KEY ISSUE 3

Why Do Religions Organize Space in Distinctive Patterns?

- Places of worship
- Sacred space
- Administration of space

Geographers study the major impact on the landscape made by all religions, regardless of whether they are universalizing or ethnic. In large cities and small villages around the world, regardless of the region's prevailing religion, the tallest, most elaborate buildings are often religious structures. The distribution of religious elements on the landscape reflects the importance of religion in people's values. The impact of religion on the landscape is particularly profound, for many religious people believe that their life on Earth ought to be spent in service to God.

Places of Worship

Church, basilica, mosque, temple, pagoda, and synagogue are familiar names that identify places of worship in various religions. Sacred structures are physical "anchors" of religion. All major religions have structures, but the functions of the buildings influence the arrangement of the structures across the landscape. They may house shrines or be places where people assemble for worship. Some religions require a relatively large number of elaborate structures, whereas others have more modest needs.

Christian Churches

The Christian landscape is dominated by a high density of churches. The word church derives from a Greek term meaning lord, master, and power. Church also refers to a gathering of believers, as well as the building at which the gathering occurs.

The church plays a more critical role in Christianity than buildings in other religions, in part because the structure is an expression of religious principles, an environment in the image of God. The church is also more prominent in Christianity because attendance at a collective service of worship is considered extremely important.

The prominence of churches on the landscape also stems from their style of construction and location. In some communities, the church was traditionally the largest and tallest building and was placed at an important square or other prominent location. Although such characteristics may no longer apply in large cities, they are frequently still true for small towns and neighborhoods within cities.

Underlying the large number and size of Christian churches is their considerable expense. Because of the importance of a place of worship, Christians have contributed much wealth to the construction and maintenance of churches. A wealthier congregation may build an elaborate structure designed by an architect to provide an environment compatible with the religious doctrine and ritual. Over the centuries the most prominent architects have been commissioned to create religious structures, such as those designed by Christopher Wren in London during the late seventeenth century.

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE. Early churches were modeled after Roman buildings for public assembly, known as basilicas. The basilica was a rectangular building divided by two rows of columns that formed a central nave (hall) and two side aisles. At the western end of the church stood a semicircular apse, in front of which was the altar, where the priest conducted the service. Later the apse was placed on the eastern wall. The raised altar, symbolizing the hill of Calvary, where Jesus was crucified, facilitated the reenactment at every service of Christ's sacrifice. Churches built during the Gothic period, between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, had a floor plan in the form of the cross.

Since Christianity split into many denominations, no single style of church construction has dominated. Churches reflect both the cultural values of the denomination and the region's architectural heritage. Eastern Orthodox churches, for example, follow an architectural style that developed in the Byzantine Empire during the fifth century. Byzantine-style Eastern Orthodox churches tend to be highly ornate, topped by prominent domes. Many Protestant churches in North America, on the other hand, are simple, with little ornamentation. This austerity is a reflection of the Protestant conception of a church as an assembly hall for the congregation.

Availability of building materials also influences church appearance. In the United States early churches were most frequently built of wood in the Northeast, brick in the Southeast, and adobe in the Southwest. Stucco and stone predominated in Latin America. This diversity reflected differences in the most common building materials found by early settlers.

Places of Worship in Other Religions

Religious buildings are highly visible and important features of the landscapes in regions dominated by religions other than Christianity. But unlike Christianity, other major religions do not consider their important buildings a sanctified place of worship.

MUSLIM MOSQUES. Muslims consider the mosque as a space for community assembly. In contrast to a church, however, a mosque is not viewed as a sanctified place but rather as a location for the community to gather together for worship. Mosques are found primarily in larger cities of the Muslim world, whereas simple structures may serve as places of prayer in rural villages.

The mosque is organized around a central courtyard—traditionally open air, although it may be enclosed in harsher climates. The pulpit is placed at the end of the courtyard facing Makkah, the direction toward which all Muslims pray. Surrounding the courtyard is a cloister used for schools and nonreligious activities. A distinctive feature of the mosque is the minaret, a tower where a man known as a muzzan summons people to worship. (Two minarets are shown in Figure 6–10.)
HINDU TEMPLES. Sacred structures for collective worship are relatively unimportant in Asian ethnic and universalizing religions. Instead, important religious functions are more likely to take place at home within the family. Temples are built to house shrines for particular gods rather than for congregational worship.

The Hindu temple serves as a home to one or more gods, although a particular god may have more than one temple. Wealthy individuals or groups usually maintain local temples. Size and frequency of temples are determined by local preferences and commitment of resources rather than standards imposed by religious doctrine.

The typical Hindu temple contains a small, dimly lit interior room where a symbolic artifact or some other image of the god rests. The remainder of the temple may be devoted to space for ritual processions. Because congregational worship is not part of Hinduism, the temple does not need a large closed interior space filled with seats. The site of the temple, usually demarcated by a wall, may also contain a structure for a caretaker and a pool for ritual baths.

BUDDHIST AND SHINTOIST PAGODAS. The pagoda is a prominent and visually attractive element of the Buddhist and Shintoist landscapes. Frequently elaborate and delicate in appearance, pagodas typically include tall, many-sided towers arranged in a series of tiers, balconies, and slanting roofs.

Pagodas contain relics that Buddhists believe to be a portion of Buddha’s body or clothing. After Buddha’s death, his followers scrambled to obtain these relics. As part of the process of diffusing the religion, Buddhists carried these relics to other countries and built pagodas for them. Pagodas are not designed for congregational worship. Individual prayer or meditation is more likely to be undertaken at an adjacent temple, a remote monastery, or in a home.

