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ANALYSIS TO: PARTY-PLATFORMS' ANSWERS TO THE COPTIC QUESTION WITHIN THE POST-REVOLUTION TRANSITION FOR A BETTER FUTURE

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ABSTRACT

The current study aims at analyzing the issue of Copts Rights in Egypt since the celebration of the January 25 Revolution's Anniversary till the 15th of March 2012. It looks into the initiatives towards solving the Muslim-Christian tensions in Egypt that were made in the parties' programs within the elections campaigns to win in 2012 Parliamentary elections and to fore-market their preferable Presidential Candidates in the first post-revolution presidential elections.

This is a timely topic that helps in predicting the future of Egyptians' national cohesion per regards to the status of Copts, especially after the rise of Islamic-oriented parties and their active participation in politics. Content analysis methodology is used to scrutinize one hundred fifty-five news articles from the two major online news sites *Alwafd.org* and *Ikhwanonline.com* that were key-players during the set timeframe.

The study finds that among all the reforms, projects and promises that were proposed by the parliamentary and presidential candidates within their campaigns, the Coptic Question has been profusely addressed and was excessively discussed in comparison with all other covered topics and political aspects that were covered. Rhetorical tenor of mentioning Copts varies; despite this, a collaborative compulsion to the necessity of solving sectarian tensions in Egypt is present.

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CHAPTER 1: CONTEXT AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

I. Objective and Purpose Statement

This study examines to what extent the post-revolution parties' platforms and speeches highlighted Copts' Rights and issues of religious freedom; furthermore, it aims to determine how or whether national unity (al-wehda al-watania) was emphasized as a conflict-resolution proposal for escaping sectarianism and combating division or fragmentation in the Egyptian citizenship body so as to seed a solid base on which a better future can grow.

II. Statement of the Research Problem

Religious tensions between Muslims and Christians have long existed in Egypt, to the extent that in some cities in Egypt the Christians were violently attacked at some points. This resulted in continuous tensions and disguised resentment inherited across generations even without experiencing direct discrimination attempts.

"Justice alone will protect the Copts … Justice must be achieved for all and justice comes about only through, for democracy is the solution" (Al-Aswany, 2011, p. 98). Pre-revolution, to survive under the corrupt unjust umbrella of the old authoritarian regime, Copts had to sacrifice the fight for democracy and focus on the struggle for sectarian autonomy instead.

However, post-revolution and under the slogan of "bread, freedom and social justice", Copts expect to regain their civil rights and become reconsidered as principle components of the Egyptian national civil state and not as a non-Muslim minority. The following is to check how the newly established post-revolution Egyptian Political Parties have paid attention to this expectation, addressed the Coptic Rights topic in their Political Platforms, what promises they made and how they considered the importance and necessity to resolve the Muslim-Christian tensions in Egypt.

III. Research Question

To what extent did political parties and their candidates in the parliamentary and presidential elections campaigns address Copts' Rights and religious freedom issues?

The investigative question:

What attention was given to Copts' Rights in party and candidate political positions statements during the parliamentary and presidential elections campaigns?

IV. Hypotheses

H1: The post-revolution Egyptian parties' programs and candidates addressed the Coptic question in a favorable/positive way within the Parliamentary campaigns.

H2: Post-revolution, party programs and candidates have heavily emphasized sectarianism and national unity (al-wehda al-watania) in their platforms and speeches.

V. Methodology

Being a relatively recent topic, the political party platforms and party representatives' official online speeches offer the best source of information to answer the questions above. Content analysis is a methodology used in research to provide a detailed descriptive investigation to a broad diversity of messages, however elusive, (Sparks, 2010). It was therefore selected as the research methodology for this study.

The analysis will consider the promises made towards collaboration between the Coptic community and the to-be-elected state figures to find room for Copts' social and political integration. Therefore, content analysis was the best methodology to utilize as it encodes the human verbal behavior and circumstantial symptoms and decodes them to a sequential flow of events that contribute to a historical process (Lasswell et al. 1952; Pool et al. 1952).

Finally, all the available data were 'texts' reported in articles and periodicals from public discussions and interviews. Consequently, content analysis was the wisest approach to limit subjective interpretation of data due to its description as a key non-intrusive technique for analyzing textual 'content' for communicated messages; such as words, themes, ideas, or symbols (Neumann, 1997, p.272-273).

The only disadvantage is that content analysis is devoid of a theoretical base to frame correlations implied in a study, providing flexibility to researcher's interpretation in operationalizing the data assimilated, producing a problematic analysis and drawing inferences that might negatively affect the society's image (Neuendorf, 2002). However, devoicing the study from generalizations and broad assumptions about the public response to the examined text, can easily confirm the study's objectivity and validity (Berger, 1998).

However, to overcome this disadvantage and to scientifically analyze the interpretations of text or the discourse *intertextuality,* Discourse analysis scientific research methodology was utilized to be able to test the validity of the first research hypothesis and check whether *"The post-revolution Egyptian parties' programs and candidates addressed the Coptic question in a favorable/positive way within the Parliamentary campaigns.".*

According to Gee (2011):

I use the term "Discourse"… for ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity. (2011:29)

Discourse analysis personifies the language and gives it "identity, relational and ideational" traits to express itself and project deep intertextual analysis that cannot be looked-up in a dictionary but has to be read from the hermeneutic implications and editorial context from which the text is extracted. It can be decomposed into five genres; *negation, discourse representation, metadiscourse, presupposition,* and *irony* (Fairclough, 1989).

Negation is the kind of discourse classification indicates rejection, denial and refusal to admitting a fact, and trying to prove it is contrary. *Discourse representation* is the kind of discourse classification implies the intention to highlight specific incidents and support them with direct quotes to enrich their value and hammer their indications within the audiences' perceptions. Similarly, the data gathered sometimes

included excessive emphasis on deterrence, oppression and subsidiarity, as if warning the public of the use of power in case of any disobedience or objection.

Metadiscourses is the kind of discourse classification indicates alienation to the topic discussed and acting as if writing objectively about it, while proposing the solutions that mismatch the expected. *Presupposition*, is kind of discourse classification implies taking propositions for granted so as to imply that the proposed wordings are facts; for example "the Zionist threat," assumes that such a threat exists. Finally, *Irony* is the kind of discourse classification indicates "saying one thing and meaning the opposite."

Digging deeper into critical Discourse Analysis, positive and negative discourses have to be differentiated. Positive discourse ignores deficits, adopts problem-solving scientific thinking, enhances community-belonging, empowers a virtuous circle and encourages self-regulation and individualistic positivity whose success, growth and inter-communal trust never awaits authorities' enforcement.

On the contrary, negative discourse focuses on the drawbacks, and their authoritarian means of elimination through the rule of law and policy enforcement which detaches the manhood of the audiences and discourage their enthusiasm, inter-communal trust and collaborative actions.

VI. Procedures

To be able to infer justifiable extrapolations from textual data, a hierarchal plan for content analysis procedures has to be set (Weber, 1990, p.9). Thus, specific procedures are to be defined in the selected text, depicted and analyzed to reach systematic testable data and display the results in a rigorous reliable context. Such procedures include defining the universe, specifying the population and selecting a particular Unit of Analysis.

a. Defining the Universe

This is the cornerstone to designing the architecture of the whole research and data gathering process as it defines the scope and limits of the study through specifying the timeframe and medium of the content (Wimmer & Dominick, 2005).

The timeframe of this study is the period of 100 days between the 7th of December, 2011 and the 15th of March, 2012. This period was selected due to three main reasons; first, this period marked the commencement of an intensive emphasis on Copts' rights in all political speeches. The 7th of December was the first day of a week prior to the 2nd round of Parliamentary elections after the success of a vast majority of members of Islamic parties, Freedom and Justice and Nour parties in the first round. This triggered Copts' fear of the dominance of the uprising Islamic political forces that might lead to the Islamization of the state.

Thus, candidates' electoral campaigns speeches shifted noticeably towards addressing the Coptic question and confirming the protection of their rights to try to attract their votes in the following 2nd and 3rd rounds of the parliamentary candidates elections, from which the constituent assembly was to be elected.

Second, within this period the revolution's first anniversary took place and parallel incidents of sectarianism as the massacres of the Saints' Church and Maspero, were recalled. Third, within this period campaigning for the presidential elections had started and parties started marketing their candidates, specially the FJP and El-Nour parties after their remarkable success in the Parliament.

Being popular parties of an Islamic background, these parties have made variable speeches to propagate among the civil society their intention to guarantee civil rights under the umbrella of Islam. On the other hand, liberal parties were to produce speeches supporting their candidates as well as some independent candidates whose speeches insisted on the implementation of democracy and necessitated the separation between the state and the religion.

Thus, abundant data could be gathered to answer the research question and confirm/refute the hypotheses. However, the period had to end before the 17th of March, the day Pope Shenouda died and abundant articles where published to commemorate him. Thus, extending the timeframe might have affected the accuracy and validity of the data gathering and variables' analysis.

For the medium, in this study, the researcher selected online news articles published on the two prominent news sites, Ikhwanonline.com and Alwafd.org, that played the role of a double-edged sword as they were positioned as the official websites of the parties with which they are entitled and consider themselves news sites as well. News about promises, statements or speeches made by party parliamentary and/or presidential candidates, regarding any discourse about a resolution to the Coptic question, within timeframe, were collected for analysis.

b. Population

The researcher relied on a contemporary population-selection design where the content analysis population at particular online news sites would be selected from samples of original news. Original news is all types of news that have defined sources whose names are clearly stated in the byline. Such sources can be staff reporters, contributing writers, Reuters, New York Times, Associated Press or public newspapers or agencies. Due to the existence of a large number of online news sites, a purposive sample had to be selected.

