“I’m here because I am a Muslim”

A combined content-discourse analysis on the Swedish media coverage of Muslim-Christian relations in contemporary Egypt

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Abstract

Introduction:
The media plays an important role in forming public opinion, in broad terms media reporting can be described a way of constructing meanings to social events and actions, both fixed and dynamic ones. An in-depth study of the media discourse will therefore allow us, not only to understand the conditions of modern media, but also complex social practises of meaning making.

Aim and research question:
Given the growing importance of fair media representation in times of an ever-increasing globalisation this thesis aims at a better understanding of the Swedish media portrayal of the Egyptian Muslim-Christian relations. The research question is: How is the Muslim-Christian relations in Egypt discursively presented in contemporary printed Swedish news media? A question implying several secondary research questions concerning the way in which media messages are produced, shared and perceived.

Method:
This thesis is divided in two parts: Primarily, a content analysis of all articles containing words “copts” and “Egypt” from Svenska Dagbladet and Dagens Nyheter published in print during the last nine years. In this analysis, the source, length, type, topic and presence of women/men were quantified using manual coding and CATA.

Based on the results from the content analysis, three article-categories were identified and four articles from these categories chosen for the second analysis, a Critical Discourse Analysis. This analysis builds on the methodological framework by Norman Fairclough as well as the theoretical framework about media representation developed by Stuart Hall and the orientalism discourse critique introduced by Edward Said. The combination of Content analysis and CDA was chosen due to the character of my research question and empirical material. Furthermore, this method triangulation contributed to a higher validity.

Findings:
The findings in this thesis showed us that orientalist discourses were present in a large part of the material, although not undisputed, something that was showed through a identification of three different discursive concepts that were used when portraying the Muslim-Christian relations in Egypt – the coexistence discourse, the complexity discourse and the clashing discourse. In accordance with the hypothesis, the formation of these discourses was proven to depend on a number of factors such as source, author, genre and length. However, the generalizability of this result was lowered by limited emprics and limits in methodology. Further research, building on larger material, on the discursive formation of similar types of media portrayal is therefore recommended.

Keywords: Media discourse, CDA, Content analysis, Orientalism, Muslim-Christian relations, Copts, Egypt.

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1 Introduction

“Is there a future for Christians in Egypt?” This is the question that the Swedish editorial writer Ivar Arpi asked himself in an article published in 2013 in the Swedish newspaper Svenska Dagbladet. (Appendix C) What kind of message is this? How was this message constructed and why did the author choose such a message?

Questions like this helps us, not only to understand how the text itself is constructed, but also the way in which media affects social structures. Media today plays an important role in validating and reproducing dominant discourses in society. Through media, norms, attitudes, perceptions and practises becomes components of the dominant discourse imposed by one group in society on another subjugated group. Media discourse deserves academic attention since it through this shapes the global public opinion. An influence that becomes magnified when it comes to foreign news reporting since the topics are distant events that the reader cannot know through own experience.

Despite the fact that intercultural relations are an ever-increasing reality in todays globalized society, cultural stereotypes prevail in all forms of news media, not only in commercial sensationalist such but also in national news media like the one I will focus on in this thesis. Adjusted realities of “the other” are often far from the ones of peaceful coexistence. The danger of the satellite age is that cultural inclusion in this way can be used as a tool for ideologies.

Where does popular stereotypes come from? Central to this paper is the theories of literature professor Stuart Hall, mainly his ideas about representation and otherness/stereotyping. According to him, existing stereotypes are practises inscribed by relations of power and politics.

“Every period of time produces its own kind of stranger, conditioned by internal policies, economy, national needs, international contexts and, not least, ideological climates.” These are the words of scholar Gunilla Hultén that studied prevailing stereotypes in Swedish news covering immigration during the last 50 years. Through her research, she demonstrated that the idea about “the other” in Swedish media has shifted depending on state policy and existing trends in immigration. In the fifties, the other was a southern European, today it’s more likely to be someone from the MENA-region. (Hultén 2006)
This thesis will focus specifically on one type of stereotypes – namely religious stereotypes – in our case with a specific focus on Muslim stereotypes as “the other”.

The decision to choose the portraying of specifically *Muslim-Christian relations in Egypt* as empirical material for this study was based on three things: Firstly, the important political, ideological and economical role of Egypt in the MENA-region, something that was assumed to have resulted in a high media coverage facilitating identification of a suitable sample. Secondly, this topic is closely connected to my practical thesis *Life in Garbage City*, a series of articles set in a Coptic suburb of the Egyptian capital Cairo, something facilitating the empirical background-knowledge that plays an important role in the analysis of discourse. Thirdly, the specific focus on Muslim-Christian relations in Egypt was chosen since it was observed to be a frequent topic for Swedish newspapers writing about Egypt.

What are the social structures affecting reporting about Muslims and how does this reporting affect the social structures? According to the arguments by literature professor Edward Said western representation of the MENA-region is often affected by a discourse he calls *Orientalism*. Centuries of European imagery have contributed to the image of the MENA-region as uncivilized, irrational and conflict-ridden, a tradition that continues in modern day media. The representation of the MENA-region in western media is therefore seen as a biased imagery that might support the dangerous idea of a clash of civilizations (Nawar, 2007).

The orientalist discourse is one of the discourses that the portrayal of Muslim-Christian relationships could be shaped within. The identification of contrasting discourses is another potential outcome of this study.

2 Research question

2.1 Purpose of research and research question(s)

As previously stated, media discourse, has a tangible effect on social structures. The study of such will hence allow us to understand the message inside specific media content, in terms of how it is expressed, produced and interpreted, but also since it gives an insight to the connection between the media discourse and the society itself. Such an understanding, on our rather
specific topic, is therefore the aim of this thesis. In a broader perspective, this focus might also allow us to gain insight in the complex mechanisms of meaning creating through language and narration.

Based on this aim, this master thesis aims at answering the research question: **How is the Muslim-Christian relations in Egypt discursively presented in contemporary printed Swedish news media?**

Secondary research questions found within my primary research question are: What are the characteristics of this reporting – in terms of how civilian men, civilian women are portrayed? How is this reporting affected by factors such as sources, author, genre and article length? And; What are the contemporary media discourses?

### 2.2 Hypothesis

The research question being introduced by the adverb “How” might give the readers the impression that this research takes has a descriptive ambition, but as can be seen in the secondary research questions that follows this thesis has an *explanatory ambition*. Its ambition is to prove a correlation between different units of analysis and this is not done without a priory hypothesis.

The hypothesis is as follows: **The portrayal of Muslim-Christian relations will be written within an orientalist discourse, and that the influence of this discourse on the media content will be restricted by factors such as source, author, genre and length.** (For null hypothesis, see Appendix A.)

Some readers might have noticed, the hypothesis and the research question paves way for a rather deductive approach. This means that the theoretical framework was used to formulate the hypothesis than will then be tested on our case. This hypothesis stems from my chosen theoretical framework, mainly the theories presented by Edward Said and Stuart Hall.

Due to methodological operationalization that will be described further under “method” the hypothesis was divided into the following two, slightly adapted, components:
A. The portrayal of Muslim-Christian relations will be written within an orientalist discourse.

B. Media content will be affected by factors such as source, author, genre and length.

Hypothesis B will be tested in a primarily content analysis. This analysis will then be followed by a critical discourse analysis, that tests hypothesis A. In these sections the methodological tools like coding scheme and used article-categories were chosen with my hypothesis in mind.

After these analyses have been completed a summarising discussion based on the findings in both parts will be found. There are several limits to this study, mainly an empiric material limited in both time, platforms of publications, and topics, something that might affect the validity of the results, this will be later be discussed under method and results.

3 Background

The focus of this thesis is media content, which restricts my empirics to secondary sources of information. My theoretical framework will therefore be based on communication theory, semiotics and socio-linguistics, and have little to do with the situation on the ground in Egypt. None the less do I personally find it appropriate to give the reader a brief introduction to the topic mentioned in the articles, before I tend to the theories.

Egypt is a predominately Muslim country. According to a survey by Pew Research Centre in 2010, 90-95 % of the country’s population belong to Sunni Islam. Less than 1 % belonged to other faiths such as Shia Islam, Baha’i and Buddhism. The largest minority are the Christian Copts, which makes up approximately 5-10 % of the country’s total population. (Pew, 2010) The current number of Copts in Egypt is difficult to estimate due to lack of official government census in the country but numbers vary between 7 - 15 million Copts, making the group one of the world’s largest Christian minorities. (Pew, 2018) Some argue that the numbers are decreasing due to prosecution resulting both in death and in exile.

“The ousting of the previous president Mohammed Mursi in 2013 has caused radical groups to become more violent towards Christians, whom they allege supported Mursis removal.” A
stand supported by American USCRIF in their Annual report from 2017 that confirms that 2013 saw the destruction of more than 50 churches in a peak of religiously motivated violence.

Briefly one year after the removal of Mohammed Mursi army general Abdel Fattah al-Sisi was elected president of Egypt and one year later a new 596-member house of representatives was formed, whom of 36 were Coptic Christians. The situation for human rights and religious freedom in many aspects of the Egyptian society have been suffering under the reign of al-Sisi. A draconic crackdown on the religious political organisation the Muslim Brotherhood has caused a surge in arrests, and unfair trails, torture and death sentences have been used as tools of coercion for its members. (Amnesty International, 2017)

The USCRIF-report further states that “despite the governments widespread repression of human rights, religious freedom continuously improved in several areas in Egypt over the past years. USCRIF do specify that this is not the case for some regions of particular concern – like villages in Upper Egypt and the Northern Sinai Peninsula, where IS affiliate group Wilayat Sinai last year killed more than seven Christians in the city of Aish, causing dozens of Coptic families to flee to neighbouring Ismailia governorate. (USCRIF, 2018)

However, under Abdel Fattah al-Sisi several steps have been taken in order to improve the situation for Egypt’s Christian minority. Al-Sisi became the first Egyptian president to physically have taken part in the liturgical solemnity of the Egyptian church, when he participated in the Christmas mass in the Coptic Cathedral in 2014, the president has attended the ceremony four times since. To ensure the safety of the Coptic minority, the Egyptian security service have increased its protection of Christian places of worship, especially during religious holidays such as Easter. Due to these changes, the USCIRF removed Egypt from the list of “countries of particular concern” where it had been from 2011 to 2016 and last year upgraded it to “tier 2.” (USCRIF, 2018)

As shown above, the relationship between the Christians and Muslims of Egypt is a topic that intersects with some of the most central political changes the country has seen in late years. Considering the sectarian character of a many of the ongoing conflicts in the region (Iraq, Syria, Palestine and Yemen to mention a few) this is an aspect that is likely to continue playing an important role in the shaping of Egyptian political future. Based on this, in combination with
the unique religious composition of Egypt as a country, I believe that Muslim-Christian relations is a topic that deserves further attention.

4 Previous research

Theundeniable power of media in influencing social structured has inspired many to carry out critical studies of media content. The research done by Hall within the cultural studies paradigm is probably among one of the more influential ones. In his *Representation* Hall discussed the effect of media representation on public discourse. (Hall, 1997)

The portrayal of the MENA-region in Western media is a popular theme in contemporary critical media analysis. After Said’s Orientalism a broad spectrum of literature on the topic has emerged, some of the more recent being *Media Framing of the Muslim World* by Rane, Ewart and Martinkus (Rane, 2014) and *Mediated identities and New Journalism in the Arab World* by Douai and ben Moussa (Douai, 2016). Due to its extensive width, I will now summarize the findings of the ones that are more closely related to my specific research question.