BAHÁ’I HOUSES OF WORSHIP. Bahá’ís have built Houses of Worship in Wilmette, Illinois, in 1953; Sydney, Australia, and Kampala, Uganda, both in 1961; Lagenhain, near Frankfurt, Germany, in 1964; Panama City, Panama, in 1972; Tiahapata, near Apia, Samoa, in 1984; and New Delhi, India, in 1986. Additional ones are planned in Tehran, Iran; Santiago, Chile; and Haifa, Israel. The first Bahá’í House of Worship, built in 1908 in Ashgabat, Russia, now the capital of Turkmenistan, was turned into a museum by the Soviet Union and demolished in 1962 after a severe earthquake.

The locations have not been selected because of proximity to clusters of Bahá’ís. Instead, the Houses of Worship have been dispersed to different continents to dramatize Bahá’í as a universalizing religion with adherents all over the world. The Houses of Worship are open to adherents of all religions, and services include reciting the scriptures of various religions.

Disposing of the Dead

A prominent example of religiously inspired arrangement of land at a smaller scale is burial practices. Climate, topography, and religious doctrine combine to create differences in practices to shelter the dead.

BURIAL. Christians, Muslims, and Jews usually bury their dead in a specially designated area called a cemetery. The Christian burial practice can be traced to the early years of the religion. In ancient Rome, underground passages known as catacombs were used to bury early Christians (and to protect the faithful when the religion was still illegal).

After Christianity became legal, Christians buried their dead in the yard around the church. As these burial places became overcrowded, separate burial grounds had to be established outside the city walls. Public health and sanitation considerations in the nineteenth century led to public management of many cemeteries. However, some cemeteries are still operated by religious organizations.

The remains of the dead are customarily aligned in some traditional direction. Some Christians bury the dead with the feet toward Jerusalem so that they may meet Christ there on the Day of Judgment. The Mandan Indians of the North American Plains placed the dead on scaffolds with the feet to the southeast, the direction the spirits were said to take in order to reach the Heart River, the place where the ancestors used to live. The face is often aligned toward the west, the direction where the Sun “dies” in its daily setting.

Cemeteries may consume significant space in a community, increasing the competition for scarce space. In congested urban areas, Christians and Muslims have traditionally used cemeteries...
as public open space. Before the widespread development of public parks in the nineteenth century, cemeteries were frequently the only green space in rapidly growing cities. Cemeteries are still used as parks in Muslim countries, where the idea faces less opposition than in Christian societies.

Traditional burial practices in China have put pressure on agricultural land. By burying dead relatives, rural residents have removed as much as 10 percent of the land from productive agriculture. The government in China has ordered the practice discontinued, even encouraging farmers to plow over old burial mounds. Cremation is encouraged instead.

**Other Methods of Disposing of Bodies.** Not all faiths bury their dead. Hindus generally practice cremation rather than burial. The body is washed with water from the Ganges River and then burned with a slow fire on a funeral pyre. Burial is reserved for children, ascetics, and people with certain diseases. Cremation is considered an act of purification, although it tends to strain India’s wood supply.

Cremation was the principal form of disposing of bodies in Europe before Christianity. Outside of India, it is still practiced in parts of Southeast Asia, possibly because of Hindu influence.

Motivation for cremation may have originated from unwillingness on the part of nomads to leave their dead behind, possibly because of fear that the body could be attacked by wild beasts or evil spirits, or even return to life. Cremation could also free the soul from the body for departure to the afterworld and provide warmth and comfort for the soul as it embarked on the journey to the afterworld.

To strip away unclean portions of the body, Parsis (Zoroastrians) expose the dead to scavenging birds and animals. The ancient Zoroastrians did not want the body to contaminate the sacred elements of fire, earth, or water. Tibetan Buddhists also practice exposure for some dead, with cremation reserved for the most exalted priests.

Disposal of bodies at sea is used in some parts of Micronesia, but the practice is much less common than in the past. The bodies of lower-class people would be flung into the sea, whereas elites could be set adrift on a raft or boat. Water burial as regarded as a safeguard against being contaminated by the dead.

**Religious Settlements**

Buildings for worship and burial places are smaller-scale manifestations of religion on the landscape, but there are larger-scale examples—entire settlements. Most human settlements serve an economic purpose (Chapter 12), but some are established primarily for religious reasons.

A utopian settlement is an ideal community built around a religious way of life. By 1858 some 130 different utopian settlements had begun in the United States in conformance with a group’s distinctive religious beliefs. Examples include Oneida, New York; Ephrata, Pennsylvania; Nauvoo, Illinois; and New Harmony, Indiana. Buildings were sited and economic activities organized to integrate religious principles into all aspects of daily life.

An early utopian settlement in the United States was Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, founded in 1741 by Moravians, Christians who had emigrated from the present-day Czech Republic. The culmination of the utopian movement in the United States was the construction of Salt Lake City by the Mormons, beginning in 1848. The layout of Salt Lake City is based on a plan of the city of Zion given to the church elders in 1833 by the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith. The city has a
branches, and denominations. Ethnic religions tend not to have organized, central authorities.

Hierarchical Religions

A hierarchical religion has a well-defined geographic structure and organizes territory into local administrative units. Roman Catholicism provides a good example of a hierarchical religion.

**ROMAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY.** The Roman Catholic Church has organized much of Earth’s inhabited land into an administrative structure, ultimately accountable to the Pope in Rome. Here is the top hierarchy of Roman Catholicism:

- The Pope (he is also the bishop of the Diocese of Rome).
- Reporting to the Pope are archbishops. Each heads a province, which is a group of several dioceses. (The archbishop also is bishop of one diocese within the province, and some distinguished archbishops are elevated to the rank of cardinal.)
- Reporting to each archbishop are bishops. Each administers a diocese, of which there are several thousand. The diocese is the basic unit of geographic organization in the Roman Catholic Church. The bishop’s headquarters, called a “see,” is typically the largest city in the diocese.
- A diocese is spatially divided into parishes, each headed by a priest.

