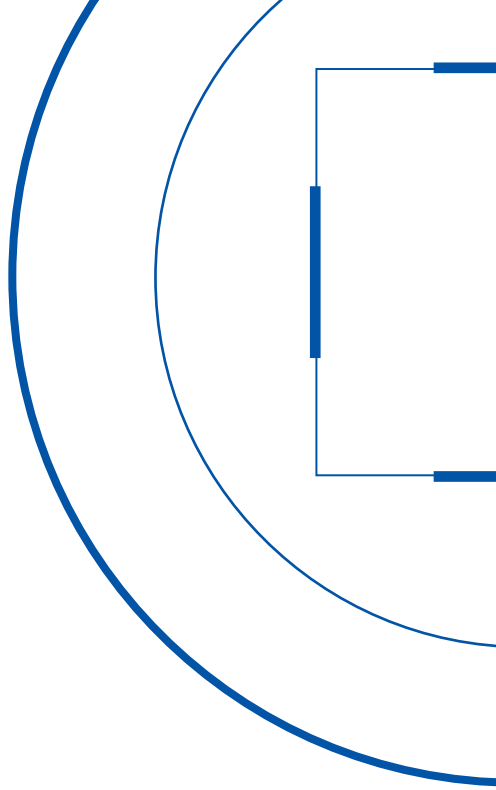


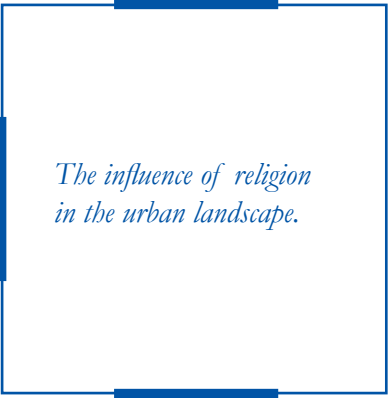
# Typologies

The role of sacred spaces in urban development and the integration of the Ethiopian society.

# of

# Belief





*The influence of religion  
in the urban landscape.*



# Typologies & Spatial Patterns of Belief

The role of sacred  
spaces in urban  
development and the  
integration of the  
Ethiopian society.

Master Thesis  
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## Abstract

This work focuses on the spatial compositions and social dynamics of religious or sacred spaces and its immediate surrounding areas in the cities of Kon, Mer'awi and Gondar, located in the Amhara Region of Ethiopia. Rapid urbanization and development in Ethiopia alongside with internal national conflicts in recent years are transforming the spatial configurations of these towns and cities. This study offers insight into the dynamics and influence of religious space in the development of settlement pattern composition, based on the socio-spatial relations of the two most predominant religions in Ethiopia; Orthodox Christianity and Islam. After examining the collected data and social analysis questionnaires, diverse spatial and social behavioral patterns can be derived per city, allowing us to determine how people decide to settle in accordance to their religious affiliation. To be able to determine percentages of inhabitants in relation to the location of mosques and churches in order to see if there is a specific pattern of socio-spatial order that could cause possible segregation or cohesion between different religious social groups. This qualitative analysis is performed to include religious space in future urban planning, since religion is a strong denotative characteristic of the Ethiopian culture and tradition.

### Keywords

**Religious space, religious affiliation, socio-spatial relations, settlement patterns, Amhara region.**

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# Introduction

## Research background

Religion and sacred spaces in Ethiopia represent a fundamental aspect of people's lives, which plays an important role in the production of urban and social space. Spirituality and religiosity in this country are elements that remain latent in the Ethiopian culture, weaving new social rituals, practices, and typologies that influence the urban transformation and development of cities and towns.

Predominant religions such as Christianity and Islam hold meaningful and strategic positions in the Ethiopian national life, acting as catalysts and sometimes obstacles to integral socio-spatial development. (Loubser, 2002) A factor that nowadays seems to be in constant struggle due to the growing internal political conflicts and shifting of faith among several social-religious groups, which also transform the urban landscape (Girma, 2018).

Such events make the study of social aspects and its intersection with religion and space important factors to consider in future urban development. Since sacred and religious spaces have represented the urban culture of Ethiopian life for many years and reflect the traditional sense and structure of settlements, becoming an integral part of the Ethiopian society (Alem, 2016). Which brings interest to understand the nature and importance of the most predomi-

nant religious typologies in Ethiopia, the church and mosque as factors of influence to the new development of spatial patterns and how their presence or location influences how followers decide to settle around them. These spatial distributions of religious systems represent an insight into existing and possible spatial variations among city inhabitants and cultural patterns that reflect urban behaviors of how people nowadays are deciding to live according to their religious affiliation.

In other words, the spatial distributions of religious systems make evident the crucial patterns of cause and effect that arise from the interactions between religions and places. Furthermore, showing a constant dynamic of transformation and being transformed by the various contexts in which they are placed (Stump, 2008). Moreover, questioning if the location of religious typologies matters in the development process of a settlement's pattern or plays an organizational role in the transformation of cities.

*A matter that arises from the historical meaning of churches in Ethiopian history and how they were considered as urban landmarks that held the most sacred and highest level in hierarchical space (Alem, 2016).*



These typologies nowadays are easily recognizable in any town or city in Ethiopia and seem to be crucial elements that must be included in any urban settlement. Therefore, acting as attractivity entities for future inhabitants, placing spirituality and religion in close relation to the urban context and its spatial dynamics.

In Ethiopia is not only important to understand the spatial development of sites but also understand the power religious typologies and sacred spaces have, to re-integrate fractured elements of societies.

In the present, sacred spaces should not only represent a factor for urban arrangement but also a link to pluralist communities of different religions to increase governance, participation, placemaking and strive towards urban developments that follow traditional guidelines but transform them to create heterogeneous social and spatial settlements. Which incorporate spirituality and religion in future urban planning as an integrative cultural and social framework, that is connected to the values of the Ethiopian society and places people inhabit.

## Problem statement

This research derives from the importance of the after-mentioned meaning of religion in the Ethiopian society and the significant role it plays in the urbanization of its settlements, traditions and socio-spatial values. As a reaction to the current situation, Ethiopia is facing constant reform and change, which is bringing internal displacement, unlawful killings, tribal conflicts, and injustice (Girma, 2018).

It is worth to call exemplary the attachment its society has to sacral entities and religion despite the persistent conditions of extreme poverty, insecurity, and destitution (ibid, 2018). Which is stirring the country towards a fractured society not only caused by instability but also by a lack of reconciliation or engagement its people have towards one another.

A problem that also stems from the rapid growth of other forms of Christian denominations, Islam and the effect of a power struggle between religions to gain and keep followers. Such happenings are causing internal conflicts over land tenure and ownership, inciting new forms of spatial and social segregation in developing settlements. Which is the case of some cities only one form of religion is accepted, usually being Orthodox, extremely forbidding the construction or introduction of any other form of sacred space or religion that is not the same.



**Figure 1.** Orthodox Christians outside of a rock-hewn church, Lalibela, Alejandra Urrutia 2019.

A case that I encountered in my previous trip to Ethiopia in the northern cities of Axum and Lalibela, where only one form of Christian entity could be built in respect of the long persisting traditional religion of the country. Therefore, if these situations of separation continue to persist in current times of political and social struggle it is important to include sacred space and typologies in long-term planning. Since they are beacons of an ancient tradition and culture, with the possibility to act as spatial agents of social and urban transformations. Which create an intersection of society, religion, and space, that I believe currently is seen as a socio-political strategy to unify a country but still hinders to see beyond the power space must become a societal solution for peaceful coexistence among members of different social-religious groups and political affiliations.

## Research aim

Because many of the sacred typologies and spaces are representatives of the social and cultural life of Ethiopia, I deem important to study if there is an organizational premise in the urban framework of the spatial patterns and the typologies themselves. Since there is still comparatively a small amount of research projects that study the relation and intersection between religion and its influence in the development of settlements and sacred space. Through their investigation and study, I would

like to determine if there is a specific meaning in their urban location or if the social aspects of rituals and costumes render important to define these spaces, further on adapting to the specific spatial layouts people want to create for themselves. Therefore, the goal is to create a focus on the urban development of sacral spaces, considering both the physical and social elements to analyze their subjective and objective compositions, in the form of qualitative research carried out in the Northern part of Ethiopia, specifically the Amhara Region. To obtain clarity on the following research questions:

### *Main Question*

*Does the location of sacred and places of worship influence the settlement layout of a city?*

### *Followup Questions*

*Are people settling in proximity to their places of worship and same religious social group, or they just settle where there is free land with no religious or social preference?*

*How does the meaning of space and religion affect people's identifications, social networks and, community relations?*

*Is it possible to achieve cohesion between different religious communities through sacred space?*

*Why is it important to consider the influence of religion in urban settlements for future urban planning?*

# Key research terms

## The Amhara Region

The Amhara Region is in the north-central highlands of Ethiopia. It is home to the Amhara and Tigre people, one of the largest ethnolinguistic groups in the country. This area mainly follows the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, with important historical religious centers such as the cities of Aksum, Lalibela, Gondar, and Lake Tana (Britannica Encyclopedia, 2019).

## Religious Space

*Religious and spiritual spaces or landscapes are produced through an intersection of space and identity based around faith and belief, a variety of embodied acts and bodily practices, involved in for example prayer, ritual, and pilgrimage which construct material or imagined landscapes (Martin and Kryst, 1998).*

*Spiritual landscapes pose as the new understandings of how faith, belief, and religion open out spaces that can be inhabited, therefore they characterize the spiritual in everyday life and construct a material embodiment which denotes itself as space (Densbury and Cloke, 2009).*

## Religious Affiliation

Abrahamson describes religious affiliation as the basis of an enclave of members, that give rise to “religious enclaves”, where inhabitants of a certain place, “share an identity, a commitment to a place and a way of life in which religious institutions are the center of their organization”(Abrahamson, 1996).

Religious affiliation in the words of Kong is a transnational element that is rooted in which connects, transcends in different localities in the world. Which causes a change in religious landscapes making them more complex and variegated, making several social-religious groups live in a context of increasing pluralism (Kong, 2010).

## Socio-spatial Relations

*As Carrette’s review on Foucault’s work demonstrates, “a culture cannot understand itself without understanding its implicit connection and development within the constructs of religious belief and practice. Contemporary culture is born out of religious traditions and the conditions of our knowledge are therefore embedded in religious discourse. The so-called secular space is itself a hybrid of past religious traditions, and to understand contemporary culture is important to recognize the religious influences upon thought and practice” (Carrette, 1991).*

*In the spatial distributions of religious populations and the impacts such groups have on landscapes, it is important to recognize how religious and the spiritual are central to the everyday lives of many individuals (Holloway and Vallins, 2002).*

## Settlement Patterns

According to Tzonis and Lefaivre, a settlement can be developed in several models in consonance to its climate, geomorphology and available resources, which are materialized through formal solutions adapted to specific socio-cultural perspectives (Tzonis and Lefaivre, 2003).

Tzonis also argues that each pattern can be organized into three categories of morphology referring to the physical, operation and form: Referring to the physical form; operation, discussing how people make use of the space and the performance that represents how well space is used (Tzonis, 1992).

“Refined patterns are critical in creating a social process of design that includes a piece by piece configuration of the individual patterns that focus on the relations of space to physical form” (Jiaxiu Cai, n.d).

# Methodology

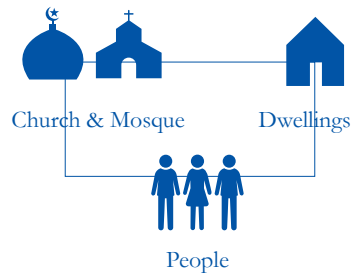
The methods chosen for my research plan firstly are based on a historical/sociological investigation on religion and its influence on socio-urban matters in Ethiopia. Which will be explained in my literature review, centering my focus on the Orthodox and Muslim religion, since they are the two most predominant religions in the country with the biggest percentage of followers. An investigation of their most important sacred typologies is carried out, taking the circular Orthodox traditional church and the Muslim mosque into account as two main elements of focus in the urban context.

The following part consists of the collection of data and qualitative research in the Northern part of Ethiopia, the Amhara Region. Where three case studies were chosen based on the following qualities for further analysis: Kon as a rural example of a small-scaled settlement, Mer’Awi as a mixed urban/rural settlement of medium-size scale and Gondar as a historical urban settlement of bigger scale.

In this manner establishing three factors of influence, the church and mosque, people, and, dwellings in each city as focus points of the analysis. Firstly, carrying out a social analysis per city in selected sectors of study that surround the sacred typologies through five-point scale questionnaires dealing with dwelling proximity, belief, and interaction with the opposite social group. Through this social analysis, field observation and the aid of satellite imaging it is possible to draw out specific spatial patterns

and behaviors that include the mapping of functions in the sectors of analysis, accessibility, proximities, density, and patterns of dwelling settlement. To determine percentages and agglomerations of housing settlements belonging to Christian and Muslim social groups around the sacred typologies. Which will allow me to see if there are patterns of social and spatial segregation, random housing settlement with no specific religious preference or higher concentration of specific religious groups in the given areas.

## Factors of Influence



## Social Area Analysis

Church & mosque as selected sector of study: Questionnaire areas

Five point scale questionnaires:

- Belief
- Dwelling Proximity to place of worship
- Interaction & acceptance to other social religious groups



Percentage of followers per town:

- Gondar
- Mer’Awi
- Kon

## Mapping percentages of religious affiliations



## Visualize settlement patterns

Determine if there is or not spatial segregation in each city/town

Introduction

Introduction

# Understanding religion in society & space

## The influence of religion

Tamene describes Ethiopia as a nation of ancient poly religious roots and various ethnical groups that compose a pluralist country with several traditions, religious affiliations, habits, and culture (Tamene, 1998). This quality has become the narrative of a country's history and uniqueness in spirituality and religiosity. Through the persistent devotion by its people, religion has become a representative of many forms of lives, relationships, landscapes, activities and most importantly an agent to stifle change and maintain a country's tradition. Aside from these daily life manifestations its importance extends beyond its common requirements of religious worship, creating links to diverse structures of society and the creation of spaces to nurture its meaning (Cilliers, 2009).

This characteristic of high religiosity has been present since past times, persisting in tradition and transforming into many derivations of religion. In this research, I would focus on the influence of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and Islam in the country, to which I consider relevant to also mention how Ethiopia has become a pluralist nation. A fact illustrated in an eventful timeline of happenings and introductions of a country, described by Desta Heliso as a nation that has accepted Judaism, Islam, Christianity and other forms of religion earlier

than other parts of the world (Heliso, 2017). Beginning with the introduction of Christianity by the palace of Axum and flourishing amongst the people, expanding towards the southern part of Ethiopia, making Orthodox Christianity the empire's official religion. Consequently, Islam also made its way to Ethiopia establishing itself in the 7th century and expanding in the 10th century. In this manner, Muslim communities emerged in close conjunction with Christian traditions and religious beliefs.

Even though Islam did not have a legitimate ideology to the empire since this position was appointed to Orthodox Christianity. Ever since then Islam and Christianity have co-existed in a "vis a vis" relationship of cooperation, competition and different forms of power (Abbink, 2014).

Additionally, noting that the Orthodox Church remained for many years as a dominating political, social and cultural life figure in the northern highland area, since it was the official imperial religion until the deposition of Haile Selassie in 1974. With the emergence of socialist regimes such as the Derg and the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) the church and the state became two separate entities, making Ethiopia a secular state with a secular government (Girma, 2012).

This caused religious independence in the state but not in its society, developing a covenant way of thinking amongst people that created an interplay between various existing religious groups and politics. Since the Ethiopian society remains extremely religious and is content with the continuity of religious values and traditions that appear resistant to change. As Abbink states there is a strong adherence among the people in Ethiopia to religion and they all are living in secular states, which proves how much the religious factor influences their lives and creates links between religion, politics, and space (Abbink, 2014).

As a projection of this claim, I would like to illustrate this theory in numbers, according to a survey carried out on African religious followers it is known that over three of four people surveyed believe that it is essential to believe in God because of moral values. (Lugo and Cooperman, 2010) Over 96 percent of the population of Ethiopia are followers of the two predominant religions: Orthodox Christianity and Islam, which is presented in the following table based on the 2007 population census on the how the number of followers has differed between religions since 1984 to 2007. (Population Census Commission 2007, 2007) As shown in figure 2 in 1984, 54.02 percent of the total population followed

Census year	No. of Orthodox %	No. of Muslim %	No. of Protestant %	No. of Catholics %
1984	20,637,362 (54.0%)	12,569,995 (32.9%)	2,094,371 (5.48%)	374,880 (0.98%)
2007	32,154,550 (43.5%)	25,058,373 (33.9%)	13,748,842 (18.6%)	517,430 (0.7%)
Growth	-10.5%	1%	13.1%	-0.28%

Figure 2. Religious composition of Ethiopia, 2007 Population Census.

Christianity, 32.9 percent were Muslims and Protestants and Catholics accounted for 5.48 and 0.98 percent of the total population of Ethiopia. Years later a change in religious adherence could be seen in 2007 where the Orthodox Church lost followers by 10 percent and became 43.5 percent of the Ethiopian population, religious groups such as the protestants increased by 13 percent, making them 18.6 percent of the country's population (Population Census Commission 2007, 2007). Even though there are clear signs of religious transformation and freedom between followers, the fact that Ethiopia is driven much by religion does not change.

In 2010 the Pew Research Centre carried out surveys in the Sub-Saharan Region of African countries stating that nine out of ten people say, "religion is very important in their lives", which can be compared in figure 3 (Pew Research Centre, 2010). Therefore, this aspect shows how much the assertion of identity in African countries is valued through religion, where many people dwell within pluralist communities. This characteristic is mainly observed more in large-scale cities like Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar or Gondar, where I could see that people create pluralist friendship communities and accept different members of other religions and even sometimes celebrate

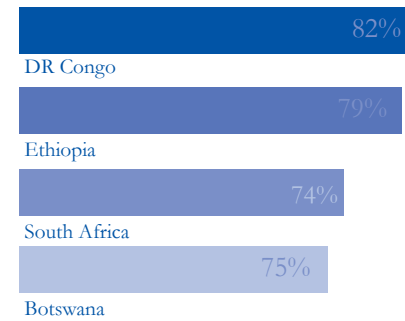


Figure 3. Importance of religion in Sub-Saharan countries, Pew Research Centre, 2010.

holidays together, respecting the values and beliefs of each other. Furthermore, highlighting the fact that this is also a characteristic developed from the previously mentioned covenant thinking of the Ethiopian society that not only is related to politics, but it's often used by people to smooth interethnic and interreligious relationships. A characteristic needed nowadays in times of political and religious struggle since this way of thinking has been losing power and progress during the years.

Therefore, it is pertinent to state that Islam and Christianity act as focal elements of religion and Ethiopian life. Both have undergone a significant transformation of denominational change, denoting various characteristics of a society through practices and rituals that are part of each religion. Which is causing as Abbink states a rapid decline in the ethnic-religions, claiming space for religious celebrations, generating various tensions between different social groups and the state (Abbink, 2014).

*Consequently showing how religion aside from representing the richness of a society and culture also poses as an important catalyst in the advancement of a country, harmonizing "the relation between continuity and change", striving to maintain traditional values and nonconfrontational approach between religious groups (Girma, 2012).*

## Contested land & interreligious conflicts

The emergence of conflict in cities has always been in close relation to urbanization and its link to socio-political factors. Research on contested holy places by Michael Dumper demonstrates that historical religious hierarchies, economic revenue from adherents and state, and the activities or rituals carried out in these holy places are major catalysts for conflict (Dumper, 2019). In the Ethiopian context, conflict generated between the relationship of Orthodox Christians and Muslims is challenging the preservation of Ethiopia's religion and the prevalence of mutual tolerance and

coexistence between leaders and adherents of both religions. This section of my research is based on contested holy spaces referring to public and communal places of worship to further investigate if the same phenomenon occurs in the case of how adherents of different religions decide to settle in accordance to their religious affiliation. Therefore, it is pertinent to consider both the historical and contemporary factors that influence the existing tensions and competition that brings confrontation between these two social-religious groups.

*Ethiopian researcher Hussein Ahmed illustrates this case by referring to their relation as a path marked by the progression of ideas and sentiments of Muslims as an oppressed and helpless minority in search for equality and of Christians as a group that claims, “inherent superiority” and dominance that fails to recognize the rights of their Muslims peers (Ahmed, 2006).*

A conflict of difference that dates to imperial times when Muslims were asked or forced to convert to Christianity due to the recognition of the religion by the empire as the official ruling religion of Ethiopia. These events through history have led to complex relationships in which the Orthodox Church has developed an “exclusive religious identity” (Dumper, 2019) due to its former linkage to the state and empire, undermining Muslim adherents and Islam. Which reflects as an issue that has a historical context, due to differences between ethnicities and sectarian groups, leading to changes in leadership roles, number of adherents, and

Another factor that fuels the rise of conflicts in Ethiopia is closely related to political-religious struggle which is transforming the urban landscape into an element of power authority over the use and control of public space or vacant land (Stockmans & Büscher, 2017). According to Stockman’s and Büscher, this reflects a new pattern of political claim and competition of the state between two different religious groups that already have disputes with one another, while the government exacerbates the situation. In Ethiopia, the types of land use and property ownership are controlled by the state a task that in former times was appointed to the empire. Therefore, they determine what types of constructions are permitted to be built in vacant plots throughout cities, giving them the power to decide if a new place of worship or existing public space can be used for practicing religious rituals or celebrating holidays. Which means that land in Ethiopia is granted by the state to the Church or the Mosque, a different case to the land that is appointed for residential use which can only be rented and not bought.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, developing unethical spatial strategies of public authority of power and control by the state, which actively shape the urban development of a city and becomes an important political mechanism. For instance, the Ethiopian administration appointed to regulate spatial interventions often manipulates public material and political cityscape, “by pushing religious infrastructures such as mosques to the urban periphery” (Sadeh, 2010). Since religion is a “key framework for community life” (Abbink, 2011) public space or the construction of a church and mosque often result in an inter-religious competition. To illustrate this situation, I would like to focus on the complex procedures

1. Interview with Dr. Genet Alem, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia June 2019.



Figure 4. Outside of Mosque building, Kon, Alejandra Urrutia 2019.