4.1 *Egyptian religious relations in news reporting*

One of few scholars that addresses the Western portrayal of Muslim-Christian relations in Egypt specifically is history professor Paul Sedra. In his *Class cleavages and ethnic conflict: Coptic Christian communities in modern Egyptian politics* from 2007 he mentions that the ethno-religious consciousness by the Copts is something “often overlooked by western media” when describing the Christian-Muslim relations in Egypt (Sedra, 2007, 221). The debate about the Coptic identity has a long and politicized history – something that highlights not only disagreements within the Coptic community, but even sheds doubt upon the secular character of the Egyptian identity. It started when the French-colonial millet system was removed by the Egyptian state, something that led to the growth of a certain “coptism” within the Coptic community. (Sedra, 2007)

Sedra continuous with stating that it was not until the 1980s that the Coptic “discourse of discrimination” started to be accentuated abroad. With the founding of the Egyptian Organisation of Human Rights (EOHR), by eight Egyptian Copts, a Christian empathy-pact started to take shape in western countries. As EOHR became increasingly dependent on foreign
aid by Christian countries, and its stand against the Egyptian state became stronger, the Egyptian state started to see this aid as foreign meddling with domestic issues. The schism between Coptic minority rights and state became ever as evident as during 1994 when hundreds of Egyptian intellectuals protested a plan by the UN to host a conference on the topic in Cairo. (Sedra, 2007)

4.2 Swedish media and Muslims as “the other”

In the Swedish context, the governmental report *SOU 2006:21 Media impact on structural discrimination* concluded that particularly Muslims were likely to be subjected to stereotyping and othering in the Swedish context. (Brune, 2006) The stereotypical portrayal of Islam and Muslims in Swedish media has also been researched by scholar Håkan Hvitfels in 1998 in his “*Den muslimska faran och mediebilden av islam*” where its demonstrated that news articles about Muslims where more than twice as likely to focus on violence than other news articles. Göran Larssons “*Islam and media in the Swedish media and research*” from 2006 spoke about potential consequences of such reporting. Larsson is there quoted saying that: “Muslim identity becomes stigmatized by the overwhelmingly negative coverage [...] To what extent it is possible for a journalist who wants to keep his/her job to challenge existing stereotypes is an open question.” (Larsson, 2006, 5)

Research about the portrayal of a more general “other” in Swedish media, has been carried out by many scholars, one using a similar research design as I will in this thesis is the previously mentioned media scholar Hultén. In her *Främmande sidor* she describes and analyses representation of migration and immigrants in four Swedish newspapers during the last fifty years. The theoretical approach leans on the concept “stranger” here understood as “a synthesis of nearness and remoteness”. In her results she concludes that there was an ongoing interaction between the media and the government in terms of the portraying of immigrants and immigration. She also identifies four key elements in the reporting of “the immigrant”: immigration, crime, culture and sports. Through several of these elements Hultén shows that there is a connection between social values and values in media.

As we can see, there has been no lack of research on the western media coverage of the Middle East, however, the particular focus on representation of Muslim-Christian relations in Egypt have been lacking. This is a topic I believe deserve further attention for several reasons,
primarily due to the frequency of this kind of reporting. I personally perceive a growing interest in sectarian violence with a connection to Islam. The reason for this interest is something I will not investigate further in this thesis but my personal belief is that it could have something to do with the recent reshaping of global conflict where asymmetric threats from fundamentalist groups like IS are more present. In other words, I believe that this focus is important due to contemporary trends in media reporting.

5 Theoretical framework

5.1 Journalistic theories of communication

Communication theory is a field integrated with both philosophy, psychology and sociology. Unlike these theoretical fields, communication theory is a relatively young field, one reason why it’s difficult to find a consensus conceptualization of communication. Within communication theory several “models of communication”, conceptual models to understand the human communication process, have been developed. (Anderson, 1996)

In 1948 media scholar Shannon developed what is today considered the standard view of communication. Here the communication process is understood as a linear way where a message is transmitted from sender to receiver through a specific channel. (Shannon, 1948)

Later this model received critique mainly from a constructionist approach, since communication in itself is the message and the packaging of a message cannot be separated from its social and historical context. (Lark, 2003)

One important thing is media studies in general, as well as in our case in particular, is the study of the journalistic source. This study draws its roots from discussions about bias, power and influence and raises questions about the way in which journalists uses sources to shape the news, how these sources might differ depending on a specific agenda etc. In several steps of the media production, such as identification of source, interview, editing of material, there is a power struggle between journalist and source. Both the journalist and the source have good reasons for this – the way in which reporting is shaped propagate and maintain a certain social order, something affecting all aspects of society and, some argue, even ideology itself. (Berkowitz, 2008)
Who gets a voice in media? In *Race and Gender, an analysis of the US coverage of the 2000 presidential elections* by researchers Zeldes and Fico proof where found that the choice of source is affected by who the reporter is. The study proved that stories written by women and people belonging to minorities showed a greater diversity in sources. (Zeldes, 2006) A conclusion that researcher Armstrong also reached in his 2004 study *The influence of reporter gender on source selection in newspaper stories*. (Armstrong, 2004) In conclusion the findings of these studies where that the *footing of the author* in terms of the authors own gender, age, socioeconomic background and ethnic background affected the way in which the reporting was shaped. (Zeldes, 2006, Armstrong 2004) Something that media theorists such as Carpentier also agree with. (Carpentier, 2010)

The idea that certain “qualities” of the journalist her/himself dictates the way in which the reporting is shaped is however controversial within media studies. Not only is this the case since it downplays the agency of the journalist but also since it does not take into account the bigger structure in which media is produced. (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2009)

Media scholar Schudson is one of those who argues that a professional journalist is not free to interpret reality in whatever ways pleases her/him but that this is done through *a journalistic horizon*. (Schudson, 2008) He argues that methods in journalism is at large similar to those of social sciences – the reporter gather independent data which is then presented without explicitly taking side in the discourse. This information would then be mediated by forces like news organization, journalistic routines and journalistic conventions, a process which is supposed to screen out the personal predictions of the journalist. Through a framework constructed by genre, tone, structure and social condition of the reader and the author, the interaction between reader and text is restricted. (Schudson, 2008)

One of the forces regulating media content is *news values*, the categorization of events as either worthy writing about or not worthy. When focusing on certain things, and not other, we “frame” an event and this effects our understanding of the event itself. (Schudson, 2008) This concept was introduced by Hall in 1971, but Galtung and Ruge hugely contributed to the popularity of the concept with their famous case study of British media. (Galtung, 1965)

Applied to the case of MENA however, the problem doesn’t seem to be a bias in news value since this is barely a region that lacks media coverage. Nonetheless, existing coverage have
other problems such as the framing of news. Framing is another important concept in my thesis since the definition of a problem or event is at the core of social constructions in media. (Van Dijk, 1995.) Dahlgren in his “Television and the Public Sphere: Citizenship, democracy and the media” argues that media should be understood as “organizing the images and discourses through which people make sense of the world.” People form their opinions not only on the social reality but also on their role in it, their identity, in interaction with construction of media. (Dahlgren, 1996, 28) Today, framing is central concept within media and communication-studies. In 1972 Bateson published his book Steps to an Ecology of the Mind, a book that introduced the concepts and marks the start of its broader integration within many parts of media-studies. (Allern, 2015)

5.2 Discourse and representation

The concept discourse is central to this thesis not only through my research question but also through chosen methodology and theory. Before we dive into the theory it might therefore be useful to define what is meant by discourse in this thesis. The word itself derives from the Greek term, discursus, which can translate to “running to and from”. According to Oxford Dictionary the meaning of the term is; “Written or spoken communication or debate.” (Oxford Dictionary, 2018) This is the meaning that will be used in this thesis, the theoretical framework of this will be developed further below.

One other central concept in this master thesis is representation. A concept scholar Stuart Hall defines as “using language to say something about the world to other people”. It is important to stress that the word representation in this thesis will be used exclusively to describe this meaning-creating process, and it will not be used to describe the presence of civilian women/civilian men (swe: representation.)

The way in which meaning is created, through representation can be studied using two different, although not entirely conflicting, approaches;

5.2.1 The semiotic approach

The first approach is the semiotic one, that focuses on the meanings and origins of the words themselves, and the discursive one. The semiotic approach is by many associated with scholar Saussure that discussed what he called “signs” in terms of signifier and the signified. However,
it should be stressed that Saussure did not believe in any relationship between these two elements since semiotics is not a science of individual symptoms but rather the knowledge of symbolic phenomenon.

Semioticians Barthes developed the ideas of Saussure when he discussed the symbolic role held by myths in his book *Mythologies* from 1957. He defines myth as the connection between the signified and the signified in creating one whole – the sign. Myths are bound to history and society that shows itself publically and generally with the purpose of connecting history to the public. The construction of myths is done by social elites, where media is included, something that is done with the purpose of neutralizing a specific concept. Barthes argues that through this, myths show us the connection between language and power. (Barthes, 1957) Building on Barthes theory McQuail gave the following definition of myth: “ [...] a pre-existing and value-laden set of ideas detained from culture and transmitted by communication.” (McQuail, 2000, 227) The concept of myth will later be used in the discourse analysis.

5.2.2 The discourse approach

The discursive approach was introduced by Foucault as a form of critique against the semiotic approach that he believed ignored the cultural and historical setting in which we use these words. Foucault argued that our discourse does not only dictate our language but also our practises and actions. He also put representation into a historical frame since he argued that the episteme – the discursive framework of knowledge at one specific point of time – is dynamic, and outside of this discourse nothing meaningful exists. Since the episteme is subjected to societal changes during history it is possible that concepts change drastically in a period between what he called discursive formations, (Hall, 1997).

