

Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies
College of Social Sciences
Department of Anthropology

**The Socioeconomic Roles of Religion: The Case of Ethiopian Orthodox
Tewahedo Churches in Addis Ababa**

By

Kumilachew Siferaw

June, 2015

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
of Masters of Arts in Social Anthropology**

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Sciences, Department of Social Anthropology**

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As member of the Board of examiners of the M.A Thesis Open Defense Examination, we certify that we have read, evaluated the thesis prepared by Kumilachew Siferaw Anteneh and examined the candidate. We recommended that the Thesis be accepted as fulfilling the thesis requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Social Anthropology.

_____	_____	_____
Advisor	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Internal Examiner	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
External Examiner	Signature	Date

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved parents W/ro Terualem Ayalew and Ato Siferaw Anteneh.

Glossary

<i>Asrat</i>	A payment in which Orthodox Christians give one tenth of their income to the Ethiopian Orthodox <i>Tewahedo</i> Church
<i>Awude Mihert</i>	Land of mercy
<i>Debeteras</i>	Learned cleric
<i>Emnet</i>	Looks like dust but is holly and used for spiritual cleansing services by priests.
<i>Ekub</i>	A local institution which can be established by two or more individuals for the purpose of saving
<i>Erkus Menefes</i>	Evil Spirits
<i>Qeba Qidus</i>	Holy Oil
<i>Kerestina</i>	The dedication of children to God by bringing them to the Church on the 40 th (for a male child) and 80 th (for female child) dates after birth for baptism.
<i>Yetsewa Mahber</i>	Association which is established to provide alms and to remember saints and angels
<i>Menafek</i>	Non-believer
<i>Neseha abat</i>	A religious father/priest who gives spiritual counseling to laities of the Ethiopian Orthodox <i>Tewahedo</i> Church
<i>Qene/Mewedes</i>	Poetry
<i>Selet</i>	Vow
<i>Tesekar</i>	A ritual which is organized to remember a deceased person
<i>Tsebel</i>	Holy water
<i>Wet</i>	Local soup
<i>Yaredawi zema</i>	Melody of St. Yared
<i>Yeliqawent Gubaye</i>	A union of scholars of the Ethiopian Orthodox <i>Tewahedo</i> Church, which established to protect the dogmas and values of the Church.

Abbreviations

AACA	Addis Ababa City Administration
AADS	Addis Ababa Diocese Secretariat
CSA	Central Statistics Agency
E.C	Ethiopian Calendar
EOTC	Ethiopian Orthodox <i>Tewahedo</i> Church
ETB	Ethiopian Birr
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
PHCR	Population and Housing Census Report
St.	Saint

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The Socioeconomic Roles of Religion: the Case of Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in Addis Ababa

Abstract

The primary purpose of this thesis is to describe the socioeconomic roles of religion with a particular reference to Ethiopian Orthodox Churches in Addis Ababa. Having the epistemological stance of constructivism, this research is conducted using the theoretical perspective of interpretivism. The researcher adopts a phenomenological methodology and mainly emphasizing on interpreting the data obtained from respondents. In relation to the data collection methods, key informant interviews, focus group discussion (FGDs), observations and informal conversations have been used. By using such methods, this research answers four basic questions in relation to the main objective. First, it describes about the understanding of Orthodox Christians towards religiosity and its present condition in Addis Ababa. With respect to this, findings suggest that Orthodox Christians understand religiosity in ways that are linked to religious knowledge and practice in general, and they understand religiosity in terms of church attendance, religious adherence, religious services and occupation, private religious devotions, and religious donations in particular. Second, this research describes the role of Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Churches (EOTCs) in the provision of social support. Findings reveal that Churches provide three kinds of support: emotional support, provision of food, and provision of clothes. Third, this thesis explains about the Church's role in affecting the nature of social and interpersonal relationships of its followers. Accordingly, this research finds that EOTCs plays both positive and negative roles on the interactions of individuals. It promotes interaction between its followers, and, on the other hand, it has a negative impact on the relationship between Orthodox Christians and followers of other religion. Finally, an attempt has been made to describe the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Churches in the provision of health care services. In this regard, the Church uses its spiritual practices as a means of providing health care services to laities. Tsebel, Qeba Qidus and Emnet are among the spiritual practices which are used as a means of delivering health care services in the city. Of those spiritual practices, Tsebel is the most widely used mode of healings in the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Churches.

From the findings of this research, it is possible to conclude that religion is an inherently a social phenomenon, and it has many effects on the socioeconomic life of a certain community. If so, this kind of researches on the socioeconomic aspects of religion will play a great role in providing vital information for policy makers and administrators to use religious organizations as a working partner in implementing their social and economic policies. Moreover, this study adds knowledge by bringing to light the socio-economic roles of EOTCs in Addis Ababa.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

The concept of religion has been as controversial as that of the related and similarly elusive, intangible concept of culture. Scholars from various field of study define religion in many ways. A more anthropologically universal definition of religion is forwarded by Geertz. For Geertz:

Religion is a system of symbols which act to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic (Geertz, 1973: 90-91).

Anthropologists such as Tylor, Frazer and others also define religion in many ways. But there is no universally agreed definition of religion. “The truth is that religion probably entails all of the things explained by different scholars simultaneously, but disparately for different religions” (Eller, 2007: 7). The various definitions emphasize certain aspects of the phenomenon or betray the theoretical orientations of their authors. Clearly, scholars do not agree precisely how to begin to talk about religion. They emphasize different aspects of it (Eller, 2007: 7).

As Eller (2007) argues, anthropologists do not focus on the “official” or “high” or “canonical” version of religions, particularly as we find them in texts and scriptures or in the understandings of officials and specialists. Anthropology should emphasize on how human beings use their religious resources for specific social and personal reasons. In other words, anthropologists are less interested in the doctrine of a certain religion than in the lived practice of the religion. Anthropologists should emphasize on describing how the religious practices will relate with the social and other aspects of a certain community. This research, therefore, tries to explore the socioeconomic role of religion with a particular reference to Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in Addis Ababa.

The Ethiopian Orthodox *Täwahdo* Church (EOTC) is a unique African Church which has a deep rooted relation with the socioeconomic and political history of Ethiopia (Abbink, 2003: 1). It is distinct in that it preceded the formation and development of Christianity in the West with

several hundreds of years. The Ethiopian Orthodox *Tawahdo* Church which develops its own liturgy, educational system for clergy and laymen, monastic tradition, religious music, and an extensive tradition of commentary and exegesis of the Bible in the African continent. These elements contributed to the formation of a distinct domain of Ethiopian Christian religious identity, which was, however, not developed in isolation from Christianity (Abbink, 2003: 1).

Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in Addis Ababa are not limited only as a place for worshipping, but they are also engaging in the socioeconomic life of the society. They play their own roles on social support and interaction, health, and other aspects of the society. Therefore, this research aims to explore the socioeconomic roles of Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in Addis Ababa.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity has been the focus of historians, theologians, students of religion and philologists because of its long and complex history, its being a natural case for comparison with Western Christianity, and its long written tradition, as evident not only in royal chronicles, theological works, poetry, and hagiographies of saints and holy men, but also in its rich and highly interesting corpus of religious exegeses and commentaries (Abbink 2003: 4-5).

Sergew and Tadesse (1970), Getnet (1998), Votrin (2003), Alemayehu (2007), and Chaillot (2009) are some of the scholars who tried to show the role of EOTCs in literature, forest conservation, and traditional teaching of the church as well as the features of EOTC. Sergew and Tadesse on their work “The Church of Ethiopia: A Panorama of History and Spiritual Life” in 1970 tried to show the role of Ethiopian Orthodox Church for the development of literature and art such as painting and manuscript art, liturgical works etc. They described the literary achievements during Aksumite Period c. 5th- 7th centuries A.D and Solomonic restoration in relation to EOTC.

Getnet’s work “Features of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the Clergy” (1998) also tries to give a historical overview of the Church, ecclesiastical establishment and the process undertaken to develop Orthodox Christianity within the country. In explaining the history of the church, Getnet states that the Ethiopian Orthodox Church has been indigenized and has made the

heritage which it thus received and developed it in a unique way against the cultural and social background of Ethiopia (Getnet 1998: 90). Though the church adapts some of its practices from Jewish, the practices and values of Ethiopian Orthodox Church is original. In general, Getnet tries to show the originality of Church buildings, Church hierarchy, priesthood and administration and contemporary image of the Ethiopian Church in Africa and abroad.

Besides the above scholars, Alemayehu (2007) describes the role of the EOTC on sustainable forest conservation. By taking the case of EOTCs in South Gonder, Alemayehu explains the opportunities, challenges and constraints of EOTC in conserving forest resources. He states that the diversity of indigenous woody species and the forest area protected by the Ethiopian Orthodox churches are significant, and by and large the contribution of the EOTC in forest resource conservation for the zone in particular and the country in general is considerable (Alemayehu, 2007: 62). Alemayehu is only emphasizing to show the challenges, opportunities and constraints of EOTC in South Gonder in conserving forest resources.

Most of the research works on EOTC have been done with great emphasis on the doctrinal and canonical versions of the Church and they are delimited in geographical settings. There is little in the way of systematic understanding of the socioeconomic role of EOTC in urban areas. This might have resulted from our previous understanding of cities as a zone of sin and impiety since the dawn of recorded history (Starke and Finke 1988: 41). As Spalding (1880) states "In the city neither the rich nor the poor can realize the infinite charm of the Christian ideal; the heart is troubled there, and God is not in the short-lived of human passion" (cited in Starke and Finke 1988: 41). Social scientists also assert that city life is corrosive of the moral order and that urban life is inevitably more permissive than country life. As Sjoberg (1960: 340) explained, urban religion sustains norms that "are generally permissive" because the "divergent, and often contradictory roles, and the new technology ensures a continuous cycle of change, all of which requires flexibility of norms" (Sjoberg 1960: 340).

By bringing to light the roles of EOTCs in social support, social interaction, and health care services, this research fills knowledge gaps and adds knowledge to the anthropological understandings of religion.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

The overall objective of this study is to describe the socioeconomic roles of religion with a particular reference to some selected Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in Addis Ababa.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of this study include;

1. To describe religiosity and its present condition as perceived by Orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa
2. To explore the role of Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches the provision of social support
3. To explore how the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches affect the nature of social and interpersonal relationships of its laities
4. To describe the role of Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in the provision of health care services

1.4. Significance of the Study

Religion may affect the social and economic aspects of a certain community. Understanding multi-functions of religion will help someone to easily understand the socioeconomic life of the community. This study will play a great role in providing vital information for administrators of the city to use religious organizations as a working partner in implementing their social and economic policies. Moreover, this study will add knowledge by bringing to light the socio-economic roles of EOTCs in Addis Ababa.

1.5. Description of the Study Area

Addis Ababa was founded by Emperor Menelik and his wife Empress Taitu in 1886. Since 1889 it has functioned as the capital of Ethiopia (Menwuyet, 2005: 3). Addis Ababa lies at an altitude of 7,546 feet (2,300 metres) and located at 9°1'48"N 38°44'24"E Coordinates: 9°1'48"N 38°44'24"E. The city lies at the foot of Mount Entoto. From its lowest point, around Bole International Airport, at 2,326 metres (7,631 ft) above sea level in the southern periphery, the city rises to over 3,000 metres (9,800 ft) in the Entoto Mountains to the north (AACA, 2000).

According to the population projection figures made by CSA in 2012, the total population of Addis Ababa in 2013 is 3,103,673, of whom 1,478,890 are men and 1,624,783 are women (CSA, 2012: 41). Although all Ethiopian ethnic groups are represented in Addis Ababa due to its position as capital of the country, the largest groups include the Amhara (47.04%), Oromo (19.51%), Gurage (16.34%), Tigrean (6.18%), Silt'e (2.94%), and Gamo (1.68%). Languages spoken include Amharic (71.0%), Oromiffa (10.7%), Gurage (8.37%), Tigrinya (3.60%), Silt'e (1.82%) and Gamo (1.03%) (CSA, 2007: 86).

The religion with the most believers in Addis Ababa is the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewhado* with 74.7% of the population, while 16.2% are Muslim, 7.77% Protestant, and 0.48% Catholic (CSA,2007: 116). Since other religions are not the main focus of this research, I mainly emphasize on Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahdo* Churches which are administered by the Addis Ababa Diocese Secretariat (AADS). According to the information obtained from AADS, there are one hundred sixty two Orthodox *Tewahdo* Churches in Addis Ababa. These churches are engaged in various developmental activities such as social support, health, and other activities which are important to the society. Therefore, this study describes the socioeconomic role of Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in Addis Ababa.

1.6. Scope of the Study

In order to make the study more manageable in terms of the writer's aim and interests, available time, finance and facilities, attempt has been made to delimit the scope and dimensions of the study with regards to the topical scope –breadth and depth, area to be covered, respondents to be studied, and issues to be analyzed.

This study is confined to study the socioeconomic roles of religion with a particular reference to Ethiopian orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in Addis Ababa. Issues to be analyzed in this study are delimited to the roles of EOTCs on social support, social interaction, and health as well as the current trends of religiosity among Orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa.

In relation to the geographical areas to be covered, this research is confined with the limit of five selected Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in Addis Ababa. These Churches are:

1. St. Mary Church
2. St. Urael Church
3. St. Ledeta Church
4. St. Raguel Church and
5. Holy Trinity Cathedral

Before I decided to select the above churches, I have conducted a preliminary survey in some Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches which are easily accessible to me. This gave me a chance to have some kind of informal conversation with laities of EOTC. I asked laities to tell me name of churches which are closely related to socioeconomic life of the people. This helped me to get preliminary information about EOTCs in Addis Ababa. Based on the information I get from my informal conversation and my previous knowledge, I have selected the aforementioned churches. I select those churches using some criteria such as convenience, prior knowledge to the churches etc. Here, though five churches are selected as the main research sites, I also collect data from other EOTCs such as St. Gabriel Church and *Madehanialem* Church. Besides, I also collect data from the Addis Ababa Diocese Secretariats.

As far as the respondents are concerned, this research covers all informants including, laities, priests, deacons, Sunday school students, theology students and officials of the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in Addis Ababa. But this study gives a profound attention to laities and religious leaders who are serving in those churches which are selected as research sites.

1.7. Limitation of the Study

It is possible to say that all researches are not free from any kind of limitations. The difference is on the methods that researchers used to minimize those limitations. I have faced some challenges while I conduct this research. Lack of prior research studies which are related to the topic I am interested in was the first limitation of this study.

The other constraint was the difficulty to access informants. It was difficult for me to meet religious leaders and officials of the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches for interview. In

the beginning of the research, I was planning to interview managers of EOTC in Addis Ababa which are selected as a sample. But it was difficult to meet them due to various reasons such as they were frequently on a meeting. To solve this problem, I decided to extend the time in which I first planned to finish the research. By doing this, I was able to meet some church officials.

To conduct a detail research work, a great deal of financial resource is needed for various purposes. Lack of adequate budget was one constraint to carry out this research.

Chapter Two

Epistemology, Theoretical Perspective, Methodology and Methods of the Research

There is an interrelationship between the theoretical stance adopted by the researcher, the methodology and methods used, and the researcher's view of the epistemology (Gray, 2004: 16). In other words, the choice of methods, methodology, theoretical perspectives adopted by the researcher and the researcher's epistemological stance are influenced by one another. Therefore, a researcher is expected to explain the epistemological, theoretical and methodological aspects of his/her research so that he/she could draw a clear picture for readers about the nature of his/her research.