. According to researchers Abdellah and Abdulwehab, the government purposely prevents or complicates the process of the construction of mosques, especially in cities like Addis Ababa (Abdulwehab, 2011) (Abdellah, 2007). Therefore, most of the mosques operate illegally and without a license, which causes them to be almost unrecognizable from the outside. A situation I experienced in the Northern town of Kon, which is mainly a Christian settlement Stockmans and Büscher study several examples of these governmental policies, being one case study the al-Faith mosque in Addis Ababa, where the local community had to wait 17 years for a construction permit and in the meantime had constructed a temporary mosque, while the process of the permission was pending the

2. Interview with religious tour guide Sisay, Lalibela, Ethiopia June 2019.

land was already sold by the government to the private investor (Stockmans & Büscher, 2017). Another similar example is portrayed by Ahmed Hussein where the conflict is not directly with the state but with the Orthodox Christians of a district in the southern part of Addis Ababa asking for permission to erect a mosque. When the city granted the permission Christian adherents built a temporary church during the night in the same site where the mosque was supposed to be built. After this incident, the government decided to give priority to the Muslims and the conflict was resolved (Ahmed, 2006). These continuous issues over land appropriation and place-making prove that there is a definite conflict between holy land which is more severe in cities that are considered holy Christian Orthodox sites like Lalibela and Axum where no mosque is permitted to be constructed on any territory of the city, permitting only one religious denomination of worship.<sup>2</sup> These internal phenomena between different religious groups are not only characterized in the acquisition of new land to expand faith but also in the control of festivities and reverence to their gods often done in public spaces. This control over certain spaces and holidays often seems to exclude and segregate people of different religious social groups but in other cases could also promote social cohesion and toleration of beliefs if different religions celebrate together respecting each other’s rituals and faiths. For example, the Christian holiday of Meskel (The Feast of Exaltation of the Holy Cross) which is celebrated in Meskel Square in Addis Ababa with a ceremony that includes parades, prayers and a distinct bonfire “Demera” (see figures 5 and 6) which celebrates “the discovery of the cross on which Jesus Christ was crucified” (Alem, 2010).



Figure 5. Meskel Celebration in Addis Ababa, Thomas Landy, 2019.



Figure 6. Meskel's Demera in Meskel Square, Agape Co., 2017.

Consequently, if there is knowledge of spatial segregation and conflict in sacred spaces by different religious groups and the state. It is impossible to question if the same pattern repeats itself on a more local scale, being the case of neighborhoods and dwellings. Throughout my research in Ethiopia many of the people interviewed in the cities of Gondar, Kon and Mer'awi seemed to live in peaceful and tolerable coexistence with different religious social groups, as most of them stated they were friends and supported each other even though they worshiped different gods. So, if conflicts arise in the public sphere and in communal sacred spaces, could it be more a battle between the leaders of these religions and the state for power, than between adherents? This question is posed to obtain clarity on how powerful religion can be in this country and if aside from creating tensions and conflict it could also bring people together and allow coexistence.

## Religion as an element of cohesion

In this section, I would like to illustrate how the role of religion being the center of life for many people in Ethiopia could be a strong cultural and ideological tool for cohesion between different ethnic and religious groups in the country. As it was mentioned in the previous

sections religion in Ethiopia has a strong resonance and influence in politics, economics, interreligious relations and the management and ownership of land. The inclusion of religious actors and the power of faith are and could play “critical roles in bridging evident gaps between the state and a pluralist ethnoreligious society” (Karbo, 2013). It has been argued since former times that Ethiopia has always remained as a tolerable and harmonious country where many beliefs and traditions coexist along with its social groups. Although research on the previous section demonstrates how internal conflicts are stirring this nation into a fractured society. Moreover, situations of conflicts recognize the dynamics of social relationships in a country, Cox, Orsborn, and Sisk state that social cohesion and the fragmentation and conflict brought or stemmed through religion are a “constantly moving target”, since they are all fragile and in transitional states. Therefore, they function as independent and dependent variables amongst one another, if cohesion doesn't exist, conflict and tension impact the social and spatial dynamics of Ethiopia (Cox, Orsborn & Sisk, 2014).

Cohesion does stand as a premise to hold a nation and its people together but many efforts have been placed as Masondo explains in creating tolerance among religious groups to ease the process of spatial and social cohesion. Often the government uses plurality and freedom of religion in Ethiopia as a tool to cultivate tolerance in order to protect people's rights no matter to which religion they belong to (Masondo, 2014). However, is it enough that people of different religions tolerate each other's beliefs suffice to achieve cohesion? A research in “Tolerance and Tension” from The

Pew Center demonstrates that studies through surveys performed in Muslim and Christian communities shows that both groups say that they are “tolerable, honest and respectful” to each other and that everyone is very free to practice different religions and that this is “a good thing instead of a bad thing” (Pew Research Center, 2010). On the other hand, the same survey also shows signs of tension and division within the groups surveyed, because most of the Christians would think of Muslims as violent and hostile towards them and Muslim groups would also think the same of Christians. (ibid, 2010) Therefore, if both religious groups have these opinions of one another, which are caused in many occasions by the lack of knowledge from each other's costumes and rituals in Christianity and Islam, the tendency to achieve cohesion through tolerance seems very much unlikely to happen (ibid, 2010).

*Since cohesion refers to the process of building shared values within communities in order to reduce differences, in land ownership, wealth and rights, which enable people to become a common enterprise of the same community (Jenson, 1998).*

In my opinion, cohesion can provide people with a better quality of life that smooths disputes and create an efficient and more productive society, than a fragmented one that only acts on its own benefit. As Lefebvre states “space itself is socially produced, and it's a result of interactions that can be described as a complex social construction of social norms, values, and ascribed meanings” (Lefebvre, 1991).

To demonstrate space acts as a contributor to cohesion I would like to relate it to some examples of my own personal experience in Ethiopia and to Jon Abbink's research on the material characteristics social values have. During my research trip, I realized that the social aspect to achieve cohesion could be done by as Karbo explains in his research through the inclusion and fomentation of building bonds between leaders belonging to different faiths, aiming to learn from one each other's ideology and religious views based on faith (Karbo, 2013). Since these leaders have great influence over the behaviors and beliefs of adherents in each religion, which be a step further in creating inter-religious and personal relations. A characteristic that I noticed while conducting my surveys in the city of Gondar where many of the people I interviewed told me about a support group the Orthodox Church leads open to people of all beliefs, where a religious leader will help them deal with marriage or addiction problems. To all these people this represented an occasion where many members of different faiths seek counsel and formed a supportive community within the outer space of the church.<sup>3</sup>

A similar event is portrayed by Abbink in one of his research papers, in his visit to a Muslim monastery in the region of Wollo, northern Ethiopia, where Muslim and Orthodox-Christian leaders assumed the role of mediation amongst people. They were called abgars and helped people resolve disputes over land, family, faith and other issues Abbink describes abgars as "fathers of the land", who work to find a common ground between parties, highlighting the values of justice.

3. Interview with group of interviewees outside of Church, Gondar, Ethiopia June 2019.

Abbink also states that many of the abgars were mainly of Muslim background, but both Christian and Muslim adherents accepted counsel and the final verdicts imparted (Abbink, 2014). This example of coexistence between different religious groups not only brings equity in the social values and beliefs of people but also changes the space where they perform these meetings, by transforming a place that is usually used for ceremonies into a communal open space for support. Therefore, religion is also a possible part of the solution to conflict and tension between societies in Ethiopia, since it can reduce the problem of social exclusion and inequality.

*Through the bond of religious leaders and other actors, the task to achieve social and spatial cohesion could be possible since they have deep resonance amongst their community and can promote conflict management and efforts to rebuild broken social relations (Karbo, 2013).*

*In this manner the importance of religion in society serves as a "marker of collective identity", creating a framework for mutual understanding and interpretation of conflict, necessary to achieve peace (Cox, Orsborn & Sisk, 2014).*



**Figure 7.** Orthodox Christians followers outside of church, Mer'awi, Alejandra Urrutia 2019.



# The production of religious space

## The governance & organization of space

Urban space reflects as a product of social behaviors and processes, to understand it, it is worth to explore both the historical and present time context behind the traditional meaning that prevails in the Northern urban settlements of Ethiopia and the socio-cultural and political values that shape the physical environment and form. Most of the analysis here is based on the work of Dr. Genet Alem and other scholars, who have done extensive research on the influence of traditional values regarding the physical manner and how the past reflects in the development and transformation of the “built-up environment” of today.

In this manner, Alem states that spatial organization is a result of prevailing traditional social activities influenced by socio-spatial and political factors over time. As it has been mentioned before in Ethiopia the built-up environment has had strong values attached to religious beliefs, political power, and commercial/economic activities. These factors have not only organized and changed the physical environment but created urban settings that inherit values from the past, making “meaningful impacts on the decisions that people make when they

select settlement location and allocate space for various activities” (Alem, 2011).

A characteristic that cannot be divorced from the strong role religion the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (EOC) had on the development of a country’s social interactions, therefore the power the church had coupled with political interests shaped and created many cities in Ethiopia. As it was mentioned before in the previous section it was the state’s religion until 1975, which meant it was “Sisto Mengist”, a connotation that gave it the power to claim a third of the Government’s land in the country, making it an active institution on land administration for many centuries (Zewde, 2002).

Subsequently, this strong attachment to spirituality not only had an administrative role but also influenced the selection of certain territories for the foundation of cities or capitals as it was in the case of Gondar and Addis Ababa, because political power needed the acceptance of the church to ensure important settlement decisions (Pankhurst, 1990). However, the religious influence of the EOC also conceptualized the meaning of space in a spiritual manner, for instance the Map of Tigray, which in the studies

conducted by Alem relates to the organization of a province or region and the rules of how space is organized for the construction of a church, defining and regulating spaces through a hierarchical spiritual meaning (Alem, 2011). This map shows the different provinces concerning the holy city of Axum and is represented in a circular diagram with three different sectors and a centre (Axum) surrounded by inner concentric circles that represent cardinal points and the name of the districts in Tigray (Pankhurst, 1988). It is important to mention that this map mainly holds a spiritual meaning rather than an actual representation of Axum and the near districts. Another interesting feature the Map holds is its orientation since the top of the map as noted in figure 8 is not north but west, and the East as an important orientation, since in the Orthodox religion this is assumed as being the direction of Jerusalem (Paradise).

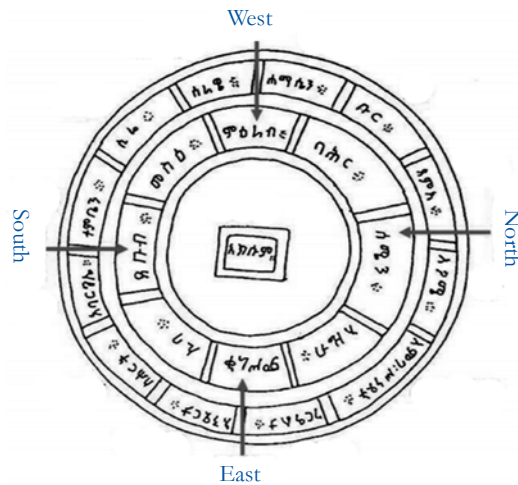


Figure 8. Map of Tigray, adopted from Ramos & Boavida in Alem 2011.

settlements. The center was appointed to the Royal household, the second to the administration personnel also the location of the church and the third settlement was the protection periphery of the camp where high-rank military where located (ibid, 2011)(see figure 9). It is important to note the presence of the Islamic religion in this section since my research entails the importance of both religions in Ethiopia and their impact on the urban space. As it accounted in history not much has been mentioned of the place of Muslims or the presence of mosques since during this time Muslims were a religious minority and northern Ethiopian highlands were mainly dominated by Christians (Ahmad, 2000).

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Jerusalem is north of Ethiopia, which later Alem refers to it as being the direction in which the sun rises, making the sun's movement “the highest important reference point to establish hierarchical relationships between the spiritual and the practical world” (ibid, 2011). In addition to the spiritual meaning of the church and its traditions, this element also influenced the spatial organization, since its location was always kept east from the palace, highlighting again the importance of the eastern direction (ibid, 2011). Consequently, in the foundation of a royal compound or urban centers religion has had an important position but not as high as political administration. In an urban center, the location of the imperial palace was the reference point which divided the settlement, developing itself in three important group

*In this matter, Gebeyehu Baye explains that Muslims belonged to one of the most marginalized and segregated groups of Ethiopia and their role for spatial organization is minimal since they had no direct access to land or high political and military ranks until the 1974 revolution (Gebeyehu Baye, 2018).*

*During Imperial times they were restricted to the activity of trade and segregated to the outer quarters of settlements, penalizing and debarring them for the ownership of land (Ahmad, 2000).*

Therefore, they had no impact on religious or political matters involved in the establishment of urban centers during this time. This situation is different nowadays and the influence of Islam is seen spatially since is the second most prominent religion in Ethiopia. In relation to the previous matter, both religions co-existed together for centuries but the Orthodox Church and its close ties to the state influenced the hierarchical order in settlements, attaching religious values to the meaning and use of space as well as social activities within them. Alongside the socio-political administration that managed and guided the development of the land of urban centers which nowadays are preserved as landmarks.

The production of religious space

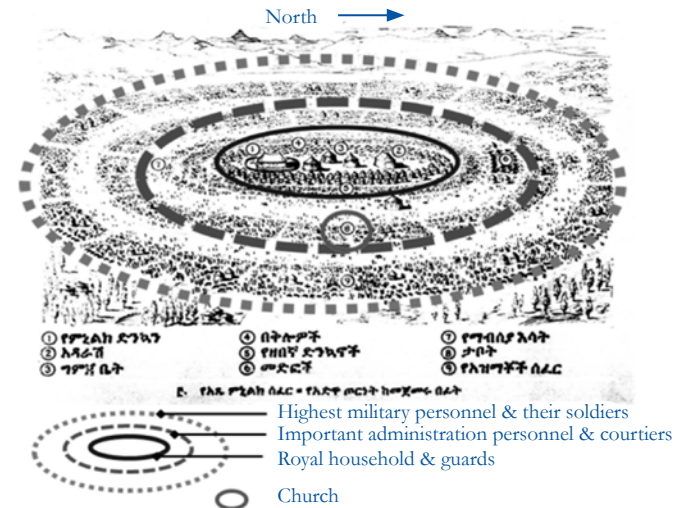


Figure 9. Map of royal compound, adopted from Guebre Sellasie in Pankhurst 1966.

## Religious settlement patterns

Park portrays religion as an element that leaves an imprint on a landscape, culture, and lifestyle of people (Park, 1994). Many religious traditions and structures such as places of worship and sacred sites that dominate landscapes influence the physical appearance of an area. The influence of religion and political administration in the use of space in the past has had a strong effect on the settlement structure that has been forged throughout the years. But the main question here lies on how the distribution of the EOC and Islam in Ethiopia has changed the way religious groups spread across space and what patterns of settlement have been formed and changed over time? In many important cities such as Gondar, Axum and Addis Ababa religious places of worship have represented the cultural and traditional views of a country “remaining as a dominant land use component”. Alem states that religious spaces acted as a nucleus for the establishment of various neighborhoods (Alem, 2011). As Pankhurst clarifies in his research, they were symbols of social hierarchical relationships, where the space assigned to the church and its surroundings had different patterns of use and organization, they would somehow act and still act as activation cores for the members of surrounding neighborhoods (Pankhurst, 1990).

Another factor that attributes to the development of settlements along the dynamics of urban centers, the presence of places of worship and sacred spaces is the spread of beliefs or ideas in the spatial context between people, creating patterns of settlement according to religious affiliations. Accordingly, to this subject Park exemplifies that diffusion of religion also affects the development of the religious urban layout and its surroundings, defining three forms of diffusion that could also explain the percentages or conglomeration of adherents of specific religions in certain areas. One of them is “relocation diffusion”, which involves the initial religious groups moving through time and space into a new location (Park, 1994) an example of this is the migration of Muslim communities into strong populated northern Christian territories, specifically in the rural areas of Ethiopia.

Another type of diffusion is the “expansion by diffusion” in which several adherents adopt a religious believe and communicate this belief to other people increasing the number of adherents (Park, 1994). A trend that is highly noticeable in Ethiopia with the fast growth of adherents following other forms of faith aside from the EOC. The last form of diffusion is the “hierarchical diffusion” in which belief or religion is adopted or received from kings, leaders or missionaries, “in the hope their people will follow” (Park, 1994) which was the case in the imperial period where Christianity was the empires religion. Therefore, not only different forms of diffusion and the dominant image of churches and mosques have caused and established certain settlements to be inhabited predominantly by certain religious social groups. Which settle in certain in

areas of the cities due to reasons like proximity to their faith and the attractivity places of worship have since they are home to various communal activities. A feature I could observe in my visit to the city of Lalibela where most of the surrounding areas of the ancient rock-hewn churches were deemed as a place for the community, for instance, some of the free open space was used by priests to teach children of the neighborhood to read and write. Which is not necessarily a built structure as it is for most of the cases in the Orthodox Church and Muslim schools within the religious compound in cities (see figure 10). Moreover, the location of the church is deemed very important, usually in a high or elevated place in the city to symbolize its importance to culture, tradition, and power. Therefore, its surrounding urban growth in the past was mainly concentric a feature that has changed nowadays in some cities but still, the elements of the church itself remained introverted surrounded by greenery and trees.<sup>4</sup>

These greenery areas are denominated as church forests, which are protected natural ecosystems or environments that belong to the church having a spiritual and magical meaning (see figure 11).<sup>5</sup> A different meaning was appointed to the mosque since this one was often in the proximity of the market due to the main craft of Muslims as merchants and traders and it does not remain as an introverted element to its surroundings, although it must have a spacious plan for the development of religious activities (see figure 12).<sup>6</sup> Even though religious traditions and values were very important in the development of cities the administration compound was and is the most important

4. & 6. Interview with Dr. Genet Alem, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia June 2019.

5. Interview with Fikre Hailu, Kon, Ethiopia June 2019.



Figure 10. Church school in Lalibela, Ethiopia, Alejandra Urrutia, 2019.



Figure 11. Ethiopia's Orthodox Church Forest, Kieran Dodds, 2019.



**Figure 12.** Gondar map with church & mosque, Google Earth, 2019.

element for pattern settlement, since “they acted as a network connected to the center which in past times was the main palace compound” (Alem, 2011). Therefore Alem describes that the neighborhoods that developed in the vicinity to religious compounds as “second type settlements” which were mainly occupied by inhabitants with professions related to religion or teaching (ibid, 2011). Other types of residential settlements were also developed around the profession or craft of people, this feature can be seen nowadays in Ethiopia where many people live in the same place where they develop their profession, for example, retail and manufacture of goods, creating a mixed land use pattern (Stockmans, n.d.).

A characteristic that in past times was denoted mainly to Muslim communities nowadays is addressed to all social-religious groups. Stockmans also mentions that in the case of Addis Ababa many Muslim neighborhoods, mosques and schools are in proximity of Merkato (the largest market in the city), being one of the main workplaces of Ethiopian Muslims, to which he concludes that the presence of Islam is stronger in the sub-city area of Addis Ababa (Stockmans, n.d.). Consequently the development and construction of churches intensified along with the establishment of new neighborhoods, this proves that mainly churches and in present times mosques have become important nodes of the development and transformation of residential settlements (Alem, 2011).

This development around religious nodes can still be recognizable in old neighborhoods and generally along the historical landmarks of the city since in past times the land granted for housing was accessed directly from the Emperor through an elite or church-related person. Therefore, this helped the development of settlement clusters around important institutions creating new neighborhoods (ibid,2011).

Nowadays for example in cities like Addis Ababa and Gondar I could observe that these historical landmarks created religious or political compounds that are mainly surrounded by residential neighborhoods that follow a municipal masterplan that is intended to guide the land use in cities, restructuring the old and historic space for future development. In many cases most of the recent growth is informal and in some occasions it follows an ordered guideline, but it is worth to clarify that the present urban life has still a continuation of the traditional socio-cultural values in the representation of social status and most importantly in the highly attached religious values to the meaning and use of space whether its private or public.

Concluding that the use of land and the criteria applied for its development it’s still deeply connected to tradition and the re-interpretation of spiritual relationships to the functions of space. “Symbolic or spiritual urban elements from the past are preserved and re-interpreted as cultural identities, even though the EOC used to be a single religious institute nowadays many religions share symbolic representation of faith in the built-up environment” (ibid, 2011).



**Figure 13.** Royal compound landmark and the surrounding urban area, Gondar, Justin Clements, 2005.

# Sacred Typologies

## The Ethiopian Orthodox church

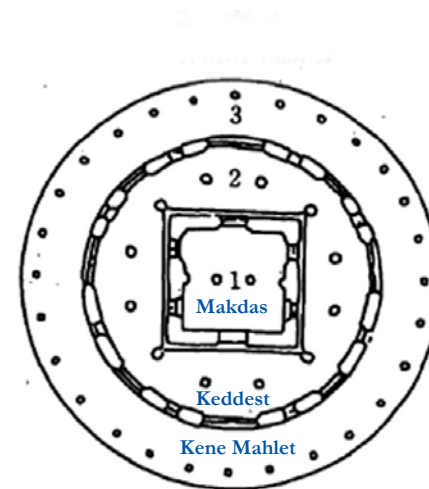
In addition to the image portrayed of the religious landscape development in the previous sections, this section illustrates and exemplifies the composition and symbolical meaning of one of the factors of influence in my research; the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the Islamic Mosque. I have divided their spatial definition into two parts starting with the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, focusing on the composition of the circular or concentric typology, with a brief description that highlights the symbolism of this religious element. Buxton explains that the origin of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church's architecture can be denoted in the pre-Aksumite period before Aksum was a kingdom, where many temples were built in similarity to the "south-Arabian structures of the similar age" (Buxton, 1970). In the tradition of the EOC, its architecture is defined by four types of church buildings. The most ancient one being the rock-hewn monolithic churches, praised by their single rock carved structures existing in Lalibela and regions of Tigray. Another ancient form of rock-carved churches are the cave churches, believed to be built in remembrance of adherents that used to worship in caves or catacombs (Fr. Mebratu K Gebru, n.d.).