Wimmer and Dominick (2005) illustrated the importance of purposive sampling in content analysis as "they found that from 1971 to 1995, 68% of *Journalism Quarterly* content analyses used a purposive sample". Also, purposive samples are significantly useful when "you want to construct a historical reality, describe a phenomenon, or develop something about which only a little is known" (Kumar, 2005, p. 179), which is the case of the topic of study.

A purposive sample is a specific researcher-selected sample that matches pre-defined research criteria and aspects and eliminates whatever lacks these qualities (Wimmer & Dominick, 2005). Therefore, the researcher had to make deliberate choices with "clear objectivity so that the sample stands up to independent scrutiny" (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p. 80).

Thus, in determining the purposive sample, and to fairly cover all different dimensions or perspectives of news coverage and analysis, the initial plan was to narrow down the news sites sample selection to five news sites; *Egypt Independent* , *Arab West Report*, *New York Times*, *Ikhwanweb* and *Copts United* news sites.

However, the selected sites produced general articles that not only tackled the parties' opinions regarding the rights of Copts but also included opinions of international scholars and politicians. Therefore, the news sites selected were changed to be more party-oriented and finally the chosen news sites were *Ikhwanonline.com*, the news site of the Islamic-oriented Freedom and Justice Party and *Al-Wafd.org*, the news site of the Wafd liberal party.

Ikhwanonline.com news site is the official Arabic website of the Muslim Brotherhood and was founded on Friday, November 25, 2011, to record all MENA-related data regarding protests and/or uprisings. It transmits the movement's doctrines, reports movement-related news, and attempts to confront anti-Islamic misconceptions.

Despite the existence of three other official FJP's news-related websites that voice the news and opinions of the FJP; one in English for the FJP platform at fjponline.com, another for the FJP platform as well, but in Arabic at hurryh.com, and lastly, Ikhwanweb at ikhwanweb.com which is the other official website of the Muslim Brotherhood but in English, the research found that all data of these three websites pour into *Ikhwanonline.com*, the most updated of all, therefore selected it.

Alwafd.org news site is an Arabic-language news website that resembles the journalistic voice of the Wafd liberal party that is considered liberal, democratic and mostly in a state of critique and oppositions to regimes so as to direct them to national-liberalism since their foundation in 1984.

From the selected purposive sample of news sites, the researcher extracted all available articles investigating dynamics of Christian-Muslim community correlation, stimulating debate over issues of religious freedom, calling for respect of minority rights and/or Copt's involvement in the political transitions of revolutionary Egypt. Abundant data was found therefore the timeframe was divided into two halves.

Since news coverage of two constructed weeks is sufficient for demonstrating a year's worth of data (Riffe et al., 2005), the first fifty days' articles (26th Jan-15th Mar) were collected constructively and from the remaining fifty days (7th Dec-25th Jan), five days' articles were randomly selected. Those five days were the 11th, 21st

and 31st of December along with the 12th and 20th of January. The final sample included 155 articles (61 from *Alwafd.org* and 94 ones from *Ikhwanonline.com*).

c. Unit of Analysis

Berger (1991) says, "Content analysis is a research technique that is based on measuring the amount of something in a representative sampling of some mass-mediated popular form of art" (p. 25). In this study, the unit of analysis is the entire news article. An independent Muslim Egyptian researcher, Sarah Ahmed Fouad, volunteered in reviewing the data gathered and checking their selection objectivity, validity, and detachment from bias. Then, we designed a coding scheme for analysis; which is a set of variables from which steadfast conclusions can be derived.

d. Variables Selection and Coding

Riffe *et al.* (2005, p. 25) define quantitative content analysis as "the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods." Therefore, variables were defined upon a scientific rational to be easily coded and studied. They were defined with regards to the three sectors of reform that addressed the revolution's slogan "bread, freedom and social justice". Thus, the three principle variables or classification to the analyzed text were upon economic, political and social reform. Within the gathered text related to social reform, data related to Copts was filtered and was sub-divided upon the variables of positivity and negativity.

VII. Limitations

A significant limitation to this study is the inability of its replication because the timeframe was during a sporadic era with the reshaping of the Egyptian political state and the exclusive establishment of Islamic parties, and the episodic attention and news coverage, all of which contributed an abundance of data. Furthermore, no other incidents had similar coverage except for those that reported violence or discriminatory oppressions that were to be subjective and biased.

On the other hand, this is a recent infant topic that has not been studied before. Therefore, fresh primary data was the principle component of the research. Not enough academic secondary data was found to enrich the research with challenging arguments around dimensional cross-linked variables to further-validate data analysis.

VIII. Research Outline

In this chapter, the general context, theoretical framework and research objective and problems have been presented. In Chapter 2 next, the history of religious tension is dealt with then the 'Coptic Question' is defined. Chapter 3 illustrates the points of contention between the Copts and the Egyptian state with specific regards to census figures, implications of Article II in the Constitution and its impact on personal status laws, religious identity on the National ID and its impact on conversion, and construction of churches. In Chapter 4, the content analysis process is illustrated along with the theoretical exigencies for variables-selection justification, methodological delimitation, data gathering and data analysis. Finally, the conclusion summarizes the whole research and concludes the research findings.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL BRIEF OF RELIGIOUS TENSIONS IN EGYPT

This Chapter is a historical brief about the evolution of the relationship between the Christian community, known as the Copts, and the political institutions, across the reigns of variable leaders starting from Mohamed Ali till Mubarak's ousted regime to trace the evolution of sectarian tensions in Egypt. Then it closes with a section that concludes from the epochs traced, what "Coptic Question" means.

There are no records of sectarian tensions within Mohamed Ali Pasha's reign, it aimed to achieve his Renaissance Project and this needed the co-operation of all components of the Egyptian society. Thus, he appointed Coptic officials and sent many Copts to educational missions in Europe. On the political front, the first documentation of incidents of sectarian tension was on March 1911.

After the assassination of Premier Boutros Ghaly, the first Coptic Prime Minister in the history of Egypt, Coptic elites in Asyut formed the Coptic Convention to combat sectarian discrimination in public employment and educational systems (El-Bishry, 2004). In response, Ahmed Lotfy El-Sayed, formed the Egyptian Islamic Convention that rejected resolutions made by the later and marked the introduction of sectarian tensions in the history of Modern Egypt (El-Bishry, 2004).

In 1919, striving towards independence from one Foreign entity i.e. The British Occupation, no sectarian overtone could suppress the union of Egyptian Muslims and Christians, under one flag, led by the Coptic-structured Wafd Party to overthrow the British rule and crown the Golden era of religious tolerance in Egypt (Carter, 1996). In contrast with the 1919 revolution, the 1952 coup d'état and its "Revolution Leadership Council" did not include a Copt.

Heikal (2000) noted that this era marked beginning of the migration movement of Copts, mainly among the elite who could afford the expenses of resettlement then. However, with Nasser's insistence on the secularity of Egypt's ideology and his exceptional friendship with Pope Cyril VI, his era marked a peak of religious intimacy and national unity specially after ordering the companies of the public sector to provide 1.5-2 million Egyptian pounds to the church, to cover the expenses of building the new Cathedral then (Heikal, 2000).

Then, when Sadat came to power in1970, he released the Islamic activists to overcome the leftist uprising group then and started including Islamic themes within his speeches (Farah, 1986). Also, he amended Article (2) to read "Shari' a is *the* main source of legislation" instead of "*a* main source of legislation" (Dowidar, 2000).

This contributed to the fundamentalism of an Islamization process of an Islamic Core Identity (Ansari, 1984). Therefore, Islamists considered themselves the denominator of the majority alienating and marginalizing the traditionally quiescent Coptic community excluding them from the political arena and considering them secondary status outsiders who need some rights to be protected (Zeidan, 1999).

This sectarian distinction has led to an ideological fragmentation in the national apparatus injecting hatred and repulsion from both sides leading to the first sectarian clashes in the history of Modern Egypt in the village of Khanka in Qalyoubia Governorate in 1972 (Ibrahim, 2011). One Sunday, finding no church to conduct Sunday service, Copts held it in one of the social clubs.

Being a social place and not a sacred church for worshipping, this triggered one of the fundamental Islamists to gather villagers and attack the worshippers (Ibrahim, 2011). Despite lacking deaths, the government announced an emergency session and Sadat formed a "Committee of wise men" headed by the Parliament Deputy Gamal El-Otiefy that studied the roots of such sectarian tensions and came up with concrete recommendations, although these were never applied (Fawzy, 2003).

Pope Shenouda, being the Patriarch and leader of the Coptic Church, was the official spokesman of Copts Rights in Egypt especially after the recurrence of sectarian incidents. Thus, Sadat accused him of intervening in State Politics and prosecuted him in September 1981. In October 1981, Al-Jama'a Al-Islameya, a group of extremists, assassinated Sadat leaving to, his successor, Mubarak a burden of Copts' mistrust and intolerance who lifted the issue from a sectarian question to a security apparatus (Fawzy, 2003).

Mubarak, coming to power, tried to overcome this issue and started with releasing The Pope, Sadat's monastic exile. Then, in the nineties, he launched a "National Unity" Campaign and announced the seventh of January, the Coptic Christmas as a national holiday (Van, 2011).

However, the rise of the Islamic opposition groups, during Sadat's leadership, imposed severe pressure over Mubarak's regime giving room to ultra-Islamic groups to spread discriminatory trends leading to the establishment of a sectarian intolerant conservative atmosphere (Vatikiotis, 1986). Thus, refraining from intervention to relieve interreligious tensions, Mubarak's regime led to the polarization of Muslims-Christians relations and escalated the acts of violence against the Coptic minority (Vatikiotis, 1986).