The area and population of parishes and dioceses vary according to historical factors and the distribution of Roman Catholics across Earth’s surface (e.g., the United States is shown in Figure 6–13). In parts of Southern and Western Europe the overwhelming majority of the dense population is Roman Catholic. Consequently, the density of parishes is high. A typical parish may encompass only a few square kilometers and fewer than 1,000 people.

At the other extreme, Latin American parishes may encompass several hundred square kilometers and 5,000 people. The more dispersed Latin American distribution is attributable partly to a lower population density than in Europe. Because Roman Catholicism is a hierarchical religion, individual parishes must work closely with centrally located officials concerning rituals and procedures. If Latin America followed the European model of small parishes, many would be too remote for the priest to communicate with others in the hierarchy. The less intensive network of Roman Catholic institutions also results in part from colonial traditions, for both Portuguese and Spanish rulers discouraged parish development in Latin America.

The Roman Catholic population is growing rapidly in the U.S. Southwest and suburbs of some large North American and European cities. Some of these areas have a low density of parishes and dioceses compared to the population, so the Church must adjust its territorial organization. New local administrative units can be created, although funds to provide the desired number of churches, schools, and other religious structures might be scarce. Conversely, the Roman Catholic population is declining in inner cities and rural areas. Maintaining services in these areas is expensive, but the process of combining parishes and closing schools is very difficult.

**Religious Place Names**

Roman Catholic immigrants have frequently given religious place names, or toponyms, to their settlements in the New World, particularly in Québec and the U.S. Southwest. Québec’s boundaries with Ontario and the United States clearly illustrate the difference between toponyms selected by Roman Catholic and Protestant settlers. Religious place names are common in Québec but rare in the two neighbors (Figure 6–12).

**Administration of Space**

Followers of a universalizing religion must be connected so as to ensure communication and consistency of doctrine. The method of interaction varies among universalizing religions,
LATTER-DAY SAINTS. Among other Christian religions, Latter-Day Saints (Mormons) exercise strong organization of the landscape. The territory occupied by Mormons, primarily Utah and portions of surrounding states, is organized into wards, with populations of approximately 750 each. Several wards are combined into a stake of approximately 5,000 people. The highest authority in the Church—the board and president—frequently redraws ward and stake boundaries in rapidly growing areas to reflect the ideal population standards.

Locally Autonomous Religions

Some universalizing religions are highly autonomous religions, or self-sufficient, and interaction among communities is confined to little more than loose cooperation and shared ideas. Islam and some Protestant denominations are good examples.

LOCAL AUTONOMY IN ISLAM. Among the three large universalizing religions, Islam provides the most local autonomy. Like other locally autonomous religions, Islam has neither a religious hierarchy nor a formal territorial organization. A mosque is a place for public ceremony, and a leader calls the faithful to prayer, but everyone is expected to participate equally in the rituals and is encouraged to pray privately.

In the absence of a hierarchy, the only formal organization of territory in Islam is through the coincidence of religious territory with secular states. Governments in some predominantly Islamic countries include in their bureaucracy people who administer Islamic institutions. These administrators interpret Islamic law and run welfare programs.

Strong unity within the Islamic world is maintained by a relatively high degree of communication and migration, such as the pilgrimage to Makkah. In addition, uniformity is fostered by Islamic doctrine, which offers more explicit commands than other religions.

PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS. Protestant Christian denominations vary in geographic structure from extremely autonomous to somewhat hierarchical. Extremely autonomous denominations such as Baptists and United Church of Christ are organized into self-governing congregations. Each congregation establishes the precise form of worship and selects the leadership.

Presbyterian churches represent an intermediate degree of autonomy. Individual churches are united in a presbytery, several of which in turn are governed by a synod, with a general assembly as ultimate authority over all churches. Each Presbyterian church is governed by an elected board of directors with lay members. The Episcopalian, Lutheran, and most Methodist churches have hierarchical structures, somewhat comparable to the Roman Catholic Church.

ETHNIC RELIGIONS. Judaism and Hinduism also have no centralized structure of religious control. To conduct a full service, Judaism merely requires the presence of ten adult males. ( Females count in some Jewish communities.) Hinduism is even more autonomous, because worship is usually done alone or with others in the household. Hindus share ideas primarily through undertaking pilgrimages and reading traditional writings.

KEY ISSUE 4

Why Do Territorial Conflicts Arise Among Religious Groups?

- Religion versus government policies
- Religion versus religion

The twentieth century was a century of global conflict—two world wars during the first half of the century, the Cold War between supporters of democracy and Communism during the second half. With the end of the Cold War, the threat of
global conflict has receded in the twenty-first century, but local conflicts have increased in areas of cultural diversity, as will be discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

The element of cultural diversity that has led to conflict in many localities is religion. Contributing to more intense religious conflict has been a resurgence of religious fundamentalism, which is a literal interpretation and a strict and intense adherence to basic principles of a religion (or a religious branch, denomination, or sect). In a world increasingly dominated by a global culture and economy, religious fundamentalism is one of the most important ways in which a group can maintain a distinctive cultural identity.

As this section demonstrates, the attempt by intense adherents of one religion to organize Earth’s surface can conflict with the spatial expression of other religious or nonreligious ideas. A group convinced that its religious view is the correct one may spatially intrude upon the territory controlled by other religious groups. In addition, religious groups oppose government policies seen as promoting social change conflicting with traditional religious values. We will look at examples of each type of conflict.

Religion Versus Government Policies

The role of religion in organizing Earth’s surface has diminished in some societies because of political and economic change. Islam has been particularly affected by a perceived conflict between religious values and modernization of the economy. Hinduism also has been forced to react to new nonreligious ideas from the West. Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam have all been challenged by Communist governments that diminish the importance of religion in society. Yet, in recent years, religious principles have become increasingly important in the political organization of countries, especially where a branch of Christianity or Islam is the prevailing religion.