Foucault discussed the issue of power and knowledge – and he argued that power operates with an institutional apparatus using certain technologies/techniques to shape knowledge. This approach is closely related to the Marxist class-analysis, however, Foucault disagreed with the class reductionism used by Marx since it did not take into account the ideological hegemony and its effectiveness. Instead of questioning the “truth” of the discourse, Foucault therefore found it fruitful to rather focus each societies regime of truth. (Hall, 1997)

Some communication scholars argue that Foucault’s way of seeing language only as a way of reproducing power imbalance is too pessimistic. Applied to modern media for example, its
realistic to assume that there is occasionally space for contrasting views to be expressed. (Berg, 1998) On the other hand, the strength of the constructionist approach developed by Foucault, is the fact that it allows the study of power of both media, its consumers and the constant negotiation between them in the construction of reality. (Hall, 1997)

5.2.3 Stuart Halls contribution

Inspired by the semiotic approaches of Foucault Hall discussed the role of language use within a framework of power. He argued that the role of “culture” is at the core of this process. He defined this as: “… a site of social action and invention where power relations are established and unsettled.” Since Hall understands cultural identity as a positioning and not an essence, it has a dual character; both a continuous frame of reference to self, and something in constant transformation. Hall understood representation as a way of connecting meaning and language to culture since this process will be an exchange of meaning among components of culture – something that makes representation the practise that reproduces this very culture. (Hall, 1997, 21)

In his Representation and signifying practises from 1997 Hall states that: “Representation is a complex business [...] when dealing with differences, it engages feelings, attitudes and emotions.” The differences are crucial to meaning creation since all things are sorted in opposed, polarized, binary extremes that Hall call tropes. However, it could be argued that this “othering” viewpoint is a rather reductionist way of establishing meaning. (Hall, 1997, 15)

In my context, the concept of intertextuality is important: Hall states that there are “[...] accumulation of meanings across different texts, where one image has its meaning altered by being read in the context of other images.” Hall here underlines, in accordance to Foucault’s ideas about language and power, that there are few neutral binary opposites – one of them would most often be considered the “better one” which means that difference is a question of power. Building on Foucault’s idea about a regime of truth Hall calls this positioning, at one specific time in history, a regime of representation. (Hall, 1997, 46-47)

Why then should this be something bad and what is the difference between a stereotype and a simple “type”? Through a process Hall described as stereotyping people are reduced to a few simple, essential characteristics which are then represented as fixed by nature. A process based on the idea of exclusion and closure, far from the process of “typing” where a subject is
understood through classification. Returning back to what was previously said on power and language this process of stereotyping is likely to occur wherever there are gross inequalities of power, such as my cause when “Orientals” are represented by western journalists. (Said, 1991) Or like Hall puts it: “We are not dealing with a peaceful coexistence but with a violent hierarchy.” (Hall, 1997, 41-42)

In his Encoding/decoding from 1973 Hall applied this way of thinking to the media system. Through a discussion about how media messages are produced, distributed and consumed, he analysed the link between racial prejudices and media. In this work Hall challenged the standard view of communication, since he argues that the meaning of message is never fixed, and instead suggests that communication should be understand as two separate processes: Encoding, the position of the writer prior to the creation of the message; and the decoding, by the audience of the message. (Hall, 1973)

During the decoding process the audience can take three different positions: the hegemonic (where the interpretation by the elite group is accepted due to shared cultural biases), the negotiated position (where the general message is accepted but adapted at a situated level), and the oppositional position (where the audience disagree with the message.) Hall argues that a slight distortion between the intended message and the perceived message will always occur, but that this shouldn’t be considered a failure of communication but rather a “lack of fit” between the encoding and decoding. (Hall, 1973)

Scholars like Morely oppose this model since they argue that Hall doesn’t distinguish the comprehension of the text and the evolution of the text. A problem that could be avoided by distinguishing graphical and typological content. (Morely, 2006) Other critics mean that Halls idea of the oppositional reading discards differences in media ideology and therefore stresses the importance of also distinguish between ideology and text related content. (Ross, 2011)

5.3 The oriental discourse

In his ground-breaking Orientalism literature professor and author Edward Said applied the idea of discourse on the historic portrayal of the MENA-region, or as he calls it “the orient”. In this important work Said is reviewing the extensive existence of literature about so called “orientals” produced by western authors. Through an analysis of these writings Said is showing
how these orientals are constructed as “the other”, an opposition to the western norm. (Said, 1991)

The strength of Said’s theory is that it allows us to understand discourse as a system of knowledge and power that is deliberately constructed to subjugate a weaker other, here understood as the western author and the oriental subject, mainly Muslim, hence connecting my field of focus to the theories of Foucault. Drawing from this, a contrasting discourse produced by ”the other” can be used to dismantle the orientalist power structure and give agency back to the orientals by constructing a counter narrative that would constitute an alternative channel of authority. (Hall, 1997)

“Orientalism was the discourse by which Europe managed these countries politically, economically, socially, ideologically [...]” a sentence in Halls Representation that connects the theory by Hall on representation and otherness to the theoretical framework of Said. (Hall, 1997, 275) Unlike their predecessors Marx, who stressed class, and Foucault, who refused any specific subject as the source of power, both Hall and Said agrees that “race” plays a crucial role in this form of “otherness”.

According to some feminist scholars, the weakness of Said’s theory is that it treats gender as a sub-category. Scholar Yegenoglu argued that Said, through doing so, is omitting the more important question of how representation of cultural and sexual differences are constitute of each other. (Yegenoglu, 1998) Several attempts have been made to establish a more postcolonial/transnational feminist of Saids framework, one such was Chandra Talpade Mohanty in her “Under western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourse”, an analyse of the portrayal of the third world women as a victim, by Mohanty described as an otherness in opposition to the western women who was free and possessed own agency. (Mohanty, 1983)

5.4 Summary and theoretical operationalisation

Media can be understood through several models of communication where a sender, the journalist, communicate a message to a receiver, the reader through a certain channel. This raises questions about how such a message is shaped, but also how it is distributed and interpreted. In order to answer this question I will focus on certain aspects of media production
and their role effect on the message, mainly the footing of the author of the text and the journalistic sources used.

After identification, these factors will be investigated using the theoretical framework of discourse where discursive formations operate within technologies/techniques to shape regimes of truth. One such technique is the using of so called myths, a term useful to understand the formation of the discourse by Said called Orientalism. Halls understanding of representation will further help us to shed light on the role of culture played in this as well as how meaning is created through so called tropes, something that happens through stereotyping/othering. The model of communication will here be understood as a matter of encoding/decoding a process in which the interpretative community as well as intertextuality is important.

6 Material and method

6.1 Material

In this thesis, I will focus on 109 articles published by the Swedish national print-press Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet. The method used to find these articles will be presented in the method section under “Data selection”.

6.2 Methods

Method was defined as the following by scholar Titscher: “A set of procedural rules which has available a set of principles governing how investigators should gather experiences and how that should organize their observations if they which to proceed scientifically.” (Titscher, 2002, 8) However, there is no method that can answer all research questions, a method need to be chosen with the research question in mind.

6.2.1 Data selection

In order to identify empirical material appropriate for the research a number of smaller “pilot studies” were carried out on order to calibrate the filters used as carefully as possible. This was done in order to improve the validity of this study as well as give me some background knowledge about the material that later helped calibrating the methodological tools throughout this thesis. To find the data I used the search tool Article Retriever, an online search tool that facilitates communication and media analyses. Article Retriever was chosen since it is the
biggest digital news archive of print press in the Nordic countries. This tool allows the user to search media content filtered by search words, media sources, date and medium.

Before I tend to more detailed description of methods used I will now present how the pilot-studies were done and what they resulted in:

6.2.1.1 Search words
Article Retriever looks for material based on search words, and the search words chosen were “Copts” and “Egypt”. These words were chosen after a number of smaller pilot studies that I will now present:

With my research question in mind I first started entering all combinations of key words that would allow us to identify relevant data – “Muslims”, “Christians”, “Copts” “religious tensions” and other were combined with the search word “Egypt” (to ensure geographical precision.) In the end “Copts” seemed to result in the biggest and most appropriate material, one of the reasons for this is that the Christians of Egypt were often referred to simply as “Copts” and the Muslims presented with words such as “the majority” positioning them in opposition to the Christian Copts. These search words might pose some methodological problems that will be discussed in detail under results.

6.2.1.2 Search date
Interrelated with the task of identifying the search words was the task of defining an appropriate time span. As previously mentioned this span should not be too old due to my research question, but it should also be long enough to avoid problems such as one specific events distorting the results. As we can see in Graph 3, a time span starting from the beginning of 2009 (2009-01-01) and ending 2018-03-01 (start day of analysis) presented a suitable span.
This starting date was not chosen completely randomly but with hypothesis and background information in mind. My previous research had taught me that 2009 was the year when the Egyptian state decided to cull all the pigs belonging to the Christian Copts, an event that created increased religious tensions and resulted in increased media attention. However, as was shown in graph 3, this event had a minimal effect on the quantity of news. Nonetheless, the start datum was set to 2009-01-01 out of convenience. This left us with a 9-year period of time. Some might argue that this is a rather long period of time considering that our research question stipulates that this concerns “contemporary” reporting, but I had a good reason for settling with this time-span:

When I looked at the material I found out that there were some events such as the 2011 and 2013 uprisings that lead to a peak in the Swedish media coverage. This doesn’t have to be a problem per se but I also discovered that the reporting during these periods were very focused around specific events. Since I was not interested in the media coverage only during these specific events but wanted to detect a more broadly defined contemporary trend I therefore felt confident in choosing a time span of nine years. When doing so the events of 2011 respectively 2013 had a smaller effect, something that was in accordance with our research aim.

6.2.1.3 Media sources
Concerning media-sources a number of smaller pilot-studies was carried out before the empirical material could be appropriately limited: At first all sources was chosen, printed, web and commercial. Some problematic sources then appeared like Christian magazines with clear
agenda, local news that all used the same bureau material (thus creating an inflation in the number of articles) and TV/Radio-material that was unsuitable for qualitative analysis due to their form.

Therefore, the sources where restricted only to consist of the sources *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter*, since they are the leading morning newspapers in Sweden. After entering my search words, it was also apparent that these were the same papers that wrote about the topic the most. (see graph 4)

![Graph 4 – Number of articles that wrote about “Copts” and “Egypt” sorted by media sources](image)

After this data selection was done, the material could then be analysed further using the following methods:

### 6.2.2 Content analysis

Content analysis is a research method sometimes described as the systematic, quantitative analysis of message characteristics. The popularity of this method has been growing parallel to the development of computer aided techniques, similar to the ones used in this thesis. Computer Assisted Text Analysis (CATA) doesn’t only improve inter-coder reliability, but also allows the researcher to work with a larger material then would otherwise be possible. (Popping, 2000) However, CATA is not entirely uncontroversial, as we will see later.

Despite the fact that content analysis can be done using a broad spectrum of techniques it is always striving towards the same goal – identifying thematic practises in a text. Krippendorff describe this as a systematic reading/observation of a text that is then assigned labels to indicate
the presence of meaningful patterns, and proceeds with stating that after a successful content analysis, these patterns can then be statistically estimated and finally possible correlation between patterns can be studied. (Krippendorff, 2013)

CA is a suitable method for my research question since it allows us to make an analysis of a social phenomenon and quantifies patterns in communication in a non-invasive way, in contrast to methods like surveys and polls. (Neuendorf, 2017) Applied to my case this CA will strive towards classifying the material by the factors; genre, length, source and author and the way Muslim-Christian relations are portrayed; to present the frequencies; and then finally; to identify casual relationships between the factors. My units of data collection will therefore hence focus on these aspects using the following coding scheme:
6.2.2.1 Coding scheme

1. Topic: article about Copts in Egypt – 1, article not about Copts in Egypt – 2
2. Source of information: First-hand/on spot – 1, Second-hand – 2, TT-material – 3, other or n/a – 4
3. Type of article: news – 1, opinion/argumentative – 2, travel – 3, other or n/a – 4
4. Length of article: <200 – 1, 200-500 – 2, 500-1000 – 3, >1000 – 4
5. Presence of civilian women: Quoted – 1, mentioned by name – 2, visible – 3, none of the above – 4
6. Presence of civilian men: Quoted – 1, mentioned by name – 2, visible – 3, none of the above – 4
7. Muslim-Christian relationships in Egypt are portrayed as: good – 1, bad – 2, complex – 3, not mentioned – 4

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i For further details see Appendix B, for summarizing results see Results.

ii Manual coding: A person quoted directly is translated to “first hand source.” Quoting of other news source, such as other newspapers, a news bureau or official source is translated to “second hand source”.

iii CATA: Based on placement of article in the paper.

iv CATA: With preface and tittle included, image-text excluded.

v Manual coding: Quoted means that a citation from a female person where used, mentioned by name is if the name of a person who is a female is mentioned somewhere in the text and visible if someone female was seen in a photo that accompanied the article.

vi See method used for coding of “presence of civilian women”.

vii If the text mentioned the relationship between Christians and Muslims explicitly by using worlds/phrases such as: “Muslim-Christian relations”, “… relationship between Christians/ Copts/ the minority and Muslims/the majority”, “religious tensions”, “religious violence”, “ethnic violence” (when mentioning Copts), “religious coexistence”, or similar phrases.