Sectarian violence escalated to the extent of 53 incidents of sectarian violence in 17 different governorates in Egypt ended with the intended spewed shooting of one Muslim soldier and six Christians exiting a church at mid-night of the 6th of January, the Coptic Christmas eve in Naga Hammadi (Ramadan, et al, 2011). In April 2011 Report, the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom recommended CPC or 'Country of Particular Concern' designation for Egypt. "CPCs are nations whose conduct marks them as the world's worst religious freedom violators and human rights abusers," said Leonard Leo, the Chair of USCIRF (USCIRF, 2011).

After President Mubarak's ousted from the presidential office in February 2011, Egypt witnessed religious tensions and increased violence, especially on the religious minorities such as Coptic Christians (USCIRF, 2011). However, Coptic Church rejected the US commission report and refused foreign intervention (Khalil, 2011). The Copts, just as the rest of the Egyptian Society, are sensitive to issues of foreign intervention in Egypt's internal domestic affairs.

Post-revolution, after the establishment and dominance of such climate of impunity along, fanatic Islamists acquired wider room to inject their thoughts among poor/illiterate citizens and push them towards sectarian violence to the extent of burning a church as the incidents of Imbaba, Sol and bombing the Qiddissin (2 saints) church of Alexandria (CIA, 2011).

Defining the "Coptic Question":

Having walked through some glimpses of the history of sectarianism across the political reigns of Modern Egypt since 1911 until Mubarak's ousting, a "Coptic issue" or "Coptic Question" imposes itself on the socio-political parameters of Egypt.

According to the Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies (2011), it shall be dealt with as a question of aegis of a national democratic state and "not the result of foreign conspiracies or Islamic incitement, nor the mere product of an isolationist clerical institution". Consequently, the long-awaited post-revolution democratic fruits can't be harvested without not through poetic rhetoric of "fraternity" but with actual implementation of pluralistic conflict-resolution projects upon the analysis of latent problems and egalitarianism of Copts as Egyptian citizens and not a minority (2011).

CHAPTER 3: POINTS OF CONTENTION BETWEEN THE COPTS AND THE EGYPTIAN STATE

The study aims to search for the perspectives stated, in newly-established Post-Revolution Egyptian political parties platforms, on how to resolve the Muslim-Christian tensions in Egypt and establish a state of equality and citizenship that grants Copts Rights. However, to test for the validity of conflict-resolution approaches and promises made by the Political Parties, this Chapter aims to observe the history of such tensions, and principle sources and causes of sectarianism. Abundant research was done on religious tensions and specifically on the historical accumulations of the Coptic minority issues in Egypt. The present literature review provides a contextualization of the national causes of sectarianism in Egypt.

I. Census Figures

The lack of reliable numbers and data for census figures on the number and distribution of Copts in Egypt and abroad, creates mutual illusions, and hence, barriers towards implementing full citizenship rights and procedures. In Egypt, there is a hindrance to accessibility of any data that can aid researchers and decision-makers in setting their policy designs related to Copts population.

Publishing such data can put a ceiling to the citizenship dialogue that should continuously take place in society and found a solid ground for political representation. Official figures of Copts in Egypt were of 6% according to November 1976 statistics (Al-Gohary, 2007). In 1911, the percentage of Coptic employees reached 45% of civil service (Luca, 2001). However, since 1919 revolution until prior to 1952, Egypt witnessed an era of citizenship, national unity and representation of Copts. Copts compromised around 10 % of the parliament then (Iskander, 2011).

Overall, the official estimates of Copts in Egypt revolves around 6-8%, while in late January 2007 Bishop Marcos, spokesman of the Coptic Church, issued a controversial statement suggesting that Copts constitute 15-18% of the population (Shahine, 2007). It is not an issue of numbers as much as it is an issue of a call for extra-quota for governmental posts so as to fairly represent and voice their rights.

The number of Copts in Diaspora adds another controversy. Unofficial estimates claim it reached two millions, half of them in the United States (Mesahel et al, 2007). The average difference between government and church estimates is 10% in a manner that generates a sense of exaggeration and manipulation as well as lack of transparency, which inject frustrations within the Coptic community. Moreover, it negatively affects their political representation in the Parliamentary due to their consideration as a minority of a quota equivalent to their percentage in the population.

II. Constitution's Article 2

A constitution is a set of rules and regulations that define the ideology of an entity; therefore, each statement is a crucial component in shaping the entity's community and defining its citizens' national identity. Thus, a crucial root of religious discrimination lies in Egypt's constitution Article (2). Despite the fact that Articles 8, 40 and 46 of Egypt's Constitution confirm egalitarianism and social justice between non-Muslims and Muslims, nothing has been more controversial than Article 2, even after the amendments that were made in the constitution at 2007 (Farahat, 2005). Article 2 states that; "Islam is the Religion of the State. Arabic is its official language, and the principal source of legislation is Islamic Jurisprudence" (Dowidar, 2000).

According to Article (149) of the 1923 constitution –Egypt's most liberal constitution - Islam resembled the official religion of the Egyptian state. However, no signs of protest from Muslims or Copts appeared. In 1971 Constitution amendments, to reaffirm a "State of Science and Faith", Sadat's regime added to Article (2) that Shari' a was "a" source of jurisprudence (Farahat, 2005). But, May 1980, fixing the article letting Shari' a "the" source of legislation, concerns appeared (Dowidar, 2000).

The rapport between Copts and the Islamic state have witnessed phases of evolution along history. Before the Ottoman Empire, the Islamic state considered Copts as "Ahl Al-Dhimma" or the people of the Book that indicated the people of the other two Abrahamic monotheistic religions, Christianity and Judaism (Lewis, 1988). Thus, the Dhimma was kind of a contract of security and shelter to "Ahl Al-Dhimma" in addition to a guaranteed equality of laws and obligations, in return to a tax poll or "Jizyah" paid, Islamic economic dominance and an exclusion from specific duties restricted to Muslims (Lewis, 1988).

Then, after the Ottoman Empire, Copts were granted self-management within the "Millet" pact between the Sultan and the non-Muslims, in general (Lewis, 1988). However, as society shifts towards conservatism and with the birth of new Muslim Brotherhood and Salafi organizations, the pact's ramifications started to fade and a call for solid definition to citizenship became crucial to avoid further controversy in an already-controversial file (Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies, 2011).

III. Personal Status Laws

There is no official set of legislations to organize matters of personal status for non-Muslims. Also, the current laws organizing personal status carry forms of discrimination based on religious belief. For example, Article (6) in Law no. 462 for year 1955 enforced the application of Islamic Shari' a in cases of divorce, if either the husband or wife was Muslim (Farahat, 2005).

This article has been abused by many non-Muslims, who converted to Islam, to obtain a divorce ruling in contradiction to the tenet of the Coptic faith (Aziz, 2010). Consequently, variable violent sectarian attacks occurred in Egypt due to the conversion of Copts –especially women- to Islam, to be able to get divorced and remarry (Ibrahim, 2011).

From his own perspective, Farahat (2005) called for a unified law for organizing matters of personal status for both Muslims and non-Muslims, trying to bring together the mostly agreed-upon options in all religions, instead of the diversification of laws handling this matter. Special sections would be included to define specific spiritual taboos that are untouchable respective to issues of personal status according to each religion (Farahat, 2005).

IV. Religious Identity and the National ID

The display of religious identity in national ID's is another controversial topic. Article 46 of the 1971 Constitution states: "The State shall guarantee the freedom of belief and the freedom of practice of religious rites." Thus, no convincing reason has been expressed as to why the religion slot in the ID should be maintained. That's because, if citizen wants to convert to any religion s/he faces lots of obstacles to legalize his/her new religious identity and becomes vulnerable to problems even.

It is wise to keep religious identity in official archives, while not stating it in accessible documents like the ID in order to combat discrimination. Given that article (2) of the constitution is reconsidered, a unified law for constructing churches will be issued, and laws of personal status for Egyptian citizens are being tackled, the religion slot on ID must be cancelled so that citizenship will be grounded on the constitutional and legal levels. No stimulant for sectarian tension will then remain in documents.

V. Construction of Churches

The issue of construction and/or renovation of churches have ever been of great debate on the sectarian agenda. Obstacles to building churches have reflected an outright discrimination against the rights of belief and practicing religious sermons leading, sometimes to the outburst of violent Muslim-Coptic confrontations. Several phases took place in tackling the issue of building and/or renovation of churches. Construction of churches is regulated by a ten-conditioned decree issued by Mohammed El Ezaby, Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior, back in February 1934 (Labib, 2000).

The ten conditions mostly hinder the construction of churches, and accordingly, challenge the concept of citizenship and equality. Even, if the ten conditions are fulfilled, getting a permit to build a church involves a lot of bureaucracy and procrastination; the license papers should be referred to the Minister of Interior and then to the President of State to gain written approvals (Fastenrath, C., & Kazanjian, C., 2008). Even minor renovations like renewing a wall or building a services complex in the campus of an existing church needed a presidential approval, which forced some public Coptic figures to call for a Presidential decree (Fastenrath, C., & Kazanjian, C., 2008).

The freedom to construct worship houses should not be absolute, but rather regulated to maintain freedom of belief, and meanwhile, ensure stability and peace within local communities (Osman, 2011). Therefore, a lot of efforts have been paid towards issuing a unified law for building worship houses that eliminates discernment between mosques and churches when obtaining official license. However, drafting a law of such importance and magnitude was put off for 20 years (Sidhom, 2008).

A law draft was proposed by the National Council for Human Rights (NCHR) in 2005 which would enforce a "unified and civil" arrangement to the construction of worship houses, whether mosque or church, without ignoring the genesis of local governance approvals, security recommendations, and community participation (National American Coptic Assembly, 2010).

