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Title: Important Factors for church building in Egypt

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Foreword to the paper ‘Important factors for church building in Egypt’

Author: Drs. Cornelis Hulsman

The issue of church building in Egypt is among the most misunderstood and misreported subjects affecting Muslim-Christian relations. Reporting on the subject, regardless of who is doing the reporting, both in Egypt and the West, is highly one-sided. A lot of reporting is focused on building problems, difficulties in obtaining building permits and tensions that sometimes follow construction activities. But living here in Egypt I have seen in the past 15 years many churches and church facilities be built in Cairo, Sawada (Minia), Aswan, Marina, el-Tur and other locations. I have also seen monasteries change due to construction work taking place there and thus the two images do not match; on the one hand reporting about problems that indeed do exist and on the other hand continuously seeing new construction work take place, either with or without building permits.

Therefore I welcomed Christian Fastenrath and Corin Kazanjian's efforts to systematically research 10 years of Arab media reporting about the subject as well as the figures presented by the governors of Assiut and Qalyubiya for which we are grateful. I am also grateful for the people helped reviewing the work and presenting their comments. Of course the end results remain in the hands of the authors

It is obvious from the reporting of media and political activists in the West that the Western public is not made aware of the complex background in reporting and that difficulties in building exist alongside success stories. The western public is certainly not aware that Egyptian law and regulations are not the only factors that influence building but that the social climate between Muslims and Christians is just as important, if not more. For decades the image has been presented that church building in Egypt is practically impossible.

Ten years of Egyptian media reporting revealed 330 articles on church building. It certainly shows that church building is high up on the agenda in discussions affecting Muslim-Christian relations. But just as in the Western media, in Egypt too the focus is mainly on problems that are most often associated with legal issues.

Christian Fastenrath and Corin Kazanjian's paper is the first known systematic work on church building in Egypt. It shows more factors are at play than just Egyptian law. The paper highlights the importance of the social climate and relations in a society where relations are often more important than law. It also shows that the Egyptian government, both national and local, has not done a very good job in making its role clear. The

governors of Assiut and Qalyubiya have provided information about procedures and permits provided but regrettably the information from Qalyubiya lacks dates, thus making it hard to use. Information and figures from other governorates are needed in order to make comparisons possible to the highly one-sided presentation in much of the media. Kazanjian has therefore done well to present suggestions for further research.

This report has been presented to the National Council for Human Rights in the belief that they are the most competent body to deal with this issue. I strongly believe that this report is needed for both Western and Egyptian readers to make them aware of the complexity of the subject, not only to let them know that only reporting problems is not fair but Westerners also need to realize that they should not interfere in Egyptian matters, that is for Egyptians to decide and thus this report should not be seen as a human rights report, it does not recommend action for change. This report is a study and therefore only contains suggestions for further research.

I strongly believe that this research paper and a possible follow-up project can help to bring much needed rationality into the discussion on church building. It shows readers how complex the subject really is, as well as demonstrating that relations are often more important than law. Therefore implying that a major way of addressing problems around church building is through dialogue between Muslims and Christians, not just polite words but addressing real issues of concern with the utmost respect and understanding for each others concerns. Stressing the need for dialogue, of course, does not mean that Egyptians should not address other factors that influence church building but that is for the National Council for Human Rights to take further, not the researchers of this report.

Abstract for the paper ‘Important factors for church building in Egypt’

Author: Corin Kazanjian

This paper on church building in Egypt is the first of its kind that has been devoted to systematically dealing with this topic. It is the first attempt to shed some light on the issue of church building by presenting and analyzing the available information.

Goals:

The main goal of this work is to give the reader in depth information about church building in Egypt which goes beyond the several newspaper articles that have reported on the topic. Another of this paper’s goals is to sharpen the reader’s awareness for media reporting on this issue. This paper also attempts to broaden the reader’s basis of information on the existing legislation for the building of churches in Egypt. As opposed to the several newspaper articles which only mention fragments of the existing legislation on church building this paper will seek to present all of the relevant laws in a coherent way. It will attempt to neutrally introduce the existing legislation for church building and evaluate its relevance. The work will give the reader an idea of the other factors that influence church building. It will try to place them in the proper context and to assess their impact on the success or failure of church building projects.

The research question this work will try to answer is “does the existing legislation or the social environment have a stronger influence on church building in Egypt?”

Conclusions:

The paper has been able to use statistical evidence to prove the tendency of negative media reporting. The existing legislation was presented and it was possible to assess not only the quality of how laws are formulated but also of the execution thereof in two governorates. It was possible to show that the relevance of the existing regulations and also the impact of new laws on church building should not be overestimated because the existence of a loophole for the administration or security body seems to be a common feature of law for building houses of worship in general. These findings weaken the impact of the legal framework on church building considerably.

The gap in the legislation is filled by different factors in the social environment. It emerged that relationships both to administration officials and to the local Muslim communities are exceptionally important for church building. This means that the impact of the social environment on church building is stronger than the impact of the legislation.

In particular the importance of good relationships with the local Muslim community and the local administration suggests a very positive conclusion. The best way for church congregations to realise church building projects as fast as possible and without problems is for them to have good relations with their neighbours. This can be done through engaging in open dialogue with them. If the involved actors want to create a more honest image of church building in the public eye, one which reduces prejudices on all sides they should try to provide an open forum where they can engage in dialogue with each other rather than lobbying for changes in the existing legislation.

Arab-West Foundation (AWF) Cairo

Important factors for church building in Egypt

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List of abbreviations:

I

AWR.....	Arab-West Report
CAPMAS	Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics
NDP	National Democratic Party
BSOE.....	Bible Society of Egypt
YMCA	Young Men’s Christian Association
YWCA.....	Young Women’s Christian Association
BLESS-DD	http://start.stage.mandriva.com/en/ Bishopric of Public, Ecumenical and Social Services of the Coptic Orthodox Church, Development Department
AUEED	Association of Upper Egypt Education and Development
DAAD	German Academic Exchange Service

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1. Important factors for church building in Egypt

The topic church building in Egypt has quite some public attention in the Egyptian media. The number of articles recorded by “Arab-West Report” (AWR) which were related to houses of worship in the last ten years is more than 330. One of the first questions asked when speaking about church building with involved actors in this topic is “what is the number of churches in Egypt?” In 2005 the head of the “Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics” (CAPMAS), Abu Bakr Al-Jindi said there are about 1950 churches and monasteries nationwide¹.

It has to be clearly said that this information is nearly meaningless. If Egypt was inhabited by 2000 Christians then 1950 churches would be nearly a church for each Christian. If Egypt was inhabited by 80 million Christians then more than 41 000 Christians would have to share one church. But the real number of Christians in Egypt is subject to great discussion. A yet unpublished report by AWR² on the number of Copts in Egypt shows that nearly every source used to attain information on the number of Christians in Egypt produces considerably different numbers. There is another reason why this question should be handled with considerable caution.

The purpose behind asking for the number of churches in this context is the intention of validating or falsifying the necessity to build more churches in Egypt. This question does not aim at understanding church building in a more accurate way. Instead reliable information on this issue would most probably be misused to polarize the discussion and it would be used if possible to support either the position of people who want to build more churches or people who don't.

Before further introducing the aims of this paper it has to be said that it has not the intention to stigmatize the Egyptian government or any actors in this field for the state of church building in Egypt. Especially because both researchers who worked on this project come from Germany it should also be mentioned that for example there the building of mosques is subject to similar public discussions as church building in Egypt. Like in Egypt media the German media presents many cases of mosque building in which problems occurred during the building process. Sometimes the building of mosques is

¹ AWR 2005 (week 51/25)

² Maria Rezzonico, Coptic statistics in Egypt, is still to be published by AWR.

subject to lawsuits which last more than ten years and in some other cases big mosques have to be built in industrial areas because local town residents refused to have a mosque in the town center. It can be said that the conditions for a religious minority in a country to build houses of worship for their belief are always very special and sensitive.

The main goal of this work is to give the reader indebt information on church building in Egypt which goes beyond the several newspaper articles which report on this topic. As we will see in most cases they simply follow the general logic of media reporting. They tend to report exclusively on problems. One goal is to sharpen the reader's awareness for media reporting on this issue. This paper also attempts to broaden the reader's basis of information on the existing legislation for the building of churches in Egypt. In opposition to the several newspaper articles which only mention fragments of the existing legislation on church building this paper will seek to present all relevant laws in a coherent way. It tries to neutrally introduce the existing legislation for church building and evaluate its relevance. The work shall give the reader an idea which other factors influence church building. It tries to place them in the proper context and to asses their impact on the success or failure of church building projects.

The research question this work will try to answer is "does the existing legislation or the social environment have a stronger influence on church building in Egypt?"

The Literature which has been used to explain this question as well as the structure of the work and the methodology which was used will be presented in the following chapter.

2. Literature review, Methodology and Structure

The first thing which has to be said is that this paper on church building in Egypt is the first paper which was devoted to dealing with this topic. This was not done by anyone else before. It is a first attempt to shed some light on the issue of church building by presenting and analyzing the available information in a coherent and structured way. But it also has to be admitted that when it comes to matters of structure, methodology and literature is that this paper has some major weaknesses when viewed as a proper scientific research. Certain requirements could not be fulfilled in this work.

One of the major weaknesses of the paper is the literature. The main sources of information for this work were translated summaries of newspaper articles. First of all the reliability of the content of any newspaper article for scientific research should be strongly doubted. Newspaper articles only express opinions. They can not be used to gain hard information. Another factor which further diminishes the reliability of such a source is that the articles were summarized by the translators. The only real literature this work relies on is six books which were not systematically chosen from a library but were available at the AWR office. Especially the third section which dealt with the social environment of church building would have required more extensive and systematic research on Egyptian society. This has of course negative consequences of the ability to justify why certain factors were chosen to be relevant in this section and others are not mentioned at all.

The available literature in this topic is not very extensive if not even non existent. This is one of the main reasons why it was necessary to rely on media reporting also in respect of content. One way to conduct proper scientific research would be to conduct interviews with the different actors involved in this topic and then categorizing the information gained out of such interviews. Doing so would be a very extensive and time consuming project which could not be realized within the given time and the resources available for this research.

The Methodology which was used in this work is basically comparative. The impact of the independent variable “legislation” on the dependent variable “church building” was compared with the impact of the independent variable “social environment” on the

dependent variable “church building”. Another independent variable with possibly considerable influence on the dependent variable “church building” is the “funding” of church building projects. Assessing its role and importance could be subject to further research.

This work was divided into three sections. The main purpose of section one is presenting, analyzing and criticizing the empirical information which was collected or used for this work. The section was split in to two chapters. The first chapter focuses on an empirical analysis of media reporting on houses of worship and concrete church building cases. The second chapter presents official information on church building cases given to AWR by the government. In one case it was possible to make a somewhat reliable comparison between media reporting and official government information.

The goal of section two is to asses the relevance of the legal framework for church building. The first part presents the existing legislation and its historical development. The second part analyses how the existing legislation is implemented and executed by the administrative bodies. The first indicator for this was whether the governors of Qalyoubiyya and Assiut issued their administrative regulations according to the existing legislation. The second indicator was the precision with which the existing legislation was formulated. This was exemplary done for the ten conditions for building churches in the chapter where the conditions for building mosques and churches are compared. It has to be said that the analytical dept of this section is quite limited. This is due to the small number of indicators which were used to measure the impact of the legal framework on church building.

The first part of the third section tries to measure the impact of some factors which belong to the social environment in which church building takes place. The second part of the section puts a special focus on the impact on church building of strategies of Christians who try to influence the social environment. This part describes three different strategies and tires to evaluate their impact on church building or their probability of influencing it.

Besides the already mentioned problem to justify why certain indicators for the impact of the variable “social environment” were chosen and others were not, a major problem of this section was the separation of the chosen factors for the “social environment” and

impact of the factors on the dependent variable “church building”. For example in the chapter “General remarks on Egyptian society” the impact on “church building” is discussed in the same chapter. In the chapter “The crucial importance of relationships” only the factor relationships in Egyptian society is presented and certain indicators for it are presented. The impact of this factor is then made in the chapter “Relationships and church building”.

Certain concepts and ideas which belong into the field of academic research like making footnotes, formulating a research question, working with variables, providing an extensive appendix and the attempt to be analytical were included into this work but it has to be said that the weaknesses in the implementation of these concepts prevail. In general it can be said that that this is a journalistic work with many descriptive elements and some analytical elements which tried to go deeper into the topic than a normal or journalistic article or report usually does.

As this paper was written by two students it has to be mentioned which one of them contributed to which parts of the work. It also has to be mentioned that the two students did not work on the subject in the same time. Christian Fastenrath worked on this paper from April 2007 to August 2007 and Corin Kazanjian worked on this paper from January 2008 to May 2008 on the paper. Christian Fastenrath created an extensive database on all articles related to “building houses of worship” which were recorded by AWR from 1998 to March 2007. He did the main work on section two on the existing legislation for church building. Additionally he wrote chapter 6.2 “exert pressure on the government” and chapter 6.3 “legal approach” of section three. He also made a first draft for the structure of the paper.

Corin Kazanjian wrote the introduction, the chapter on “literature review, methodology and structure” and section one which is based on the database created by Christian Fastenrath. Furthermore Corin Kazanjian wrote the introduction and conclusion of section two, as well as adding a comparison between the ten conditions for mosques and churches to the section. With exception of the already mentioned chapter 6.2 and 6.3, section three was written by Corin Kazanjian. The development of the research question, the final conclusion, the bibliography, the extensive Appendix, the final structure of the paper and the final edit of the text were also done by Corin Kazanjian.

3.1 Necessity of awareness for media reporting

Before going into the comparison of the importance of the legal framework and the social environment for the building of churches it is necessary to sharpen the reader's awareness for media reporting. As already mentioned in chapter 2 "Structure, Methodology, Literature overview" many church building cases and also some general information presented in this paper rely on Arabic newspaper articles which AWR translated into English. Unfortunately, the quality of many articles is questionable. Unfortunately, Arab West Report does not possess the resources needed to investigate every single church building case which was reported in the media. Chapter 3.2 "Scarce information provided by the government" will show that the information on church building which is directly available from the government is insufficient. These two points made it unavoidable for this paper to partly rely on media coverage. This is not a problem in general but one has to be aware of the logic of media reporting, its features and its weaknesses. Only then it is possible to measure the information provided by media reporting in a sound way.

The following chapter is going to present an analysis of the media covered by AWR and the newspaper articles related to houses of worship AWR has recorded in the time from 1998 to March 2007. Additionally a special focus was put on articles related to church building and concrete church building cases in the articles recorded. AWR usually covers 23 different newspapers, such as "Al-Liwa al-Islami" (NDP-Islamic), "Al-Qahirah" (Ministry of Culture), "Al-Ahram", "Al-Akhbar", "Al-Jumhuriyah", "Al-Ahram Al-Arabi", "Aqidati" (Islamic), "Akhir Sa'ah", "Al-Musawwar", "October", "Rose Al-Yusuf", "Sabah al-Khayr", "Al-Ahra" (Ahrar Party), "Al-Wafd" (Wafd Party), "Al-Ahali" (Tajammu' Party), "Al-Arabi" (Nasserist Party), "Al-Maydan", "Al-Ussbu'", "Sawt al-Azahr" (Islamic), "Sawt al-Ummah", "Watani" (Christian), "Al-Hayah" and "Asharq al-Awsat"³. The articles written by AWR itself are of course recorded as well.

In case of building houses of worship and church building in particular AWR covered 12 additional sources, such as "Watani International", "US Copts Association", "Al-Dustur",

³ Source for his information is the internet presence of "Arab-West Report" (AWR). See: BACKGROUND. Media we cover, <http://www.arabwestreport.info/page_details.php?d_id=25&pname=Media%20we%20cove> on March 16th 2008 at 4:15 pm.

“Reuters” (news agency), “Al-Kirazah”, “The Truth” (an e-mail service of American Copts, probably related to one of the Coptic associations), “Al-Ahram Weekly”, “Cairo Times”, “Al-Sha‘b”, “US International Religious Freedom Report”, “Egyptian Gazette” and “Layman”. It has to be said that some of the twelve mentioned sources have not been covered consequently over the period of time mentioned above. They will be marked red in the when appearing in the following tables.

Articles out of the mentioned media were only recorded by AWR if it was possible to place the articles in one of categories AWR uses to organize articles. These categories are “1. Religious freedom and freedom of expression”, “2. Relations between the Arab and Islamic world and the non-Arab and non-Islamic world”, “3. Developments in Islam in the Arab world”, “4. Developments in Muslim-Christian relations in the Arab world”, “5. Dialogue”, “6. Education in the Arab world”, “7. Media”, “8. Judaism/anti-Semitism”, “9. Other religions or ideological convictions in the Arab world”, “10. Women, male/female relations, children”, “11. Refugees”, “12. Developments of Christianity in the Arab world”, “13 Relations between Christianity in the West and the Arab world”, “14. Political and social context in the Arab world”, “15. Legal issues”, “16. Israeli-Palestinian conflict” and “Other subjects”.

Some general remarks on the tables presented in this work will now be made before presenting a table of the fifteen sources for which AWR recorded most articles related to houses of worship. The source of the material presented is traceable and is presented in the Appendix of this paper. A comparison of variables (e.g. Var.1 “church building cases; Var.2 “problem cases) was only done if certain minimum requirements for sincere statistics were fulfilled. Statistics which include the factor time were only compared if they covered the same period of time. The comparison of two tables which relied on two completely different sources was only done if the variable was the same and a comparison of two different variables was only done if the source was the same. For example the comparison between the number of permits issued by the president in the last ten years which were reported in the “US Religious Freedom Report” and the problem cases which were reported in the media AWR covered over same time has no significance. In this case neither the source nor the variables which are compared are the same. It also has to be said that AWR does not provide literal translations of the articles.

The original Arabic texts are available in the office of AWR but in the given timeframe for this work they could not be used. This can also be a source of inaccuracy. The tables which are presented on the following pages can only illustrate tendencies.

Altogether AWR recorded 330 articles related to building houses of worship in the media it covered in the time from 1998 to March 2007. The following table will show a list of the ten newspapers from which AWR recorded most articles related to building houses of worship. For a complete list of all sources which published together the 330 articles mentioned above please look at chapter 3 “Full version of the table ‘Table for the number of articles published by each newspaper/publications related to ‘houses of worship’ recorded by AWR” of the Appendix. The decision to only present the ten publications with the highest production of articles on houses of worship was taken because these ten are responsible for publishing 80.3% of all articles published on this issues recorded by AWR.

Name of the table: Table for the number of articles published by each newspaper/publications related to “houses of worship” recorded by AWR	
The ten newspapers/publications which published most articles related to houses of worship recorded by AWR	Number of articles published by the ten publications with the highest production of articles on “houses of worship” according to the records of AWR
„Watani“ and „Watani international“	110
„Rose al-Yusuf“	27
„Al-Usubu“	26
„AWR“	23
“Al-Ahram” and “Al-Ahram Weekly” and “Al-Ahram Al- ^c Arabi”	18
„Sawt Al-Ummah“	16
„Al-Ahali“	15
„Al- ^c Arabi“	11
„Al-Akhbar“	10
„Al-Wafd“	9
	Sum for the articles of these ten newspapers/publications: 265
Timeframe of this table: 1998 to March 2007	
To trace the exact source of all these articles see: Appendix; chapter 1.1 “all articles recorded by AWR related to building houses of worship”.	

AWR recorded most articles related to building houses of worship in “Watani” and its appendix “Watani international”. This shows that building houses of worship is on the list of top issues on the agenda of the Christian newspaper “Watani”. According to AWR records the semi-governmental newspaper “Rose Al-Yusuf” published 27 articles on houses of worship which is second most of all newspapers covered by AWR. This is remarkable. Although Rose al-Yusuf has a secular trend in its published articles it is a governmental newspaper. For the first ten newspapers the proportion between governmental influenced newspapers and non-governmental newspapers is quite balanced. The three governmental influenced papers are “Rose al-Yusuf”, “Al-Ahram” and “Al-Akhbar”. The three oppositional papers are “Al-Ahali”, “Al-Arabi” and “Al-

Wafd”. The four independent papers “Watani”, “Al-Ushbu”, “AWR” and “Sawt al-Ummah” constitute the majority out of the ten publications with the highest production of articles on houses of worship.

The content of these 330 in differs strongly with respect to their content. Some authors present their general attitude on this topic and some others report on newly enacted laws. Sometimes the building of houses of worship was also linked to a completely different topic and only mentioned the article very briefly. While reading the 330 articles which were related to building houses of worship it is noticeable that concrete church building cases are mentioned in these articles quite frequently. In these 330 articles AWR recorded that 278 concrete church building cases were mentioned. The following table will show the then publications who, according to AWR records, reported the highest number of concrete church building cases in the time from 1998 to March 2007. To see the complete list of all publications who together published 278 concrete church building cases please look at chapter 4 “Full version of the table ‘Table for the number of concrete church building cases presented by the different publications/newspapers in the articles related to ‘houses of worship’ recorded by AWR” of the Appendix. Again the reduction of the list to the ten publications or newspapers which presented the highest number of concrete church building cases was done because they together mention 90.3% of all concrete church building cases which were recorded by AWR.

Name of the Table: Table for the number of concrete church building cases presented by the different publications/newspapers in the articles related to “houses of worship” recorded by AWR	
The ten newspapers/publicationss which, according to AWR, presented the highest number of concrete church building cases in their articles related to “houses of worship”	Number of concrete church building cases mentioned in the articles related to “houses of worship” AWR recorded
„Watani“ and „Watani international“	114
“AWR”	34
“Al-Arabi”	21
“Al-Wafd”	18
“Al-Ahali”	17
“Al-Uсбу ^c ”	16
“Sawt Al-Ummah”	13
“Al-Ahram”	7
“Rose al-Yusuf”	6
“US Copts Association” ⁴	5
	Sum of the concrete church building cases of these ten publicationss: 251
Timeframe of this table: 1998 to March 2007	
To trace the exact source of all these concrete church building cases see: Appendix; chapter 2.1 “concrete church building cases which were mentioned in the articles recorded by AWR”	

This table has no really surprising results. Those papers which reported most frequently on “houses of worship” also presented most concrete church building cases. The only exception is “Al-Akhbar”. Although AWR recorded 10 articles from “Al-Akhbar” which were related to “houses of worship” the number of concrete church building cases which were mentioned is below five⁵. The “US Copts Association” has moved into the list of

⁴ Not systematically covered by AWR

⁵ In its 10 articles related to „houses of worship“ which were recorded by WAR „Al-Akhbar“ presented 2 concrete church building cases. For information on all 278 concrete church building cases please look at chapter 4. “Full version of the table ‘Table for the number of concrete church building cases presented by the different publications/newspapers in the articles related to ‘houses of worship’ recorded by AWR’ of the Appendix.

the ten publications who presented the highest number of concrete church building cases in their articles⁶.