Religion Versus Social Change

In less developed countries, participation in the global economy and culture can expose local residents to values and beliefs originating in more developed countries of North America and Western Europe. North Americans and Western Europeans may not view economic development as incompatible with religious values, but many religious adherents in less developed countries do, especially where Christianity is not the predominant religion.

Taliban Versus Western Values. When the Taliban gained power in Afghanistan in 1996, many Afghans welcomed them as preferable to the corrupt and brutal warlords who had been running the country. U.S. and other Western officials also welcomed them as strong defenders against a possible new invasion by Russia. The Taliban (which means “religious students”) had run Islamic Knowledge Movement Religious schools, mosques, shrines, and other religious and social services since the seventh century A.D., shortly after the arrival of Islam in Afghanistan.

Once in control of Afghanistan’s government in the late 1990s, the Taliban imposed very strict laws inspired by Islamic values as the Taliban interpreted them. The Ministry for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice enforced the laws. Men were beaten for shaving their beards and stoned for committing adultery. Homosexuals were buried alive, and prostitutes were hanged in front of large audiences. Thieves had their hands cut off, and women wearing nail polish had their fingers cut off.

Islamic scholars criticized the Taliban as poorly educated in Islamic law and history and for misreading the Quran. However, the Taliban believed that they had been called by Allah to purge Afghanistan of sin and violence and make it a pure Islamic state. They banned “Western, non-Islamic” leisure activities, such as playing music, flying kites, watching television, and surfing the Internet; and they converted soccer stadiums to settings for executions and floggings. Western values were not the only targets: enormous Buddhist statues as old as the second century A.D. were destroyed in 2001 because they were worshipped as “graven images” in violation of Islam.

A U.S.-led coalition overthrew the Taliban in 2001 and replaced it with a democratically elected government. However, the Taliban was able to regroup and resume its fight to regain control of Afghanistan (see Chapter 8).

Hinduism Versus Social Equality. Hinduism has been strongly challenged since the 1800s, when British colonial administrators introduced their social and moral concepts to India. The most vulnerable aspect of the Hindu religion was its rigid caste system, which was the class or distinct hereditary order into which a Hindu was assigned according to religious law. In Hinduism, because everyone was different, it was natural that each individual should belong to a particular caste or position in the social order.

The caste system apparently originated around 1500 B.C., when Aryans invaded India from the west. The Aryans divided themselves into four castes that developed strong differences in social and economic position—Brahmans, the priests and top administrators; Ksatriyas, or warriors; Vaisyas, or merchants; and Shudras, or agricultural workers and artisans. The Shudras occupied a distinctly lower status than the other three castes. Over the centuries, these original castes split into thousands of subcastes.

The type of Hinduism practiced will depend in part on the individual’s caste. A high-caste Brahman may practice a form of Hinduism based on knowledge of relatively obscure historical texts. At the other end of the caste system, a low-caste illiterate in a rural village may perform religious rituals without a highly developed set of written explanations for them.

Below the four castes were the outcasts, or untouchables, who did the work considered too dirty for other castes. In theory the untouchables were descended from the indigenous people who dwelled in India prior to the Aryan conquest. Until recently, social relations among the five groups were limited, and the rights of non-Brahmans, especially untouchables, were restricted.

British administrators and Christian missionaries pointed out the shortcomings of the caste system, such as neglect of the untouchables’ health and economic problems. The rigid caste system has been considerably relaxed in recent years. The Indian government legally abolished the untouchable caste, and the people formerly in that caste now have equal
rights with other Indians. But consciousness of caste persists: A government plan to devise a quota system designed to give untouchables more places in the country’s universities generated strong opposition.

Religion Versus Communism

Organized religion was challenged in the twentieth century by the rise of communism in Eastern Europe and Asia. The three religions most affected were Eastern Orthodox Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism.

EASTERN ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM VERSUS THE SOVIET UNION. In 1721 Czar Peter the Great made the Russian Orthodox Church a part of the Russian government. The patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church was replaced by a 12-member committee, known as the Holy Synod, nominated by the czar.

Following the 1917 Bolshevik revolution, which overthrew the czar, the Communist government of the Soviet Union pursued antireligious programs. Karl Marx had called religion “the opium of the people,” a view shared by V. I. Lenin and other early Communist leaders. Marxism became the official doctrine of the Soviet Union, so religious doctrine was a potential threat to the success of the revolution. People’s religious beliefs could not be destroyed overnight, but the role of organized religion in Soviet life could be reduced, and was.

The Soviet government in 1918 eliminated the official church-state connection that Peter the Great had forged. All church buildings and property were nationalized and could be used only with local government permission. The Orthodox religion retained adherents in the Soviet Union, especially among the elderly, but younger people generally had little contact with the church beyond attending a service perhaps once a year. With religious organizations prevented from conducting social and cultural work, religion dwindled in daily life.

The end of Communist rule in the late twentieth century brought a religious revival in Eastern Europe, especially where Roman Catholicism is the most prevalent branch of Christianity, including Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. Property confiscated by the Communist governments reverts to Church ownership, and attendance at church services increased.

In Central Asian countries that were former parts of the Soviet Union—Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan—most people are Muslims. These newly independent countries are struggling to determine the extent to which laws should be rewritten to conform to Islamic custom rather than to the secular tradition inherited from the Soviet Union.

BUDDHISM VERSUS SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES. In Southeast Asia, Buddhists were hurt by the long Vietnam War—waged between the French and later by the Americans, on one side and Communist groups on the other. Neither antagonist was particularly sympathetic to Buddhists. U.S. air raids in Laos and Cambodia destroyed many Buddhist shrines, whereas others were vandalized by Vietnamese and by the Khmer Rouge Cambodian Communists. On a number of occasions, Buddhists immolated (burned) themselves to protest policies of the South Vietnamese government.