**Figure 14.** Rock-Hewn Church, Lalibela, Alejandra Urrutia, 2019.

The third type is the basilica typology which is mainly encountered in urban centers, being of rectangular shape and subdivided into aisles. Although the most widespread typology nowadays in Ethiopia is the circular typology "with a tripartite alignment" (Fr. Mebratu K Gebru, n.d.). As I could notice in my research trip these churches are scattered throughout every corner and town of Ethiopia, they are built close to each other depending on the decision of a community regarding the need of a place of worship close to their place of residency. Consequently, the spatial layout of the EOC church follows a tradition dictated and preserved for centuries where the importance of the East remains valid. The religious compound is composed of

three interior spaces and two outside spaces (Alem, 2011). This typology is divided into "three concentric ambulatories" (Fr. Mebratu K Gebru, n.d.). According to Alem the center or the core of the church is considered as the holiest place in the compound its where the Tabot, the replica of the Ark of the Covenant is found (ibid, 2011) (Fr. Mebratu K Gebru, n.d.). The second circle is referred to as the Kedest or sanctified and it's the place where adherents take their communion. The third space, Kene Mahlet is reserved for the choir and has a lower spatial hierarchy with the two previous spaces, this area can be accessed by all followers. The outside area of the church is denoted as Aude Mihret or platform of Mercy and "a small building called Bethlehem", where the communion, meaning the bread and wine is prepared, this building must be strictly located to the East of the church and in a lower eleva-



**Figure 15.** Church of Kebran Gabriel Monastery, Lake Tana, R. Miyake.

tion (Alem, 2011) (See figure 15). Some of the most important constructions of this typology are in the monasteries of Lake Tana, for example, the Monastery of Kebran Gabriel in figure 16. Additionally, the importance of its spatial composition is not the only feature that makes this religious typology significant but also the connotation it has to the communities that surround it. These institutions are also characterized by a strong spiritual and natural feature which is the forests around them. In my field observations and visits to circular church compounds in Northern Ethiopia, all of them were guarded by vast trees and greenery that protected the main compound of the church. Orłowska and Klepeis state that they are dynamic elements which are used as places of burial, gathering, and communion and are strongly connected to the surrounding social communities, acting as a shelter for people in

need and as natural islands that preserve ecosystems (Orłowska & Klepeis, 2018). In my opinion, they were magical ancient places that represented the culture and tradition of the EOC church and remain as tranquil spaces of harmony where people gather and pay respect to their faith. Therefore, these mystical typologies that embody the spiritual meaning of the Christian Orthodox religion are elements of religious symbology, unity, congregation and cultural history that reflect the values of a religious society.



Figure 16. Interior of Lake Tana's circular church, Alejandra Urrutia, 2019.

## The Islamic Mosque

For many centuries Muslim and Christian communities have coexisted together, although as Ahmed states the Muslim community did not manage to develop a pan-Ethiopian sense of identity (Ahmed, 2006). In my opinion after having conducted research and analysis on various texts discussed in the previous chapters and sections regarding the history of Muslim communities, little can be found on spatial description of the Ethiopian mosque. There could be several reasons for this cause, one of them being that they were a marginalized and segregated religious social group with no right

to access land. A condition that made the construction of Islamic places of worship difficult and can still be seen nowadays. Since many mosques, especially in rural Christian towns of Northern Ethiopia, are regular houses with no apparent spatial distinctions that characterize a mosque. A different scenario can be observed in cities of bigger scale such as Addis Ababa, Gondar, Harar, and Mer'awi, where I had the opportunity to visit some of the mosques that composed the religious landscapes of these settlements. Therefore, I will base this spatial description on personal experience supported by texts that define the fundamental structure of a mosque, which in my opinion is the one I was able to witness in my investigation. In my experience, I noticed that most of the mosques

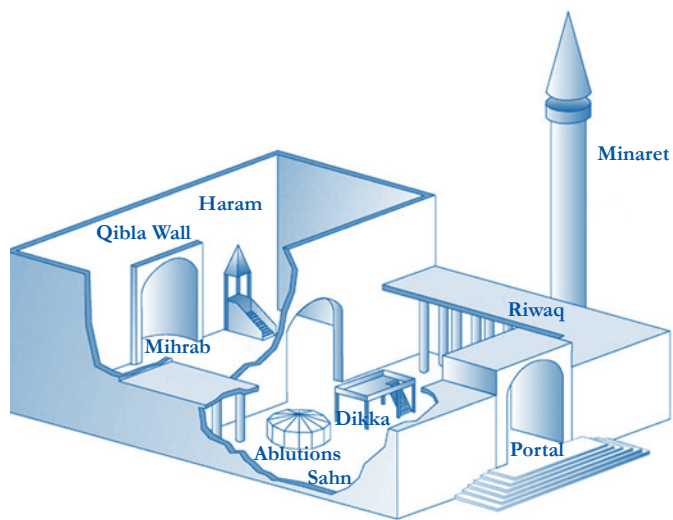
were in proximity of the city center or vicinity to a market or commercial area, a characteristic that I mentioned earlier in this chapter.

*In comparison to the Orthodox church, these structures don't hide from their surroundings, they are still deemed as holy spaces that seem to be open to the outside world that surrounds them. Hoteit defines them as places that used or are at "the heart of the city and existed amidst its physical and social worlds" (Hoteit, 2015).*

As I mentioned before the mosques, I visited were either conventional houses in rural towns of Ethiopia or followed the fundamental spatial layout of mosques, which was the case in the cities of Gondar and Mer'awi. Hoteit describes these holy structures as places where Muslim adherents perform their prayers, which is usually five times a day, stating a difference between the use of the "Grand Mosque" used for Friday prayer, which is visited by the whole Islamic population of the city in comparison to the local neighborhood mosques that are mainly used for daily prayers (ibid, 2015). Hoteit describes the fundamental parts that compose a mosque being: the prayer hall, the courtyard, arcades, the minaret, the dome, and the ablution rooms and toilets (ibid, 2015). The prayer hall is the most important feature of the mosque since it is a space for congregation and worship prayers, usually, these prayers are directed to the wall the faces the direction of Qibla, the direction of Kaaba in Mecca. This area is usually divided by gender, designating a hall for men and one for women and its shape is usually rectangular. The courtyard of "Sahn"

is a central area without a roof used for prayer in summer or when the main hall is crowded, it is also a source of light and air for the mosque (ibid, 2015). The other elements of the mosque are the arcades, that surround the "Sahn", the minaret which is a high tower used to "call for prayer" and represents a fundamental symbol of the mosque, the dome, which is an architectural feature of this typology that is believed to help collect and enhance the sound of prayer. And finally, the ablution rooms and toilets which are an important feature of the rituals of the Islamic religion where all followers must "wash their face, hands, elbows, and feet in order to preserve the mosque's purity and cleanliness" (ibid, 2015). In my visits to these places of worship I could witness most of these features from the outside since the entrance to them was forbidden because I did not have proper attire to enter the mosque except for one occasion where I could enter the mosque of Mer'awi shown in the following figure where the prayer hall and ablution rooms can be seen.

*These places of worship as well as the Orthodox church represent spaces for the congregation of the communities that surround them and offer much more than prayer and worship to their gods but also a source for education and a highly influential urban element that influences the urban layout of cities, it is true that their construction is still deemed to be complicated but more and more the representation of Islam is proliferating along with other religions in Ethiopia.*



**Figure 17.** Anwar Mosque in Addis Ababa, Martin Z., 2018.

**Figure 18.** Meskel Celebration in Addis Ababa, Thomas Landy, 2019.

## Ethiopia's land tenure system

In the previous sections, the historic governance and the development of urban centers have been defined by drawing a historical comparison to contemporary times. For this reason, I would like to describe in a historical timeline the development of Ethiopia's land tenure system, since it's an element that will help readers understand the upcoming analysis of pattern settlement according to religious affiliation among inhabitants in the country. For this reason, this factor has a deep impact on the way people decide to settle since it regulates and orders the conditions of land and what can be done in it through state administration.

*In Ethiopia land has always been a major asset to traditional and modern societies, it has constituted a symbol for religious traditional values, livelihoods and it's also serves as a political and economic instrument that awakens state and social concerns (Chekol, 2017) (Tamrat Getahun, 2015).*

Although property rights and ownership were and are always related to a complex and difficult system associated with norms dictated by socio-political relations, processes, and reforms (Baye, 2018). According to Wubne Ethiopia was historically divided into northern highlands, the Christian empire and southern highlands, which came to the empire by conquest, both regions had different land tenure regulations, which were regulated as follows. In the north, the major form of land ownership was the "rist" a communal system where the descendants of a founder had the right to use the land as a "usufruct" (Wubne, 1991).

*This communal system was "hereditary, inalienable and inviolable", meaning no user of this land could sell, gift or mortgage the land that belonged to the founder and not his descendants (ibid, 1991).*

Another form of land tenure was the "gult", where the ownership right to land was gained through a monarch or provincial rulers who previously owned land through grants. The owners of this gult collected tribute or labor service from the peasants who made use of the land, a reform that was later abolished in the twentieth century (Baye, 2018). The other forms of tenure were the "samon", "mengist", and "madeira" land. The first one was the land granted to the EOC by the government, which had no usage time expiration it was the property of the church forever. The second one "was the land registered as government property, and madeira was the land granted to government officials, which lasted for life but the state-owned revisionary rights to it, meaning

this land could be repossessed by its previous owner” (Wubne, 1991). This system persisted without change until the revolution and by the mid-1960’s many regions of Ethiopia favored a reform in the land tenure system (Tamrat Getahun, 2015). A reformation that was later announced in 1975 by the Derg which changed the former land tenure program. Through this reform, the government nationalized all rural land without any compensation, abolished tenancy, and prohibited the ownership of land by individuals or organizations (Gebeyehu, 2011). After the Derg the governments administration created a policy that transformed land into state ownership, existing as a “vehicle for politics and governmental decisions” (Chekol, 2017). In this matter Chekol states that after the overthrow of the military regime and the ruling of the EPRDF referendum over land tenure was implemented, , which was not so different from the previous one.

*This referendum stated that land will be a common property, which meant all members of society had the communal right over the land and this one could not be sold or exchanged, giving “public and governmental rights over land ownership” (Chekol, 2017).*

This new dynamic of land ownership and tenure remains until the present day, therefore the importance of mentioning how land is regulated nowadays reflects how there are many contested views on whether land should remain as a communal state asset or should enter private ownership.

Therefore, I would like to re-establish the connection between this subject and its relation to religious space and the impact these have on urban settlements. As it has been mentioned before in the previous chapter Ethiopia is a multi-ethnic and religious country, many conflicts have flourished since then on land possession and ownership and the “government has demonstrated corrupt policies and practices over land regulation as strategies of power and dominance” (Locatelli & Nugent, 2009).

*And as clarified by Mabin and Jenkins land allocation is being used to segregate or exclude certain social groups as well as potential threats to the public authority, deciding who was a right to possess land and make use of it in the city (Mabin, 1989) (Jenkins, 2009).*

Situations that in my opinion drastically affect the pattern of residential settlements which is one of my focus points of study regarding the location of churches and mosques. Since I could notice in the cities visited during my research trip that people nowadays settle in proximity to their ethnic groups, religious affiliation, and closeness to their places of worship. Therefore, if land regulation discriminates where to build a church or a mosque based on governmental or social interest to benefit certain social groups the settlement pattern is also affected by it.

Which could bring possible spatial and social segregation among residential neighborhoods but at the same time could create a homogeneous pattern of settlement among different ethnic groups and members of religion since people have the right to choose where to settle but still must look for unoccupied land that later on will have to be granted by the state and will also allow the permission to use or build on it. For instance, if any religious community wants to build a church or a mosque a demand for construction should be introduced at the municipality for the government to investigate and later grant the land for its construction (Stockmans & Büscher, 2017).

*In effect of the current situation, I deem important to study the social behaviors and practices alongside the spatial connotations of EOC and Islam, such as the location of churches and mosque concerning the settlement patterns evolving or establishing around them.*

A matter that I will analyze graphically through my collected data in the following chapter to determine if there are indeed specific patterns of religious affiliation that have a remembrance to tradition and religious values as well as some of the factors that influence the decision of people’s options on where to settle.

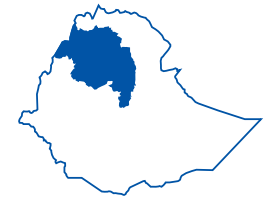


Figure 19. Kon’s agricultural land, Kon, Alejandra Urrutia, 2019.



# Case Studies

## The Amhara Region



To exemplify the subjects analyzed in my literature review and carry out a study based on religious groups on the Northern area of Ethiopia I decided to focus my research on the Amhara Region. Where I selected three different cities, belonging to the provinces of North Wollo, North Gondar and West Gojjam, due to my supervisor's recommendation and the facility to obtain help in translation to perform interviews, aside from the existing social and spatial reasons. To collect and analyse data that describes the percentage of Christians and Muslims residing in sectors close to places of worship, which influence the residential patterns of a city according to religious affiliation. Note that this section shows the current statistics retrieved from the 2007 Statistical Population and Housing Report for the percentage of adherents to each religion per province studied and person ratio per household. Later, an approximate mapping of the percentages retrieved from the different points of interview in selected areas of the cities is done, drawing out an approximate percentage of adherents residing in each block by the answers given by the interviewees to determine living patterns by religion.

**The Amhara Region** is one of the ethnic divisions of Ethiopia, homeland to the Amhara people, one of the two largest ethnic groups in Ethiopia, constituting almost one-third of Ethiopia's population, (Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.) with 21,134,988 million people inhabiting this region (Population Census Commission, 2007). According to 2007, Population and Housing Census Report there are around 3,983,768 households with an average of 4.3-person ratio per household (ibid, 2007).

The predominant form of religion in this area of the country is Christianity, following the teachings and traditions of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. As stated in the 2007 Census 91.2 % of the Amhara population followed the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, 17.2% followed Islam and a small percent of 0.2% followed Protestantism (ibid, 2007). A fact that can also be reflected in the higher percentage of Christians in relation to Muslims interviewed per city on this research (refer to Social Area Analysis section).

## Provinces of the Amhara Region

### North Gondar

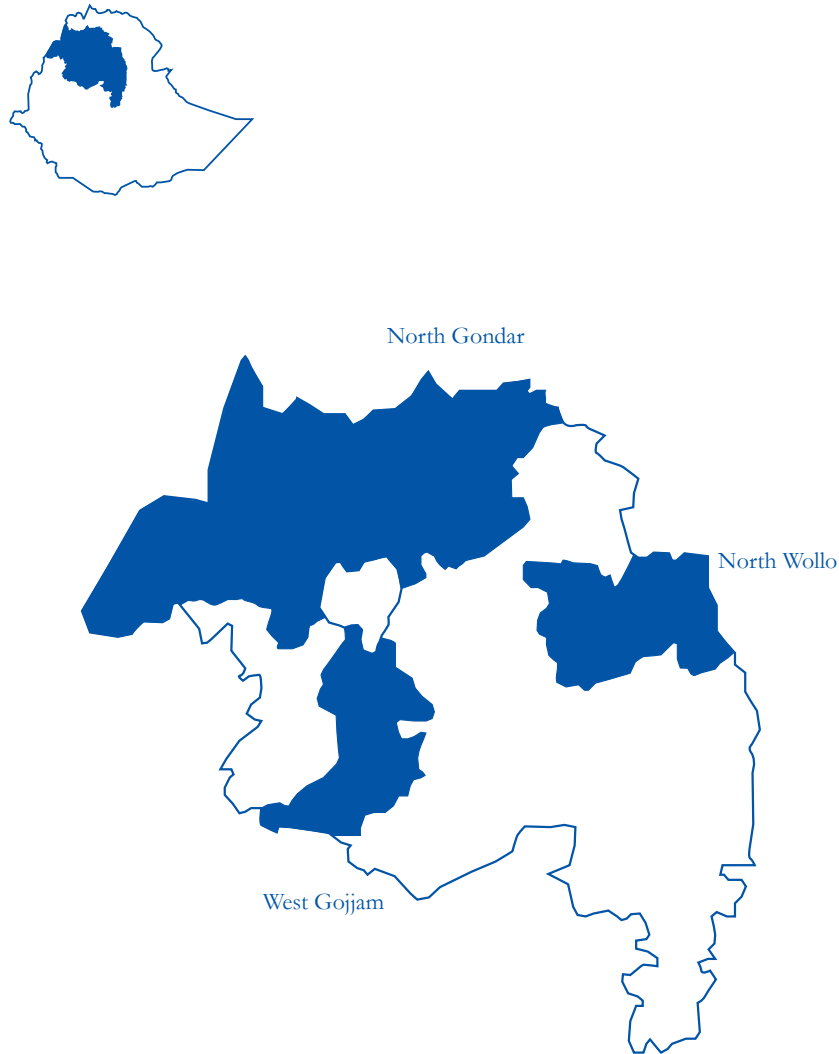
Is one of the provinces of the Amhara region and is named after the historic city of Gondar, the former capital of Ethiopia until the 19th century (Alem, 2011). Its population is conformed by 3,225,002 inhabitants in a total of 631,509 households with an average of 4.47-person ratio per household. In this province, 95.32% of its inhabitants follow the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and approximately 4.54% is Muslim (Population Census Commission, 2007).

### West Gojjam

*Is a province of Ethiopia in the proximity of Lake Tana where Bahir Dar, the capital of the Amhara region is located. Its population is of 2,296,487 inhabitants in a total of approximately 480,255 households with an average of 4.39-person ratio per household. As it is for all the provinces in the Amhara Region Christianity predominates as well in this province with 98.68% of the population as adherents of the EOC and a 1.19% to Islam (Population Census Commission, 2007).*

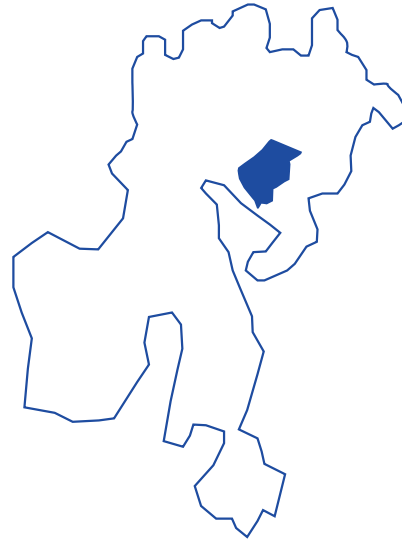
### North Wollo

Is a province located south of the Southern Wollo province and its houses important landmarks to the EOC; the rock-hewn churches typology. According to the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia, the population of North Wollo is of 1,639,151 inhabitants in a total of 355,974 households with an average of 4.21-person ratio per household. The population in this area is mainly Christian but with a lower percentage of adherents to the EOC in comparison to the before-mentioned provinces. With 82.74% of inhabitants following the EOC and 17.08% follow Islam, which in my opinion is due to its proximity to the Afar region where the percentage of Muslims predominates over the Christian followers (Population Census Commission, 2007).





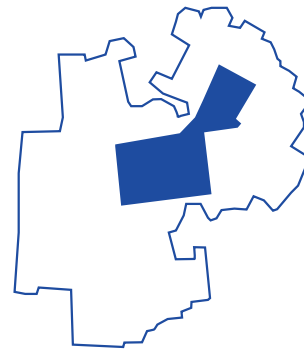
North Gondar



Gondar



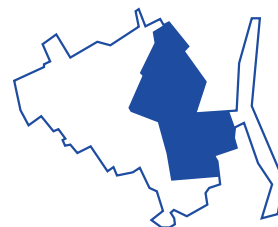
West Gojjam



Mer'Awi



North Wollo



Kon

## Selection & classification of settlements

The selection of the cities or settlements was based on an urban scale and development premise, having three case studies that differ in size and settlement development. To observe how societal and spatial trends establish themselves in the Orthodox Christian and Muslim religious social groups. The selected settlements were classified in my study as follows:

**Gondar** as a historical urban large-scaled settlement

**Mer'Awi** as a mixed urban/rural medium-scaled settlement

**Kon** as a rural small-scaled settlement

To discover if there is an organizational premise on residential settlement influenced by the location of the church and mosque and the decision of people deciding to settle in proximity to their fellow religious group members as it was mentioned in the introductory chapter of this research. Moreover, to realize if there is a socio-spatial trend that may be influenced by the size and development of these settlements according to acceptance to other religious groups, spatial and social cohesion and what kind of religious group is predominant in different sectors of these cities.

# Analysis of case studies

## Social area analysis

To understand the formation of residential patterns of settlement in different areas of the city it is important to distinguish the interaction of various religious social groups within those areas. Consequently, the formation of spatial boundaries can be derived from the dynamics of social interactions and how these generate physical manifestations. Zhou argues that the construction of the tangible environment does not base itself solely on the importance of a location but also in comprehending the patterns of interaction society have and the processes it undergoes in the characterization of urban sectors (Zhou, 1998).