201 cases out of 278 concrete church building cases that are 72.3% of all cases recorded by AWR from 1998 to March 2007 reported on problems in these cases. First, it has to be said that the problem cases reported in the media do not reflect the number of actual problem cases which occurred in reality. It is definitely possible that one “real” church building case was reported several times by the same publications or that different publications reported on the same church building case.

Second, the high percentage of problems cases presented in the media shows that media in general tends to report on problems. If one takes a look at the logic all media follows this can be explained. The aim of media is to catch as much attention as possible by potential readers. Economic rationality forces the media to aim at securing the highest possible market share in its target group. For this purpose the selection of topics is mainly influenced by the demands of the target group⁷. This is probably one of the main reasons why AWR recorded that the independent Christian newspaper “Watani” published most articles which were related to houses of worship and presented most concrete church building cases in these articles.

The selection of issues for media reporting is determined by the news value of the issue.⁸ The empiric research for factors which have an impact on the news value of issues goes back to Johan Galtung. In German media studies it was Winfried Schulz who continued the work of Johan Galtung and formulated it more precisely. It is not a problem to adapt these conclusions for Egypt because the ones presented here are formulated in a very general way. In his empiric analysis Schulz has identified a dozen of factors which influence the news value of an issue. He verified that these factors are a consensus of the media actors on factors which make an issue important and worthy for reporting. The first condition an issue has to fulfil before it gets media attention is the event character of the issue. Thoughts, programmes, intentions, interpretations, expectations and projects

⁶ AWR recorded only 3 articles of the „US Copts Association“ which were related to „houses of worship“. Publications of the “US Copts Association” were not systematically covered by AWR. AWR only recorded this publication if there was evidence of misreporting in the publication.

⁷ Cp., (Meyer 2001), p. 45.

⁸ Cp., *ibid.*, p. 46.

which can not be presented as an event or at least be related to an event have barely a chance to be considered as in issue in the media.⁹

Important factors which also increase the news value of a reported event are a short timeframe of the event, if possible a completed event, the event should have a geographical, political and cultural relevance for the consumer, in the frame of already know topics the information should be something new and surprising, events which are potentially conflict causing or characterized by conflict and dispute, events which present great damage or harm to something and events presenting outstanding successes. The selection of issues according to these criteria is mostly independent from the logic an event follows in reality. The first priority media has is not to present a sincere reflection of reality but to present something which catches the attention of as many consumers as possible.¹⁰

For church building this means that reporting on problems cases increases the news value of the concrete case and the article itself as well. The main reason for the high percentage of problem cases presented in the media is thus not a reflection of the number of problems in church building cases in reality. The problems cases are presented by the newspapers and publications because it makes their articles more interesting and more attracting for a higher number of readers. All these facts are not presented to draw the conclusion that problems in church building are non existent. In the contrary if this was the case then the number of concrete problems cases would probable be much lower. But it is very unlikely that the percentage of problems cases presented in the media in comparison with the non problem cases reflects reality accurately.

The next table is a comparison of the numbers of concrete church building cases of the different newspapers or publications with the number of cases which were presented as problem cases by the same newspaper or publications. Concrete church building cases were defined as “problem cases” if they met two conditions. First, the author of the article in which the case was mentioned stated that the church congregation encountered problems during the process of attaining a permit for the building project from the

⁹ Cp., *ibid.*, p. 47f.

¹⁰ Cp., *ibid.*

government. Second, the author of the article in which the case was mentioned also stated that problems were encountered while the construction works were going on¹¹.

Name of the table: Comparison of the number of concrete church building cases of the newspapers/publicationss with the number of cases which were presented as problem cases by the same newspaper/publications			
Newspaper/ publications	Number of concrete church building cases mentioned in the articles related to “houses of worship” AWR recorded	number of church building “problem cases” mentioned in the articles related to “houses of worship” AWR recorded	Percentage of “problem cases” in the concrete church building cases
“Watani” and “Watani International”	114	94	82.50%
“AWR”	34	28	82.40%
“Al-Arabi”	21	19	90.50%
“Al-Wafd”	18	2	11.10%
“Al-Ahali”	17	9	52.90%
“Al-Uсбу ^س ”	16	12	75.00%
“Sawt Al-Ummah”	13	10	76.90%
“Al-Ahram”	7	0	0.00%
“Rose Al-Yusuf”	6	2	33.30%
“US Copts Association”	5	4	80.00%
“Press Review”	5	4	80.00%
“Al-Sharq Al-Awsat”	4	3	75.00%
“Al-Dustur”	4	4	100.00%
“Al-Maydan”	3	3	100.00%
“Al-Hayah”	2	2	100.00%
“Al-Ahrar”	2	2	100.00%
“Al-Akhbar”	2	0	0.00%
“Al-Musawwar”	2	2	100.00%
“Reuters”	1	1	100.00%
“Al-Jumhuriyah”	1	0	0.00%
“Several”	1	0	0.00%
22 different publicationss	278 concrete church building cases	201 cases in which problems related to the concrete church building cases were mentioned	72.3% of all cases which were reported in the media reported on problems
Timeframe of this table: 1998 to March 2007			
To track the exact source of these concrete church building cases and to find out whether the cases can be classified as problem cases please see: Appendix; chapter 2.1 “concrete church building cases which were mentioned in the articles recorded by AWR”			

¹¹ Seeking in terms of the codebook in the Appendix chapter 2. “[Codebook of the table ‘Concrete church building cases which were mentioned in the articles recorded by AWR’](#)” the variables “Permit Remarks” and “Action Remarks” need have the parameter value “problems”.

This analysis will not conclude anything on newspapers which published less than three concrete church building cases. A number of less than three cases is simply too low to make any reliable conclusions whatsoever on the percentage of problem cases.

It is remarkable that there is not a single governmental newspaper under the ten papers which reported most on problem cases. The governmental newspaper “Rose Al-Yusuf” mentioned two problem cases out of seven concrete church building cases it presented in its articles related to “houses of worship”. This is actually the highest number of problem cases AWR has recorded for any of the governmental newspapers. The governmental newspaper “Al-Ahram” which belongs to the biggest publishing houses in the Middle East has not mentioned a single problem case out of its seven concrete church building cases it mentioned in its articles which were recorded by AWR. In sum it can be said that the percentage of problem cases mentioned by the governmental newspapers was between 33.3% and 0.00%¹².

The number of concrete church building cases which were mentioned as problem cases in the oppositional newspapers is also rather low. The newspaper “Al-Wafd” belonging to the al-Wafd party presented only 2 out of 18 concrete church building cases as problem cases. The other oppositional newspaper “Al-Ahali” presented 9 out of 17 concrete church building cases as problem cases. The percentage of problem cases in the oppositional newspapers was between 52.9% and 11.1%.

Compared with the governmental newspapers the independent newspapers or publications “Watani”, “AWR”, “Al-Arabi”, “Al-Usbu’”, “Sawt Al-Ummah”, “US Copts Association”, “Al-Sharq Al-Awsat”, “Al-Dustur” and “Al-Maydan” presented extremely many of the concrete church building cases they mention as problem cases. The independent newspapers and publications all together presented 181 out of 201 problem cases which were mentioned in all the media covered by AWR. The percentage of problem cases mentioned by them ranges between 75% and 100%.

Because of the described self interest of media in reporting on problems and conflicts certain conclusions could not be made. For example the reported problem cases in the

¹² The governmental newspaper „Al-Musawwar“ mentioned two out of two cases it reported on as problem cases which means the percentage of problem case was 100%. But as already mentioned in the text it was not taken into consideration for the analysis because of the low number of concrete church building cases it presented.

media recorded by AWR in combination with the legal status of these cases mentioned in the articles do not allow making any conclusions whether the legal status of a church building project influences the probability of occurring problems. The occurrence of problems in a concrete case belongs to the criteria why this case was chosen for reporting in the first place.

The last table in this chapter is going to present what kind of church construction type had the highest media attention in the concrete church building cases presented in the articles related to “houses of worship” AWR recorded. To trace back the different construction types in all the church building cases presented here look at the column “actions” in the table “concrete church building cases which were mentioned in the articles recorded by AWR” in chapter 2.1 of the Appendix.

Name of the table: Table for the kind of church construction type which had the highest media attention	
action[what type of church building was done in the concrete church building case]	Number of actions which were presented in the concrete church building cases
New construction	105
Repair	71
Closing	27
Demolishing	21
Rebuilding	17
Extension	16
Reopening	13
Opening	7
No action mentioned	1
Actions were divided into 9 different types	Concrete church building cases in the media which were recorded by AWR: 278
Timeframe of this table: 1998 to March 2007	
To trace back the exact source of these concrete church building cases and to find out which “action” parameter value a case took please see: Appendix; chapter 2.1 “concrete church building cases which were mentioned in the articles recorded by AWR”	

With only one exception all articles which presented concrete church building cases mentioned the type of construction work which should be done or which was done. The table shows quite clearly that the construction type “new construction” had the highest media attention.

As already pointed out the media reporting on church building and its problems is not a really accurate reflection of reality but still it is very interesting to see and analyse the differences in reporting between different publications. Additionally the information which could be gained from media reports had to be used and has significant relevance because the official information provided by the government is very scarce. This problem will be presented and discussed in the next chapter.

3.2 Scarce information provided by the government

AWR was able to attain official government information from two governorates. The governors from Assiut and Qalyoubiyya handed them to AWR after AWR had requested them. This shows that the administration was willing to hand out statistical information on a sensitive issue.

In December 2002 the governor of Assiut, Ahmed Hamam Atiyeh, provided AWR with official government records on church building in the governorate of Assiut. The timeframe of the information is October 1998 to October 2000. Altogether the papers present 89 church building cases¹³. Six out of these ninety cases were recorded as cases in which a presidential permit was requested. The records give only a very brief description of what type of building was done. The first 84 records were grouped into the three categories “Restoration”, “New” and “Renovation”. Only ten of them gave a bit more information on what kind of construction works were exactly done there. But they also do not go beyond one single incomplete sentence like “building three floors”. The six other records only say that a presidential permit for a certain church was requested.

The following table is going to present the number of the different construction types which were recorded in the official documents of the governorate of Assiut. In all the

¹³ For a complete list of all the cases which were recorded in the official documents handed to AWR by the governor of Assiut please see: Appendix; Chapter 7.1 „Information provided by the governor of Assiut“.

cases which were recorded the category “New” meant the extension of some already existing building. The category “Renovation” stands for cases in which a church was demolished and then a new church was built on the same site.

Name of the table: Number of the different construction types which were recorded in the official documents of the governorate Assiut

Recorded construction type	Number of times a certain construction type was recorded
Restoration	72
New[Extension]	8
Presidential permit requested	6
Renovation[Rebuilding]	3
No construction type mentioned/records were missing	9
Total: 98	

Timeframe of this table: 1998 to 2002

To trace back the exact source of this source of these records please see: Appendix; Chapter 7.1 „Information provided by the governor of Assiut“.

The table shows clearly that the construction work “Restoration” was recorded most in the official government papers. To 80.9% restorations were recorded. Unfortunately not much more information can be gained out of these records.

In the same time from 1998 to 2002 AWR recorded 19 concrete church building cases for the governorate of Assiut in the articles published by the media AWR covers¹⁴. Only one out of the 19 concrete church building cases in this time was not presented as a problem case. This shows quite clearly that media reporting and official documents from the government constitute two extremes. Media concentrated nearly exclusively on problems and the government records simply do not mention any details on the different cases at all.

Out of the 89 recorded cases in government papers and the 19 concrete church building cases presented in media only three matching cases could be found. This is already proof that both recordings are incomplete. Matching cases between media reporting and official government papers were defined as cases in which the governorate, the province, the

¹⁴ To see a complete list of all these 19 cases please see the Appendix chapter 7.3 „Concrete church building cases in Assiut presented by the media during the same time“

town and the name of the church in media reporting an official government papers were the same.

In the case of Mari Yohanna Church (St. John Church) in Dewina, Abu Teeg in the governorat Assiut official papers recorded a restoration which through Governorate decree 458 of 1999. In an article in the newspaper “Al-Ahali” the same church building case was mentioned¹⁵. The only information in the article is that President Mubarak issued a presidential decree for necessary repairs on this church. Although both sources do not present the same information on the church they at least both do not mention any occurring problems in this case. This case could be considered a somewhat positive match.

In the case of the church of Archangel Michael, in Beni Magd, Assiut, the only information given by the government is that there was a restoration permitted through governorate decree no. 562 and that the record was dated to the 11th February 2001. There is not further information on the case whatsoever. The same case was mentioned in “Watani”¹⁶. The article mentions states that the security body interfered in the construction works two times. One time in 1997 and another time in 1998. According to the article the case was even brought to court. The court ordered all construction works to be frozen until a final decision was taken. In the year 2000 the court had not yet taken a decision concerning that case. None of these problems were mentioned in the official government papers AWR attained from the administration. This shows that the official papers concerning church building also not reflect reality properly. They only present certain aspects of it.

In the case of the St. Mary Monaster in Durunka, Assiut, the official papers recorded a restoration with permission of a decree from the governorate no. 634 of 1999. This restoration was not mentioned in the newspapers article in “Watani” which mentioned the same church in one of its articles¹⁷. The article which was published in the year 2000 reports on an ongoing conflict between the monastery and the local administration. Object of the conflict was a piece of land where the monastery wanted to plant trees. The article says that the monastery tried to acquire the land in 1985 and until 2000 it had not

¹⁵ AWR 2000 (week 4/20)

¹⁶ AWR 2000 (week 36/8)

¹⁷ AWR 2000 (week 22/24)

been successful. Again both sources report on two completely different things. Government records mention an approval for a restoration and the newspaper “Watani” reported on a quarrel on a piece of land. It again underlines that both sources go into two directly different directions and they both reflect only a certain facet of reality.

On March 20th 2001 Adil Hussein, the governor of Qalyoubiya provided AWR with information on different church building projects. The document AWR received was not dated nor was date given when certain procedures were taken. The missing timeframe makes the information incomparable with the information gained through media reports or the official records from Assiut. It has to be said that the lack of precision on the timeframe of these cases makes the information nearly worthless. The time in which the church building cases could have occurred apparently ranges from one week to sixty years. The document from the governor of Qalyoubiya presents 23 church building cases. The document gives the names of the churches, the actions which should or were done to the building and the procedure taken by the administration.

The following table is going to present the actions which were taken in these cases. In the table the actions were divided into six different groups, such as “renovation”, “extension of a church”, “extension of a service building”, “construction of a service building”, “licensing of a building” and “tearing down and rebuilding”.

Name of the table: Table for the number of actions taken in Qalyoubiyya

Actions which were taken in the church building cases presented by the governor of Qalyoubiyya	Number of the actions which were taken in the cases presented
Renovation	13
Extension of a church	4
Extension of a service building	2
Construction of a service building	1
Licensing of a building	2
tearing down and rebuilding	1
	Total number of actions: 23

Timeframe of this table: Unknown

To trace back these 23 church building cases please see: Appendix; chapter 8.1 “Information provided by the governor of Qalyoubiyya”

The action “renovation” was requested in 56.5% of all cases. This corresponds to the percentage of 80.9% “restorations which were recorded in Assiut.

The procedures which were taken The Procedures which were taken by the administration in the cases presented in the documents of the governor from Qalyoubiyya were divided into 3 different groups, such as “approval”, “request to give further information on the building project” and “still in consideration”. The following table is going to present numbers of how often the three different procedures were taken.

Name of the table: Number of different procedures which were taken in Qalyoubiyya

Procedures which were taken by the administration in the cases presented by the governor of Qalyoubiyya	Number of the procedures which were taken by the administration
approval	20
Request to give further information on the building project	2
Still in consideration	1
Total number of procedures taken: 23	

Timeframe for this table: Unknown

To trace back the exact source of these procedures pleas see: Appendix; chapter 8.1 “Information provided by the governor of Qalyoubiyya”

The table shows that in these 23 church building cases the administration gave an approval of the action which should be taken or was taken without requesting further information.

It was possible to show and prove that media and official government papers constitute two extremes when in comes to reporting or recording problems on church building. The media presented 72.3% of all concrete church building cases it mentioned in the articles recorded by AWR as problem cases. The official government records on the other hand do not mention any problems at all. Additionally the information which could be attained directly from the government was scarce. Only the statistics of two governorates were available.

As already mentioned in the Introduction the head of CAPMAS, Abu Bakr Al-Jindi said in 2005 that there are about 1950 churches and monasteries nationwide in Egypt¹⁸. If we

¹⁸ AWR 2005 (week 51/25)

keep in mind that media concentrated its reporting on problem cases in a very strong way the 201 problem

cases they presented in the last 10 years is not very high in relation to the number of existing churches. If the government presented more precise information then the negative media reporting could be probably challenged quite easily.

4.1 Laws and regulations governing the construction of churches

The aim of this section is to assess the importance of the legal framework for the building of churches. The first part of this section gives an overview of the most important laws and presidential decrees which deal with church building. The efforts to create a unified law for all houses of worship are presented in the last chapter of this part as well. More important than just listing all the existing regulations is to assess the quality of these laws. There is a big difference between a law which is unanimously recognized by all parties which are affected by it and a law which is subject to constant discourse. Another element which is usually taken as granted is that a law has to be formulated very precisely. As we will see more than one of the regulations for church building are quite ambiguous.

The second part describes how the existing regulations are executed by the bureaucracy. Shedding some light on this process is very important. If the existing laws are implemented and enforced by the administration in a very strict way then the conclusion would be that the legislation is important. If the executive body does not implement the given laws properly this of course diminishes the relevance of given laws. In order to provide the reader with some practical examples two case studies are presented in this part likewise.

The third part is a short digression on laws governing the building of mosques. Making a comparison between church and mosque building is not in the focus of this report. However it is important to mention the laws dealing with the building of mosques and the differences to the building of churches so as to explain the legal context and the efforts to create a unified law for the construction of all houses of worship. The building of mosques is not presented as an equally big problem as the building of churches in the

media. If legislation really is the defining factor for the construction of churches or houses of worship in general than the legislation of mosques should not only differ from the legislation for churches but also be considerable less demanding.

4.1.1 The Hamayouni Edict and the Ten Conditions

The Tanzimat era (1839-1876), a time of large-scale reform in the Ottoman Empire, of which Egypt had been a part since 1517, brought about significant changes for non-Muslims. The reigning sultans and leading bureaucrats had realized the backwardness of the Ottoman Empire and tried to imitate successful European states. These had gained some influence on the Ottoman government and pressured it to pursue the course of reforms. One of the projects was the introduction of legal equality among all citizens regardless of their faith.

On February the 18th 1856 the Sublime Porte issued the Hamayouni Edict. It stipulated (1) equality between Christians and Muslims in employment, (2) military service for all males regardless of their religion, (3) the abolition of discriminatory terminology in the *diwans* and that (4) requests for building houses of worship of non-Muslims are to be presented to the Sultan, who then issues a license. At first sight, the last point seems to contradict the spirit of equality that distinguishes the other regulations of the edict. Yet, it was precisely included to promote the rights of non-Muslims: The Hamayouni Edict withdrew the licensing process from local authorities, which Christians had accused of obstructing construction works.

Today there is no consensus of opinion whether the Hamayouni Edict is still applied or not. Some argue that its validity stopped with the British occupation in 1882 or the establishment of a British protectorate in 1914¹⁹, respectively. However, a ruling by the Administrative Court on December 16, 1952 indicates that the Hamayouni law was still enforced at that time. It mentioned, “the Hamayouni law should not be used as a reason to create obstacles for building places of worship.”²⁰ A more recent example is a letter from October 2003, in which the Ministry of Interior informs that “according to the

¹⁹ AWR 2006 (4/20)

²⁰ AWR 1999 (Week 49/10)

Hamayouni Edict which governs the issue” the erection of a cemetery requires a presidential permit.²¹ Whether still applicable or not, the clause requiring a permit from the highest state representative, nowadays the president, has survived until today. Besides the Hamayouni Edict there is no article in the Egyptian constitution and no law ever issued by the Egyptian government that stipulates this necessity. The Hamayouni law has nowadays become a synonym for the discriminatory legislation in the field of building houses of worship for non-Muslims which is the opposite of its original intention. It must be added that most of the criticism explicitly referring to the Hamayouni law is actually directed at the so-called ten conditions.

Egypt achieved its independence from the United Kingdom in 1922 and was thus able to regulate church building on its own. In February 1934, Deputy Interior Minister Al-Ezabi Pasha issued ten conditions for building new churches²². These conditions had to be met before a royal permit could be issued. The Ten Conditions are:

1. Is the land on which the church is to be built empty or agricultural land and does it belong to the person presenting the request? Land ownership papers have to be appended to the presented request.
2. What is the distance between the proposed church and surrounding mosques?
3. If the land is vacant, is it amidst Christian or Muslim settlements?
4. If it is amidst Muslims, do they have any objections to it?
5. Is there another church belonging to this denomination in the same town or village?
6. What is the distance between the nearest church belonging to this denomination and to the town in which the requested church is to be built?
7. What is the number of Christians in the area?
8. If the land on which the church is to be built is close to Nile bridges or public utilities belonging to the Ministry of Irrigation, an approval should be sought from the Ministry itself. Also, if it is near to railway lines, the railway authorities should also give their approval.

²¹ AWR 2004 (Week 27/21)

²² The ten conditions were issued in the so called Wafd period.

9. An official report should be made on all of the above points, and it should indicate the surrounding buildings to the requested spot on which the church is to be built, including the nearest utilities of public nature, and the distances between these utilities and the church. This report is to be sent to the ministry.
10. The applicant must present with his request architectural drawings in the ratio of 1/1000 that are signed by the head of the religious denomination and the engineer who has expertise of the area on which the church is to be built. The competent administration should investigate the truthfulness of the papers, and should sign it, and present it with the investigation papers.²³

It is misleading that the Al-Ezabi decree is commonly referred to as the Ten Conditions as it does not contain any conditions in the true sense of the word. Rather, it is a catalogue of questions that have to be considered. But it does not stipulate any consequences for different answers to these questions. What is the minimal size of a congregation? What is the minimal distance to a mosque? What is a valid objection by Muslims?