2.1. Epistemology

Having an epistemological perspective is important for several reasons. First, it can help to clarify issues of research design. Secondly, knowledge of research philosophy will help the researcher to recognize which designs will work or not work for a given set of objectives (Gray, 2004: 17).

Epistemology furnishes a philosophical background for deciding what kinds of cognition are legitimate and adequate (Gray, 2004: 16). There are three positions in epistemology; objectivist epistemology, constructivist epistemology and subjectivist epistemology. Objectivist epistemology holds that reality exists independently of consciousness. As a result research is about discovering this objective truth. In contrast, constructivism argues that truth and meaning do not exist in some external world, but are created by the subject's interactions with the world. Meaning is constructed not discovered, so subjects construct their own meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomenon (Gray, 2004: 17). In contrast to constructivism, for subjectivism, meaning does not emerge from the interplay between the subject and the outside world, but is imposed on the object by the subject. Subjects do construct meaning, but do so from within collective unconsciousness, from dreams, from religious beliefs, etc (Gray, 2004: 17).

The epistemological stance that a researcher uses may differ based on the issue being researched. I used constructivism as the epistemological stance of this research because religion is a socially constructed behavior.

2.2. Theoretical Perspective

Of the different theoretical perspectives available, interpretivism is mostly linked to the epistemological stance of constructivism. Interpretivism looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world. It asserts that natural reality and social realities are different and therefore require different kinds of method. While the natural sciences are looking for consistencies in the data in order to deduce ‘laws’, the social sciences often deal with the actions of the individual. According to interpretivists, researches in the social science have to focus on exactly those aspects that are unique, individual and qualitative (Gray, 2004: 20). This research is, therefore, done using interpretivists theoretical perspective and it is mainly based on interpretation of the data obtained from the respondents.

2.3. Methodology

“Research methodology is a way to systematically solve the research problem. It may be understood as a science of studying how research is done scientifically” (Kothari, 2004: 5). A researcher may adopt different steps and approaches in studying his/her research problem along with the logic behind them (Kothari, 2004: 8). The choice of research methodology is determined by a combination of several factors – for example, whether the researcher believes that there is some sort of external ‘truth’ out there that needs discovering, or whether the task of research is to explore people’s multiple perspectives in natural field settings. It is influenced, then, by whether the research is inclined towards a positivist, interpretivist, or other perspective. It will also be influenced, for example, by the researcher’s attitude towards the ways in which she or he thinks theory should be used – whether research should begin with a theoretical model or perspective (deductive approach) or whether such models should emerge from the data itself (inductively) (Gray, 2004: 25).

I adopted a phenomenological research methodology for this research. Phenomenology holds that any attempt to understand social reality has to be grounded in people’s experiences of that social reality (Gray, 2004: 21). One of the advantages of phenomenology is that, because of its

emphasis on the inductive collection of large amounts of data, it is more likely to pick up factors that were not part of the original research focus. It is also capable of producing ‘thick descriptions’ of people’s experiences or perspectives within their natural settings. But it is often based upon quite small case studies giving rise to concerns about its generalizability to other situations (Gray, 2004: 28). I preferred phenomenological research methodology because this methodology is more suited to provide me with the answers to the research questions that I am interested in.

2.4. Data Collection Methods

I began the task of data collection after I defined the research problem and chalked out the research design. I used both primary and secondary data sources. The primary data are those which are collected afresh and for the first time, and thus happen to be original in character. The secondary data, on the other hand, are those which have already been collected by someone else (Kothari, 2004: 95). The different methods of data collections employed in this research are described below.

2.4.1. Primary Methods of Data Collection

There are several methods of collecting primary data, particularly in descriptive researches. In descriptive researches it is common to collect primary data either through observation or through direct communication with participants in one form or another or through personal interviews (Kothari, 2004: 95). I used in-depth interview, FGD, and observation methods to obtain primary data.

In-depth Interviews:

An interview is a conversation between people in which one person has the role of researcher. Interviewing may pose challenges because of human interaction between the interviewer and respondent (Gray, 2004: 2133). The interview method of collecting data involves presentation of oral-verbal stimuli and reply in terms of oral-verbal responses (Kothari, 2004: 97). In-depth interviews are those interviews that are designed to discover underlying motives and desires. Such interviews are held to explore needs, desires and feelings of respondents. In other words, they aim to elicit unconscious and also other types of material relating especially to personality dynamics and motivations (Kothari, 2004: 110).

There are a number of situations in which the interview is the most logical research technique. If the objective of the research, for example, is largely exploratory, involving, say, the examination of feelings or attitudes, then interviews may be the best approach. The use of semi-structured interviews also allows the researcher to ‘probe’ for more detailed responses where the respondents are asked to clarify what they have said. This phenomenological approach, then, is concerned with the meanings that people ascribe to phenomena. Interviews are also useful where it is likely that people may enjoy talking about their work rather than filling in questionnaires. An interview allows them an opportunity to reflect on events without having to commit them in writing, often because they feel the information may be confidential (Gray, 2004: 214).

I interviewed 12 key informants who are supposed to have a better understanding of the subject. In order to select these informants, I just go to the administrative office of churches which are selected as a research sites. Then I explain to them about the objectives of my research and asked them to provide me the names of individuals who are supposed to have detail knowledge about the issue. By using this technique I interviewed three individuals from Addis Ababa Diocese Secretariat, and the remaining nine informants are composed of priests, deacons and preachers who are serving in the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches. This does not mean that laities are not included in any of the interview sessions. Rather laities are participated on other forms of interviews and informal conversations though they are not interviewed as a key-informant.

From the twelve key informant interviews I have conducted, nine of them were tape recorded, whereas the three interviews from the Addis Ababa diocese Secretariat are not tape recorded because informants were not willing to be recorded. Each interview lasted between one and half and two hours.

I used interviewing to collect data on the socioeconomic role of EOTC. In other words, using interview methods I was able to get vital information on the role of the Church on social support and health.

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs):

Focus group discussion was the other method used in this research to collect data. The FGD is composed of a group of people who willingly come together to discuss over some issues raised by the researcher. In the discussion, the researcher acts as a moderator by asking relevant

questions, manages diversions from the central topic and controlling 'break away conversations' (Dawson, 2007: 30-31).

I employed this method to explore how Orthodox Christians do understand religiosity and the current trends of religiosity in Addis Ababa. This method is also employed to explore the effects of EOTC on the social and interpersonal relationships of laities. I conducted three focus group discussions with a member of eight participants for each discussion. Participants for discussion were selected purposefully by taking into consideration variables such as social responsibilities gender, and age. Members for group discussion are selected from similar background i.e. that is to mean participants in a focus group were more or less homogeneous in terms of their background. In the first FGD, students from theology colleges of EOTC were included. Eight individuals were participated in this session. These participants were selected from students of Holy Trinity Theological College. The college has two programs: Diploma and Degree programs. Considering this, I selected a number of 4 students from each program. Though I tried to consider gender in the selection process, all participants in this session were male because it is rare to find females in theological colleges. In the second FGD, members from the laities of EOTC are included. A number of four males and four females were included. These participants were selected based on their interest and willingness to take part in the discussion. And the third FGD was conducted with a collection of individuals who are members of Sunday schools. A number of five females and three males were included in this session. I selected those participants by making announcements among people who came to attend Sunday school lessons. Though many Sunday school students were interested to participate in the discussion, I only select eight of them based on their age and gender.

In the whole three FGDs, I used different equipment like tape recorder, spare batteries, note books and pens.

Observation:

The observation method is the most commonly used method especially in studies relating to behavioral sciences (Kothari, 2004: 96). I employed this method in order to eliminate subjective bias, and to understand what is currently happening in the Orthodox Christian churches. I conducted a structured type of observation. It is to mean that before I began to conduct the

observation I identified the units to be observed, the style of recording the observed information, and the selection of pertinent data of observation. I employed both participatory and non-participatory type of observation. In the non-participatory observation system, I emphasized on observing how groups behave and interact with each other while attending in religious lessons.

I conducted a participatory observation to understand how peoples' participation in religious activities, such as preaching conferences and lessons in Sunday Schools affects the nature of social interaction among Orthodox Christians. I employed this method, therefore, with the aim to understand the nature of religious teachings in the Church and their effects on social interaction.

2.4.2. Secondary Sources

Secondary data means data that are already available i.e., they refer to the data which have already been collected and analyzed by someone else. When the researcher utilizes secondary data, then he/she has to look into various sources from where they can obtain them. Secondary data may either be published or unpublished data (Kothari, 2004: 111).

Regardless of the scarcity of sufficient literature, I attempted to review different reports, publications, journals, internet data, and other research works related to the study. The data collected through such methods were interpreted through qualitative methods of analysis.

2.5. Data Analysis and Interpretation

What is analysis and interpretation in the first place? In his book *Research Methods in Anthropology; Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (2006) Bernard states;

Analysis is the search for patterns in data and for ideas that help explain why those patterns are there in the first place. The way I see it, analysis is ultimately all qualitative. It starts before you collect data—you have to have some ideas about what you're going to study—and it continues throughout any research effort. As you develop ideas, you test them against your observations: Your observations may then modify your ideas, which then need to be tested again, and so on. Don't look for closure in the process. If you're doing it right, it never stops..... And Interpretation—telling us what findings mean, linking your findings to the findings of other research—starts with ideas in your head and comes out in words on paper. It's a pretty qualitative exercise (Bernard, 2006: 453).

From the above explanation, one can understand that the task of analyzing and interpreting qualitative data is not an easy task because the nature of qualitative data is characteristically described as voluminous, unstructured, and unwieldy (Bryman and Burgess, 1994: 216).

Qualitative researchers used different approaches to analyze their data. I used an interpretative approach of data analysis. First, the data collected through interviews and observations were transcribed into written text for analysis. As well as field notes were collected into text. Next, the data were arranged into different categories based on their themes. And I began to sort the data by these categories, identifying similar phrases, patterns, relationships, and commonalities or disparities. Then the task of interpreting the data was started.

As Berg (2001: 239) explains how one interprets a qualitative text depends in part on the theoretical orientation taken by the researcher. Therefore, my interpretation was highly depended on the phenomenological, which is one strand of interpretivism, theoretical perspective. Accordingly, I just focus and name themes in texts. Then I start to tell the story, as I see it, of how the themes are related to one another and how characteristics of the speaker or speakers account for the existence of certain themes and the absence of others. As it is stated by Berg phenomenologically oriented researcher might, instead, attempt to uncover or capture the essence of an account. This approach provides a means for discovering the practical understandings of meanings and actions. Researchers with a more general interpretative are likely to organize or reduce data in order to uncover patterns of human activity, action, and meaning (2001: 239).

2.6. Research Ethics

Social scientists, perhaps to a greater extent than the average citizen, have an ethical obligation to their colleagues, their study population, and the larger society. The reason for this is that social scientists delve into the social lives of other human beings. From such excursions into private social lives, various policies, practices, and even laws may result (Berg, 2001: 39). I tried to consider some ethical issues in this study.

I prepared an informed consent form to obtain consent of individuals to participate as an exercise of their choice, free from any element of fraud, deceit, duress, or similar unfair

inducement or manipulation. In this consent form the potential risk and benefit, and the effect that these risks and benefits have been explained. Before I began collecting information, I considered the relevance and usefulness of the research I am undertaking and I was able to convince the research participants. This is because I thought that if I cannot justify the relevance of the research I am conducting, I am wasting my informants' time, which is unethical. Beside the above I also prevented myself from providing incentives like money to the respondents for the information they share with me because I believe that this is like buying information. In general, I tried to be ethical by minimizing any risks to participants such as discomfort, anxiety, harassment, invasion of privacy, or demeaning or dehumanizing procedures.

Chapter Three

Related Literature Review

3.1. On the Definitions of Religion

Scholars do not agree on the idea of what religion actually mean. Some go so far to question whether there is anything at all distinctive about religions. As a result, formulating a definition of “religion” that can command wide assent has proven to be an extremely difficult task (Harrison, 2006: 133). However, many books in the study of religion attempt to give one precise definition for what the very essence of religion stands for under a specific context. In the interest of making the discussion, on the definitions of religion, I shall start with Harrison’s classification of the three types of definition of religion. In his article *the Pragmatics of Defining Religion in a Multi-Cultural World* (2006: 133), Harrison identified three types of the definition of religion: intellectual definitions, affective definitions and functional definitions. I found Harrison’s typology helpful to make a brief and insightful discussion on what religion mean. In the following sections, therefore, I briefly discusses on the concept of religion using Harrison’s typology.

The intellectual definitions stipulate that the defining, or essential, feature of religion is belief about a particular sort of object (Harrison, 2006: 134). The best example of this type is Tylor’s definition of religion. In his book *Primitive Culture* (1871), Tylor define religion as a belief in spiritual beings. Controlling and affecting these spiritual entities could help to control and manipulate reality (Hamilton, 2001: 29). This kind of defining religion based on spiritual beings is also observed in the works of Frazer, who describe religion as “a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life” (Frazer, 1922: 53b). For Frazer, religion has two elements; a theoretical and a practical. The theoretical element of religion refers to one’s belief in powers higher than man, whereas the practical element of religion is an attempt to propitiate or please them (ibid). Though the intellectual definitions highlight something important about religions, they take no account of equally prominent features of religion. For example, they fail to recognize, the centrality of “religious” emotions like piety, the importance of faith, and the key role of traditional practices (Harrison, 2006: 134). A further problem, as Harrison argued, is that the intellectual definition of religion in terms of beliefs which has a particular relation to objects may lead to regard some well-

known religions such as Hinduism as non-religious (ibid). Furthermore, Hamilton, in His book *the Sociology of Religion* (2001) also argues that “the intellectualist’s claims were not based upon sound evidence but were largely conjectural” (Hamilton, 2001: 31). From this, one can understand that the intellectual definitions of are inadequate in many aspects and they are not sufficient enough to explain religion in today’s multi-cultural world. Therefore, let us see Harrison’s second category in the definitions of religion i.e. the affective definitions.

Affective or emotionalist definitions of religion, regard faith as the defining, or essential, features of religion (Harrison, 2006: 135). In other words, they consider religion as a matter of emotional or affective state of mind, rather than intellectual curiosity (Hamilton, 2001: 55). Malinowski, though he considers himself as a functionalist, was among the prominent anthropologists who provide affective definitions of religion. In his book *Magic, Science and Religion* (1948), Malinowski argues that “Religion, like that of magic is arise of emotional stress, such as crises of life, lacunae in important pursuits, death and initiation into tribal mysteries, unhappy love and unsatisfied hate” (Malinowski, 1948: 67). For him, religion is used as a means to escape from emotional stresses. For instance, in interpreting the ceremonial of death, which he considers it as ‘a par excellence religious act’, Malinowski argued:

The call to religion arises out of an individual crisis, the death which threatens man or woman. Never does an individual need the comfort of belief and ritual so much as in the sacrament of the viaticum, in the last comforts given to him at the final stage of his life's journey. These acts are directed against the overwhelming fear, against the corroding doubt. These acts confirm his hope that there is a hereafter, that it is not worse than present life; indeed, better. All the ritual expresses that belief, that emotional attitude which the dying man requires, which is the greatest comfort he can have in his supreme conflict. And this affirmation has behind it weight of numbers and the pomp of solemn ritual (Malinowski, 1948: 42).