Words used to describe this such as: “Increased tension/ violence/ extremism/ fundamentalism”, “deteriorate”, “crumble”, “collapse”, “corrode”, “dwindle”, “putrefy”, “spoil” and similar words, were coded as describing the Muslim-Christian relations as “bad” whereas words like “improve”, “brighten”, “increase”, “strengthen”, “grow”, “strengthen” and similar words would be coded as describing the Muslim-Christian relations as “good”. If both types of words were used at the same time or if words and phrases like: “complex”, “complicated”, “mixed”, “mosaic”, “tangled”, “ethnic aspect” (when mentioning the Copts), “oversimplified” (when talking about the idea that religion is all), were used it translated to describing the Muslim-Christian relations as “complex”.
6.2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

“Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and restricted by text and talk in the social and political context.” (Van Djik, 2001, 352)

In this simple yet complex phrase scholar Van Djik describes the method known as CDA. A method that is called “Critical” since it aims at understanding, expose and oppose social inequality. Van Djik stresses that CDA should not be considered a specific school but rather a different approach to theorizing, a critical linguistic reaction developed in opposition to the more uncritical paradigms in research. A width that makes the technique applicable to most fields of research, which also means that it lacks a unitary theoretical framework. (Van Djik, 2001)

Discourse analysis allows us to focus on effect and consequences of representation rather than only on how language produces meaning. This is one of the primary reasons why discourse analysis is a fruitful theoretical approach to research questions that are investigating any stage of identity formation. Based on the aim of my research I have chosen to operationalize this method by using the framework developed by theorist Norman Fairclough.

Discourse analysis is not only a method but also a theory and therefore constructs a methodological whole. (Jörgensen, Phillips, 2002) Before I proceed it is therefore important to stress some of the fundamental assumptions behind discourse analysis: There is no such things as absolute objectivity, knowledge should be understood as a social process that is historically and culturally specific and happens through social interaction. It can be stressed that differences in understanding the world is not merely a matter of ideas but will lead to differences in actions, in other words the social construction of knowledge leads to real social consequences. (Gadamer, 1960)

Summarizing the portrayal of Muslim-Christian relations: classification “good” can be understood as a portraying of coexistence between Muslims and Christians in Egypt, the classification “bad” portrayed it as more of a clash and the classification “complex” did neither but took a more neutral stand showing both sides.
After this quick reminder let’s turn back to the methodological operationalization: In Fairclough’s *Language and Power* from 1989 we find an appropriate three-dimensional analysis for studying discourse:

1. The analysis of language – where the text is **described** in terms of experimental, relational and expressive values expressed in the vocabulary, grammar and textual structure.
2. The analysis of discourse practise – where the relationship between text and interaction is **interpreted** in terms of text production, distribution and consumption.
3. The analysis of sociocultural practises – where the socio-cultural conditions governing the first and second step is **explained**. (Fairclough, 2015)

The strength of this approach is that the separation of analysis enables the analyst to focus on the signifiers that make up the text since it provides multiple points of analytical entry. Fairclough argued that social events “are shaped by two sorts of social powers [...] on the one hand by social practises and social structured, and on the other hand by social agents.” (Fairclough, 2010, 50)

Since discourse analysis as defined by Fairclough sees “the text” as any message presented to an audience its methodology is not only suitable for analysing textual content but also iconic content like photos and images. Therefore, the same method will be used analysing the photos accompanying the articles. (Fairclough, 2015) The analysing of the photos was therefore carried out in a method similar, yet not identical, to the analysis of the written texts. The identification of symbols, myths and stereotypes in the photos were followed by analysis of the context in which the photo appeared – which photos were presented next to it? How much space was the photo given etc.? It should here be stressed that alike the analysing of the written texts my own subjective opinions will play a role, something that is however not in conflict with our aim.

In order to try the hypothesis stipulated in the research question I will make conclusions about the entire population based on a smaller sample from my entire set of data. This will be done using a **proportionate stratified sample**, something that Hedström defines as “a proportionate selection of individual cases based on the different *strata* they belong to[...]”. This article-categories, should be selected in accordance with the hypothesis but theory total number should not exceed 6. (Hedström, 2003, 45) The hypothesis states that the production of a text is
restricted through a framework constructed by source, author, genre and length. Therefore, my chosen article-categories were; article type, article length and article source.

6.3 Limitations to material and method

As stated in the research hypothesis, the goal of this thesis is to find correlations between different variables, a result that then aspires to be generalizable to a larger population. However, there are several limits to the generalizability in this thesis:

Considering my rather specific focus on Swedish print press portrayal concerning Muslim-Christian relations in Egypt, the results might therefore be unfit for generalizations about broader populations (Hedström, 2003) such as; other Western print press portrayal of Muslim-Christian relations in Egypt, Swedish print press portrayal of other forms of Muslim-Christian relations or other forms of Swedish press portrayal of Muslim-Christian relations in Egypt. This is a limitation that should be kept in mind throughout the thesis. It could even be argued that the specific focus on Muslim-Christian relations was a biased choice that was picked in order to prove the thesis.

When it comes to the chosen methodology the combination of CA and CDA might stir controversy. Some scholars even argue that these methods have some theoretical disagreements concerning the realist idea of subjectivity. (Herrera, 2004) However, the combination of the quantitative focus of CA and the quality focus of CDA was chosen in order to achieve a method triangulation that aims at improving the validity of this study. (Hedström, 2003)

Quantitative data analysis is an increasingly popular method thanks to facilitating technological advances, like powerful search engines, but it’s not a method that’s completely uncontroversial. Popping argues that the study of fixed word frequencies is a flawed method since it ignores the crucial context they appear in, something that might constitute a risk of missing important information. (Popping 2000) A problem that was further impaired by the fact that the results come from the Article Retriever database and not the sources themselves.

Some therefore argue that the use of statistics in computer assisted data analysis, like my SPSS-analysis, is problematic since the statistical significance ignores the limitations caused by underlying assumptions of data analysis like the lack of context-analysis. Another potential
problem in these kinds of content analysis is found in the classification procedure, a step that must be reliable and consistent. In order to assure this the study should be coded by two people, something that external limitations of this paper prevents. (Neuendorf, 2017)

Another risk to the reliability stems from the fact that all variables used in the CA, except the 4th variable, length of article, are nominal variables, which means that their different categories cannot be placed in any natural order since they are variables with no numeric value. (Hedström, 2003) Quantifying nominal variables are not problematic per se but it’s something that needs to be done with precise and transparent methods in order to avoid a reliability compromised by subjective estimations by the researcher. (Edström, 2003) In the previous section “data selection”, under “method”, I showed the methods used in the pilot studies (later used for calibration of coding) to improve this transparency.

The data selection might also have posed a risk to the validity of this study, this will later be shown in the results.

7 Results

7.1 Content Analysis
In this section the research question will be answered through the trying of hypothesis B: “Media content will be affected by factors such as source, author, genre and length.” The empirical operationalisation of this section based on a number of pilot studies who’s results are presented below:

7.1.1 Prior analysis
With given search words, “Copts” and “Egypt”, sources, Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet, and time span, 9 years, Article Retriever resulted in 144 articles. However, as previously mentioned, defining the data by lexical search words without regard of discourse might pose a risk to the validity of my study, the material was then processed manually to look weather all articles in my data are relevant for further data analysis.
After the pilot studies two criteria were set up for a final selection relevant to my research question:

1. The article should be about Egypt mainly, and/or take place in Egypt mainly. This criterion was added since it became apparent that some articles in the data material spoke about something completely different, like the American presidential election, but that they at some point mentioned Egypt and Copts. Since my previous empirical operationalisation specified that the media content intended for analysis should be about Muslim-Christian relations in Egypt this restriction should not pose a risk for the validity.

2. The article should be an original piece of media content, and not a copy. This meant that it could not be a push-notification or a re-publication of an already published text. A problem caused by a combination of the search algorithm of Article Retriever and a technical publishing rule of primarily Svenska Dagbladet, where articles would occasionally be republished using a different title as well as the push-notifications for these articles being registered as articles anew in the Article Retriever database. For the readers of these news the article would only appear once but for Retriever the article appears multiple times.

This criterion was chosen to minimize the technical limitations in the search tool that would otherwise pose a risk to the validity. Only looking at the articles based on the criteria that they contained the words “Copts” and “Egypt” puts us at risk of also having to analyse articles that are talking about other topics.

The copies/push-notifications where distinguished due to their identical content to an already previously mentioned article. For the readers of these news the article would only appear once but for Retriever the article appears multiple times. Due to the fact that this repetition does not affect the consumers of news these articles where removed from the final selection. Since the idea about choosing thses search worlds as my filter was to do so to locate articles only talking about Muslim-Christian relations in/in relation to Egypt specifically. Therefore, it is not necessary to include all the search results.

The first variable I were looking at were whether or not the article in the timeframe containing the search word “Egypt” and “Copts” was actually about my chosen topic. This was true for
about 76% of the articles. The remaining articles was either not about this topic, 19%, or copies/push-notifications for one previous article, in total about 5%. After having removed these, **109 articles**, out of the original 144, remained. These articles then constituted my data material for all following analysis.

### 7.1.2 Quantitative frequencies: Type, source and length

Based on the section each article was sorted under in each paper – An absolute majority of the articles turned out to be news articles, almost 80%, a percentage that is statistically significant. The second most common type of article was opinion/editorial and seven of the articles were not applicable to any of the categories.

![Chart 1](chart1.png)

**Chart 1 – Article source used in the articles, accumulative percentage**

As we can see in Chart 1 13% of the articles used news-agency material, 32% used first-hand source, 45% used second hand information and 9% of the articles used another source, not applicable to the chosen categories. The fact that 45%, almost half of the articles used second hand information, which can be eyewitness statements or statements by experts or someone that has been on location, is interesting since this percentage is high enough to be statistically significant. Observe that this is done with the assumption that the chosen newspapers follow journalistic custom of giving credentials when re-using quotes (might be a source of error).
The correlation between article type and article source

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>% within Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bureau</td>
<td>first-hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>news</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>36.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opinion</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>travel</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>32.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Symmetric Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Approximate Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominal by Nominal Phi</td>
<td>.687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cramer’s V</td>
<td>.396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N of Valid Cases</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graph 5 – Correlation between article type and article source

When looking at the correlation between types of article and source of article (Graph 5) it is visible that there’s a correlation between the two. When the article was opinion/editorial 63% used second hand information and only 13% first hand. Whereas the news articles used 37% first-hand source. In other words, among both news articles and opinion/editorial second hand information was the most common source of information. Is this correlation statistically assured? With the help of Cramer’s V, a measure of association based on Pearson’s chi-squared statistics, shows us that the strength of association is 0.396, which makes it a strong association (anything above 0.30 should be considered strong).