Nashwa Al-Dieb, a journalist with Al-Arabi who reports a lot about Christians, claims that the minimum distance to the closest mosque is 1000 meters and that the congregation must have a size of at least 10000.²⁴ The US Religious Freedom Country Report 2006 mentions a minimum distance to the closest mosque of 100 meters. Yet, the majority of the material studied does not mention any numbers. Al-Ahram reports that the Administrative Court on February 26, 1951 “abolished a resolution issued by the Minister of Interior that refused the building of a church due to the small number of this denomination’s members.”²⁵

The Al-Ezabi decree is questionable for three reasons. First the legal basis for enforcing a law which was issued before the Republic of Egypt came into existence is disputable. Second it could be argued that the Al-Ezabi decree is unconstitutional. It can be seen in

²³ AWR 1999 (week 49/9)

²⁴ AWR 1998 (30/11/1998)

²⁵ AWR 1999 (week 49/10)

conflict with article 46 of the 1971 constitution. It states: "The State shall guarantee the freedom of belief and the freedom of practicing religious rights"²⁶. But up to the present date the Constitutional Court has not dealt with this issue. A third argument which could be brought up is that the decree does not meet the common rule of law principle of specificity. Since it does not contain any specific conditions, it does not provide a guideline – neither for the applicant nor the executive organs – on how to proceed. In fact, the legislator leaves the decision to the executive authorities. It is them who decide on the appropriate distance to a mosque etc. The decree thus paves the road to arbitrary decisions and a lack of transparency.

In the end, the Al-Ezabi decree is but a reversal of the Hamayouni decree. Although the final decision whether or not a permit is granted lies with the president, the Al-Ezabi decree gives the local authorities – which prior to the Hamayouni Edict had been accused of obstructing church building – considerable room to influence the decision in their interest. This contradicts with the spirit of equality in which the Hamayouni Decree was issued.

4.1.2 Presidential decrees

From 1934 until 1998 the legal framework did not change. In February 1998, President Mubarak issued presidential decree 23/1998. It states that “[g]overnors, each in his area of authority, are delegated to exercise the powers of the President of the Republic in granting licenses for Christian denominations to repair and/or restore churches, provided that no laws or statutes regulating these works are violated.”²⁷ As all church related construction had required a presidential decree until 1998, this decree differentiated for the first time between different types of building activities. While the new construction of churches, the extension of existing ones and the demolition and the subsequent rebuilding

²⁶ Egyptian Government. Egypt Constitution, Chapter Three: Public Freedoms, Rights and Duties <http://www.egypt.gov.eg/english/laws/Constitution/chp_three/part_one.asp> on Wednesday the 23 January 2008.

²⁷ The presidential decrees mentioned in this chapter were given to AWR by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and were published in AWR.

of churches still required a presidential permit; governors issued licenses for renovating and strengthening churches.

The presidential decree of 1998 had barely enjoyed two years of validity until it was canceled by presidential decree 453/1999. This decree, issued on December 28, 1999, stated that “[l]icenses to repair and/or restore all houses of worship shall be issued by the building authorities in each governorate. The aforementioned authority shall decide on the application presented to it in accordance with procedures stipulated by law 106/1976 and its executive statute.”²⁸

This decree is remarkable for three reasons. First it concerns all places of worship and thus does not distinguish between mosques and churches. It is now the building authority that decides on a permit on the basis of the construction law 106/1976. According to this decree, the application process is free from political and security considerations as neither political nor security bodies have a say during the licensing procedure – at least theoretically. Third the construction law 106/1976 stipulates that any permit is considered granted if the authorities do not notify the applicant about reservations within a period of sixty days from application. Presidential decree 453/1999 thus significantly accelerates proceedings. But like the previous decree, it only regulates the renovation and strengthening of existing churches. All other church related building activities such as new buildings and enlargements remain subject to a presidential permit.

On December 7, 2005 President Mubarak issued Decree 291/2005 thereby canceling the previous decree. The new decree reads as follows:

“(Art. 1): Governors, each in his area of authority, are delegated to grant licenses for Christian denominations to demolish a church, build a church in the same location as a demolished church, construct a building and/or make any modifications and/or expansions to an existing church. Decisions regarding applications for licenses shall be taken, after consulting the authorities concerned, within a period of thirty days from the date that the application for a license, with all the necessary documents, was presented.

²⁸

AWR 2000 (week 2/62)

An application shall only be turned down with a decision in which reasons for refusal are mentioned.

(Art. 2): The restoration or renovation of an existing church is subject to written notification to the administrative authority concerned with construction in each governorate on the part of church officials.”²⁹

Presidential decree 291/2005 signifies yet another simplification for church related construction. The president delegates his authority for permitting modifications and extensions as well as the demolition and subsequent rebuilding of churches to the governors, thus only retaining the authority to license new churches. With a period of 30 days the decree forces governors to respond quickly to applications. Concerning renovation and restoration it abolishes the necessity of prior licensing – a simple notification to the local authorities is enough.

Yet, the decree has two shortcomings. First it concerns only churches and must therefore be considered a setback compared to the previous degree treating all houses of worship equally. Second the decree is partially unspecific. It refers to “the authorities concerned” and “necessary papers” without specifying who or what, respectively, is meant. It thus gives governors a considerable space of discretion.

In January 2006 Mamdouh Nakhla, secretary general of the Word Center for Human Rights, contested the Presidential decree 291. In his appeal, he argued that the Egyptian constitution does not entitle the President to give building permissions for houses of worship³⁰. Actually his critique does not aim at the Presidential decree but at the enforcement of the Hamayouni Edict. It will be interesting to see the outcome of this case.

²⁹ The presidential decrees mentioned in this chapter were given to AWR by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and were published in AWR.

³⁰ AWR 2006 (week 5/45)

4.1.3 The unified law for the construction of houses of worship

First measures of creating a unified law for the construction of houses of worship were already taken in 1972 after sectarian violence erupted in Al-Khanka. The People's Assembly entrusted a committee – called Oteifi Committee – with investigating the causes of the incident. The committee reported to the Assembly in November 1972 and concluded that a mixture of reasons led to the outbreak of sectarian violence, one of them being the discriminatory legislation concerning church building. Consequently, the committee advocated a unified law for building houses of worship. However, none of the suggestions made by the committee was implemented.

A new attempt was made in 2005. After receiving a series of complaints, the Chairman of the Proposals and Complaints Committee at the People's Assembly, Muhammad Juweili, drew up a draft for a unified law governing all kinds of construction related to houses of worship, i.e. mosques, churches and synagogues. Apparently, the government approved it and Juweili submitted it to the Housing Committee of the People's Assembly in May 2005. The Housing Committee has to issue a report on the draft law before the People's Assembly can discuss and pass it. However, the committee has until now not issued its report without giving any reasons for the delay. A group of civil society organizations has started a campaign to promote the new law. If the draft law was passed it would cancel all previous regulations on the construction of houses of worship and place all of them on an equal legal footing. The licensing process would be centralized with one authority. The concerned building departments would decide on the applications on the basis of the 1976 construction law. The approval of security authorities would apparently not be required. Juweili resubmitted the law proposal in February 2007 but apparently nothing has happened³¹.

In spite of the draft pending in parliament, the National Council for Human Rights issued its own proposal for a draft law and referred it to the Egyptian government. In case the government approves this draft, the People's Assembly will face two different proposals.

³¹ AWR 2007 (week 23/34)

In one of his articles Youssef Sidhom claims that "the NCHR sponsored draft law poses a serious paradox: instead of liberating churches from security grip, the law places mosques under this grip."³² As it was not possible to obtain a copy of the draft law from May 2005 no reliable comparison between the two drafts can be made. But the sense and the motives of submitting two draft laws concerning exactly the same issue can be questioned.

When looking at the draft submitted by the NCHR special attention should be drawn to article 4. It says there "*and it shall after having conducted all such necessary inspections and piloting the opinion of the security body relevant in giving the decision required in the license application during period of no more than four months as of the date of complete application.*"³³ Said in a more understandable way this means that the relevant security body has to be asked before a building permission can be given. The law gives the authorities considerable leisure in its interpretation, which might lead to arbitrary decisions and the integration of the security body into the decision process would be a setback for the simplification of church building as well as for the building of mosques. In October 2007 the newspaper "al-Masri al-Yawm" reported that the NCHR gave the final touches to the unified draft law.

In 2007 four members of parliament submitted a new proposal which is said to be very similar to the one Mr. Juweili submitted in 2005. On 5th June 2007 the Committee for Proposals and Complaints discussed and approved the now third proposal³⁴. It has to be said that until today nothing new has happened with regard to creating a unified law for all houses of worship³⁵.

It is not a given fact that a unified law for the building of houses of worship will reduce sectarian strife as many authors in newspapers articles covered by AWR claim. The exact opposite could also be the outcome. A unified law would make it possible to trace differences in law enforcement directly back to the local administration and thus create considerable pressure on it. If differences in the execution of laws then still remained this

³² AWR 2006 (week 34/21)

³³ NCHR, Third Annual Report. Human Rights Situation in Egypt 2006/07, <http://www.nchr.eg/en/annual_report06.html> on 26th March 2008 at 10:41 am.

³⁴ AWR 2007 (week 25/48)

³⁵ Today means here 24th March 2008.

could lead to conflicts. When calling for a unified law for all house of worship the possible negative consequences should also be considered.

4.2 The implementation of the existing legislation

This part is going to try to present the implementation of the existing legislation. The following chapter will present the licensing process for constructions which require the permit from a governor.

In the context of church building the term licensing procedures is related to how the administration executes and enforces the given legal framework. Youssef Sidhom, editor in chief of *Watani*, an Egyptian newspaper focusing on Christian issues, calls the procedure for licensing church related construction works a “Via Dolorosa”³⁶. It is indeed a complicated and often a time consuming matter, since it involves quite a number of different authorities, which all have to give their approval, and all sorts of documents. For the applicant the outcome might be unpredictable: The highly bureaucratic procedure lacks transparency and there seems to be no clear-cut and unified regulation organizing it. Although all cases studied include some common features, the details vary significantly, especially concerning the order of the different steps of the application. It seems, that this is partially due to different administrative regulations in the governorates.

4.2.1 Constructions requiring a permit from the governor - cases studies of Qalyoubia and Assiut

Following are two examples for processing applications for church repair. The example from Qalyoubia represents a top-down approach, i.e. the application is filed with a central authority, which then passes it down to the local level. The example of Assiut represents the opposite. It is conspicuous that both approaches basically contain the same steps as the procedure for a presidential permit, only that the governor issues a license instead of the president. The strong role of security authorities is also noteworthy. It is hard to

³⁶ AWR 2006 (week 34/21)

determine whether or not the two examples are representative for Egypt's 26 governorates. This is due to a lack of information about procedures in the majority of the regions.

In his decision no. 5337/1999, the governor of Qalyoubia introduced a top-down administration for processing requests for church repair. Applications for church repair are filed with the governorate's administrative office, which then refers it to the local authorities. The governor explains that he looks at every application personally in order to assure a quick procedure. The central handling, he continues, frees Copts from dealing with local administrations that may slow down or hinder "some procedures because of not understanding them."³⁷

Article One:

An application is to be filed by the person in charge of the church to the Legal Affairs department in the governorate's administrative office, attaching four copies of the documents and blueprints of the parts to be renovated. The application is recorded in a special record and referred to the concerned Local Unit.

Article Two:

A committee comprised of the following persons is formed in the Local Unit of the District and city:

- 1. Chief Executive Officer of the Local Unit of the District and City, as President.*
- 2. Sheriff or deputy-sheriff of the police station, as member.*
- 3. Engineering Department manager in the Local Unit, as member.*
- 4. Legal Affairs manager in the Local Unit, as member.*
- 5. Representative of the church to be renovated, as member.*

The committee undertakes the required inspection, researches the opinion of the Criminal Investigation [department] and National Security Investigation [department], and prepares a report on the matter, attaching its opinion in the matter. The report is to be presented to the governor within thirty days of referring the papers to the committee.

Article Three:

The committee's product is referred to the concerned Engineering Department in the Local Unit to prepare a Decision Project of the required renovations. The Decision Project is reviewed by the Governorate's General Department of Legal Affairs. The

³⁷

Decision Project is referred to us to be issued.

Article Four:

A record for this purpose is created in the Engineering Department in the concerned Local Unit, in which the dates of presenting the application, its reference to the concerned committee, the committee's decision, and the appeal and its result [if existing]. Also to be recorded is the number and date of the governorate's decision in this regard, the date of finishing the renovations, and any other related data.

Article Five:

The church may appeal to the governor concerning the committee's product within fifteen days of finishing it. The governor will either make a decision or form a Special Committee to look into the matter. A conclusion is to be reached within thirty days of the appeal's reference to the Special Committee.

Article Six:

All concerned authorities are to enforce this decision beginning of its issue.³⁸

The Assiut governor introduced a different approach. Application for church repair are filed with the local authorities and then referred to the governor. In a letter to the local administrations from January 16, 2006, he explains the procedure:

"We have the honor to attach herewith the instructions concerning the restoration and renovation of existing churches. Please abide by these regulations with the utmost precision. The following documents should be attached to any application in this regard:

- 1. A letter of authorization from the head of the sect, citing the name and address of the person sanctioned to follow up on the procedures.*
- 2. A registered ownership document that should be reviewed by the legal department at the municipality.*
- 3. Six copies of the architectural drawings approved by a certified architect.*
- 4. A map of the site and its location, approved by the survey authority.*
- 5. A letter from the antiquities authority proving that the building is not registered among those of historical values.*
- 6. The presidential decree licensing the erection of the church.*
- 7. A report from the local building authority indicating the required work.*
- 8. A review of the architectural drawing in accordance with the law organizing and regulating building.*
- 9. The date the documents are delivered to our office after being completely reviewed is the date of the actual submission of the application."³⁹*

³⁸ AWR 2001 (Week 22/12)

³⁹ AWR 2006 (Week 8/34)

These documents are then transferred to the governorate's administration. In an earlier letter from 2000 the governor explains the necessity of centralized decision-making, which takes places "so that an opinion poll can be taken from the security forces to ensure that they [the requests] fulfill all necessary requirements before receiving permission to carry out the proposed restoration and repair work."

But it also has to be pointed out that the regulations in Qalyoubia as well as in Assiut appear to violate some of the presidential decrees which have been presented in chapter "2.1.2 presidential decrees". The presidential decree 453/1999 transferred the authority to issue permits for the repair or renovation of all houses of worship to the building departments in the governorates. However, on May 22, 2000, the governor of Assiut gave a different order to the local administrations: "This is a strict warning on the necessity of sending requests for repair and restoration of churches to the governorate in order to ask for the advice of security authorities concerning these requests and obtaining needed approvals before giving permissions for the requested works of restoration."⁴⁰ The regulation concerns – other than the presidential decree – only churches and retains security control over church construction, thus ignoring that the presidential decree which stated that the building departments issue the permits.

Regarding the presidential decree 291/2005, the governor of Assiut also ignored its content. While the presidential decree explicitly states that church renovation is only subject to written notification to the authorities, the regulations in Assiut require an application. Other than a notification this entails the possibility of being turned down⁴¹.

In 2001, the governor of Qalyoubia presented the administrative regulations for the renovation of churches in his governorate to Arab West Report. The text of the regulation refers to the presidential decree 13/1998 and in regard to this decree the regulation does not constitute any violation. However, the regulation was obviously still in force in 2001, although the presidential decree 453/1999 reorganized procedures. Similar to the Assiut governorate, the central processing by the governor and the influence of the security

⁴⁰ AWR 2003 (Week 38/19)

⁴¹ AWR 2006(Week 8/34)

authorities were retained – in contradiction to the presidential decree of 1999.⁴² The Qalyoubia governorate also violated the presidential decree 291/2005. The governor of Qalyoubia ordered that all requests for renovation are to be sent to the Legal Affairs Committee of the governorate. This procedure is not not in accordance with the presidential decree 291/2005 which states in article two that only written notification to the local authorities is required.⁴³

It is not possible to tell why the regulations in the two governorates which were presented here are not in accordance with existing laws. What has to be pointed out is that there is a considerable difference between the existing legislation and its execution in the two governorates which were presented here.

4.3 A short digression on laws and regulations governing the building of mosques

As already mentioned making a comparison between church and mosque building is not in the focus of this report. Doing so would also require making a comparison of the licensing procedure, the social environment, the problems, the problem solving strategies and the statistical data. This could only be done after collecting extensive additional data and then analyzing it. Possibly another report will devote itself to this. However the existing legal framework of building mosques is presented in this part together with a very short comparison of the laws for church building so as to give an impression of how the legal framework for houses of worship from another religion is built. Another reason for presenting the legal framework for mosques is to prevent the assumption that there are no regulations for their building.

In 1996 the Egyptian government has started an effort to extend its control over Egypt's mosques. Originally, the government wanted to bring all unlicensed mosques under its control by 2002⁴⁴. However, the ministry's annexing of mosques does not keep pace with construction. Dr. Zaqzouq, Minister of Awqaf, stressed that some conditions have been in force for a long time. Yet, they had not been codified until November 2001 when the Egyptian government agreed on ten conditions for the building of new mosques.

⁴² AWR 2001 (Week 22/12)

⁴³ AWR 2005 (Week 53/18)

⁴⁴ AWR 2001 (week 32/4)

1. The land on which the mosque is to be built should not be a subject of conflicts or illegally owned.
2. The distance between any two mosques should not be less than 500 meters.
3. A mosque should only be built in an area that really needs it.
4. Only with permission from the Ministry of Awqaf [Religious Endowments] should the mosque be built.
5. Mosques are not permitted to be built under residential buildings.
6. The Ministry of Irrigation should approve the building of the mosque if it is next to the River Nile.
7. The land surface of the mosque should not be less than 175 square meters.
8. The designs that are made by the Ministry of Awqaf for building mosques must be applied.
9. There should be a social and health activities floor built under the mosque.
10. The donator of building the mosque must deposit not less than 50 thousands pounds in bank as a guarantee of the seriousness of the building program.⁴⁵

The official goal of this measure is “securing a civilized appearance and maintaining the prestige related to mosques.”⁴⁶ Probably there were several reasons why the existing conditions were codified. Some of them could have been the following. For a state with its administrative body regulations which are not codified can cause problems. At a certain point even the most knowledgeable expert in this field would not be able to oversee the situation. Another important reason was that mosques are granted certain subsidiaries like for example free water and electricity⁴⁷. If a very high number of new mosques are built without any need for them then the financial burden for the state becomes very heavy. Consequently the government wanted to put an end to the abuse of free supply of water and electricity and tax exemptions granted to mosques.

⁴⁵ AWR 2001 (week 49/4)

⁴⁶ AWR 2001 (week 49/4)

⁴⁷ AWR 2002 (week 43/8)

A direct comparison of the then conditions for building mosques and the Ten Conditions for building churches will be made in the following. A table of the comparison follows at the end.

The conditions for churches and mosques can be grouped in 5 different categories. Such as conditions concerned with the "legal status of the land on which the house of worship is built", "necessity of the building project", "instructions concerning the location", "design of the building" and "conditions which do not correspond to each other and can thus not be compared". Condition 1 for mosques and condition 1 for churches can both be placed in the category "legal status of the land on which the house of worship is built". Although they are formulated in a quite similar way they have one striking difference. Only the condition for mosques really qualifies as a condition. The condition for churches is formulated as a question.

The conditions 2 and 3 for mosques and the conditions 5, 6 and 7 for churches ask for the "necessity of the building project". Of this five "conditions" only one is really clearly defined. It gives the exact distance that one mosque should have to any other. Condition number 3 for mosques is very vague. This condition could only be executed properly by the administration if the term "real need for a mosque in an area" is clearly defined. The conditions for churches placed in this category are formulated as questions. This makes them useless in their function as conditions. They just hint to the factors the administration is supposed to consider. Generally speaking all conditions which are formulated as questions are a problem. If no criteria are defined the administration can possibly not know how to react to an answer of these questions.

Condition 6 for mosques and condition 8 for churches give "instructions concerning the location". Mosques are required to get an approval from the ministry of irrigation if the building is next to the Nile. Churches also need an approval from the ministry of irrigation when they are close to the Nile. Additionally an approval of the railway authorities is needed if the building site is near to a railway.

Condition 5, 7, 8 and 9 for mosques and condition 10 for churches deal with the "design of the building". Mosques have to fulfill four clearly defined conditions in this category. The government takes quite some influence in the design. The only condition churches

face here is that the architectural drawings of the church must be handed to the administration.

It was not possible to place conditions 4 and 10 for mosques and conditions 2, 3 and 4 for churches in any of the mentioned categories. Condition 4 for mosques states that mosques can only be built with permission of the Ministry of Awqaf[Religious Endowments]. Condition 10 aims at insuring the seriousness of the building program. The remaining three conditions for churches are again no conditions but questions. Yet they are the only conditions out of twenty which are related to another religion. They hint that the authorities are supposed to consider the distance between churches and mosques. Another consideration which shall be taken as well is whether the church is amidst Christian or Muslim settlements. The 4th condition for churches gives Muslims the opportunity to object church building projects if they are located amidst them. It could be argued that if Muslims have the right to object constructions which are amidst them then Christians should have the same rights in the opposite case.

It can not be said that these conditions are stricter than those. Churches face more conditions concerning the "necessity of the building project". At the same time they have much more freedom when it comes to matters of design. What can be said is that the conditions for mosques and the conditions for churches are different.

Name of the table: Comparison between the ten conditions for building mosques and churches		
General category of the condition	Ten conditions for building mosques	Ten conditions for building churches
Legal status of the land on which the house of worship is built	1. The land on which the mosque is to be built should not be a subject of conflicts or illegally owned.	1. Is the land on which the church is to be built empty or agricultural land and does it belong to the person presenting the request? Land ownership papers have to be appended to the presented request.
Necessity of the building project	2. The distance between any two mosques should not be less than 500 meters. 3. A mosque should only be built in an area that really needs it.	5. Is there another church belonging to this denomination in the same town or village? 6. What is the distance between the nearest church belonging to this denomination and to the town in which the requested church is to be built? 7. What is the number of Christians in the area?
Instructions concerning the location	6. The Ministry of Irrigation should approve the building of the mosque if it is next to the River Nile.	8. If the land on which the church is to be built is close to Nile bridges or public utilities belonging to the Ministry of Irrigation, an approval should be sought from the Ministry itself. Also, if it is near to railway lines, the railway authorities should also give their approval.
Design of the building	5. Mosques are not permitted to be built under residential buildings 7. The land surface of the mosque should not be less than 175 square meters 8. The designs that are made by the Ministry of Awqaf for building mosques must be applied. 9. There should be a social and health activities floor built under the mosque.	10. The applicant must present with his request architectural drawings in the ratio of 1/1000 that are signed by the head of the religious denomination and the engineer who has expertise of the area on which the church is to be built. The competent administration should investigate the truthfulness of the papers, and should sign it, and present it with the investigation papers.
Conditions which do not correspond to each other and can thus not be compared	4. Only with permission from the Ministry of Awqaf [Religious Endowments] should the mosque be built. 10. The donator of building the mosque must deposit not less than 50 thousands pounds in bank as a guarantee of the seriousness of the building program.	2. What is the distance between the proposed church and surrounding mosques? 3. If the land is vacant, is it amidst Christian or Muslim settlements? 4. If it is amidst Muslims, do they have any objections to it?