The current Communist governments in Southeast Asia have discouraged religious activities and permitted monuments to decay, most notably the Angkor Wat complex in Cambodia, considered one of the world’s most beautiful Buddhist structures. In any event, these countries do not have the funds necessary to restore the structures.

Religion Versus Religion

Refer back to the map of world religions (Figure 6-1), near the beginning of this chapter. Conflicts are most likely to occur where colors change, indicating a boundary between two religious groups. Two long-standing conflicts involving religious groups are in Northern Ireland and the Middle East.

Religious Wars in Ireland

The most troublesome religious boundary in Western Europe lies on the island of Eire (Ireland). The Republic of Ireland, which occupies five-sixths of the island, is 92 percent Roman Catholic, but the island’s northern one-sixth, which is part of the United Kingdom rather than Ireland, is about 58 percent Protestant and 42 percent Roman Catholic (Figure 6-14).

The entire island was an English colony for many centuries and was made part of the United Kingdom in 1801. Agitation for independence from Britain increased in Ireland during the nineteenth century, especially after poor economic conditions and famine in the 1840s led to mass emigration, as described in Chapter 3. Following a succession of bloody confrontations, Ireland became a self-governing dominion within the British Empire in 1921. Complete independence was declared in 1937, and a republic was created in 1949.

When most of Ireland became independent, a majority in six northern counties voted to remain in the United Kingdom. Protestants, who comprised the majority in Northern Ireland, preferred to be part of the predominantly Protestant United Kingdom rather than join the predominantly Roman Catholic Republic of Ireland.

Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland have been victimized by discriminatory practices, such as exclusion from higher-paying jobs and better schools. Demonstrations by Roman Catholics protesting discrimination began in 1968. Since then, more than 3,000 have been killed in Northern Ireland—both Protestants and Roman Catholics—in a never-ending cycle of demonstrations and protests.

A small number of Roman Catholics in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland joined the Irish Republican Army (IRA), a militant organization dedicated to achieving Irish national unity by whatever means available, including violence. Similarly, a scattering of Protestants created extremist organizations to fight the IRA, including the Ulster Defense Force (UDF). Although the overwhelming majority of Northern Ireland’s Roman Catholics and Protestants are willing to live peacefully with the other religious group, extremists disrupt daily life for everyone. As long as most Protestants are firmly committed to remaining in the United Kingdom and most Roman Catholics are equally committed to
dispersed the Jews from Palestine, and only a handful were permitted to live in the region until the twentieth century.

Islam replaced Christianity as the most widely practiced religion in Palestine after the Muslim army conquered it in the seventh century A.D. Christians consider Palestine the Holy Land and Jerusalem the Holy City because the major events in Jesus’s life, death, and Resurrection were concentrated there. Most inhabitants of Palestine accepted Christianity, after the religion was officially adopted by the Roman Empire.

Muslims regard Jerusalem as their third holiest city, after Makkah and Madinah, because it is the place from which Muhammad is thought to have ascended to heaven. (See Figure 6–15 and Global Forces, Local Impacts box.)

CRUSADES BETWEEN CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS. In the seventh century, Muslims, now also called Arabs because they came from the Arabian peninsula, captured most of the Middle East, including Palestine and Jerusalem. The Arab army diffused the Arabic language across the Middle East and converted most of the people from Christianity to Islam.

The Arab army moved west across North Africa and invaded Europe at Gibraltar in 710 (see Figure 6–6). The army conquered most of the Iberian Peninsula, crossed the Pyrenees Mountains a few years later, and for a time occupied much of present-day France. Its initial advance in Europe was halted by the Franks (a West Germanic people), led by Charles Martel, at Poitiers, France, in 732. The Arab army made further gains in Europe in subsequent years and continued to control portions of present-day Spain until 1492, but Martel’s victory ensured that Christianity rather than Islam would be Europe’s dominant religion.

To the east, Ottoman Turks captured Eastern Orthodox Christianity’s most important city, Constantinople (present-day Istanbul in Turkey), in 1453 and advanced a few years later into Southeast Europe, as far north as present-day Bosnia & Herzegovina. The recent civil war in that country is a legacy of the fifteenth-century Muslim invasion (see Chapter 7).

To recapture the Holy Land from its Muslim conquerors, European Christians launched a series of military campaigns, known as Crusades, over a 150-year period. Crusaders captured

union with the Republic of Ireland, peaceful settlement appears difficult. Peace agreements implemented in 1999 provided for the sharing of power, but the British government has suspended the arrangement several times because of violations.

Religious Wars in the Middle East

Conflict in the Middle East is among the world’s longest standing and most intractable. Jews, Christians, and Muslims have fought for 2,000 years to control the same small strip of land in the Eastern Mediterranean. To some extent the hostility among Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the Middle East stems from their similar heritage. All three groups trace their origins to Abraham in the Old Testament narrative, but the religions diverged in ways that have made it difficult for them to share the same territory.

As an ethnic religion, Judaism makes a special claim to the territory it calls the Promised Land. The major events in the development of Judaism took place there, and the religion’s customs and rituals acquired meaning from the agricultural life of the ancient Hebrew tribe. After the Romans gained control of the area, which they called the province of Palestine, they
Jerusalem from the Muslims in 1099 during the First Crusade, lost it in 1187 (which led to the Third Crusade), regained it in 1229 as part of a treaty ending the Sixth Crusade, and lost it again in 1244.

JEWS VERSUS MUSLIMS IN PALESTINE. The Muslim Ottoman Empire controlled Palestine for most of the two centuries between 1516 and 1917. Upon the empire's defeat in World War I, Great Britain took over Palestine under a mandate from the League of Nations, and later from the United Nations. For a few years the British allowed some Jews to return to Palestine, but immigration was restricted again during the 1930s in response to intense pressure by Arabs in the region.