According to Malinowski’s explanation the whole conduct of the group in the ceremonial of death expresses the hope of salvation and immortality which is one among the conflicting emotions of the individual (Malinowski, 1948: 42). He argued that “religious faith establishes, fixes, and enhances all valuable mental attitudes, such as reverence for tradition, harmony with environment, courage and confidence in the struggle with difficulties and at the prospect of death” (ibid: 69). It is undeniable fact that the affective definitions provide a pivotal contribution to the anthropological understanding of religion by emphasizing on emotion, which was

neglected by intellectualists. However, like that of the intellectual definitions, it did not escape from criticisms. Evans-Pritchard, in his work *Theories of Primitive Religion* (1865), for example, sees the affective/emotionalist's explanation of religion as problematic. He argued:

If we were to classify and explain social behavior by supposed psychological states, we would indeed get some strange results. If religion characterized by the emotion of fear, then a man fleeing in terror from a charging buffalo might be said to be performing a religious act and if magic is characterized by its cathartic function; then a medical practitioner who relieves a patient's anxiety, on entirely clinical grounds, might be said to be performing a magical one (Evans-Pritchard, 1965: 44).

In other words, what Evans-Pritchard argued is that affective or emotional definitions fail to answer questions like what makes some emotional states 'religious'? And what kind of emotion is said to be non-religious. As a result, Evans-Pritchard considers the affective/emotionalists work towards religion as 'guesswork' and the conclusions made in this theory were not supported by strong evidences (Evans-Pritchard, 1965: 43). Such kind of criticisms against the affective definitions of religion brings us to the third type of definition of religion i.e. functional definitions.

Functional definitions focus on the function of religion as its defining and essential feature (Harrison, 2006: 137). Ortner's definition can be included in this category. In her book *Sherpas through their Rituals* (1978), Ortner defined religion as "a meta system that solves problems of meaning generated in large part by the social order, by grounding that order within a theoretically ultimate reality within which those problems will "make sense" (Ortner, 1978: 152). Ortner states that the role of religion as a sociocultural system can be seen in two ways. In one hand, it is a means to solve some problems of a society. On the other hand, religion creates some problems to the society. She takes the *Sherpas* religion to support her argument. "The Sherpa religion is a source of complex feelings and moods that are disturbing in other areas of life, and it also renders people cooperative and mutually supportive" (Ortner, 1978: 152). Such attempt to understand religion in terms of its function is also found in other prominent scholars like Durkheim. Durkheim spoke a great deal on the function of religion. In *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1915), he specifically defines "a religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden-beliefs and

practices which united in one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them” (Durkheim, 1915: 47). According to Durkheim, any religion was not false. He argues that “all religions are true in their own fashion; all answer to the given conditions of human experience” (Ibid: 3). The main point of Durkheim’s argument is that religion is socially constructed and it functioned at an individual and social level to keep society in check, assist in social control, and provide individual meaning for each person’s life. I believe that the functional definitions, like that of Durkheim and Ortner, are crucial to understand the significant roles religion play in human societies. Here, it is implausible to hold that all religions serve the same function (Harrison, 2006: 137).

I shall clarify to readers that that Harrison’s typology of the intellectual, affective and functional definitions of religion, is not a universally accepted scheme because there are scholars who propose a definition of religion which is distinct from the intellectual, affective and functional definitions. For example, Clifford Geertz proposed a symbolic approach of defining religion. Unlike the aforementioned definitions, Geertz provides a more influential explanation about religion. He analyzed religion as a cultural system. According to Geertz:

A religion is: (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic (Geertz, 1973: 90).

Religion is important for anthropologists, according to Geertz, because it serves for individuals and groups as a source of distinctive conception of the world, the self, and the relations between them He termed this role as “model of aspect” (Geertz, 1973: 123). The other reason which makes religion as an important aspect for anthropologists is that “it is a source of rooted, no less distinctive mental dispositions” (ibid:.). These cultural functions help religion to have psychological and social functions. He stated:

Religious concepts spread beyond their specifically metaphysical contexts to provide a framework of general ideas in terms of which a wide range of experience-intellectual, emotional, moral- can be given meaningful form.....and religious beliefs are also a template. They do not merely interpret social and psychological

processes in cosmic terms- in which case they would be philosophical, not religious- but they shape them (Geertz, 1973: 123-124).

For Geertz, the anthropological study of religion is a two stage operation. First, religion is proper due to the existence of symbols and these symbols have a system of meanings. Therefore, anthropologists should emphasize on analyzing the system of meanings embodied in symbols. Second, anthropologists should analyze the relations of those systems of meanings to the social-structural and psychological processes (Geertz, 1973: 125). This is due to Geertz's argument that "without having a theoretical analysis of symbolic action, it is not possible to cope effectively with the aspects of social and psychological life in which religion plays a determinant role" (ibid :). The symbolic approach of religion given by Geertz is strong in its attempt to bring together a wide range of important concepts in anthropological discussions of religion. But it did not escape from some criticisms. In critics to this approach, Asad stated that "an attempt to approach religion by questioning about the social meanings of doctrine and practice and the psychological effects of symbols and rituals is not correct" (1983: 252). For Asad, any approach towards religion should begin by asking the historical conditions necessary for the existence of particular religious practices and discourses. In other words, great emphasis should be given to the crucial dimensions of power in religion, which is omitted in Geertz's work (Asad, 1983: 237).

Though a quite large number of definitions are given to religion, it is still hard to find a universally accepted meaning of it because the various definitions emphasize certain aspects of the phenomenon or betray the theoretical orientations of their authors (Eller 2007: 7). I shall, therefore, conclude this discussion by Eller's arguments that it is a waste of time to adjudicate between definitions of religion because there is no 'true' definition. Anthropologists, therefore, shall mark out an approach of religion that distinguishes it from other human endeavors and thought systems and yet connects it to them (Eller, 2007: 8).

3.2. The Roles of Religion in Society

Religion is a fundamental aspect of human society. It can influence the social, economic and even political aspects of human society. This is because religion offers prescriptions for social order, individual behavior, and collective action. All religious traditions give expression to the relationship between what are acknowledged and understood to be the most compelling objectives of human life and day-to-day conduct (Capps, 1987: 8461). Though it is true that

religion influences the human society, it has to be understood that the religions of the world can be distinguished from each other in terms of the attitudes toward society that they prescribe and honor (Capps, 1987: 8461). In other words, the role religion played is varied not only from one society to another but also from one religion to the other.

Though religion has various functions to society, in this section, I only review some of its roles such as health and social support, which has relevance to the objectives of this thesis.

3.1.1. Religion and Health

The relationship between religion and health has cycled between cooperation and antagonism throughout history. In the ancient times, some of the most advanced civilization equated physical illness with evil spirits and demonic possessions, and treatment was aimed at banishing these spirits (Lee and Newberg, 2005: 443). This leads physicians, scientists, and health care providers to have divergent views about the role of religion on health. Their view of religion ranges from interest to disinterest to disdain (ibid:).

Though there is controversy on religion's role on health care, it is undeniable fact that religion is influencing health (either positively or negatively) in different parts of the world. For instance, in their study entitled *Religion's Role in Promoting Health and reducing Risks among American Youth (1998)*, Wallace and Forman states that "religious youth in America are less likely to engage in behaviors that compromise their health, such as carrying weapons, getting into fights, drinking, and driving, smoking" (Wallace and Forman, 1998: 721). That means religion makes youth to behave in ways that enhance their health. Besides this protective role, religion also enhances mental health by making people more optimistic and faithful (Rumun, 2014: 38).

Like other parts of the world, throughout Africa there is a widespread supposition that people in need of healing include not only those with obvious physical ailments, but also those who are suffering from vaguer problems that in clinical medicine might be diagnosed as psychological problems, including stress or depression. In Africa, both illness and healing are generally viewed as holistic in nature, requiring attention to the spiritual as well as physical aspects of a person. For this reason, religion plays an important role in health care in Africa generally (Ellis and Ter Haar, 2004: 45–7).

In the case of Ethiopia, religion has a long last relation to health. For instance, in the prehistoric culture, the mixture of herbal potion together with religious ritual and magic like formulas were part of all healing practices. Most of the herbal remedies are interrelated to Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity religious practices. In addition to herbal remedies, priests of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church always taking the cross where ever they go and bless the people is usual here and they give massage over the disease-affected part with the cross (Ragunathen and Solomon, 2009: 178). “With the help of incantation, priest convert ordinary water to holy water, they spill it over the patients, and they enchantment spiritual words to drive away the evil spirit from the people those who suffered by evil attack” (Ibid: ,).

From the above discussion, religion’s role in promoting health can be expressed in two ways. (1) Religious institutions help modern clinical health care by protecting people from behavior that may risk their health. (2) The religious institutions may play the role of hospitals by providing various forms of spiritual healings. This study is mainly focusing on the second issue and it emphasized on describing the spiritual healing practices of the Ethiopian Orthodox Churches in Addis Ababa.

3.1.2. Religion and Social Support

Social support may be broadly defined as an “emotional, informational or practical assistance from significant others, such as family members, friends, or coworkers etc., and that support actually maybe received from others or simply perceived to be available when needed” (Thoits, 2010: S46). Therefore, when we say the role of religion on social support, it is to mean that the emotional, informational and material support that individual’s gain from religion.

The role of religion on social support cannot be understood by relying on a single research because researchers may emphasize on one aspect of social support while ignoring the other. For instance, Krause et. al. (2001) studied the emotional aspects of social support in religious setting and ignores the material aspect of it. In his work *Church-based Social Support and Religious Coping (2001)*, he identified three basic dimensions of social support in religious setting (Krause et. al., 2001: 639-640). The first dimension is emotional support from church members. In relation to this, Krause used two indicators: feeling of love and care between members of the same congregation, and the tendency to

talk private problems and concerns for fellow members. By using those indicators, he argued that religion influences social support because it leads individuals to offer emotional support to their fellow members (Krause et. al., 2001: 644). The second dimension is spiritual support from church members. Members of the same congregation helped each other to live according to their religious beliefs and to know God better. Besides, fellow parishioners share their own religious experience with others. The third dimension is emotional support from the clergy/pastor. In this respect, pastors are concerned about the private problem and wellbeing of followers (Krause et. Al., 2001: 644-45). Krause's explanation is not enough to fully understand the role of religion on social support because he was only emphasized on the emotional aspect and ignore the material aspect of social support in religious settings.

In another vein, Levy and Razin (2011) stated that the role of religion in social support can be seen in terms of two major components: spiritual and material component. The spiritual component arises as religious individuals behave more cooperatively, which, given their beliefs, will bring about good fortune in the future. Only religious individuals can be motivated by the spiritual payoff as only they can potentially believe that cooperation yields rewards (Levy and Razin, 2011: 4). The material benefit of religion is that religious individuals enjoy a higher level of cooperation in social interactions. Similarly, Gaduh (2012) also shows the association between religion and social support. He found that religiosity is associated with a higher willingness to help and trust of individuals within one's own community, but not with the trust of strangers. He also argues that religiosity is associated with more religious discrimination and negatively associated with tolerance (Gaduh, 2011: 1-2). In this sense, religion is linked to parochial altruism, which is altruism towards members of one' own groups combined with hostility towards members of the out-groups.

To sum up, most researches in the link between religion and social support shows that religion is positively associated with social support. In fact, there are scholars like Darley and Batson (1973) who argues that religion did not significantly increase helping behavior and social support. Here, we have to keep in mind that the role religion plays on social support may differ from one religion to another because religions of the world may be distinguished from each on the basis of their interpretations of social support. Therefore, it is crucial to study what roles did a “specific religion” plays to a “particular society”.

Chapter Four

Religiosity and its Present condition in Addis Ababa

What is religiosity in the first place? What makes someone more religious than others? It is crucial to ask such questions before a researcher starts to analyze other things related to religiosity. As Hoffmann (2012: 818) stated “the definition and measurement of religiosity involves deeper, conceptual issues”. Researchers have not reached a consensus regarding definitions of religiosity and many offer definitions that are confusing and ambiguous. This chapter, therefore, tries to analyze how Orthodox Christians understand religiosity. What are the measurements that Orthodox Christians used to consider someone as religious? In addition, an attempt is made to show the present condition of religiosity and factors behind the religiosity of Orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa. Here, I shall remind that this chapter did not explain the “non-religiosity” of Orthodox Christians because I believe that studying “non-religiosity is beyond the scope of my thesis.

There is a need to analyze the above issues because in one way or another, individuals’ perception towards religiosity and the current trends of religiosity may have their own effect on the socioeconomic role of Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches (EOTC) in Addis Ababa.

4.1. The Understanding of Orthodox Christians towards Religiosity

The understanding of people toward a certain concept is varied and divergent since humans brain is not something which is biologically programmed to think in the same way or to perceive something similarly all the time. Our perception towards a certain phenomenon may depend on the types of religions that we belong to. Adherents, not only of different religious denominations but also of the same religion, may have different perception and understanding towards a certain idea. I found that there is a difference in the way Orthodox Christians perceive religiosity.

Orthodox Christians’ perception towards religiosity can be categorized in two major ways. (1) Religiosity is defined by religious knowledge. (2) Religiosity for Orthodox Christians is understood in terms of religious practices.

4.1.1. Religiosity in terms of Religious Knowledge

There are Orthodox Christians who measure religiosity in terms of religious knowledge. For them, a person is said to be religious if he/she is intellectually unconstrained with the doctrine of the Church. That means without having the doctrinaire learning about the fundamental teachings, law, and moral code of one's own monotheism, there is no religiousness. According to this view, religiosity is decided as one's knowledge about the Bible. This is due to people's perception that any kind of action will not persist for far-reaching period if practitioners' failed to know the theoretical or doctrinal values of their agency/religion. Sinishaw, laity of EOTC, said:

If you see the current pious practices of Orthodox Christians, you can easily understand that pietism is nothing without religious knowledge. Laities sometimes act against the proposition of the church. This is due to lack of cognition concerning the teachings of their own religion. Therefore, expertness piety without holy cognition is not religiosity.

According to the above statement religiosity is originally determined by one's theological knowledge about his/her religion. In this sense, any fit practice/behavior may not be considered as religious unless it is done as result of religious knowledge concerning the felicity of the practice.

4.1.2. Religiosity in terms of Religious Practice

In this recognition, religiosity is understood as up observable religious practices. Orthodox Christians raised variegated issues in tale to religious practice and religiosity. My informant Ato Sentayehu¹, said:

Religiosity is having a great consciousness and respect for God. If someone admires his/her God regardless of what occur to him/her life that is devoutness or religiosity. People may have an in depth knowledge about the Bible. They may know the Bible page by page or chapter by chapter. But if they do not show their doctrine almost to the people and if they didn't admire their God spiritfully, that is not religiousness.

According to the above narrative, respect for God is used as a determining factor of religiosity. This conception seems to me more speculative than practical. I raised a question to my informants about how we know whether a particular person respects his /her God or not. During

¹ Key informant from St. Mary Church

my discussions with Sunday school students, I gain answers for my question. There are different noteworthy behaviors that may help to distinguish whether or not an individual really respects his/her God. Some observable behaviors that help to know one's respect for God are forgiveness, belief, and serving others. As established by participants², "If you like and consider human beings, it is weigh as you respect your God".

