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**WHAT STYMIES ACTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE?
RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS, MARGINALIZATION, AND
EFFICACY IN KENYA**

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ABSTRACT

Low-income countries of the Global South will be hardest hit as Earth's climate changes, yet fear of climate change often fails to stimulate activism among their citizens. We foreground efficacy—a belief that one's actions can create political change—as a critical link in transforming concern into action. However, that link is often missing for marginalized ethnic, socioeconomic, and religious groups. Prior case studies show the power of community institutions to mobilize and empower marginalized citizens, yet community institutions can also reinforce the perception that action is futile by conveying narratives of neglect and discrimination. Analyzing interviews, focus groups, and survey data from a case study of Kenya, we find that Muslims express much lower efficacy to address climate change than other religious groups; the gap cannot be explained by differences in science beliefs, issue concern, ethnicity, or demographics. Instead, we attribute it to socialized understandings of marginalization vis-à-vis the Kenyan state.

RESUMEN

Los países de bajos ingresos del Sur global serán los más afectados por el cambio de clima de nuestro planeta, sin embargo el temor al cambio climático muchas veces no consigue movilizar a sus ciudadanos. Destacamos que la eficacia —la creencia en que las acciones propias pueden producir cambios políticos— es un eslabón fundamental en la transformación de la preocupación en acción. Sin embargo, muchas veces ese eslabón no está al alcance de grupos excluidos por motivos étnicos, socio-económicos o religiosos. Estudios de caso anteriores demuestran el poder de las instituciones comunitarias para movilizar y fortalecer a las y los ciudadanos marginados, sin embargo esas instituciones también pueden debilitar la eficacia transmitiendo narrativas de descuido y discriminación. A través del análisis de entrevistas, grupos focales y encuestas recogidas en el contexto de un estudio de caso en Kenia, encontramos que los musulmanes manifiestan un nivel de eficacia mucho más bajo que otros grupos religiosos para enfrentar el cambio climático. La brecha no puede atribuirse a diferentes creencias científicas, preocupaciones por el asunto, etnicidades o características sociodemográficas. En cambio, las atribuimos a interpretaciones de la marginación frente al Estado de Kenia generadas socialmente.

Citizens make their voices heard through political mobilization. They protest, contact politicians, and start social media campaigns to create change on issues that they hold dear. Such activism is particularly important in the domain of climate change policy, where citizens counterbalance pressure from extractive and polluting industries (Hadden 2015; Riofrancos 2017). However, salient issues sometimes fail to prompt activism. Even citizens who care passionately about a cause may abstain from participation because they do not believe they can influence the government. Efficacy—the belief that one’s actions can create political change—is an essential link between environmental concerns and activism (Mohai 1985; Lubell et al. 2007; Roser-Renouf et al. 2014).

This research examines one source of low efficacy: group marginalization. Efficacy develops through a learning process, reflecting citizens’ prior experiences and engagement with the state (Beaumont 2011; Finkel 1985; Hunt 2014; Mettler and Soss 2004). Feelings of representation and experiences successfully effecting policy change increase a citizen’s sense of agency (Finkel 1985). However, the perception that the state has underrepresented, neglected, or oppressed one’s group decreases citizens’ expectations that their actions will elicit a systemic response (Parker and McDonough 1999; Abramson 1972; Sidanius et al. 2016). Community institutions can channel marginalization into enhanced collective action (McDaniel 2009; McAdam 1999); alternatively, they may reinforce the perception that action is futile, in order to protect the community from harassment or as a reflection of the opportunity costs of political action. Thus, community institutions shape the relationship between marginalization—a property of individuals and groups—and efficacy.

We examine efficacy in relation to climate change in Kenya, one of many non-industrialized countries with high environmental vulnerability. Large populations that depend on predictable rains, fertile land, and healthy fisheries are experiencing extreme weather events, from droughts to deadly floods. Sub-Saharan Africans have higher exposure to extreme weather than people in developed countries, yet fewer resources to invest in adaptation (Notre Dame Global Adaptation Initiative 2019). Two-thirds of sub-Saharan Africans surveyed from 2016 to 2018 believe that climate change negatively affects their lives; in East Africa, this increases to nearly nine out of ten respondents who have heard of climate change (Selormey and Logan 2019). Yet while Kenyans are not the primary drivers of climate change, state policies can aid

both mitigation and adaptation. Indeed, Kenyans have an established repertoire of environmental activism (e.g., Maathai 2003; Michaelson 1994).

However, not all Kenyans feel empowered to promote change. We explore the effects of membership in one key type of community institutions—religious institutions—on environmental agency. Globally, religion correlates with citizens' climate change attitudes (McCright and Dunlap 2011; Arbuckle and Konisky 2015; Lewis et al. 2019; Veldman 2013). Religious institutions generate frames communicating the existence, causes, and urgency of climate change. In Indonesia, for instance, Muslim civil society organizations urge citizens to respond forcefully to the threat (Amri 2013), a stance rooted in what Islamic scholars identify as the doctrine's ecological values (Izzi Dien 2000; Saniotis 2012). Through *Laudato Si'*, Pope Francis similarly mobilizes Catholics globally. Religious leaders have access to powerful strategies of persuasion and wide-ranging mobilizational frames (McClendon and Riedl 2019). This paper shows that membership in religious institutions impacts efficacy not only through doctrinal and ideological persuasion, but also by channeling group marginalization vis-à-vis the state.

Kenya's Muslims share a history of low representation in government and exclusion from the Kenyan state (Ndzovu 2014; Elischer 2019). In recent years, the state's attempts to root out support for al-Shabaab and other extremist groups have increased that sense of marginalization (Mogire and Mkutu Agade 2011). Drawing upon Afrobarometer surveys as well as nine focus groups and sixteen semi-structured clergy interviews in urban and rural Kenya, we show that Muslims express lower belief in their ability to impact environmental change than their Christian peers of any denomination. We find that these differences are not the result of variation in exposure to climate change or scientific beliefs about climate change. Instead, we argue that political marginalization, as experienced by individuals and shared within the institution, leads to systematically lower efficacy among Muslims in Kenya.

Climate change has far-reaching impacts and requires a coordinated political response; this research reveals why some communities are less likely to engage. Scholars have demonstrated how membership in institutions can increase individuals' ability to advance their interests through collective action (Hadden 2015; Ostrom 1990). Less understood, however, is how institutions can reinforce the decision not to act. In foregrounding that puzzle, this article responds to the call for more political science research on responses to climate change (Javeline

2014). It demonstrates that experiences of historical and contemporary discrimination by the state can have long-lasting effects on which citizens participate in climate change activism. Without increased attention to the impacts of marginalization on efficacy, climate change policies will fail to meet the needs of the most vulnerable populations.

MARGINALIZATION, POLITICAL EFFICACY, AND COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS

Political efficacy is an essential component of citizen activism—linking concerns to action. In a basic model of political participation, citizens engage politically as a function of *issue salience* and *perception of agency* (i.e., efficacy). These two attitudes correspond to the “B term” and the “p term” in a simple cost-benefit model of political participation. In the case examined here, the “B term” reflects the level of concern about climate change (i.e., “Benefits”), whereas the “p term” reflects the probability of one’s action affecting the outcome (i.e., *probability*) (e.g., Riker and Ordeshook 1970). Even issues with extremely high salience will not translate into action without the accompanying belief that collective action will be fruitful. Empirically, Finkel and Muller (1998) conclude efficacy may be more important than selective incentives (i.e., excludable benefits) in prompting political engagement. In the African context, political efficacy is strongly linked to voting (Resnick and Casale 2014) and contacting representatives (Hern 2019). Thus, we examine the effect of marginalization on political efficacy in order to advance our understandings of political activism and mobilization.

Political efficacy is an individual’s belief that the political system will respond to someone like her (Mokken 1971). While psychologists identify efficacy as the source driving human agency (Bandura 2000), we use “efficacy” and “agency” interchangeably. Central to our definition are the citizen’s evaluations of both the system and her place within it. Scholars often find it useful to distinguish between two dimensions of efficacy: internal and external (Balch 1974; Coleman and Davis 1976; Morrell 2003; Niemi et al. 1991). Whereas internal efficacy reflects one’s evaluation of her ability to understand and engage in politics, or the “individual’s beliefs that means of influence are available to him” (Balch 1974, 24), external efficacy assesses the system’s likely response to her actions. Hence, internal efficacy should depend on factors such as individual resources and social networks, and external efficacy on perceptions of the state. Nonetheless, the situational nature of activism blurs the internal/external distinction.

Early socialization molds both aspects of efficacy. For example, foundational scholarship on American politics highlights that education and civic skills endow individuals with the confidence that they are equipped to participate effectively in politics (Brady et al. 1995). Similarly, citizens grow in internal efficacy to create change as they acquire information about the political system (Nie et al. 1969). Across the developing world, citizens learn efficacy through civic education (Finkel 2003; Finkel and Smith 2011). In Mali, attending school, and particularly gaining fluency in the bureaucratic language, French, empowers citizens to interact with the political system (Bleck 2015). Yet social learning is context-specific. Friedman et al. (2016) find no effect of girls' secondary education on efficacy in Kenya. In Zimbabwe's authoritarian context, Croke et al. (2016) find that higher levels of education are associated with lower levels of participation, due to deliberate disengagement.