4.4 Imprecise formulated laws

The probably gravest weaknesses of the laws for building churches is their lack of precision. Seven out of ten conditions for church building are formulated as questions. This makes them useless in their function as conditions. They just hint to the factors the administration is supposed to consider. All conditions which are formulated as questions are a problem. If no criteria are defined the administration can possibly not know how to react to an answer of these questions. This gives the administration considerable leisure in interpreting and executing existing laws. Thus the administration of each governorate can create its own regulations for church building which might differ markedly from case to case.

In both cases which were studied in part 2.2 “The implementation of the existing legislation” considerable differences between the existing legislation and its execution in the governorates could be found. This is hard evidence for the assumption that the relevance of existing legislation should not be overestimated.

The comparison between the conditions for the building of mosques and the ten conditions for church building illustrated that there are no severe differences between the set of conditions for mosques and churches. Churches face more conditions concerning the "necessity of the building project". At the same time they have much more freedom when it comes to matters of design. Both sets of conditions ensure that the administration has the final say. In the set of conditions for churches this was done through formulating most of the “conditions” as questions. The conditions of the building of mosques ensure the final say of the administration through condition 4 which states “only with the permission form the Ministry of Awqaf should a mosque be built”.

The efforts for making a unified law for houses of worship go into the same direction. The draft which was issued by the National Council for Human Rights would integrate the security body into the decision process. As already mentioned this would mean a setback for the simplification of church building as well as for the building of mosques.

All the information presented in this section hint to the assumption that the creation of a unified law for all houses of worship will not have a considerable impact on the reality of church building. The unified law for houses of worship will most probably be formulated

in a way which again creates a loophole for the administration or the security body. Even if this is not the case it is questionable whether the administrators will implement the newly formulated law accurately. The remaining leisure in interpreting the given law could still lead to completely different regulations, execution and enforcement of one single law of churches and mosques.

The following section will try to explain how the leisure the administration has in interpreting the existing legislation is influenced.

5. Social environment

This section is going to deal with the social environment in which church building takes place. Other than in the section on the legal framework it is very difficult to present any hard facts and evidence when it comes to something as intangible as social environment. It is also very complicated if not impossible to grasp this dimension empirical. But still the social environment remains the frame in which all existing actors take their decisions and all relevant factors come to play.

This section is divided into three parts. The first part tries to provide an analytical framework to analyze the social environment in which church building takes place. It is going to start with some general remarks on the Egyptian society because there are certain general features of this society which have an impact on church building although they are not directly linked to it. The next chapter deals with the question how the importance of a Church for the Christians in Egypt is composed. A church is not only a house of worship. It is also a part of the Church as institution which provides social activities and services for its followers. Additionally the church building process itself might also create a special link between the church as a building and the local community. The chapter on "church building and sectarian strife" will try to shed some light on the connection between church building and sectarian thinking. How are they related to each other and is sectarian thinking really the major reason causing conflicts in the context of church building. The last chapter of this part is concerned with the importance of relationships in general when it comes to church building. It explains the

relationships between the parties involved and how these relationships can influence the building of a church. The question whether laws can be overcome by having good relations with the right persons is possible is also dealt with.

Most of the measures to make church building possible, the second part describes, are nothing else but actions by the actors to frame the social environment in which church building takes place in a more advantageous way. This is done in many different ways. The approaches are divided into measures which try to build up good relations that are helpful for church building and measures to exert pressure on the government in order to be able to build churches. The legal approach is in a way isolated from the other measures because it is not related to the social environment in such a strong way. It is placed here to underline how astray it is when only the legal framework is regarded as important.

5.1 General remarks on Egyptian society

This chapter discusses general features of the Egyptian society which are not directly linked to church building but which might have an impact on it in a way or another. The features mentioned here in this chapter do not claim to be complete. Many other issues may be added if they could be backed up with some evidence. As already mentioned above it is very difficult to prove such an impact by hard evidence. The most reliable way would be to have a representative number of cases studies at hand. But this goes by far beyond the capabilities of this research paper. In this case additional literature on Egyptian society and some cases studies on church building must suffice.

On the official internet page of the "Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics" of the Arab Republic of Egypt it says that the current population of Egypt is 74,229,961⁴⁸. The percentage and the exact number of Christians in Egypt is a highly discussed issue. Depending on the source of the information numbers can have very significant differences⁴⁹. One thing all sources agree on is that Christians are a numerical

⁴⁸ Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics. Arab Republic of Egypt, main page, <<http://www.msrintranet.capmas.gov.eg/pls/fdl/tst12l?action=1&lname=>> on 18.02.2008 at 12:05 pm.

⁴⁹ Cp., Maria Rezzonico, Coptic statistics in Egypt, is still to be published by AWR.

minority in Egypt. In combination with some general features of the political system in Egypt this can already have an impact on church building.

Even though Egypt today has a multi-party electoral system in which any Egyptian is allowed to run for election it has some difficulties in providing representation for either the Christian or Muslim communities⁵⁰. One of the reasons is that religious parties are illegal in Egypt⁵¹. For the Christians this means that they can not have a party of their own which articulates their political stance and the needs of their community⁵². This makes it possible that some issues like for example church building can not be provided with the necessary political backing. The electoral system also makes the representation of Christians in parliament difficult. "Egypt is divided to 222 electoral districts, with each district electing two members by absolute majority of valid votes cast..."⁵³. Not providing representation for numerical minorities is actually a problem of all electoral systems which use an absolute majority vote for their members of parliament.

The people's main concerns in contemporary Egypt include widespread poverty, the decline in living standards, extreme over crowdedness and day-to-day friction on a personal basis can lead to conflicts between individuals and also between groups⁵⁴. In a climate like this it is possible that a church building project in a community can become a problem without any real reason.

The problem of overcrowding has had its repercussions on every aspect of life in Egypt, including church building. The growth of the Coptic population in proportion to the rest meant a need for larger numbers of churches to serve the needs of the community⁵⁵.

As we have already seen in part "2.2 Licensing Procedure" the Egyptian bureaucracy plays a very important role in the execution of the existing laws on church building. Consequently its acting and general performance has an impact on church building as

⁵⁰ Cp., (Sonbol 1990), p. 265.

⁵¹ Cp., Egyptian Constitution, Article 5, second paragraph.

⁵² Cp., (Sonbol 1990), p. 271.

⁵³ Egypt State Information Service, People's Assembly Election 2005, The Electoral Process, see: Politics, The Legislative, The people's Assembly, Parliamentary Election 2005, People's Assembly Election 2005 The Electoral Process, <<http://www.sis.gov.eg/En/Politics/Parliamentary/pross/041301000000000001.htm>> on 18.02.2008 at 15:30 pm.

⁵⁴ Cp., (Sonbol 1990), p. 268.

And: Cp., (Heggy 2003), p. 194.

⁵⁵ Cp., (Sonbol 1990), p. 269.

well as on any other field the bureaucracy is involved in. For this reason some general features of the Egyptian government will be discussed here.

In 1983 the "Al Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies" made a research with the goal to provide an empirical, baseline assessment of bureaucratic behavior requisite to the developmental capacity of the Egyptian bureaucracy⁵⁶. "The findings reinforced criticisms of the Egyptian bureaucracy that have long been prominent in the Egyptian press"⁵⁷. Regardless of the measures used to assess the productivity of the bureaucracy Egyptian bureaucrats manifested productivity levels that were exceptionally low⁵⁸. The analysis of bureaucratic flexibility focused upon two related processes. First the true willingness of senior officials to delegate authority. Second the corresponding willingness of subordinate officials to assume responsibility. On both counts, the respondents proved to be remarkably inflexible⁵⁹. If Egypt is to provide a viable social and economic foundation it is essential that the bureaucracy provides new and innovative solutions to the myriad of economic and social challenges⁶⁰. The licensing process of church building also belongs to these challenges. All of the measures of innovation the Al Ahram study analyzed indicated that innovation was not a strong suit of the Egyptian bureaucracy⁶¹. The Egyptian bureaucracy also has a long history of antagonism with the Egyptian public. As most bureaucratic activity directly or indirectly involves interaction with public the lack thereof creates problems. The data the "Al Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies" gathered indicate the existence of a manifest gap in rapport between the bureaucrats and their clients⁶². This leads to conflicts and misunderstandings between these two entities.

Some factors which create problems in church building projects can be traced back to bureaucracy. This will be done in part "3.2 Problem Types". But one example which indicates the trouble Egyptian bureaucracy can create shall be mentioned here. At the beginning of the 1960s a Muslim man who was supposed to guard the property of a Presbyterian Church community in Ma'ādī claimed the land as his own. He justified his

⁵⁶ Cp., (Monte, Palmer\Ali, Leila\El Sayed, Yassin 1989), p. 148.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Cp., *ibid.*, p. 149.

⁵⁹ Cp., *ibid.*

⁶⁰ Cp., *ibid.*, p. 150.

⁶¹ Cp., *ibid.*

⁶² Cp., *ibid.*

claim by stating that the church owns the property but he had the right to use it⁶³. The case went to court and 20 years later, in the early 1980s, the final court ruling went in the church's favor⁶⁴. However, it took another eight years for the ruling to be executed. Accordingly it took 28 years until this local Presbyterian Church community got the land it legally owned back.

5.2 The importance of a church for Christians in Egypt

It is very important to discuss the question why churches are so important and thus what makes church building such a sensitive and highly discussed issue in Egyptian society and media. This chapter will try to explain the dimensions which compose the importance of a Church for Christians in Egypt. Although this chapter is focused on churches most of the dimensions described here could also be applied to mosques. This chapter is divided into two subchapters. The first subchapter tries to deal with the relationship of the church and its followers on a more personal level. It presents how the churches frame the relationship to their believers and what kind of social services and activities the churches themselves offer. The sources for this chapter are an interview done with a Christian member of the AWR staff⁶⁵ and a Report in AWR on a Presbyterian church in Ma'ādī⁶⁶. The second subchapter presents the services of some Christian organizations and associations. This subchapter was added to show the large scale and quantity of social services religious organizations offer. Other than for the first subchapter it is possible to present references for this information.

Before going into detail on how the link between the church and its followers is composed it is necessary to discuss what relevance this has for a church as a building. First, many of the ceremonies and social services are performed inside the church building. Second, Christians usually do not make an explicit differentiation between the

⁶³ Drs. Hulsman explained that this is a sometimes appearing conflict in Egypt. One party claims that it has the right to use a property because it has taken care of the property or inhabited it. The legal owner's party then has to prove that its own claim for the land and the usage thereof is legitimate.

⁶⁴ Kazanjian, Corin, A Presbyterian church's sixty years of church building, unpublished draft article for AWR.

⁶⁵ Interview was done on 20th February 2008.

⁶⁶ Kazanjian, Corin, A Presbyterian church's sixty years of church building, unpublished draft article for AWR.

church as institution and the church as a building. Third, the church building can also be seen as a symbol which stands for the church as organization representing everything the organization stands for and for what it does.

5.2.1 The Church as companion from birth to death

First of all a church is of course a place of worship. People go there to pray alone or together and they meet there regularly to celebrated religious ceremonies. This makes it a place of spiritual contemplation. But a church is not only a place where regular ceremonies take place. The church as organization accompanies its followers from birth until death.

On the 7th day after a child's birth special prayers are performed for it in the orthodox church. From then on the relation between the individual and the church gets more intensive. After the Sunday's celebration children beginning from the age of 6 attend Sunday schools. There the children are taught in religious subjects. Churches have also begun to organize educational support that has nothing to do with religion. Children are offered tutoring on regular school subjects. These courses usually begin after Sunday schools have ended. As a rule children attend Sunday school until they have finished secondary school. For university students many churches provide quite a number of entertainment activities. Like for example theatre plays and sport tournaments⁶⁷. The church can also act as a mediator for job opportunities once the Christians students have finished university. Many churches put up vacancies on a bulletin board. Churches offer counselling for couples who want to get married. Engagement parties take place in the church and also all organizational matters concerning marriages are organized by the church. Further churches organize family vacation trips. The churches fund houses for old people as well as providing homecare for them. Many Churches also provide some financial support for needy people or they give them food and clothes. Finally funerals are also completely arranged by the church.

⁶⁷ When Corin Kazanjian spoke to some Christians at Cairo University they also mentioned the opportunity to do theatre plays in the church.

The Presbyterian church in Ma'ādī is a very nice example to show what kind of social services a church community with not more than 150 people regularly attending Sunday's service offers. Once a month needy people can come to the church where they receive financial support to pay for their basic needs. Some poor families are granted special financial backing for specific reasons, for example to pay for a marriage. The church also provides homecare for elderly people, while for the future the biggest issue on the agenda is the inception of a small hospital⁶⁸. All these services offered by the churches have its equivalent in normal society. But still most Christians prefer to rely on the church as far as possible. It is not exaggerated to say that the church plays a very important role in Egyptian Christian's life.

Additionally the church building process itself might also create a special link between the church as a building and the local community. Again the Presbyterian Church in Ma'ādī is an example for this. Without the financial contributions and the active help on the building site from many community members it would have not been possible to build the church. The church community funded the building itself. The construction material was brought to the site in people's private cars. Many of them helped to build the church with their own hands. After the tiles of the church were destroyed members of the church congregation guarded the building site day and night for three days until the building was completed. Consequently, for many people in this church community the building of their church was an integral part of their daily life for three years⁶⁹.

This process of church building by the community itself is today very uncommon, if not nonexistent, in the West. I think there is quite a difference between having a church built by a construction company and building it with one's own hands. Of course not all churches in Egypt are built by the local church communities themselves but when discussing churches in Egypt one should consider this dimension. What to a Westerner might be just a house of worship could in fact be the result of years of hardship for the local community that built it.

⁶⁸ Kazanjian, Corin, A Presbyterian church's sixty years of church building, unpublished draft article for AWR..

⁶⁹ Cp., *ibid.*

5.2.2 Church related Organizations

Religious organizations and associations which are related to the church also offer a very high variety of social activities and services. To categorize all existing organizations properly it would need a complete research on its own. The reader shall just get an idea of what all these organizations and institutions offer and how this can influence people's attitude to the church as building or as organization. The five organizations checked for this purpose were the "Bible Society of Egypt" (BSOE), the "Young Men's Christian Association in Egypt" (YMCA Egypt), the "Young Woman's Christian Association in Egypt" (YWCA Egypt), the "Bishopric of Public, Ecumenical and Social Services of the Coptic Orthodox Church, Development Department" (BLESS-DD), "Caritas-Egypt" and the "Association of Upper Egypt Education and Development" (AUEED). The services offered by the organizations mentioned were divided into social activities, education and social aid programs.

The social activities will be presented here first. YMCA Egypt offers leadership training and school exchange programs for young people⁷⁰. YWCA seeks to promote the welfare of young women through holiday homes, clubs and resthouses⁷¹. BLESS-DD has clubs for children aged from six to twelve⁷². Caritas-Egypt provides people with model kindergartens and offers cultural excursions⁷³.

These organizations are quite strong on the field of education. BSOE provides Bible education for children⁷⁴. YMCA Egypt offers language courses, internship opportunities and grants scholarship to juveniles⁷⁵. BLESS-DD gives seminars, engages vaccination campaigns, gives nutrition classes, literacy classes, teacher training, skill development classes and training courses in Bible studies. They also offer training courses for their

⁷⁰ Web site of the YMCA, Programs, <<http://www.internationalymca.org/Porgrams.shtml>> on 06.02.2008, at 4:50 pm.

⁷¹ Cp., (Meinardus 2006), p. 121.

⁷² Cp., *ibid.*, p. 123.

⁷³ Cp., *ibid.*, p. 124.

⁷⁴ Web site of the Bible Society of Egypt, Annual Report 2007, <http://shop.bsoe.org/pg_common.aspx?path=CustomContents/Uc.ascx&_default&clt=en> 06.02.2008, at 3:20 pm.

⁷⁵ Web site of the YMCA, Programs, <<http://www.internationalymca.org/Porgrams.shtml>> on 06.02.2008, at 4:50 pm.

staff members inside of Egypt⁷⁶. Caritas Egypt offers literacy classes for women and sewing classes⁷⁷. AUEED owns 36 primary schools with a capacity for 10500 girls and 126 boys. The majority of the students belong to low socioeconomic levels whose parents are agricultural laborers. The association has 63 development centers providing health, youth, women and vocational training programs, according to the local communities' needs⁷⁸.

The organizations are also able to provide social aid. BLESS-DD organizes home visits for people needing homecare. The organization supports poly- and mobile clinics and it tries to provide care for pregnant women and old people. The construction of pit latrines, the provision of potable water, pilot cultivation models, women cottage industries, and the development of modern nursing facilities are on its agenda. Through networking with businessman for the creation of jobs measures to lower the unemployment rate are also taken⁷⁹. Caritas-Egypt offers mother and child protection services. It provides care for the mentally handicapped and it grants aid to the poorest. It also provides a service for the urban street children with the aim to prevent them from becoming delinquents⁸⁰. AUEED maintains 27 Mother and Child Health Care Centers all over Upper Egypt. Additionally it runs three entire clinics⁸¹.

At least when it comes to education and social aid programs the church is significantly acting in a field which the state proclaims as its own duties in the Egyptian constitution⁸². Here the church acts in fields which are vital for all citizens of Egypt. Taking over responsibility there means that the church not only managed to become an important part of people's private life but through these activities it also constitutes an important part of people's social insurance.

⁷⁶ Cp., (Meinardus 2006), p.123.

⁷⁷ Cp., *ibid.*, p. 124.

⁷⁸ Cp., *ibid.*, p. 126f.

⁷⁹ Cp., *ibid.*, p. 123.

⁸⁰ Cp., *ibid.*, p. 124.

⁸¹ Cp., *ibid.*, p. 127.

⁸² See Articles 17 and 18 of the Egyptian Constitution.

5.3 Church building and sectarian thinking

Just finding an accurate definition of sectarianism or sectarian strife already proves to be very difficult. Amira Sonbol states that "Sectarian strife sometimes results from religious causes of long historical standing. It can also be the result of more recent developments, ranging from demographic changes to a lack of political participation in a state where power is controlled by one religious group. Typically, such [non]-participation is accompanied by social and economic inequalities which exacerbate the problem and act as a catalyst that can lead to sectarian violence"⁸³. In Egypt there are long-standing grievances between Muslims and Christians, who have been kept separate for centuries by a political and legal system that based individual identification on religious affiliation⁸⁴. Here sectarian strife can be seen as a part of an ongoing religious conflict, paralleled by a struggle between Church and State, in which the legitimacy of the government is questioned and its ability to rule is therefore undermined⁸⁵. The numerous services in fields like education, social insurance and social aid offered by the church or church related organizations in Egypt which have been presented in the chapter above confirm that the state lost responsibility for quite a number of citizens in several areas.

It goes by far beyond this paper to define and analyze the exact nature of all the factors which relate church building to sectarian strife. For this purpose it would be necessary to make an in-depth research on sectarian thinking in Egypt and then to analyze all cases of church building which are related to sectarianism. It would also be very interesting to make an analysis of all church building cases which are directly linked to sectarian violence.

In the concrete church building cases which were recorded by AWR in articles related to "houses of worship" only 9 out of 278 cases were linked to sectarian violence by the author⁸⁶. It is very difficult to really prove that a case of church building is somehow linked to sectarian thinking because so many different factors play a role during the

⁸³ (Sonbol 1990), p. 265.

⁸⁴ Cp., *ibid.*

⁸⁵ Cp., *idbi.*, p. 265f.

⁸⁶ To trace back this information to its source look at chapter 2.1 Table "Concrete church building cases which were mentioned in the articles recorded by AWR" in combination with the codebook in chapter 2 of the Appendix.

building process. As before the Presbyterian Church in Ma'ādī mentioned before is a good example. When dealing with this case one of the first questions which comes to one's mind is "Why did it take almost 60 years to build a makeshift church made of wood?"

After the Muslim guard stole the land from the church at the beginning of the 1960s it took 28 years to get the land back. Court cases in Egypt can take a long time but even 28 years is quite exceptional. It is very difficult to tell why it took so long. The reasons behind it could be anything from the already mentioned general problems of the administration in Egypt to the lack of funds from the church to support the case.

Additionally, construction of this church was delayed because of insufficient funding. The delay between 1988 and 2002 was due to the fact that the church did not have enough money. But what other reasons explain why the local church community was unable to build the church illegally long before 2002.

The nine year delay after the church bought the property in 1951 and the fact that the building still does not have a proper legal status seems to suggest a other motivation. The administration was neither willing to provide a building permit nor did it refuse the design proposals⁸⁷. "The story appears to be one of local authorities lacking courage, afraid of general Muslim sentiments than real opposition. That is not fun, but it is also part of a general phenomenon that many Egyptian officials tend to avoid making decisions on issues they believe could arouse opposition and in such cases the easy way is to do nothing"⁸⁸. Still this lack of courage the officials had could also belong to the general bad performance of the Egyptian bureaucracy which has been mentioned in Chapter 5.1. .

What can be said is that the intangible phenomenon of sectarian thinking definitely belongs to the social environment in which church building takes place.

⁸⁷ Kazanjian, Corin, A Presbyterian church's sixty years of church building, unpublished draft article for AWR.

⁸⁸ See editorial of AWR 2007 (week 51).

5.4 The crucial importance of relationships

In the book "Christians versus Muslims in modern Egypt" S.S. Hasan says that the cultivation of personal relationships in a traditional society like Egypt is very important⁸⁹. Although she gives an example for her statement she is not able to illustrate the real magnitude of relationships in Egypt. This is also a challenge which this research paper encounters. As the word "relationship" has a very broad meaning it is necessary to explain what is meant by this term in this context. The relationships meant are connections to people who hold a government office. Depending on how good these connections are bureaucratic procedures can be accelerated, laws can be interpreted in a more favourable way or even be entirely overcome.

Examples can be given for some of these cases by personal experience. The case of two German students having problems with the enrolment at the faculty of "Political Science and Economics" at "Cairo University" is one example for the possible acceleration of procedures. Although the students had received a scholarship from the Egyptian government which exempted them from paying any fees for listening to lectures the people responsible for foreign students, including the dean of the faculty, insisted on them paying fees regardless of their scholarship. After three weeks of discussing this issue with several officials at the faculty and after visiting several offices there the students decided to go to the "German Academic Exchange Service" (DAAD) and complain about the way they were treated. The official way for the DAAD would have been to contact the Egyptian Wafedin-Ministry⁹⁰ who is responsible for such issues and file a complaint there but this could have taken months. Instead of following the official procedure the DAAD woman responsible used her direct connection to the vice president of "Cairo University". The issue was settled after two days and the German students could continue their enrolment process⁹¹. As the case described is quite harmless it is no problem to mention exactly where it happened and who was involved.