There are also other concepts raised by Sunday school students while they define religiousness such as praying, proselyte and fidelity to devotional teachings. Some laities also stated that religiousness is a day to day prayer to our God. Whether it is at tenement chapel or in the Church, praying is a defining factor of devoutness. Others also define religiosity in terms of distribution in proselyte experiences such as preaching.

Beside the above, Orthodox Christians also define devoutness as being active in religious holidays, rituals, predication conferences and holy trip to other denomination found in the countryside. This indicates that though Orthodox Christians observe religiosity in stipulation of devotional practices, their understandings varied on what type of Godly practice or doing is considered as religious. Therefore, it is crucial to find out the definite measurements of religiosity for Orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa.

4.2. Measurements of Religiosity for Orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa

What makes someone more religious than others or what are the measurements that are used to determine one's religiousness? The answer for this question may deviate from religion to religion, person to person, time to time or from place to place. Church attendances, adherence to a particular religion, religious service and occupations, and religious donations as well as private Godly devotions are among the measures Orthodox Christians used to know one's religiosity.

4.2.1. Church Attendance

Church attendance is taken as one of the measurements of religiosity. In this view, those who are frequently attending in the religious lessons of EOTC are more religious than others. Advocate

² Sunday school students

of this idea state that one's religiousness in the Orthodox *Tewahedo* Church is determined by the steady of retinue in religious teachings such as preaching conferences, and *Awude Mehert*³ or land of mercy. This is due to the belief that devotional attendance has the ability to teach individuals how to lead their life strictly, how to combine and feed peacefully with others.

Orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa are mostly interested in church retinue during devotional holiday. In the EOTC, each day of a month is assigned to mention saints and angels. For example, the 19th day of the month is the date of St. Gabriel, 12th for St. Michael, 23rd for St. George etc. Due to this, the number of devout attendants in an Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Church is determined by the date and the name of the sainting it imply for. I observed, for instance, how the numbers of Orthodox Christians who are attending congregation on the 19th day of the month differ from one Church to another.



Figure 1: Church attendants of *Medhanialem Church in Lebu* (left) and *St. Gabriel Church in Gofa* (right) on the 19th day of the month

As it is shown in the above two pictures, in the 19th day of the month the number of attendants in St. Gabriel Church is greater than that of *Medihaniyalem Church*. Even I observed those individuals who are dwelling near to St. *Medhanialem Church* go to St. Gabriel Church.

In general, church attendance is taken as one of the measurements of religiosity among Orthodox Christian though individuals' attendance to a particular Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Church is influenced by many factors such as religious holidays.

³ *Awude Miheret* is a spiritual teaching program in which most Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches propose it in the mornings.

4.2.2. Religious Adherence

Religious adherence is taken as one of the measurements of religiosity for Orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa. Orthodox Christians' knowledge towards religious adherence is various. Their understandings can be categorized into two: Adherence to EOTC and Adherence to any religious institution. In the first category, a person is mentioned to be religious if he/she is adherent of the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Church. During my informal conversation with Church attendants in Holy Trinity Cathedral, Ato Tsegaye stated that "I cannot examine anyone religious except he/she is following the EOTC".

On the second category, any person can be said religious if he/she follows a particular religion. Whether it is Orthodox Christianity, Protestantism, Catholicism, Islam or any other, an individual should have a religion to follow in order to be considered as a religious person. During my conversations with followers of EOTC at St. Mary or *Mariam* Church, Yohannes states that;

I am the follower of Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church. But I do not go to Church commonly. If someone asks me concerning my religiousness, I will say that I am religious because I am a follower of a particular theism i.e Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church.

Measuring religiosity in terms of adherence to any religion contradicts with the concept of taking religious attendance as measurements of religiosity. In conditions of adherence to any monotheism, all human beings, other than atheists, may be considered as religious, whereas in terms of religious attendance, religiosity is only disposed to those who are actively attending Church and who have a particular religion to follow.

4.2.3. Religious Service and Occupation

There are individuals who state that neither Church attention nor religious adherence should be used to measure religiosity. For them, religiosity is measured by the extent of individual's association in providing religious services. Some of the religious services in which laities of EOTC participated include organizing and participating in spiritual trips to different churches outside of Addis Ababa, organizing and advertising evangelization conferences, and teaching in Sunday schools.



Figure 2: Poster of preaching conference organized by Preachers of EOTC

In other words, those laities who are consecrating their time by supplying religious services to their Church are more religious than others. This indicates that the more you benefit your church, the more you become religious than others. In this sense, priests, deacons, preachers, and spiritual singers whose occupation is more or less dependent on their religion are considered as more religious than others. In relation to this, Mekonnen, official at AADS, stated;

Religiosity, for me, is making your living to depend on your religion like priests, religious teachers, and deacons. This does not mean that laities should not engage in any kind of occupation. Laities should primarily do religious occupations, and in their time after religious occupation, they may engage in any other works. Without religious occupation, there is no religiosity in general and religious person in particular.

Here, it is true that religious teachers and priests earn their livelihood from the work they are doing. However, the services they provide greater compared to amount of income they gain from their church. That is why they considered as religious. Today, there are many individuals who employed and obtain salary from the EOTC. In fact, there are also individuals who are voluntarily serving the church without having any kind of payment. When people are getting more interested in religious occupations, the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches may broaden their engagement in developmental activities in order to fulfill the interest of their laities.

4.2.4. Private Religious Devotions

There are people who argue that there is no need of Church attention or furnish Church-supported services in order to be said religious. For them, religiosity should be measured by one's private religious devotion. Private religious devotion might be expressed in many ways.

As part of my religious devotion, I feast street children and elderly people on the 16th day of the month. Due to this I consider myself as religious (Trualem⁴).

I always read the Holy Bible after I get back from workplace. Besides I also read books, articles, and other holy manuscripts of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. So, I can say that I am religious because I devote certain part of my life to religion (Natmael).

Taking the above statements, it is possible to say that if a person devote a certain part of his/her life time for religion, it is likely to consider him/her as Godly and religious. In other words, private religious devotion can be considered as the measurement of religiosity for some Orthodox Christians.

4.2.5. Religious Donations

A priest from St. Raguel Church states that “religiosity should be measured by one's interest to present for his/her congregation. The more you donate, the more you become holy”. Orthodox Christians bestow to their religion from benefaction cents to constructing churches in different areas of the city. These Godly donations are commonly preferred by the EOTC in many ways. For instance, it is common to see boxes or what they call *Mudaye Metsewat*⁵ of EOTC in churches, cafes, restaurants, and hotels of Addis Ababa.

⁴ Trualem is a laity of Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church.

⁵ *Mudaye Metsewat* is a box which is used to collect money from laities of EOTC



Figure 3: *Mudaye Metsewat (a box used to collect money from laities of EOTC)*

Perceiving religiosity in terms of religious donation has a greater importance for the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches to function as an independent organization. It is known that the purpose of most religious organizations is mainly related to piety. Religious organizations try to make their members to devote their time for religious purpose. According to Ewaran (2010: 4) people can contribute two things for religion; time and money. When people devote their time for religion, its importance is spiritual whereas donating money is advantageous for the organization. Money has a greater value for the survival of a certain religion as an independent organization. Currently, it is difficult to teach spiritual lessons without having sufficient amount of money though people devote their time to religious activities. Therefore, developing individuals' perception toward religiosity in terms of religious donation helps the EOTC to generate high amount of income from laities.

Laities of EOTC donate money to their religion in many forms such as in the form of vow or what they call *Selet*⁶, *Asrat*⁷ and *Mudaye Metsuwat*. In relation to this, Gebreeyesus, a priest from St. Arael Church states:

St. Arael Church generates income from laities in many ways such as vow, Asrat, and Mudaye Metsuwat. We gather an average of 348, 298 ETB per month in the form of vow, 60, 000 ETB from Asrat and 350, 000 from Mudaye Metsuwat. That indicate a

⁶*Selet* is a kind of gift from laities to Orthodox Churches, and it is given when people feel that God helps them to achieve something good in their life.

⁷ *Asrat* is a payment in which Orthodox Christians are expected to pay one tenth of his/her income to EOTC.

sum of 758, 298 ETB is collected from laities per month. These kinds of religious gift play a greater role in intensifying our denomination's fellowship in variegated developmental activities. In addition to learning the moral/ethical values of EOTC, laities should increase the extent of their religiosity by providing different kinds of donations to their church.

Gebreeyesus's narrative manifests to the fact that donations by Orthodox Christians in the form of vow, *Asrat*, and *Mudaye Metsewat* helps the EOTC to become financially viable.

Like St. Arael Church, the same is true in other Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches. For instance, according to the data I obtained from church officials in the EOTC, St. Ledeta Mariam, St. Mary, St. Raguael and Holy Trinity Churches are among those churches that collect hundreds of thousands of Birr in a month from laities of EOTC in the form of Vow, *Asrat*, and *Mudaye Metsewat*. Each of the mentioned Church collect an average of 476, 000 ETB in a month. This financial strength will last as long as the number of Orthodox Christians who see religiosity in terms of religious donations is increasing from time to time.

4.3. Religiosity of Orthodox Christians: Present Condition

The trend of people's religiousness and attachments to their religious institutions varies from time to time. As I tried to explain in the above sections, religiosity is distinguished and measured in many ways. Church attendance, religious adherence, religious service attendance and occupation, religious donation, and private religious devotions are the major measurements of religiosity for Orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa. Therefore, it is crucial to consider such measurements while someone explains about the present condition of religiosity of Orthodox Christians in the city.

Two major arguments are forwarded by different groups about the current state of religiosity of Orthodox Christians and their communication to the EOTC. First, there are religious leaders who argue that the religiosity of Orthodox Christians is increasing from time to time. Ato Abebe, who is a preacher in St. Ledeta Mariam Church, states:

Currently, followers of our Church are highly inspired. They build their cognizance concerning EOTC through unremitting readings. I think this is admirable. Since there

is religious competition, our laities needs well qualified and knowledgeable evangelists. In fact, our church loses many of its followers. However, the remaining laities of EOTC are cogent believers. By the support of those stout believers, our Church is able to spread its developmental activities, and the salary of priests and other employees in the Church is increasing from time to time. Therefore, I can say that the current religiosity of Orthodox Christians is greater than the past.

In the second group, there are individuals who believe that the religiosity of Orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa is diminishing from time to time. Basic questions are raised by this group such as what is being religiosity after all? Is it nearly having large number of adherents? Or is it about having followers who mind the fundamental teachings and principles of their religion? In answering these questions Ato Girmay, who is working in the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Church Houses and Buildings Administration Office, states:

For me religiousness is being constant to the teachings of God. As you know the teachings of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church is directly derived from the Bible. There are Ten Commandments of God. No one of us is constant to those commandments. If we say that our current laities are more religious than before, why alcoholism, murder and other social problems are spreading in the city? Even in terms of number, the adherents of Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church in Addis Ababa are decreasing from time to time. To prove this, it is enough to compare the percentage of Orthodox Christians in the 1994 and 2007 Population and Housing Census Reports (PHCR) of the Ethiopian Central Statistical Agency (ECSA).

I found Girmay's arguments more convincing. In the 1994 Population and housing Census Reports (PHCR) of CSA, the major religions having greater percentage of followers in Addis Ababa are 82% Orthodox Christians, 12.6 % Muslims, and 3.8% Protestants. This percentage is changed during the 2007 PHCR; 74% Orthodox Christians, 16.2% Muslims, and 7.7% Protestants. That means compared to the 1994 HPCR, other than Muslims and Protestants, the percentage of adherents of EOTC has decreased by 8% in the 2007 PHCR. Therefore, it is possible to argue that in terms of religious adherence, religiosity among Orthodox Christians is showing a decreasing trend from time to time. This does not mean that the number of Orthodox Christians in the City is decreased, rather it is to mean that the growth of percentage of adherents has showing a decreasing trend compared to other religions.

In fact, individuals correlate various grounds in relation to the diminishing of the percentage of adherents of EOTC in Addis Ababa. Some Sunday school students argue that the greater ground for the diminishing of followers of EOTC is related to proselytizing which spring from the administering problems of the Church. Ato Yosef, a preacher in Holy Trinity Cathedral, states that;

Though there are different factors that lead Orthodox Christians to change their religion, the major reason is lack of good governance in the EOTC. The religious leaders, especially the administrative staff of the church are not good models. If you go to Addis Ababa Diocese Secretariat (AADS), you may see many priests who came from the countryside, in the main gate of the diocese. Officials do not allow those priests to enter into the diocese. I even saw keepers of the diocese hit priests who came from different churches. Keepers did this because they are ordered to do so. The improper behavior of officials in the diocese may lead our laities to have a negative attitude towards EOTC. Since laities feel that they will not learn anything from such kind of religious leaders, they may proselytize in to another religion.

The above argument by Ato Yosef is not accepted by officials of AADS. For example, Mr. Gashachew, official from Addis Ababa Diocese Secretariat, states:

If people feel that the current administration of AADS is doubtful, they have to cooperate with other followers to solve the problem rather than joining another religion. What people should learn is that since we are human beings, we may do much wrong stuff. We have to copy what the minister teaches rather than what he is doing. St. Paul states that our belief is not relied on human beings. Besides, people should know that there are good religious leaders in our Church. You know, Judah was among the apostles of Jesus Christ. But the product of Judah does not delineate other Apostles. Likewise there are individuals who could do much wrong stuff in EOTC.

It is difficult to find single evidence about the current state of devoutness of Orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa because individuals' response to the question whether religiosity is increasing or not is determined by the way they understood religiousness. However, it is likely to say one thing concerning the present condition of religiosity in Orthodox Christianity: it is different from the previous experiences due to various factors. Some of these factors are discussed below.

4.4. Factors Behind the Religiosity of Orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa

Currently, religiosity among the adherents of EOTC in Addis Ababa is different from the past. There are various factors for the present condition of religiosity of Orthodox Christians. I identified three major factors behind the change in the religiosity of Orthodox Christians. These are: religious competition, proselyte, and application of electronics media for spiritual teachings. All these three factors are not only interrelated to each other but they are also related to other factors such as economic factors and materialism.

4.4.1. Religious Competition and Proselyte

Addis Ababa is the home of diverse religions such as Orthodox Christianity, Islam, Protestantism, and Catholicism are the major religion with many followers in the city. Leaders of those religious institutions undertake different activities to increase their religious communities. They did this at the expense of other religions. This is currently observed in the works of religious leaders which are published in the form of pamphlets, books, CDs, and cassettes.

The following picture taken from the cover page of a book can be a good example of how religious leaders try to increase their adherents at the expense of others. The book is entitled “From being extremist Muslim to Christianity”. It narrates about the story of a person named Nahed Mohamed Mutewali, who changed his religion from Islam to Christianity.