The following can be recognized by social behaviors that belong to specific religious social groups, in this case, Orthodox Christians and Muslims, outlining identity characteristics that make them one of the factors of influence in my research study, affecting the construction of space. To carry out this investigation I based my research on Shevky's and Bell's social system analysis (Shevky & Bell, 1955), in my approach I simply use this system as an academic base to build up a set of clusters and organizations within the two religious social groups studied. Firstly, basing the analysis on five-point scale questionnaires (see Appendix A) which are divided respectively between Orthodox Christians and Muslims. Where each questionnaire is designed to follow the idea of establishing constructs of analysis like the

ones in Shevky's and Bell's Social Area Analysis system (Shevky & Bell, 1955). Which instead of examining three societal trends I divide the collected results into the four following groups (see Appendix B):

**Dwelling proximity to Place of Worship.**

**Time spent in Place of Worship.**

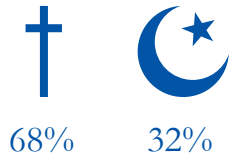
**Attachment to own religious values.**

**Acceptance to other religious groups and values.**

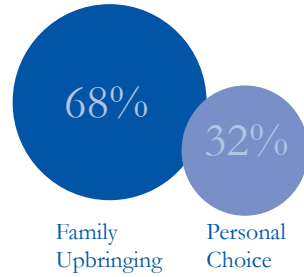
In the direction of observing if there is an existing societal behavior that characterizes each religious social group. Therefore, all interviews were carried out in specifically selected areas of the cities of Gondar, Kon, and Mer'awi, where there was a presence of an Orthodox Church and Mosque to obtain the opinion of both groups. In this manner, I could draw out percentages for each group of questions that represent how adherents of both religions perceive their religion, accept adherents of other religions, values of the opposite religion and the importance to remain close to their church or mosque. These results will subsequently aid to understand the social-spatial differentiation in delimited areas of the chosen cities which will later be mapped according to the place where the interview was carried out and their respective religious social group with their place of residence and selected place of worship.

# Gondar

## People Interviewed

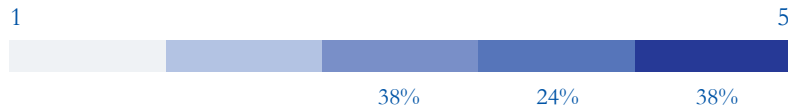


## Choice of Religion

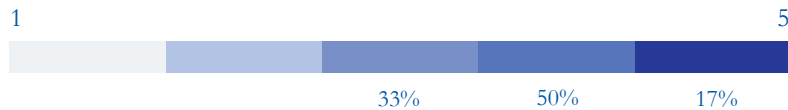


### Belief

In a scale from 1 to 5 how much do you follow the rules of The Ethiopian Orthodox Church?



In a scale from 1 to 5 how much do you follow the rules of Islam?



### Acceptance & Tolerance

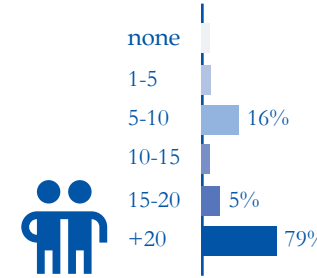
As an Orthodox Christian do you agree with the ceremonies and beliefs of Islam?



As a Muslim do you agree with the ceremonies and beliefs of The Ethiopian Orthodox Church?



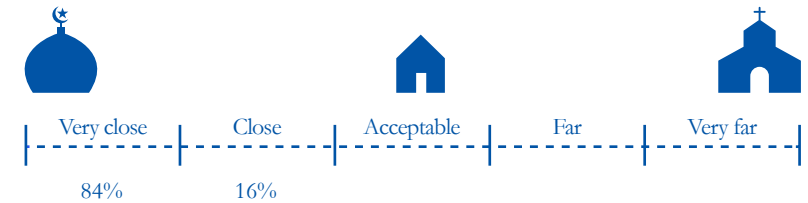
## Friends of other religions



## Meeting Frequency

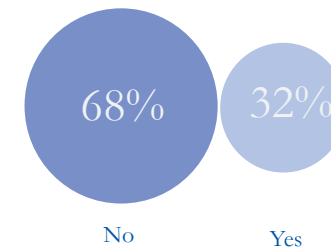
Very Frequent	79%
Frequently	5%
Occasionally	11%
Rarely	5%
Never	--

## Proximity to place of worship



### Proximity & Accessibility

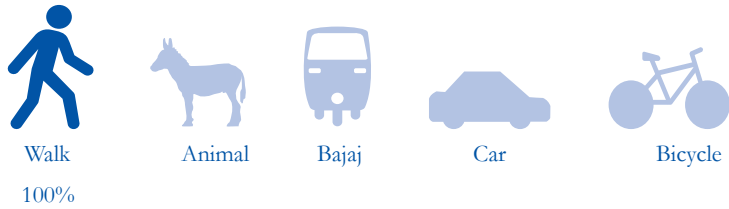
## Opportunity to live closer to place of worship



### Notes

\*\* Many of the interviewees mentioned they disagreed with certain beliefs & ceremonies of a different religion mainly because they cannot share meat, since it's slaughtered differently by religion. But sometimes celebrate holidays together.

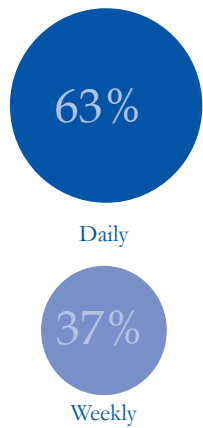
### Preferred mean of transportation



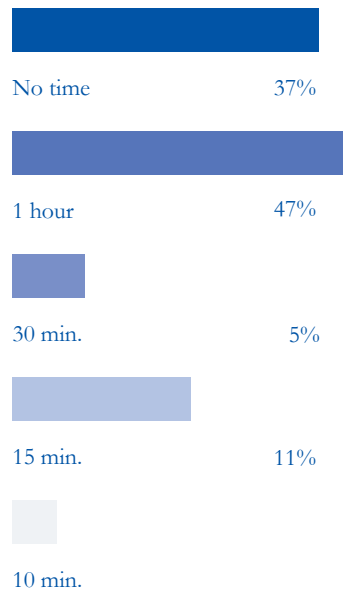
### Time travelled to place of worship



### Frequency of attendance



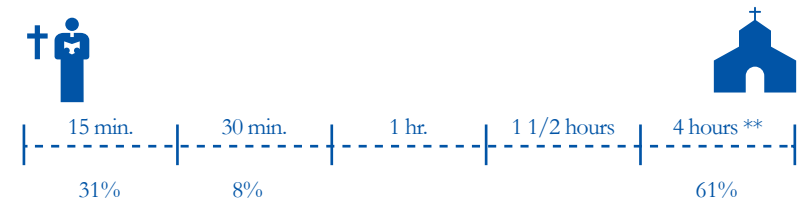
### Time spent outside of ceremonies



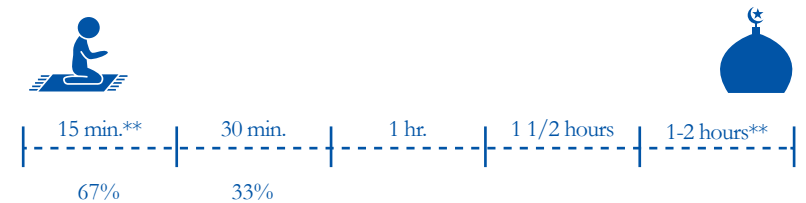
Time spent in place of worship

### Time spent during ceremonies

As an Orthodox Christian how much time do you spend in church during ceremonies?



As a Muslim how much time do you spend in the mosque during ceremonies?



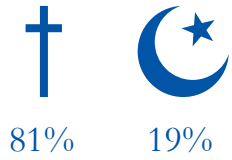
### Notes

\*\* Most of the percentages are calculated for the two religious social groups except for the following questions: Scale of belief according to religion and time spent during ceremonies in either church or mosque. The amount of people interviewed of Orthodox Christian affiliation is: **13** and the amount of people interviewed of Islamic affiliation is: **6**.

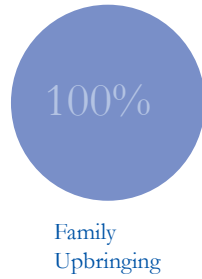
\*\*For the time spent on place of worship, all Christians usually attend ceremonies on the weekends for 4 hours or more. Muslims attend prayer every day (men) and women on fridays.

# Mer'awi

## People Interviewed

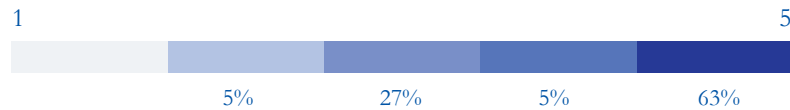


## Choice of Religion

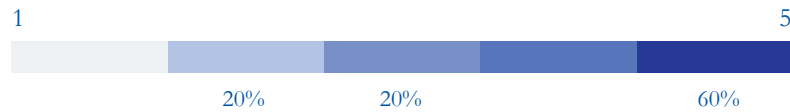


### Belief

In a scale from 1 to 5 how much do you follow the rules of The Ethiopian Orthodox Church?

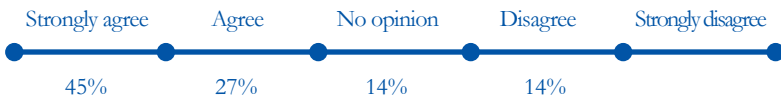


In a scale from 1 to 5 how much do you follow the rules of Islam?



### Acceptance & Tolerance

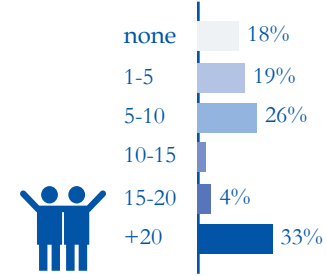
As an Orthodox Christian do you agree with the ceremonies and beliefs of Islam?



As a Muslim do you agree with the ceremonies and beliefs of The Ethiopian Orthodox Church?



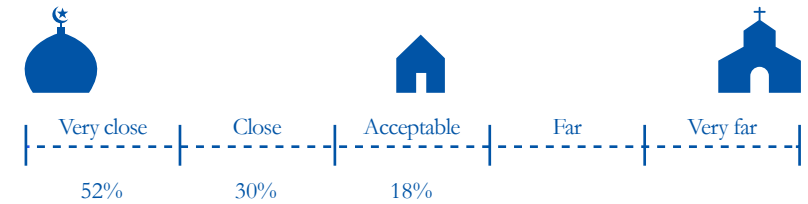
## Friends of other religions



## Meeting Frequency

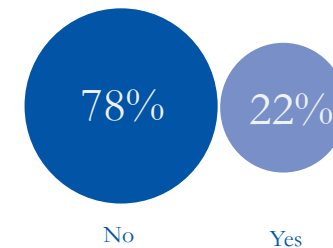
Very Frequent	30%
Frequently	19%
Occasionally	37%
Rarely	--
Never	14%

## Proximity to place of worship



### Proximity & Accessibility

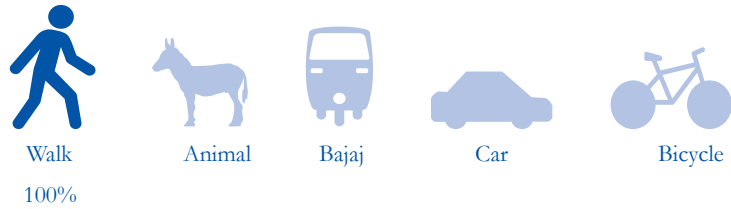
## Opportunity to live closer to place of worship



### NOTES

\*\* In Mer'awi the opinions on tolerance varied from complete disagreement amongst different religions because they dont praise the same God to completely accepting other religious social groups because they are all a religious community. Therefore, would sometimes celebrate and eat together.

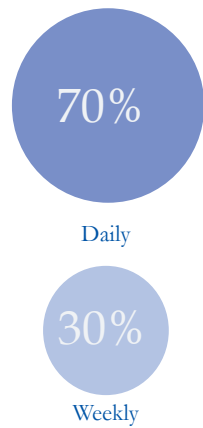
### Preferred mean of transportation



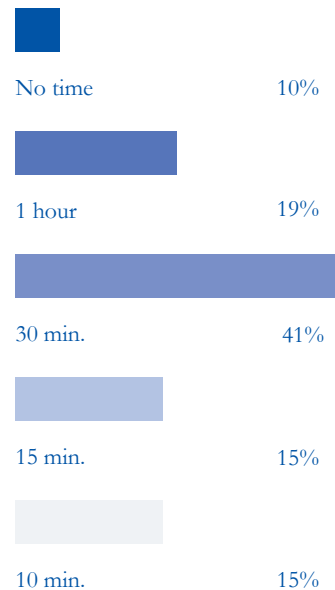
### Time travelled to place of worship



### Frequency of attendance



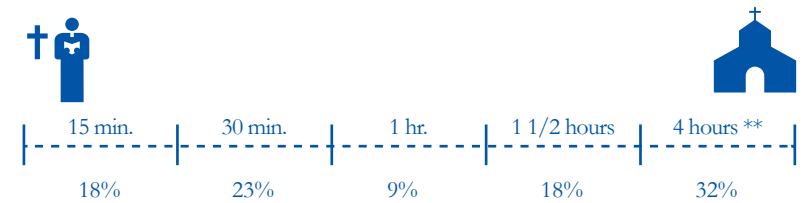
### Time spent outside of ceremonies



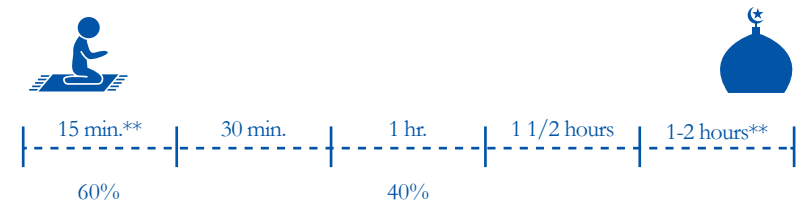
Time spent in place of worship

### Time spent during ceremonies

As an Orthodox Christian how much time do you spend in church during ceremonies?



As a Muslim how much time do you spend in the mosque during ceremonies?



### Notes

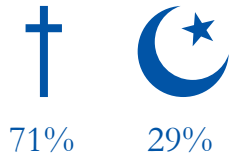
\*\* Most of the percentages are calculated for the two religious social groups except for the following questions: Scale of belief according to religion and time spent during ceremonies in either church or mosque. The amount of people interviewed of Orthodox Christian affiliation is: 22 and the amount of people interviewed of Islamic affiliation is: 5.

\*\*Same time spent in place of worship during ceremonies applies here for both religious groups.

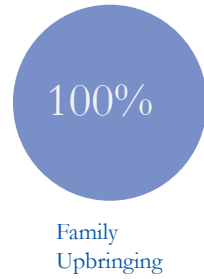


# Kon

## People Interviewed

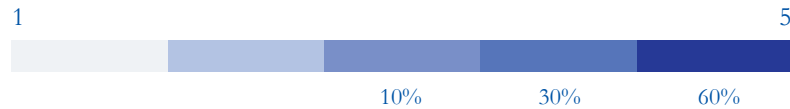


## Choice of Religion



Belief

In a scale from 1 to 5 how much do you follow the rules of The Ethiopian Orthodox Church?

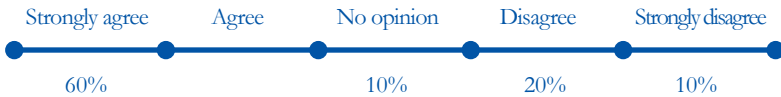


In a scale from 1 to 5 how much do you follow the rules of Islam?



Acceptance & Tolerance

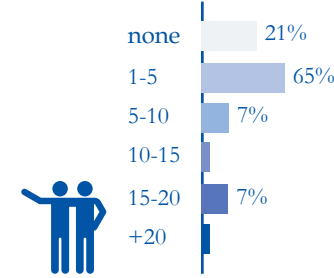
As an Orthodox Christian do you agree with the ceremonies and beliefs of Islam?



As a Muslim do you agree with the ceremonies and beliefs of The Ethiopian Orthodox Church?



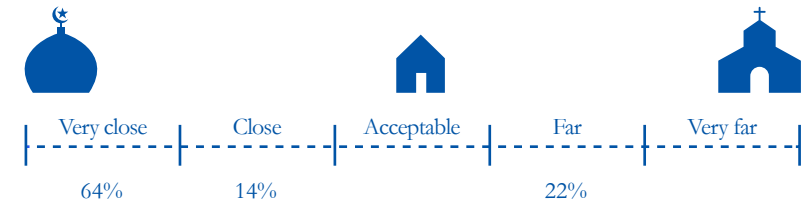
Friends of other religions



## Meeting Frequency

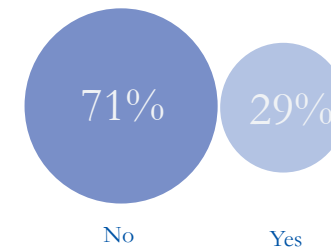
Very Frequent	50%
Frequently	--
Occasionally	29%
Rarely	7%
Never	14%

## Proximity to place of worship



Proximity & Accessibility

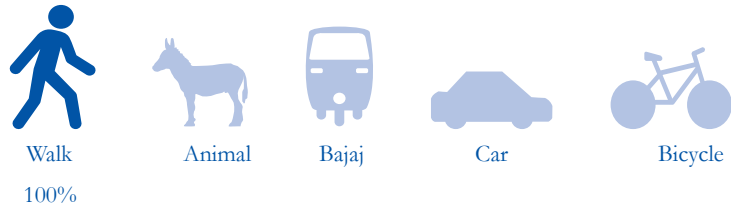
## Opportunity to live closer to place of worship



Notes

\*\* In the town of Kon many of the interviewees mentioned they dont celebrate holidays together because they cannot share meat. The muslim percentage in this town is also very low but the interviewees pointed out there is no apparent marginalization towards them from Christians, they are accepted.

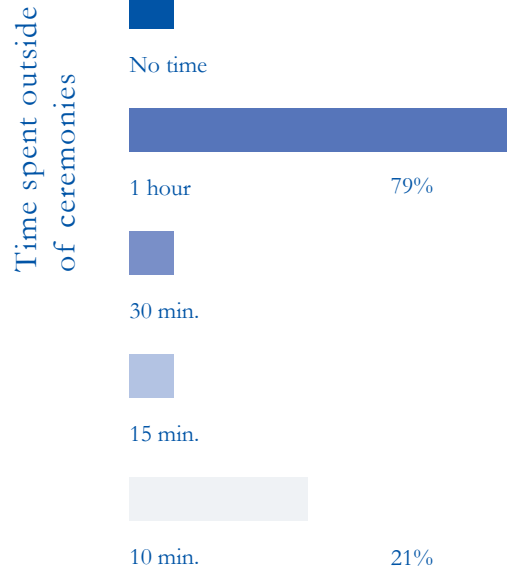
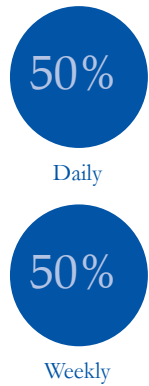
### Preferred mean of transportation



### Time travelled to place of worship



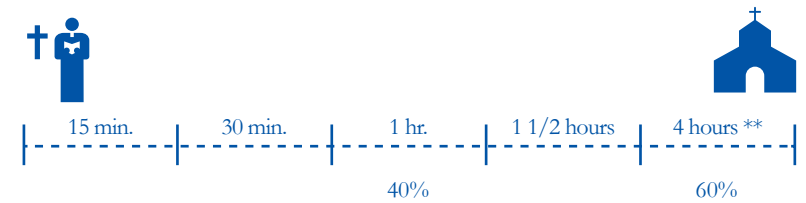
### Frequency of attendance



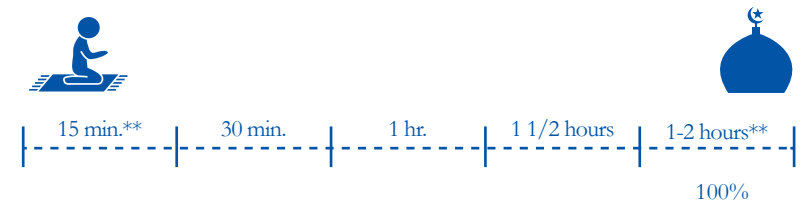
Time spent in place of worship

### Time spent during ceremonies

As an Orthodox Christian how much time do you spend in church during ceremonies?



As a Muslim how much time do you spend in the mosque during ceremonies?



**Notes**

\*\* Most of the percentages are calculated for the two religious social groups except for the following questions: Scale of belief according to religion and time spent during ceremonies in either church or mosque. The amount of people interviewed of Orthodox Christian affiliation is: **10** and the amount of people interviewed of Islamic affiliation is: **4**.

\*\*For the time spent on place of worship, Muslim women spent 1 to 2 hours in place of worship during weekends and also pray sometimes on Friday.



**Figure 20.** Kon's canyon settlement, Kon, Ethiopia, Alejandra Urrutia 2019.

## Mapping religious affiliations

The mapping of religious affiliations in this chapter refers to a density, percentage and distance relation based on three factors of influence: **People, Dwellings, and Mosque and Church**. The density was first calculated using the person ratio per household obtained from the 2007 Population and Housing Census, note that the population must be double or triple the amount nowadays, therefore the results are approximate of what they could be. Subsequently, a density formula was developed by the result of the person ratio times number of houses in a plot divided by the area of each plot, giving the number of people living in each plot per hectare.

$$\frac{\text{No. of houses per plot} \times \text{Residents per household ratio}}{\text{Area of plot (ha)}} = \text{People per hectare}$$

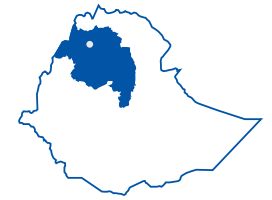
This formula was later scripted in grasshopper and rhino to obtain a visualization of the density per plot with a different color/pattern gradient representing it. The next step was to obtain approximate percentages of Christians and Muslims residing in each plot, which was achieved by the answers the interviewees gave on the following question: What is the percent-

age of neighbors in your block that follows the same religion as you do? To which they were given the option to choose between these answers: **All, three fourths, half, one fourth, and none**. Each of these answers were divided into their respective religious groups and ordered in percentages by numbered points of the interview with two different color schemes (see Appendix C and affiliation percentage map in chapter four). With the following information gathered a percentage – distance relationship could be made, first by determining the accessibility or most concurred streets (primary streets) and the less concurred streets (secondary streets), which was done by using the DeCoding Spaces toolbox from the InFar Institute at Bauhaus University.

After having the street network knowledge, the shortest path from each point of the interview to their place of worship could be calculated. This procedure was also scripted in grasshopper to be visualized in the distance maps (see Appendix C and distance maps in chapter four). The before mentioned process will be used and ordered into percentage-distance relation graphs that show and help determine if the distance is also a factor for people settling where they do. The percentage and density results will later help determine if there is an existing settlement pattern or if it remains spontaneous with no ordered reason, it is also an aid to determine the highest percentage or conglomeration of different religious social groups in certain sectors of the city.