⁸⁹ Cp., (Hasan 2003), p. 144.

⁹⁰ The Ministry of Higher Education in Egypt is referred to as "Wafedin-Ministry"

⁹¹ Personal experience of Corin Kazanjian, during his studies at the Cairo University from September 2007 to December 2007.

For church building a relationship which can help to speed up administrative processes is very valuable because one of its gravest problems is delay. Whether this is possible in a certain case or not depends on different factors. One of them is the rank of the person in office which can be contacted. A governor can exert more pressure on his own administration than a lower ranking official could.

The more delicate an issue is the harder it is to officially provide accurate information. The next case which will be presented here is concerned with a private house building project. In this case it is already no longer possible to provide any details neither on the place where it happened nor on the names of the people involved. Someone⁹² was building a seven stories high building in Cairo although he was still waiting for the official permission for being allowed to build a building with more than five floors. One morning local administration officials came together with workers and equipment with the purpose to destroy the entire building. The officials were not willing to discuss the issue at all. The builder decided to call a friend from national security and ask him for help. This friend called the supervisor of the officials on site and pointed out that it was the administrations fault if the issuing of a permit took so long that people were forced to begin construction illegally. After this call was made the issue was settled and the officials and the workers left. Construction works could be continued.

Many personal experiences and some informal discussions made it clear that these relationships belong to the defining factors of many things that happen in Egypt. But it is very difficult to prove that this behaviour prevails in general. This would require hard evidence like facts, dates, names and places in representative quantity. To gather this information is probably not possible because none of the parties involved has an interest in revealing their dealings to the public. The official would have to admit that he in a way abused his position and the beneficiary might lose the advantages and privileges he gained through this relationship. In the case of the private building project maybe some officials would come back and try to destroy the building again.

⁹² This person is known to Corin Kazanjian but it is not possible to give the person's name.

6. Strategies of the actors to influence the social environment

The following part is going to present strategies of the actors who want to build churches to influence the social environment in a positive way so that church building can take place. The first chapter is going to present how relationships can influence the success or failure of church building projects. Another strategy to frame the social environment for church building in a more favourable way is the exertion of pressure on the government. The different possibilities to exert pressure on the government will be presented in the second chapter. The legal approach is in a way isolated from the other measures because it is not related to the social environment in such a strong way. The legal approach which will be presented in the third chapter has its advantages but it can not be successful without combining it with other measures. It is very important to clarify how astray it is when only the legal framework is regarded as important.

6.1 Relationships and church building

Church building is a highly sensitive issue with not only public attention in Egypt but also on an international scale⁹³. This makes the discovery and the reporting on existing relationships even more difficult than in private cases which have been presented in chapter 5.4 on “The crucial importance of relationships”. For example after an interview with church officials on a church building case the church congregation of this church asked for neither publishing the name of the person who gave the interview nor the name of the of any officials the church has a relationship with. They would not even want to have reported that the official "Mr. Xyyy has a good relationship to the church". This shows how delicate the churches consider the issue of relationships themselves. Luckily there were some church officials in the past who made some official statements towards the role of relationships in the process of church building. Although these statements are

⁹³ AWR recorded 330 Articles in Arab Media which were somehow related to church building; between 1998 and March 2007.

And: The "US Religious Freedom Report" reports on church building annually.

quite general in nature they support the assumptions made in this paper in a very strong way.

In 2000 Bishop Marqus of Shubra al-Kheima, in the governorate Qalyoubia said: "When I was appointed bishop of Shubra Al-Kheima, there were 18 churches, all built without licenses. During my 23 years in Shubra Al-Kheima, 12 more churches have been built the same way after reaching an understanding with security. I am happy with the current method because it is simply the best and quickest. Building a church according to the presidential decree requires many, many documents, some of which are hard to acquire. For example, the building could be on unplanned land, or land whose legal owner is not known, although everybody knows it belongs to the church (...) Therefore the procedures to build a church the legal way could take years. That is why we resort to breaking the law. With the churches that were built, we broke the law, and relied on personal contacts with the governorate, city hall, and security departments"⁹⁴. This statement confirms what was said in chapter 5.4 "The crucial importance of relationships" very clearly. The possible acceleration of administrative processes is mentioned as well as the possibility to entirely overcome some laws.

Another Bishop of the Copt Orthodox Church also confirmed this statement. He stated that "whether (...) procedures indeed result in obtaining a permit faster or at all primarily depends to a great extent on the relationship between a bishop and a governor. If relations are good, bureaucratic procedures generally can be overcome; if the relations are not good, bureaucratic procedures can be delayed and delayed, causing great frustration to Christians"⁹⁵. Reverend Said Ibrahim also supports this account he told the Reformatorsch Dagblad on February 12th 1999 that he had been able to obtain several permits for church building because he had maintained good relations with the local authorities⁹⁶.

To understand the real magnitude of relationships between the church and the government it is also necessary to consider the legal framework for church building which was discussed in section two "2.1 Law and Regulations governing the construction of churches". Laws for the building of houses of worship, may it be churches or mosques, were always formulated and probably also will always be formulated in a way which

⁹⁴ AWR 2001 (week 17/22).

⁹⁵ The Bishop is known to AWR; AWR 2000 (week 43/6).

⁹⁶ Ibid.

gives the executive body considerable leisure in enforcing them. The administration will make use of its leisure in a favourable way for the Christians if relations are good. If relations are not good the exact opposite will happen. Being treated on a very neutral basis might also be not very satisfying for the Christians because Egyptian bureaucracy has its problems and weaknesses which have already been mentioned in chapter 5.1 "General remarks on the Egyptian society". The freedom the administration has in the transposition of laws into bureaucratic regulations is what makes this kind of relationship a lot more important than the existing laws and regulations.

The relationship between the people who want to build a church and the administration is not the only category of relationships which is important for successful church building. The relationship between the local Christian community and the local Muslim community has at least equal importance.

From a legal perspective this can be proved by referring to the 4. Condition for building churches where it says "If it[the church] is amidst Muslims, do they have any objections to it". It must be pointed out that this question does not give any instruction to the administration how to react in case Muslims really object. This condition hints that the administration is supposed to take the opinion of Muslims next to a church in consideration.

The importance of the relationships between the local Christian community and the local Muslim community can also be shown by case studies. An example how Muslim attitudes can negatively influence church building is the church of Saint Arsanius in Tora, a poor suburb of Cairo. Christians had obtained a building permit to build a carpet factory, but once the building was ready they immediately changed the interior and made it a church. On July 15, 1998, three weeks after the bishop had consecrated the church security forces came and closed the church. Of course the security knew about the opening of the church three weeks earlier. Of course they knew the church didn't have a permit, but they remained inactive until complaints[of the local Muslim community] came in and someone higher up in the security ranks had given instructions to close the church⁹⁷.

⁹⁷ AWR 2000 (week 43/6).

The case of a church rebuilding project in village of Hegaza Kelby, Kous district in the governorate Qena shows that bad relations to the local Muslim community can also cause problems for church building if everything the church does happens on a completely legal basis. After the church had surpassed 15 years of administrative procedures and could finally begin with their building project someone filed a false complaint to the official authorities stating that the building under construction is being implemented in contradiction with the endorsed designs. Although it was possible to prove that the complaint was false the incident caused additional delay⁹⁸.

The Presbyterian church in Ma'ādī which was mentioned before is a positive example for how the combination of good relations to the local authorities and the local Muslim community make church building possible. Although the church there is still waiting for an official building permit it was possible to celebrate the official opening of the church on April 1st 2005. The fact that the head of the local security attended the official opening is quite a strong indicator that the relationship between the local administration and the church community is good. According to the church relations with the Muslims in the local neighbourhood are also good. None of the local Muslims complained although the church is still waiting for an official permit. The financial manger of the church said that regardless of people's belief everyone is glad that now somebody is taking care of the piece of land which stood empty for more than 50 years⁹⁹. If the Muslim community had complained about the missing official permit the administration might have been forced to make a move regardless of its own good relations with the church community.

None of the factors which were presented in this paper so far have such a severe and direct influence on church building as the two types of relationships which have just been presented in this chapter. The discreet nature of relationships in this context and in general hints that the cases presented here are merely the tip of the iceberg. This means that promoting good relations to administrative officials and to local Muslim communities is extremely important for any church building project in Egypt.

⁹⁸ AWR 1999 (week 44/22).

⁹⁹ Kazanjian, Corin, A Presbyterian church's sixty years of church building, unpublished draft article for AWR.

6.2 Exert pressure on the government

Regularly, Christians try to create public pressure on authorities in order to attain a favourable decision. The nearly exclusive presentation of problem cases if concrete church building cases are mentioned in media was already discussed and presented in the chapter on “necessity of awareness for media reporting” at the beginning of this paper. A newspaper like Watani which according to the records of AWR presented 94 church building problem cases in the time from 1998 to March 2007 of course exerts pressure on the government. It suggests to its readers inside and outside Egypt that church building can not be done without encountering a load of problems.

The US Copts Association frequently issues press releases condemning Egyptian authorities for their policy against church building. International media often pick up these press releases, sometimes resulting in worldwide attention. The texts generally present problems in an inflated, one-sided and highly polemical way. Although the US Copts Association usually does not name its sources, it becomes clear from the content of the releases that these sources are from within the concerned churches. Yet, this does not necessarily mean that the priest or bishop himself addresses the US Copts Association, as the example of the St. Bola Church in Shubra Al-Kheima in 2001 demonstrates. The church was in the process of building a service building without the necessary permits and authorities had the yet unfinished construction demolished. A report by Bishop Marcos describing the events leaked out to the US Copts Association, which immediately went public.¹⁰⁰ It reported that “on Sunday 2/25/2001, over 100 policemen, accompanied by few lieutenant and generals as well as 5 bulldozers stormed and destroyed the Church.” It condemned the “rule of fanatic members of the government” and called the incident a “barbaric attack.”¹⁰¹

Although the press release was obviously not accurate – it was a service building including an area used as a church and not a “proper¹⁰²” church, which was being erected illegally, which was not mentioned at all – it proved to be effective. Shortly after the

¹⁰⁰ AWR 2001 (Week 22/16)

¹⁰¹ AWR 2001 (Week 22/7)

¹⁰² This means a building which can be recognized as a church from its outward appearance.

incident and the public attention President Mubarak ordered the reconstruction of the demolished building on the expense of the government.

Another example is the monastery of Antonius in Ra's Ghareb, Red Sea governorate. In 2003, a conflict arose between the monastery and the governor about a wall built by the monastery that enclosed land owned by the governorate. The governor finally decided to have the wall demolished. When Bishop Justus, the head of the monastery, got to know about the governor's plan, he contacted Michael Mounir, head of the US Copts Association, and told him that he rejected any compromise leading to giving up part of the land. In this case, it was the bishop himself who started an international campaign against the authorities and once again it proved to be successful: The governor was forced to accept a compromise and the wall was not demolished.¹⁰³

In some cases Christians decided to demonstrate for their cause. In 2000, a large number of Christians tried to reopen the Church of Martyr Abanoub in Khanka, al-Qalyoubia, which security authorities had closed around 1990. Muslims reacted by asking for a removal of the building. Christians then staged a three-day sit-in inside the church. Security forces surrounded the building and asked the Copts to evacuate it. However, they refused. Yet, the security forces did not take any action against them. When the matter reached Pope Shenouda, he sent his secretary, Bishop Yoannes, who entered the church and asked the Christians to stop their strike promising them that the police would give them a permit to built a church in the area, in which Christians already possessed a piece of land specified for that purpose. The Minister of Interior issued the permit the same day.¹⁰⁴

In al-Tur, governorate of South Sinai, Christians celebrated the holy mass in a restaurant. When authorities learned about the situation they had the place closed on February 28, 2000. Bishop Makari and other Christians then gathered in front of the building. The gathering was dispersed at two o'clock in the morning of February 29, 2000.¹⁰⁵ In March 2001, the government donated a piece of land and a permit was issued for the building of

¹⁰³ AWR 2003 (Week 34/30)

¹⁰⁴ AWR 2000 (Week 17/25)

¹⁰⁵ AWR 2000 (Week 10/25)

a new church.¹⁰⁶ However, it was most likely not the demonstration that caused this development; rather, it was the international attention following the incident.

There is no doubt that public pressure yields short-term results. Authorities will do everything to avoid that their image is damaged, especially after international attention. Yet, some remarks have to be made on the long-term consequences of this strategy. We earlier concluded that a good relationship between officials and a church is the best way to avoid problems. The confrontational approach will certainly not have a positive impact on this relationship.

First of all the vast majority of Egyptians is very proud of their country and tends to think nationalistically. They reject foreign interference to the utmost. In their eyes, everyone who uses his foreign contacts to put pressure on Egyptian authorities is something close to a traitor. And a traitor is certainly not someone officials will love to cooperate with in the future. While this is specifically true for international media attention, it also applies to national media coverage: Often, Coptic demands are considered particularistic interests. Yet, in a community-oriented society like Egypt particularistic interests are considered a destructive element putting the common welfare – whatever that might be – in danger.

The second very important point is that reports about problems tend to be very emotional. Yet, to call an official a fanatic is but an unproved accusation and insult. And indeed, this might lead to a self-fulfilling prophecy: The more someone is accused of being a fanatic, the more likely he will behave like one in the future. The exaggerating nature of most reports and their reproachful tone boost sectarian thinking in the society. Christians feel oppressed, while Muslims see themselves confronted with false claims.

The example of the service building of the St. Bola church seems to confirm this picture of short-term gains and long-term losses: Although President Mubarak had ordered the rebuilding of the demolished service building, problems between the church and the governor persisted. The cause of conflict was the nature of the building to be rebuilt: While the church insisted it was a service building, the governor claimed the congregation wanted to build a church. It cannot be ruled out that the conviction of the

¹⁰⁶

AWR 2001 (Week 14/19)

governor was a repercussion of the repeated claims of the US Copts Association that the demolished building was indeed a church.¹⁰⁷

6.3 Legal approach

A number of cases in the media suggest that problems between churches and authorities are regularly taken to court. The cases which are presented here can be placed into two categories.

The first category includes single cases which were ruled in favour for the churches. Authorities stopped renovation works in Beni Magd, Assiut governorate, on the ground that the church had allegedly violated its permit. However, a court verdict came to the conclusion that there was no transgression on part of the church.¹⁰⁸ Yet, authorities still did not give in and took the case to the courts for a second time, but again the church was acquitted.¹⁰⁹ In April 2005 a court ruling ordered the reopening of a building in Tenth of Ramadan City, which the Protestant Qasr al-Doubbara Church of Central Cairo used as a training and conference center. The building had been closed in 2002 and the municipality had refused its reopening after the church had obtained a government decree in November 2003.¹¹⁰ The case of the Presbyterian Church in Ma'adi can be placed here as well. In this case it took 28 years until the final court ruling was executed¹¹¹. Although the last case mentioned is an extreme example for how long a court ruling can take it clearly illustrates that going to court causes considerable delay for church building projects.

The second category presents one case which brought a court ruling forward which goes far beyond its own case. In 1989, Christians undertook some maintenance repairs in the Church of the Virgin Mary and the Martyr Abanob in El-Kilj, Qalyoubia governorate. Security forces interfered and closed the church. They did not accuse the congregation of repair without proper licensing, but that the church had been illegally built on agricultural

¹⁰⁷ AWR 2001 (Week 22/7)

¹⁰⁸ AWR 2000 (Week 36/8)

¹⁰⁹ AWR 2001 (Week 32/19)

¹¹⁰ USRFR 2005

¹¹¹ Kazanjian, Corin, A Presbyterian church's sixty years of church building, unpublished draft article for AWR.

land. A court decided in favour of the church stating that it had acquired legal status over time.¹¹²

This ruling does not only signify a victory for the concerned church. If implemented properly it could have quite far reaching implications. It implies that illegally erected churches acquire legal status after a certain period of time – even without having obtained a presidential decree. This verdict thus strengthens the position of illegally erected churches vis-à-vis the authorities.

Yet, court decisions are one thing, whether local authorities will actually respect these decisions is another question. People from the West have to be very careful not to overestimate court rulings. In the above cited example of Beni Magd, the court rulings did not change a thing. Security authorities continued to obstruct constructions.¹¹³ The success of this strategy thus depends on whether or not the concerned authorities are inclined to accept a ruling. But a ruling in favour of a church can certainly be considered an affront against the authorities – which might diminish their willingness to cooperate. Again the relationship between the officials and the church stand above the law.

7. Conclusion

It was possible to prove the tendency of negative media reporting by statistical evidence. The existing legislation was presented and it was possible assess not only the quality of how laws are formulated but also of the execution thereof in two governorates. It was possible to show that the relevance of the existing regulations and also the impact of new laws on church building should not be overestimated because the creation of a loophole for the administration or security body seems to be a common feature of law for building houses of worship in general. These findings weaken the impact of the legal framework on church building considerably.

The gap which is in the legislation is filled by different factors of the social environment. It turned out that relationships both to administration officials and to the local Muslim communities are exceptionally important for church building. This factor belonging to the

¹¹² AWR 1999 (Week 3/9)

¹¹³ AWR 2001 (Week 32/19)

social environment seems to be much more important than existing laws and regulations since they can be surpassed if relationships are good enough. But also other factors like the general performance of the bureaucracy, the importance of churches for their communities and social economic problems like poverty and overpopulation have their percussions on church building. This means that the impact of the social environment on church building is stronger than the impact of the legislation.

Not only foreigners, as can be perceived in the US Religious Freedom report, but also the Egyptian media tend to put too much attention on the existing legislation of church building in Egypt. If the influence on concrete church building cases presented would provide a more accurate picture of the social environment in which the different cases took place this could help finding solutions for problems which could not be solved equally fast in court. Especially the importance of good relationships with the local Muslim community and the local administration suggests a very positive conclusion. The best way for church congregations to realise church building projects as fast as possible and without problems is having good relations with their neighbours. This can be done through engaging in open dialogue with them. If the involved actors want to create a more honest image of church building in the public which reduces prejudices on all sides they should rather try to provide an open forum where they can engage in dialogue with each other than to do lobbying for changes in the existing legislation.

The limitations of this research have already been mentioned extensively in chapter 2 “Literature review, methodology and structure. The main reasons for these weaknesses are that the paper was written in Egypt and no first class library was available for the research, the lack of time and money to travel through the country to do interviews with actors involved in church building and of course the limit of time in which the paper had to be written.

As already mentioned at the very beginning of this paper there has been nearly no research on the topic “church building in Egypt” so far. This gives the opportunity to conduct quite extensive further research in many different fields which are related to this topic. The last paragraphs of this work will present the ideas which came to attention during its writing.

As the official information which has been attained from government so far is quite scarce but the governors seemed to be quite willing to provide further information if asked personally it would be possible to try to collect official statistics from more governorates. It might also be interesting to go through US Religious Freedom reports systematically and to analyze how church building is mentioned and presented there. Another interesting possibility to attain some further information on the execution of existing laws would be to make a direct comparison of application paper for church building projects which were approved and projects which weren't.

An indebt systematic analysis of the social environment in which church building takes place would make it possible to better classify and justify the factors of the social environment which are relevant for church building. It is always possible to find additional general features of the Egyptian society which have an impact on church building if enough proof is provided. The chapter on the importance of a church for Christians in Egypt does also not claim to be complete. It would be possible to conduct further research in this field by making interviews with community members.

As mentioned in the in the chapter on sectarian thinking it goes far beyond this paper to define and analyze the exact nature of all the factors which relate church building to sectarian strife. For this purpose it would be necessary to make an indebt research on sectarian thinking in Egypt and then to analyze all cases of church building which are related to sectarianism. It would also be very interesting to make an analysis of all church building cases which are directly linked to sectarian violence.

It would be necessary to conduct interviews in every single known case if a proper reliable and honest research on the relation between social environment and problems related to church building projects should be made.

The possibility that the variable "funding" in terms of how a church construction is financed also has an independent influence on "church building". This would also have an impact on the influence of the variables "legislation" and "social environment" has already been mentioned at the beginning of this paper. The impact of the variable "funding" could thus be subject to further research.

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9. Comments on the paper

9.1 Feedback from a senior Egyptian researcher

The researcher works at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has a background in politics and economics but provided his own private opinions and therefore wanted to remain anonymous. Cornelis Hulsman and Abrar El-Ghannam met with him and made notes of this meeting, May 1, 2008.

1- The researcher remarked on the importance of having diversified, balanced and accurate sources of information. He commented that research has tended to rely basically on media sources which reflect only a one sided image. The researcher, however, admits that scant serious study has been carried out into this subject. More research should be done, starting with screening available publications (see list below) and collecting more balanced and accredited information from different sources. The study presents data from two governorates only but it is true that collecting information from Egyptian governorates would be a very time consuming activity.

2- The researcher believes the research structure could be improved as the research started with a hypothesis that was not addressed with a concrete answer at the end of the paper.

3- The research dealt with the notion of the state in a vague way. It primarily considered the state as a mere executive body which in return led to a number of contradictions throughout the research. Hence, a clear definition of the state should be well presented in further research.

4- Despite his awareness of the difficulty of presenting accurate numbers and statistics, the researcher still recommends the use of more varied sources of information to move closer to accurate numbers specially in this case where statistics are so important to the research and its outcome.

5- The researcher recommends further knowledge and understanding of the historical developments of relations between Muslims and Copts. In addition, he recommends a better presentation of the legal framework as the paper did not adequately present the topic in the legal framework.

6- The researcher questioned the idea behind comparing the number of mosques to churches as houses of worship. He referred to different aspects related to this point that are to be tackled in further research. For instance, the special relationship between the Ministry of Religious Endowments and Mosques which does not apply to other religions. Also, the importance of studying the transformation in the role of the church which, from the 1970s onwards, started to become a social and political entity; the development of which has resulted in its isolation.

The researcher suggested a list of references for further research, including books and theses in addition to names of professors and human right activists.