In terms of article-length the proportions where rather even between the different categories. The most common length was 500-1000 characters, which is rather long for a news article, and the least common length was 500 characters or less. In other words, it can be concluded that whenever the topic was mentioned in news, it was given extensive space, as the lengths were increased then. However, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about what this article length really means for the coverage of the Muslim-Christian relations in Egypt over all without having any other similar topic to compare to. In order to draw such conclusion not only the empirical material and method must be altered, but the research question should be altered altogether.
Looking at Graph 5 it can be concluded that the shorter articles more often used bureau material and the longer more often first-hand source. Something that can be explained by the fact that a newspaper, once having someone on the ground, will give the topic more space since they payed for it.

7.1.3 Qualitative frequencies: Representation and portrayal
Female presence in the articles where low – more than 73% of the articles did neither mention, nor show any civilian women in it. However, when civilian women where present in the articles they were more often quoted then only shown in pictures. The effect of lack of female presence in media is something that will be mentioned further in the discourse analysis.

Chart 2 – Female presence in the articles, accumulative percentage

One thing that is interesting when it comes to female presence is the effect of first-hand source use, 89% of the first-hand source-material quoted civilian women in contrast to 0% of the bureau material. A similar correlation, although slightly weaker, can be found between civilian men presence and first-hand source. Drawing from the previous tabulation, however, this can also be understood as bureau material being given less space than first-hand source-articles, hence having a more limited space to mention quotes over all.

The presence of civilian men in the articles was greater than the presence of civilian women, however, this number was still not high, almost half of the articles did not have any civilians in them. The effects of this lack of civilian voices is also something that will be mentioned further in the discourse analysis.
More than 30% of the articles portrayed the Muslim-Christian relationship as bad in contrast to only 7% that portrayed it as good. Here it is important to mention that over 40% of the articles did not mention the relationship or where not applicable for this measurement. Considering that this is a measure of absence, not something present and tangible in the text, it is possible that the articles classified as “none” had a quality that the coding was not able to measure. It could be argued that we therefore should consider all cases where this aspect was coded as “none”, or in other words where the Muslim-Christian relations where neither represented as good, bad or complex, as “invalid”. I will now develop my reason behind doing so:

Our research question concerns the way in which Muslim-Christian relationships were portrayed in our material. In order to find the correct empiric material to answer this question a number of smaller pilot studies were done, something that I assumed would increase the validity of this study, in order words making sure that I measured what I intended to measure. But here we see that 40% of the material does not mention Muslim-Christian relations at all. This result is interesting as it could give us an indication that our empiric material was partly flawed. Based on this argument I could re-code the cases when the Muslim-Christian relations were not mentioned as “invalid”. This results in a loss of almost half the cases making the total sample only 65 units. In other words – used empirical material might pose a problem in terms of validity – however, this doesn’t pose any threat to the validity of our CDA since this one is done based on four selected cases.
With this issue in mind I continue my correlation analysis: The source of information had a tangible effect on the portraying of Muslim-Christian relations – almost 13% of the bureau material portrayed the relationship as bad, whereas only 9% of the first-hand material did so. 60% of the first-hand material portrayed this relationship as complex whereas only 30% of the second-hand information did so.

In a similar fashion, we can see that different types of articles seems to present the relationship in different ways. There seems to be a greater willingness to talk about this relationship at the first point among the material that was editorial/opinion, 40% of this material mentions the relations, something that is only the case for 18% of the bureau material.

![Bar Chart]

*Graph 6 – Correlation between civilian women presence in article and portrayal of Muslim-Christian relations.*

Civilian women and civilian men presence seems to have a rather positive effect on how the Muslim-Christian relations are portrayed. 38% of the articles that expressed a complexity in the relations had women quoted in them as we can see in Graph 6. However, in this graph it is necessary to look at the frequency of the articles as well. When doing so we find rather small frequencies, however a Cramers V above 0.3 still proves that the correlation between these variables is strong.
The correlation between civilian men presence and portraying of relations is similarly connected, but here a Cramers V of 0.294 proving an slightly weaker strength of correlation. 58% of the articles that expressed a complexity in the relations quoted civilian men. Only 21% of the articles that quoted civilian men portrayed the relations as “bad” and 58% of the articles that expressed the relationship as bad did so without quoting any civilians. The reason why civilian men presence seems to have a positive effect on the portraying of Muslim-Christian relations will be discussed further in the discourse analysis.

7.1.4 Conclusion
The results serve as proof that there is a connection between source, length and type of article and how the Muslim-Christian relations are portrayed in the text. In order to draw more general conclusions outside of my sample I will now tend to the discourse analysis.

Drawing from these results we can distinguish the following three categories relevant for further analysis: News article/not news article, first-hand source/not-first-hand source, long text/short text. Based on the crosstabs, we can further state that there was a positive correlation between the usage of first-hand source and length, a negative correlation between usage of bureau-material and length and no noticeable correlation between opinion article and length.

Based on the results from the content analysis we are able to distinguish some article-categories where interesting differences are the most likely to occur (based on findings above): One long news article using first-hand source (b1, c0, c2/3), one short news article using bureau material (b0, c0, d 0/1) and one opinion article of any length using any source (c1). These categories will now be used to investigate the discourses prevalent in our texts.
7.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

In this section the research question will be answered through the trying of hypothesis A: *The portrayal of Muslim-Christian relations will be written within an orientalist discourse.* The empirical operationalisation of this section based on the results from the content analysis previously mentioned.

Out of the 109 articles in my sample 26 articles matched the first article-category-criteria, 12 matched the second criteria and 16 the third. In order to make a *proportionate stratified sample* it was therefore necessary to take a second article from the first criteria. (Hedström, 2003) To make the selection randomised the tenth article in all three categories and the twentieth article in the first category were then chosen. A process that resulted in four articles with a satisfying distance in time. These articles were:

2. Hanna Sistek, *We want the US to apologize* (*Vi vill att USA ber om ursäkt*), Svenska Dagbladet, 2012-09-15
3. Ivar Arpi, *There’s no future for the Christians of the Middle East* (*Kristna har ingen framtid i Mellanöstern*), Svenska Dagbladet, 22-09-2013

All of the above-mentioned articles were published in Swedish and have been translated to English by me. The original texts can be found in Appendix C together with their accompanying photos.

Observe that all four articles were published by the same news-paper Svenska Dagbladet, this selection might seem like a biased one since almost half of the articles in our selection was published by Dagens Nyheter, articles that are therefore not represented in this selection. It should be added that this selection was unintentional and a production of chosen sampling technique that was randomised. However, it could be argued that the articles published in Dagens Nyheter might differ from our chosen once due to the fact that this news-room might
differ in terms of selection, editing and other practises. This is something that should be kept in mind throughout the discourse analysis.

Using Fairclough’s levels of analysis, I managed to distinguish three different discourses present in the material: The coexistence discourse, the complexity discourse and the clashing discourse. Below you will find these different discourses presented together with the article(s) where this discourse was seen. I will then use this article(s) in order to describe this discourse and interpret how it was formed. Based on this I will then explain the sociocultural practise, in accordance with Fairclough’s thirds and last step of analysis.

7.2.1 A new Peace movement emerges – The coexistence discourse
The first article A new Peace movement emerges is written by the journalist Bitte Hammargren during a visit to Egypt where she interviews two young Egyptian women about their opinions on religious coexistence in post-revolution Egypt. Through the text we find out that the background of this particular focus was a previous conference by the Swedish Institute in Alexandria on the same topic. In the end of this article a Swedish participant in the conference is also voiced.

This article was classified as existing within what I here call the coexistence discourse. In this discourse the relationship between Muslims and Christians in Egypt is portrayed as good – a discourse promoting a view of the both religion as comprehensible and coexisting, not only as passively coexisting but as existing side by side in harmony. This is in other words the opposite of the idea that sectarian clashes are unavoidable. I will now illustrate how this discourse is shaped, interpreted and explained through sociocultural practises.

7.2.1.1 Analysis of visual and written language
Together with the two-page article we see a portrait picture of Gihan, one of the two women in the text. The photo is aesthetically pleasing as Gihan is seen wearing a red hijab and black galabiyya that matches the big red, white and black Egyptian flag that is flying in the background.

Gihan looks into the camera with a serious facial expression which signalizes her serious ambitions. Empowering as it might sound there are some few things worth mentioning about
this type of portrayal – in the image Gihan is not seem interacting, showing any particular emotion or talking, she is only just standing there. In an absolute majority of all the other articles no similar type of photo is seen of a man interviewed, why could this be? The context of the image helps us to better understand Gihan and her ambitions, but there is still a certain passiveness lingering, even, as we will see below, in the grammar of the text.

The idea of the passive, silent Arab woman is further strengthened by the hijab Gihan is wearing on the photo. The veil is a piece of fabric with strong connotations, the veil has come to serve as a strong symbol of the oppressed Arab woman within the orientalist discourse. (Sukr, 2003) It’s worth stressing that this is not a discussion about Gihan own motives behind wearing this piece of clothing, but it’s merely a discussion about the connotations attached to a myth like the veil within the encoding of the photo. Based on this assumption – we do not only see a silent woman, but a veiled silent woman.

Here it is important to stress what was previously mentioned in the method section – this interpretation is based on my subjective opinion. Some might on the contrary see Gihan’s serious expression as a positive portrayal combatting the idea of the pleasing and smiling woman. However, there is another reason behind my argument – the context of the photo: The photo of Gihan is not the only photo in the article – but it is the main one. Below the half-paged photo, we find two smaller photos inserted inside the text. These photos are portraying two men – one named Ibrahim Sakr and the other an unknown man waving a big Egyptian flag, both these men are active. Ibrahim is talking and expressing emotions on his face and the flag-wielder is in physical movement. It is in this context, I find it interesting that Gihan, the main subject of this article is still presented as an inactive person in the photo.

In this text, we find a curious mix of passive and active tense formulation. In the preface of the text the political strife of these youth is, somewhat surprisingly, described as “[...] a longing to experience the formation of [political reform] [...]”, which is a passive tense, signalizing passiveness rather that participation or personal contribution to this change. However, this tense formulation is not present in the main text, something that might indicate that the preface has been written by someone else that the original author herself. In the main text, we see an active tense formulation and a presence of conflicting opinions, a representation of young stigmatized women and the portrayal of Muslim-Christian relations in positive terms.
7.2.1.2 Analysis of discourse and intertextuality

In the above section, we looked at the visual and written language and the value attached to its words, grammar and other structures, but the discursive formation is not only generated through what’s explicitly said in the text but also through how the text is interpreted in terms of production, distribution and consumption.

As previously mentioned this text uses first-hand sources – it is through the people interviewed that the story is told. In this text, the journalistic subjects are: Gihan, a young female activist, Ibrahim, a young male activist and Samaa, the director of the Swedish program launched in Egypt. In conclusion, a majority women and a majority civilians, based on the results in the content analysis we can say that this is a rare representation. Based on studies about representation in media, the footing of the author could have played a positive role in this choice of source since a woman is more likely to interview other women. However, it is not possible to draw any general conclusions about this only based on this case. What we can say, based on my results in the content analysis, is that first-hand information stemming from on the ground work in this case had a positive effect of representation of such kind.

How does this text position itself to other texts? We cannot see any direct references to any other text in terms of citations, imitations or such. However, we can see that this texts makes some indirect references – many of the events leading up to the peace movement by Gihan and her friends – such as the 2011 uprising – are mentioned without further description. We can interpret this abstraction as an active choice by the author of the text, something that was done with the assumption that the readers of the text will have a prior knowledge about the topic. This choice could also be a result of limited space; the author could possibly go through all of Egypt’s modern history in a two-page article.