# Gondar

## Historical urban settlement



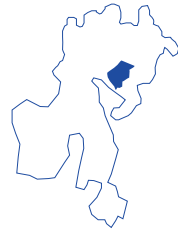
*Province: North Gondar*

*Area: 192.27 km<sup>2</sup>*

*Projected Population: 700,044 inhabitants*

Gondar is a city located north of Lake Tana in the Amhara Region of Ethiopia, it was founded in 1636 by Emperor Fasilides. According to Alem this city served as an example of economic stability and functioned as a socio-political center for three centuries after the fall of Axum (Alem, 2011). The city of Gondar was considered as the “Topocosmo” and was attributed a cosmological order in Ethiopia as a center of symbolic religious and political life (Robert, 1999) (Alem, 2011). Nowadays is one of the biggest urban centers in Ethiopia and represents an important landmark to the religious and past kingdom of Ethiopia. Traditionally the city was an Orthodox Christian foundation as it was an important political and religious capital, even though Muslim communities have inhabited it since the time of Fasilides, being crucial contributors to the wholesale trade economy of north-western Ethiopia (Ahmad, 2000). Because Fasilides delegated Muslims to establish commercial relations with Muslims in Yemen, making Muslims an important component of the Gondar’s population and commercial activities (Van Donzel, 1979). A status that would later change with Emperor Yohannes I and Tewodros II since during their reign they forced Muslims to convert to Christianity and segregated them into lower or outer parts of the city until the time of the revolution (Ahmad, 2000). Nowadays the city seems to be a heterogenous ground where many religions coexist together and some of its spatial layout is still divided into neighborhoods or quarters, existing as an ecclesiastical center of the EOC church having more than forty-four churches and an important religious and socio-political history.

# Density & percentage of affiliation

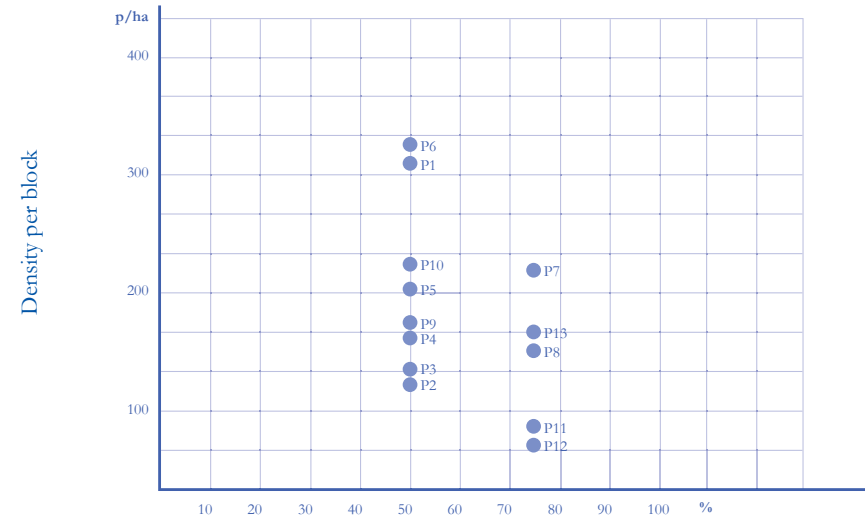


To begin with, the analysis and findings of the first city Gondar, categorized as a historical urban large-scale settlement, being the city with the highest density in comparison to the other case studies. Gondar's density denotes a range of 50-350 inhabitants per hectare living in households, shown in figure 23 mapped per block of a selected study area of the city. The map in figure 24 shows the percentage of religious adherents to each religious group by block, obtained from the answers given by the interviewees depicted in the different colored circles.

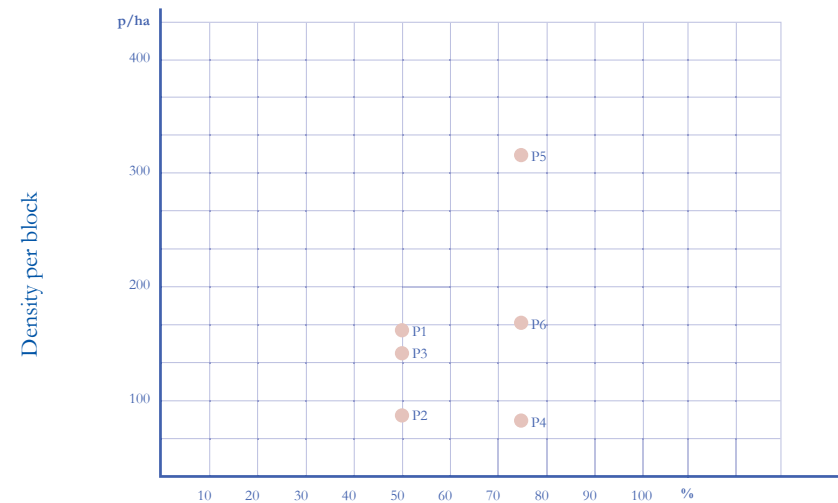
*The percentage results from the points of interview show that a range of 160-240 people per hectare resides within the blocks marked as 50-50% inhabited by both Orthodox Christians and Muslims, a 75% of Muslims is denoted to the block of St. Michael's Church where mainly Orthodox Christians reside (see figure 21 and 22).*

*In the southwest part of the sector, the blocks in proximity to the mosque and market show that a range of 50-160 people per hectare inhabits blocks where 75% of the inhabitants there are Muslim (see figure 22).*

A characteristic that would make sense according to a before-mentioned historical fact where Muslims would reside in near areas of retail and commercial trade and the mosque would be in proximity to the market (Alem, 2011). This residence pattern seems to be maintained nowadays but also has become more homogenous as it can be seen on the map because of the presence of multiple churches and mosques in this sector of the city. It's important to mention that even though in the social area analysis more Orthodox Christians were interviewed, I noticed that both religious groups seem to live in similar percentages here.



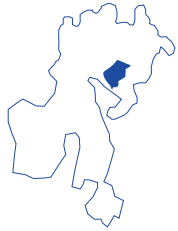
Appointed % of inhabitants of the same religious group per block to interviewee



Appointed % of inhabitants of the same religious group per block to interviewee



**Figure 21.** Density relation to percentage appointed according to the answer of the interviewee P, Orthodox Christian group.

**Figure 22.** Density relation to percentage appointed according to the answer of the interviewee P, Muslim group.



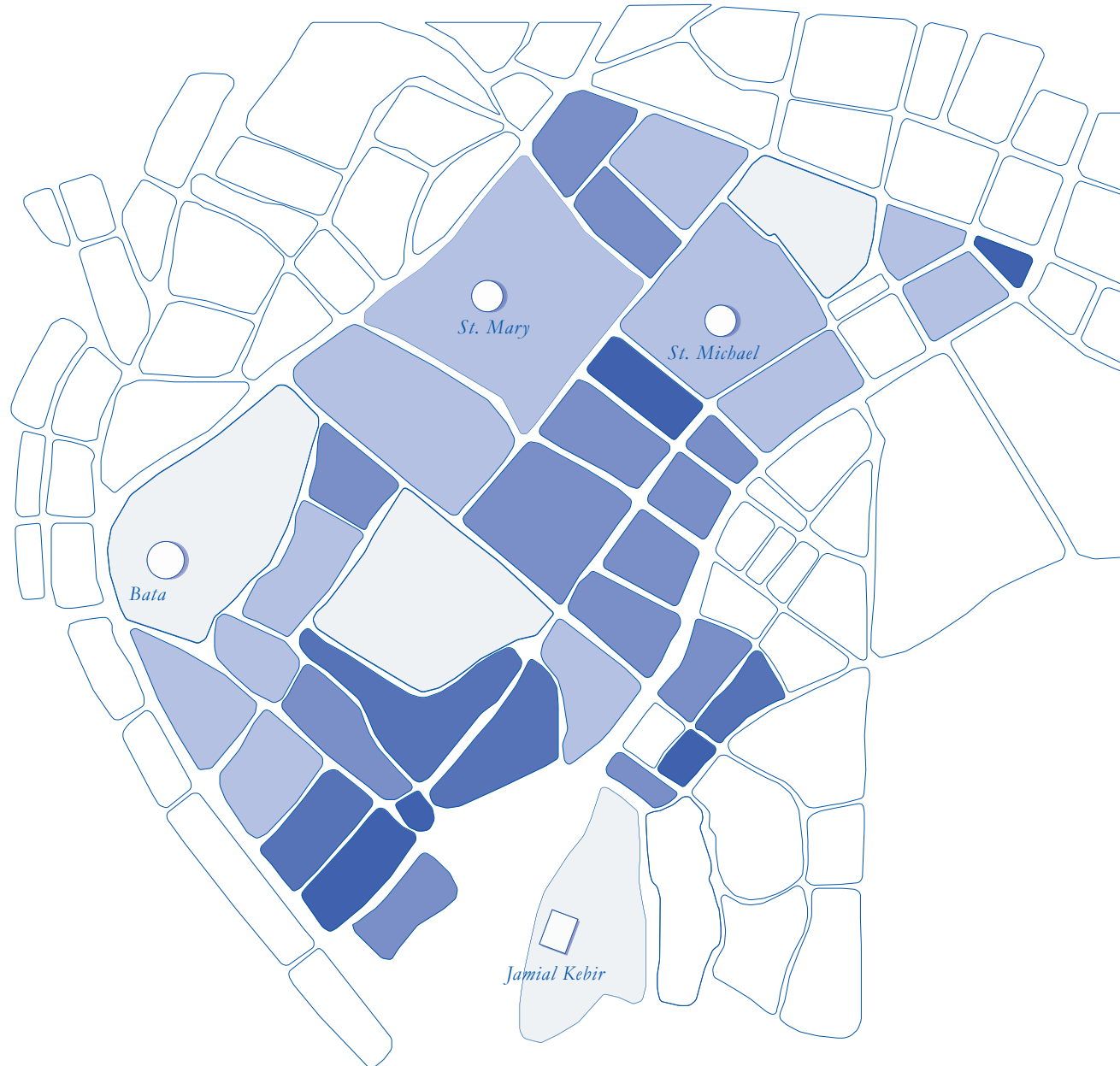
Legend



-  290-350
-  200-240
-  160-200
-  100-160
-  50-100

Notes

\*\* These findings are qualitative results from the data obtained from the 2007 population and housing census and may differ from these since the mapping of the places of residence for each city is not a 100% accurate, meaning that some of the built-up environment could house different activities aside from being a residence unit.

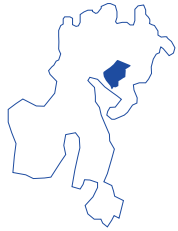


Analysis of case studies

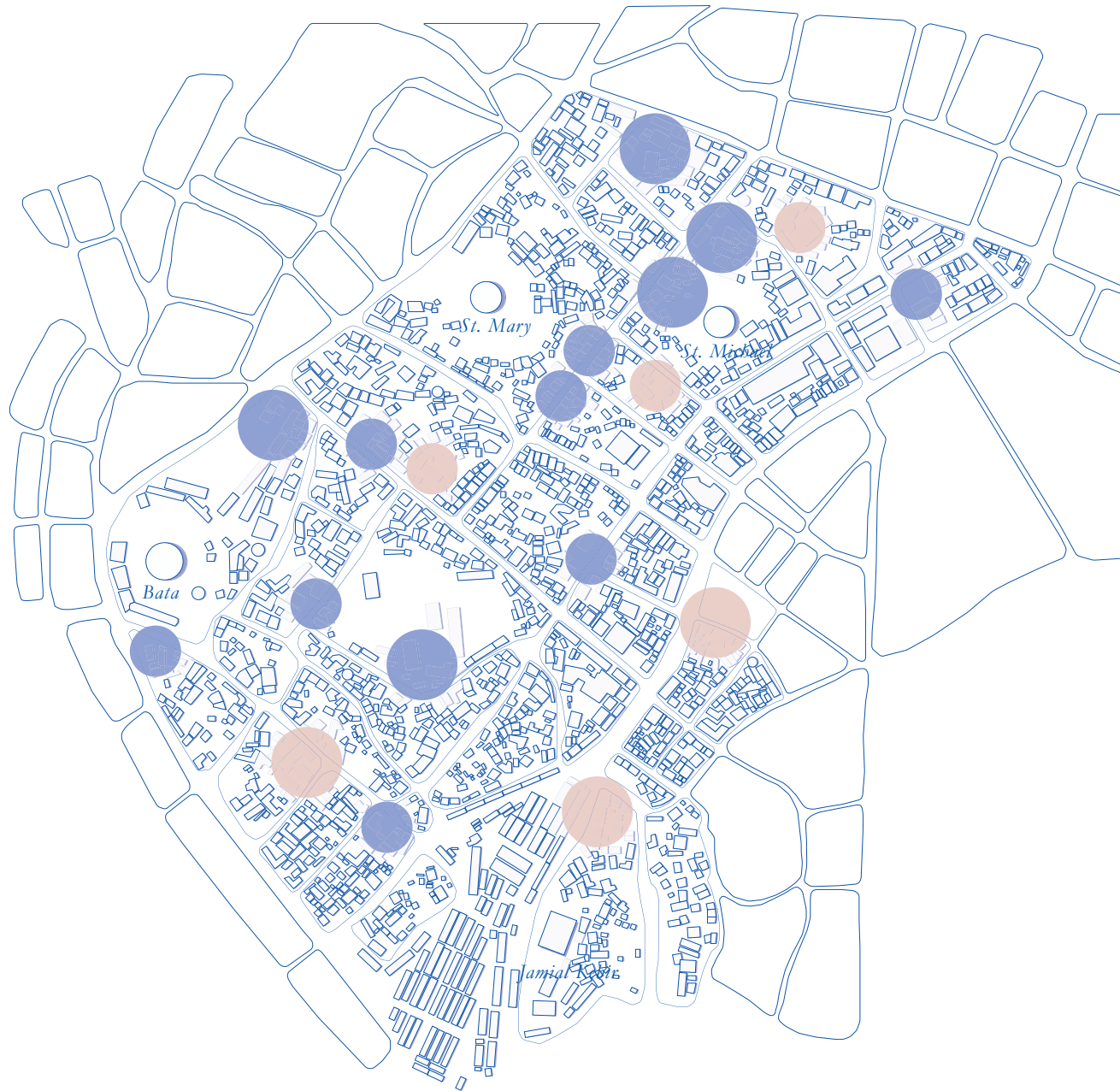
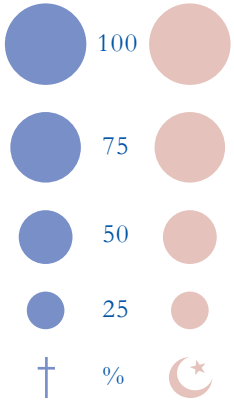
Analysis of case studies



Figure 23. Density per block, measured in people per hectare.



### Legend



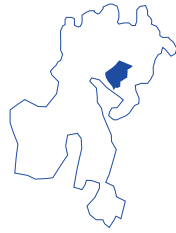
Analysis of case studies

Analysis of case studies



Figure 24. Percentage appointed according to the answer of interviewee P per block.

# Distance travelled to church & mosque



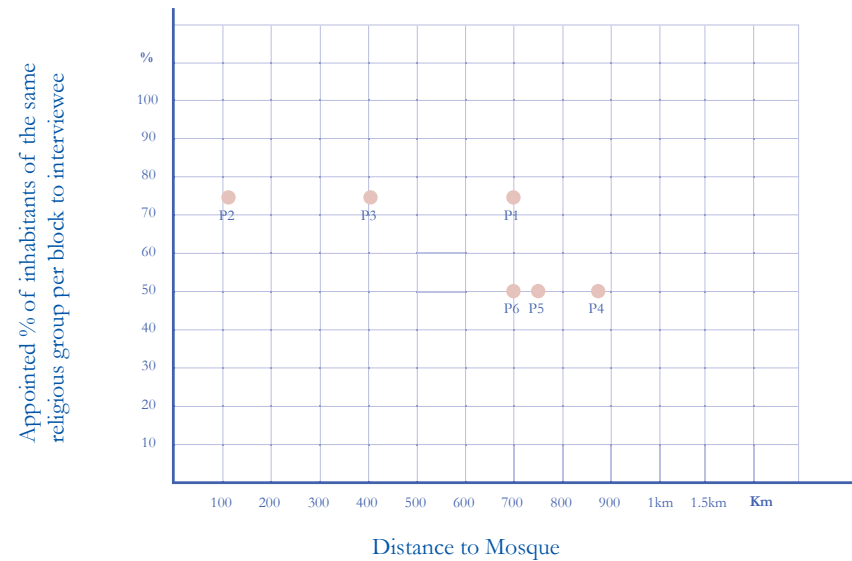
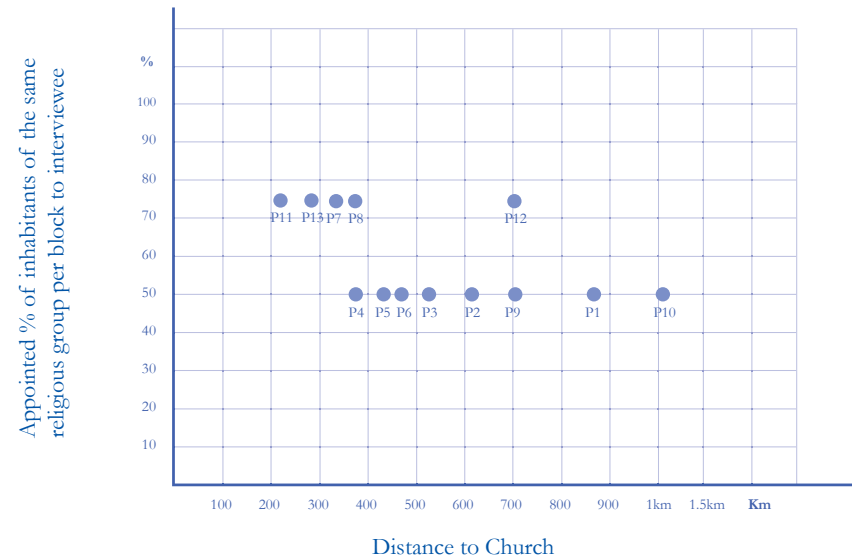
Consequently, to the density percentage relation, a distance to density and percentage relation was made and expressed in meters to kilometers. This relation is shown in figure 27 where the distance from the persons point of interview and assumed household is measured to their place of worship. In this case the church of St. Mary was taken as the most visited place of worship by interviewees and the mosque of Jamial Kebir in proximity to the market for the Muslim religious group.

*The distance was determined by calculating the shortest path marked by two colored lines from each point of interview to either the church or mosque. The results shown in figure 24 show that in the blocks inhabited 50-50% by Orthodox Christians and Muslims, Christians would travel in between 400 meters to 1 kilometer and Muslims would travel in between 700-900 meters from their house to their place of worship (see figures 25 and 26).*

*A slight difference can be seen in the blocks inhabited 75% by Muslims where people traveled 100-700 meters to their mosque since two of the blocks marked by these percentages are in immediate proximity to the market mosque and one is slightly further away (see figures 25 and 26).*

The distance relation determining if people decide to live closer to their place of worship in Gondar is almost non-existent since this city is an urban settlement with many places of worship around every corner, therefore people don't consider distance as a factor that influences their decision on where they decide to settle. A reason that was often expressed by interviewees when they said to be used to traveling to get to their church and mosque since they often attended support groups in other places of worship not necessarily close to their homes.<sup>7</sup>

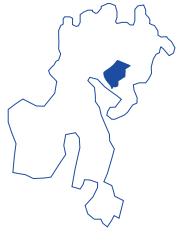
7. Interview with group of Christians outside of St. Michael Church, Gondar, Ethiopia June 2019.



**Figure 25.** Distance travelled to place of worship relation to percentage appointed according to the answer of interviewee P, Orthodox Christian group.

**Figure 26.** Distance travelled to place of worship relation to percentage appointed according to the answer of interviewee P, Muslim group.





### Legend



Main streets

Secondary streets

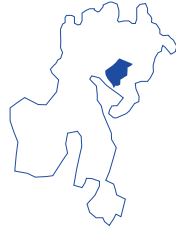
### Notes

\*\* The distance was calculated in meters to kilometers from each point of interview (assuming it was the interviewee's place of residence) to their church or mosque.



**Figure 27.** Shortest path or distance from point of interview to church or mosque.

## Concentration of religious groups



In addition to the results obtained from analyzing density and distance, a map that portrays the concentration of religious groups per block could be drawn out, to determine the spatial pattern of the city, according to the percentages assigned by each point of interview. Therefore, if each block was assigned the respective percentages of people inhabiting this area by religious social group and assuming they are correct, a spatial pattern by religious affiliation could be created.

*In the case of the city of Gondar, the pattern drawn in figure 30 shows a homogenous settlement layout between both religious social groups, showing no signs of spatial segregation between adherents. There is indeed a higher concentration of Muslims in the area surrounding the mosque that is also caused by historical settlement reasons mentioned before. It is important to note that the city of Gondar in the past was highly segregated since it was the capital of the Christian empire for a long time and Muslims were relegated to the outskirts of the city (Ahmed, 2006).*

*Nowadays people of different religions seem to live and coexist side by side, as it is the case in most of the urban higher-scale settlements of Ethiopia like Addis Ababa.*

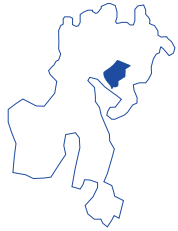
Therefore, it can be concluded that the location of places of worship in Gondar doesn't promote spatial segregation amongst followers. As it has been mentioned before people are granted land by the state and in denser urban settlements this pattern tends to be more homogenous since urban settlements in Ethiopia are poly ethnic and multireligious hubs where many religious groups and sacred places establish themselves side by side.

