This research holds significant implications for our understanding of West African history during the colonial era. Examining the resistance movements led by Tijānī leaders reveals the resilience, determination, and agency of West African communities in the face of European colonization. The study showcases the multifaceted strategies employed by the Tijāniyya resistance movements, highlighting the importance of charismatic leadership, resource mobilization, cultural identity, and the complexities of political quietism within the Tijāniyya movement. It offers a nuanced perspective on the historical and sociopolitical dynamics of West Africa, expanding our knowledge beyond the dominant narratives of colonial powers and their conquests. This study has two effects. First, it emphasizes the varied nature of resistance movements like the Tijāniyya in resisting colonialism. Scholars and practitioners can learn from these movements' different techniques to inform present liberation and social justice campaigns. Second, the study emphasizes religious dynamics and political

circumstances. The quietist Tijāniyya movement's involvement with colonial powers shows how spirituality, power, and resistance are intertwined. This knowledge can help religious and political leaders collaborate to alter postcolonial countries. This research suggests that scholars, activists, and policymakers should incorporate historical resistance movements and religious dynamics in present fights against oppression and in creating inclusive and transformative communities.

3 Limitations

While this research strives to offer a comprehensive analysis of the resistance movements led by West African Tijānī leaders, it is important to acknowledge certain limitations. The available historical sources are often fragmented, biased, or limited in their coverage, leading to gaps in the historical record. The reliance on primary and secondary sources necessitates critical evaluation and interpretation of the information. Additionally, the focus on specific Tijānī leaders and their movements may result in the exclusion of other significant resistance efforts in West Africa during the same period.

4 Future Research

This study opens avenues for future research in various directions. Further exploration of the interactions between Tijāniyya and other Sufi brotherhoods during the colonial era would deepen our understanding of intra-religious dynamics and potential collaborations in resistance movements. Additionally, comparative studies across different regions of West Africa or investigations into specific periods or events could provide nuanced insights into the evolution and adaptation of Tijānī resistance efforts over time. We limit our Furthermore, incorporating oral histories and local perspectives would contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the resistance movements and their legacies.

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