As violence initiated by both Jewish and Muslim settlers escalated after World War II, the British announced their intention to withdraw from Palestine. The United Nations voted to partition Palestine into two independent states, one Jewish and one Muslim. Jerusalem was to be an international city, open to all religions, and run by the United Nations.

When the British withdrew in 1948, Jews declared an independent state of Israel within the boundaries prescribed by the UN resolution. The next day its neighboring Arab Muslim states declared war. The combatants signed an armistice in 1949 that divided control of Jerusalem. The Old City of Jerusalem, which contained the famous religious shrines, became part of the Muslim country of Jordan. The newer, western portion of Jerusalem became part of Israel, but Jews were still not allowed to visit the historic shrines in the Old City.

Israel won three more wars with its neighbors, in 1956, 1967, and 1973. Especially important was the 1967 Six-Day War, when Israel captured territory from its neighbors. From Jordan, Israel captured the West Bank (the territory west of the Jordan River taken by Jordan in the 1948–1949 war). From Jordan, Israel also gained control of the entire city of Jerusalem, including the Old City. From Syria, Israel acquired the Golan Heights. From Egypt came the Gaza Strip and Sinai Peninsula (Figure 6–16).

Israel returned the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt, and in return Egypt recognized Israel's right to exist. Egypt's President Anwar Sadat and Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin signed a peace treaty including these terms in 1979, following a series of meetings with U.S. President Jimmy Carter at Camp David, Maryland. Sadat was assassinated by Egyptian soldiers, who were extremist Muslims opposed to compromising with Israel, but his successor Hosni Mubarak carried out the terms of the treaty. Four decades after the Six-Day War, the status of the other territories occupied by Israel still has not been settled.

CONFLICT OVER THE HOLY LAND: PALESTINIAN PERSPECTIVES. After the 1973 war, the Palestinians emerged as Israel's principal opponent. Egypt and Jordan renounced their claims to the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, respectively, and recognized the Palestinians as the legitimate rulers of these territories. The Palestinians in turn also saw themselves as the legitimate rulers of Israel.

Five groups of people consider themselves Palestinians:

- People living in the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem territories captured by Israel in 1967
- Citizens of Israel who are Muslims rather than Jews
People who fled from Israel to other countries after the 1948-49 war
People who fled from the West Bank or Gaza to other countries after the 1967 war
Citizens of other countries, especially Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia, who identify themselves as Palestinians

After capturing the West Bank from Jordan in 1967, Israel permitted Jewish settlers to construct more than 100 settlements in the territory (Figure 6–17, left). Some Israelis built settlements in the West Bank because they regarded the territory as an integral part of the biblical Jewish homeland, known as Judea and Samaria. Others migrated to the settlements because of a shortage of affordable housing inside Israel’s pre-1967 borders. Jewish settlers comprise about 10 percent of the West Bank population, and Palestinians see their immigration as a hostile act. To protect the settlers, Israel has military control over most of the West Bank.

The Palestinian fight against Israel has been coordinated by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) under the longtime leadership of Yassir Arafat, until his death in 2004. Israel has permitted the organization of a limited form of government in much of the West Bank and Gaza, called the Palestinian Authority, but Palestinians are not satisfied with either the territory or the power granted to them by Israel. Some Palestinians, especially those aligned with the Fatah Party, are willing to recognize the State of Israel with its Jewish majority in exchange for return of all territory taken by Israel in the 1967 war. Other Palestinians, especially those aligned with the Hamas Party, do not recognize the right of Israel to exist and want to continue fighting for control of the entire territory between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea. The United States, European countries, and Israel consider Hamas to be a terrorist organization.

CONFLICT OVER THE HOLY LAND: ISRAELI PERSPECTIVE.
Israel sees itself as a very small country—20,000 square kilometers (8,000 square miles)—with a Jewish majority, surrounded by a region of hostile Muslim Arabs encompassing more than 25 million square kilometers (10 million square miles). In dealing with its neighbors, Israel considers two elements of the local landscape especially meaningful.

First, the country’s major population centers are quite close to international borders, making them vulnerable to surprise attack. The country’s two largest cities, Tel Aviv and Haifa, are only 20 and 60 kilometers (12 and 37 miles), respectively, from Palestinian-controlled territory, and its third-largest city, Jerusalem, is adjacent to the border.

The second geographical problem from Israel’s perspective derives from local landforms. The northern half of Israel is a
strip of land 80 kilometers (50 miles) wide between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. It is divided into three roughly parallel physical regions (Figure 6–17, right):

- A coastal plain along the Mediterranean, extending inland as much as 25 kilometers (15 miles) and as little as a few meters
- A series of hills reaching elevations above 1,000 meters (3,300 feet)
- The Jordan River valley, much of which is below sea level

The UN plan for the partition of Palestine in 1947, as modified by the armistice ending the 1948–1949 war, allocated most of the coastal plain to Israel, whereas Jordan took most of the hills between the coastal plain and the Jordan River valley, a region generally called the West Bank (of the Jordan River). Farther north, Israel’s territory extended eastward to the Jordan River valley, but Syria controlled the highlands east of the valley, known as the Golan Heights.

Jordan and Syria used the hills between 1948 and 1967 as staging areas to attack Israeli settlements on the adjacent coastal plain and in the Jordan River valley. Israel captured these highlands during the 1967 war to stop attacks on the lowland population concentrations. Israel still has military control over the Golan Heights and West Bank a generation later, yet attacks by Palestinians against Israeli citizens have continued. Israeli Jews were divided for many years between those who wished to retain the occupied territories and those who wished to make compromises with the Palestinians. In recent years, a large majority of Israelis have supported construction of a barrier to deter Palestinian attacks (see Contemporary Geographic Tools box).