One criticism of this proposal is that it might lead to a massive building activity to the extent that it causes sectarian conflicts and sectary hazards. However, this might only exist in areas considered as hot spots for religious tension (Osman, 2011). On the other hand, the application of such law –specially in newly-inhabited cities as 6th of October and New Cairo– is a golden opportunity to reinforce citizenship and coexistence, as these cities have not yet been fully populated and there exists a chance to seed, in such formative societies, the National Unity aspects referred to in article 3 in Egypt's Constitution. On June 2011, the cabinet redrafted the law but it has not been approved yet (Osman, 2011).

Ignorance to resolving those contentious catalysts will lead to further national resentment as well as more and more narratives of sectarian conflicts that might result in deaths. Perpetual rapport and negotiation for contentions-resolution will waste not only time, but also harvesting the fruits of the January 25th revolution. That revolution has mainly asked for equality and justice which will not occur if any member of the nation feels misrepresented and looses his/her sense of belonging, equality and security. The coming chapter will display how the key-players, among the post-revolution political parties, addressed the Coptic question in their party-programs.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS OF PARTIES' PLATFORMS POST-REVOLUTION

After four decades of dictatorship and political oppression from the authoritarian old regime, new parties had to be established to accomplish the long-awaited revolutionary transition towards democratic governance and attain the political and partisan balance. The commencement of the transitional democratic process marked the rise of two principle political forces, the liberal force of leftists and Copts, and the Islamic force that began with the Muslim Brotherhood's Movement and the Salafis'. Thus, to avoid any fragmentation in the national body or spoiling the revolution's goal of democracy, the 34 newly established post-revolution parties decided to bridge the gap between their ideologies and formed the first political bloc, the Democratic Alliance in June 13, 2011.

Unfortunately, objectivity and ideologies' separation from politics could not be attained and therefore the Democratic Alliance was sub-divided into two smaller Alliances; the Egyptian Bloc was formed of fourteen leftist and liberal parties, on August 15, 2011 to represent the Liberal Force and the Islamist Alliance was formed of four Islamist parties, on September 29, 2011 to represent the Islamic Force. Despite the Islamic dominance of the Freedom and Justice Party in the Democratic Alliance, the Islamist Salafi Parties insisted on distancing themselves from the Democratic Alliance due to their conflict with the Muslim Brotherhood movement in the interpretation of the 'Islamic frame of reference' and application of Islamic Law.

Finding this polarity between the two forces, Al-Adl Party with Al-Wasat and the Egyptian Current parties thought of establishing "Third Way" coalition that that resembles a centrist movement aimed at preaching the secular Islamic doctrines that would ideally balance between the Islamic and liberal forces. However, thoughts and doctrines of that coalition never came to implementation. Instead, the youth, finding no representation to their generation, formed in October the 'Completing the Revolution' Alliance, from nine liberal, socialist and moderate Islamist parties.

Finding no compatibility with the existing forces, the 34 year-old Wafd Party, left the Democratic Alliance, decided to act independently and avoid joining any other coalitions or alliances, although three prominent Wafdists, Mona Makram Obeid, Alaa Eldin Abdel Moneim and Mustafa El-Guindi left the party to join the Egyptian Bloc.

The following paragraphs will analyze specific terms from the political platforms of the prominent founding party of each alliance as well as that of the New Wafd Party, the only party that since independence played a prominent role in the political electoral sphere. The only selected terms from the party-programs are those related to citizenship, freedom of religion, sectarianism or minority rights to enrich the study with enough variables for the following procedures of data gathering and analysis. The researcher picked the following five parties specifically due to their fame and importance as major key-players in the political sphere.

The Freedom and Justice Party of the Democratic Alliance

Being well-established, organized and experienced in multiparty elections during preceding regimes of Sadat and Mubarak, the Muslim Brotherhood Movement was the most ready entity for establishing a party. Also, they were in strife for the political transition from the autocratic bureaucratic old regimes, which used to suppress them, to a democratic state that preserves the rights of citizens to political participation, equality, freedom of expression and security. Their keenness and devotion helped them in establishing the Freedom and Justice Party in May that became, in no time, the dominant Islamist party in Egypt. Despite the non-Muslims fear of being marginalized at that epoch of high probability of State Islamization, the Party assured them equality and justice where "they are obliged to the same duties as their fellow Muslims and they enjoy the same rights as their fellow Muslims as well" (Freedom and Justice Party, 2011).

Religion/Citizenship-related Party Terms: (2011)

1. The principles of Islamic Sharia (Islamic Law) is the main source of legislation in the enactment of laws in practice and during the implementation of verdicts ; parallel to the recognition of the rights of the non-Muslims to resort to the rituals of their personal matters whose specificity differ from the provisions of Islamic Law.
2. The objectives of Sharia (Maqasid) represent an overarching set of prioritizations for policies and strategies that shape the party's civilization-based values Also, Shura (consultation) will attain democracy and cooperation of elected assemblies in governance.

The Free Egyptians Party of the Egyptian Bloc

This Party was launched in April 2011- by Egyptian Coptic Businessman Naguib Sawiris. Being a Copt, Sawiris, former chairman of Orascom Telecom Holding, stated severally that the party is for all Egyptians, and not just Copts. With 100,000 registered members, it was probably the second only well-organized party to compete with great potential against the Freedom and Justice Party.

Religion/Citizenship-related Party Terms (Free Egyptians Party, 2011):

- Accepting Islam as the state religion provided that a Democratic state is established respectful to the Rule of Law and constructed upon sustainable, respectful legislative Constitution articles that affirm secular governance, justice, equality, freedom of expression, political participation, without any religious, color, gender, ethnic or social discrimination.
- Ensuring social justice and citizens' prosperity through a pro-business and pro-trade economic system based on a free market economy, to put Egypt at par with developed countries (Free Egyptians Party, 2011).
- Believing that the new Egypt has to be a civil democratic state realizing the revolution's ideals of bread, freedom and social justice, the party, along with other alliance parties' leaders, called for the necessity of declaring a supra-constitutional declaration of principles before the elections (2011).

The Nour Party of the Islamist Alliance

It is the first Salafi political organization to establish a political party in June 2011 advocating gradual reform under the slogan: "The only reform we desire is the reform we can achieve" (Al-Nour, 2011).

Religion/Citizenship-related Party Term:

- Preserving the Islamic rule of law as the main source of regulation for all political, social and economic issues. Thus, freedoms and rights are accommodated in the framework of Article 2.

The Egypt Freedom Party of the 'Completing the Revolution' Alliance

This Party was formed on May 11, 2011 by Egyptian intellectual Amr Hamzawy after his resignation from the Egyptian Social Democratic Party that released a statement condemning the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces. It is a group of young Egyptian revolutionists from all disciplines and sectors, i.e. socialists, activists, civilians, workers, etc. in order to lay the foundations of Democratic in Egypt. It's close to the ideology of Free Egyptians Party, except that it places a greater stress on social justice and the welfare state (Egypt Freedom Party, 2011).

Religion/Citizenship-related Party Terms:

- Calls for immediate commencement of legislative and executive short and long term instruments to combat the phenomena of discriminatory practices that have long suppressed citizens in Egypt.
- Copts and Women rights are considered a top priority. That is because Christians suffer from discrimination in respect to the construction of houses of worship and freedom of religious practice and representation in public and political life. Egyptian women, especially low-income women, suffer from discrimination in regards to their rights and freedom in the private and public spheres due to gender discount.

The Wafd Party

Re-established in 1978, after being banned following the 1952 revolution, to participate in Sadat's multi-party system, the party was famous for representing Copts. However, after Wafd allied with the Muslim Brotherhood in 1984 parliamentary elections, several Copts left (Wafd Party, 2011). Participating in the Democratic process post-revolution, the veteran Al-Wafd party, preached secularism in the sense of separating religion and state, and theocracy in the sense of a rule of clerics (2011).

Religion/Citizenship-related Party Terms:

- Guaranteeing minimum wage, cancelling the emergency law as well as security courts and a transition of power through legally-supervised elections, in a mission towards fulfilling the demands of the revolution.
- Seeking the independence of the justice system, as well as issuing laws to secure the right of non-Muslim citizens to be judged personal status issues upon the norms and beliefs of their monotheistic religion.
- Enacting a law allowing the prosecution of ministers and members of the executive branch, appointing a vice president and protecting freedom of media.

CHAPTER 5: DATA GATHERING AND ANALYSIS

To be able to test the two experimented hypotheses and assure that Copt's were to be addressed excessively in the party-programs and platforms and that there was a special weight to addressing sectarianism and national unity in the party representatives' speeches. Overall, 155 articles were selected and analyzed by the researcher upon the following variables that define the three principle topics addressed by all party representatives' to influence the public during the first post-revolution parliamentary campaigns. These three core variables were the umbrellas that were to coat the principle motives behind the revolution; "Bread, Freedom and Social Justice" (see Appendix).

I. Data Gathering and Classification:

a) Combating Corruption and Economic Reform:

Despite the importance and necessity of a solid strategy based on scientific logic and experimented rational, only economic specialists and academic intelligence could claim some suggestions and crucial economic actions that were mostly legislative- oriented rather than project or business-oriented. Thus, they were top-down and not tangible practical on-ground projects and plans not only to earn "money" but also to attain citizen satisfaction, competitive industrialization, raising exportations, increasing savings and attaining a realistic long-term bottom-up reform.