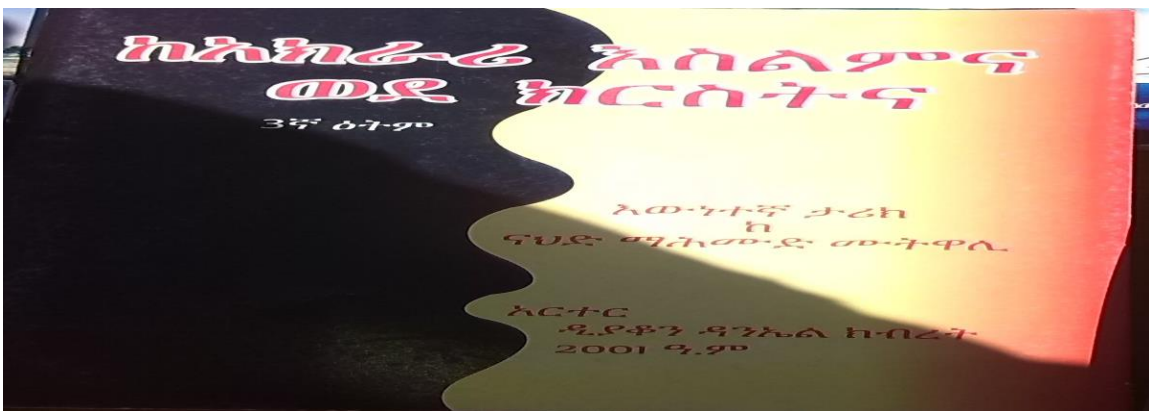


Figure 4: A book entitled “From Being Extremist Muslim in to Christianity”

It is obvious that in the past the EOTC was considered as the state religion. Religious competition was not a burning issue to the leaders of EOTC. It was not hard to find many

adherents to the Church without conducting aggressive religious education. This is because previously religion was inherited from family. If the families of a child are followers of Orthodox Christianity, the child is more likely to be an Orthodox Christian. On the contrary, it is common now-a-days to observe a single family whose members are adherents of different religion. This change is the result of religious competition between various religions.

Leaders of other religious institutions become more active than the EOTC in promoting the beliefs, values and practices of their religion to the public. This indirectly influences the EOTC to change its methods of religious educations with achieving two major goals; to grow its religious communities, and to protect its followers from being proselytized into another religion. However, these goals are mainly achieved at the expense of others and by influencing the norms and values of other religions. To prove this, it is enough to attend one preaching conference or to read some books or listen and watch some audio/video CDs published by religious leaders of the EOTC. The following picture is a best example for this. I take the picture from the cover of preaching CD which is published by Mehiretab Assefa, one of the religious teachers in the EOTC. This CD is published to give a response to the preaching of Dawit Molalign, who is a pastor in the Protestant Church. In other words, this CD is published to make know the public how the teaching of Protestantism is wrong.



Figure 5: A CD Published by an Orthodox religious teacher in response to a pastor's preaching. It is entitled "Protestants' Jihad against EOTC".

I asked one preacher from EOTC why religious leaders preach in a way that will lead to religious conflict. His answer was directly related to the issue of religious competition and proselytizing. He said:

Leaders of other religions especially pastors are blaming our religion as traditional and backward. They transmit this message in most of their works. This has resulted to religious proselytizing. Some of our followers become proselytized to Protestantism. Therefore, to solve this problem what we have done first is to teach our followers about how Protestants are disbelievers. We teach them about the beliefs, values and practices of our own religion.

From the above statement one can see that there is greater competition between Protestants and Orthodox Christians in fear of religious proselytizing. This creates religious division in the society. It is obvious that the more religiously divided a society is, the more likely that religion can be used to fuel social conflict. As Dowd (2014: 155-156) says:

It is important to recognize that differences between distinct world religions, and between denominations within world religions, have been used to fuel social conflict. In some societies conflict has been as or more intense between people of different denominations within the same religions than between people of distinctive world religions such as Protestant and Catholics.

Dowd's argument can be used to explain the current religious competition and difference between Orthodox Christians and followers of Protestantism. This kind of tendency to increase adherents of one's own religion at the expense of others may lead to conflict.

4.4.2. Applying Electronic Media for Spiritual Teachings

In most parts of the world religiosity was commonly associated with rural dwellers. The involvement of religious institutions in the day to day life of urban dwellers was minimal compared to country sides. This was common in most cities of Ethiopia. Contrary to past experiences, Addis Ababa is currently becoming a center of religious activities. The use of electronic media for the purpose of religious teaching changes the nature of religiosity among Orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa. In past experiences, laities were expected to go to nearby churches to learn spiritual lessons of the EOTC. This condition presently seems changed due to the use of different electronic media. Spiritual preaching, songs, and religious lessons which are believed to teach laities about the dogmas and canons of EOTC are available in the form of CDs, cassettes, and books.

I found that the application of electronic media for providing spiritual lessons is becoming an area of competition and controversy within followers of the same religion, i.e., EOTC. As I stated before, the issue of religious proselytizing leads the EOTC to expand its teachings in a very competitive way. This competition does not only exist between different denominations but also there is greater competition and differences among religious leaders and laities of EOTC on the nature and methods of spiritual teachings and lessons. There is a high controversy on the issue of preaching and spiritual songs, and books. For instance, there is disagreement between two groups of EOTC on the issue of published Orthodox spiritual songs. One group claims the published spiritual songs of the other group as against the dogma of the Church, and vice versa. But this issue is not the responsibility of both groups. Rather there is a legitimized body under EOTC which is called *Yeliqawent Gubaye*⁸. This body evaluates the work of spiritual singers and decides whether or not it fulfills the *Yaredawi Zema*⁹. Though the procedure is like this, the aforementioned groups blame one another. Mostly members of those two groups do not provide their works to the *Yelegawent Gubaye*.

The above kind of controversies between followers of the same religion can be understood in two ways. Firstly, it enables Orthodox Christians to understand and enhance their religious knowledge from various angles. It also makes laities to be concerned about the religion and to increase their religiosity in terms of religious attachment. Besides, spiritual lessons, using electronic media helps EOTC to generate greater income by increasing laities' awareness about the importance of paying one tenth of their income to their religious affiliation. Secondly, it increases the demanding of religious materials, songs, and books. That means the controversial issue of the Church becomes a best thematic area for business. Thousands of books and spiritual songs are published and distributed to readers. Here, we have to understand that the preachers, singers or writers are the suppliers of religious services. They will distort the message of religion in a manner that would be beneficial to them.

⁸ *Yeliqawent Gubaye* is a legitimate body of EOTC which is established to protect and preserve the teachings of the Church.

⁹ *Yaredawi Zema* means melody of St. Yared.

Some laities¹⁰ argue that “the progress of the spiritual songs industry is greater than that of the music industry in Addis Ababa”. This has many critics from religious leaders and laities, and the question of what is sacred and what is profane if religion is used as a means to generate income is raised. I believe that this kind of critics against doing business by publishing and distributing religious lessons has originated from the teaching of the Bible which says “It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God” {Matthew, 19:24}. In other words, laities may assume that publishing and advertising religious lessons with the purpose of gaining greater money is not appropriate because it is against the teaching of the Bible.

The application of electronic media to transmit spiritual lessons is currently progressing. As a result of this, unlike past experiences, new activities began to emerge in relation to the religiosity of Orthodox Christians such as the competitive nature of distribution of religious songs and preaching to laities is a current phenomenon.

To sum up this chapter, religiosity is a broad concept that can be perceived differently not only from religion to religion, but also within followers of the same religious denomination. Orthodox Christians understand religiosity in ways that are linked to religious knowledge and practice in general, and they understand religiosity in terms of church attendance, religious adherence, religious donations and other related issues in particular. Based on their perception to religiosity, people try to explain whether or not the religiosity of Orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa is increasing. Though it is difficult to find a single complete argument about the present condition of religiosity, it is possible to argue that it is different from past experiences. Religious competition, religious proselytizing, and the application of electronic media for spiritual lessons are among the major factors that contribute to the change in the religiosity of Orthodox Christians. All these issues, directly or indirectly, may relate to the socioeconomic roles of EOTC which will be discussed in the next chapters of this thesis.

¹⁰ I conducted informal conversations with laities in St. Raguuel Church on 23 June 2014. Mariyamawit, Tsegareda, Gebregziabehar and Mulluken are laities who participated in the informal conversation.

Chapter Five

The Role of EOTC on Social Support and Social Interaction

This chapter deals with the role of EOTC on social support and interaction. It is obvious that a number of different dimensions can be included under the broader concept of social support. It is difficult to analyse all those dimensions in a single study. Therefore, for the purpose of this chapter, social support is mainly defined as the visible supports in which the EOTCs provide to the people. And social interaction is defined as the interpersonal relationships that are affected by the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches. Here, this chapter also tries to describe some challenges in relation to the role of EOTCs on social support and interaction.

5.1. The Role of EOTC on Social Support

It is common for most religions to provide support for those who are helpless and poor. Like other religious institutions, the EOTC has been engaged in the provision of social support. According to Ato Mullugeta, who is one of my key informants in St. Raguel, the source of support in the EOTC is derived from the teaching of the Holy Bible. He stated:

Providing social support is not optional for the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church. It is mandatory for the Church to provide support and charity services because supporting others is advocated in the teachings of the Holy Bible. You may look at the most widely used Gospels of Christianity such as Matthew 25: 35-40¹¹ and Luke 14:13-14¹².

Following the teaching of the Holy Bible, the EOTC provides various forms of social support to the society. The social support from the Church ranges from emotional support for laities to

¹¹ Mathew 25: 35-40 says that “then the King will say to those on his right, ‘Come, you who are blessed by my Father; take your inheritance, the kingdom prepared for you since the creation of the world. For I was hungry and you gave me something to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you invited me in, I needed clothes and you clothed me, I was sick and you looked after me, I was in prison and you came to visit me. Then the righteous will answer him, ‘Lord, when did we see you hungry and feed you, or thirsty and give you something to drink? When did we see you a stranger and invite you in or needing clothes and clothe you? When did we see you sick or in prison and go to visit you? The King will reply, ‘I tell you the truth, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did for me.’”

¹² Luke 14: 14-15 says that “but when you give a reception, invite the poor, the crippled, the lame, the blind, and you will be blessed, since they do not have the means to repay you; for you will be repaid at the resurrection of the righteous”.

charitable services for marginalized groups such as elderly people, orphans, and disable individuals.

The emotional support by the Church is observed when laities encounter problems in their life. Priests of the Church are the main provider of emotional support to laities. There is/was old tradition in the EOTC which promotes every laity or family to have his/her own spiritual advisors. This spiritual advisor is a priest or what they call *Neseha Abat*/father confessor. The main role of father confessor is to provide counseling for laities about their spiritual life. Though this is true, the role of *Neseha Abat* is beyond providing spiritual supports to laities. They provide emotional supports when a certain problem occurs to an individual or one's family life. In relation to this, Genet, Sunday school student at St. Raguael Church, expresses:

Whenever a problem happens to my life, I prefer to tell the situation to my Neseha Abat. I always get advisory service, and the advices make me feel emotionally strong and help me to get relief. For instance, I had lost my parents in the year 2003 E.C, and it was too hard for me to think life without them. Consequently, though that didn't work out, I attempted to commit suicide. At that time, my Neseha Abat, was the only one who always used to visit and assist me. He advised me to pray for my parents rather than crying. He usually said to me "do not feel lonely because the Son of St. Mary is always living with victimized individuals like you". Gradually, I recovered from the deepest sorrow through the help of my Neseha Abat.

From the above statement, it would be possible to say that priests in the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Church have a considerable role in helping individuals with tackling different psychological problems. Besides providing emotional support for laities, the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches have been providing tangible social supports, such as provision of food and clothing.

5.1.1. Provision of Food

These days, especially in the capital city, Addis Ababa, it is common to see little children, elders, and other helpless individuals who lie down on the street and beg money to fulfill their basic needs. In relation to the subject under discussion, Ethiopian Orthodox Churches in the city play their roles in providing food for those starved individuals. Though churches give food services, I have found their participation was low on the scene, and still they could not meet one's

expectation as an institution. In most churches, I have observed that food delivery was given in unorganized manner.

As far as the food provision is concerned, I have tried to explore the experiences of St. Raguel Church. Ato Mullugeta, one of my key informants, explained to me the trends in the church. He said:

St. Raguel Church provides food for helpless individuals every week. All the time we used to deliver it in the form of feasting. Every Friday, there is a lunch program in our Church. Any starved individual, regardless of his/her religion, is invited to attend the lunch. In fact, the role of Church in this area might be minimal when it is compared with the population who do not afford their daily meals, but the Church tries to use its maximum effort to broaden its role on the issue.

St. Raguel church use different ways to collect food which would be rationed to the marginalized group such as beggars, street children, and elderly people. The church mostly used leftover foods from nearby hotels and restaurants to meal starved individuals. Sometimes, the Church provides food which is leftover from the rituals of *Kerestina*¹³ and *Tesekar*¹⁴. Another way of helping these people is, the Church by itself buys *Injera* and organize volunteers so that they can cook *Wet/soup*. Like St.Raguel Church, other Orthodox Churches such as St.Ledeta, St.Aurael, St. Merry, and Trinity Cathedral Churches provide food in the same manner for those who are in need of alms.

In addition to the church's service, an Orthodox Christian as part of his/her religious devotion provides food in many ways. *Yetsewa Maheber*¹⁵ is one way in which Orthodox Christians organize in group to feed the poor in the name of God. A group of Orthodox Christians collect together and prepare a kind of feasting. This feasting is called by the name of one of the saints such as St. Gabriel *Maheber*, St. Michel *Mahber* or St. George *Mahber*. According to laities¹⁶,

¹³ *Keristena* is the dedication of children to God by bringing them to the Church on the 40th (for a male child) and 80th (for female child) date after birth for baptism.

¹⁴ *Teskar* is a ritual which is organized to remember a deceased person.

¹⁵ *Yetsewa Mahber* is a union which is established to provide alms and to remember saints and angels.

¹⁶ W/ro Semu and Wezero Tsedale are laities of EOTC.

the primary purpose of establishing *Yetsewa Maheber* is to feed those individuals who have nothing to eat. But these days this notion was not vividly applicable by most *Yetsewa Mahebers*. This is due to lack of awareness about the primary purpose of establishing *Yetsewa Maheber*. In relation to this, Weyzero Semu, Laity of EOTC, said:

I am a member of St. Gabriel Maheber, which has eight members. Every member takes a turn to prepare feasting program on the 19th day of the month. However, the guests invited to this program are from a well to do class of the society. In other words, poor people are not mostly invited to our Maheber. This, I think, is lack of knowledge about the very purpose of the gathering. During my turn, however, I invite those individuals that need the societies' attention to make a living.

From the above statement, one may understand that Orthodox Christians establish *Mahebers* with the aim of feeding the poor though there is a difference among Orthodox Christians in understanding the purpose of *Maheber*. Some Orthodox Christians establish *Maheber* to provide food for the poor and practically invited orphans, disable people, and elderly during the feasting program, whereas others use *Yetsewa Mahber* as a means to feast one other, which contradicts with its primary aim.

5.1.2. Provision of Clothing

Just like food, shelter and other necessities, cloth is one of the most crucial needs of human beings. The EOTC participates in the provision of clothes for the poor. The contribution of Orthodox Churches in providing clothing can be expressed in two ways. In one way, the church collects clothes of individuals who have passed away, and distributes it to the orphans, the elderly, and other helpless persons. The clothes of deceased persons are voluntarily donated to the Church by relatives. On the other hand, the Church has taught its laities about the spiritual benefit of providing clothing for those who do not have. This kind of teaching influences laities of EOTC to share their clothes to the poor. During my observation at St. Arael Church, I had the chance to attend in the *Awude Miheret*. I arrived while a preacher teaches about the importance of providing clothes to the poor. He says “If you have two clothes, you shall share one of it to those who have nothing to wear”. This kind of spiritual teachings in the Orthodox

Churches likely promotes the participation of laities in providing clothes to the poor. In relation to this, Ato Yalalem¹⁷, said:

My living is depending on begging. I always beg around Orthodox Churches because I believe that people who attend in Churches are more generous than other. As you saw me, I am poorly clothed. I dressed dirty and badly smelt clothes. In fact, these clothes were not dirty when I get them from alms givers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church. Though sometimes I get newly clothes from laities, most of the time laities give me the cloths of their deceased relatives.