Beyond education, past interactions with the government inform individuals' evaluations of whether their attempts to influence the system will succeed (Chamberlain 2012; Roser-Renouf et al. 2014). Hern (2019) argues that citizens feel empowered to act politically when they think that the government is making efforts to provide services. Lubell et al. (2007) argue that political elites perceived as untrustworthy or incompetent reduce "group efficacy." By contrast, well-designed policies can increase citizen agency (Hunter and Sugiyama 2014). Institutions shape expectations of system responsiveness: from direct democracy (Bowler and Donovan 2002) to electoral rules (Karp and Banducci 2008) to regime types (Coleman and Davis 1976). Analyzing a panel survey, Finkel (1985) shows that past participation impacts subsequent expectations of systemic responsiveness. The development of political efficacy is thus a dynamic process of "sociopolitical learning" (Beaumont 2011). Efficacy is constructed over time, as citizens internalize past experiences and build expectations of their own future agency vis-à-vis the state.

Marginalization constitutes a form of group-based learning that saps citizens' confidence in their own potential impact. Marginalization describes a structural position as a less-favored or historically discriminated group in society or the political system. Social dominance theory argues that marginalization stymies non-dominant group members' efficacy and willingness to confront the system (Sidanius et al. 2016). The experience of socialization as a second-class citizen or the absence of visible role models can curtail efficacy; scholars of gender and politics have noted a persistent gender gap in women's assessments of their own political competence compared to men (Thomas 2012). Marginalization generates mistrust and alienation from the

state, making citizens question whether the state will respond to their needs and voices. It also limits citizens' access to the resources that fuel internal efficacy, making citizens question their own abilities. For instance, studies have revealed instances of a “predatory system of government” in the US that exploits minority citizens through extractive policing and other practices aimed at generating revenue for local law enforcement (Soss and Weaver 2017). An increasing number of studies find that negative encounters with policing or the justice system resulted in lower levels of political participation and less trust in the US government (Weaver and Lerman 2010; Lerman and Weaver 2014), and that demobilization effects are more pronounced among African Americans, who are more likely to have a prior history of voting before they were arrested (White 2019). In short, negative experiences with the state diminish personal efficacy.

However, community institutions channel and mediate the effects of marginalization on efficacy and activism. By “community institutions,” we mean socially identified groups that operate within a local area, creating forums for interaction, sets of formal or informal rules, and social hierarchies that structure members' behavior. Leveraging group-based networks and resources, community institutions can serve as a multiplier for individual activism—even around salient issues unrelated to the institution's primary purpose (Jenkins 1995; Tarrow 1996). Community institutions provide platforms for civic skill development; for instance, mosques and Protestant churches in Indonesia as well as decentralized Catholic parishes in southern Mexico create opportunities to learn public speaking and organizing skills (Hale 2018; Lussier 2019). In addition, community institutions can both organize collective action internally and advocate with state actors. Traditional lineage groups in China and indigenous authorities in Mexico both facilitate local public goods provision (Xu and Yao 2015; Magaloni et al. 2019). In the context of COVID-19 and social distancing, neighborhood gangs and leftist workers' cooperatives are mobilizing and coordinating collective action in the slums of Latin America (Tarlau 2020). And Leinweber (2012) shows how new institutional leadership helped the Muslim minority overcome a history of political exclusion to advocate for (and win) governmental support of religious schools in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Hence, membership in community institutions can boost efficacy and action.

The urban and rural areas of the developing world host many community institutions, including ethnic or clan groups linked to traditional authorities, unions, neighborhood

associations, and even gangs that police territories and provide public goods. While scholarship on community institutions in Africa has tended to focus on ethnic groups and customary institutions (Honig 2017), we follow McClendon and Riedl (2019) and Sperber and Hern (2018) in foregrounding religious institutions. What distinguishes religious institutions from other groups is the central role of supernatural or sacred beliefs and practices; in the here-and-now, these beliefs and practices tend to intensify bonds of in-group trust and provide incentives for more regular interaction than other types of community institutions. Nonetheless, citizens learn efficacy in similar ways from religious and non-religious community institutions.²

Writing on African Americans in the US context can help us think through the interplay among marginalization, institutions, and efficacy. Scholars agree that historic marginalization has profoundly shaped African Americans' agency and participation, producing low trust in government.³ However, scholars disagree on the behavioral effects. On the one hand, Shingles (1981) argued that a combination of relatively high internal efficacy and low trust in government made African Americans of the 1960s uniquely likely to engage simultaneously in contentious and conventional political participation. On the other hand, Parker and McDonough (1999) argue that historical marginalization inhibits environmental activism, despite African Americans and white Americans having similar environmental values. One possible solution to this puzzle is to note the multivalent effects of certain African American community institutions—namely, churches. Churches leverage resources, networks, and hierarchies to channel action to address core group concerns, defying anticipated repression (McAdam 1999). They transmit information about key issues and mobilize congregants into politics (McDaniel 2009). Further, churches generate opportunities for citizens to learn and exercise civic skills (Verba et al. 1995). As a result, African American churches have been a “platform for political learning” that helps communities overcome barriers to political participation (Wald and Calhoun-Brown 1997, 285).

However, less understood is the potential for community institutions to dampen efficacy by reinforcing narratives of marginalization. First, discussion among members who experience similar discrimination could amplify mistrust in the state or perceptions of non-responsiveness.

² Following McClendon and Riedl (2019), religious teachings may contain messages that bear on efficacy, via beliefs about humans' capacity to create change in the world. We discuss the possible impact of religious traditions on ontological beliefs about humans' role in nature in the results section. For the most part, however, this paper is concerned with the structural, sociological features of community institutions, rather than their teachings and beliefs.

³ These orientations are not static; descriptive representation increases African Americans' sense of trust and external efficacy (e.g., West 2017; Bobo and Gilliam 1990).

Second, independent of personal experiences, citizens learn from other group members' experiences, internalizing the perception of collective marginalization through shared narratives. Third, leaders bear witness to and recount the experience of marginalization; they could encourage political action, shape assessments of likely state response, or provide or limit resources for participation. Groups targeted by the state might urge members to avoid mobilization, seeking to protect vulnerable members by socializing them to be cautious in interactions with the state and larger society. All of these mechanisms may further erode citizens' confidence in governmental responsiveness and their efficacy.

Thus, we can think of community institutions as prisms that refract marginalization, producing a spectrum of outcomes. When filtered through institutions, some forms of marginalization yield high levels of efficacy and activism, while others yield reduced efficacy and activism. While the impact of marginalization on efficacy has been underexplored in the context of the Global South, we have reason to suspect the same patterns hold: both individual experiences of marginalization and group-level socialization within institutions decrease efficacy.

THE CASE OF KENYA

Climate Change and Environmental Activism

Climate change is a high-salience issue in Kenya that is currently impacting citizens' lives. Kenyans have observed many extreme weather events in recent years, including droughts, flooding, and storm surges (Ongoma et al. 2018). In a 2013 Pew survey, 57% of Kenyans perceived climate change as the top global threat (Kohut 2013). By 2018, this had increased to 71% (Poushter and Huang 2019).

At the time of our fieldwork in 2018, Kenya had been experiencing substantial climate instability. Consider, for example, reporting in the *Daily Nation* newspaper over the six months prior to the August 2017 elections.⁴ A sample of news stories provides a snapshot of the environmental topics discussed. Weather changes, such as drought and flooding, were by far the most frequently referenced issues. Although very few instances were explicitly tied to climate

⁴ We coded articles that appeared on a randomly selected day each week in the 6 months leading up to elections, to capture climate change discourse.

change, and political campaigns did not incorporate climate change discourse, media coverage described how extreme and unpredictable weather was affecting Kenyans' lives.

Awareness of the science of climate change in Kenya is high, given the country's long history of domestic environmental activism. Wangari Maathai, a university professor and eventual member of Parliament, founded the Green Belt Movement in 1977. In what social movement scholars characterize as a "consensus movement" (Michaelson 1994), the group did not seek to enter politics through lobbying or policy change. Instead, it harnessed the power of rural women, addressing deforestation by planting trees and educating citizens on "ecological destruction" (Hunt 2014; Michaelson 1994, 546). The movement, which eventually earned Maathai a Nobel Peace Prize, raised consciousness of environmental issues, particularly deforestation. In recent years, energy waste and pollution have also become increasingly topical in Kenya, contributing to a plastic-bag ban in 2017. The Green Belt Movement's current platform includes efforts to aid rural communities in addressing climate change by restoring and protecting forests. Given exposure to extreme weather events, coverage in the media, and the long history of environmental activism, climate change is a high-salience issue in Kenya.

We examine efficacy in a country that is highly affected by climate change, in part because the issue is critical and understudied in such vulnerable countries. Yet it is also an important case for understanding how marginalization affects efficacy, and hence activism to demand government action. Unlike political concerns that can be resolved through local collective action, such as self-help campaigns to build schools absent state intervention, climate change demands policy responses. This is an issue that reveals how membership in marginalized community institutions can impact citizens' expectations of systemic responses.

Muslim Marginalization in Kenya

In 2007, then-presidential candidate Raila Odinga promised to initiate "deliberate policies and programmes to redress historical, current and structural marginalisation and injustices on Muslims in Kenya" in a signed a memorandum of understanding with the National Muslim Leaders Forum (NAMLEF).⁵ As this document suggests, the historical and contemporary experience of marginalization is explicitly understood and discussed among Muslims in the

⁵ See Appendix B of Ndzovu (2014) for a copy of the signed document.

country. In recent years, the Kenyan state's "terrorism policy," driven in part by international pressure for counterterrorism, has fueled additional discrimination against Muslims (Mogire and Mkutu Agade 2011; Barkan 2004). Yet discrimination under the guise of anti-terrorism policy is a continuation of a long history of Muslim marginalization by the state (Oded 2000) and underrepresentation in central government (Vittori et al. 2009; Ndzovu 2014; Elischer 2019).