A. National Council of Human Rights
Mr. Mukhles Qutob, Secretary General
Mr. Ahmad Kamal Abu Al-Magad, Deputy speaker.

B. American University in Cairo
 Prof. Nadia Farah, a visiting professor of political economy, AUC
 Prof. Samir Soliman, Assistant professor of political economy, AUC
 and Prof. Mai Kassam, AUC

C. Suggested list of books and theses is attached.

Author	Book/Thesis title	Year of Publication
طارق البشري	المسلمون و الأقباط في اطار الجماعة الوطنية كتاب	-----
حماده امام	الاخوان المسلمون و الأقباط من اللعب بالدين الى اللعب بالوطن كتاب	-----
خالد عثمان تقديم: محمد العوا و الأنبأ يوحنا قلته	طريق مصر لقبول الذات الاحتقان الطائفي وخطايا التعليم العام و الأزهرى كتاب	٢٠٠٦
شكري غالى	الأقباط في وطن متغير كتاب	١٩٩١
مصطفى الفقى	الأقباط في السياسة المصرية ، مكرم عبيد و دوره في الحركة الوطنية كتاب	١٩٨٥
ميلاد حنا	نعم أقباط و لكن مصريون كتاب	١٩٨٠
هانى لبيب	أزمة الحماية الدينية: الدين و الدولة في مصر كتاب	٢٠٠٠
سليم نجيب	الأقباط عبر التاريخ كتاب	٢٠٠١
محمد عمارة	في المسائل القبطية: حقائق و أوهام كتاب	٢٠٠١
مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية و أبو سيف يوسف	الأقباط و القومية العربية كتاب	١٩٨٧
مجدي خليل	أقباط المهجر: دراسة ميدانية حول هموم الوطن و المواطنة - كتاب	١٩٩٩
أمير نصر	المشاركة الوطنية للأقباط في العصر الحديث، عهد البابا كيرلس الخامس كتاب	١٩٩٨
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مصطفى قاسم أحمد يوسف سعيد رياض سوريال بشارة اشراف: ا.د محمد أنيس	التعليم و المواطنة: واقع التربية المدنية في المدرسة المصرية (كتاب) المجتمع القبطي في مصر في القرن التاسع عشر رسالة	٢٠٠٦
سميرة سنيوث لبيب اشراف: ا.د على أحمد عبد القادر ، و ا.د محمود خيرى عيسى	الأقباط في الحياة السياسية المصرية أثناء فترة الوجود البريطاني رسالة	١٩٧٧
كمال السعيد حبيب اشراف: ا.د على الدين هلال	الأقليات و الممارسة السياسية في الخبرة الاسلامية:دراسة حالة للدولة العثمانية رسالة ماجستير	١٩٩٦
ابراهيم البيومي اشراف: ا.د كمال المنوفي و ا.د سيف الدين عبد الفتاح	الأوقاف و السياسة:دراسة حالة في تطور العلاقة بين المجتمع و الدولة في مصر الحديثة رسالة ماجستير	١٩٩٧
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Nadia Farah	Religious Strife in Egypt: Crisis and Ideological Conflict in the Seventies	1986
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Sohirin Mohamed Solihin	Copts and Muslims in Egypt, a study on harmony and hostility	----
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Carter, B.L.	The Copts in Egyptian Politics 1918-52	1986
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9.2 Comments by Dr. Amin Makram Ebeid

Cairo, April 14, 2008

-First of all I have to congratulate your team on completing, in scope and field work, a fantastic study!

-I am very impressed by the high quality of this study. Its most salient conclusion is that the “impact of the social environment on church building is stronger than the impact of legislation”. This led the investigators to call for “open dialogue”.

-The only comment that I have at this stage must have crossed your mind and that of your German researchers, and indeed seems to have been carried out, namely: What are the reasons that create such a negative attitude among the Muslim majority vis a vis the building of new churches?

-It seems that there exists among the majority; a Muslim mentality that looks at the Copts as another community or even as simply the “others” who can be tolerated at best. I am not sure if this is a prevailing or a minority mindset among the majority. Yet it obviously exists and we need to know how prevalent it is.

-We also need to have a qualitative investigation that targets the etiology of the phenomenon. Could this be, for instance, the result of a self imposed Ghetto mentality among some Copts? Or could it have followed the marginalization of the Copts by the majority. Alternatively, could the Muslims be afraid to be exposed to the beliefs of another religious group?

-Is it possible for your investigators to get such information from the people already interviewed?

If this is possible; then it may become likely to expect that ongoing dialogue will eventually establish healthier interaction between two people who share a common culture, common interest, and similar problems.

-Congratulations on what seems to be a masterpiece.

10. Appendix

Appendix for the paper important factors for church building in Egypt

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3. Codebook of the table “articles recorded by AWR related to houses of worship”

The program used to create the database in which all articles related to houses of worship were recorded was Microsoft Access. This program makes it possible to link different tables to each other. This is done with the help of an ID number which is in this case the “Index ID”. Each recorded article received a unique identification number. If a concrete church building case was mentioned in the article the concrete case received the same number as the article. This makes it possible to trace back all concrete church building cases back to the articles in which they were mentioned with the help of the ID number.

For example the concrete church building case of the Virgin Mary Monastery in Assiut in the table “concrete church building cases which were mentioned in the articles recorded by AWR” has the case number 53 and the “Index ID” number 45. If we now go to the table “all articles recorded by AWR related to houses of worship” and check out the articles with the “Index ID number” 45 we know where, when and by whom the article mentioning the concrete church building case was written.

Index ID	Unique identification number of all the recorded articles related to houses of worship for the tables “all articles recorded by AWR related to building houses of worship” and “concrete church building cases which were mentioned in the articles recorded by AWR”
Source	Source where an article was recorded; this was Arab-West Report in all the cases.
Year	Year in which an article was recorded by AWR
Week	AWR is issued weekly. This column gives information about the week of the year or the exact date on which an article was recorded by AWR
Article Number	Unique number for each article recorded by Arab-West Report which was related to building houses of worship
Publications	Name of the author who wrote the newspaper article which was recorded
Author	Name of the author who wrote the article which was recorded
Title	Title of a recorded article

1.1 Table “all articles recorded by AWR related to houses of worship”

Index ID	Source	Year	Week	Article Number	Publications	Author	Title
1	AWR	2000	3	8	Al-Ussbu3	Mohammed Abdallah and Magda Fathy	Is there really persecution in Egypt?!
2	AWR	2000	46	5	AWR	Drs.Cornelis Hulsman	Metropolitan Athanasius passed away; personal memories
3	AWR	2000	51	25	Al-Qahira	N/A	Finishing the restoration of the monastery of Anba Antonius in the Red Sea governorate
4	AWR	2000	1	9	Al-Ussbu3	N/A	One of the emigrant Copts accuses Dr. Nabil Luqa Bebawi of hypocrisy!!
5	AWR	2000	2	45	Al-Ussbu3	Hani Zayed	Ibrahim Shukry: Foreign hands behind the incidents of Al-Koshh
6	AWR	2000	2	62	Al-Kirazah	N/A	A decision of the president of the Republic related to the restoration of the houses of worship
7	AWR	2000	3	4	Rose al-Yusuf	Karam Gabr	I am Muslim, I am Christian. Has national unity regressed by a century? I am Egyptian
8	AWR	2000	3	10	Al-Ahali	N/A	Mubarak permits the establishment of Marina Church
9	AWR	2000	3	16	Al-Wafd	Sayyed Abdel-Atti	The "Persecution of Copts" Lie
10	AWR	2000	3	44	Al-Arabi	Magdy Razeq Tawfiq	I am angry with Al-Kosheh citizens
11	AWR	2000	3	61	Al-Wafd	Saad Aboul-Soud	Dealing with Al-Kosheh lacks courage
12	AWR	2000	4	53	Al-Ussbu3	Sana' Al-Said	I do not exclude the possibility of foreign fingers in the Kosheh incidents
13	AWR	2000	5	10	Al-Akhbar	Adel Al-Safty	A frank talk about Muslims and Copts
14	AWR	2000	5	12	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	What are the defects in what is happening?
15	AWR	2000	5	20	Al-Ussbu3	Gamal Moussa Al-Darwi	Not in your defense but in defense of the nation
16	AWR	2000	5	29	Watani	Dr. Youssef Zaki Khalil	Reading the news about Al-Kosheh
17	AWR	2000	6	4	Al-Arabi	Nasser Abu Tahoon	A Coptic Mayor ruling a Muslim village
18	AWR	2000	6	5	Watani	Dr. Alfred Aziz Awad	The television program "Editor-in-Chief"
19	AWR	2000	7	11	Watani	Father Marqos Aziz Khalil	No Father, the churches will not be pulled down, Egypt will survive
20	AWR	2000	7	21	Watani	Dr. Saad Eddin Ibrahim	The road of thorns from Al-Khanka 1972 to Al-

							Kosheh 2000
21	AWR	2000	8	12	Al-Arabi	Nashiwa Al-Dib	Catholics in Egypt: We Are No Minority... We are Egyptians
22	AWR	2000	8	20	Watani	N/A	A statement about Al-Kosheh events
23	AWR	2000	10	3	Al-Ushbu3	Mustafa Solaiman	The American State Department report defends "charlatanism" in Egypt!
24	AWR	2000	11	24	Watani	Mousad Sadeq	The new committee for restoring the old churches continues its meetings and its duties
25	AWR	2000	12	3	The Truth	N/A	A call and hope from Egypt
26	AWR	2000	13	9	Al-Akhbar	Hisham Mubarak	The American newspapers exaggerate in publishing any normal quarrel between a Muslim and Christian
27	AWR	2000	15	10	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	"The Statement of the Hundred" calls for treating this reality... Closing the churches in order not to raise the feelings of our Muslim brothers!!
28	AWR	2000	16	8	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	"The Statement of the Hundred" calls for dealing with reality... "Restoring Churches" restrictions have been removed, but still there are "the security reasons"
29	AWR	2000	17	25	Al-Ushbu3	Mustafa Solaiman	With a few responsible words, Pope Shenouda ended the Khanka crisis
30	AWR	2000	19	24	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	The surge of the new cities is void of land allocated for churches
31	AWR	2000	20	34	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	The "Statement of 100 signatories" calls for changing the regulations of building churches.. yet none is ratified..
32	AWR	2000	21	22	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	The "declaration of the Hundred" calls for changing this reality. Obstinacy and evasiveness govern church repairs
33	AWR	2000	30	13	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	When there is no questioning
34	AWR	2000	45	1	AWR	Drs.Cornelis Hulsman	My own personal involvement with the RNSAW; A personal testimony
35	AWR	2000	48	5	Al-Ahram	N/A	Restoring the monastery

							of Anba Antonius in the Red Sea [Governorate]
36	AWR	2000	31	6	Al-Akhbar	Ala' Abdel Hadi	The truth about the restoration of the hanging church
37	AWR	2000	43	5	Reuters	N/A	Three wounded in Christian-Muslim clash in Egypt
38	AWR	2000	4	16	Watani	N/A	A presidential decree to rebuild Virgin Mary Church in Al-Fayyounm
39	AWR	2000	36	8	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	When there is no investigation
40	AWR	2000	43	6	AWR	Drs.Cornelis Hulsman	Tensions around renovating a church in Dafash
41	AWR	2000	6	8	Al-Wafd	Qummus Mena Gad Girgis	Patriotic wonders - 2
42	AWR	2000	4	20	Al-Ahali	N/A	Presidential Decrees for Building and Repairing Six Churches
43	AWR	2000	36	6	Al-Wafd	Saeed Abdel Khalaq	Two messages, one about the church in Al-Maks [Alexandria] and the other about the death of Bishop Makarios
44	AWR	2000	50	22	Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	Enas Amer	Arresting 12 persons in a sectarian commotion in Alexandria
45	AWR	2000	22	24	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	When development clashes with unenlightened local leaderships!
46	AWR	2000	10	25	Al-Wafd	Said Abdel-Khaleq	The events of Sharm El-Sheikh: Why did the government neglect to reveal its real causes?
47	AWR	2000	10	26	Al-Usubu3	Mustafa Solaiman	A disagreement between the head of St. Catherine's Monastery and one of the bishops inflames the situation
48	AWR	2000	10	27	Al-Usubu3	Mohammed Abdallah	The police deny their involvement in the St. Catherine's incidents
49	AWR	2001	5	17	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	Has the time come to release this church?
50	AWR	2001	16	15	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	Church building decree approved
51	AWR	2001	49	4	Al-Wafd	Mohammed Selim Al-Awa	The ten conditions to build mosques
52	AWR	2001	32	4	Rose al-Yusuf	Iqbaal Al-Sibaai	Sheikha Fifi, from the gym to the mosque
53	AWR	2001	18	9	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	Awaking the national conscience - 2
54	AWR	2001	13	13	Rose al-Yusuf	N/A	Pope Shenouda: Majority of Copts in countries of emigration support President Mubarak

55	AWR	2001	50	4	US Copts Association	N/A	Egyptian government official destroys a newly built Coptic Church hours after it held its first prayer
56	AWR	2001	50	5	AWR	Drs.Cornelis Hulsman	Care needed in reporting I
57	AWR	2001	50	7	AWR	Drs.Cornelis Hulsman	Care needed in reporting III
58	AWR	2001	22	7	US Copts Association	N/A	Egyptian governor defies a presidential order to rebuild a Coptic church that was destroyed by the Egyptian police
59	AWR	2001	22	8	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	Social development... on usurped land!
60	AWR	2001	22	9	AWR	Drs.Cornelis Hulsman	Comment of H.G. Bishop Marcos on his problems with the governor of Qalyubiya
61	AWR	2001	22	14	AWR	Dale Gavlak and Cornelis Hulsman	Interview with H.G. Bishop Marcos on March 20, 2001
62	AWR	2001	10	6	Al-Arabi	Nirmeen Fawzy	The freedom to build churches in the era of President Mubarak
63	AWR	2001	12	18	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	Victim of "bestowal" and "withdrawal"
64	AWR	2001	14	15	Al-Ahram	Laila Takla	To whom it may concern
65	AWR	2001	14	16	Several	Nirmeen Fawzy	Muslim-Christian unity
66	AWR	2001	16	13	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	Deluding the public?
67	AWR	2001	17	24	Aqidati	Magdi Salem, Mohammed Al-Abnoudi	Interview with bishop Bissenti
68	AWR	2001	8	19	AWR	Drs.Cornelis Hulsman	Demolition of a building belonging to the church is followed by international protest and a permit
69	AWR	2001	10	7	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	Exit: the "power of justice"...Enter: the "justice of power"
70	AWR	2001	17	22	Al-Musawwar	Albair Azer	Illegal building of churches, why?
71	AWR	2001	17	23	Al-Ahram	N/A	The Bishop of Tanta exalts the state's support of churches
72	AWR	2001	19	9	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	Awaking the national conscience - 3
73	AWR	2001	26	6	Al-Maydan	Nabil Abdel Aziz and Ahmed Al-Mansi	Interview with Archpriest Salib Matta Saweris
74	AWR	2001	29	9	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	On the inevitability of opening the "Coptic file: why is "Security" always an obstacle?
75	AWR	2001	30	5	Watani	Yousef Sidhom	On the inevitability of opening the "Coptic file": Who defends

							Presidential decrees?!
76	AWR	2001	32	19	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	On the inevitability of opening the Coptic file...the security story of one church
77	AWR	2001	13	11	Al-Ahram	Amr Abdel-Same'a	A message from Pope Shenouda to the Copts in America"
78	AWR	2001	12	4	Rose Al-Yusuf	Atef Helmi and Usama Khaled	The secrets of the meeting between Egypt's Copts and the American Committee
79	AWR	2001	9	11	Sawt Al-Ummah	Kamal Zakhar Musa	Hosni Mubarak's present during the Muslim's feast
80	AWR	2001	9	10	Watani	N/A	Mubarak records a historical precedence in his support for national unity
81	AWR	2001	12	19	Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	N/A	Pope Shenouda praises a decision for the building of a new church
82	AWR	2001	14	18	Al-Jumhuriyah	N/A	A presidential decree for building a church in Bulaq Abu Al-Ela
83	AWR	2001	14	19	Al-Akhbar	N/A	A new Coptic church in El-Tur city
84	AWR	2001	39	4	Al-Wafd	N/A	Tomorrow, laying the foundation stone of the Orthodox Church in Al-Tur
85	AWR	2001	14	20	Al-Akhbar	Hosni Milad	The head of the Evangelical denomination: President Mubarak does not refuse any request for building or restoring a church
86	AWR	2001	46	3	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	An introspection...Law takes second place
88	AWR	1998	06/07/	21	Rose Al-Yusuf	Osama Salama	The freedom of building churches is in front of the People's Assembly (summary)
89	AWR	1998	22/07/	12	Al-Akhbar	Girgis Kamel Yousef	Copts do not live by churches only
90	AWR	1998	22/07/	13	Al-Ahali	Sami Fahmi	A church in Maadi is sealed
91	AWR	1998	06/09/	7	Watani	Yousef Sidhom	How do the Copts pray in the new cities?
92	AWR	1998	07/10/	14	Al-Ahram	Samir Naoum	Tide of destruction turns
93	AWR	1998	04/11/	42	Al-Ahali	N/A	The restoration of 12 churches in Assiut this year (Summary)
94	AWR	1998	05/11/	7	Al-Ahram	Mohammed Abdel Halim	Governor of Menufiya decides: the restoration of four Churches in Qesna.
95	AWR	1998	14/11/	5	Al-Wafd	Hisham Al-Maraghi	Restoring 17 churches in Suhag

96	AWR	1998	22/11/	25	Watani	Yousef Sidhom	Are we fair people?
97	AWR	1998	30/11/	14	Al-Arabi	Nashwa El-Dieb	The judging of the Hamayouni law (Summary)
98	AWR	1998	06/12/	25	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	Appeal to the Governor of Assuit
99	AWR	1999	3	9	Watani	Yousef Sidhom	The imperative of holding a "Dialogue between People of Good Will": Will the initiative of good intentions continue?
100	AWR	1999	4	6	Watani	Yousef Sidhom	The Imperative of Holding "Good Will People Dialogue": Once again.... Will Such Good Intention Initiatives Continue?
101	AWR	1999	4	7	Rose Al-Yusuf	Abdallah Kamal	Egypt is more in need of hospitals and schools than churches and mosques
102	AWR	1999	5	8	Watani	Yousef Sidhom	The return of churches in the new cities
103	AWR	1999	6	10	Al-Ahram Weekly	Shaden Shehab and Mona El-Nahhas	Report urges sweeping reforms
104	AWR	1999	6	12	Cairo Times	N/A	Wake-up call. The country has nothing to lose and everything to gain from an open and sober discussion
105	AWR	1999	6	19	Cairo Times	Tareq Heggy	Act, don't hide. It's a part of our culture to deny the existence of problems."
106	AWR	1999	6	20	Al-Arabi	Hasem Abdu	The Egyptian Copts are like the Muslims; they have rights and duties. There is no difference between a Christian and a Muslim
107	AWR	1999	12	13	Rose al-Yusuf	Dr. Sayyid Al-Qemny	The Roots of Sectarian Awareness
108	AWR	1999	12	15	Akhir Sacah	Mahmoud Salah	Stupid Western Nonsense
109	AWR	1999	16	17	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	About the inevitability of holding the "Dialogue of well-intentioned people."
110	AWR	1999	18	23	Sabah Al-Khair	Rushdy Abu Al-Hassan	Anxieties of Copts
111	AWR	1999	20	24	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	About the necessity of holding "the meeting of the wise." Will those people also be acquitted and compensated?
112	AWR	1999	21	17	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	About the necessity of holding "the meeting of the wise." Will these officials also be acquitted an rewarded?

113	AWR	1999	22	19	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	About the necessity of holding the "Meeting of the Wise": Will these officials also be acquitted and rewarded?
114	AWR	1999	25	28	Al-Shacb	Hani Labib	Coptic Concerns. The case of building churches 1
115	AWR	1999	26	23	Al-Ahrar	N/A	We care about the success of Mubarak's visit to America... and we refuse the foreign interference claiming to be for the protection of the Copts
116	AWR	1999	26	26	Rose Al-Yusuf	Hanan Al Badri	"Freedom House", which is financially supported by the Jews wrote a fabricated report: The impudent recommendations!
117	AWR	1999	26	27	Al-Uсбу3	Selim Naguib	The most prominent figure of the emigrant Christians answers "Al-Usbua": Why are you denying the persecution of the Copts and repeating useless words?
118	AWR	1999	26	28	Al-Uсбу3	Gamaal As'ad	Is distorting Egypt's reputation and exciting its enemies against it considered patriotism?
119	AWR	1999	26	29	Al-Uсбу3	Edward Ghali Al-Dahabi	The wronged Hamayouni Law
120	AWR	1999	26	31	Al-Uсбу3	Dr.Nabil Louqa Bebawi	Stop this paid nonsense!
121	AWR	1999	29	22	Al-Uсбу3	Abu Al-Alaa Madi	The fabricated Coptic issue
122	AWR	1999	31	22	Watani	Musad Sadiq, Marcel Nasr and Mary Fikry	A misleading mass media campaign against the clear facts
123	AWR	1999	34	26	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	Hopes and expectations regarding Mubarak's coming period of presidency - 3
124	AWR	1999	37	34	International Religious Freedom Report	N/A	Fact Sheet released by the Office of the Spokesman, Bureau of Public Affairs U.S. Department of State
125	AWR	1999	37	35	Al-Ahram	Hoda Tawfiq	In the report of the American Foreign Ministry: Mubarak supported the religious freedom for the Copts and has never refused a request to build a church
126	AWR	1999	37	38	Al-Wafd	Thomas	New American

						Georgesian	accusations against Egypt
127	AWR	1999	37	39	Egyptian Gazette	N/A	To U.S. Congress: Believe not all that you see, nor half what you hear
128	AWR	1999	39	28	Al-Ussbu3	Hany Zayat & Mustafa Suleiman	The beginning of the first implementation of the law of religious persecution. America calls upon Egypt to give the Baha'is the opportunity to worship
129	AWR	1999	40	21	Watani	Yousef Sidhom	An intensive reading of the American report
130	AWR	1999	40	22	Al-Ussbu3	Gamaal As'ad	What does America want from Egypt's Copts?
131	AWR	1999	41	26	Watani	Yousef Sidhom	An intensive reading of the American report - 2
132	AWR	1999	44	22	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	This reality ought to be changed
133	AWR	1999	49	9	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	Urgent appeal to the Minister of Interior: Isn't it time yet to cancel the ten conditions?!
134	AWR	1999	49	10	Al-Ahram	Dr.Nabil Louqa Bebawi	The Hamayouni law and the right solution
136	AWR	1999	49	8	Al-Ahram	N/A	"The Mufti denied the declarations attributed to him that praying in Nazareth mosque is not accepted according to the Islamic Law"
137	AWR	1999	50	6	Watani	Yousuf Sidhom	The Fruits of Applying the Ten Conditions!!
138	AWR	1999	52	10	Al-Ahram	Mohi Al-Din Said	Pope Shenouda: Internationalization of Jerusalem is Judaizing
139	AWR	2002	51	23	Layman	Parker T. Williamson	Inside Egypt's persecuted church
140	AWR	2002	51	24	AWR	Rev. Dr. David D. Grafton, Drs. Cornelis Hulsman	Distorted reporting about Coptic Christians in Egypt
141	AWR	2002	50	15	AWR	Governorate of Assiut	List of churches in Assiut Governorate for which governorate decrees for restoration and presidential decrees for building and renovation were issued
142	AWR	2002	50	12	US Copts Association	N/A	Egyptian governor orders the destruction of a newly renovated Coptic church in a small village in EGYPT.
143	AWR	2002	50	13	Al-Ussbu3	Hany Zayed	Emigrant Copts launch war against the governor of Assiut
144	AWR	2002	50	14	AWR	Cornelis Hulsman	Sensationalizing doesn't help church building