## Sacred typologies of Gondar: Church & Mosque



**Figure 28.** Jamial Kebir Mosque, Gondar, Ethiopia, Alejandra Urrutia 2019.

**Figure 29.** Orthodox Christian Church, Gondar, Ethiopia, Alejandra Urrutia 2019.

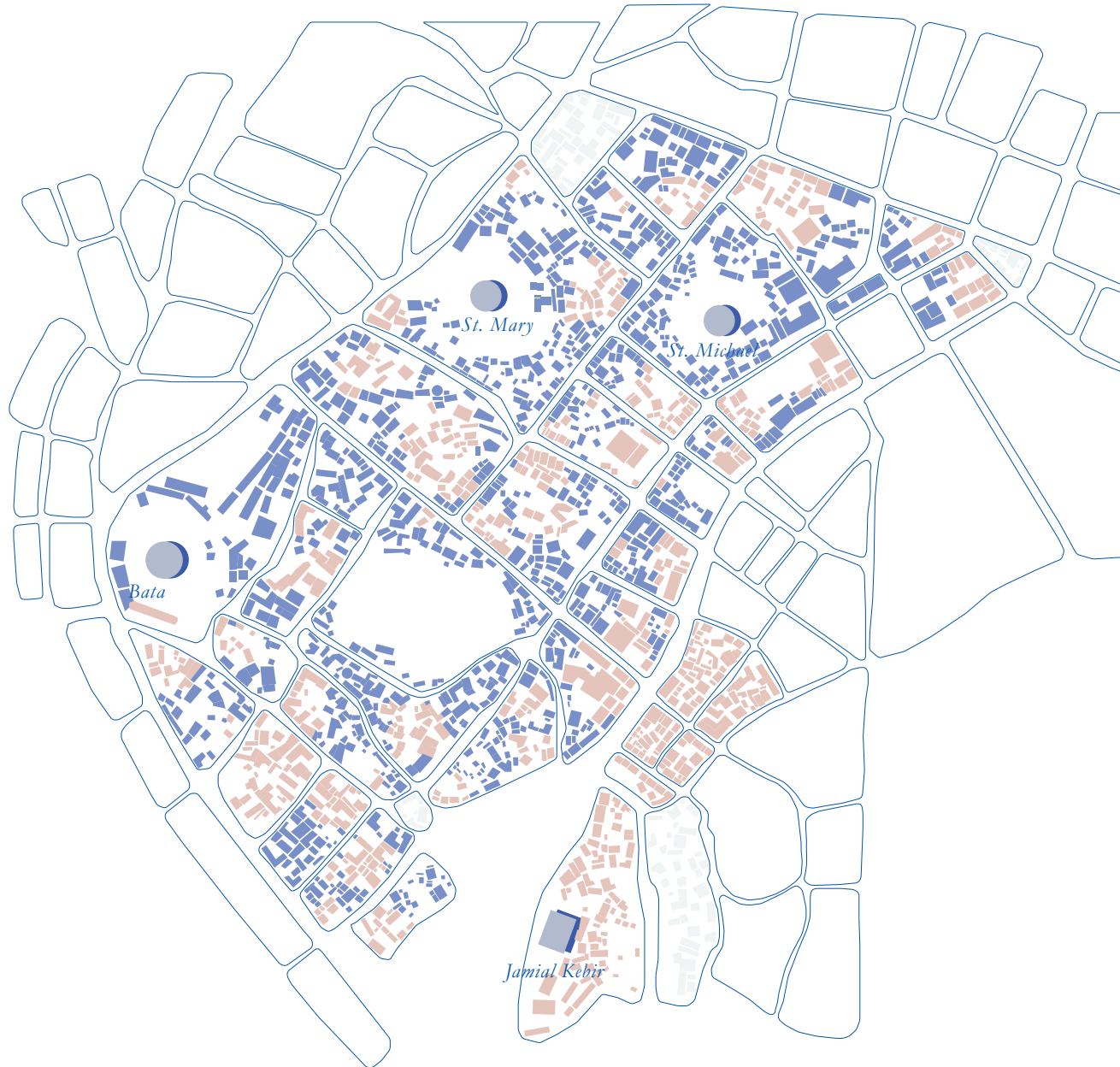


### Legend

- Orthodox Christians
- Muslims
- Unknown

### Notes

\*\* Note that these results derive from the answers the interviewees gave according to how many neighbors in their block follow the same religion as they do, assuming that most people living in this sector follow either Islam or Orthodox Christianity. Even though I don't deny the possibility of other religious social groups living in this sector aside from the previously mentioned ones.



**Figure 30.** Concentrations of religious social groups per block.

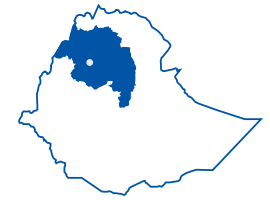
# Mer'Awi

## Mixed urban/rural settlement

*Province: West Gojjam*

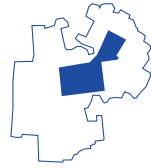
*Area: 19 km<sup>2</sup>*

*Projected Population: 35,541 inhabitants*



Mer'Awi is a city located south of Lake Tana, 35 kilometers away from the capital of the Amhara Region Bahir Dar and it holds the status of the seat of "Mecha", one of the administrative zones of West Gojjam. According to Chanie Mer'Awi was founded around 1941 by Dejazmach Abere Yiman, who was in this time the governor of the city and his brother Fitawrari Admasu Yimam (Chanie, 2012). It is a Christian settlement with a high population of Orthodox Christians over the Muslim population which remains a very low percentage of its inhabitants. Nowadays it appears to be a city which started as an organic settlement merged with a newer planned layout, developed by the government. This urban contrast represents the mix of rural/urban city where one can easily determine how much that city has grown by separating the old settlement with the new one. It is also home to the Koga Integrated Irrigation Dam Project which supplies surrounding neighbour villages and boosts the economy of the city. Thus, its new planned growth since its expected to be one of the primary food baskets in the Amhara region (Chanie, 2012). Aside from its commercial activity and importance as a supplier administrative city, little is known about the spatial religious development of this town aside from the concluding observation that will be mentioned on the final analysis of this report regarding the collected data.

# Density & percentage of affiliation

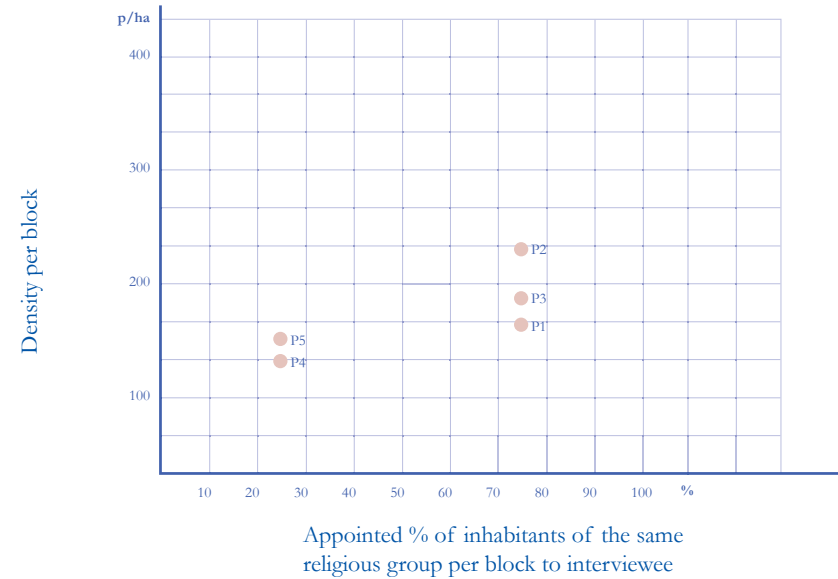
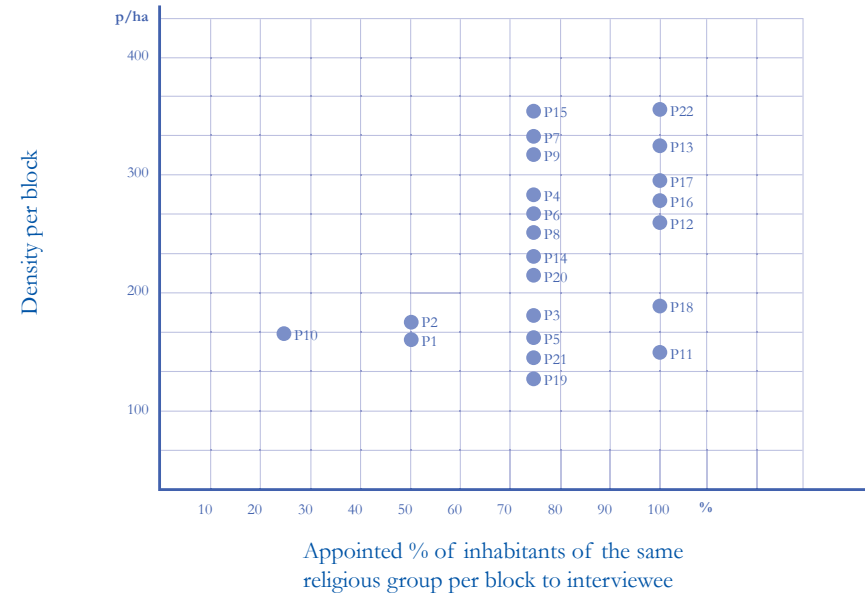


The second city within the three before mentioned categories of settlements is Mer'awi, categorized as a rural/urban medium scale-settlement. Mer'awi holds the second largest density among the three case studies where the people per hectare calculated ranged between 40 to 360 inhabitants living in households per hectare in the selected sector of the city (see figure 33). As it is shown in figure 34 it is assumed by the response of adherents, marked by circles according to the location of interview and percentage response, along with further density calculations.

*That in the city of Mer'awi approximately 100-200 people per hectare in the area surrounding the mosque 75% are Muslim, and in the area, north to the mosque a 50-50% of the people are Orthodox Christians and Muslims.(see figures 33 and 34) A result that differs vastly in the southern area of the city where the Orthodox church is located.*

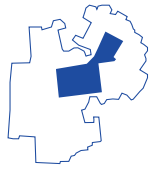
*In this area, a range of 100-290 people per hectare are mainly followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and Muslims represent a small 25% of residents in one of the blocks located to the right east of the church (see figure 31 and 32).*

This demonstrates a higher presence of Orthodox Christians in the selected city sector, a result that can be sustained by the percentage of Orthodox Christians interviewed over Muslims, which is 81% over 19% from 27 people interviewed (see social area analysis for Mer'awi).



**Figure 31.** Density relation to percentage appointed according to the answer of the interviewee P, Orthodox Christian group.

**Figure 32.** Density relation to percentage appointed according to the answer of the interviewee P, Muslim group.

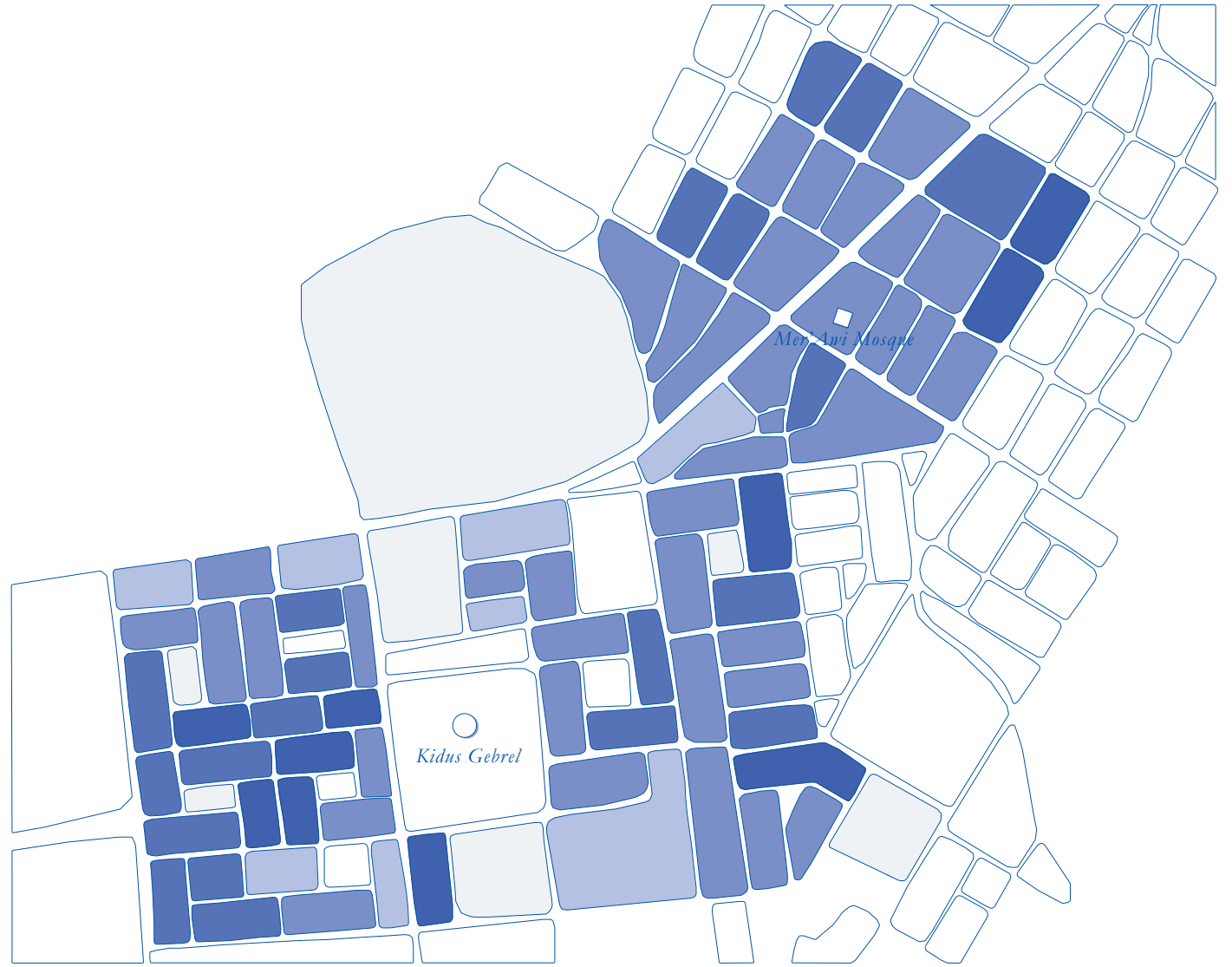


Legend



- 300-350
- 200-240
- 100-200
- 90-100
- 10-90

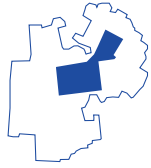
Notes  
 \*\* Refer to notes on figure 23.



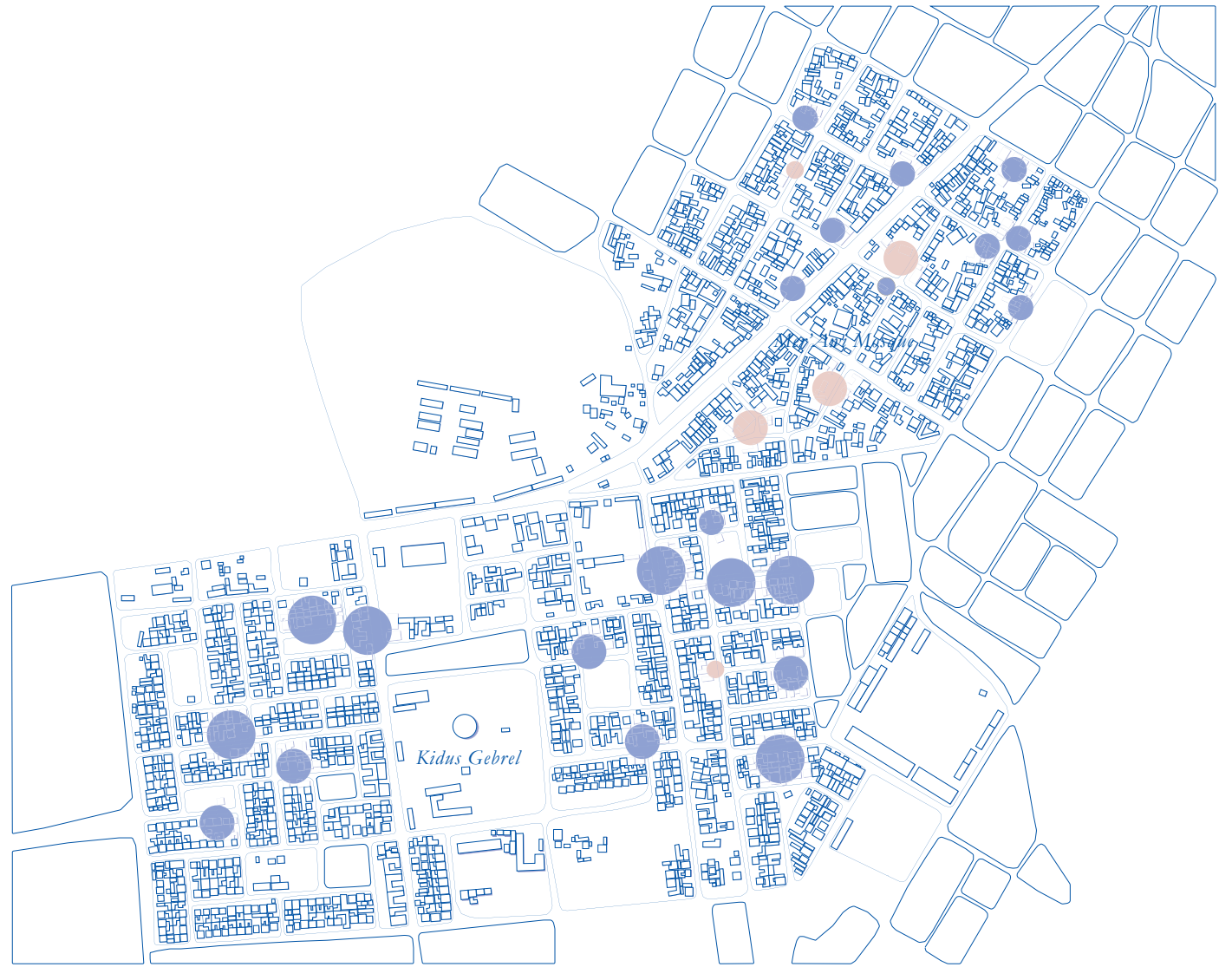
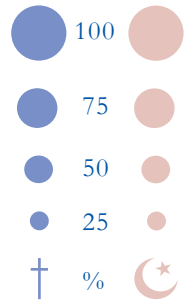
Analysis of case studies

Analysis of case studies

Figure 33. Density per block, measured in people per hectare.



### Legend



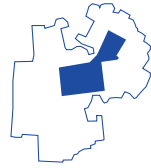
Analysis of case studies

Analysis of case studies



Figure 34. Percentage appointed according to the answer of interviewee P per block.

# Distance travelled to church & mosque



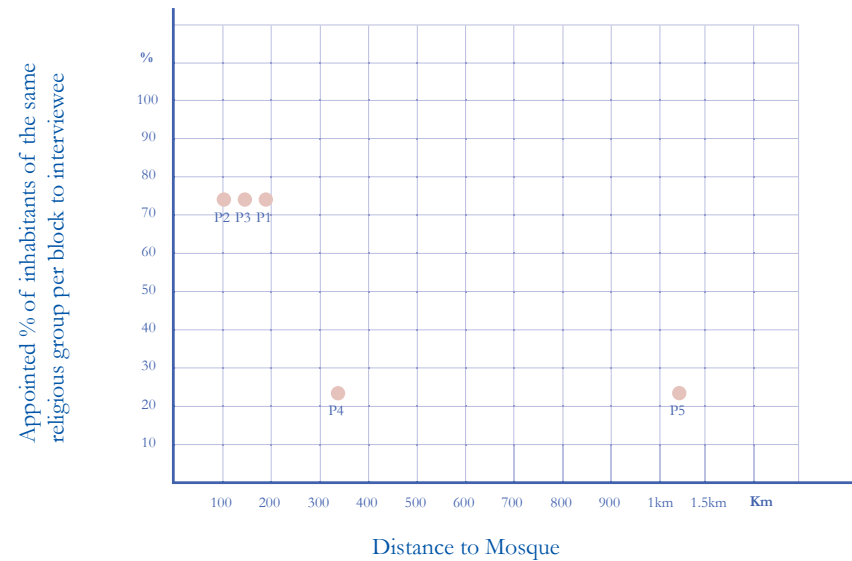
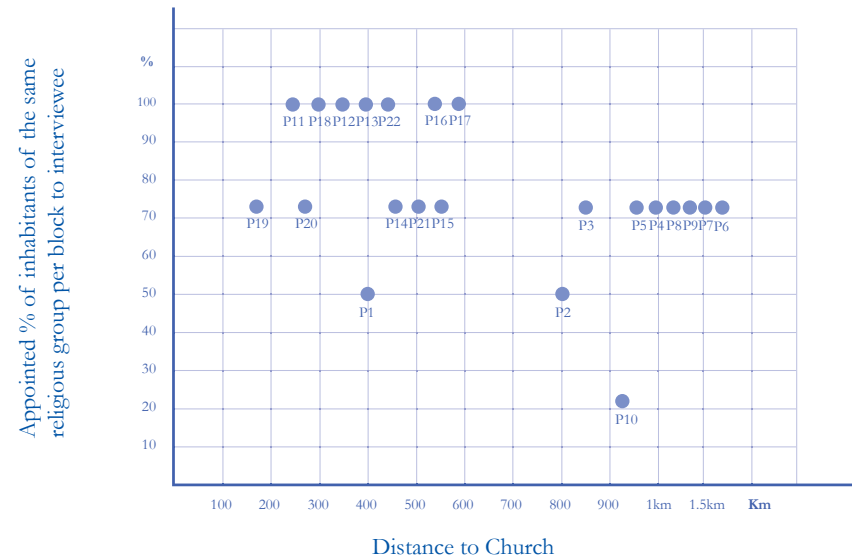
Accordingly, to the density relation obtained from the response of adherents pointing out an approximate percentage of neighbors following the same religion as they do in their block, a distance to percentage of followers and a density to distance relation was drawn out. To observe if people decide to settle in proximity to their place of worship and fellow religious peers.