This intertextual dependence, when this story relies on already existing reporting that might be portraying the relationship between Muslims and Christians in Egypt in a different way, is interesting. Maybe the text tries to counter what the author perceived as an already cemented belief that the relationship between Muslims and Christians in Egypt was poorer? This should be considered a possibility since the text calls this type of peace movement “new” already in the title, hence indicating that something has changed. In that case, it could be understood as a shift in discursive formation, something that might eventually alter the regime of truth that existed before.
7.2.1.3 Analysis of sociocultural practices

This article does not mean that the text is bulletproof to the discourse of orientalism; it could be argued that the text is contrasting the progressive and open-minded youth to their own social contexts by arguing that these ideas came from the Swedish Initiative exclusively as Gihan's view is said to have been stemming from “[...] the dialogue with the Swedes changed her opinion on people with different religious backgrounds [...] ” Since Gihan is now seen as an advocate of interreligious coexistence this somewhat suggests that her opinions before the Swedish encounter were opposed of such forms of pluralism.

This could be argued as a formation in accordance with the orientalist discourse where the orientals, in this case the Muslims, are created in opposition to a western norm. The initiative of Gihan and her friend Ibrahim is described as “[...]Muslims advocating peace and equality [...]” but since it is presented as a novelty already in the title one must ask the question of what this implies about the general “Muslim” approach. The initiative by the youths is furthermore contrasted to the countryside where the influence of the Muslim brotherhood is said to be stronger, something that implies that not only the older Muslim approach is anti-freedom, but even the general contemporary opinion outside the cities. The idea that people living in “the orient” should be less in favour of freedom and democracy is in accordance with the theories of Edward Said and Halls ideas about how differences are used to neutralize hierarchies between the represented and the representing.

By the end of the article there is one interesting comparison made between the struggle of the Christian minority in Egypt with the one for the Muslim minority in Sweden. This analogy should contrastingly be seen as trying to counter the idea that there would be essential differences between the two religions, the socio-economical stigmatization is rather understood as a demographic consequence, something that counters the clashing discourse. The attempt to counter any previous portraying of religious intolerance is the reason why this article is understood as promoting the coexistence discourse.

7.2.2 We want the US to apologize – The complexity discourse

The second type-1 article We want the US to apologize is slightly shorter and has a different tone. The text talks about an issue that is directly connected to Christian-Muslim relations –
reactions to an American controversial documentary about the prophet Mohammed. Judging from that topic it becomes clear that it might not focus on Muslim-Christian relations within Egypt exclusively but rather focuses on the international level. However, it is stated in the text that some of the protestors claimed that the movie was made by “a Copt”, a word that implies that this someone has a connection to the Christian community inside Egypt. The article describes the scene of a demonstration in detail and then proceeds to interview four different civilian men on their opinion.

This article, on the other hand, was classified as existing within the complexity discourse. In this discourse the relationship between Muslims and Christians in Egypt is portrayed as neither good nor bad but complex. It should be stressed that this is done through mentioning the religious relations, unlike articles previously classified as not mentioning Muslim-Christian relations in Egypt, it simply does so in both positive and negative terms. Below I will illustrate in further detail how this discourse is shaped, how this discourse manifests itself and within which sociocultural practises this happens.

7.2.2.1 Analysis of visual and written language

Accompanying the article are three images – two images of the violent demonstrations in what appears to be a street in Egypt’s capital Cairo, where demonstrators are running across a debris filled street and riot police is seen through a mist of tear gas – and one infographics about the different places in the world that has seen demonstrations as a reaction to the documentary. In the background, we see a flag that appears to be a mix of the American flag and the Israeli flag.

On the map, we see country profiles; an incomplete word emerges as the countries where clashes have occurred are painted in black. On the exact locations of the clashes bright orange blasting icons appear. Icons that grow denser in the MENA region hence drawing attention to this part of the map. Despite the photos and the map having entirely different type of content, these graphic contents convey the message that the MENA region is a violent place. The photos of riot police have direct associations of violence attached to them. The blasting icons on the other hand, are cartooned but they have a similar value attached to them – they are a form of warning symbol. Similar to the warning labels that can be found on chemicals and gasoline. My subjective reading of such symbols give me the image that this is a place I better stay out of. It could be said that the icons and the photos here serve as a form of myth, in this case a form of stereotyping of the MENA-region as a violent place. Something that is in accordance
with the oriental discourse mentioned by Said. (Said, 1991) No civilian women can be seen in any of the photos.

The written language of this article is slightly different from the written language found in the article about the peace movement, in some ways more general and vague, and in the same time more illustrative and expressive. The text starts off with describing Cairo as “the centre of the Arab world”, through these words the text stipulates its own relevance to the readers. In this context – together with the world map focusing on the MENA-region, and the articles placed next to it describing similar protests in Tunisia, Lebanon and Bangladesh – it also gives the reader the impression that “the Arab world” is one whole entity, and the city of Cairo is in the middle of it.

Whether or not this is a geographically correct description of west Asia and north Africa this statement exists within a discourse that deserves further investigation. To interview four random civilians in Egypt in order to help the readers understand a complex hemisphere-wide popular unrest could be seen as a form of othering that further strengthens the binary opposition where the other is seen as one homogenous group defined only through its difference from this group.

When it comes to lexical terms the text uses a mixture of active and passive tense formulation, the demonstrators are active when they “[...] break in [...]” whereas the youth are passive when they “[...] were gathered [...]”. Other terminology that deserves further analysis due to its vagueness occur a bit later in the text: The first mentioning of a woman in the text looks as follows: “– There are more people here today, says the only girl on the spot, who turns out to be a reporter. She is accompanied by Mohammed, a slender young man [...]”

Before being described by her profession this woman is only described as a “girl” whereas the other interviews in the text are “the 18-year old”, “the deputy secretary”, “a 20-year old”, “a slender young man” (the two last civilians are not introduced at all but only just quoted). The word “girl” gives the reader the impression that this is a rather young person. The equivalent male word would be “boy” and there are no boys in this text, only men. Does that mean that the “girl” is younger than the 18-year old male interviewed? Not very likely since its later mentioned that she is a professional journalist. This is a female presence of the highest score according to the definition used in the content analysis (“a citation from a female person”).
however, as we can see this didn’t safeguard a fair representation, something that stresses the importance of context.

How then is the conflict between Muslims and Christians portrayed in the text? As the title suggests the article tells a story about tensions and disagreement, primarily international put possibly also interreligious. The Mohammed-documentary also seems to have underlined existing strife within Egypt. One of the interviewed, Mustafa Mahmoud, is quoted saying: “The Copts doesn’t like the regime [...] they don’t want the Brotherhood to succeed.” However, the dual identity of the Egyptian Copts, as both a religious and ethnic group, (Sedra, 2006) makes it difficult to tell whether such a statement necessarily means sectarian tensions between Muslims and Christians in Egypt. The more observable tension is the one between the angry Muslims and the Christian US.

The young man Sahib demonstrating in Cairo is motivating his anger with the following words: “I’m here because I am a Muslim [...]” A quote that is stressing a trope, the opposite binary positions between Christians and Muslims. However, these are the actual words of the interviewee himself, not any subjective valuation of the author. But it is important to bring back the importance of framing and the authors power in shaping the message here. The quote is genuine, but we don’t know what the question leading up to it was, and we don’t know what other things he might have said. Therefore, this is understood as a form of framing that is stressing religious tropes. Within this discourse the text also states that “tensions between Copts and the Muslim majority in Egypt have been high since the revolution [...]” something that is proven by the continuous attacks on churches during the time the article was written.

However, this article is stressing something different when the “young and slim” Mohamed is quoted saying that “the director [of the film] is trying to provoke hatred between Christians and Muslims” a quote that implies that such hatred is not natural, or necessarily even present, but rather something constructed by external forces. Here, the clashing discourse is indeed present in many stands, but these ideas are all challenged through the quote of this man. The article is therefore challenging the bipolar division between Christians and Muslims in Egypt in a way more fundamental than the first article did.
7.2.2.2  *Analysis of discourse and intertextuality*

In this text, also based on first-hand sources we hear five different voices: Latef, Sahib and “the only girl in the place”, all present at the demonstrations, Mustafa, who was not present, and one Muslim Brotherhood official who was quoted through AFP.

Here we have a woman quoted in the text but we have no information about who this person is except for that she is a reporter. Unlike her male friend and the other civilians interviewed this woman is given no name, no age, no description of appearance or other details that puts her or her quote in a context. The almost complete lack of context together with the information that this woman is not among the civilians, but a professional reporter, just like the very author of the text, makes one wonder why she was quoted in the text at the first place.

In this context, it is interesting to note that the author herself is female, is that a reason why she felt a need to represent “the only girl in the place” or was this choice of source a result of external pressure by editors that strived towards an improved gender representation? According to Halls theory about othering the context given, she being “the only” girl in the demonstration could explain the choice of words since this should be seen as “matter out of place”, both for the Arab men there, and for the female foreign reporter, resulting in a need for both cultures to restore order by categorizing this phenomenon through existing frames. In this case “the only girl in the place” is punished for being out of place through being minimalized to her gender, being robbed her professional role, her context and her agency in that place.

Were there any literal sources being used? In this text, we can find a terminology like: “Unconfirmed [...]”, “overall [...]”, “[...] a usual statement around here [...]” and; “[...] the opinion of the average citizen [...]” words that refers to other “texts” (both verbal and written) and raises questions about journalistic sources. “Unconfirmed” is one of the words that are more transparent as it underlines that the information here mentioned might not be true since they come from an uncertain source other than the reporter her/himself. The more general terms like “overall”, “a usual statement” and “the opinion of the average citizen” are not equally transparent. When isolating these words, it becomes apparent that these “facts” have been based on rather subjective observations and impressions by the author of the text.
7.2.2.3 Analysis of sociocultural practises

Despite the fact that the coexistence discourse talks about different religious groups in positive terms, this discourse still does promote the idea of reductionism of stereotypes. Only through the categorization into these opposites can a coexistence be possible – it merely questions the hierarchy between the two opposing stands. The usage of vocabulary like “general opinion of the average citizen” by the author conveys a message of a homogenous mentality of these “orients”, a view that goes in line with the stereotyping process of the orientalist discourse. Like said by Hall, such a stereotyping reduces, essentializes and fixes difference between people, something that applied to my case could lead to a flawed understanding of the complex events the article is trying to describe.

In this context, let’s once again ask ourselves why the author, herself a female journalist, decide to use the world “girl” to describe her colleague? I can only speculate, but the question is related to the issue of power and language. Using Said’s orientalist discourse I could claim that this simplification is an attempt to other the Arab journalist that is reduced to a mere demonstrator, hence removing her from the position of the representing and bringing her back to being the represented. However, since all we know about this person is that she is a “girl”, it’s difficult to say anything about her ethnic background. What we can say however, is that she is reduced to being represented as being her gender almost exclusively, a signification that also happens through a power imbalance where anything female is contrasted to anything male that would signify the better. The word girl itself appears to have several negative connotations in the discourse where this text is read, the Swedish discourse, since the word can be used as a slur to signalize that someone is weak, sassy or easily scarred.

However, the clashing portrayal is not the only type of portrayal of Muslim-Christian relationships that exists in our text: As previously mentioned the young and slim Mohamed conveys a contrasting message – the one of coexistence. In his quote, he is saying that the director of this film is trying to create a religious tension, and through this we get the impression that such tension does not exists at the moment and that it surely did not exists before the making of the controversial film. In line with the previously discussed coexistence discourse this implies that the situation stands in contrast to a religious clashing.