Muslim citizens in Kenya are a large and ethnically mixed minority group. They represent between 10 and 20% of the Kenyan population;⁶ as Ndzovu (2014, 8–9) describes, such statistics themselves have been a point of contention between Muslim leaders and the state, with leaders accusing the state of underrepresenting their communities in the census. While Muslim community institutions are present throughout the country, they are more highly concentrated in the country's Northeast and Coastal regions and capital of Nairobi. Half of the Muslims in Kenya are ethnically Somali, which may lead to a layered sense of exclusion among these citizens, based on ethnicity, religion, and contested citizenship. Muslims of Somali or Arab descent often face additional discrimination as "foreigners" (Ndzovu 2014, 117). Uniting them with Muslims from ethnic groups considered to be more "Kenyan" is a shared experience of historical marginalization from the state. As a result, the Kenyan Muslim political identity features "a sociocultural heterogeneity that cuts across the various racial and ethnic groups in the country" (Ndzovu 2014, 7). As a group, Muslims in Kenya traverse other demographic divides that may impact political representation and power, including urban or rural locations and ethnicity.

Many Muslims believe that the state has targeted their communities, and feel discriminated against when pursuing public jobs and education (Vittori et al. 2009). Perhaps as a consequence of historical marginalization and under-representation, Muslim-majority areas tend to have more limited state infrastructure than other regions (Barkan 2004). In Nairobi, where there are an estimated 80 to 120 Muslim congregations, Muslims have reported experiencing harassment and suspicion by state agents (Cussac and Goms 2010, 253). A 2008 report from the Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Commission of Kenya (2008) found that Muslim Kenyans often face excessive vetting and difficulty or denials in obtaining identity cards and passports. Without identification, citizens cannot access key public services like schooling. In the Muslim-

⁶ According to the United States Department of State (2018), approximately 80% of the Kenyan population is Christian: 48% mainline Protestant, 23% Catholic, and 12% Evangelical/Pentecostal. A further 4–5% subscribe exclusively to indigenous religions. Though most Kenyan Muslims are Sunni, there are also Shi'a and Abadi populations (Ndzovu 2014, 8).

majority Northeastern region, the government has frozen access to identification cards due to concerns “foreigners” might have access to them (Ndzovu 2014, 4).

These experiences are exacerbated by a sense of isolation from the state and political power. At independence, Christian missionary education was the pathway to political and administrative office (Cussac and Goms 2010). It was not until 1982 that a Muslim was appointed to a full ministerial position, when a failed coup forced President Moi “to reconsider his cultivated antipathy towards Muslims” (Bakari 2013, 17). Historical barriers and minority status have left many Muslims feeling alienated from state leadership, as Kresse (2009) writes:

For coastal Muslims, life on the Kenyan periphery—vis-à-vis a state governed and administered by upcountry Christians—reflects the continuation of historical tensions between coast and upcountry (*pwani* and *bara*) which has also involved channels of serfdom and slavery (*utumwa*) (578).

The under-representation of Muslims in high political office reflects challenges to political organizing, as well as discrimination. Elischer (2019) argues that the geographic distance between Nairobi and the Muslim-majority Coast and Northeastern regions further marginalizes Muslims in national politics. For Ndzovu (2014), internal ethnic and racial divides have weakened Muslim political mobilization, despite a shared sense of marginalization by the state. However, discrimination against Muslim groups has also been observed in national politics. During the transition to multiparty elections, the government sought to suppress the nascent Islamic Party of Kenya (Vittori et al. 2009; Aronson 2013). More recently, (Christian) Prime Minister Raila Odinga’s failed collaboration with Muslim constituencies during his presidential run, such as the memorandum of understanding described earlier, fueled skepticism about the possibilities for Muslims’ national policy engagement (Elischer 2019).

This is not to say that Kenyan Muslims are politically passive. Muslims have engaged in protests demanding the withdrawal of US counterterrorism agents (Mogire and Mkutu Agade 2011) and opposing the extradition of Kenyan nationals accused of terrorism (Vittori et al. 2009, 1084). In the early 2000s, Muslim groups protested against the Equality Bill, which they described as an encroachment on Islamic law (Ndzovu 2014, 108). Muslim actors have also engaged in failed efforts to bring sharia law to local courts (Vittori et al. 2009). However, in comparison to Christian institutions’ history of policy negotiation with the Kenyan state, Muslims have been less successful.

In Kenya, Christian churches have a long history of direct political engagement. During one-party rule, the Anglican Church, the Catholic Church, and the Presbyterian Church of East Africa played important roles in the push for a democratic transition (Sabar-Friedman 1997). More recently, Christian groups have been highly active on issues of sexuality and gender. Renewalist (i.e., Pentecostal and Charismatic) churches were key in pushing anti-LGBT policy across Africa, leveraging their mobilizational capacity to influence politicians (Grossman 2015; Dreier 2018). In 2019, Kenya’s Christian leaders rallied with Muslim leaders to thwart decriminalization of homosexual sex, and Kenya’s Supreme Court upheld the law in May 2019 (Ndiso 2019).

Muslim marginalization in Kenya combines enduring narratives of discrimination with the perception that the state is actively targeting group members in policing. Such marginalization is distinct from state neglect. In the Kenyan context, ethnicity is a salient political identity, which politicians have instrumentalized to drum up political support (Khadiagala 2019; Oyugi 1997). Yet these expectations of favoritism or disfavoritism differ from effects of group marginalization on efficacy. For example, Ross (1975) finds no differences in political efficacy among Nairobi ethnic groups engaged in political competition. However, we argue that membership in community institutions that perceive themselves as subject to “historical, current and structural marginalisation” (as cited at the start of this section) transforms the way citizens see their own ability to impact change.

METHODS AND DATA: INTERVIEWS, FOCUS GROUPS, AND SURVEYS

We draw on qualitative and quantitative data to explore whether membership in marginalized community institutions impacts efficacy in the Kenyan context. Our key outcome of interest is citizens’ efficacy in relation to climate change, which we term “environmental efficacy.” While our theory draws on the concept of political efficacy more broadly, this measure exclusively captures one high-salience political issue: climate change.

Our qualitative data come from exploratory fieldwork that examines how religious congregations and leaders discuss the salience of climate change, its causes and solutions, and their ability to respond to it. The qualitative data include 16 interviews with imams, priests, and

pastors and nine focus groups with 79 of their congregants completed in 2018.⁷ Interviews and focus groups were conducted in English or Swahili (with the help of a translator), recorded, and transcribed. Each transcript was then coded for key themes, using a combination of a deductive coding guide and inductive identification of key subtopics within larger topics. The questionnaire focused on religious groups' responses to climate change and did not prompt for experiences of marginalization.

Congregations were selected at three sites, capturing varying levels of urbanization, socioeconomic status, and religious demographics. It was important to include both urban and rural field sites, as experiences of climate change and religious dynamics vary between urban and rural areas. Within the capital, we selected two sites to capture socioeconomic variation: central Nairobi and Dandora. Our central Nairobi sample includes the middle-class neighborhoods or “estates” of Westlands and Kileleshwa. Dandora is a poor, densely populated settlement, home to Nairobi’s largest landfill, on the outskirts of Nairobi County. Our third site is the county of Kilifi, a rural and predominantly Muslim county in the former Coast Province region, complementing the Christian-majority demographics of the other two field sites.⁸

Our quantitative analysis relies on data from the Round 7 Afrobarometer survey of 1,599 respondents in 2016. The Afrobarometer is the only nationally representative survey administered in many African countries that includes questions about political attitudes and behaviors and demographic information about respondents. Our reliance on this questionnaire limits our ability to fully measure some key concepts of interest. For instance, this round does not include questions that disaggregate internal and external efficacy, nor are we able to explore certain religious affiliations such as Sufism or Salafism. However, as described above, scholars have convincingly argued that Muslims widely share the experience of marginalization in Kenya. For the first investigation of whether membership in marginalized community institutions impacts efficacy in the Kenyan context, the Afrobarometer provides meaningful insights.

Our main outcome variable, environmental efficacy, comes from a multistage question about climate change. First, interviewers asked, “Do you think that climate change needs to be stopped?” Of respondents receiving the question, 21% said that climate change did not need to

⁷ Focus groups were composed of male and female congregants at the sampled mosque or church. Participants were invited with the knowledge and consent of community leaders. The groups varied in size from six to 11 participants.

⁸ Note that this sample selection does not include majority ethnic Somali communities in the Northeast, but ethnic Somali respondents were present in the Muslim congregations in the Nairobi samples.

be stopped, and another 9% of responses were missing/don't know.⁹ Second, the remaining 70% who thought climate change should be stopped were then asked, "How much do you think that ordinary Kenyans can do to stop climate change?" Response options were that "ordinary Kenyans" could "do nothing at all," "do a little bit," and "do a lot." We recode responses to create an ordinal variable in which "nothing" is 0, "a little" is 1, and "a lot" is 2. We rely on these attitudes about the agency of "ordinary Kenyans" as our measure of environmental efficacy. See the appendix for addition information on variable coding.

RESULTS

Religious Identity and Environmental Efficacy

Overall, Afrobarometer respondents in Kenya felt empowered to address climate change. Among citizens who said that climate change should be stopped, only 19% believed that ordinary citizens could do "nothing at all," while 46% were optimistic that ordinary citizens could do "a lot." This sense of efficacy is the outcome of interest in the analyses that follow.