The ultimate obstacle to comprehensive peace in the Middle East is the status of Jerusalem. As long as any one religion—Jewish, Muslim, or Christian—maintains exclusive political control over Jerusalem, the other religious groups will not be satisfied. But Israelis have no intention of giving up control of the Old City of Jerusalem, and Palestinians have no intention of giving up their claim to it (see Global Forces, Local Impacts box).
Building a Barrier in the Middle East

Constructing a barrier to keep out the unwanted is one of the oldest of geographic tools. Walls were built around cities from ancient Ur through medieval Paris to modern Québec (see Chapter 12). The longest structure ever built, the Great Wall of China, is a 6,700-kilometer (4,200 mile) long barrier started around 688 B.C. (see photo, page 269). In the twentieth century, walls were built across Cyprus to separate warring Greek and Turkish ethnicities (see Chapter 8), and around West Berlin by the Communists to prevent East Germans from escaping.

The most ambitious barrier constructed in the twenty-first century has been the one Israel has placed between it and the West Bank. The government of Israel started building the barrier in 2002, with the support of most of its citizens, as a way to deter Palestinian suicide bombers from crossing into Israel. Israel had already built a fence along its border with the Gaza Strip after turning over some of that territory to Palestinian control in 1994.

The West Bank barrier is 670 kilometers (420 miles) in length. About 20 percent of it follows Green Line, which was the boundary between Israel and Jordan between 1949 and 1967. The remaining 80 percent is 20 meters (65 feet) and 20 kilometers (12 miles) inside the West Bank.

Israel’s separation barrier is actually a wall for only 5 percent of the route, mostly in dense urban areas such as suburbs of Jerusalem. The wall is typically concrete slabs 8 meters (26 feet) high and 3 meters (10 feet) thick.

Most of the barrier is actually a wide area, averaging 60 meters (200 feet) in width with several obstacles (Figure 6–1.1). Beginning on the Palestinian side, the first obstacle is a 1.8-meter (6-foot) pyramid-shaped stack of six barbed wire coils, then a 2-meter (7-foot) trench, then a dirt road suitable for military vehicles, then a 3-meter (10-foot) fence with electrical sensors, then a paved road for border police, then a strip of fine sand to detect footprints, then another barbed wire pyramid, and then finally on the Israeli side, surveillance cameras.

According to Israel’s government, the route of the barrier was selected for two technical reasons. First, the area had to be wide enough to make construction of a 60-meter-wide barrier feasible. Second, the route was designed to place the high ground on the Israeli side.

The barrier is controversial because it places on Israel’s side some of the West Bank, 7 to 12 percent of the land, home to between 10,000 and 50,000 Palestinians, according to various sources. In addition, the route has put three-quarters of the 240,000 of Israeli settlers in the West Bank on the Israeli side, according to B’Tselem (Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories), an Israeli organization that opposes the barrier (Figure 6–1.2).

The Israel Supreme Court has twice declared portions of the route illegal because Palestinian rights were violated. The court ruled that the barrier made it impossible for some Palestinians to reach their fields, water sources, and places of work. The International Court of Justice also issued an advisory that the barrier was illegal.

Ultimately, Israel and international organizations call the barrier the “separation fence,” but Palestinians call it the “racial segregation wall” in Arabic, or “apartheid wall” in English. Meanwhile, Israeli officials have been providing advice to U.S. Department of Homeland Security on how to construct a barrier along the U.S.–Mexico border to deter illegal immigration (see Chapter 3).

**Figure 6–1.1** Typical cross section of a barrier built by Israel in the West Bank.

**Figure 6–1.2** Route of barrier built by Israel in the West Bank.
The geography of Jerusalem makes it difficult if not impossible to settle the long-standing religious conflicts. The difficulty is that the most sacred space in Jerusalem for Muslims was literally built on top of the most sacred space for Jews.

Jerusalem is especially holy to Jews as the location of the Temple, their center of worship in ancient times. The First Temple, built by King Solomon approximately 1000 B.C., was destroyed by the Babylonians in 586 B.C. A few years later, when the Persian Empire, led by Cyrus the Great, gained control of Jerusalem, Jews were allowed to build a Second Temple. The Romans destroyed the Jewish Second Temple in 70. The Western Wall of the Temple survives.

The most important Muslim structure in Jerusalem is the Dome of the Rock, built in 691. Muslims believe that the large rock beneath the building’s dome is the place from which Muhammad ascended to heaven, as well as the altar on which Abraham prepared to sacrifice his son Isaac. Immediately south of the Dome of the Rock is the al-Aqsa Mosque.

The challenge facing Jews and Muslims is that al-Aqsa Mosque was built on the site of the ruins of the Jewish Second Temple. Thus, the surviving Western Wall of the Jewish Temple is situated immediately beneath holy Muslim structures.

Christians and Muslims call the Western Wall the Wailing Wall, because for many centuries Jews were allowed to visit the surviving Western Wall only once a year to lament the Temple’s destruction. After Israel captured the entire city of Jerusalem during the 1967 Six-Day War, it removed the barriers that had prevented Jews from visiting and living in the Old City of Jerusalem, including the Western Wall. The Western Wall soon became a site for daily prayers by observant Jews.