The above statement shows that Churches are places where helpless individuals get their clothes from laities. In support with this argument, W/ro Semu stated:

I am follower of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Though it is hard to be loyal to each and every teaching of the Church, I always tried to follow some values and principles of the church such as helping others. I help people by providing clothes. However, I did not provide clothes directly to individuals who seek help. Rather I provide clothes to St. Raguel Church so that the Church will distribute it to helpless individuals.

As per my observation, I can conclude that the EOTCs have a role in the provision of clothing not in a direct way rather they indirectly force laities to provide clothes to those who have nothing to wear. In other words, Churches do not invest their money to buy clothes for the poor but they expect laities to do so.

5.2. The Role of EOTC on Social Interaction

Religion as a social institution has its own effect on the nature of interactions in a certain society. The teachings of religious organizations always could be understood in relation to the social life of the people. Any spiritual lesson from religious organizations has its own effect on the social life of religious attendants. I found that the teachings of Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in Addis Ababa had a role on the social interactions of individuals. Its role on social and interpersonal relations is manifested from family to local institutions.

¹⁷ Ato Yalalem is a laity of EOTC. I found him while he begs at St. Urael Church.

The Church's role on family starts as of the first day of marriage between spouses. It was/is a common tradition for Orthodox Christians to open their marriage with the blessing and praying of a priest from the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Church. For many years it was common for priest to forward messages to the groom and the bride to be respectful, faithful and honest to each other. This kind of lesson from a religious father may have its own impact in forming good and healthy family. Currently, the role of Orthodox Priests is beyond opening marriages with their blessings. Priests of EOTC are playing a great role in settling various kinds of conflicts at family level. Especially, when there is a conflict between a husband and a wife, the first person where the spouse chooses to solve their problem is a father confessor from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. In relation to this, Weyzero Zenebu, Laity of EOTC, stated:

Since we are human beings and have diversified interests, we may disagree with one another. Conflict may occur between a husband and his wife or a child and his/her parent. This kind of disagreement between members of a family may be solved by neighbours, close relatives or religious leaders. For instance, on the year 2011, I was in serious conflict with my husband due to a reason that I do not want to mention here. I did not allow anyone, except my Neseha Abat, to interfere in our family cases. Even I did not tell my neighbours and close relatives about the cause of the conflict. I first discuss with my Neseha Abat, who is serving at St. Mary Church, and explained the problem to him. Then, my Neseha Abat started to discuss with my husband. Finally, the quarrel had been resolved.

From Zenebu's statement, one can understand that religious fathers in the EOTC have a crucial role in solving conflicts between spouses. Even Orthodox Christians are more likely to share their secrets to religious fathers, like *Neseha Abats* than to their neighbours and relatives. The involvement of religious leaders of EOTCs in one's family is not only expressed in terms of promoting peaceful relations between members of a certain family. But sometimes the EOTC might understand as a cause to family disorder. Especially if a member of an Orthodox Christian family changes his/her religion to another, there could be a problem in family interaction. This problem is mainly result from the influence of priests or religious fathers in the EOTC. Wayzaro Melkam, laity of EOTC, explained to me about how religious fathers in the EOTC negatively affect the family interaction. She said:

As it is known, religion in our society is mostly inherited from families. For instance, since our parents are Orthodox Christians, we strictly adhere to their religion as

well. Though this was true until very recently, our elder brother deviated from this tradition by proselytize in to Protestantism. The Father confessor asked our brother to reconsider his decision. My brother, however, refused to do so. Due to this, my parents were ordered to stop any kind of relations to their son. Since my parents were illiterate, they stuck to what the “father confessor” ordered them to do.

Melkam’s statement vividly shows that, priests in the EOTC may negatively affect family interaction. This indicates that priests are promoting in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination. That means though religious fathers in the Church allow healthy interactions between its members, they are influencing laities to do not have any kind of interaction with people other than Orthodox Christians. In this case, priests of the Church have the ability to negatively affect the interaction within members of a family. In fact, such kind of actions by priests may not represent the EOTC as a whole. In relation to this, Deacon Geremew, a student in Holy Trinity Theological College, explained:

The EOTC do not teach its laities about neglecting others because it is against the doctrine and canon of the Church. However, there are some priests in the Church who teach laities to neglect people other than Orthodox Christians. This is because priests fear that laities would be more vulnerable to proselytization if they are allowed to interact with out-group members.

According to the above statement, priests are acting against the doctrine of the Church. It is not my intention to explore whether or not neglecting out-group members is the doctrine of the Church. However, as I tried to understand from my observations, I can say that the spiritual practices in the EOTC support neglecting out-group members. For example, religious fathers in the Church use offensive terms to refer followers of other religion. They used like *Menafek*/disbeliever to refer to followers of other religion.

The influence of EOTC at family based interaction might be broadening itself to the wider society. It is undeniable that members of the Church would like to establish close relations with individuals who are belonging to their particular religion. This influence has been clearly observed in the interaction of Orthodox Christians within local institutions like *Ekub*¹⁸. In relation to this, Ato Mehari, laity of EOTC, states:

¹⁸ *Ekub* is a local institution which can be established by two or more individuals for the purpose of saving

I have a greater social interaction with Orthodox Christians than followers of other religion. For instance, I prefer to be a member of Equb in which most of the members are followers of EOTC. Since Equb is mainly established based on trust, I do not trust followers of other religion. You know, even we may differ in the way we oath to keep our promises. I, as an Orthodox Christian, may swear in the name of St. Mary, whereas Muslims may swear in the name of Allah. So, should I have to trust someone who believes in something different from mine? No, I do not trust followers of other religion because our Church thought me that adherents of other religion are disbelievers.

Religious lessons in the EOTC have the ability to determine how and with whom people have to interact. Since laities learnt from their religious father that followers of other religion are disbelievers, they are less likely to interact with out-group members in local institutions like *Equb*.

Generally, the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches affect social interaction both positively and negatively. The Church promotes interaction between its followers, and, on the other hand, it has a negative impact on the relationship between Orthodox Christians and followers of other religion.

5.3. Challenges of EOTCs' and its Effect on Social Support

I do not find the EOTC's role on social support as I expected. As a religious institution that has millions of followers in the city, the Ethiopian Orthodox Churches role on helping marginalized groups like orphans, street children and elderly people should not be limited to the provision of food and clothes. I tried to discover the reasons behind the lower participation of EOTCs in social support program. Financial problem and corruption are among the major challenges that affect the Ethiopian Orthodox Churches participation on social support. Some people¹⁹ state that the Ethiopian Orthodox Churches in Addis Ababa do not provide tangible social support to the poor due to financial constraint. In relation to this, Ato Berihun, priest at St. Ledeta Mariam Church, states:

I believe that the participation of our church (St. Ledeta) in supporting helpless people is minimal. This did not result from our negligence or carelessness to the issue. Rather it is because of financial constraint. Annually, our Church has a cost of more than six million Birr. To cover these costs, the Church collects money from its

¹⁹ Ato Berihun (key informant at St. Ledeta Church) and Kesis Mulugeta (key informant at St. Raguael Church).

laities. And the money collected from laities is not enough to broaden the Church's participation in different charity services and developmental activities.

According to the above statement, the lower participation of St. Ledeta in social support resulted from financial problems. Likewise, Kesis Mulugeta, also states that the participation of EOTCs in social support is not big due to financial problem which has resulted from lack of religious devotions among laities. He described the issue by taking the case of St. Raguael Church.

Laities are not devoted to their religion especially in relation to Asrat²⁰. Most laities do not pay Asrat or one tenth of their income to the Church. This affects the Church's role in social support. You know the main income for our Church is generated from laities. In fact, our Church also tries to collect money from different sources. However, its income is minimum compared to the costs that the Church is expected to pay for different purposes such as for Addis Ababa Diocese Secretariat, employees of the Church, electricity, water and other purposes. This leads the Church to limit its participation in social support.

In contrast to the above statement, mentioning financial constraint as the reason for lower participation of churches on social support is not accepted by some informants like Ato Gebremedhin, official at Addis Ababa Diocese. He states:

It would not be acceptable to say that Ethiopian Orthodox Churches in the city encounters financial problem to participate in social support service. The major reason for lower participation of Ethiopian Orthodox Churches in the city is corruption rather than financial problem. Corruption is currently a common tradition in most churches. It is difficult for me to explain the case. In relation to this, you may refer a book entitled “የቤተ ክርስቲያን ፈተናዎች²¹ or Challenges of the Church” written by Ato Muhabaw Alemu.

In relation to the above statement, Ato Muhabaw on his book “የቤተ ክርስቲያን ፈተናዎች or Challenges of the Church (2003 E.C) describes:

The annual salary of all employees of St. Ledeta Church is 2, 377,778.00 Birr. This cost can be easily covered by the income generated through Mudaye Metsewat. However, a total of 3, 836 089.00 Birr is embezzled from Mudaye Metsewat in the

²⁰ Asrat is a payment in which Orthodox Christians give one tenth of their income to the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church

²¹ የቤተ ክርስቲያን ፈተናዎች or Challenges of the Church is a book which was written by Ato Muhabaw Alemu, who was/is serving at St. Ledeta Church. The book portrays about the main challenges of EOTC. Corruption, especially in relation to *Mudaye Metsewat*, is identified as the main challenge that negatively affects the EOTCs participation in the provision of social support services.

year 2003 E.C. From this, one can imagine how the Church loses greater amount of money. If the Church does not lose that money, its participation in social support will be greater. Because the embezzled money from the Church have the capacity to provide meals for nine thousand helpless individuals or it may enable the Church to create jobs for 320 persons with a monthly salary of one thousand Birr (Muhabaw, 2003: 50-51)²².

Ato Bereket, Priest at St. Arael Church, also agrees with the above description. He states:

*In the time of our fathers and mothers, the only thing that a person requested to get job in any Ethiopian Orthodox Church was *Qene Mewedes*²³. But today a person, who seeks job in the Church, is requested to give thousands of money for employers.*

This indicates that corruption is among the major factors that negatively affects the Church's participation on social support. Most of my informants²⁴, during the interview sessions, stated that there is no financial problem in most Ethiopian Orthodox Churches. Rather, there is a problem on financial management systems of EOTCs. This leads various Churches in the city to be embezzled by different persons. That embezzlement affects the Churches' participation in social support.

To sum up, the EOTCs have roles in social support and interaction, but their participation was low on the scene. Their participation is below what someone expects from a religious institution. In most churches social support is delivered in unorganized manner. Many reasons are mentioned behind the low participation of Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in providing social support and interaction. The major reasons are financial problem and corruption. Some argue that the participation of EOTCs on social support is not greater due to financial problem which resulted from lack of religious devotions among laities. In contrast, others argue that there is no financial constraint in the Church. For them, corruption is the major reason that hinders the Church participation on social support. This leads various Churches in the city to be embezzled

²² This quote is translated from its Amharic version to English.

²³ *Qene Mewedes* is the composition of poetry and it is presented orally. In order to compose a *Qene*, first a person has to know the Ge'ez vocabulary and grammar very well. Besides, a person must comment on passages of the Bible in a *Qene* for the feast of the day; or on the lives of saints for the feast of saints; he may also introduce moral precepts and even contemporary events.

²⁴ Ato Abebe (key informant from St. Ledeta Church), Ato Gadessa (key informant from St. Merry Church), Ato Bereket (key informant from St. Arael Church), and Ato Yosef (key informant from Holy Trinity Cathedral) are among those informants who argue that corruption is the main reason behind the lower participation of EOTCs in social support.

by different persons. That embezzlement affects the Churches' participation on social support. With all these challenges, churches are participating not only in the provision of social support and interaction but also in healthcare services. The next chapter deals with the role of EOTCs on the provision of healthcare services.

Chapter Six

The Role of EOTC in the Provision of Health Care Services

This chapter deals with the role of Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in the provision of healthcare services. It mainly emphasizes on describing how spiritual practices of the Church are used as a means of delivering health care services in Addis Ababa. Accordingly, the chapter primarily tries to explore the understanding of EOTC towards health. Then, it describes the spiritual healthcare services of the Church.

6.1. The EOTC's View Towards Health

There is an increasing recognition in today's world that there are significant links between religion and health though there is no consensus in what ways religion linked to health. Religion is usually taken as the institutionalization of shared beliefs and customary practices. This enables religion to integrate itself into a community's cultural life. Most religions have beliefs and practices relating to healthy living, illness and death (Rumun, 2014: 39). I believe that before someone tries to describe the role of a certain religion in health, it is crucial to understand how that religion understands health. This helps a researcher to clearly understand both the ideal and practical effects of religion on health.

The understanding of individuals on health and illness may be influenced by the tradition of the church to which they belong. That means the understanding of health vary from religion to religion. The Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Church views health in terms of the condition of body and soul. An Orthodox Christian is considered as healthy when both his/her body and/ soul are free from illness. That means, in the teaching of EOTC, health is not only related to the condition of body, but it is also related with the condition of the soul. A person's body may suffer with certain kind of illness whereas his/her soul is free from illness, and vice versa. Or illness may present in both a person's body and soul. The EOTC believes that illness of the body and soul may result from various reasons, and it can be treated in various ways. Illness of the soul is mainly related to evil spirits²⁵.

²⁵ Kesis Mullugeta, key informant from St. Raguel Church.

According to the teachings of EOTC, evil spirits are thought to enter a person's body during certain times of a day when a person is guilty of impure thoughts. These spirits are believed to be most likely to enter in a person's body during the nighttime, especially when a person is alone outside of his/her home. Besides, when individuals are polluted with thoughts which do not occur in the teaching of the Church, evil spirits may enter to the individual body and cause illness of the soul²⁶.

People who suffer from such kind of illness are advised to get treatment in the Church using spiritual practice such as *Tsebel* or holy water, *Keba Kidus* or holy oil, and *Emnet*²⁷. In this sense, the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Church is considered as hospital for soul. Though the Church is taken as a hospital for soul, the EOTC also believes in medical interventions in a hospital to treat illness in the body. That means the Church believes in both clinical and spiritual healing practices. In relation to this, Kesis Mulugeta, states:

The EOTC believes in both clinical and spiritual treatments. I heard some people saying that the EOTC do not recognize clinical health care services. This is not true. Our Church believes that our whole life is guided by God, and any kind of medical art, whether it is clinical or otherwise, has been granted to us by God. That means medical practitioners are considered administrators of God's healing, since all healing comes from God.

Though the Church recognizes both spiritual and clinical health care systems, I have found that its participation in clinical health care services is minimal. But the Church uses its spiritual practices as a means of providing health care services to laities. Of those spiritual practices in the EOTC, *Tsebel*, *Keba Kedus* and *Emnet* are most widely used as a means of delivering health care services in the city. These spiritual practices help the EOTC to perform healing. Here, one has to understand that it is difficult to prove whether or not people are protected and cured from illness as a result of those spiritual practices. Due to this, I prefer to explain what people say about the role of spiritual practices in healing and protecting them from illness.