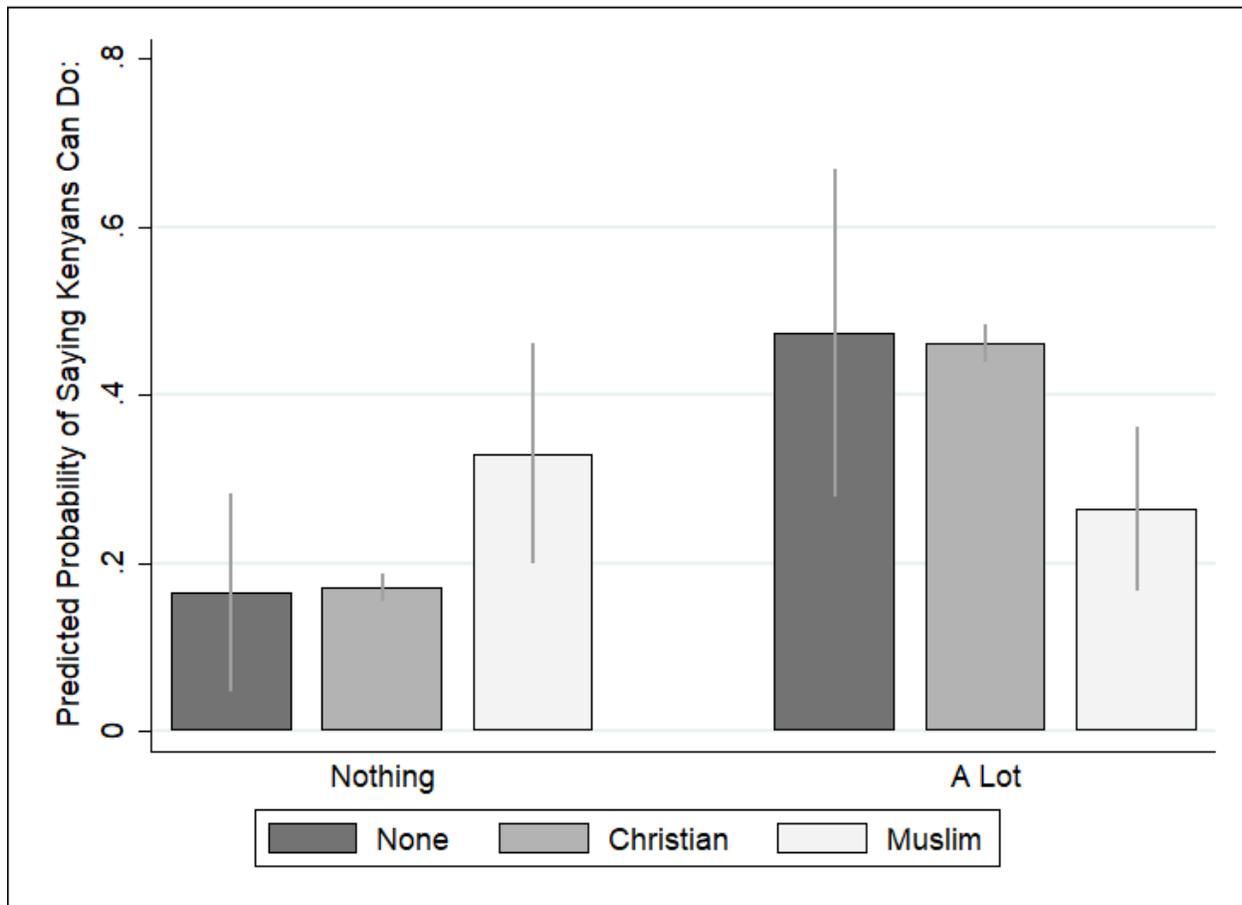
Figure 1 examines agency beliefs across religious groups.¹⁰ In multivariate analysis, non-religious and Christian respondents are predicted to have identical levels of agency: nearly half said that ordinary Kenyans could do a lot to impact climate change, and about a third thought they could do nothing. Muslims, however, stand out from other groups. In bivariate analysis without controls, only 13% of Muslim respondents reported high agency in relation to climate change, and nearly half (48%) said they could do nothing. Some of this gap, however, is due to covarying traits such as education and rural residence; as Figure 1 shows, the gap is smaller in multivariate analysis. Still, even after controlling for a wide range of demographics, Muslims are predicted to be twice as likely as other groups to say that they could do "nothing" about climate change, and half as likely to say that they could do "a lot."

⁹ This item (Q78) was asked only of the 64% of respondents who previously reported having heard of "climate change." In the appendix, we explore potential biases in the sample receiving the efficacy question; education predicts receiving the question, but we find no religious biases.

¹⁰ The figure presents predicted probabilities from an ordinal logistic regression model controlling for a range of demographics (see Model 1 of Table 1). Because there are no statistically significant differences among different Christian groups, all Christians are aggregated into one category. All analysis uses Afrobarometer's *withinwt* weight.

FIGURE 1

ENVIRONMENTAL EFFICACY, BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION



Source: Afrobarometer Round 7 (2016). 90% confidence intervals shown; estimates from Model 1.

Does the correlation between religious affiliation and efficacy stem from underlying differences among ethnic groups? Ethnicity and religion are intertwined in Kenya; 65% of Muslims in our Afrobarometer sample are Somali. This ethnic group may well report lower efficacy, given the Kenyan state's responses to al-Shabaab attacks and accusations of "foreignness."¹¹ Hence, our analysis presented in Figure 1 includes indicator variables for identification as Somali or as Masai and Samburu. The latter two ethnic groups were historically seminomadic, giving them a unique status within the state that could potentially impact efficacy.

¹¹ In addition, 26% of Muslims in the Afrobarometer sample are Mijikenda, a religiously mixed identity aggregating small, related ethnic groups. Small numbers of Muslim respondents are from the Kikuyu, Luhya, Kamba, Meru/Embu, Taita, Pokot, and Turkana ethnic groups. No respondent identified as ethnically Swahili or Arab.

Table 2 in the appendix presents a series of robustness checks further exploring the role of ethnicity. Model 1 in that table shows that Muslims have significantly lower environmental efficacy even after controlling for a long list of other ethnic groups. Model 2 controls for ethnic grievances, based on a question asking “how often, if ever” the respondent’s ethnic group was “treated unfairly by the government”; this control does not significantly change the effect of Muslim on efficacy. Finally, Model 3 adds an ethnic-salience variable to the baseline model as a third check for the potentially confounding impact of ethnicity, based on a question asking whether the respondent would identify as Kenyan or a member of their ethnic group if they “had to choose.” All three models increase our confidence that something about Muslims’ experiences in Kenya reduces their efficacy, independently of ethnicity.

Our models also consider the role of pastoralism. Pastoralists are highly exposed to climate change, as decreases in water and viable grazing land force them to move to provide for livestock; analysis in the appendix shows that pastoralists are significantly more concerned about climate change than other groups. Moreover, in Kenya and globally, pastoralists have had contentious relationships with the state, and a seminomadic livelihood inhibits organizing (Kituyi 1985; Azarya 1996). For all these reasons, it is little surprise that pastoralists express significantly lower environmental efficacy than other groups (see Table 1). However, pastoralism does not explain the significant effect of Muslim affiliation on efficacy.

Being Muslim in Kenya is associated with strikingly lower environmental efficacy than being a member of other religious groups; the effect is independent of ethnicity, pastoralism, economic status, and education. The remainder of the paper seeks to explain this difference. First, we present evidence that Muslim leaders and congregants are more likely to describe an unresponsive state than members of other major religious institutions in Kenya. Second, we show that citizens’ relationships with the state and religious leaders condition their sense of agency—but only among Muslims. In the final two sub-sections, we consider two other possible explanations: that differences in Muslims’ beliefs about the causes of climate change or their attitudes about its salience drive differences in efficacy among Kenya’s religious groups. However, neither alternative explanation adequately explains the efficacy gap.

Narratives of State Marginalization and Efficacy

Perceived oppression and state neglect, we argue, erode Kenyan Muslims' sense of environmental efficacy, as individuals rationally expect the state to stymie their activism. Our Muslim focus-group participants eloquently expressed this view. While many saw politicians as deliberately indifferent to their problems, describing them as “elusive,” “not dependable,” and there for “their own benefits,” others referenced active hostility to collective action. One respondent supported his claim that state actors could not be relied upon to address climate change by alluding to a recent protest, saying “they go and throw teargas on kids that are studying... so it means the politicians cannot help.”

Moreover, Muslims experience marginalization not simply as atomized individuals. Instead, religious communities internally communicate, disseminate, and reinforce members' senses of marginalization, as well as their perceptions of the likely inefficacy of potential mobilization. Every Muslim leader we interviewed expressed alienation and distance from politicians; this was a constant across ethnic groups and locations in urban Nairobi or rural Kilifi. As one imam explained, “when you see politicians, it is when they are campaigning; they are looking for votes, but about your lifestyles, about what is affecting your safety, they are not there and they will never be there, not in Kenya.” Another imam reported:

The ways in which we are able to communicate to them becomes a problem... because most of the time finding them is not easy and most of the time there is a very big gap between the political and religious leaders except for the time they need prayers only; when someone wants to be sworn in as president you are called to pray for them but other times you can't find them. Politicians, we can use them only the time when they come to the church or mosque.

Catholic and Pentecostal leaders expressed comparatively strong ties to politicians. In direct contrast with the imam who described the difficulty of contacting politicians, a Pentecostal pastor in Dandora reported that, “we have our MCA [Member of County Assembly] here, so approaching him is not difficult since he is in the area. Even their bouncers when you meet them you can tell them so that they take the message to him/her.” A pastor in rural Kilifi explained,

[Y]ou see the church as an organization is not just independent, it works in the nations and in the countries where the governments do also work. So the church has a percentage of contribution to help the community to have good life and the government is also concerned in the provision of good life of the community, so what I think is that it's good that they work hand in hand.