In other words, through these different voices the reader is given the impression that the relationship between Muslim-Christian in Egypt is both tense and/or clashing (something that
is emphasised through images of violence and quotes from angry Muslims) and at the same time coexisting (an impression given by the quote describing the movie as an attempt to alter the harmony between the religious groups). The prevalence of these two conflicting images in the same article is what makes me classify this article as existing within the complexity discourse.

7.2.3 There’s no future for the Christians of the Middle East – The clashing discourse

The third article, There’s no future for the Christians of the Middle East, is of a more argumentative character. Something that can be understood already from the provocative tone in the title.

This text was classified as belonging to the clashing discourse. This discourse is, in contrast to the coexistence discourse, one that conveys a message of incompatible differences between Muslims and Christians living in Egypt. My decision to call this discourse “clashing” stems from the using of that very same word in the controversial international politics theory called Clashes of civilizations that was developed by Huntington in 1993. The western and the Islamic civilizations are by him seen as two opposites that will never meet a middle ground, just like our case one of the reasons for their incapability is the fact that these civilizations are dominated by different religions – Christianity and Islam – making the two religions two elements than can never peacefully coexists. (Huntington, 2006)

7.2.3.1 Analysis of written and visual language

This article does not use any original photo content, something that might be a result of the fact that the text is about an opinion rather than any specific event. Instead it uses a so-called genre-image, a generic image to add a visual touch to the argument of the text. In this photo, we see two crossed hand holding a Quran and a Christian crucifix in the air. A suitable photo for an article about the relations between Muslims and Christians. Below the photo it is stated that this photo is as a matter of fact taken in Egypt, during an anti-Mursi demonstration held that same year. However, since that demonstration is not mentioned further in the text it should still be treated as an image that is mainly illustrative.

Here we see two symbol with loads of connotations attached to them – the wholly Quran – and the cross of Jesus. I’m not going to go further in discussing the oceans of symbolism behind
these religious myths, as this would require a thesis of its own, but I want to stress that the reader of this text might have strong connotations attached to these symbols, something that is likely to affect the decoding of the text. The background of the photo is black, giving the photo a serious and slightly scary feeling, especially next to the dramatic title of the article.

This article uses a language that is more emotional and vague, and would hence be unfit for more strict news articles. “Extreme groups”, “scapegoats” and “extremism” are such words that are mentioned without further specification.

7.2.3.2 Interpretation and intertextuality

This article lacks voices of any civilians, instead it borrows quotes from “a Muslim Brotherhood representative [saying that Christians started a war on Islam]” and “some people [saying that the events in the week of the article Egypt are equivalent to the Kristallnacht-pogroms in Nazi Germany]”. In other words, the article uses no original quotes, it has no active journalistic subjects but instead circulates around the argument conveyed by the author. Something that is in line with the genre. However, there are some references to other sources:

When the author is referring to “some people” it is not specified who these people are in the text. I therefore googled the statement to see if I could find its origins. During the week the article was written the statement could be found coming from three different sources: A blog belonging to David Alton, a Lord in the UK that spoke to a Coptic colleague during a conference on medicine, the webpage counterjihadreport.com, a page belonging to an acclaimed anti-Muslim transnational organisation that has been active in right extreme circles since the 80s, and the webpage theaquilareport.com, a page calling itself a “conservative, orthodox evangelical source of news.” Based on previously presented theories about journalist sources, these kinds of sources would not have been fit for a strict news text, however, I this opinionated text it does not violate the genre and seems to benefit the message conveyed.

7.2.3.3 Analysis of sociocultural practises

The comparison to the Kristallnacht-pogroms is not the only historical parallels used as a rhetorical tool well in line with the European discourse of the readers – both religiously and historically – at two other points in the text the situation for Christians in the MENA is compared to the situation for Jews in Europe during the second world war and the holocaust.
The connection made by the end of this text between the Copts of Egypt and the Christians of Europe, and in this specific case Sweden, is worth some further investigation. In his text, the author is using an emotionally charged language to create a sense that Europe have a particular responsibility towards Christian groups in the MENA, a responsibility that does not seem to apply to other religious and/or ethnic groups in this big region. Why could this be? Since the author of this text does not appear to be a Copt himself it could be a product of religious solidarity between Christian groups. Drawing from previous research about the Coptic identity this could indeed be the case since there has been a previous ideological connection between the Coptic discourse and the European one. (Sedra, 2006)

This stand is however interesting since it distorts the tropes, the binary opposites suggested by Said, where Arab is the opposite of Western. Here we see a different trope – the one between Christians and Muslims based on religious affiliation exclusively. Through this categorisation the Arab speaking Copts shifted from being an opposite to the author to being included in the same category since they are both opposed to “the other” – Muslims.

However radical this shift in solidarity might seem to be, this shift still exists within a similar power imbalance described by Said, between colonial western ideas and a subjugated orient, since the group most likely to be subjected to stereotyping in Swedish journalism is Muslims in particular. It should be stressed that this shift in categorisation does not necessarily remove importance of the more traditional orientalist discourse, where “race” and not religion is the more prevalent source of discrimination, since discourses of these sort can coexists in a period of discursive formation. In order to investigate the relationship between this religion-centred discourse and the more race inclined orientalist discourse a different methodology would furthermore be necessary.

7.2.4 At least 28 Copts murdered in Egypt – The lack of relevant discourse
The shorter article At least 28 Copts murdered in Egypt is only 101 words long. Something that gives limited space to not only civilian male voices and the voices of civilian women, but also to the portraying of complexities. This text was not classified as belonging to any of the identified discourses. Below will follow a brief analysis of the text in order to prove why this is the case:
Despite the fact that the article is short it manages to paint a vivid image of a terror attack: On the side of the article is an image of the bloodstained interior of a bus, together with the description of “[...] dead bodies lying in the sand outside [...]” and “[...] children being many of the victims” manages to give the reader a gruesome impression of the attack despite the comprised format. However, this is all done without further context. There are no civilian voices and no mentions of the roots of the ethno-religious violence.

The article using bureau material is referring to third or potentially forth hand sources: “According to AFP [...] eyewitness said [...]”, a chain of information sharing that is at risk of distorting the information. This is also the case for the image used in the article – a screen dump of what appears to be a pixelated mobile phone-camera. We here have no proof that the picture actually came from this attack, something that in this case is of minor importance however, since we cannot see anything outside the bus and since there are no people in the photo. TT, by mentioning the sources, of which one is the to many already familiar news provider AFP, should be seen as a way of managing this problem by transparency.

The subjects in the article are the Copts, that goes from being called “passengers”, “Christian Copts” and “civilians” to being only “Copts” and eventually “victims” hence describing these persons only by their religious affiliation, and the perpetrators that are referred to only as “the murderers” and “masked men”, little more is said about them. It’s an article that uses both violent imagery and a vocabulary with strong emotionally connotations, without breaking the unwritten rule of showing dead bodies.

However, no Muslim is portrayed in the text. Some might argue that the perpetrators likely belong to Islam just like 95% of the Egyptians, but this is mere speculations since the religious affiliation of the attackers is never mentioned. Perhaps the decision to avoid such mentions was an attempt to counter the clashing discourse, but this as well is nothing but speculations. Considering our research question about the portrayal of Muslim-Christian relations in Egypt this article is not fit for further discursive analysis and we will not be able to draw any conclusions about the discourse in which such portrayal exists based on this article. Like previously mentioned, in the content analysis, the presence of such articles could be seen as a treat to the validity of this research.
8 Final discussion and conclusion

Through the content analysis I described some characteristics of our material. I here wanted to study how the message from sender to receiver was shaped in terms of some chosen factors. These factors were source, author, genre and length – factors based on media theories stating that the journalistic sources used, the footing of the author and journalistic values such as news value would affect the framing of the news. With the help of CATA and manual coding 109 articles were classified according to these factors, resulting in a quantitative material identifying casual relationships between source, length and type of article and how the Muslim-Christian relations are portrayed in the text. The results in the content analysis showed that hypothesis B: Media content will be affected by factors such as source, author, genre and length, was true.

In order to draw more general conclusions outside the sample these results served as foundation for the critical discourse analysis – for which four articles were selected.

The ambition of the critical discourse analysis was then to describe the texts in-depth, through highlighting values attached to the language used, to interpret the discourses present, through discussing intertextuality and interactions such as production, distribution and consumption of the text, and to explain the socio-cultural practises governing this. With the help of Fairclough’s three levels if analysis the texts were then analysed. Something that resulted in the identification if three different discourses within the material: the coexistence discourse, the complexity discourse and the clashing discourse.

It proved difficult to discuss the difference between the article using first-hand source and the one using bureau material in terms of representation due to the fact that the bureau article was so much shorter, something that gravely limited the opportunities of the bureau article to mention anything but geographic location, brief details and number of causalities. This was not the case with the opinion article, since it has a very similar length to the first-hand source one. Here we saw a striking difference in representation: The first-hand source article allowed the voices of several young Muslim civilian women to be heard in an active tense whereas the opinion article didn’t mention one human being by name. Despite this fact, the later still painted a rather detailed picture of what the relationship between Christians and Muslims is like on the
ground, something that the earlier tried to avoid. The footing of the author further seems to have played a big role in the framing of the relations between Muslims and Christians in Egypt.

In conclusion, the discourse analysis underlined the results from our content analysis – article source, author, genre and length did affect the portrayal of Muslim-Christian relations. Through the discourse analysis, it was also proven that all of the articles, to a different extent, existed within the oriental discourse.

Images of bloodied busses, screaming demonstrators and silent veiled women altogether contributed to the construction of the myth of the MENA-region, or “the orient”, as an uncivilized, irrational and violent place. An image that is not only legitimizing a certain kind of colonial world order, but also serves an important role for the discursive formation of the west, the culture where the readers and the journalist exists. In opposition to the uncivilized east the west is civilized, logical and peaceful. If the women in the orient are silent and oppressed, the women in western countries are fully free of patriarchal restraints. Hypothesis A: The portrayal of Muslim-Christian relations will be written within an orientalist discourse, should therefore also consider to have be proven.

It is important to here stress that the presence of the oriental discourse was not affected by the way the articles portrayed the relationship between Muslims and Christians in Egypt. The coexistence discourse portrayed the relationship as good, the clashing one as bad and the complexity one as neither – but they all did this portrayal within an orientalist discourse! The text using the coexistent discourse did so both trough the stereotypical portrayal of the activist Gihan and through the message that religious tolerance was something taught by westerners. The clashing one did so by stressing the violent and extremist elements in not only Egypt but also the MENA-region.

The oriental discourse was even present in the fourth article, despite the fact that it did not even portray the relationship between Muslims and Christians inside Egypt. The reason for this could be that the texts, in order to be able to portray the relationship between Muslims and Christians, had to talk about their differences, a type of othering that was often done by using the Muslims as “the other”. Something that brings us back to what was initially said about the deductive approach of this thesis.
However, as was shown in the analysis of the opinion article the binary division between Muslims and Christians is not necessarily orientalist per se as both Hall and Said stressed the importance of race rather than religion as the root of this othering. As we saw through our analyses the discourse perhaps challenging the Orientalist discourse the most was the complexity discourse as this one did not use tropes to construct meaning, something orientalism does, but rather creates a message of relativity and a dynamic social structure.