*As it is shown in figure 37 the shortest path from every point of interview was calculated to their place of worship which is mapped by religious social group, assuming this point of interview to be the place of residence of the interviewee. The results show that most of the people interviewed that belong to the blocks inhabited in a 100% and 75% by Orthodox Christians travel from 200 to 800 meters from their homes to their church (see figure 35).*

*And that people interviewed in the blocks inhabited in 75% by Muslims travel in between 100-300 meters to their mosque (see figure 36).*

As it can be seen on the maps and graphs most of the interviewees are in relative proximity to their place of worship which would reflect that people do want to be close to their church or mosque. But in the social area analysis, most of the people said that they did not want to be closer to it which could also mean that they already live close to their place of worship, therefore there is no need to be in the immediate vicinity to it. To which can be concluded that the distance people have to their place of worship does not influence their pattern of settlement in this case since also people pointed out they like to be close to their place of worship and religious community but also are willing to travel long distances to get to it. Because of several reasons like not wanting to change the church and mosque that their family and friends have attended for their whole lives even though it would be far away from their homes.<sup>8</sup>

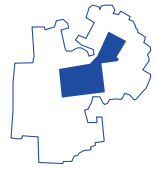
8. Interview with Muslim adherents at mosque. Mer'awi, Ethiopia June 2019.



**Figure 35.** Distance travelled to place of worship relation to percentage appointed according to the answer of interviewee P, Orthodox Christian group.

**Figure 36.** Distance travelled to place of worship relation to percentage appointed according to the answer of interviewee P, Muslim group.





**Legend**



Main streets

Secondary streets

**Notes** \*\* Refer to notes on figure 27.

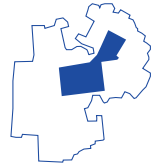


Analysis of case studies

Analysis of case studies

**Figure 37.** Shortest path or distance from point of interview to church or mosque.

## Concentration of religious groups



Finally adding a map of religious groups concentrations per block, drawn out from the answers given by the interviewees concerning the percentage of people living in their block that belonged to their same religious group. In the case of Mer'awi there is a higher concentration of Orthodox Christians in the overall selected city sector. The map in figure 40 shows a higher predominance of Muslims in proximity to the mosque located in the northern area of the sector and more Orthodox Christians residing close to the church in the southern area.

*At first sight one could assume that there is an existing case of spatial segregation since both religious social groups seem to settle in proximity to either the church or the mosque, dividing this sector of the city into an Orthodox Christian and Muslim area. But if we consider the history of the establishment of Mer'awi, which started as a Christian settlement, of course, there is a higher concentration of Christians in the city since the presence of a mosque there is relatively new.<sup>9</sup>*

*And as it was mentioned before the land belongs to the state, which loans land to people since there is no right of ownership to it. Therefore, people settle where they are granted permission to settle by the state, not by religious choice.*

Which means that there is just a pattern that depicts a higher concentration of Orthodox Christians in this town influenced by the scale of the city and the historical predominance of Christians in this area and region. To conclude it is hard to determine that there is spatial and social segregation in this town since the people interviewed here expressed that they agree with the celebrations and beliefs of other religions and claimed to have many friends that belonged to a different religion than their own. However, through the data expressed in the maps, there seems to be a clear separation of Orthodox and Muslim households, to which I would say that there is a degree of spatial segregation even though socially people claimed to be living in harmony with various religious groups.

<sup>9</sup>Interview with Muslim imam at mosque. Mer'awi, Ethiopia June 2019.

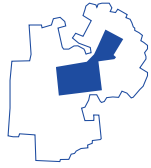


Sacred typologies of Mer'awi Church & Mosque



Figure 38. Mer'awi Mosque, Mer'awi, Ethiopia, Alejandra Urrutia 2019.

Figure 39. Kidus Gebrel Church, Mer'awi, Ethiopia, Alejandra Urrutia 2019.



### Legend

- Orthodox Christians
- Muslims
- Unknown

**Notes** \*\* Refer to notes on figure 30.



**Figure 40.** Concentrations of religious social groups per block map.



# Kon

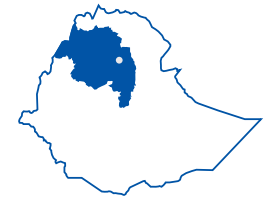
## Rural settlement

*Province: North Wollo*

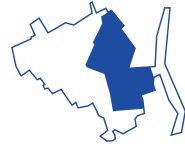
*Area: 1.18 km<sup>2</sup>*

*Projected Population: 4291 inhabitants*

Kon is a small town in the rural highlands of Ethiopia, which is in a canyon-like terrain, home to many circular Orthodox church constructions, which I could observe on my visit there. Since there is little historical information on the account of this settlement, I will describe it intuitively from personal experience. In my field observation research the settlement of Kon seemed to be mainly a town sustained on agricultural activity, its date of foundation is unknown to me but I could tell it is also a highly Christian settlement, here the population is not so homogenous as the other two examples presented in this work due to the scale and location of this development. It is surrounded by various rock-hewn churches and its home to the Church of Kiros, located to the south of the town. This church seemed to be an important place of worship for the residents of Kon and represented a place of reflection and spirituality because of its immense and ancient church forest which overlooks the canyon in which Kon is located. The Muslim population in this town is extremely low even though there is a precarious structure that represents the mosque somehow near to the town's center. With no doubt, it is interesting to study its spatial pattern of religious affiliation due to the high percentage of Orthodox Christians residing there.



# Density & percentage of affiliation

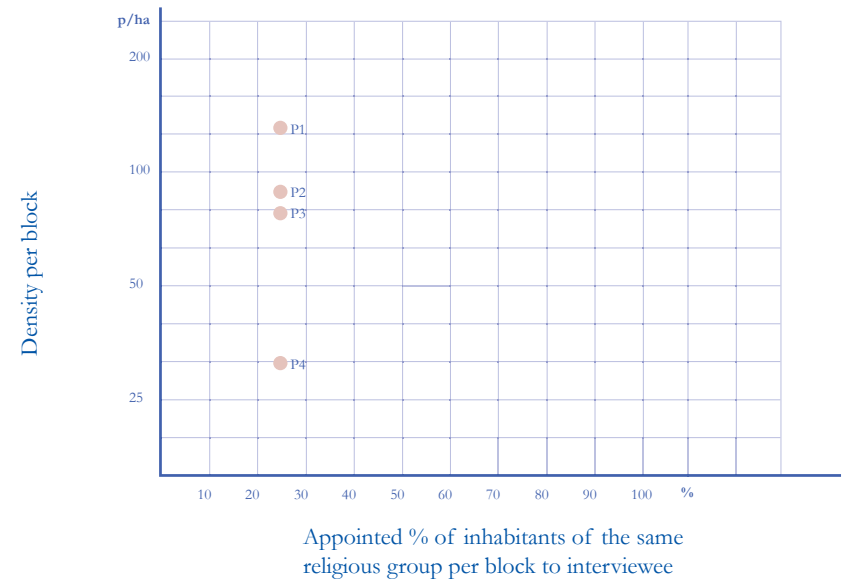
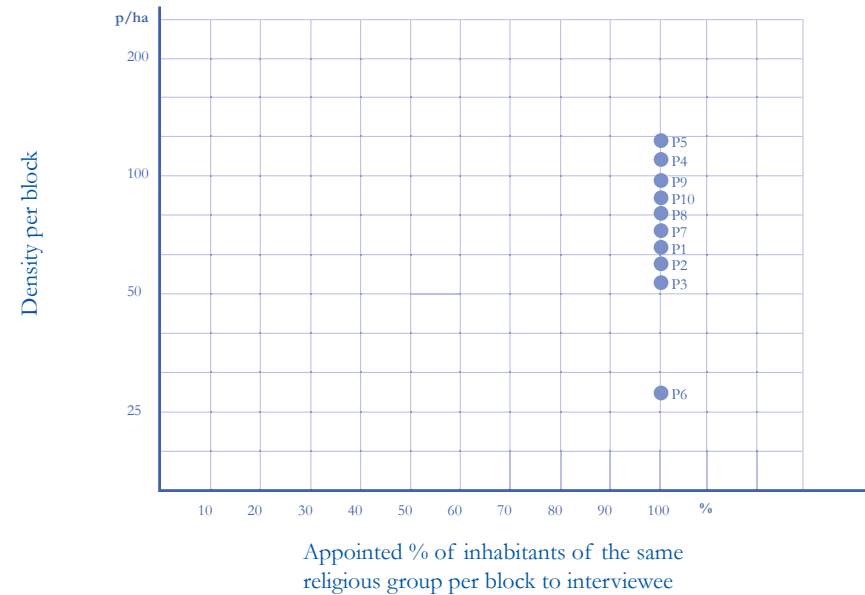


The last case study analyzed in this research is the town of Kon, categorized as a rural small-scaled settlement. This town has the lowest density from the three case studies included in this research and it was one of the most isolated settlements visited. Its density ranges from 10-140 people per hectare living in households (see figure 43).

*And the percentages assigned in this town according to the response of interviewed adherents are mainly belonging to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. As shown in figures 43 and 44 approximately 40-140 people per hectare belong to the blocks marked as 100% inhabited by Orthodox Christians, surrounding both church and mosque.*

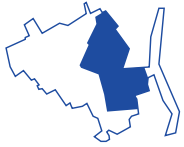
*There are four blocks with a range of 20-90 people per hectare that hold 25% of Muslim inhabitants. These maps show that the town of Kon is mainly inhabited by one religious social group, a factor proved in the social area analysis where 71% Orthodox Christians were interviewed over 21% Muslims from 14 people interviewed (see social area analysis for Kon).*

But is the city with the lowest percentage of Christians interviewed from the three case studies. Kon, therefore, is the town with the highest conglomeration of one single religious social group amongst the three cities, since Orthodox Christianity is strongly established here.



**Figure 41.** Density relation to percentage appointed according to the answer of the interviewee P, Orthodox Christian group.

**Figure 42.** Density relation to percentage appointed according to the answer of the interviewee P, Muslim group.

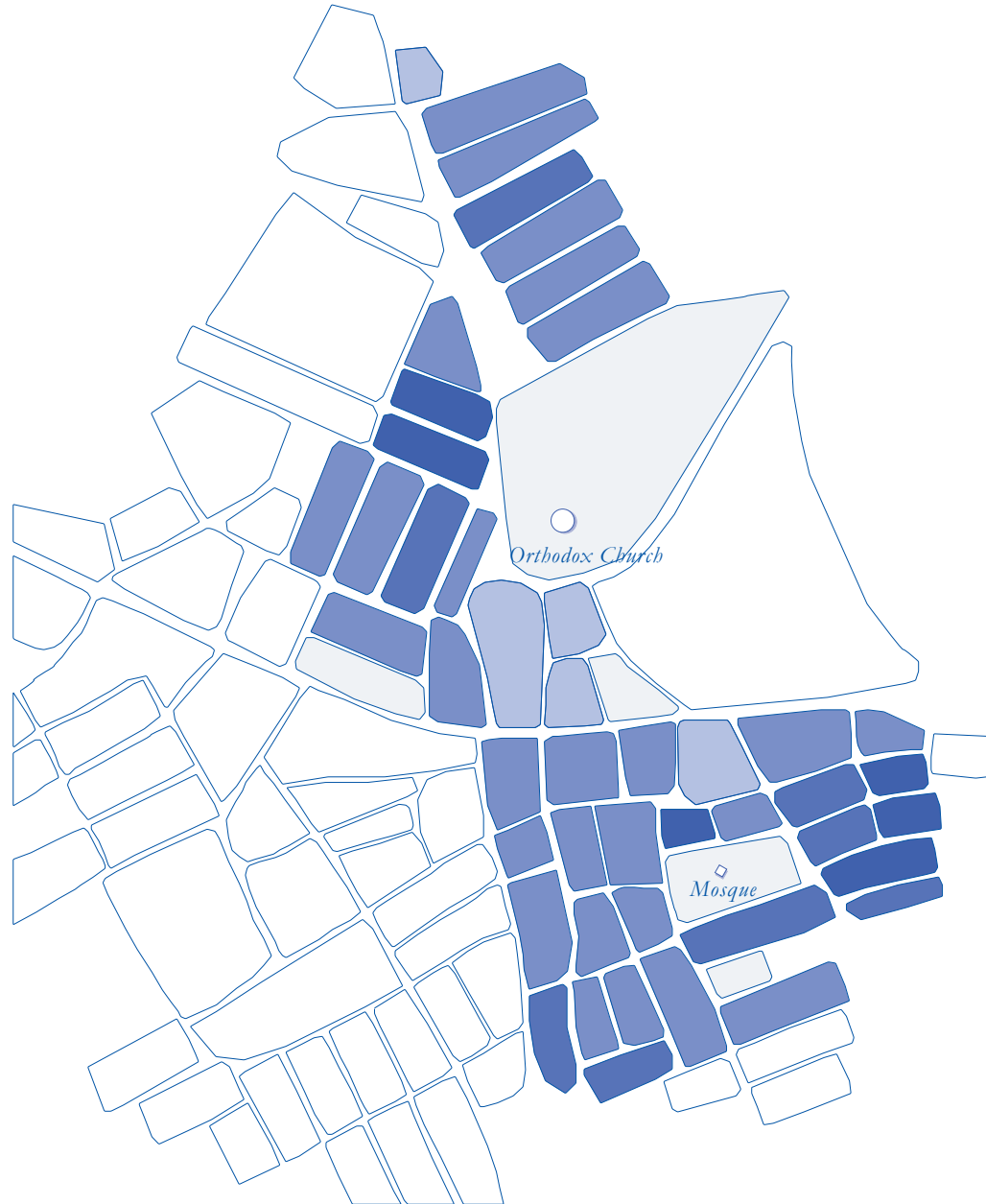


Legend



- 110-140
- 90-100
- 40-90
- 20-15
- 10-15

Notes \*\* Refer to notes on figure 23.

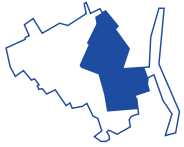


Analysis of case studies

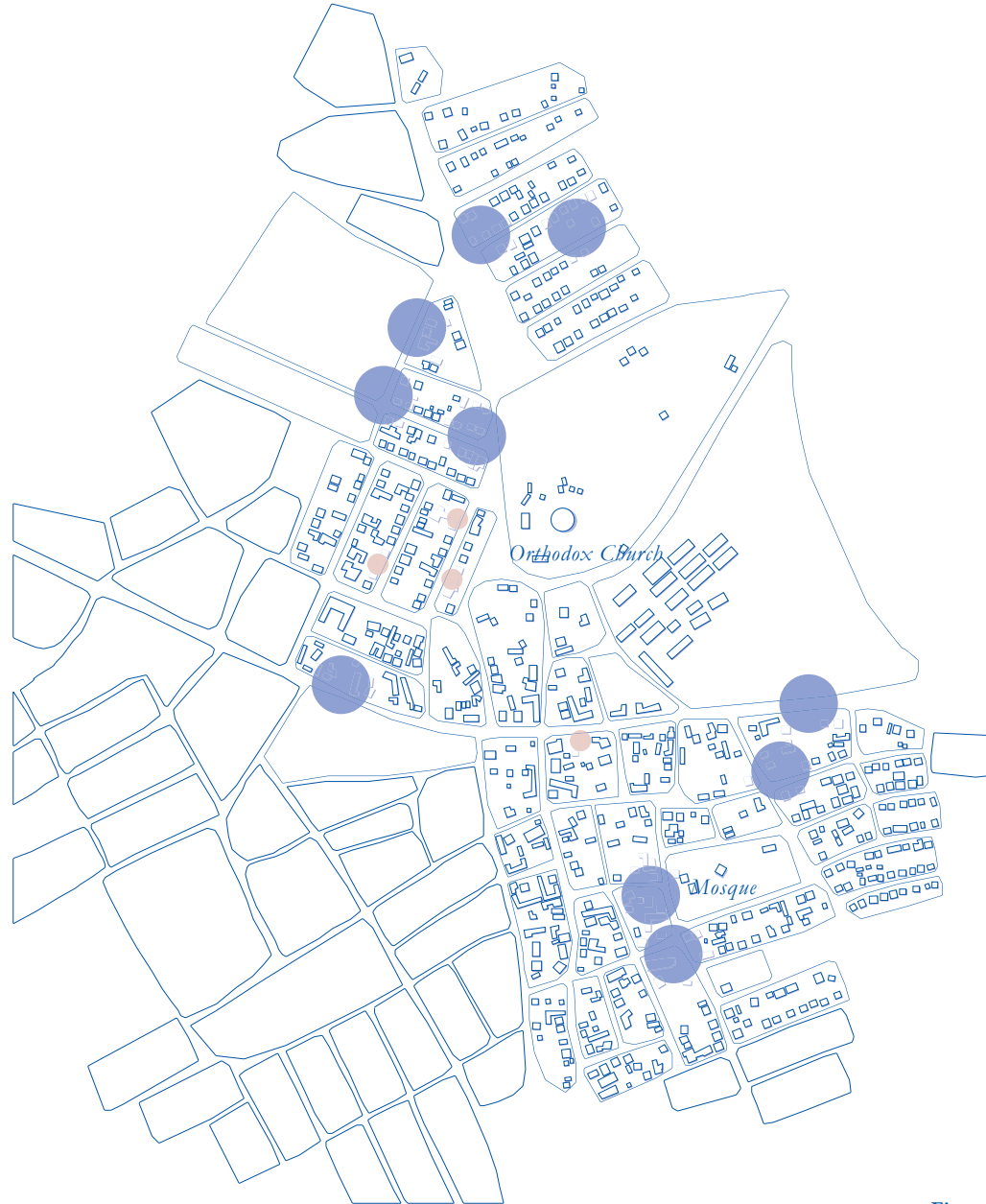
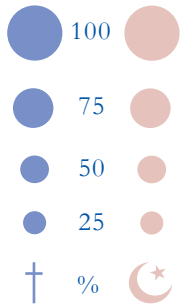
Analysis of case studies



Figure 43. Density per block, measured in people per hectare.



### Legend



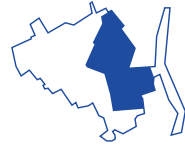
Analysis of case studies

Analysis of case studies



Figure 44. Percentage appointed according to the answer of interviewee P per block.

# Distance travelled to church & mosque



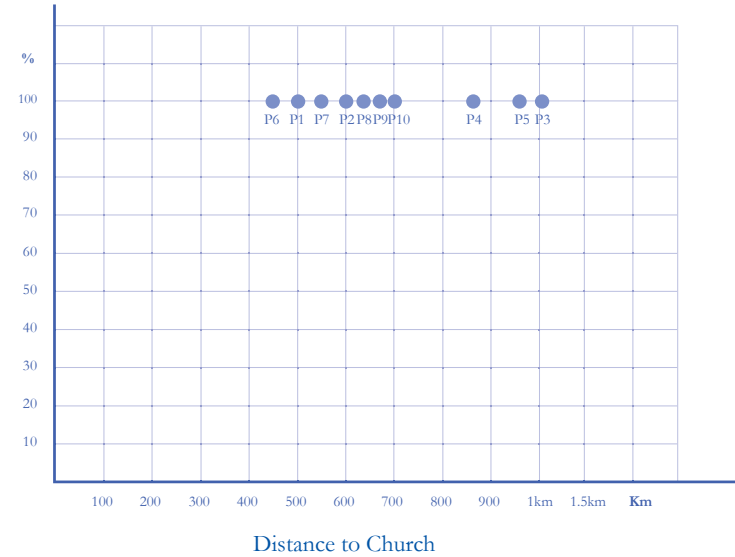
Moreover, as it was done in the previous examples a distance to percentage and density relation was also performed for the town of Kon to see if there is any influence of either place of worship on the settlement of adherents.

*The results are shown in the map of figure 47 and 45, where most of the adherents living in the blocks inhabited in a 100% by Orthodox Christians travel approximately from 400 meters to 1 kilometer to their church (see figure 45).*

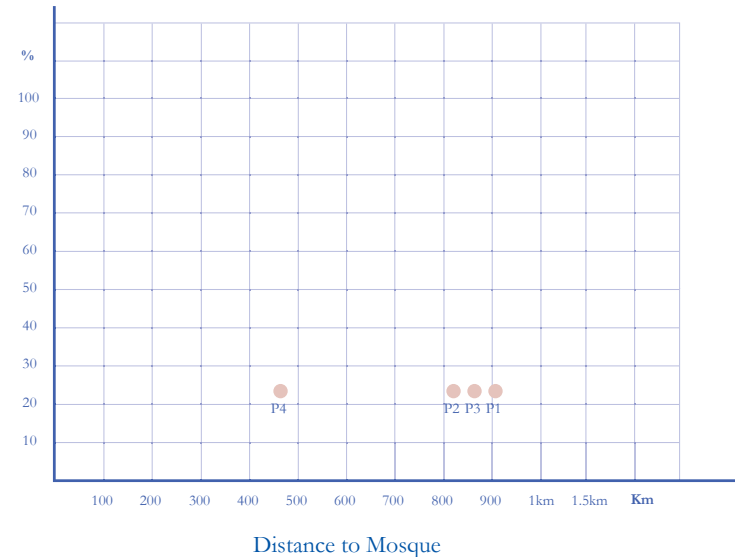
*For the Muslim adherents it's important to note that the place of worship used to delimit the distance traveled was the one in proximity within the selected sector of the town of Kon. If we take this mosque as an example most of Muslims travel in between 450-900 meters to their mosque (see figure 47 and 46).*

But in the social area analysis, three of the women interviewed pointed out that they would occasionally attend the mosque in the town of Kon but preferred to travel 30 minutes to a mosque outside of Kon, because of the bigger Muslim community. Therefore it can be concluded as in the other three case studies that the location of the church and the mosque in this town has no influence over the decision on people's settlement, since some of them would travel longer distances to worship in their place of preference but would decide to live in Kon where there is a smaller percentage of Muslims over Christians.