As these quotes imply, differing access to the state appeared to affect the perceived feasibility of environmental action. In our interviews, Christian clergy reported organizing activism and contacting politicians. One Catholic leader had recently convened a dinner bringing together local chiefs, county assembly members, and other politicians to discuss how to address the local dumpsite. Several priests thought that the Catholic Church was an influential partner with government in addressing climate change. Similarly, Pentecostal leaders described initiatives and workshops coordinating religious groups, NGOs, and government entities to address the issue. Christian leaders in the geographically peripheral (and heavily Muslim) Kilifi area and leaders based in the capital city expressed similarly high linkages to state politicians.

Historical discrimination and exclusion seemed to inhibit such activities among Muslims. All clergy, including imams, said they talked about climate change with congregants. For example, one imam reported using “words of urgency” to discuss environmental issues in sermons. Another imam explained that “we should not wait for another Wangari Maathai—actually everybody should be Wangari Maathai; we should do everything, and we should pray as well.” However, Muslim focus group participants were less likely than members of other groups to believe that the government would be responsive. For example, “there are challenges as our discussions are not getting any support from the government, both national and county, yet they are supposed to be the implementers.” Reinforcing this point, a second participant in the group reported that “our religious leaders talk often about these changes but they too get to a point they still need the implementers, the government. So we go back to depending on the government.” While some Muslim respondents explained that the government was necessary for climate change solutions, such that “the common citizen can’t do anything because there is a stage he gets to where it is the responsibility of the government,” others expressed the futility of expecting state actors to respond: “we should not bother ourselves with engaging politicians.”

By contrast, respondents in the Christian focus groups articulated far greater expectations that it was possible to collaborate with the government to impact climate change. For example, one Pentecostal congregant argued that “the church should partner with the politicians... because politicians have a lot of influence in our community and so does the church so with these two coming together then we can work together to make our environment better.” One respondent explicitly described her expectations of governmental responsiveness:

I think the government listens to the Catholic Church, I do believe that Catholic Church in a country is like another government so, I think if the Catholic Church decides that their leaders and their priests decide we need to do something to our environment I think our government will listen, our politicians will listen, of which most of our politicians are Catholics. I think through that way it would be easier.

Overall, these interviews revealed that members of different religious institutions diverged widely in their belief that they could effect environmental policy change in connection with state actors.

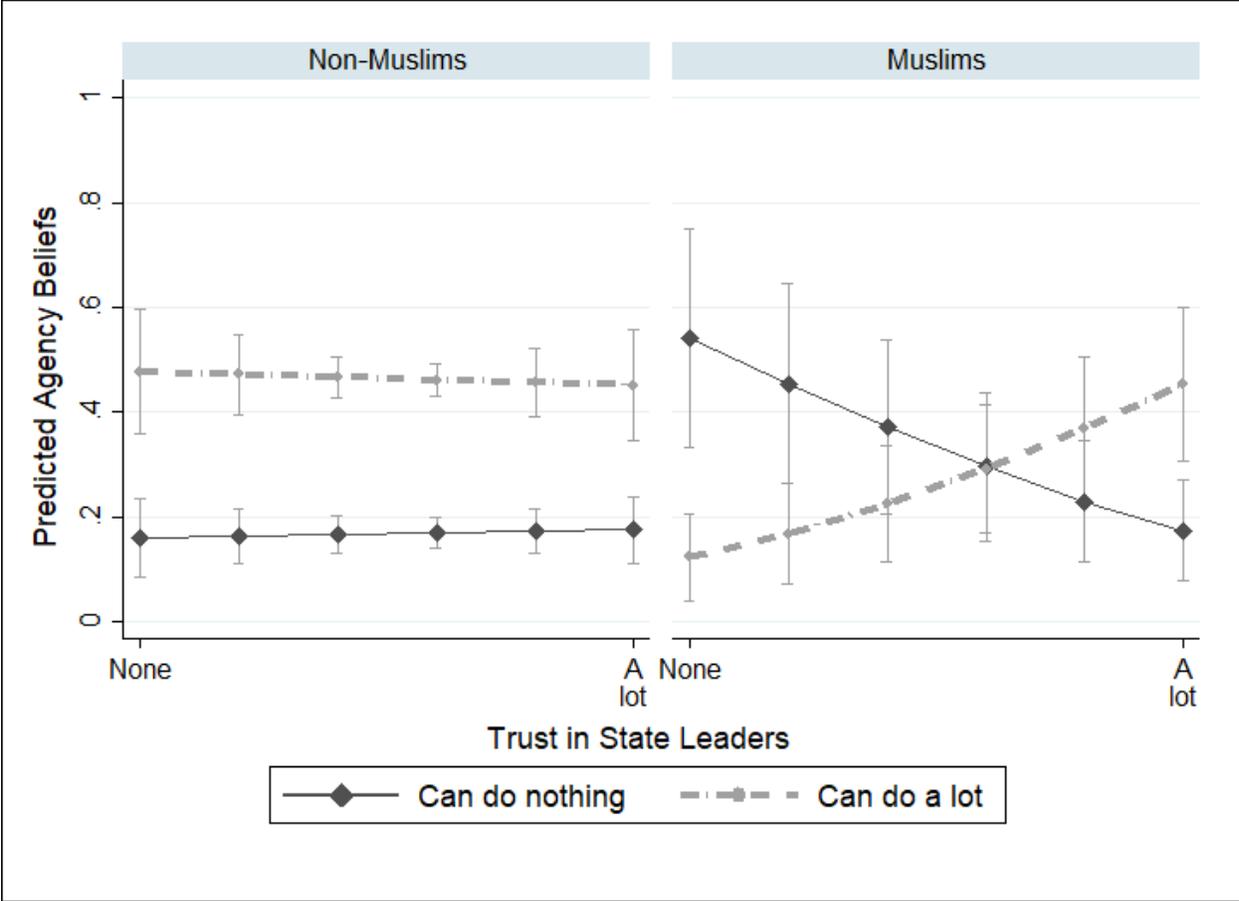
The Conditioning Effects of Trust on Kenyan Muslims' Efficacy

Our quantitative analysis provides further evidence in favor of the marginalization theory: views of the state and religious leaders help to explain Muslims' lower efficacy. The analysis presented in Model 4 of Table 1 and in Figure 2 reveals that trust in state institutions shapes Kenyan Muslims' sense of their own efficacy to make a difference on climate change. Moving from the minimum to the maximum level of trust in the state raises Muslims' predicted probability of reporting high agency from .12 to .45, and it is associated with a drop in the probability of reporting low agency from .54 to .17. However, attitudes toward the state only matter for Muslims. Group histories of marginalization have made the state salient as a potential limiting force constraining Muslims' political participation. By contrast, efficacy is not linked to state trust in religious groups without a history of marginalization. As a result, the gap in efficacy between Muslim and non-Muslim respondents is limited to citizens who distrust state leaders; there is no efficacy gap among citizens with high trust in state leaders.

Ties to community institutions also affect efficacy within marginalized groups. A series of models in the appendix shows that trust in religious leaders conditions the impact of religious affiliation on efficacy. Muslims who strongly trust their religious leaders report substantially lower efficacy to address climate change than do Muslims who are weakly tied to the hierarchy within their religious communities. In these survey data, we do not have evidence for the mechanism; Muslim leaders might socialize their communities via collective narratives of marginalization that compound feelings of low efficacy, or the types of Muslims who trust religious leaders might have low efficacy. Nonetheless, our qualitative evidence provides strong indications that Muslim communities widely share and discuss a feeling of disconnection from the state that stymies efficacy and activism.

FIGURE 2

TRUST IN STATE LEADERS BOOSTS ENVIRONMENTAL EFFICACY AMONG MUSLIMS



Source: Afrobarometer Round 7 (2016). 95% confidence intervals shown; estimates from Model 4.

TABLE 1

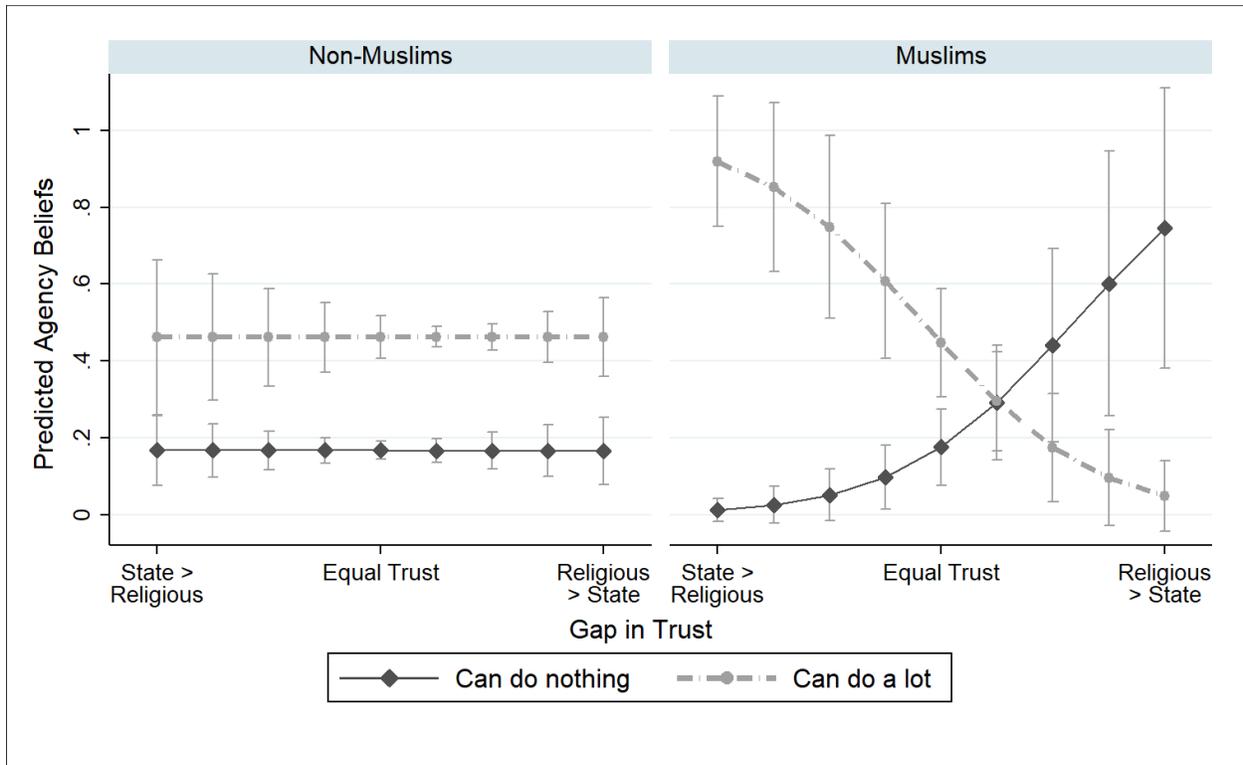
DETERMINANTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL EFFICACY