145	AWR	2002	3	12	Al-Usubu3	Ishaq Farid	A hard time from the church to the representative of the Copts in America
146	AWR	2002	5	5	Akhir Sacah	Hassan Allam	The Coptic thinker Dr. Nabil Luka Bebawi: There is no religious persecution...extremists are behind sectarian problems
147	AWR	2002	6	12	AWR	Cornelis Hulsman	Attacks of Coptic activists on Dr. Milad Hanna questioned
148	AWR	2002	11	16	Watani	N/A	Advertisement
149	AWR	2002	13	4	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	Equal rights and duties
150	AWR	2002	13	6	AWR	Cornelis Hulsman	No for mosques in Germany?
151	AWR	2002	16	1	AWR	Cornelis Hulsman	Recent Developments
152	AWR	2002	41	1	AWR	Cornelis Hulsman	Recent developments
153	AWR	2002	44	6	Watani	Samah Fawzy	Official media and the problems of Copts
154	AWR	2002	6	6	Al-Usubu3	Nasser Hatem	Violent actions in Minya during the inauguration of an unlicensed church
155	AWR	2002	6	7	Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	N/A	The Egyptian authorities investigate 47 defendants of the new clashes between Muslims and Christians in Upper Egypt
156	AWR	2002	6	9	AWR	Cornelis Hulsman	Background to the riots in front of the church in Beni Walmis
157	AWR	2002	7	8	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	Official reaction
158	AWR	2002	7	9	Rose Al-Yusuf	Karam Gabr	Deforming the image of Egypt because of the incidents of the church failed
159	AWR	2002	7	12	Watani	Salwa Rifa'at	The Egyptian thinkers condemn what happened
160	AWR	2002	7	10	Al-Musawwar	N/A	meeting on the ringing of the church's bell and the sound of the call to prayer
161	AWR	2002	7	11	Al-Ahali	Salah Sobh and Sabry Abdel-Aziz	The bishop of the village was protected by Muslims
162	AWR	2002	7	13	Al-Arabi	Maher Hassan	A frank interview with the governor of Minya hours after the sad incidents
163	AWR	2002	7	14	Al-Arabi	Ra'fat Basta	The incidents of the sad Sunday on a videotape
164	AWR	2002	8	4	Al-Akhbar	Sami Kamel	On the day of the Eid?Muslims and Christians were reconciled in Beni

							Walmis of Minya
165	AWR	2002	1	4	October Magazine	Muhammad Al-Tahlawi	The ten conditions that moved heaven and earth
166	AWR	2002	2	5	Rose Al-Yusuf	Abd Allāh al-Najjār	The prophet ordered the destruction of Al-Darar mosque to keep Muslims safe from fitna [temptation; sedition, civil strife]
167	AWR	2002	2	6	Al-Liwa Al-Islami	Abdel-Mo'ti Omran	The Minister of Awqaf: The government has no intention to limit the building of mosques. Five and half million [Egyptian] pounds given as subsidies to the public mosques in [the last] 11 months
168	AWR	2002	2	21	Al-Usubu3	Muhammad Selim Al-Awa	The attack against Islam
169	AWR	2002	43	8	Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	N/A	Debate between the government and the Brotherhood members of parliament over the new terms for building mosques stipulated by the Ministry of Endowments
170	AWR	2002	22	4	Watani	Youssef Sidhom	Liberating church permits
171	AWR	2002	47	2	Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	Muhammad Khalil	New terms for building mosques arouse debate among Muslim clerics in Egypt
172	AWR	2003	5	25	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	Bewildered by authority – civil or security?
173	AWR	2003	20	28	Sawt Al-Ummah	Shaqiq Al-TaHER	Emigrant Copts ask for putting Christians under protection
174	AWR	2003	20	30	AWR	Cornelis Hulsman	US Copts attacking Egyptian Coptic clergy
175	AWR	2003	22	25	Rose al-Yusuf	Wafaa Sha'ira	A lawyer files a complaint against the Minister of Interior because of the Hamayouni law
176	AWR	2003	23	7	Al-Maydan	Ashraf Al-Bahi and Abdu Hassanin	Is US pressure behind the visit of the minister of Foreign Affairs to Assuit?
177	AWR	2003	38	18	AWR	Cornelis Hulsman	Recent problems around church building and restoration in Assiut
178	AWR	2003	41	21	Al-Musawwar	Makram Muhammad Ahmed, Mona Al-Malakh	The interview of the week in the Anba Bishoy Monastery
179	AWR	2003	33	18	Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	N/A	Harassment took place between Egyptian police and monks of a

							monastery at Ra's Ghareb
180	AWR	2003	34	29	Al-Ushbu3	Kamal Rashad	Will rational behavior extinguish the fires of strife?
181	AWR	2003	34	30	AWR	Cornelis Hulsman	Dangerous developments
182	AWR	2003	42	12	Watani	Youssef Sidhom	Problems on hold...Again, who can stand up to the security apparatus?
183	AWR	2003	42	13	Watani	Basma William	The report of the Antiquities Department stresses that the Church of the Martyr George is not a historical site
184	AWR	2003	43	21	Watani	Youssef Sidhom	Problems on hold...And again, who can stand up to the security apparatus?
185	AWR	2003	45	27	Al-Hayah	Muhammad Salah	Egyptian police manages to prevent sectarian violence in an Upper-Egyptian village
186	AWR	2003	45	28	Al-Hayah	Muhammad Salah	Investigations into the incidents of Al-Ayyat start and Shenouda stresses deep-rooted relations with Muslims
187	AWR	2003	47	21	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	Problems on hold...Incident at Gerza village, a new act in an odious series
188	AWR	2003	38	19	Al-Ahali	Dr. Rif'at Al-Sa'id	Black spots in the book of national unity: They act fraudulently even with presidential decrees
189	AWR	2003	35	19	Al-Arabi	Nagi Halem	Destroying Egypt's reputation abroad is more serious than knocking down the wall of a monastery in a mountain area
190	AWR	2003	35	20	Al-Ahali	Sami Fahmi	Partial relaxation in the crisis of the Red Sea monastery...final solution after the return of Pope Shenouda from the US
191	AWR	2003	35	21	Al-Ahali	Sami Fahmi	A fabricated crisis over desert land at St. Antonius Monastery
192	AWR	2003	35	22	Sawt Al-Ummah	Samir Matta Qudos and Fadi Emil	The documents of the crisis of Anba Antonius Monastery in Hurgada
193	AWR	2003	36	25	Al-Ahrar	N/A	Pope Shenouda: The wisdom of President Mubarak protects national unity
194	AWR	2003	36	24	Al-Ahali	Sami Fahmi	Harsh disputes over

							solutions for the St. Antonius Monastery crisis
195	AWR	2003	36	26	Sawt Al-Ummah	Fadi Emile	Pope Shenouda saves the Coptic Church from division in the monastery crisis
196	AWR	2003	36	39	Al-Ahrar	Alaa' Riyadh and Essam Ali Rif'at	Pope Shenouda in an interview to Al- Ahrar: What is going on in Iraq is a mystery
197	AWR	2004	5	13	Watani	Basma William	The incident in Garza village and the time for a way out
198	AWR	2004	5	2	Watani International	Yousef Sidhom	The National Council for Human Rights: Towards regaining Egyptian human rights
199	AWR	2004	5	14	Watani	Kamil Sidiq Sawiris	On the Coptic file and the sway of security: A letter to the president of the Republic
200	AWR	2004	11	19	Watani	Thanaa Al-Assiuty	The case of the "Garza" incidents tomorrow
201	AWR	2004	14	10	Al-Ahrar	Alaa Ezzat	New restrictions on building mosques
202	AWR	2004	14	16	Watani	Yousef Sidhom	Editorial...Problems on hold: New town churches
203	AWR	2004	16	12	Al-Ahali	Adel Wadia' Phalestine	The crisis of Al-Rehab City church
204	AWR	2004	19	19	AWR	Cornelis Hulsman	Anger following the death of three Christians in Egypt
205	AWR	2004	19	22	Watani	Yousef Sidhom	What did le Point print?
206	AWR	2004	21	22	Watani	Yousef Sidhom	Al-Rihab church...Problem solved
207	AWR	2004	23	3	Rose Al-Yusuf	Karam Jabr	Who protects Saad Eddin Ibrahim?!
208	AWR	2004	24	52	Watani	Yaqob Qiryaqos	The only church that houses more than 10,000 Christians in Mallawi has been closed for 18 years
209	AWR	2004	25	3	Al-Ahram	Dr. Hassan Ali Daba	Islam guarantees the freedom of belief in [any] religions
210	AWR	2004	25	36	Watani	Robert al-Fāris	Copts in the era of globalization
211	AWR	2004	26	27	Watani	Iqladious Ibrahim	Watani International interviews the Grand Mufti of the Republic Dr. Ali Goma'a
212	AWR	2004	26	25	Watani	Yousef Sidhom	Problems on hold: Stalled for 19 years
213	AWR	2004	27	21	Watani	Yousef Sidhom	Excuse me, Mr. Mufti
214	AWR	2004	28	23	Watani	Yousef Sidhom	Excuse me again, Mr. Mufti
216	AWR	2004	29	11	Watani	cĀdil Najīb Rizq, Ashraf cAbd al-	excuse me your Eminence...We are not

						Masīh J	unrealistic
217	AWR	2004	33	14	Al-Ahali	Fareeda Al-Naqash	Coptic grievances
218	AWR	2004	36	28	AWR	Cornelis Hulsman	Muslim-Christian relations in Egypt; opinions from Egyptians in various positions
219	2004	2004	52	14	Al-Usubu3	Muhammad Salīm al-Awwa	Costantine's handover to church runs contrary to constitution, law, freedom of worship
220	AWR	2004	41	15	Al-Ahram Al-Arabi	Nabil Abdel Fattah	Coptic grievances...are they of a minority or views and policies under siege?
221	AWR	2004	42	14	Sawt Al-Ummah	cUmar Koush	A dispute between Pope Shenouda and Sohag governor over the Red Monastery
222	AWR	2004	47	7	Watani	Youssef Sidhom	Problems on Hold: On Ramadan's national unity banquets- To actualise national unity
223	AWR	2004	48	13	Watani	Youssef Sidhom	from Najaa al-Assaara
224	AWR	2004	48	26	Al-Qahira	Hany Hanna Aziz	Coptic conference wants Old Cairo declared as cultural reserve
225	AWR	2004	49	22	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	An Explosion of Problems on hold
226	AWR	2004	50	21	Watani	George Riyad, Miriam Atef	Copts' grievances are part of Egypt's problems
227	AWR	2005	1	20	Sawt Al-Ummah	N/A	A new rumor ignites strife in the smallest village of Mīnyā without even being put into print
228	AWR	2005	1	21	Al-Usubu3	N/A	Al-Macsara Monastery occupies military factory land without legal authorization
229	AWR	2005	2	12	Al-Ahali	cĀdil Hammouda	A strike on the face of strife
230	AWR	2005	2	13	Al-Musawwar	Ahmad Ayyoub	A false rumor spread out of ignorance causes strife in the village of Damshāw
231	AWR	2005	2	14	Al-Arabi	Alī Sacīd	The inspector's bullets spark strife in Damshāw
232	AWR	2005	2	15	Sawt Al-Ummah	Muhammad al-Bāz	The war against building churches and mosques
233	AWR	2005	2	23	Al-Ahram Al-Arabi	Khālid Salāh	"We demand a church in every street," says Anbā Bisantī
234	AWR	2005	3	3	Al-Ahali	Mansour Abd al-Ghanī	The maintenance of the national unity requires the promotion of citizenship rights
235	AWR	2005	3	5	Watani	Sad al-Dīn Ibrāhīm	When will our Copt brothers get all their citizenship rights?

236	2005	2005	3	22	Sawt Al-Ummah	Yusrā Zahrān Fādī Habashī	Copts own half of Egypt's wealth...where is the discrimination?
237	AWR	2005	4	12	Al-Musawwar	Makram Muhammad Ahmad	The Church and the state: Row over building churches
238	AWR	2005	5	26	Watani International	Yousef Sidhom	President Mubarak again: Egypt of the Muslims and Copts
239	AWR	2005	6	23	Watani International	Yousuf M. Ibrāhīm	Are Arab Christians becoming extinct?
240	AWR	2005	5	25	Rose Al-Yusuf	Hānī Labīb	A unified code for places of worship
241	AWR	2005	9	16	Watani	Majdī Khalīl	The true story of Wafā' Costantine
242	2005	2005	9	17	Al-Ussu3	Hānī Labīb	Copts and Muslims...correcting mistake
243	AWR	2005	9	18	Watani	Yousef Sidhom	Problems on hold...The Copt's via Dolorosa
244	AWR	2005	15	9	Sawt Al-Ummah	Fādī Habashī	Sectarian strife reaches al-Bājour!
245	AWR	2005	16	26	Al-Maydan	Sharif al-Jindi	Flames of sedition fanned in al-Bājour
246	AWR	2005	20	22	Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	N/A	The Egyptian parliament drafts a new law for building houses of worship
247	AWR	2005	22	22	Watani	Yousef Sidhom	Places of worship
248	AWR	2005	25	19	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	A unified law
249	AWR	2005	30	43	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	Equal before the law
250	AWR	2005	39	20	Al-Maydan	cAbd al-Nāsir al-Zuhīrī	Rumors about building unlicensed church
251	AWR	2005	39	36	Rose Al-Yusuf	cĀdil Mustafa	First church in new Assiut
252	AWR	2005	40	67	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	Editorial - Problems on hold: Why in Washington
253	AWR	2005	40	45	Watani	Basma William	Cornerstone laid for new church
254	AWR	2005	41	34	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	Again ... Why in Washington
255	AWR	2005	42	42	October Magazine	George Ishaq ...	Messages from Egyptian Copts to expatriate Copts
256	AWR	2005	45	27	Rose Al-Yusuf	Iqbāl al-Sibācī	Mosques neighboring churches...does this spark troubles?
257	AWR	2005	46	24	Press Review	cAmr al-Misri	The Egyptian Organization for Human Rights reports on the Alexandrian incidents
258	AWR	2005	47	26	Al-Akhbar	Dr. Nabīl Luqa Babawī	Renovation of churches
259	AWR	2005	50	14	Press Review	cAmr al-Misri	Muslims, Christians welcome decree regulating construction and demolition of

							churches
260	AWR	2005	51	17	Press Review	cAmr al-Misri	Copts welcome decree on the construction and restoration of churches
261	AWR	2005	51	18	Al-Jumhuriyah	Mahmoud Naḩic	Muslims, Christians united
262	AWR	2005	51	19	Press Review	cAmr al-Misri	Interview with Michael Munīr, head of U.S. Copts Association
263	AWR	2005	51	51	AWR	Nabil Luqa Bibawi	Dr. Nabīl Luqā Bibāwī's response to AWR's questions on Yustina Saleh's article on the 2nd article of the Egyptian constitution
264	AWR	2005	51	25	Al-Uṣbu3	Manāl Mahrān	Head of the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics: No sectarianism in Egypt
265	AWR	2005	52	26	Rose Al-Yusuf	cĀdil Mustafa	Building up archives for church renovation in Assiut
266	AWR	2005	52	33	Rose Al-Yusuf	N/A	Two churches in al-Wādī al-Jadīd
267	AWR	2005	53	15	Al-Ahram	Dr. Nabīl Louqā Bibāwī	Decision to be welcomed
268	AWR	2005	53	18	Rose Al-Yusuf	Al-Husayn cAbd al-Fattāh	Al-Qalyoubīya governor: Requests for renovating churches referred to Legal Affairs
269	AWR	2006	3	27	Rose Al-Yusuf	Ibrahīm Jād	Human rights organization demands rights for Bahā'īs, Qur'ānīs, Shiite
270	AWR	2006	3	30	Watani	William al-Mīrī	The Coptic issue in 2005
271	AWR	2006	4	19	Al-Ahali	N/A	Mosques and churches on equal footing
272	AWR	2006	4	20	Al-Akhbar	Dr. Nabīl Louqā Bibāwī	Is there a Hamāyounī decree in Egypt?
273	AWR	2006	4	24	Al-Musawwar	Ahlām al-Rīdī	In the first interview with Governor of Qīnā, Major General Majdī Ayyoub: I have not received requests for building churches so far
274	AWR	2006	4	18	Press Review	N/A	One killed in Muslim-Christian clashes in al-cUdaysāt, Luxor
275	AWR	2006	5	40	Watani	Majdī Khalīl	Christians oppressed
276	AWR	2006	5	48	Rose Al-Yusuf	cĀtif cAwwād	The Coptic file and the mixed cards
277	AWR	2006	5	43	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	Problems on hold: The mighty security apparatus
278	AWR	2006	5	31	Press Review	N/A	Why do we always have to wait for a fresh inter-religious crisis?
279	AWR	2006	5	37	Rose Al-Yusuf	Usāma Salāma	The fait accompli in

							church building
280	AWR	2006	5	44	Watani International	Victor Salama	Watani reports from Udeisat: Tragedy on the eve of Epiphany
281	AWR	2006	5	45	Sawt al-Ummah	Rihaḥm cĀtif	Mubārak's decree on church renovation before the court
282	AWR	2005	5	35	Al-Ahrar	Shacbaḥ Khalīfa	Unified law to regulate construction of houses of worship
283	AWR	2006	6	41	Rose Al-Yusuf	Rushdī al-Diqin	Copts should not rule Muslims, says Brotherhood official
284	AWR	2006	6	43	Rose Al-Yusuf	Hāhī Labīb	Copts may rule Muslims
285	AWR	2006	6	45	Watani	Father Shenouda Marqus	Farewell, Mr. Hamāyouḥ!
286	AWR	2006	7	28	Al-Arabi	cAlī Sacīd	Appalling testimonies by the Copts of al-cUdaysāt
287	AWR	2006	8	30	Al-Dustur	Shaymaḥ Abu al-Khayr	Muslim Brotherhood calls for freedom of building churches
288	AWR	2006	8	31	Al-Dustur	Samar Nour	Egypt's Muslims hate to see churches constructed?
289	AWR	2006	8	32	Al-Dustur	Hāhī al-Acsar	10,000,000 Copts, 8,000 churches in Egypt: Too many or too few churches?
290	AWR	2006	8	33	Al-Akhbar	Dr. Nabī Louqā Bibāwī	A unified law for [building] places of worship is the solution
291	AWR	2006	8	34	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	Problems on hold: Toothless decree
292	AWR	2006	9	21	Watani	Sulymāh Yousuf Yousuf	The internationalization of the Egyptian Copts' issue
293	AWR	2006	9	46	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	Problems on hold: Elastic phrases
294	AWR	2006	9	20	Press Review	cAmr al-Misri	Old house sparks Muslim-Copt clashes in al-cAyyāt
295	AWR	2006	10	51	Al-Dustur	Samī Jacfār	Early Muslims were more tolerant than modern Muslim jurists regarding the issue of church construction
296	AWR	2006	10	52	Al-Dustur	Radwāh Ādam, Samī Jacfr	Sectarian unrest will take place in many places soon
297	AWR	2006	10	53	Akhir Sacah	Hasan cAllām	Building hospitals, schools and orphan houses has priority over building new mosques, says minister of awqāf
298	AWR	2006	11	20	Watani International	Magdi Khalil	The Muslim Brotherhood and the Copts
299	AWR	2006	11	48	Al-Dustur	N/A	Najīb Jibrā'īl: Stubborn Egypt behind Coptic

							issues abroad
300	AWR	2006	11	58	Sawt Al-Ummah	cAdil Najib Rizq	A dirty Zionist game behind discussing the Coptic file in the United Nations
301	AWR	2006	12	25	Rose Al-Yusuf	Huwayda Yahya	Unified draft law to regulate construction of houses of worship
302	AWR	2006	13	25	Watani	N/A	Setting a mechanism to support a unified law of the construction of houses of worship
303	AWR	2006	15	27	Al-Ahram	cAbd al-Rahim cAlf	The Muslim Brotherhood and the 'other'
304	AWR	2006	15	65	Watani International	Basma William	Fasting and feasting at Abu-George's
306	AWR	2006	17	47	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	Disclosure and reconciliation
307	AWR	2006	17	55	Al-Ahram	N/A	Unified law for houses of worship
308	AWR	2006	17	51	Sawt Al-Ummah	Ulfat cAbd al-Zahir	Coptic-styled shopping mall triggers sectarian sedition in Aswan
309	AWR	2006	19	83	Al-Musawwar	Dr. Salwa Abu Sicda	Kamal Abu al-Majd: Yes, we have a sectarian problem!
310	AWR	2006	20	37	Al-Ahram	Salah Muntasir	Issues of Copts and their problems
311	AWR	2006	20	38	Al-Ahram	Salah Muntasir	Building new churches
312	AWR	2006	20	82	Rose Al-Yusuf	Huwayda Fathi	Alexandria forum calls for new NGOs law, unified legislations on houses of worship
313	AWR	2006	21	24	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	The illusion and the truth
314	AWT	2006	26	34	Watani	Hany Daniel	The request to pass the bill for unified worship houses before the conclusion of the legislative term
315	AWR	2006	26	35	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	Problems on hold - Thirty seven years, and still not there
316	AWR	2006	26	36	Sawt Al-Ummah	Shirin Rabic	Michael Munir to Sawt al-Ummah, "If we want to fix a bathroom in a church we have to take the permission of the State Security"
317	AWR	2006	27	23	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	Problems on hold - A unified law needed
318	AWR	2006	28	26	Rose Al-Yusuf	Hamdi al-Hussini	Heated controversies surrounding the potential law of the houses of worship
319	AWR	2006	28	25	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	Problems on hold - One law for all
320	AWR	2006	30	21	Al-Usub3	Hanan Badawi	A unified law for houses of worship

321	AWR	2006	30	22	Rose Al-Yusuf	N/A	The Egyptian National Council for Human Rights discusses unified law for houses of worship
322	AWR	2006	30	19	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	Problems on hold - Postponed yet again
323	AWR	2006	31	36	Watani International	Ashley Makar	Cairo's Broken Mountain
324	AWR	2006	33	16	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	Abduction of a law
325	AWR	2006	34	21	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	Setback
326	AWR	2006	37	5	AWR	Ra'ed el-Sharqawi	The reformers group from Egypt's Orthodox church
328	AWR	2006	51	37	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	A fourth-century monastery
329	AWR	2007	15	29	Sawt Al-Ummah	N/A	Sectarian crisis due to the closure of a ceremony house
330	AWR	2007	12	29	Sawt Al-Ummah	Huda Thabit	Christians sue Mubarak after the Ministry of Interior closed a Welcoming Brethren Church in Sohag and prevented holding religious rites in it
331	AWR	2007	8	41	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	21 years on hold
332	AWR	2007	5	27	Sawt Al-Ummah	Manal Abd al-Latif	Sectarian problems in Izbit al-Nakhl over transforming a residential building owned by Pope Shenouda into a church
333	AWR	2007	16	28	Al-Dustur	Sharif Al-Dawakhiif	Security forces violate two presidential rulings and prevent Copts from praying in a church in Asyut
334	AWR	2007	16	29	Al-Ahali	N/A	A presidential ruling to stop the restoration of Saint Virgin Monastery
335	AWR	2007	16	25	Watani International	Youssef Sidhom	Reinstating legality

2. Codebook of the table “concrete church building cases which were mentioned in the articles recorded by AWR

This variable gives information whether an article related building houses of worship to sectarian violence; this variable has two parameter values. One: “Yes” means that building houses of worship and sectarian violence were related to each other

Unique identification number of all the recorded articles for the tables “all articles recorded by AWR related to building houses of worship” and “concrete church building cases which were mentioned in the articles recorded by AWR”

Index ID	Two: "No" means that building houses of worship and sectarian violence were not related to each other This variable gives information whether an article mentioned foreign interference in relation to building houses of worship
Sectarian Violence	Unique number for each concrete church building case which was mentioned in the articles recorded by AWR This variable contains information on the particular type of building which was mentioned in the concrete church building case presented in the article This variable has three parameter values: One: Church Two: Monastery Three: Service Building
Foreign Interference	
Case number	This variable gives the name of the church which was mentioned in the concrete church building case presented in the article
Building TypeI	This variable gives the name of the town in which the concrete church building case took place.
Name	
Town	

Action

This variable gives information on the action which was or should have been taken regarding the building in the concrete church building case presented in an article.