Therefore, party representatives were to escape this question of intellectual specialization and project-oriented strategic-thinking and focused mainly on the core-component of Economic reform, "money". So, they speak more of the flaws of the old regime and how they will seek combating "corruption", escaping the need for "loans", reaching International agreements to return Egyptian Citizens' national capital, that x-regime politicians sent to foreign countries, and revising all the approvals and signatures related to issuing laws about taxes and taxation regulations and checking the transparency of their implementation to depict the leakage of public capital that might occur from gigantic factories and companies that escape taxes.

b)   Political and Constitutional Reform:

A top-down political and constitutional reform was a corner-stone in all party-platforms in order to promise a secured establishment of laws and regulations of whatever rights they preach for and guarantee that they last whatever the duration of the elected party-figures was. Also, this was a crucial pillar of any post-revolution party as the initial catalyst of the revolution was the slogan to "change" the regime and combat "oppression", hear the "silenced" and grant all "freedoms". Therefore, political figures included terms like; "reform", "good-governance", "peaceful transition", "democratization", "decision-making efficiency", "parliament", "combating bureaucracy", "democratic elections", "constitution" and "leadership".

c)   Social Justice and Citizenship:

Oppression and injustice were two of the main symptoms defining the x-regime. Therefore, party-figures were to devote a large portion of their speeches and platforms to this noble goal of attaining equality, standard citizenship, and social justice to revive the patriotic attachment and national conscience in Egyptians. Therefore, political figures included terms like; "social justice", "equality", "rights", "combating unemployment", "minimum wages law", "nationalism", "health", "workers", "patriotism", "development", "gender equality ", "women", "education", "minorities", "security" and "combating stereotype".

⇒ Regarding Copts Rights and religious freedom:

The most used and abundantly found terms were; "Christians and Muslims", "Egypt's Copts", "Coptic center", "the Copts", "cross and crescent symbolism", "non-Muslims' rights", "Dhimmis", "people of the book", "brothers", "sectarianism", "secular", "partners", "together", "merge", "inclusivity", "national unity", "combating conspiracy", "sedition", "incitement", "sectarian strife", and "religious cover".

II. Findings

Reform monitored	Mentions by Ikhwanonline.com from 94 articles	Mentions by Alwafd.org from 61 articles
Economic Reform "corruption", "loans", "foreign aid", "taxes", "taxation", "regulations", "law", "gas", "oil" "investment", "leakage", "public", "capital", "factories", "imports", "exports", "International agreements" and "companies".	20 (18.8 %)	5 (3.05 %)
Political reform terms: "reform", "good-governance", "peaceful transition", "democratization", "decision-making efficiency", "parliament", "Judges", "combating bureaucracy", "democratic elections", "constitution" and "leadership".	76 (71.44 %)	49 (29.89 %)
Social Reform: "social justice", "equality", "rights", "combating unemployment", "minimum wages law", "nationalism", "health", "workers", "patriotism", "development", "gender equality ", "women", "education", "security" and "combating stereotype".	39 (36.66 %)	38 (23.18)
Copts Issues specifically: "Christians and Muslims", "Egypt's Copts", , "cross& crescent symbolism", "Dhimmis", "national unity", "non-Muslims' rights", "inclusivity", "protection", "people of the	34 (31.96 %)	36 (21.96 %)

book", "brothers", "partners" and "together".		

a) <u>Quantitative Findings out of the data gathered and afore-tabulated :</u>

1. *IkhwanOnline.com*
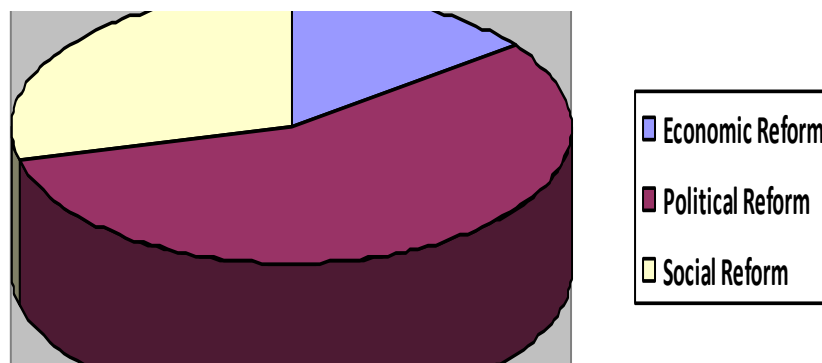
37 % of the 94 articles monitored, indicated Social Reforms, among which 87.2% addressed Copts, National Unity and Citizenship, Equality and Minority Rights.

2. *Alwafd.org*
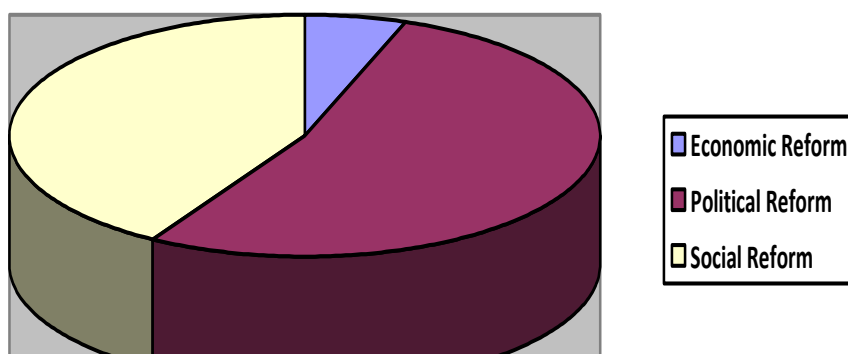
23 % of the 61 articles monitored, indicated Social Reforms, among which 94.7% addressed Copts, National Unity and Citizenship, Equality and Minority Rights.

Thus, the research findings indicated relative weight attached to citizenship and nationalism within party-platforms and party-representatives' speeches which prove the second research hypothesis H2:

'Post-revolution, party programs and candidates have heavily emphasized sectarianism and national unity (al-wehda al-watania) in platforms and speeches."

31

b)   <u>Qualitative Findings:</u>

Regarding the First research hypothesis H1:

"The post-revolution Egyptian parties' programs and candidates addressed the Coptic question in a favorable/positive way within the Parliamentary campaigns."

Despite the fact that the Coptic question with regards to Copts' Rights in Egypt, was heavily addressed and excessively mentioned, not a project was proposed by any political party and no actual actions, initiatives or legislative amendments were promised to be voiced till resolved. All promises and terms that were to address civic rights seem to have been intended to be generic poetic cliché narratives, those balm injuries but never cure them. Also, as explained within the methodology, negative discourse focuses on the authoritarian means of elimination through the rule of law and policy enforcement which detaches the manhood of the audiences and discourage their enthusiasm, inter-communal trust and collaborative actions.

Moreover, in spite of the angelic peace-feel of the wordings and vocabulary, researcher found some indirect negative threats that can psychologically send deeper sentiments of resentment and seclusion to Copts while not necessarily being uttered in the exact way. Therefore, the researcher found an urge to adopt the content analysis sub-methodological approach of 'discourse analysis' that studies the 'language-in-use' through ontological and epistemological claims correlated with the social constructivism (Gee, 2011, p. 8).

Thus, depicts the substantial implications behind the words through a distinction between the rationality with which they are said and the context within which they can be interpreted. Therefore, discourse analysis is an efficient scientific tool to unfold *interdiscursivity, hermeneuticality*, or *intertextuality* which for Fairclough (1989) decomposes textual discourse into five genres; *negation, discourse representation, metadiscourse, presupposition,* and *irony* (Fairclough, 1989).

Those Fairclough (1989) discourse intertextuality genres will be utilized to decode, unfold and analyse the interpretations to Coptic question gathered discourses,

their implied interpretations and prove the 5-D predicted challenges; Denial, Deterrence, Detachment, Diffidence, and Downgrading.

<u>The Discourse Analysis five genres and confirming the 5-D predicted challenges</u>

1. <u>Negation → Denial:</u>

This kind of discourse classification indicates rejection, denial and refusal to admitting a fact, and trying to prove it is contrary. Similarly, data gathered about the speeches, promises and terms put party programs and representatives in the Coptic discourse sometimes indicated denial and forgetfulness to the sectarian dilemma.

Denial terms are like; "external intervention", "combating conspiracy", "fighting foreign agendas", "exterior fingers", "fabricating sedition", "theft of the revolution", "incitement", "cultivating sectarian strife", and "putting a religious cover", as if sectarian tensions were just exported by foreign countries to fragment the Egyptian civil society and eradicate any hope for a prosperous post-revolution epoch.

2. <u>Discourse representation → Deterrence:</u>

This kind of discourse classification implies the intention to highlight specific incidents and support them with direct quotes to enrich their value and hammer their indications within the audiences' perceptions. Similarly, the data gathered sometimes included excessive emphasis on deterrence, oppression and subsidiarity, as if warning the public of the use of power in case of any disobedience or objection.

Such wordings were; "Control", "acquire", "preserve power", "dictatorship", "minority", "racism" "oppression", "majority", "dominance", "sect", "factional demands", "bear us as you bore Mubarak", "hatred", "resentment", "hostility", "intimidation", "fear', "unrest", "murder", "repression", "persecution", "attacks", "crises", "sit-ins", "divisions", "allergies", "worse", "stabbed", "burned", "looted", "exclusion", "crisis", "problems", "destroyed", "conflicts", "dominance", "tension", "blood", "sectarian tensions resemble a ticking time bomb", " the displacement of the Copts", "civil war", "dangerous curves", and "the absence of the state".

3. Metadiscourses → Detachment

This kind of discourse classification indicates alienation to the topic discussed and acting as if writing objectively about it, while proposing the solutions that mismatch the expected. Such context was utilized by the Islamic-oriented parties to propose the Islamization of state as the only cure to sectarianism, using words like; "Legal provisions", "a Muslim country", "civilian with an Islamic reference", "customary justice", "civil war", "consensual", "ethnic cleansing", and "radical".

4. Presupposition → Diffidence

This kind of discourse classification implies taking propositions for granted so as to imply that the proposed wordings are facts; for example "the Zionist threat," assumes that such a threat exists. Islamic-oriented parties were found to use such presuppositions excessively to defeat the competing parties like sticking the term "secular" to any "liberal", to seed the perspective of lacking religiosity. Also, using "Sawiris Party" raises public anxiety and diffidence about the willingness and acceptance of those parties to the basic concepts of citizenship and democracy.