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Muslim	-0.917*	-1.130***	-0.967***	-1.982***	-0.064
	(0.485)	(0.369)	(0.352)	(0.563)	(0.354)
Climate Worsening		-0.123*	-0.199***	-0.201***	-0.195***
		(0.067)	(0.074)	(0.065)	(0.068)
CC Has Human Causes			1.143***	1.165***	1.168***
			(0.389)	(0.398)	(0.428)
Trust in State				-0.094	
				(0.492)	
Muslim × Trust in State				1.983***	
				(0.543)	
Trust Gap (Religious Leaders v. State)					-0.015
					(0.339)
Muslim × Trust Gap					-2.867***
					(0.990)
Masai/Samburu	-0.445	-0.457	-0.599*	-0.583*	-0.585*
	(0.305)	(0.294)	(0.334)	(0.339)	(0.346)
Somali	0.324	0.668	0.125	-0.382	-0.33
	(0.631)	(0.497)	(0.364)	(0.455)	(0.393)
Pastoralist	-0.631***	-0.606***	-0.644**	-0.648**	-0.668**
	(0.209)	(0.201)	(0.270)	(0.265)	(0.262)
Education	0.126*	0.119*	0.085	0.083	0.086
	(0.076)	(0.072)	(0.064)	(0.063)	(0.065)
Age	0.002	0.001	0.002	0.002	0.001
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Urban	0.092	0.101	0.091	0.108	0.137
	(0.134)	(0.141)	(0.159)	(0.146)	(0.119)
Food scarcity	-0.139	-0.126	-0.133	-0.13	-0.133
	(0.095)	(0.094)	(0.091)	(0.097)	(0.095)
Male	0.021	0.033	0.075	0.07	0.084
	(0.165)	(0.161)	(0.179)	(0.179)	(0.179)
Observations	743	730	718	718	710

Source: Afrobarometer Round 7 (2016). Results from ordinal logistic regression models clustered on region. Regional fixed effects and logistic regression cutpoints not shown; standard errors in parentheses. *p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .01.

FIGURE 3

THE GAP IN TRUST IN BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AND STATE LEADERS REDUCES ENVIRONMENTAL EFFICACY AMONG MUSLIMS



Source: Afrobarometer Round 7 (2016). 95% confidence intervals shown; estimates from Model 4.

In Model 5 of Table 1 and in Figure 3, we introduce a measure of the gap between trust in the state and in religious leaders. This gap is extremely predictive of environmental efficacy; among Muslims who trust religious leaders much more than state leaders, the predicted likelihood of saying that “nothing” can be done is .75, and that of saying that “a lot” can be done is only .05. Among Muslims who trust state leaders much more than religious leaders, by contrast, the equivalent predicted likelihoods are inverted, at .01 and .92. Such ties have no impact on the attitudes of non-Muslim Kenyans. These results indicate that alienation from the state and ties to community institutions both impact the efficacy of Muslim citizens.¹²

¹² The appendix presents a number of alternative specifications, all confirming the conclusion.

Do Beliefs About The Causes Of Climate Change Explain The Efficacy Gap?

An alternative explanation for religious differences in environmental efficacy relates to doctrinally rooted scientific beliefs. The question of whether climate change is anthropogenic or instead results from natural—or even supernatural—processes is a central divide in public opinion on the environment. It stands to reason that people would be skeptical of their power to solve a problem perceived as natural or divine in origin. Religious teachings contain wide-ranging propositions about the nature of the material world, and the role of supernatural forces in the weather. It seems plausible that Kenyan Muslims might share ontological approaches to humans' role in climate change—beliefs that influence perceptions of environmental agency.

However, we find little evidence of such religious differences. In the Afrobarometer, 61% of respondents saw human behavior as the sole cause of climate change, and another 14% attributed climate change to both human and natural causes; just 25% attributed it to natural processes or other factors. There are no statistically significant differences between Christians, Muslims, and the non-religious in such beliefs (see the appendix).¹³ Qualitative fieldwork confirms the absence of religious differences in causal attributions. Across religious groups, clergy provided strikingly consistent explanations of climate change. Every leader interviewed reported that changing weather resulted from human behavior, including phenomena such as charcoal burning, deforestation, and air pollution. Some clergy did also reference more distal behaviors, such as lack of prayer; sexual sin and deforestation were discussed together seamlessly, as joint causal factors. As one imam described, “the teachings of science and religion are not far off, I think they relate closely.” In addition, none of the clergy thought climate change was a result of a natural process of change over time.

In sum, religious differences in causal attributions are small, and cannot explain differing environmental agency across religious groups. Indeed, controlling for the perception that climate change is anthropogenic in our model of efficacy does not reduce the size or the statistical significance of Muslim religious affiliation—despite the fact that belief in the human origin of climate change is, as we speculated, a highly statistically significant predictor of efficacy (see

¹³ Disaggregating by variety of Christianity, Protestants are significantly more likely than Muslims to report human agency as a cause in multivariate analysis. However, the effects are small; the difference between Muslims and Protestants in the predicted probability of believing humans drive climate change is just .08 (.71 versus .79). No other differences between religious groups were statistically significant in multivariate analysis. A difference of this magnitude could not fully explain the much larger difference in environmental efficacy among religious groups.

Table 1, Model 3). Belief that climate change is anthropogenic raises the predicted probability of reporting high environmental efficacy from .26 to .50.

Does Issue Salience Explain the Efficacy Gap?

Climate change might affect Muslims more severely than members of other groups—perhaps due to Muslims’ concentration in certain geographic areas, or in certain occupations. Actually experiencing climate change might sap one’s sense of efficacy. However, empirical analysis reveals two key findings. First, after controlling for differences in region and material circumstances, there are no interreligious differences in issue salience. Second, controlling for issue salience *increases* the estimated Muslim/non-Muslim gap in environmental efficacy.

In general, Kenyans are quite concerned about climate change. In 2016, 56% of the sample reported that the climate had gotten worse in the past decade. In addition, 15% mentioned a climate-related issue as the most important problem for the government to address, and 38% mentioned it as one of the three most important problems. In qualitative interviews, religious leaders unanimously agreed, as did participants in eight of nine focus groups, that the weather was changing, interpreted as part of a broader pattern.¹⁴ They supported their beliefs with examples of extreme weather and environmental changes, including unpredictable rainy seasons and extreme temperatures, drought, flooding, and decreases in harvests and fish stocks.

In a bivariate analysis of the Afrobarometer, environmental concern is higher among Muslims than other groups. However, this appears entirely to be the result of covarying traits. Kenyan Muslims cluster in the Northeastern and Coast regions, which have been highly affected by severe weather. For example, a drought in 2005–2006 caused a 70% decrease in the size of herds in northern Kenya, leading pastoralists, including many Muslims, to become heavily reliant on international aid (Baird 2008, 4). In addition, Muslim religious affiliation is correlated with formal education, poverty, and rural livelihoods—all of which may impact issue salience. In multivariate models, religious affiliation is not correlated with either environmental concern or belief that climate change needs to be stopped (see the appendix); religious differences are due entirely to Muslims’ concentration in regions highly affected by climate change.

Model 2 in Table 1 considers the relationship between religious affiliation and efficacy, controlling for belief that the climate is worsening. Strikingly, after we account for the salience

¹⁴ The exception was one Pentecostal focus group in Kilifi, where responses were more mixed.

of climate change, the Muslim/non-Muslim gap in efficacy grows. The predicted gap in saying that “ordinary Kenyans” can do nothing widens to 21 percentage points, and the gap in saying that they can do a lot widens to 24 percentage points. Different perceptions of the changing climate are not the source of lower efficacy among Muslims in Kenya. Instead, the qualitative and quantitative data indicate that marginalization generates systematic differences in how members of religious institutions evaluate their ability to impact climate change.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Efficacy links interests to action—yet poor treatment by the state severs that link. Policies marginalizing communities thus impact political engagement over the long term. However, these effects are not automatic; community institutions shape the relationship between marginalization and agency. Though theories of political efficacy tend to treat social networks as a resource that boosts efficacy, networks reinforcing narratives of marginalization should yield the opposite outcome.

Insights gleaned from interviews in Kenya elucidate the argument: Muslim community institutions reinforced a narrative of members’ incapacity to effect change. Leaders emphasized that politicians would not respond to their demands, rendering collective action for policy change ineffective; congregants echoed those assessments. Thus, focus groups with Muslims captured pieces of a continuing conversation within the community about discrimination and the limits of agency. By contrast, while it would be a grave mistake to suggest that non-Muslim Kenyans are highly trusting of state institutions, leaders and members of Christian community institutions expressed systematically higher expectations of state responsiveness than did Muslims.