Israel allows Muslims unlimited access to that religion’s holy structures in Jerusalem and some control over them. Ramps and passages patrolled by Palestinian guards provide Muslims access to the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa Mosque without having to walk in front of the Western Wall where Jews are praying. However, because the holy Muslim structures sit literally on top of the holy Jewish structure, the two sets of holy structures cannot be logically divided by a line on a map.
SUMMARY

North Americans pride themselves on tolerance of religious diversity. Most North Americans are Christian, but they practice Christianity in many ways, including Roman Catholicism, many denominations of Protestantism, and other Christian faiths. In addition to 275 million Christians, North America is home to 7 million Muslims, 6 million Jews, 3 million Buddhists, 1 million Bahá'ís, 1 million Hindus, 4 million of other faiths, and 30 million nonreligious or atheist. The freedom to establish a religion is a protected right. The religious landscape looks different outside North America. One-third of the world’s people are Christian, but that leaves two-thirds who are not. Around the world, people care deeply about their religion and are willing to fight other religious groups and governments to protect their right to worship as they choose. The growth of Islam in Europe and of Christianity in Africa show that the religious landscape can change through migration and conversion. Almost all religions preach a doctrine of peace and love, yet religion has been at the center of conflicts throughout history. For geographers, religion represents a critical factor in explaining cultural differences among locations, as well as interrelationships between the environment and culture. Given the importance of religion to people everywhere, geographers are sensitive to the importance of accurately understanding global similarities and local diversity among religions. The key issues of this chapter demonstrate the impact of religion on the cultural landscape. Here again are the key issues for Chapter 6:

1. Where are religions distributed? The world has three large universalizing religions—Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism, each of which is divided into branches and denominations. Hinduism is the largest ethnic religion.

2. Why do religions have different distributions? A universalizing religion has a known origin and clear patterns of diffusion, whereas ethnic religions typically have unknown origins and little diffusion. Holy places and holidays in a universalizing religion are related to events in the life of its founder or prophet and are related to the local physical geography in an ethnic religion. Some religions encourage pilgrimages to holy places.

3. Why do religions organize space in distinctive patterns? Some religions have elaborate places of worship. Religions affect the landscape in other ways: religious communities are built, religious toponyms mark the landscape, and extensive tracts are reserved for burying the dead. Some but not all universalizing religions organize their territory into a rigid administrative structure to disseminate religious doctrine.

4. Why do territorial conflicts arise among religious groups? With Earth’s surface dominated by four large religions, expansion of the territory occupied by one religion may reduce the territory of another. In addition, religions must compete for control of territory with non-religious ideas, notably communism and economic modernization.

CASE STUDY REVISITED

Future of Buddhism in Tibet

When the Dalai Lama dies, Tibetan Buddhists believe that his spirit enters the body of a child. In 1937 a group of priests located and recognized a two-year-old child named Tenzin Gyatso as the fourteenth Dalai Lama, the incarnation of the deceased thirteenth Dalai Lama, Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara. The child was brought to Lhasa in 1939 when he was four and enthroned a year later. Priests trained the young Dalai Lama to assume leadership and sent him to college when he was 16.

Daily life in Tibet was traditionally dominated by Buddhist rites. As recently as the 1950s, one-fourth of all males were monks, and polygamy was encouraged among other males to produce enough children to prevent the population from declining.

After taking control of Tibet in 1950, the Chinese Communists sought to reduce the domination of Buddhist monks in the country’s daily life by destroying monasteries and temples. Farmers were required to join agricultural communes unsuitable for their nomadic style of raising livestock, especially yaks.

In recent years the Chinese have built new roads and power plants to help raise the low standard of living in Tibet. The Chinese argue that they have brought modern conveniences to Tibet, including paved roads, hospitals, schools, and agricultural practices. Some monasteries have been rebuilt, but no new monks are being trained. Tibet has been given a small degree of autonomy to operate local government.

The Dalai Lama has become an articulate spokesperson for religious freedom, and in 1989 he was awarded the world’s most prestigious award for peace, the Nobel Prize. Despite the efforts of the Dalai Lama and other Buddhists, though, when the current generation of priests dies, many Buddhist traditions in Tibet may be lost forever.

Potala Palace. Located in Lhasa, Tibet, the palace was the home of the Dalai Lama. China invaded Tibet in 1950, and after a failed rebellion in 1959 many Tibetans, including the Dalai Lama, fled.
KEY TERMS

- Animism (p. 190)
- Autonomous religion (p. 206)
- Branch (p. 183)
- Caste (p. 207)
- Cosmogony (p. 199)
- Denomination (p. 183)
- Diocese (p. 205)
- Ethnic religion (p. 183)
- Fundamentalism (p. 207)
- Ghetto (p. 196)
- Hierarchical religion (p. 205)
- Missionary religion (p. 192)
- Monotheism (p. 189)
- Pagan (p. 192)
- Pilgrimage (p. 196)
- Polytheism (p. 189)
- Sect (p. 183)
- Solstice (p. 200)
- Universalizing religion (p. 183)

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY

1. Sharp differences in demographic characteristics, such as natural increase, crude birth, and migration rates, can be seen among Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Middle East and between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. How might demographic differences affect future relationships among the groups in these two regions?

2. People carry their religious beliefs with them when they migrate. Over time, change occurs in the regions from which most U.S. immigrants originate and in the U.S. regions where they settle. How has the distribution of U.S. religious groups been affected by these changes?

3. To what extent have increased interest in religion and ability to practice religious rites served as forces for unification in Eastern Europe and the countries that were formerly part of the Soviet Union? Has the growing role of religion in the region fostered political instability? Explain.

4. Why does Islam seem strange and threatening to some people in predominantly Christian countries? To what extent is this attitude shaped by knowledge of the teachings of Muhammad and the Quran, and to what extent is it based on lack of knowledge of the religion?

5. Some Christians believe that they should be prepared to carry the word of God and the teachings of Jesus Christ to people who have not been exposed to them, at any time and at any place. Are evangelistic activities equally likely to occur at any time and at any place, or are some places more suited than others? Why?

FURTHER READINGS


Boal, Frederick W., and J. Neville H. Douglas, eds. *Integration and Division: Geographical Perspectives on the Northern Ireland Problem*. London and New YF