5. Irony → Downgrading:

Finally, this kind of discourse classification indicates "saying one thing and meaning the opposite." Positive citizenship patriotic narratives were used, like; "Christians and Muslims", "Egypt's Copts", "Coptic center", "the Copts", "cross and crescent symbolism", "non-Muslims' rights", "Dhimmis", "protection", "people of the book", "brothers", "partners", "together", "merge", "inclusivity", and "national unity". However, such symbolizations and descriptions do confirm a sectarian problem and contentious fragmentation in the Egyptian national body through the downgrade and foreignization of Copts considering them 'other', in addition to, cocooning them in an alienated second-class citizenship stereotype institutionalization.

Upon the utility of Fairclough (1989) discourse intertextuality genres to the analysis of the gathered research data, post-revolution Egyptian parties' programs and candidates addressed the Coptic question in a negative 5-D challenging way, thus refuting the first research hypothesis H1:

"The post-revolution Egyptian parties' programs and candidates addressed the Coptic question in a favorable/positive way within the Parliamentary campaigns."

CONCLUSION

Current debates about the cultivation of citizenship against the historically inherited sectarian tensions raise a lot of fears. Thus, this thesis was to analyze the party-platforms conscious about the necessity of citizenship and national unity within the post-revolution transition and whether they proposed variable conflict-resolution approaches in their programs. The thesis intended to test the awareness of political parties about the issue of sectarianism and the necessity of founding conflict-resolution proposals to ramify resenting forces and melt the tensions so as to appeal to the public majority, win more electoral turnouts and solidify their party base.

The research findings indicated relative weight attached to citizenship and nationalism within party-platforms and party-representatives' speeches which confirmed H2 and answered the Research Question of the extent to which political parties and their candidates in the elections campaigns addressed Copts' Rights and religious freedom issues. However, Fairclough's (1989) discourse genres of intertextuality found out that; post-revolution Egyptian parties' programs and candidates addressed the Coptic question in a negative 5-D challenging way, thus refuting that assumed *post-revolution Egyptian parties' programs addressed the Coptic question in a favorable/positive way within the Parliamentary campaigns.*

Those five fruits of political intertextuality; Denial, Deterrence, Detachment, Diffidence, and Downgrading, are definitive symptoms and characteristics of Mubarak's regime and were the core catalysts that initiated the January 25th revolution. Therefore, a shift in public attitude, generally, and political doctrines, specifically, is urgently needed so as to guarantee a solid transition from the old autocratic totalitarian regime to the long awaited post-revolution democratic socialism.

Consequently, the long-awaited post-revolution democratic fruits can't be harvested without not through poetic rhetoric of fraternity but with actual implementation of pluralistic conflict-resolution projects upon the analysis of latent problems and egalitarianism of Copts as Egyptian citizens and not a minority so as to face the post-revolution challenges as one united national body with no leakages.

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APPENDIX: DATA GATHERING AND TABULATION

1) 94 Articles from *Ikhwanonline.com*

Date التاريخ	Author الكاتب (ان)	Title العنوان	Bread عيش — Economic Reform Indicator	Freedom حرية — Political Reform Indicator	Social Justice عدالة اجتماعية — Any other	Copts (+ve) الإقباط(+)	Copts (-ve) الإقباط(-)
13 مارس	محمود حسن	لجنة الرئاسة: المرشحون المحتملون		الإنتخابات الرئاسية لمصر –			
13 مارس	هبة مصطفى	رئيس جامعة القاهرة: الدستور الدائم		قضية الدستور الدائم		الموطنة والواجبات – الحقوق – احرار	الشريعة الإسلامية – الشوري الملزمة
12 مارس	احمد شلبي	قلق يستنزف جلسة قتلة الثورار بالبسيوس			قضية قتلة الثورار		
12 مارس	عبد الله شحاته	نقاهم أزمة أسطوانات البوتاجاز بالمنيا	أزمة الليبين البوتاجاز				
10 مارس	حمدي عبد العال	عمال نتاجيس يطالبون بـ"الخبز اف"	اضراب عمال نتاجيس				
11 مارس	احمد جمال	مجلس الشعب بين مناقشة استجوابات		مجلس الشعب يستجوب			
11 مارس	سامح اسماعيل	صحيفة تركية: الإعمال معقودة علي		قضية الإصلاح السياسي –			عنوان المقال يختلف عما ورد في المتن –
10 مارس	حمدي عبد العال	معوّق يستحب اوراق ترشحه		الترشيح للإنتخابات الرئاسة –			
10 مارس	اسامة جابر / د. علي جمعة يطالب نمكين	...		ادراج قضية البحث –			الهوجة الدستورية – قام كل من هب ودب يوضح

التاريخ	الاسم	العنوان				
10 مارس	وجيه عاشور	الحرية والعدالة بالمنوفية ينحني	مشكلة الحمى القلاعية			
7 مارس	المحرر البرلماني	المحليات والنقابات وأطفال الشوارع			قضايا القنوات	ابن فضايا قضايا
6 مارس	الكويت أمس أ	الكتاتني: قضية التمويل الأجنبي تم		قضية تمويل منظمات		فتنة !
6 مارس	أحمد مرسي البرلماني	عمال "يونيفرسال" يحتجون ضد تعثر	اضرابات العمال			
5 مارس	المحرر البرلماني	الشورى يفتتح جلساته بمناقشة للإخوان		قضية تمويل منظمات		تسجيل
28 فبراير		بيان عن اللقاء المشترك للإخوان	حرية الاعتقاد	العلاقة بين المسلمين	شركاء واحد وطن - حرية العقيدة-بناء	
27 فبراير	شريف عبد الرحمن	تحرك برلماني ضد اهدار المال العام	ازمة الليبيين البوتاجاز			
26 فبراير	احمد الجندي	مطالبة برلمانية بعزل الضباط	البرلمان يمارس دوره			
26 فبرار	المحرر البرلماني	الكتاتني يطالب "الداخلية" بسرعة	اعادة هيكلة وزارة الداخلية			
25 فبراير	حسن محمود	106 مقاعد للحرية والعدالة في مجلس	الانتخابات البرلمانية			
24 فبراير	خالد عفيفي	العفو "الدولية" تطالب مصر برفع	قانون الطوارئ - المحاكمات			
23 فبراير	خاص	الحرية والعدالة" ينجح في فك	اضرابات عمالية			

22 فبراير	22 فبراير	22 فبراير	20 فبراير	20 فبراير	20 فبراير	19 فبراير	17 فبراير	16 فبراير	16 فبراير	16 فبراير	16 فبراير
وجيه عاشور	خالد عفيفي	خالد عفيفي		عبد الله شحاته	فدوى الحجور	حسن محمود	محمد القماص	رقية حمزة	احمد سيف النصر	حسام عبد الرازق	محمد بديع
حل جزئي لأزمة مصنع البلاستيك	د. حقوق حبيب: محاولات لطمس	النتائج: وزير الداخلية جعل	الحرية "والعدالة": لدينا موارد تغنينا عن	قتلى 4 في الاشتباكات الشعب لحل	مظاهرة أمام مجلس الشعب لحل	المستشار أحمد مكي: "الرئيس الثوري"	خطة برلمانية لحل مشاكل الإسكندرية	م. سعد الحسيني: زمن الفساد لن يعود	نائبا الحرية والعدالة نجحان في إنهاء أزمة	34% قائمة "الحرية والعدالة"	الحرية من دعائم النهضة
اضرابات عمالية			قرض البنك الدولي					حرية الاعتقاد	اضرابات عمالية	انتخابات مجلس الشورى	الحرية والنهضة
	التيارات السياسية	قضية اطلاق ضباط			استمرارية المجلس القومي		اصلاح 2 مشكلات	العلاقة بين المسلمين			الحرية — الحق الأول من حقوق الإنسان
	المشاركة السياسية	الحريات الشخصية			الحفاظ على الأسرة	القوى الوطنية		الحزب ليس له موقف معاد للأقباط			الحرية — الحرية والاجتماعي —
	اخلاقي الشخصية	الحريات	هدم الأسرة — نؤرط في مصر من خلال	فقط عايزين يتأكد ان الاحداثة ذي الاختناق بعد	التمويلات الاجنبية — الفساد	تشرذم					ضوابط الحرية
	علمانية نؤنس العدل	الاصل الشرعي — سنن — واجبات	اتفاقيات من								
	السياسية	فكرة علمانية الشرعي — الترابط،									

15 فبراير	15 فبراير	15 فبراير	14 فبراير	11 فبراير	11 فبراير	10 فبراير	10 فبراير	9 فبراير	9 فبراير	9 فبراير	9 فبراير
احد الجدي	علاء محمد عبد النبي	شيماء جلال	رضوي سالوي	حمدي عبد العال	طه عبد الرحمن	عبد الله شحاته		عبد الله شحاته		شريف عبد الرحمن	احد سيف النصر
حبس نائب الحرية في الإنتخابات	الحرية والعدالة نتيجتي حرار	مؤشرات الجزيرة.. "الحرية والعدالة"	محجوبون يطاردون الحرية	حجز قضية ساويرس للحكم في 3	د. طارق التهامي التطرف السياسي	نائب الحرية والعدالة ينهي اعتصام	مرشحًا 87 للحرية والعدالة في المرحلة	جهود كبيرة لاستعادة الثقة في القطن	نص حديث المرشد العام لوكالة "رويترز"	زكريا الجنائني: "الشورى" استكمال الإسكندرية	أول فطار من القيم إلى الإسكندرية
	ازمة الإنابين					اضرابات عمالية		وضع القطن المصري في القترة			اضرابات العمال
انتخابات مجلس الشورى،		انتخابات مجلس الشورى	انتخابات مجلس الشورى				انتخابات مجلس الشورى -			انتخابات مجلس الشورى-	
	الدعم في انابيب			محبك ليا لمصر-				وينتخذ الإخوان المسلمون مواقف			
مطاول الخبر نفسه نشيه لمن				اردراء الإخيان- نصدر اني- مجدرح-	اضدرابد- عصيان- نظام مدني- بلد						