In our texts, efforts to counter the fixation of these opposing tropes through stereotyping was seen building on knowledge about the other rather than creating meanings only through opposites. The media presence on site and the interviewing of civilians, particularly women, here worked as a countering force to the oriental discourse, like suggested by Said. These efforts should be understood as efforts to change the proven regime of truth, the oriental one, and form a discourse not based on tropes.

The form of othering of the orient is not an organic process but a language that exists within a complex framework of hierarchies. In order to counter such simplified narratives media should strive towards a broader and more just representation of not only civilian men but also civilian women, different religious and ethnic groups as well as opposing ideas. Judging from previous research about representation in Swedish media, the representation of Muslims is in particularity need of such nuances.

9 Recommendations for further research

Due to the limited data selection, two specific newspapers talking about a specific topic at a specific time, the results of this study merely offer an insight in how this specific reporting looked like during this specific time, it did not manage to contrast this form of reporting or tell what the possible consequences of this might be. In order to further investigate the relationship between media presence of civilian women and civilian men and portraying of Muslim-Christian relations, and for that sake other similarly complex cultural and social structures, it would be necessary to broaden empiric scope and sharpen methodological framework. Due to the importance of understanding the role of factors such as source, author, genre and length of media in the shaping foreign reporting, this is something that is recommended as a topic for further research.
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Wahl-Jorgensen et. al., *The handbook of journalism Studies,* (2009), London: Routledge knowledge


### 10.2 Articles


Djerf-Pierre, 2011, *The difference engine – Gender equality, journalism and the good society,* *Feminism Media Studies,* 11:1, 43-51


Morely, 2006, *Unanswered Questions in audience research,* *Communication Review,* 9:2, 101-121


10.3 Chapters

10.4 Digital sources
If the hypothesis proves correct the regression coefficient will be larger than 0, the “null hypothesis” will in other words be assumed to be true until evidence indicates otherwise. (Hedström, 2003) A condition that could be summarized as follows:

\[ H_0: \beta = 0 \]
\[ H_{alt}: \beta \neq 0 \]

Component A and B in hypothesis results in the following null hypothesis:

A. \( H_0: \) The portrayal of Muslim-Christian relations will not be written within an orientalist discourse, as well as; \( H_{alt}: \) The portrayal of Muslim-Christian relations will be written within an orientalist discourse.

B. \( H_0: \) Media content will not be affected by factors such as source, author, genre and length, as well as; \( H_{alt}: \) Media content will be affected by factors such as source, author, genre and length.
Appendix B

Data after coding, later analysed using SPSS.

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13 Appendix C

13.1 Ny fredsrörelse växer fram

Unga egyptiska muslimer vill varken se landet förvandlas till en islamistisk stat eller ha militära kvar. Inspirerade av en religionsdialog med svenska ungdomar vill Ibrahim Saker och Gihan Shamashergy vara med om att starta en ny egyptisk fredsrörelse som ska verka för tolerans och en demokratisk kultur.

Framgångarna för islamisterna i valet oroar Egyptens kristna kopter och muslimska liberaler. Gihan Shamashergy, 24, som designar smycken, är djupt troende muslim. Hon vill varken se Egypten förvandlas till en islamistisk stat eller ha militären kvar vid makten. Men i det korta perspektivet är det inte alls säkert att Egypten kommer att utvecklas i liberal riktning, så som hon önskar.


Bland de unga demokratiaktivisterna i Kairo är många djupt skeptiska till Muslimska brödraskapet och salafisterna. Men Egypten är mer än Tahrirtorget.


Gihan Shamashergy står för en annan trend: det unga aktiva civilsamhälle som började gro under den arabiska våren, men som ännu inte har fått starka rotfästen utanför storstäderna. Tillsammans med likasinnade vänner som Ibrahim Saker, 25, som läser kemi på mastersnivå, vill hon dock starta en ny rörelse med egyptiska muslimska som står för tolerans, fred och rättvisa.

Deras hopp är att det ska bildas en motsvarande kristen fredsrörelse så att grupperna ska kunna samarbeta över religionsgränserna, för att motverka konflikter, intolerans och diskriminering. I Svenska muslimer för fred och rättvisa (SMFR) ser de en förebild. SMFR samarbetar med Kristna fredsrörelsen i det tvärreligiösa Salaams vänner.


Religion är mer än tro i Egypten. Det betyder även kultur och identitet. Spänningsarna mellan kopter och muslimer utlöses ofta av tvister om mark, kärlek, äktenskap och skilsmässor. Men den första valomgången, som pekar på en jordskredsseger för islamisterna, kan utlösa nya spänningar. Om islamisterna lyckas tvinga på andra sin tolkning av de religiösa lagarna kommer ännu fler kopter att lämna Egypten.

I detta skeende kan Ibrahims och Gihans projektidéer se ut som en droppe i Nilen. Men bland politiskt medvetna ungdomarna i Kairo finns många som tänker i liknande banor. Gihan Shamashery berättar också om hur dialogen med de svenska ungdomarna förändrade hennes syn på dem som inte tror på Gud.


Salaams vänner är ett samarbete mellan två trobaserade rörelser: Svenska Muslimer för Fred och Rättvisa och Kristna Fredsrörelsen. Denna tvärreligiösa grupp består av ungdomar som utbildats i religionsdialog och konflikthantering.

Salaams vänner vill lyfta fram det fredsbudskap som finns i olika religiösa traditioner, säger Samaa Sarsour, styrelseledamot i Svenska Muslimer för Fred och Rättvisa. Hon är nyligen hemkommen från Kairo.

- Under religionsdialogen har vi träffat egyptiska fredssjälar som har varit nyckelpersoner i den egyptiska revolutionen som fortfarande är högst aktuell i dag. Tillsammans har vi samtalat om vad det innebär att vara en aktiv medborgare i sitt eget land samt hur man kan skapa fred och bygga broar som leder till ett mer öppet och tolerant samhälle, säger hon.

Den svenska ungdomsdelegationen var i Egypten när oroligheterna bröt ut på Tahrirtorget. På inbjudan av den koptiske biskopen Thomas i Anafora hade de samtalat om de kristnas situation i Egypten - en minoritet som har mycket gemensamt med den muslimska gruppen i Sverige, enligt Samaa Sarsour.
Kairo Hans ögon är rödsprängda av all tårgas. Artonårige Abdel Latef är en i mängden av jeans- och t-shirtklädda ungdor som för fjärde dagen i rad protesterar vid den amerikanska ambassaden i Kairo.


- Vi vill att de stoppar filmen på Youtube över hela världen, säger Latef bestämt.

I tisdags bröt sig demonstranter in på den amerikanska ambassaden här och lyckades ta ned den amerikanska flaggan. Sedan dess har ingången barrikaderats av kubikmeterstora stenblock staplade på varandra, en vanlig syn här efter revolutionen. Protesterna har varit såpass omfattande att Muslimska brödraskapet drog tillbaka sin uppmaning till landsomfattande protester i samband med fredagsbönen.

- Jag är här för att jag är muslim och vill stå upp för Muhammed. Jag vill att USA ber om ursäkt och tar bort filmen, säger han.

Änna en tårgaskapsyl landar några meter från oss och en ung man med mask plockar upp den, springer för allt vad tygen hänger och kastar tillbaka den till polisernas sida. Det här är ett fält slag och nu när bönen är över strömmar allt fler till.

- Det är fler protestanter här i dag än de andra dagarna, säger den enda tjejer på platsen, som visar sig vara reporter. Hon är i sällskap av Mohammed, en spenslig ung man i shorts och grön t-shirt som tillhör fotbollsklubben Ultras supportrar. Han har till skillnad från de flesta andra sett Youtube-filmen.

- Regissören försöker provocera muslimer och väcka hat mellan muslimer och kristna, menar Mohammed. Han vill att USA ska be om ursäkt och utreda filmproducentens egentliga motiv.
Egypten har en tioprocentig koptisk (kristen) minoritet, och spännningarna mellan kopter och den muslimska majoritetsbefolkningen har redan varit hög efter revolutionen, med flera attacker på koptiska kyrkor och en stadig flykt av kristna till utlandet.

I ett typiskt utomhuskafé i den fattiga stadsdelen Imbaba sitter Mustafa Mahmoud, 65, med grön kaftan, flagande glasögon och en kopp te. Han har en egen teori kring filmen.


- Kopterna gillar inte att regimen närmar sig USA, de vill inte att Brödraskapet ska lyckas med sitt styre av landet.

Han motsätter sig dock våldet, som ”inte är accepterat inom islam”. Överlag är gemene man på gatan här chockad och sårad över ”Muslimernas oskuld” och en vanlig kommentar är ”tänk om vi skulle göra en sådan film om Jesus. Hur skulle det kännas?”.

- Jag gillar inte att västerländer gör narr av islam. I Europa och USA gillar de inte muslimer, säger Dina Hasan, 50, som driver en liten kvartersbutik i Imbaba.

Egyptens president Mursi fördömde filmen i ett tv-tal men lade samtidigt till att det är ”vår plikt att skydda våra gäster och utländska besökare. Jag ber alla att ta det med i beräkningen, att inte bryta mot egyptisk lag... att inte angripa ambassader.”
Image 2 – visual elements accompanying Article 2
13.3 Kristna har ingen framtid i Mellanöstern
Svenska Dagbladet, 2013-08-22, Sektion: Ledare, 667 ord, Författare: Ivar Arpi

Har kristna någon framtid i Mellanöstern? Över hela regionen flyr kristna från sina hem. Till skillnad från andra utsatta grupper i regionen, som kurdena, har de kristna inte haft några egna miliser.

Förföljelse av kristna är dock inget nytt, i synnerhet inte i Mellanöstern. Men den arabiska värens omvälvningar har gett en öppning för extrema grupper att attackera kristna i ännu större utsträckning. Som i Tyskland efter första världskriget finns ett behov av syndabockar. I Europa på 1930-talet var det judarna, i dagens Mellanöstern är det de kristna som förföljs.


I Egypten har under den senaste veckan mer än sjuttio kyrkor vandaliserats och kristna har attackerats. En del har kallat det för Egyptens kristallnatt, med referens till den 9 november 1938 då en mängd synagogor brändes ned i Tyskland. Talespersoner för Muslimska brödraskapet säger att "kristna startat krig mot islam". Anledningen är att den koptiska påven var en av dem som stod vid general al-Sisis sida när Mohammed Mursi avsattes. Frågan är om den nya regimen har intresse eller styrka nog att skydda kopterna från islamisternas aktioner.


Kommer samma sak att hända med kopterna och de syriska kristna som med de irakiska kristna? Efter Saddams Hussein fall 2003 attackerades kristna i en sådan omfattning att de gick från 1,4 miljoner till att vara under en halv miljon i Irak i dag. Alfred är kristen och flydde i april till Sverige från Syrien. I Aktuellt i måndags fick han frågan om de kristna har någon framtid i Syrien. "Nej, just nu finns ingen framtid där", blev det dystra svaret. Det gäller tyvärr för stora delar av Mellanöstern. Kommer kristna snart inte att finnas kvar i kristendomens urländer?
13.4 Minst 28 kopter mördade i Egypten

Beväpnade män har skjutit ihjäl minst 28 kristna kopter som färdades med buss i Minyaprovinsen i Egypten, enligt sjukhuskällor och ögonvittnen. Attacken lämnade också många skadade efter sig.


Image 3 – visual elements accompanying Article 3 (left) and 4 (right).