6.2. Healing Through the Spiritual Practices of *Tsebel*

Tsebel is the most widely used mode of healing in the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches. It is not only used for the purpose of healing, but it is also used when the Church wants to bless anything. If fresh water runs around the compounds or near to the Church, it is considered as

²⁶ Kesis Mulugeta. Key informant interview.

²⁷ *Emnet* looks like dust but is holy and used for spiritual cleansing services by Orthodox Christians by priests.

holy. Besides this, other kind of water is considered as holy if it is blessed by a priest using the cross.

The spiritual practice of *Tsebel* in the Ethiopian Orthodox Churches has two basic roles which makes it to relate to health: its protective and healing role. The protective role of *Tseble* is observed mainly when it is used by individuals who are not suffering with diseases. Orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa used *Tsebel* to protect themselves from illness; mental or physical. By sprinkling *Tsebel* on the outside of the body or on the wall of their house, Orthodox Christians believe that they are being protected from diseases, illness or evil spirits. In relation to this, Tsegareda, laity of EOTC, states:

I strongly believe in Tsebel. It has the ability to protect people from any kind of illness. I do not only take Tsebel when I become ill rather I also take it to protect myself from illness. I personally take Tsebel in the form of drinking. And to protect my family members, I sprinkle Tseble on the wall of my house. I have to say that I am healthy both physically and psychologically because I usually take Tsebel from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. This may seem false for you or other individuals. But I have to tell you that no one will be cured by Tsebel unless he/she is heartfully believes in it.

The other role of the spiritual practice of *Tsebel* of EOTC is that, it is used to treat physical and mental illness. Treatments in the EOTC using *Tsebel* are typically administered once a day in the early morning to all patients who are present in the treatment. Patients treated using *Tseble* are required to take holy water for a minimum of seven days. Here, if a person is not cured by taking *Tseble* for one week, he/she may need to continue his/her treatment for one more week or even more if necessary²⁸.

Orthodox Christians believe that *Tsebel* can cure any ailment. There are Orthodox Christians who believe that *Tsebel* can cure diseases which do not have medicine in the clinical health care systems. Weyzero Wubealem, a laity whom I interview at St. Mary Church, said:

My health was in serious condition for many years. I tried to find solutions in the modern health care centers such as Betsega Hospital, Betezata Hospital and other

²⁸ Ato Gadessa. Key informant

higher health institutions. However, I could not find the appropriate medicine for my disease. Later my neighbors advised me to take a spiritual treatment in the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church by using Tsebel. Then, I began to take Tsebel in St. Mary Church. I took Tsebel for twenty one consecutive days. No, I am in good health condition.

The above statement affirms the fact that *Tsebel* may cure diseases that cannot be cured in the modern health care systems. In other words, patients who prefer spiritual healings cope better with their illness. Especially the spiritual practice of *Tsebel* is mostly used to heal individuals from mental illness. Orthodox Christians, who suffered from mental illness like depression and stress, usually take the holy water as the best mode of treatment to be cured²⁹. This is also proved in some researches such as Koenig and Adams (2008: 10) who stated that “patients who use religion to cope appear to cope better with their illness, if depression occurs they recover more quickly from depression because of greater adaptive capacities”.

Here, one may ask that why people prefer *Tsebel* for the treatment of mental illness? Is it because of lack of access to clinical health care services? Or is it because people find *Tsebel* more capable than clinical health care methods in treating mental illness? In an attempt to answer such questions, I have explored divergent views. Ato Hailu, laity of EOTC, states:

From my experience, I can say that people prefer to use Tsebel because of lack of access to modern health care services for mental illness. The number of individuals who are suffering with mental illness and the number of hospitals prepared to treat such kind of illnesses in Addis Ababa are incomparable. Only few Hospitals like Amanuael Hospital are offering treatments for mentally ill individuals.

According to the above statement lack of access to modern health care services for mental illness in the city is the major reason that lead people to prefer *Tsebel* as the appropriate way of treating mental illness. W/ro Azekrien, laity of EOTC, also states:

It is true that people choose Tsebel to treat their mental illness. This is not only because of lack of access to modern health care services. Rather it is also because of inability to afford the cost of clinical health care services for such diseases. You may require paying thousands of Birr to get treatment in health centers. Even if you pay thousands of Birr, you may not get proper treatment in the modern health care centers.

²⁹ Deacon Siefu. Key informant interview. St. Raguael Church

According to the above statement inability to afford the cost of clinical health care services and lack of proper treatment in modern health care centers are among the major reasons that lead people to prefer *Tsebel*.

As I tried to show in the above statements, individuals' reason to prefer Tsebel as the appropriate way of treatment for mental illness is in one way or another way related to modern health care services: (1) Lack of access to modern health care services for mental illness in the city, (2) inability to afford the cost of clinical health care services for such disease, (3) and lack of proper treatment in the modern health care systems. Different from these reasons, there is a major factor in relation to the issue under discussion i.e. the attitudes of Orthodox Christians about the causes of mental illness. Most Orthodox Christians believes that mental illness is caused by religious practitioners (what they call *Debeteras*) who control the evil spirit. They believe that *Debeteras* are able to make someone mentally ill through the skill they acquired from the EOTC. Therefore, seeking spiritual healing at the Church is the only method that helps a patient to recover from mental illness. I observed during my presence in St. Arael Church that people who are suffering mental illness are greater in number than those who are physically ill. I prove this from my observations and informal conversation with relatives of the patients. I asked relatives of patients about what makes them to bring patients to the Church, and most of their response is related to mental illness. For instance, Ato Habtamu³⁰, states:

My son was studying civil engineering at Arba Minch University. But suddenly he felt ill and could not pursue his education. His symptoms were much more similar with what I have witnessed from those who suffer from evil spirits. As such, I took him to St. Urael Church to have him baptize with holy water. I did not take him to any hospital because I believe that it is impossible to cure such type of illness by using biomedicines.

The above kind of statement is the result the teaching and views of EOTC towards illness. In relation to this, Lee and Newberg (2005: 454-55) stated that “religion may negatively impact health. Religious groups may directly oppose certain health-care interventions and convince patients that their ailments are due to noncompliance with religious doctrines rather than organic

³⁰ Ato Habetamu is a laity of EOTC. I found him at St. Arael Church with his son who is suffering from mental illness.

disease”. In other words, the EOTC’s teaching which says illness is caused by evil spirits, *and* that evil spirit may enter to individuals when they are polluted with thoughts which do not occur in the teaching of the Church may lead Orthodox Christians to feel that spiritual treatment is the only way to cure their mind from evil spirits. As a result, individuals may ignore clinical health care services, and they prefer to frequently go to Churches in seeking spiritual treatments.

6.3. Healing through the Spiritual Practices of Keba Kidus/Holy Oil

The other spiritual practice which is used by the EOTC as a mode of healing is *Keba Kedus*/Holy oil. Laities offer oil for the EOTC. The Church does not accept the all kinds of oils. Rather, religious officials, usually, priests, check whether or not the laities provide the right kind of oil. The right kind of oil is one which is found from olive trees. Compared to the spiritual practice of Tsebel, *Qeba Qidus* is rarely used as a mode of healing in Addis Ababa. This is due to the difficulty to get olive tree oils in the city. In relation to this, Kesis Mulugeta, elaborates:

Qeba Qidus is not used to heal any trivial sickness. Rather it is used at the time of severe sickness. Treatment of the sick using holy oil is one of the seven sacraments of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. During this sacrament, a priest marks the body of the sick person with holy oil, asking for divine grace to help cure the patient. The olive oils are mostly used in the rural Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Churches because it is difficult to access the right kind of Holy oil (olive oils) in cities.

Though it is difficult to provide healings to the wider population, some Churches in the City are providing spiritual healing using *Keba Kidus* for fewer individuals who suffered with severe sickness³¹.

6.4. Healing through the Spiritual Practices of Emnet

Emnet looks like dust but is holy and used for spiritual cleansing services by Orthodox Christians by priests. *Emnet* include a substance that is burnt to produce a sweet smell as part of a religious ceremony (incense ash) and soils in the Church. Priests of the EOTC collect ashes from the incense burned during service and they use it during healing rituals.

Emnet in the form of incense ash is used in two different ways. In the first way, individuals use

³¹ Kesis Mulugeta. Key informant interview

Emnet on their forehead to bless their life. In this sense, *Emnet* is taken in dry form. In the second way, *Emnet* is taken in a mixed form. That means an incense ash mixed with holy water can be ingested to cure oneself from illness. By taking this, Orthodox Christians believe that evils spirits living inside their body will be flushed out.

The necessity of *Emnet* can be seen during the Ethiopian Orthodox Holiday of *Meskel*, or the celebration of the true cross. This celebration is characterized by ample bonfires, in various religious locations around the city. After the bonfires have been diminished to ash, many Orthodox Christians go up to the ashes to bless themselves with it. Orthodox Christians also collect the ash and they put it in their home. And if they ever fall ill, they mix the ash with water. By mixing the ash with water and hang the bottle outside the front door to their home, Orthodox Christians believe that evil spirits cannot exist in and around their home.

6.5. When do Orthodox Christians Seek Spiritual Health Care Services?

As I tried to discuss in the above topics, Orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa get spiritual health care through the religious practices of *Tsebel*, *Keba Kidus* and *Emnet*. In common sense, it is believed that compared to rural dwellers, people in the city are less interested in spiritual health care services. In contrast to this, I found that many Orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa are beneficiaries of spiritual healthcare services though the way Orthodox Christians decide to get spiritual health care services vary. In relation to this, Ato Leyekun, a priest in St. Arael Church, states:

Many laities come to our church to get spiritual health care services. Some laities need the spiritual healings in our church when they are unable to find solutions after they get treated in hospitals or clinics. On the other hand, there are Orthodox Christians who come to get spiritual healings services before they go to modern health care centers. Though it is not commonly practiced, there are also small numbers of Orthodox Christians who prefer to get both modern and spiritual healthcare services.

From the above statement, Orthodox Christians who receive spiritual health care in the EOTC can be categorized into groups. In the first group, there are individuals who prefer spiritual healthcare to modern health care services. This group of people assumes that the disease has supernatural causes. Therefore, the diseases can only be cured by spiritual treatment in the

church than modern health care facilities. According to Leyekun, laities who frequently attend Church mostly prefer spiritual health care to the modern one. In the second group, there are Orthodox Christians who seek spiritual health care services after they get some kind of treatments in hospitals and unable to find solutions. In the third group, there are Orthodox Christians who seek both modern and spiritual healthcare. From these three groups, one can understand that people may seek spiritual healthcare services even though they have access to modern health care services.

Before closing this chapter, I would like to explain that healing through spiritual practices is currently becoming not only an alternative but also a common method of providing health care service in Addis Ababa. Like modern clinical health care, spiritual healings especially using *Tsebel* is currently considered as a formal way of health care services in the city. Even Orthodox Churches, like hospitals, write a sick leave to their patients who stay in the church in seeking spiritual treatments. Any governmental or nongovernmental organizations accept sick leaves from EOTCs in the city.

To sum up, though Ethiopian Orthodox Churches play a considerable role on health using the spiritual practices of *Tsebel*, *Keba Kedus*, and *Emnet*, their participation on promoting clinical health care services is minimal. I believe that EOTCs in the City has to give more emphasis on the area of clinical health care services by establishing different health care centers. This will help them to become a source of both spiritual and modern health care services as well as to start business.

Chapter Seven

Summary and Conclusion

The role of religion in society has been the subject of historians, psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists for many years. This thesis was set out to explore the socioeconomic roles of religion with a particular reference to the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in Addis Ababa. In accordance with the main objective, this thesis raised four basic questions: how do Orthodox Christians understand religiosity? What is the role of religion on the provision of social support? How does religion affect social interaction? What is the role of religion in the provision of health care? In the following paragraphs, therefore, I discussed how findings of the study answered those research questions raised at the introductory stage of the study.

The finding of this study was started by explaining the understanding of religiosity among Orthodox Christians. This is important due to two important reasons. (1) It is impossible to understand the role of religion in society, without having the meaning or defining measure of religiosity in that particular society. (2) The perception of individuals towards religiosity may influence the socioeconomic roles of religious institutions in the city. Findings reveal that religiosity is perceived by Orthodox Christians in terms of “religious knowledge” and “religious practice”. Religious knowledge is defined by one’s knowledge about the basic value, morals and principles of one’s own denomination as well as adhering to a certain belief system. And religious practice is correlated with church attendance, private religious devotion, religious donation, religious services etc. That means, like Frazer’s explanation on *the Golden Bough* (1922), the finding of this thesis indicate that religiosity has two major elements, “theoretical” and “practical”. For Frazer, the theoretical element of religion refers to one’s belief in powers higher than man, whereas the practical element of religion is an attempt to propitiate or please them (1922: 53b). By taking those two indicators; theoretical and practical religiosity; Orthodox Christians give divergent views about the present state of religiosity in the city. In other words, the response of an individual about the current state of religiosity is determined by how he/she defines religiosity. For instance, I found that people who perceive religiosity in terms of religious knowledge believe that there is a decreasing trend of religiosity in the city. In contrast, laities who used religious donations as a defining character of religiosity portrays that religiosity is increasing from time to time. Due to this divergent view, I found it difficult to establish a single

consummate argument about the present condition of religiosity. However, I can say that the nature of religiosity is not the same as it was in the past. This is due to various factors which include religious competition, religious proselytizing, and the application of electronics media for spiritual lessons. These three factors are related to each other. That means the presence of religious competition is the result of proselytizing activities in the city. And electronic media serves religious clergies as a tool to compete and gain more followers or to achieve proselytizing activities. Findings of this study shows that it is not a matter of being “religious” that leads people to competition and proselytizing. Rather it is a matter of using religiosity as a means to satisfy one’s profane life by earning greater income in the name of competition and proselyte.

The second research question which I tried to answer in this thesis was the role of Ethiopian Orthodox Churches in the provision of social supports to different groups. It has been the interest of sociologists, like Durkheim and Weber, to study church-based social supports. As Krause states, a number of different dimensions can be subsumed under the rubric of social support including social contact, received support, support provided to others, satisfaction, negative interaction , and anticipated support (2001: 639). This does not mean that all those dimensions of social support always exist in any church-based social supports. Rather certain churches may emphasize on certain aspects of social support and ignore the other. According to my findings, the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches are engaged in the emotional and tangible dimensions of social support. The emotional support is delivered through priests or “father confessors”. Father confessors provide counseling not only on the spiritual life of laities but they also concerned about the private problem and wellbeing of followers. Laities are also more likely to tell their private affairs to father confessors than anyone else. On the other hand, the Church also participates in some forms of tangible social supports such as provision of food and clothing. But I found that the Church’s participation in both the emotional and tangible dimensions of social support is minimal and it couldn’t meet what someone will expect from a religious institution. I asked why Orthodox Churches narrow their roles in the provision of social support. Many reasons are raised in relation to this. The major reasons are financial constraint and corruption. Some informants state that the participation of EOTCs on social support is not greater due to financial problem which resulted from lack of religious devotions among laities. This indicates that people are less likely to express their religiosity in terms of religious

donations. As a result, Orthodox Churches are less likely to participate in the provision of social support. From this one can understand that the way people perceive religiosity has an effect on church-based social supports. In contrast to this; there are informants who deny the presence of financial constraint in the Church. For them, corruption is the major reason that hinders the Church participation on social support. A single Orthodox Church, according to informants, annually earns millions of Birr from *Asrat*, *Mudaye Metsewat* and *Selet/vow*. However, the Church's income is embezzled by its officials. This embezzlement negatively affects the Churches' participation on social support.