Quantitative analysis bolsters our conclusions. Muslim citizens expressed lower efficacy than other groups—a relationship that cannot be attributed to differences in education, wealth, ethnicity, or region, nor to issue salience or beliefs about the causes of climate change. Instead, Muslims’ reduced efficacy is a function of their relationships to the state and religious leaders. That the conditional effects are unique to Muslims suggests the importance of community institutions as a forum where marginalized citizens learn what to expect of the state. Despite a vast literature on collective identity and political behavior in Africa, this is, to our knowledge, the first empirical study of collective marginalization and efficacy in the African context.

This case study is limited to one place, issue, and group, but reflecting on its broader lessons yields puzzles. One important avenue for future research involves the ambivalent impact of marginalization on efficacy. Our finding that a contentious relationship with the state undermines participation is consistent with research in other contexts (White 2019; Weaver and Lerman 2010; Lerman and Weaver 2014). However, discrimination does not necessarily preclude activism; marginalized populations sometimes channel their experiences into collective action (Ramírez 2013; Zepeda-Millán 2017). We suggest that community institutions condition the effects of marginalization on citizens' agency. The key to elevated efficacy might come from narratives identifying structural oppression, while simultaneously encouraging action. The development of black consciousness empowered African Americans, enabling them to shift the locus of blame for their own poverty to the government (Shingles 1981, 89). Case and Hunter (2012) stress the role of organizations providing counterspaces for marginalized peoples to gain this critical consciousness. Future research should explore why marginalized institutions sap efficacy in some contexts and bolster it in others.

Despite these limitations, our focus allows us to draw implications for climate change policy. First—in striking contrast with the United States (Guth et al. 1995)—we find no religious differences in climate change beliefs in Kenya. Nearly all religious leaders and focus group respondents thought that climate change was an important issue, one with human causes and solutions. After accounting for regional differences, religious groups prioritized climate change equally. Our results echo work elsewhere in the developing world that uncovers no religious differences in these beliefs (Smith and Veldman 2020). Moreover, the findings are consistent with studies that identify climate change as a high priority among Muslims in Turkey, Indonesia, the Palestinian territories, and Nigeria (Lewis et al. 2019). In other contexts, membership in Muslim religious institutions may *increase* environmental efficacy (e.g., Amri 2013). Our findings thus indicate that a religious institution's relationship with the state—a product of a specific political context—is highly consequential for citizen climate activism.

Second, our analysis suggests that groups that are highly concerned about climate change may remain on the sidelines due to experiences of marginalization. Cross-nationally, countries that are most affected by climate change are also least able to prevent it. This study demonstrates a similar phenomenon on a sub-national level: respondents for whom climate change was most salient felt least efficacious addressing it. In addition to the Muslim minority, we also observe

this result in the plight of pastoralists, who are highly impacted by drought and climate instability, but were significantly less likely than other respondents to say that they could effect change. If the most vulnerable populations are less likely to organize collective action, climate change policy is unlikely to respond to their specific needs. This further reinforces their real and perceived exclusion from the processes of addressing climate change. In designing climate change policy, it is critical to understand groups' perceived levels of marginalization and the sources of unequal citizenship. This exercise will position policymakers to design interventions to engender participation among marginalized groups—a key to creating inclusive climate change solutions.

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APPENDIX

Who Receives the Question on Environmental Efficacy?

As noted in the main text, only a portion of respondents received the question on environmental efficacy. First, the 1,599 respondents in the full sample were asked whether they had heard of climate change; 1,023 said they had. Next, the 1,023 respondents who had heard of climate change were asked whether they thought it needed to be stopped; 751 said yes to the follow-up question. Those 751 respondents were then asked whether they thought that ordinary Kenyans like themselves could do something to stop climate change. It is important to ask whether the respondents who received the question on environmental efficacy differed in relevant ways, and in particular with respect to religion, from those who did not receive the question. In Appendix Table 1, we present results from three logistic regression models predicting whether respondents said they had heard of climate change; whether they said that it needed to be stopped (conditional on having heard of climate change); and whether they received the environmental efficacy question. Most importantly, the results show that religious affiliation is uncorrelated with receiving the environmental efficacy question. Education and an interviewer-coded measure of whether the respondent had difficulty answering questions in the survey interview are the two strongest and most robust determinants of response. In addition, region within Kenya appears to be associated with belief that climate change must be stopped.

Other Variable Coding in Afrobarometer Analysis

The main text and prior section discuss coding of the key dependent variables. Our key independent variable is religious affiliation, based on a question asking, “What is your religion, if any?” Interviewers coded open-ended responses into 34 categories. Unfortunately, as Sperber and Hern (2018) discuss, distinguishing among Christians is complicated in the Afrobarometer. The first interviewer checkbox is “Christian only (i.e., respondents says only ‘Christian’, without identifying a specific sub-group)” — a category likely to catch many Pentecostals (given that their congregations are often non-denominational), as well as Christians who do not attend church, and misclassified members of other Christian traditions. In the analysis presented in the main text, we recode the interviewer-coded values into a three-category variable: Muslim, Christian,

and None/Other. However, in some analyses in the appendix, we use a five-category variable: None; Catholic; Protestant and Evangelical; Pentecostal, Independent, and Other Christian; and Muslim.

In some analyses, we interact Muslim religious identification with two attitudinal variables: trust in religious leaders and trust in state institutions. The prompt for these items began, “How much do you trust each of the following, or haven’t you heard enough about them to say?” Whereas trust in religious leaders comes from a single item, trust in state leaders is an index of trust in the President, Parliament, County Government, and Courts. Answers are coded on a four-point scale, from “not at all” to “a lot,” and both variables are recoded from 0 to 1.

To account for other identities that intersect with identification as Muslim, we include indicators for Masai/Samburu and Somali ethnicity, region, and pastoralism. Pastoralists practice semi-nomadic or extensive livestock rearing. Unfortunately, the Afrobarometer does not measure pastoralism; our proxy is an indicator for rural residents who are Somali, Masai/Samburu, Turkana, or Pokot. We also include two subjective measures of ethnic identification, both rescaled from 0 to 1: ethnic grievances, from a question asking “how often if ever,” members of their ethnic group are “treated unfairly by the government”; and *Kenyan versus ethnic identification*, measured on a five-point scale where high values indicate stronger ethnic-over-Kenyan identification. Finally, our demographic controls include educational level, gender, age, urban versus rural status, and an index of food scarcity (based on responses to a question asking “Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family gone without enough food to eat?”).

To explain our efficacy findings, we also examine perceived causes of climate change. All respondents who had heard of climate change were asked, “Which of the following do you think is the main cause of climate change, or haven’t you heard enough to say?” Two response options were read aloud: “Human activity, like burning fuel and other activities that pollute the atmosphere” and “Natural processes.” The interviewer also coded if the respondent volunteered “both” or “neither of these.”

We also rely on two quantitative indicators of issue salience. Our first indicator is from a question asking whether the climate has improved, gotten worse, or stayed the same in the past 10 years. Responses are scaled as an ordinal variable, and modeled using ordinal logistic regression. The second indicator of issue salience comes from responses to the question asking,

“In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address?” Responses were open-ended, and the interviewer coded the first three answers provided. The questionnaire did not have a category specifically for climate change; instead, we treat four (out of 32) coded responses as being related to climate change: “farming/agriculture,” “food shortage/famine,” “drought,” and “water supply.” We code two dichotomous variables, one indicating whether a respondent mentioned a climate problem as the top issue, and the second indicating that a climate problem fell within their top three issues.

Robustness Checks: Ethnicity as a Determinant of Efficacy

Because religious affiliation and ethnicity are correlated in Kenya, we run a series of robustness checks to test whether the negative association between Muslim identity and efficacy can be explained by ethnicity. Appendix Table 2 reports results from a full model of environmental efficacy. The first model controls for a long battery of indicators of ethnic identification (some of which are highly collinear with being Muslim); the second controls for a measure of ethnic grievances, and the third for a measure of self-identification as Kenyan versus a member of one’s own ethnic group. All three models also control for the full suite of demographic controls from the models presented in the main text: pastoralism, region, education, age, gender, urban status, and food scarcity. The negative and statistically significant effect of being Muslim persists in all three models.

Determinants of Issue Salience

Appendix Table 3 reports results from the full models of the three measures of issue salience: a trichotomous variable for whether the climate has improved, stayed the same, or gotten worse; a dichotomous variable for whether the respondent mentions a climate-related issue as the most important problem the government should address; and a dichotomous variable for whether the respondent mentions such an issue as any of the top three most important problems. Though religious affiliation was strongly and statistically significantly related to these three variables in bivariate analysis, the relationship disappears once we control for region. However, the table shows that region of residence, living in a rural versus urban area, and a proxy measure for being a pastoralist are all significantly related to the salience of climate issues. For ease of presentation,

the table omits coefficients for Somali and Masai/Samburu ethnicity, which are statistically insignificant after controlling for various aspects of the location of residence.

Determinants of Belief that Climate Change is Anthropogenic

Appendix Table 4 examines whether there are statistically significant differences across religious groups in belief that climate change is anthropogenic (i.e., that humans are its sole or partial cause). The analysis is limited to the 1,023 respondents who said they had heard of climate change. In total, 62 percent of respondents said that humans were the sole cause of climate change, and another 13 percent said that humans were at least partially the cause of climate change. The results indicate only a weak relationship between religious affiliation and belief in anthropogenic climate change. Keeping Muslims as the baseline group, there is a weakly significant difference between Muslims and Protestants in one of the two models, but there are no significant differences between Muslims and any other group. Education is by far the strongest determinant of belief in anthropogenic climate change (this variable runs from 0 to 9). We also find some differences between regions in belief that climate change is anthropogenic. For ease of presentation, the table omits coefficients for Somali and Masai/Samburu ethnicity, which are statistically insignificant after controlling for various aspects of the location of residence.