Appointed % of inhabitants of the same religious group per block to interviewee



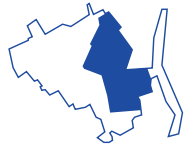
Appointed % of inhabitants of the same religious group per block to interviewee



**Figure 45.** Distance travelled to place of worship relation to percentage appointed according to the answer of interviewee P, Orthodox Christian group.

**Figure 46.** Distance travelled to place of worship relation to percentage appointed according to the answer of interviewee P, Muslim group.





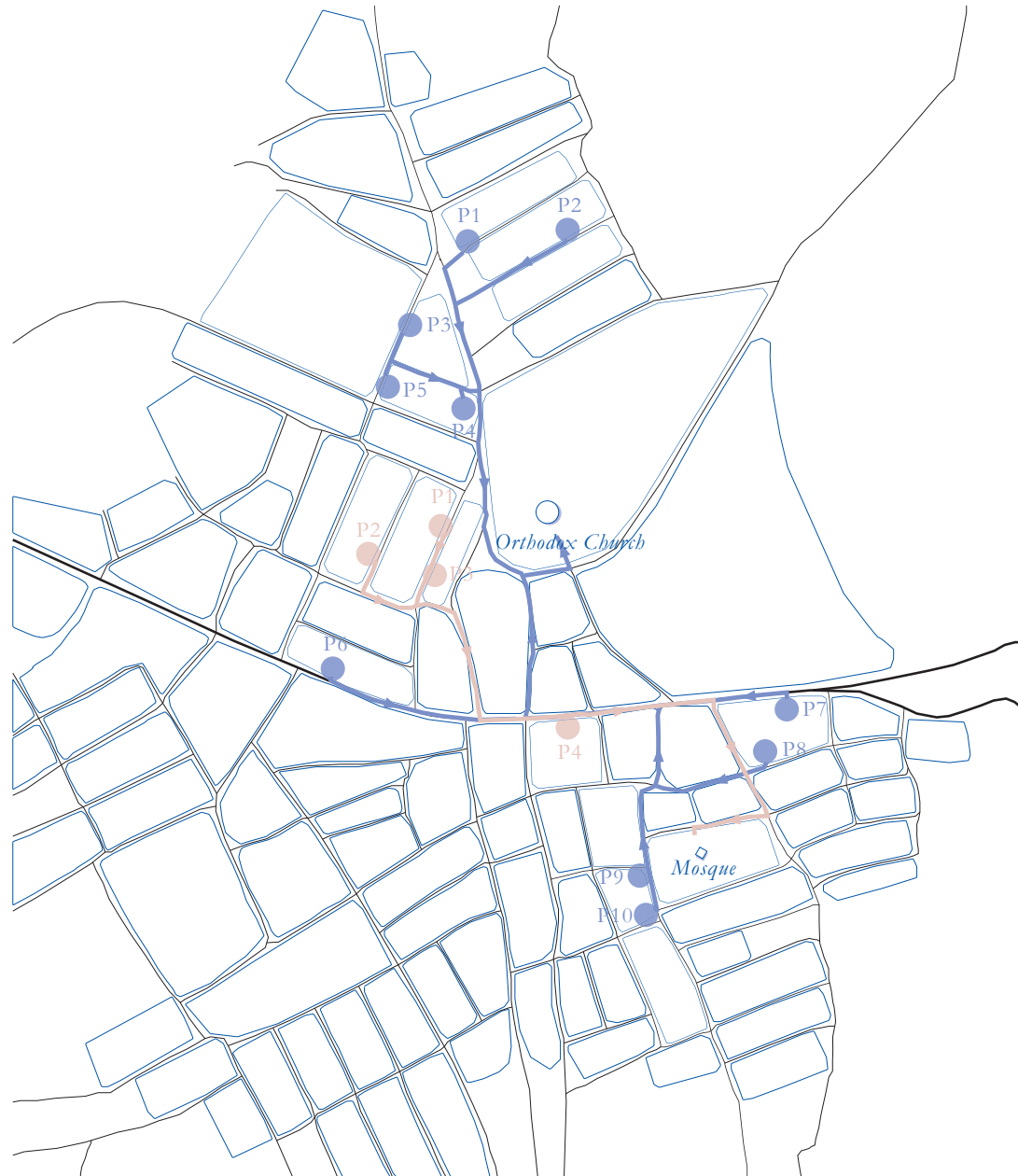
### Legend



Main streets

Secondary streets

**Notes**  
 \*\* Refer to notes on figure 27.

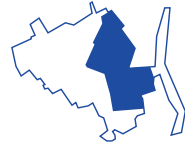


Analysis of case studies



Figure 47. Shortest path or distance from point of interview to church or mosque.

## Concentration of religious groups



For the reason being a map of the concentration of both religious groups was drawn out, to map a visual-spatial pattern of how Orthodox Christian's and Muslim's are settled in Kon. This map shown in figure 50 clearly shows the findings explained before, clarifying the predominance of Orthodox Christians in almost the whole selected sector of the town. In my opinion, this is due to the scale of the town and its first establishment as a Christian settlement, this town also houses many ancient church canyon forests and it's in closer proximity to the Christian sacred city of Lalibela.

*Therefore, without a doubt, the predominance of one religious group is heavily seen within the spatial mapping. As it can be observed urban centers in Ethiopia like Gondar tend to be multireligious because of many ethnic and religious groups residing within the bigger cities of the country, against the most rural settlements that remain deep within the persistence and following of culture and tradition with almost no change from former times.*

*Finally stating that in this town according to my interviews and field observations, I would say there is a level of both spatial and social segregation since people don't want to change their traditional religion and remain skeptical of the introduction of other religious groups in the town, let alone an Islamic place of worship that as Ahmad pointed out many are established in a house with no single reference to their religion (Ahmad, 2000).*

This means that Islam is not so much an accepted religion in this town, a fact that one of the interviewees also pointed out about the marginalization of other religious social groups that did not belong to Orthodox Christianity from the social communities of Kon.<sup>10</sup>

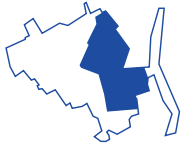
10. Interview with Fikre Hailu. Kon, Ethiopia, June 2019.

## Sacred typologies of Kon Church & Mosque



Figure 48. Town's Orthodox Church, Kon, Ethiopia June 2019.

Figure 49. Town Mosque in Kon, Kon, Ethiopia, Alejandra Urrutia 2019.



### Legend

- Orthodox Christians
- Muslims
- Unknown

Notes  
 \*\* Refer to notes on figure 30.



Figure 50. Concentration of religious social groups per block map.



## Conclusions

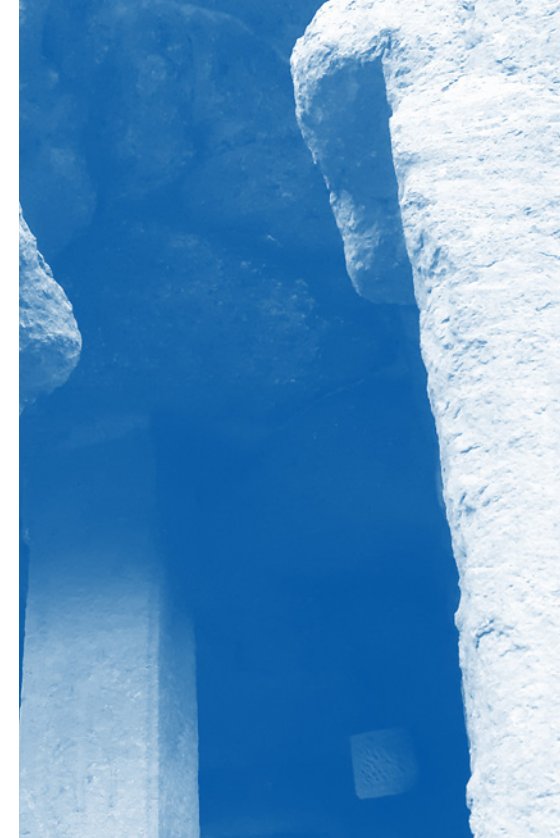
This research and analysis of the religious landscape in Ethiopia portrays unique patterns of spatial and social behaviors in the three different case studies. Even though the settlement layout in all of them varies greatly still we could observe how the spatial distribution of religious social groups changes with the scale of the city, its history and the social dynamics within them that characterize how adherents of different religions interact and cohabit with each other. Through the study of related literature, mappings and interviews I can determine that the location and presence of either the church or the mosque as typological representations of Islam and Orthodox Christianity have influenced the residential pattern of several cities more in the past. Since several of the cited literature works state that it was one of the first built elements to be established in the founding of a royal camp or urban center.

For this reason, many neighborhoods grew around these important landmarks, although the situation nowadays seems to be different. Since the position of the church in the foundation and development of settlements has changed from what it used to be, and people are settling where they are granted land by the state since this entity is separated from the church and land is a common asset to the people of Ethiopia. This doesn't mean that the church and mosque don't hold important spatial hierarchies within the Ethiopian urban landscape since both are regarded as highly spiritual built elements and located in special locations where the community of each town and city deems important to have one. Therefore, if there is one type of contested land is the one used for the construction of such religious typologies.



Where one could say causes internal conflicts between adherents to obtain land to build a place of worship. Consequently, creating a level of spatial segregation rooted in many social and political struggles, mostly seen in public spaces used for religious holidays or celebrations than in the settlement or residential patterns. Which in my opinion is hard to determine if they are segregated or not since land nowadays is under the administrative control of the state and this one grants lease permission for people to make use of it. Consequently, this causes several religious and ethnic groups to live side by side, a characteristic that can be appreciated more in cities like Gondar or Addis Ababa than in rural settlements like Kon. It is also true that in some of the cases studies shown, at first glance evident spatial segregation can be seen.

But I would like to point out that the cause to it could also be because that all the studied cities are in the Amhara region, which is predominantly Christian meaning that a higher concentration of Orthodox Christians inhabits this region, making Muslims a minority in each of the three case studies. Therefore, I would like to highlight that religious space plays an important role in the dynamics of society and their position in space since it is also a catalyst to possible conflict and coexistence. For that reason, if more emphasis is placed on what these spaces have the power to do socially and spatially, they could be essential elements of a solution to the Ethiopian society in times of socio-political struggle. Since in the urban factor they affect the behavior of people by providing them a place of refuge, worship, community, and preserve deteriorating ecosystems. Consequently, representing the culture and tradition of a highly religious society.



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# Appendix A

## Questionnaire

- I. To what Religious Community/Group do you belong to (either Orthodox-Christian or Islam)?**
- II. Were you brought up in this Religion, or was it a Personal Choice?**
- III. In a Scale from 1 to 5 - how strongly do you follow the Rules of your Religion?**
- 1            2            3            4            5
- IV. How close do you live to your Place of Worship?**
- Very Close      Close      Acceptable      Far      Very Far
- V. How do you travel to your Place of Worship?**
- Walk      Bajaj      Animal      Car      Other
- VI. If you had the Opportunity to live closer to your Place of Worship, would you?**
- VII. How much Time do you travel to your current Place of Worship from your Home?**
- <5 Min    6-15 Min    16-30 Min    31-45 Min    >45 Min
- VIII. How much Time do you spend in your Place of Worship outside of Ceremony Days?**
- 10 Min    15 Min    30 Min    60 Min    No time
- IX. How often do you attend Ceremonies at your Place of Worship?**
- Daily    Weekly    Monthly    Annually    Never
- X. How much Time do you spend at your Place of Worship during Ceremonies?**
- 15Min    30Min    60Min    90Min    >90Mins
- XI. Do you agree with the Beliefs and Ceremonies of the ,opposite' Religion (either Orthodox-Christian or Islam)?**
- Strongly Agree    Agree    No Opinion    Disagree    Strongly Disagree
- XII. How many Friends do you have that belong to a different Religion than yours?**
- 1-5      5-10      10-15      15-20      >20      None
- XIII. If you do have Friends of a different Religion – how often do you meet them?**
- Very frequently      Frequently      Occasionally      Rarely      Never
- XIV. In your Street or Block, how many of your Neighbours follow the same Religion as you do?**
- 25%      50%      75%      100%      None

# Appendix B

City Mer'awi

Interviewees of Interest *exclusively Muslim and Orthodox-Christian*  
 Number of People Interviewed 27

## I. Percentage Differentiation

Christian-Orthodox	81%
Muslim	19%

## II. Personal Approach to Religion

	Family Upbringing	Personal Choice
All Interviewees	100%	0%

## III. Scale Measure for Following the Rules of Religion\*

\*1 being the Lowest and 5 the Highest

	1	2	3	4	5
Christian-Orthodox	0%	5%	27%	5%	63%
Muslim	0%	20%	20%	0%	60%

## IV. Proximity to Place of Worship

	Very Close	Close	Acceptable	Far	Very Far
All Interviewees	52%	30%	19%	0%	0%

## V. Means of Transportation to Place of Worship

	Walk	Bajaj	Animal	Car	Other
All Interviewees	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%

## VI. Preference to Live closer to Place of Worship

	Yes	No
All Interviewees	22%	78%

## VII. Time traveled from Home to Place of Worship

	<5 Min	6-15 Min	16-30 Min	31-45 Min	>45 Min
All Interviewees	56%	19%	15%	0%	0%



**VIII. Time spent at Place of Worship outside of Ceremony**

	10 Min	15 Min	30 Min	60 Min	No time
All Interviewees	15%	15%	41%	19%	10%

**IX. Frequency of Attendance to Place of Worship**

	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Annually	Never
All Interviewees	70%	30%	0%	0%	0%

**X. Time spent at Place of Worship during ceremonies\***

\* Muslim Women only on Fridays for an hour

	15Min	30Min	60Min	90Min	>90Mins
Christian-Orthodox	18%	23%	9%	18%	32%
Muslim*	60%	0%	40%	0%	0%

**XI. Agreement with Beliefs & Ceremonies of the respective other Religion**

	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Christian-Orthodox	45%	27%	14%	14%	0%
Muslim	80%	0%	20%	0%	0%

**XII. Number of friends belonging to different Religions**

	1-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	>20	None
All Interviewees	19%	26%	0%	4%	33%	18%

**XIII. Frequency in meeting friends of other religion\***

\*Only if previous Question was answered with >0

	Very frequently	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
All Interviewees	19%	26%	0%	4%	33%

*City Gondar*

**Interviewees of Interest** *exclusively Muslim and Orthodox-Christian*

**Number of People Interviewed** 19

**I. Percentage Differentiation**

Christian-Orthodox	68%
Muslim	32%

**II. Personal Approach to Religion**

	Family Upbringing	Personal Choice
All Interviewees	68%	32%

**III. Scale Measure for Following the Rules of Religion\***

\*1 being the Lowest and 5 the Highest

	1	2	3	4	5
Christian-Orthodox	0%	0%	38%	24%	38%
Muslim	0%	0%	33%	50%	17%

**IV. Proximity to Place of Worship**

	Very Close	Close	Acceptable	Far	Very Far
All Interviewees	84%	16%	0%	0%	0%

**V. Means of Transportation to Place of Worship**

	Walk	Bajaj	Animal	Car	Other
All Interviewees	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%

**VI. Preference to Live closer to Place of Worship**

	Yes	No
All Interviewees	32%	68%

**VII. Time traveled from Home to Place of Worship**

	<5 Min	6-15 Min	16-30 Min	31-45 Min	>45 Min
All Interviewees	58%	11%	31%	0%	0%

**VIII. Time spent at Place of Worship outside of Ceremony**

	10 Min	15 Min	30 Min	60 Min	No time
All Interviewees	0%	11%	5%	47%	37%

**IX. Frequency of Attendance to Place of Worship**

	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Annually	Never
All Interviewees	63%	37%	0%	0%	0%

**X. Time spent at Place of Worship during ceremonies\***

\* Muslim Women only on Fridays for an hour

	15Min	30Min	60Min	90Min	>90Mins
Christian-Orthodox	31%	8%	0%	0%	61%
Muslim*	67%	33%	0%	0%	0%

**XI. Agreement with Beliefs & Ceremonies of the respective other Religion**

	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Christian-Orthodox	8%	38%	0%	54%	0%
Muslim	0%	50%	0%	33%	17%

**XII. Number of friends belonging to different Religions**

	1-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	>20	None
All Interviewees	0%	16%	0%	5%	79%	0%

**XIII. Frequency in meeting friends of other religion\***

\*Only if previous Question was answered with >0

	Very frequently	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
All Interviewees	79%	5%	11%	5%	0%

**City Kon**

**Interviewees of Interest** *exclusively Muslim and Orthodox-Christian*

**Number of People Interviewed 14**

**I. Percentage Differentiation**

Christian-Orthodox	71%
Muslim	29%

**II. Personal Approach to Religion**

	Family Upbringing	Personal Choice
All Interviewees	100%	0%

**III. Scale Measure for Following the Rules of Religion\***

\*1 being the Lowest and 5 the Highest

	1	2	3	4	5
Christian-Orthodox	0%	0%	10%	30%	60%
Muslim	0%	0%	0%	25%	75%

**IV. Proximity to Place of Worship**

	Very Close	Close	Acceptable	Far	Very Far
All Interviewees	64%	14%	0%	22%	0%

**V. Means of Transportation to Place of Worship**

	Walk	Bajaj	Animal	Car	Other
All Interviewees	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%

**VI. Preference to Live closer to Place of Worship**

	Yes	No
All Interviewees	29%	71%

**VII. Time traveled from Home to Place of Worship**

	<5 Min	6-15 Min	16-30 Min	31-45 Min	>45 Min
All Interviewees	29%	50%	21%	0%	0%

# Appendix C

## VIII. Time spent at Place of Worship outside of Ceremony

	10 Min	15 Min	30 Min	60 Min	No time
All Interviewees	21%	0%	0%	79%	0%

## IX. Frequency of Attendance to Place of Worship

	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Annually	Never
All Interviewees	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%

## X. Time spent at Place of Worship during ceremonies\*

\* Muslim Women only on Fridays for an hour

	15Min	30Min	60Min	90Min	>90Mins
Christian-Orthodox	0%	0%	40%	0%	60%
Muslim*	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%

## XI. Agreement with Beliefs & Ceremonies of the respective other Religion

	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Christian-Orthodox	60%	0%	10%	20%	10%
Muslim	0%	25%	0%	75%	0%

## XII. Number of friends belonging to different Religions

	1-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	>20	None
All Interviewees	65%	7%	0%	7%	0%	21%

## XIII. Frequency in meeting friends of other religion\*

\*Only if previous Question was answered with >0

	Very frequently	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
All Interviewees	50%	0%	29%	7%	14%

## City Gondar

Interviewees of Interest *exclusively Muslim and Orthodox-Christian*

Number of People Interviewed 19

### Estimated Percentage of Inhabitants per Block of same Religion as Interviewee

### Shortest Path from Point of Interview to Place of Worship

	Christian-Orthodox	Muslim	Christian-Orthodox	Muslim
	13 People	6 People	13 People	6 People
P1	50%	75%	881m	705m
P2	50%	75%	615m	118m
P3	50%	75%	519m	408m
P4	50%	50%	379m	883m
P5	50%	50%	425m	743m
P6	50%	50%	425m	702m
P7	75%		370m	
P8	75%		370m	
P9	50%		712m	
P10	50%		1104m	
P11	75%		210m	
P12	75%		700m	
P13	75%		270m	

**City Mer'Avi**

**Interviewees of Interest** *exclusively Muslim and Orthodox-Christian*  
**Number of People Interviewed 27**

**City Kon**

**Interviewees of Interest** *exclusively Muslim and Orthodox-Christian*  
**Number of People Interviewed 14**

**Estimated Percentage of Inhabitants per Block of same Religion as Interviewee**

**Shortest Path from Point of Interview to Place of Worship**

**Estimated Percentage of Inhabitants per Block of same Religion as Interviewee**

**Shortest Path from Point of Interview to Place of Worship**

Christian-Orthodox	Muslim	Christian-Orthodox	Muslim
22 People	5 People	22 People	5 People

Christian-Orthodox	Muslim	Christian-Orthodox	Muslim
10 People	4 People	10 People	4 People

P1	<b>50%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>404m</b>	<b>197m</b>
P2	<b>50%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>809m</b>	<b>106m</b>
P3	<b>75%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>867m</b>	<b>135m</b>
P4	<b>75%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>1048m</b>	<b>310m</b>
P5	<b>75%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>962m</b>	<b>1120m</b>
P6	<b>75%</b>		<b>1079m</b>	
P7	<b>75%</b>		<b>1033m</b>	
P8	<b>75%</b>		<b>1014m</b>	
P9	<b>75%</b>		<b>1091m</b>	
P10	<b>25%</b>		<b>906m</b>	
P11	<b>100%</b>		<b>241m</b>	
P12	<b>100%</b>		<b>352m</b>	
P13	<b>100%</b>		<b>358m</b>	
P14	<b>75%</b>		<b>483m</b>	
P15	<b>75%</b>		<b>532m</b>	
P16	<b>100%</b>		<b>585m</b>	
P17	<b>100%</b>		<b>596m</b>	
P18	<b>100%</b>		<b>319m</b>	
P19	<b>75%</b>		<b>185m</b>	
P20	<b>75%</b>		<b>280m</b>	
P21	<b>75%</b>		<b>509m</b>	
P22	<b>100%</b>		<b>453m</b>	

P1	<b>100%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>533m</b>	<b>872m</b>
P2	<b>100%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>593m</b>	<b>871m</b>
P3	<b>100%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>1018m</b>	<b>872m</b>
P4	<b>100%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>872m</b>	<b>472m</b>
P5	<b>100%</b>		<b>1010m</b>	
P6	<b>100%</b>		<b>462m</b>	
P7	<b>100%</b>		<b>559m</b>	
P8	<b>100%</b>		<b>611m</b>	
P9	<b>100%</b>		<b>633m</b>	
P10	<b>100%</b>		<b>633m</b>	





This book portrays the importance of religious typologies in the settlement layout of Ethiopia. Through the study of their position in space, the social dynamics that surround them and the influence religious elements have in future urban planning. As beacons of the Ethiopian culture and tradition, becoming sites that characterize Ethiopia's urban landscape.