The third research question which is addressed in this thesis was the effects of Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches on the nature of social interaction. In relation to this, my findings show that the EOTCs' plays both positive and negative roles on the interactions of Orthodox Christians. In one hand, the Church promotes interaction between its followers. This is because followers of the church have the same religious beliefs and they have the chance to meet each other while attending church. On the other hand, the EOTC has a negative impact on the relationship between Orthodox Christians and followers of other religion. Due to the lessons they get from their religion, laities of the EOTC regards followers of other religion as a non-believer. In other words, there is in-group favoritism and out-group discrimination. Here, it has to be reminded that even though individuals do not have a preference to discriminate out-group members, there tendency to interact more within groups may result to out-group discrimination. As Gaduh (2012) argued in-group interactions facilitate better transmission of information so that individuals can screen the "good" from the "bad" types among the in-groups better than among the out-groups (Gaduh, 2012: 7). Therefore, based on my findings I conclude that religion is both a threat and solution to social interactions.

The fourth and last finding of this thesis was the role of EOTCs on the provision of health care services. As Winkelman (2009) explain the conception of what constitutes health vary widely and it involves physical, mental, and social well-being. I believe that anthropological studies on health should not be oriented towards universally accepted definitions of health. Rather it is vital to explore how health is understood by a particular community or societies which are under study. That is why I primary described how health and illness is perceive by the Ethiopian

Orthodox *Tewahedo* Church. Findings suggest that health is understood in terms of the condition of the body and soul. A person's body may suffer with certain kind of illness whereas his/her soul is free from illness, and vice versa. Or illness may present in both a person's body and soul. In order to heal any kind of illness the Church recognizes both spiritual and clinical health care systems. Though I have found that its participation in clinical health care services is minimal, the Church uses its spiritual practices as a means of providing health care services to laities. *Tsebel*, *Keba Kidus* and *Emnet* are among the spiritual practices which are used as a means of delivering health care services in the city. Of those spiritual practices, *Tsebel* is the most widely used mode of healings in the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches. Orthodox Christians believe that *Tsebel* can cure any ailment. There are Orthodox Christians who believe that *Tsebel* can cure diseases which do not have medicine in the clinical health care systems. Especially, people mostly used *Tsebel* when they suffer with mental illness. This is due to four major reasons are: (1) Lack of access to modern health care services for mental illness in the city, (2) inability to afford the cost of clinical health care services, (3) and lack of proper treatment in the modern health care systems as well as (4) the attitudes of Orthodox Christians about the causes mental illness are among the major reasons that leads people to choose *Tsebel* as the appropriate way of treatment. Above all, the attitude of Orthodox Christians about mental illness is the major reason that mostly leads people to prefer *Tsebel*. Orthodox Christians believe that mental illness is resulted from evil spirits, and seeking spiritual healing at the Church is the only method that helps a patient to recover from mental illness. This asserts to the fact that religion often plays an important role in determining how individuals relate to their malady. In general, my study on the role of Ethiopian Orthodox Churches in the provision of health care has shown me that healing through spiritual practices is currently used as an alternative method of delivering health care services in Addis Ababa. As a result, I conclude that the usefulness of religion in dealing with many aspects of health maladies is not something confined to the rural dwellers or people without access to biomedicine; rather there is religious healing in the urban dwellers which have access to modern health care services in comparison with rural dwellers.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: Budget Breakdown

Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies
Department of Social Anthropology

S. No	Activities	Quantity	Unit Cost	Total (ETB)	Remarks
1	Per-diam and Transportation During Data Collection				
	Per-diam and accommodation	90 days	206 Birr /day	18,550	
	Transportation	-	2000 Birr	2000 Birr	
	Sub total			20, 550	
2	Stationary Materials				
	✓ A4 paper	3 Pad	90 Birr/pad	270 birr	
	✓ Pen	10 pieces	5 Birr/piece	50 Birr	
	✓ Stapler	1 piece	65 Birr/piece	65 Birr	
	✓ Writing Pad	10 pieces	10 Birr/piece	100 Birr	
	✓ Staples	1 packet	5 Birr/packet	5 Birr	
	✓ CD-R	10 pieces	15 Birr/packet	150 Birr	

	Subtotal			640 Birr	
3	Typing, Printing, Duplication and Binding of Research Reports				
	✓ Internet and telephone service		600 Birr	600 Birr	
	✓ Printing draft and final research proposals	40 Pages	1.50/page	60 Birr	
	✓ Printing draft and final research reports	300 Pages	1.50/page	450 Birr	
	✓ Photocopy (Three copies of Final Paper)	450 Pages	0.50/page	225 Birr	
	Subtotal			1335 Birr	
4	Contingency (10%)			698.5 Birr	
	Total Cost			22, 525	

Appendix 2: List of Informants

Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies
Department of Social Anthropology

Description of Informants					
Name	Sex	Religion	Place of Interview	Age	Remarks
Abebe Gebeyehu	M	Orthodox Christian	St. Ledeta Mariam Church	29	
Azekrien Teshale	F	Orthodox Christian	St. Mary Church	34	
Berihun Atsebha	M	Orthodox Christian	St. Ledeta Mariam Church	44	
Bereket Mamo	M	Orthodox Christian	St. Urael Church	41	
Gadessa Gutema	M	Orthodox Christian	St. Mary Church	27	
Gashachew Amare	M	Orthodox Christian	AADS	39	
Genet Aragaw	F	Orthodox Christian	St. Raguel Church	20	
Gebregzibar Tesfay	M	Orthodox Christian	St. Raguel Church	35	
Gebremedhin Araya	M	Orthodox Christian	AADS	35	
Gebreyesus Ekubay	M	Orthodox Christian	St. Urael	40	
Geremew Tadesse	M	Orthodox Christian	Holy Trinity Cathedral	29	
Girmay Hailay	M	Orthodox Christian	AADS	32	
Habetamu Derassa	M	Orthodox Christian	St. Mary Church	24	
Hailu Gubssa	M	Orthodox Christian	Holy Trinity Cathedral	28	
Leykun Amogne	M	Orthodox Christian	St. Raguel Church	45	
Mokonnen Tesfamarriam	M	Orthodox Christian	AADS	37	
Mariamawit Belete	F	Orthodox Christian	St. Raguel Church	21	
Mehari Chalachew	M	Orthodox Christian	St. Mary Church	27	
Melkam Abebe	F	Orthodox Christian	St. Urael Church	30	
Mullugeta Gashaw	M	Orthodox Christian	St. Raguel Church	43	
Mulluken Anmaw	F	Orthodox Christian	St. Raguel Church	36	
Natnael Ejegu	M	Orthodox Christian	St. Raguel Church	22	

Sentayehu Emeru	M	Orthodox Christian	St. Mary Church	38	
Semu Temesgen	F	Orthodox Christian	St. Ledeta Marriam Church	42	
Sinishaw Zelalem	M	Orthodox Christian	Holy Trinity Cathedral	33	
Trualem Balcha	F	Orthodox Christian	St. Urael	26	
Tsedale Mitiku	F	Orthodox Christian	St. Ledeta Mariam Church	28	
Tsegareda Mekasha	F	Orthodox Christian	St. Raguel	25	
Tsegaye Dagnachew	M	Orthodox Christian	St. Ledeta Mariam Church	28	
Wubalem Tadele	F	Orthodox Christian	St. Mary Church	34	
Yalalem Taye	M	Orthodox Christian	St. Urael Church	26	
Yohannes Addisu	M	Orthodox Christian	St. Mary Church	40	
Yosef Taye	M	Orthodox Christian	Holy Trinity Cathedral	36	
Zenebu Mehirt	F	Orthodox Christian	Holy Trinity Cathedral	29	

Appendix 3: Plain Language Statement

Addis Ababa University

School of Graduate Studies

Department of Social Anthropology

Plain Language Statement

To Whom It May Concern

This is to describe below a plain language statement regarding the research I am going to undertake for a postgraduate degree at Addis Ababa University.

1. Study Title and Researcher Details

A. Title of the study

The Socioeconomic Roles of Religion: the case of Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in Addis Ababa

B. Name and Details of Researcher

Kumilachew Siferaw Anteneh, Addis Ababa University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Anthropology

Tel: +251 913 29 63 24

Email: kumilachews@yahoo.com or kumilachew.siferaw@gmail.com

C. Research Advisor

Dr. Ayalew Gebre, Addis Ababa University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Anthropology

Addis Ababa Ethiopia, Tel: +251 _____. Email: _____

D. Degree Being Sought

I am undertaking this research as a requirement for the degree of Masters of Arts in Social Anthropology

2. Invitation to participate in the research

I would like to invite you to take part in this research. The research will be based on a qualitative paradigm which will greatly rely on in-depth interview, Focus group discussion, observation and case studies. Before you decide whether to take part or not it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me or my supervisors if there is

anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Also take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

3. What is the purpose of the Study?

These days religion plays pivotal roles in the human social lives. In recent years there has been a growing recognition of the values of exploring the role of religion in the socioeconomic life of the people. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to describe the socioeconomic dimensions of religion with a particular reference to some selected Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in Addis Ababa. The duration of the study is three months long.

4. Why have I been chosen?

You have been selected for this study for I consider that you are a key stakeholder or interested party regarding the issue under study.

5. Do I have to take part?

Taking part in the research is entirely voluntary. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign an accompanying consent form. And you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

6. What will happen to me if I take part?

I will kindly ask that we meet for a forty minute interview at a venue in the places you will agree on. The interview will be audio-taped based on your informed consent. I estimate the entire research to take three months to complete with time divided between different activities.

7. Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

All information, which is collected, about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will be identified by a pseudonym and any information about you will have your name and address removed so that you cannot be recognized from it.

8. Who is organizing and funding the research?

The research is part of a general fulfillment for the award of a postgraduate degree at Addis Ababa University. I am a full time employee at Mekelle University. As part of the human resource development policy, the university provides the chance for its staff members to participate in further academic specialization or study. Therefore, this study is funded by Mekelle University.

9. Who will review the study?

The project will be reviewed and approved by the Faculty of social sciences research and publication committee.

10. Contact for Further Information

Please feel free to contact me and my research supervisor/advisor if you would like to raise any issues regarding the conduct of the research. These can be contacted as follows:

Dr. Ayalew Gebre, Addis Ababa University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Anthropology

Addis Ababa Ethiopia, Tel: +251_____. Email: -_____

Thank you very much for agreeing to take part in this study

Appendix 4: Consent Form

Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies
Department of Social Anthropology

Title of the Research:

The Socioeconomic Roles of Religion: the case of Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in Addis Ababa

Name of Researcher: Kumilachew Siferaw Anteneh

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the Plain Language Statement for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. I have been assured that throughout the research my anonymity will be guaranteed through the use of a pseudonym. In cases where such anonymity will be difficult to maintain, the researcher has made clear that he will seek my permission for limited anonymity.
4. I am aware that the interview will be tape-recorded and then transcribed. I have also been assured that a copy of the transcript will be made available to me for further comment and verification.
5. I have been made aware that the final report will be submitted for examination for the award, if successful, of a master degree to the researcher.
6. I have been notified that at a future time the research materials may be used in an academic publication.
7. I have been assured that if I so desire a copy of the finished report will be made available to me.
8. I agree / do not agree (delete as applicable) to take part in the above study.

Name of the Participant

Date

Signature

Appendix 5: Interview and FGD Guidelines

Addis Ababa University
Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Social Anthropology

Title of the Project:

The Socioeconomic Roles of Religion: the case of Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in Addis Ababa

Guiding Questions for In-depth Interview	
Objectives	Questions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To describe the current trends of religiosity among Orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa - To describe the role of EOTC on health and social support 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>For religious leaders of EOTC</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How do you see the current trends of religiosity among orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa? - How EOTC do teaches its followers about the value, doctrine and other things of the church? - How do you see the teaching of EOTC in terms of promoting peace and stability among the community? - Currently, it is common to observe some religious activities such as preaching conferences, advertising of religious songs etc. which are undertaken by the followers of the church, how do you explain the intention behind those activities? - What are the factors that affect the religiosity of Orthodox Christians in Addis Ababa? - How do describe the role of EOTC on promoting health? - How do you explain the role of EOTC on social support?

	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>For laities of EOTC</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How does your religiosity in the EOTC affect your social interaction with others? - How do you observe the teachings of EOTC in terms of promoting your participation in helping marginalized groups? - What are the nonreligious roles that you observed from the activities of EOTC? - In what ways does your religion affect your social relationships?
	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>For preachers of EOTC</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What makes you to become a religious singer/preacher? - Do you think that your religious songs/preaching have an importance beside their doctrinal value? - How do you see the role of your religious songs or preaching in terms of promoting a healthy social interaction between individuals or neighbors? - How do you explain the importance of your religious songs/preaching in your economic life? - Sometimes individuals may invest parts of the payment of their service on helping marginalized groups. How do you explain yourself in terms this? - How do you see the nature of your religious singing/preaching in terms of determining the socioeconomic relations of Orthodox Christians Addis Ababa?

Guiding Questions for Focus Group Discussion

Objective	Discussion Questions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ To describe how Orthodox Christians perceive religiosity ➤ To explore the effects of EOTC on the social and interpersonal relationships of laities. ➤ To describe the role of EOTC in the provision of health care services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How do you explain the difference between being religious and nonreligious? - How do you see the various activities done by EOTC on affecting (positively or negatively) the day to day social and economic interactions in your community? - In what ways does your religion affect your social relationships? - What kinds of importance religious activities of EOTC will have besides their doctrinal value? - How do you see the nature and teaching of EOTC in terms of the provision of health care services?

NOTE: These guiding questions are prepared earlier to the field work so that I know only the main themes of the study when starting the field work. Issues not addressed under these guiding questions are included in the mean time during the interview and the discussion sessions.

Appendix 6: Author's Declaration

I, the under signed, declare that this thesis is my original work and that all source of the materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged. This thesis has been submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for M.A. degree at Addis Ababa University and is deposited at the Addis Ababa University Library to make available to borrowers under rules of library. I further declare that this thesis is not submitted to this and other institutions anywhere for same or similar award and nor is being currently submitted for any other award. Brief quotations from this thesis are allowable without special permission provided that accurate acknowledgment of source is made. Request for permission for extended quotation from or reproduction of this manuscript in whole or part may be granted by the head of the Department of Social Anthropology or by the Dean of the School of Graduate Studies when in his or her judgment the proposed use of the material is in the interests of scholarship. In all other instances, however, permission must be obtained from the author.

Name: _____ Signature: -----

Place: Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa

Date of Submission: _____

As *Thesis* Research advisor, I hereby certify that I have read and evaluated this thesis prepared, under my guidance, by Kumilachew Siferaw Anteneh. Entitled: The Socioeconomic Roles of Religion: The Case of Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Churches in Addis Ababa. I recommend that it be submitted as fulfilling the thesis requirements.

Advisor

Signature

Date