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فبراير 8	وجيه عاشور	النائب صدري يتدخل لوقف	عامر يرفض الإضراب	أضرابات عمالية			
فبراير 7		"الحرية والعدالة" يرفض الإضراب	الاستقلال: خطاب "الغرباني"	الحق في التظاهر			
فبراير 7	محمود حسن	قضاة الاستقلال: خطاب "الغرباني"	حرية الرأي - التعبير - أزمة القضاة				
فبراير 7		الأمين العام للإخوان: نرفض المعينان	المعينان المدني - حرية الرأي		العقل - الحكمة	تفكك البلد - السياسة - الأوضاع المرافق - اتقان	
فبراير 6	شريف عبد الرحمن	د. حشمت: العلاقات الخارجية بمجلس	مجلس الشعب - دور				
فبراير 6	حسن سعيد	مؤتمر انتخابي لمرشحي "الحرية والعدالة"	انتخابات البرلمان - انتخابات الانتخابات				
فبراير 5	محمد التوامي	حافظ سلامة ونواب الحرية والعدالة	الإفراج عن معتقلي الإشتباكات				
فبراير 4	عبد الله شحاتة	"الحرية والعدالة" يتحدى للبوتخضي	أزمة الليبيين البوتخضي			قالوا !	
فبراير 4	حسن سعيد	الإخوان والحرية والعدالة ينجحان في		العدالة الانتقالية		فتنة !!	
فبراير 2	المحرر البرلماني	بيان عاجل مخطط من أهلية النائب العام		العدالة الانتقالية	حرب أهلية - مخططات خارجية - انفلات أمني		
فبراير 1	أحمد الجندي	سعد الحسيني يطالب بإقالة النائب العام		العدالة الانتقالية	حرية التعبير	الإسلاميين والليبراليين - خلافات - معارضة	

التاريخ	الاسم	العنوان				
31 يناير	اسامة عبد السلام	مسيرة من شباب الإخوان لحماية		حرية التظاهر -		مظاهرات ال...
31 يناير	محمد محمود	قائمة "الحرية والعدالة" بمحافظ		انتخابات مجلس الشورى		
31 يناير	طه عبد الرحمن	قائمة "الحرية والعدالة" تحصد		انتخابات مجلس الشورى		
31 يناير	احمد الجندي	نتائج انتخابات تشكيل لجان مجلس		البرلمان – مجلس الشعب		
30 يناير	عبد الله شحاته	نواب "الحرية والعدالة" يتخذون	ازمة النواب البرلمان			
30 يناير	محمد التوامي	كارم عبد الحميد يساهم في حل أزمة	اضرابات عمالية			
29 يناير	محمد التوامي	سكندري "بعد ما حصل في التحرير		انتخابات مجلس الشورى		
29 يناير	سارة محمد علي	عمر رمضان يتدخل لحل أزمة اضراب	اضرابات عمال			
28 يناير	خالد عفيفي	سلمية الإخوان تفشل محاولات		حرية التظاهر	وحدة الميدان - سلمية عدم	التحرير
28 يناير	محمد مدني ومحمد ...	نواب الإسكندرية يحضرون قائمة طائفية			ضبط النفس - توحدهم في مظاهرات	مناوشات
27 يناير	احمد شلبي	"الحرية والعدالة" يتدخل لإنهاء أزمة	اضرابات عمال			
27 يناير	شريف عبد الرحمن	خشنت أهالي يلتقي دائرته ويتعهد		دعاية انتخابية للحرية ال...		

20 يناير	طه عبد الرحمن	قائمة "الحرية والعدالة" تتصدر		انتخابات مجلس الشعب			
20 يناير	أحمد جمال	مسيرة لمرشحي "الحرية" شورى		انتخابات مجلس الشعب			
20 يناير	أحمد الجندي	فوز محسن راضي مرشح الحرية	انتخابات مجلس الشعب				
12 يناير	حمدي طه	"الحرية والعدالة" تتصدر قائمة أسوان ٢٢		انتخابات مجلس الشعب			
12 يناير	محمد مدني	فوز عطية وأبو الفتوح بمقعدي الدائرة 2		انتخابات مجلس الشعب			
12 يناير	عاطف عبد الهادي	فوز "سلام" و"غيث" بمقعدي الدائرة		انتخابات مجلس الشعب			
12 يناير	عبد الله شحاته	فوز مرشحي "الحرية والعدالة"		انتخابات مجلس الشعب			
12 يناير		فوز 26 مرشحًا "للحرية والعدالة في		انتخابات مجلس الشعب			
31 ديسمبر	إبراهيم سلامة	كلنا نازلين. مؤتمر لمرشحي "الحرية		انتخابات مجلس الشعب			
31 ديسمبر	أحمد سيف النصر	أمين "الحرية والعدالة" بالفيوم:		انتخابات مجلس الشعب –		الحرية والعدالة ضد كسر اي قلم او	ايجاد بديل اسلامي
31 ديسمبر	أحمد هزاع وايمن	مؤتمر حاشد لمرشحي "الحرية		انتخابات مجلس الشعب		الاخوان لن يكفّر الحريات- المصريين	
31 ديسمبر		سيد جاد الله: الشعب قادر على التوعية		انتخابات مجلس الشعب			

							التاريخ
الخلاف	التلاحم الوطني- وحدة الصف		انتخابات مجلس الشعب		يغني	وفد الدعوة ديروط مطرانية	مصطفى شاهين	31 ديسمبر
			انتخابات مجلس الشعب		لمرشحي تأييد مسيرة الإخوان	سامح اسماعيل	31 ديسمبر
			انتخابات مجلس الشعب		أقوى يغضب مشاجرة الجيش	وجيه عاشور	21 ديسمبر
			انتخابات مجلس الشعب		على لجان الإقبال تزايد الأمنين	احمد موسى	21 ديسمبر
			انتخابات مجلس الشعب		أزمة تصورات تنهي	هيئة عبد الحفيظ	21 ديسمبر
			انتخابات مجلس الشعب		"الطلابية" والعمرانية يعالجون	سماح ابراهيم	21 ديسمبر
			انتخابات مجلس الشعب		الانتخابية بالحيرة عناصر لجنة العام النائب بلاغ	شريف عبد الرحمن	21 ديسمبر
القوضويين- الإشتراكيين الليبراليين- عناصر اكبيرن		السلاح الاجتماعي	حرية التعبير، حرية		العام للنائب بلاغ عناصر اشغال	محمود حسن	21 ديسمبر
وقت سقوط حال المسلمين المقارنة بين	الحريات- العدالة- المساواة- الإصلاح	انتخابات مجلس الشعب		بالمنوفية والعدالة "الحرية" مرشحو	وجيه عاشور	11 ديسمبر
الإنفلات	للحفاظ على الآثار لن- يسمح ابو ع-		حريات عامة	دعم السياحة	بالأقصر والعدالة الحرية: نائب	ايهاب حمدي	11 ديسمبر
		انتخابات مجلس الشعب		الفائزون "الحرية" والعدالة نواب	مصطفى شاهين	11 ديسمبر
	النهضة لا اختلاف- لا اتفاق			يغني بكتائب الأقصر كنائس وفد	علاء حسن	11 ديسمبر
		انتخابات مجلس الشعب		بكنائس جولاته "الحرية والعدالة"	شريف عبد الرحمن	11 ديسمبر

2) 61 Articles from *Alwafd.org*

					Bread عيش	Freedom حرية	Social Justice العدالة الاجتماعية	
Date التاريخ	Author الكاتب (اوجد)	Title العنوان	Economic Reform Indicator	Political Reform Indicator	Any other sectors	Copts (+ve) الأقباط (+)	Copts (-ve) الأقباط (-)
15 مارس	بسام رمضان، أحمد	الجمل بديكتا نورية الإخوان أسوأ من ديكتاتورية		قضية الإعلان الدستوري			سيطرة- انفرد و- ديكتاتورية
15 مارس	بسام رمضان، أحمد	داوود: نوافق لإلغاء نسبة العمال بالبرلمان		قضية إلغاء نسبة العمال من البرلمان	نوافق/تشمل الإخوان -		البرلمان لم يمثل الأقباط معافين-
15 مارس	سعيد حجازي	رفض قبطي لمشروع قانون حد الحرية			قضية تقديم حزب النور لمقنن	دولة مدنية- قانون رد ع-	الوسط القبطي- معافين-
15 مارس	بسام رمضان، واحد	الحرية والعدالة: الكل سيلتزم بمرشح الحزب	اختيار مرشح الرئاسة				
14 مارس	صحف	الحرية الدستوري في حزب الإخوان مرشد	موضوع اللجنة التأسيسية				
14 مارس	رضا سلامة	حشمت: سب النواب او محطط لتغيير الشعب	حق التظاهر امام مجلس الدستوري				
14 مارس	نبيلة عبد الخالق	ماضي: لا أوافق على المادة الثانية الريني:	تغيير المادة الثانية من الموقف من المادة في		مبادئ الشريعة اسلامية- لغير المسلمين-		احكام الشريعة
14 مارس	منار سالم	الريني: المادة الثانية من الدستور مخيفة				مخيفة-دولة مسلمة.	
14 مارس	عبد الوهاب شعبان	الغاء عقبة الإخوان بعد نتائج الاستفتاء					