Robustness Checks: Religious and State Trust as Determinants of Environmental Efficacy

Appendix Table 5 presents results from a series of models of environmental efficacy testing the robustness of the relationships among trust in religious leaders, trust in state leaders, Muslim identification, and environmental efficacy. These models further elaborate the results from models 4 and 5 of Table 1 in the main text. The first model in Appendix Table 5 presents the interaction between religious trust and Muslim identification; the second shows that the relationship is robust to controlling for trust in the state. Finally, the third and fourth models are limited to Muslims; given the small number of observations in those two models, we present the results with and without controls. Across all models, the analysis shows robustly that trust in religious leaders reduces Muslims' environmental efficacy, while trust in state leaders boosts Muslims' environmental efficacy.

APPENDIX TABLE 1

DETERMINANTS OF RECEIVING QUESTION ON ENVIRONMENTAL EFFICACY			
	Yes, Heard of CC (1,023/1,599)	Yes, CC Must Be Stopped (751/1,023)	Yes to Both (751/1,599)
No Religion	0.641 (0.453)	-0.231 (0.575)	0.352 (0.438)
Catholic	0.437 (0.306)	0.192 (0.422)	0.439 (0.297)
Protestant	0.523* (0.310)	0.139 (0.424)	0.470 (0.300)
Pentecostal & Other	0.309 (0.288)	0.163 (0.400)	0.307 (0.281)
CC is Most Imp't Problem	0.017 (0.124)	0.208 (0.168)	0.117 (0.118)
Difficulty Answering (Interviewer Reported)	-2.521 *** (0.373)	1.280 * (0.653)	-1.315 *** (0.375)
Education	0.274 *** (0.037)	0.176 *** (0.048)	0.273 *** (0.035)
Age	0.005 (0.005)	0.007 (0.006)	0.006 (0.004)
Urban	0.107 (0.140)	0.310 (0.190)	0.217* (0.131)
Food scarcity	-0.036 (0.056)	-0.102 (0.075)	-0.071 (0.055)
Male	0.074 (0.118)	0.125 (0.158)	0.115 (0.112)
Central	-0.122 (0.260)	1.361 *** (0.368)	0.533 ** (0.237)
Eastern	-0.008 (0.262)	1.041 *** (0.346)	0.500 ** (0.239)
Rift Valley	-0.097 (0.241)	0.134 (0.291)	-0.000 (0.218)
Nyanza	-0.407 (0.261)	0.219 (0.324)	-0.149 (0.240)
Western	0.684 ** (0.300)	-0.544 (0.333)	-0.026 (0.268)
North Eastern	-0.298 (0.408)	0.302 (0.572)	-0.056 (0.404)
Coast	0.173 (0.292)	0.602* (0.365)	0.447* (0.267)
Observations	1565	1010	1565

Source: Afrobarometer Round 7 (2016). Results from logistic regression models. Standard errors in parentheses. Constant omitted for ease of presentation. Muslim and Nairobi are baseline categories. * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$.

APPENDIX TABLE 2

DETERMINANTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL EFFICACY: THE ROLE OF ETHNICITY

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	-0.725*	-0.850**	-0.867**
	(0.435)	(0.395)	(0.390)
Pastoralist	-0.579*	-0.835***	-0.808***
	(0.322)	(0.238)	(0.262)
Masai/Samburu	-0.684		
	(0.419)		
Somali	-0.211		
	(0.490)		
Luo	-0.451**		
	(0.205)		
Luhya	-0.167		
	(0.166)		
Kamba	-0.302		
	(0.415)		
Kalenjin	0.045		
	(0.177)		
Kisii	-0.676***		
	(0.235)		
Meru/Embu	-0.500		
	(0.491)		
MijiKenda	-1.019***		
	(0.386)		
Taita	-1.202***		
	(0.383)		
Pokot	-0.276		
	(0.329)		
Turkana	-0.099		
	(0.759)		
Ethnic Grievances		-0.011	
		(0.277)	
Kenyan v. Ethnic ID			-0.273
			(0.424)
Observations	714	743	742

Source: Afrobarometer Round 7 (2016). Results from ordinal logistic regression models. Standard errors in parentheses. Cutpoints, region fixed effects, and controls for education, age, gender, urban status, and food scarcity omitted for ease of presentation. *p < .10,**p < .05,***p < .01.

APPENDIX TABLE 3

DETERMINANTS OF ISSUE SALIENCE

	Climate has Worsened	Top Issue	Among Top 3 Issues
Muslim	-0.063 (0.282)	0.053 (0.408)	0.101 (0.392)
Masai/Samburu	0.698 (0.596)	0.056 (0.210)	-0.312 (0.502)
Somali	-0.679 (0.458)	-0.106 (0.900)	-0.004 (0.536)
Pastoralist	0.153 (0.666)	1.193*** (0.345)	1.290*** (0.467)
Central	0.089 (0.125)	-0.085 (0.191)	0.261* (0.146)
Eastern	0.235 (0.158)	1.626*** (0.241)	1.218*** (0.155)
Rift Valley	-0.694*** (0.148)	0.181 (0.225)	0.368** (0.150)
Nyanza	0.331** (0.158)	0.318 (0.254)	0.380** (0.163)
Western	-0.263 (0.167)	-1.449*** (0.276)	-0.723*** (0.173)
North Eastern	2.306*** (0.856)	1.124* (0.670)	1.584*** (0.403)
Coast	0.747*** (0.095)	1.443*** (0.155)	0.785*** (0.082)
Education	-0.015 (0.045)	-0.183*** (0.038)	-0.109*** (0.029)
Age	0.012* (0.007)	0.005 (0.006)	0.005 (0.005)
Urban	0.077 (0.200)	-0.468 (0.288)	-0.391* (0.204)
Food scarcity	0.105 (0.067)	0.117** (0.051)	0.153*** (0.042)
Male	0.184 (0.150)	0.066 (0.220)	0.031 (0.073)
Observations	1442	1565	1565

Source: Afrobarometer Round 7 (2016). Results from ordinal logistic regression models. Standard errors in parentheses. Nairobi is baseline category. Constant and cutpoints omitted for ease of presentation. *p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .01.

APPENDIX TABLE 4

DETERMINANTS OF BELIEVING CLIMATE CHANGE IS ANTHROPOGENIC

	Humans Sole Cause of Climate Change	Humans Sole or Partial Cause of CC
Muslim	-0.241 (0.353)	-0.243 (0.287)
Education	0.102 (0.071)	0.197*** (0.068)
Age	0.006 (0.006)	0.009** (0.004)
Urban	0.047 (0.150)	0.177 (0.213)
Food scarcity	-0.018 (0.087)	-0.076 (0.050)
Male	-0.043 (0.136)	-0.006 (0.138)
Pastoralist	-0.279 (0.226)	-0.212 (0.345)
Central	0.002 (0.094)	-0.325** (0.150)
Eastern	-0.693*** (0.094)	-1.041*** (0.146)
Rift Valley	0.216** (0.103)	-0.206 (0.131)
Nyanza	-0.463*** (0.089)	-0.409*** (0.133)
Western	0.605*** (0.101)	0.587*** (0.169)
North Eastern	0.372 (0.337)	-0.120 (0.943)
Coast	-0.646*** (0.127)	-0.546*** (0.167)
Observations	977	977

Source: Afrobarometer Round 7 (2016). Results from logistic regression models. Standard errors in parentheses. Constant and coefficients for Somali and Samburu/Masai are omitted for ease of presentation. Nairobi is the baseline category. *p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .01.

APPENDIX TABLE 5

DETERMINANT OF ENVIRONMENTAL EFFICACY: CONTROLLING FOR RELIGIOUS TRUST				
	(1) All Respondents	(2) All Respondents	(3) Muslims Only	(4) Muslims Only
Muslim	2.130** (0.983)	1.063 (0.830)		
Trust in Religious Leaders	-0.070 (0.414)	-0.060 (0.420)	-3.612*** (1.075)	-8.634*** (1.707)
Muslim × Religious Trust	-3.709*** (1.248)	-3.659*** (1.153)		
Trust in State		-0.082 (0.487)	2.008** (0.993)	6.100*** (1.321)
Muslim × Trust in State		1.968*** (0.554)		
Climate Worsening	-0.200** (0.086)	-0.202*** (0.072)		-2.397*** (0.828)
CC Has Human Causes	1.130*** (0.414)	1.152*** (0.427)		5.912*** (1.123)
Masai/Samburu	-0.619* (0.329)	-0.600* (0.337)		
Somali	0.507 (0.361)	0.015 (0.410)		-5.807*** (0.811)
Pastoralist	-0.649** (0.257)	-0.656*** (0.253)		0.080 (0.407)
Education	0.090 (0.068)	0.088 (0.066)		-0.101 (0.362)
Age	0.001 (0.005)	0.002 (0.005)		-0.107*** (0.033)
Urban	0.107 (0.142)	0.126 (0.127)		0.815 (0.814)
Food scarcity	-0.146 (0.090)	-0.143 (0.097)		-1.089*** (0.241)
Male	0.085 (0.174)	0.082 (0.175)		0.303 (0.520)
Ethnic Grievances				3.240*** (0.210)
Kenyan v. Ethnic ID				1.619** (0.671)
Observations	710	710	52	49

Source: Afrobarometer Round 7 (2016). Results from ordinal logistic regression models clustered on region. Regional fixed effects and logistic regression cutpoints omitted for ease of presentation. Standard errors in parentheses. *p < .10,**p < .05,***p < .01.