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18 فبراير	21 فبراير	22 فبراير	23 فبراير	23 فبراير	25 فبراير	26 فبراير	2 مارس	7 مارس	7 مارس	12 مارس	13 مارس
أحمد كيلاني	احمد حمدي	اشرف كمال	نادية مطاوع وعد	مروان زيد ابو	عبد المنعم بحيري رشاد	مصطفى عبد واشرف	احمد عبد المطلب	عبد الوهاب شعبان	شيرين طاهر	متابعات	الأء المصري، جميلة علي
مصطفى السعيد: الاقتصاد يعرف والحكومة	ضباط جيش واقباط وعمال امام النائب العام		بحيب تشكيل نواب البرلمان	بحيب تشكيل تأسيسية الدستور من نواب البرلمان	كامل يدعو الاقباط الي مشاركة سياسية ايجابية	ندوة حول برنامج حزب الوفد بمركز شباب	حشمت: سنفتح مقاتل لتشكيل لجنة شباب 2	لأول مرة في تاريخ البابا: يبحث يزور الجماعة	وفد اخواني يزور الكاتدرائية بالاسكندرية	فيديو - حجازي: مصر تسير عكس الاتجاه	مسلمون واقباط يطالبون بتعديل الأحوال
استئناف الاقتصاد والمخاطر			سياسيون: نرفض اغلبية		-						
	حرية التعبير في الحق	التوعية السياسية والتعبئة	تشكيل اللجنة التأسيسية	تشكيل اللجنة التأسيسية	- نشر ل -	المشاركة في الانتخابات السياسية	تشكيل لجنة لوضع الدستور	زيارة مرشد الاخوان شنودة	صحافة حرية الدستور،		
					حزب مدني- الوحدة الوطنية- القانون	مدنية- اخلاق	الخبر				
	استخدام اقباط، مشكلة		استحواذ- اغلبية-اقلية- من	اغلبية: هنا اغلبية- اقلية- و خصوصًا كلمة سنية	نور مرجعية وخصوصا حزب مدني	نر يكتب كتبي عن الزيارة- مفهوم ش اي حرف عن	نكتب كتبي عن الزيارة- مفهوم ش اي حرف عن	طوائف- مسلمين ومسيحيين	تعاون- التعايش- تدريب-		القوي الوطنية-
											تغيير قوانين الأحوال
											حل المجلس- الغاء قانون

16 فبراير	حمدي مبارز	الإفراط: نحل قضايا المسلمين لمونيتور: خلسات الحاج عن الأقباط		حرية الاعتقاد، حرية	العلاقة بين المسلمين والمسيحيين	القانون، سيادة	نزاعات - عرقية، جلسات الحاج
16 فبراير	عبد الوهاب شعبان	نرافق لعودة الأسر المسيحية المهجرة للعريش		حرية الاعتقاد	العلاقة بين المسلمين والمسيحيين	سيادة القانون	تهجير - جلسة الحاج
16 فبراير	صحف	التحقيقات: فريدوم هاوس عملت على نشر الفتنة		حرية التجمع		عدم الثقة، التحريض على الفتنة	زرع الفتنة - التحريض
14 فبراير	عبد الوهاب شعبان	الأقباط: المهجر الأقباط الآن بالعامرية		حرية الاعتقاد	المساواة بين المسيحيين والمسلمين	شيعان المصريين	تطوير - عرقي، التحريض - احزاب
14 فبراير	نادية ومطاوع وعبد	اقامو اع بالعامرية لمهجرين التحقيق: تقصي		حرية الاعتقاد	العلاقة بين المسلمين والمسيحيين		تهجير، تخريب - تهجير، احزاب
13 فبراير	امير	الحكم بالإقصر قائمة الوفد الشورى نادر في		مشاركة سياسية		ادراج	طعن - استبعاد، طلب
10 فبراير	حمزة صلاح	حزب سياسي مصري لا يتعمدون بتعمدون للدعوة الأحرار		المشاركة السياسية		الإمتناع عن تشكيل احزاب	اضطهاد - اعتداءات، اقتناعات
9 فبراير	أشرف أ	حزب ساويرس يتضامن مع القبطية للدعوة الأحرار		مدني: 11 فبراير			كلمة "حزب" ليا محسوبة ساويرس
7 فبراير	ولاء نعمة الله	طلب برلماني لفحص كنيسة القديسين بتقصي الحقيقة			العلاقة بين المسلمين والمسيحيين	تقصي الحقيقة	حادث البحر
3 فبراير	عمر النبال	مفاجأة.. الدولة تدعم الإخوان بـ 4 ملايين	قضية البورتاجان				
5 فبراير	ولاء وجدي	تأييد واسع الدينية بحل تأييد وجدي لمرشحي الوفد بالإسماعيلية	المشاركة السياسية انتخابات				
3 فبراير	حسام السويفي	دستورية نهيد الأحرار الدينية بحل البرلمان		دستورية الأحزاب الدينية			

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التاريخ	الاسم						
1 فبراير	محمود فايد	الثوار في مواجهة الإخوان أمام البرلمان			الحق في التظاهر ضد		
29 يناير	صلاح الدين عبد الله	قتل 2 يعرض من «الحرية والعدالة» ضرائب على فرضن	ضرائب فرضن على				
28 يناير	عزة فهمي	«مواجهة الفساد» على رأس حملة الوفد في انتخابات قائمة في مواجهة		انتخابات مجلس الشورى			
27 يناير	محمد الطاهر	تنافس الوفد والإسلاميين على مقاعد الشورى بالدقهلية		انتخابات مجلس الشورى			
27 يناير	عبد الله حنفي	مرشحو الوفد يكثفون جولاتهم بالسويس		انتخابات مجلس الشورى			
27 يناير	أميرة عوض	قائمة الوفد لمرشحي الشورى تجوب أحياء		انتخابات مجلس الشورى			
20 يناير	نهلة عبد الحليم	عبد القتال 2: بين أحد المسؤولين عن قتل المتظاهرين			قضية شيماء ماسبيرو	شيماء - تضحية قضاص
20 يناير	سيد الشورى	نحيا الحرية والعدالة بعمود مرشحي		انتخابات مجلس الشورى		
20 يناير	محمود فايد	يرى أن الثورة نجحت وحققت		التحول الديمقراطي	الثورة نجحت - حققت	هناك من سيحاول اتصال
20 يناير	أمير عوض	مشكلة ديون مصر سببها النظام الوفد قبل	أزمة ديون مصر			
20 يناير	أمير الصراف	مشاجرة ديون بين أنصار الوفد وأنصار	أزمة البنوك مرشح	انتخابات مجلس الشورى		أزمة محاربة تآمر
20 يناير	محمود فايد	خوفًا من مؤامرات مواجهة الغرب الإخوان: لن تعم			ديمقر اطية - ثقافية حياد -	العرب - محاربة - تآمر

التاريخ	الكاتب	العنوان				
12 يناير	رشا حمدي	منصور يظلو على الحجاب.. فيديو "..."		انتقاد	ساويرس بنبش	ورود اسم ساويرس السلبي - تقليد / بوحي بأن
12 يناير	بدرية طلء حسين	الأزهريون يرفضون إنشاء "وزارة للزكاة"			فكرة بنك الزكاة التي طرحها	الأزهر بعلمائه ووسطيته - الجماعات السلفية - تقليد
12 يناير	صحف	الحرية والعدالة يختار الكتاتني رئيسًا		انتخابات مجلس الشعب		هي الحرية - الليبرالية
31 ديسمبر	محمد طاهر	مسيرة حاشدة واستقبال شعبي لقائمة المرشحين في أسيوط		انتخابات مجلس الشعب	الليبرالية هي الحرية - حرية الدين	
31 ديسمبر	محمد ممدوح	مطالب بمحاكمة "المسيحي" ...		حرية الاعتقاد - العلاقة	اعتذار - ضبط النفس	فتنة طائفية ازدراء اديان -
31 ديسمبر	محمد ممدوح	حبس قبطي أسيوط 4 أيام لازدراء الأديان		حرية الاعتقاد - العلاقة		فتنة طائفية ازدراء الأديان -
31 ديسمبر	صحف	الناجي: سنستكمل المسير لأمام البرلمان			فضيلة قتل المتظاهرين	
31 ديسمبر	سما الشافعي	مرشحو الوفد بالقليوبية: نحن أهم أولوياتنا		انتخابات مجلس الشعب		
21 ديسمبر		"البدوي": "الجمعة" يلقي خطابًا في مؤتمر الوفد		انتخابات مجلس الشعب		
21 ديسمبر	عبد العزيز محمود	اكتب "..." حلقك: الحرية والعدالة		انتخابات مجلس الشعب		
11 ديسمبر	الوفد ميديا	فيديو. حزب النور: نرفض حكم بالشريعة الشعب		حزب النور نقل	دور عباده - عدل - ليس تكفيري	كلمة (الإقباط) - حماية
11 ديسمبر	ياسر مطري	مرشحو الوفد بالشرقية مجلس الشعب		انتخابات مجلس الشعب		

11 ديسمبر	رشا حمدي	اديب: أختزل ولا السابقين و ٱتَّق بالإخوان		انتخابات مجلس الشعب		- استطلاع مصلحة قبل الجماعة قبل
11 ديسمبر	محمد سعد واحمد ابو صلاح	فيديو. علاكت : كلام اديب لا قيمة له		انتخابات مجلس الشعب	مشاركة لا إقصاء	
11 ديسمبر	فرج جبير، خضير رضوي	ابو زيد في مؤتمر جماهيري حاشد لقائمة الوفد		انتخابات مجلس الشعب		
11 ديسمبر	رويترز	مصريون يقترحون تغيير اسماء الأفلام إذا حكم		انتخابات مجلس الشعب		- علمانيين - منشدين تغطية

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