This variable has nine different parameter values:

One: new construction; A new church was or should be built

Two: repair; an already existing church was or should be repaired

Three: closing; a church was or should be closed down

Four: demolishing; a church was or should be demolished

Five: rebuilding; an old church was or should be demolished and a new church was or should be built on its place

Six: extension; an existing church was or should be extended

Seven: opening; an existing church was or should be opened

Eight: reopening; a church which had been closed in the past was or should be reopened

Nine: no action mentioned

Province

This variable gives information on the province in which the concrete church building cases took place.

This variable has 28 different parameter values:

One: N/A; Province in which the concrete church building cases took place was not mentioned in the article

Two: al-Daqahliyya

Three: al-Bahr al-Ahmar (Red Sea)

Four: al-Buhaira

Five: al-Fayyum

Six: al-Gharbiyya

Seven: al-Iskandariyya (Alexandira)

Eight: al-Ismailiyya

Nine: al-Giza

Ten: al-Minufiyya

Eleven: al-Minya

Twelve: al-Qahira (Cairo)

Thirteen: al-Qalyubiyya

Fourteen: al-Uqsar (Luxor)

Fifteen: al-Wadi al-gadid

Sixteen: al-Scharqiyya

Seventeen: al-Suwais

Eighteen: Aswan

Nineteen: Asyut

Twenty: Bani Suwaif (Beni Suf)

Twenty-one: Bur Said (Port Said)

Twenty-two: Dumyat

Twenty-three: Ganub Sina (South Sinai)
Twenty-four: Kafr al-Shaich
Twenty-five: Matruh
Twenty-six: Qina
Twenty-seven: Shimal Sina (North Sinai)
Twenty-eight: Sohag

Year	Year or time frame in which the concrete church building cases took place. “N/A” means that this information was not in the article
Legal Status	This variable gives information about the legal status of the building in the concrete church building cases mentioned in the article This variable has ?? different parameter values: One: legal; the building in the concrete church building case mentioned was officially legal Two: illegal; the building in the concrete church building case was officially illegal Three: ex ante legalization requested; the church congregation in the case presented asked for a permit before beginning with the construction Four: ex port legalization requested; the church congregation in the case presented asked for a permit after they already had completed the construction Fife: N/A; in the article there was no information on the legal status available
Permit Remarks	This variable gives information on the process of attaining a permit from the government for the concrete church building project mentioned in the article. This variable has three parameter values: One: problems; the article states that the church congregation encountered problems during the process of attaining a permit for the building project from the government. Two: no problems; the article states that the church congregation did not encounter any problems during the process of attaining a permit for the building project from the government. Three: N/A; the article does not contain any information on the process of attaining a permit from the government.

Action Remarks

This variable gives information on the actual construction works in a concrete church building cases mentioned in an article

This variable has three parameter values:

One: problems; the article states that problems were encountered while the construction works were going on.

Two: no problems; the article states that no problems were encountered while the construction works were going on.

Three: N/A; the article does not contain any information on the actual construction works in the concrete church building case

2.1 Table “Concrete church building cases which were mentioned in the articles recorded by AWR

Index ID	Sectarian Violence	Foreign Interference	Case Number	Building Type	Name	Town	Action	Province	Year	Legal Status	Permit Remarks	Action Remarks
31	No		31	Church	N/A	Ras Sidr	new construction	Ganub Sina	1997 1998 1999	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
31	No		32	Church	N/A	Sharm El-Sheikh	new construction	Ganub Sina	1997 1998 1999	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
32	No		33	Monastery	Saint Mary and Saint Abram	Delga village, Deir Mawas	repair	al-Minya	1992 1993	legal	no problems	problems
32	No		34	Monastery	Saint Mary and Saint Abram	Delga village, Deir Mawas	demolishing	al-Minya	1993	legal	N/A	problems
32	No		35	Church	Saint Mary	Abu Al-Hadr, Dairou	repair	Asyut	1999	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
34	No		36	Church	al-Timsahiya	al-Timsahiya	repair	N/A	1997	legal	no problems	problems
35	No		37	Monastery	Anba Antonius		repair	al-Bahr al-ahmar		legal	N/A	no problems
37	No		38	Church	Mar Girgis	Dafash, Samalout	repair	al-Minya	2000	N/A	N/A	problems
38	No		39	Church	Virgin Mary	Al-Fayyoun	rebuilding	al-Fayyūm	1992 1999	legal	N/A	N/A
39	No		40	Church	Arch Angel Michael	Beni Magd, Manfalut	repair	Asyut	1997 1998	legal	N/A	problems
40	No		41	Church	Mar Girgis	Dafash, Samalout	repair	al-Minya	2000	N/A	N/A	problems
40	No		42	Church	Saint Arsanius	Tora	new construction	al-Qahira	1998	illegal	N/A	N/A
40	No		43	Church	al-Timsahiya	al-Timsahiya	repair	N/A	1997	legal	N/A	problems
41	No		44	Church	Mother Dulagi	Esna	repair	al-Uqsur	before 2000	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
42	No		45	Church	Mustafa Fahmi street	Helwan, Cairo	new construction	al-Qahira	2000	legal	N/A	N/A
42	No		46	Church	Al-Shat Street	Fayyoun	new	al-Fayyūm	2000	legal	N/A	N/A

							construction					
42	No		47	Church	Marina Church	Marina (Al-Alamein)	new construction	N/A	2000	legal	N/A	N/A
42	No		48	Monastery	Saint Apa Hur Al-Bagoury	Sawada village near [the town of] Al-Minya	repair	al-Minya	2000	legal	N/A	N/A
42	No		49	Church	Al-Malak Mikha'il [The Angel Michael]	Qashish, Shebin Al-Qanater city	repair	N/A		legal	N/A	N/A
42	No		50	Church	Yohanna Al-Ma'madan [Saint John the Baptist]	Duniya village, Abu Tig city	repair	Asyut		legal	N/A	N/A
43	No	USA	51	Church	Al-Maks	Alexandria	repair	al-Iskandariyya	2000	legal	no problems	no problems
44	No		52	Church	N/A	Ezba Al-Kharw'a, Khorshed district	new construction	al-Iskandariyya	2000	illegal	N/A	problems
45	No		53	Monastery	Virgin Mary Monastery in the Assiut Mountain	Durunka	extension	Asyut		ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
46	No		54	Church	N/A	Al-Tur	new construction	Ganub Sina		illegal	N/A	problems
47	No		55	Church	N/A	Al-Tur	new construction	Ganub Sina		illegal	N/A	problems
47	No		56	Church	N/A	Helwan	new construction	al-Qahira		legal	no problems	N/A
48	No		57	Church	N/A	Al-Tur	closing	Ganub Sina		illegal	N/A	problems
24	No		58	Church	Virgin Mary Church	Harit Zuweila	repair	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A
24	No		59	Monastery	Abu-Seifan Convent for nuns	N/A	repair	al-Qahira		N/A	N/A	N/A
49	No		60	Church	Anba Maqar church	Nag'a Al-Qosaria, Al-Asirat, Gerga	new construction	Sohag	1950 1974 1984	ex post legalization requested	problems	N/A
49	No		61	Church	Anba Maqar church	Nag'a Al-Qosaria, Al-Asirat, Gerga	closing	Sohag	1974 1984	ex post legalization	problems	problems

										requested		
49	No		62	Church	Anba Maqar church	Nag'a Al-Qosaria, Al-Asirat, Gerga	reopening	Sohag	1974 1984 1999 2000	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
50	No		63	Service Building	church of the Holy Virgin and the Archangel Gabriel in Sandanhour, Banha	Sandanhour, Banha	new construction	al-Qalyubiyya	2001	legal	problems	problems
55	No		64	Church	N/A	Al-Ubour City	demolishing	al-Ismailiyya	2001	legal	N/A	problems
56	No		65	Church	N/A	Al-Ubour City	new construction	al-Ismailiyya	2001	ex post legalization requested	N/A	problems
57	No		66	Church	N/A	Al-Ubour City	new construction	al-Ismailiyya	2001	ex post legalization requested	N/A	problems
57	No		67	Church	Holy Virgin church	Shari'a Al-Wahda in Imbaba, Cairo	extension	al-Giza	before 2001	legal	N/A	problems
54	No		68	Service Building	St. Paul church	Shubra el-Kheima	demolishing	al-Qalyubiyya	2001	N/A	N/A	problems
58	No		69	Service Building	St. Paul church	Shubra el-Kheima	demolishing	al-Qalyubiyya	2001	N/A	N/A	problems
58	No		70	Service Building	St. Paul church	Shubra el-Kheima	rebuilding	al-Qalyubiyya	2001	legal	no problems	N/A
59	No		71	Church	church of the Holy Virgin and the Archangel Gabriel	Sandanhour, Banha	repair	al-Qalyubiyya	2001	legal	problems	problems
59	No		72	Service Building	Mar Girgis Church	Sandabis		al-Qalyubiyya	2001	N/A	N/A	problems
60	No		73	Service Building	Mar Girgis Church	Sandabis	new construction	al-Qalyubiyya	before 2001	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
60	No		74	Service Building	St. Paul church	Shubra el-Kheima	rebuilding	al-Qalyubiyya	2001	legal	N/A	problems
62	No		75	Service	St. Paul church	Shubra el-Kheima	rebuilding	al-	2001	legal	N/A	N/A

				Building				Qalyubiyya				
63	No		76	Service Building	church of the Holy Virgin and the Archangel Gabriel	Sandanhour, Banha	new construction	al-Qalyubiyya	2000 2001	legal	N/A	problems
63	No		77	Church	church of the Holy Virgin and the Archangel Gabriel	Sandanhour, Banha	repair	al-Qalyubiyya	2001	legal	N/A	problems
65	No		78	Service Building	St. Paul church service building	Shubra el-Kheima	rebuilding	al-Qalyubiyya	2001	legal	N/A	N/A
68	No		79	Service Building	St. Paul church	Shubra el-Kheima	rebuilding	al-Qalyubiyya	2001	legal	N/A	N/A
68	No		80	Service Building	St. Paul church	Shubra el-Kheima	demolishing	al-Qalyubiyya	2001	illegal	N/A	problems
68	No		81	Service Building	St. Paul church	Shubra el-Kheima	new construction	al-Qalyubiyya	2001	illegal	N/A	problems
69	No		82	Service Building	St. Paul church	Shubra el-Kheima	rebuilding	al-Qalyubiyya	2001	legal	N/A	N/A
69	No		83	Service Building	St. Paul church	Shubra el-Kheima	demolishing	al-Qalyubiyya	2001	illegal	N/A	problems
74	No		84	Church	Church of St. John the Baptist	Awlad 'Elias, Sadfa	repair	Asyut	1999	legal	N/A	problems
74	No		85	Church	Church of St. John the Baptist	Awlad 'Elias, Sadfa	extension	Asyut	1999	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
74	No		86	Church	Evangelical Church of Abu Hammad	Abu Hammad	repair	al-Scharqiyya	2000 2001	legal	N/A	problems
75	No		87	Church	Church of the Holy Virgin	Kafr Darwish Al-Fashn	new construction	Bani Suwaif	2001	ex post legalization requested	N/A	N/A
75	No		88	Church	Church of the Holy Virgin	Kafr Darwish Al-Fashn	repair	Bani Suwaif	2001	legal	N/A	problems
76	No		89	Church	church of Arch Angel Michael	Beni Magd, Manfalut	extension	Asyut	1998 1999 2000	legal	N/A	problems
77	No		90	Service Building	St. Paul church	Shubra el-Kheima	rebuilding	al-Qalyubiyya	2001	legal	N/A	N/A
204	No		1	Church	Anba Antonius	N/A	repair	al-Bahr al-	2000	legal	N/A	no

								ahmar				problems
5	Yes	not specified	2	Church	N/A	N/A	new construction	al-Wadi al-gadid	2000	ex post legalization requested	N/A	N/A
5	Yes	not specified	3	Church	N/A	Sherbin	repair	N/A	2000	legal	no problems	no problems
8	No		4	Church	Marina Church (Al-Alamein)	Marina	new construction	N/A	2000	legal	problems	no problems
12	Yes	USA	5	Church	Hosh Eisa	Alexandria	reopening	al-Iskandariyya	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
24	No		6	Monastery	Anba Antonius	N/A	repair	al-Bahr al-ahmar	2000	legal	N/A	no problems
24	No		7	Monastery	Anba Bola	N/A	repair	al-Bahr al-ahmar		legal	N/A	no problems
24	No		8	Church	Virgin Mary	Harat Al-Rum	repair	N/A	2000	legal	N/A	N/A
27	No		9	Church	Virgin Mary and Saint Abanoub	Al-Qalg, Al-Khanka, Shebeen Al-Koum	closing	al-Qalyubiyya	N/A	N/A	N/A	problems
27	No		10	Church	Virgin Mary and Saint Abanoub	Al-Qalg, Al-Khanka, Shebeen Al-Koum	new construction	al-Qalyubiyya	1999 2000	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
28	No		11	Church	Al-Ashmounain	Al-Ashmounain	closing	al-Minya	1986	N/A	N/A	problems
28	No		12	Church	Al-Ashmounain	Al-Ashmounain	reopening	al-Minya	betw een 1986 and 2000	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
28	No		13	Church	Al-Ashmounain	Al-Ashmounain	repair	al-Minya	betw een 1986 and 2000	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
28	No		14	Church	Al-Ashmounain	Al-Ashmounain	demolishing	al-Minya	N/A	N/A	N/A	problems
29	Yes	Emigrant Copts	15	Church	Ezbat Al-Aqbat (Church of Martyr Abanoub)	Al-Khanka	closing	al-Qalyubiyya	1990	illegal	N/A	problems

29	Yes	Emigrant Copts	16	Church	Ezbat Al-Aqbat (Church of Martyr Abanoub)	Al-Khanka	reopening	al-Qalyubiyya	2000	illegal	N/A	problems
29	Yes	Emigrant Copts	17	Church	Ezbat Al-Aqbat (Church of Martyr Abanoub)	Al-Khanka	new construction	al-Qalyubiyya	2000	legal	problems	N/A
30	No		18	Church	N/A	New Tiba City	new construction	al-Uqsur	2000	N/A	problems	N/A
30	No		19	Church	N/A	El-Salam City	new construction	al-Iskandariyya	2000	N/A	problems	N/A
30	No		20	Church		Maamoura	new construction	al-Iskandariyya	2000	N/A	problems	N/A
30	No		21	Church	N/A	Mogamma El-Aluminium City	new construction	al-Iskandariyya	2000	N/A	problems	N/A
30	No		22	Church		Al-Rihab City	new construction	al-Qahira	2000	N/A	problems	N/A
30	No		23	Church	N/A	Al-Ubour City	new construction	al-Ismailiyya	2000	N/A	problems	N/A
30	No		24	Church	N/A	El-Sherouk City	new construction	al-Ismailiyya	2000	N/A	problems	N/A
30	No		25	Church	N/A	Badr City	new construction	al-Suwais	2000	N/A	problems	N/A
78	No	USA	91	Service Building	St. Paul church	Shubra el-Kheima	rebuilding	al-Qalyubiyya	2001	legal	N/A	N/A
79	No		92	Service Building	St. Paul church	Shubra el-Kheima	rebuilding	al-Qalyubiyya	2001	legal	N/A	N/A
80	No		93	Service Building	St. Paul church	Shubra el-Kheima	rebuilding	al-Qalyubiyya	2001	legal	N/A	N/A
81	No		94	Church	N/A	Al-Moqattam	new construction	al-Qahira	2001	legal	N/A	N/A
82	No		95	Church	N/A	Bulaq Abu Al-Ela	new construction	N/A	2001	legal	N/A	N/A
83	No		96	Church	N/A	El-Tur city	new construction	Ganub Sina	2001	legal	N/A	N/A
84	No		97	Church	N/A	El-Tur city	new	Ganub	2001	legal	N/A	N/A

							construction	Sina				
85	No		98	Church	Al-Eman [Faith church]	Minya	new construction	al-Minya	2001	legal	no problems	N/A
86	No		99	Service Building	N/A	Manfalout	rebuilding	Asyut	1926 1943 1950 1997 2001	legal	problems	problems
90	No		100	Church	N/A	Maadi	new construction	al-Qahira	1994	illegal	N/A	N/A
90	No		101	Church	N/A	Maadi	closing	al-Qahira	1998	illegal	N/A	problems
90	No		102	Church	church of the Virgin	Dar Al-Salam	new construction	N/A	N/A	ex post legalization requested	N/A	N/A
92	No		103	Monastery	Monastery of Saint Tomas (Deir Al-Anba Tomas Al-Sa'ih) and its church	N/A	repair	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
94	No		104	Church	Church of Mari Gerguis	Christian village in the district of Qesna	repair	al-Minufiyya	1998	legal	N/A	N/A
94	No		105	Church	Church of the Virgin Mary	Kafr Abdu district of Qesna	repair	al-Minufiyya	1998	legal	N/A	N/A
95	No		106	Service Building	church of the Angel Michael	N/A	new construction	al-Minufiyya	1998	legal	N/A	N/A
95	No		107	Church	Virgin Mary Coptic Church	Al-Khazendaria	repair	Sohag	1998	legal	N/A	N/A
95	No		108	Church	Virgin Church	Nazlet Al-Qadi	repair	Sohag	1998	legal	N/A	N/A
95	No		109	Church	Evangelical Church	Nazlet Al-Qadi	repair	Sohag	1998	legal	N/A	N/A
94	No		110	Church	Evangelical Church	Tahta	repair	Sohag	1998	legal	N/A	N/A
95	No		111	Church	Virgin Mary Church	Dair Al-Nafamish	repair	Sohag	1998	legal	N/A	N/A
95	No		112	Church	Catholic Church	Nazlet Ali (Juhaina District)	repair	Sohag	1998	legal	N/A	N/A

95	No		113	Church	Mary Gerges Church	Western Juhaina	repair	Sohag	1998	legal	N/A	N/A
95	No		114	Church	Evangelical Nahidat Al-Qadasa Church	Tagamoua' Abou Shagara	repair	Sohag	1998	legal	N/A	N/A
95	No		115	Church	Mary Gerges Church	Al-Rowiheb village (Al-Munsha'a)	repair	Sohag	1998	legal	N/A	N/A
95	No		116	Church	Prince Tadrus Church	Gerga	repair	Sohag	1998	legal	N/A	N/A
95	No		117	Monastery	Bishop Tomes Monastery	Arab Bani Wasel	repair	Sohag	1998	legal	N/A	N/A
95	No		118	Church	Al-Rasouliya Church	Al-Hema village	repair	Sohag	1998	legal	N/A	N/A
95	No		119	Church	Al-Zendariya Church	Tahta	repair	Sohag	1998	legal	N/A	N/A
94	No		120	Church	Evangelical Church	Awlad Ghareeb	repair	Sohag	1998	legal	N/A	N/A
95	No		121	Church	Evangelical Nahidat Al-Qadasa Church	Safraq	repair	Sohag	1998	legal	N/A	N/A
40	No		123	Church	Saint Arsanius	Tora	closing	al-Qahira	1998	illegal	N/A	problems
30	No		26	Church	N/A	El-Nahda and Obour City	new construction	al-Iskandariyya	2000	N/A	problems	N/A
31	No		27	Church	N/A	Sharm El-Sheikh	closing	Ganub Sina	2000	illegal	N/A	problems
31	No		28	Church	N/A	Al-Tur	new construction	Ganub Sina	1995 - 1999	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
31	No		29	Church	N/A	El-Arish	new construction	Ganub Sina	1997 1998 2000	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
31	No		30	Church	San George	El-Arish	rebuilding	Ganub Sina	1998 2000	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
40	No		124	Church	Saint Arsanius	Tora	reopening	N/A	1998	legal	N/A	no problems

96	No		125	Church	N/A	Maamoura	new construction	al-Iskandariyya	1979 1980	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
96	No		126	Church	Marina Church (Al-Alamein)	Marina	new construction	N/A	N/A	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
97	No		127	Church	N/A	Mutain (Bani Mazar)	new construction	al-Minya	1992	N/A	problems	N/A
97	No		128	Church	N/A	Mutain (Bani Mazar)	closing	al-Minya	1992	ex post legalization requested	problems	problems
97	No		129	Church	N/A	Manti (Shubra Al-Kheimah)	new construction	al-Qalyubiyya	1988	ex post legalization requested	problems	N/A
97	No		130	Church	N/A	Manti (Shubra Al-Kheimah)	closing	al-Qalyubiyya	1998	ex post legalization requested	problems	problems
97	No		131	Church	farm of Al-Kassan	Manfalout	closing	Asyut	1987	N/A	N/A	problems
97	No		132	Church	N/A	Naga Hamadi	new construction	Qina	1954	ex post legalization requested	problems	N/A
97	No		133	Church	N/A	Naga Hamadi	closing	Qina	1997	ex post legalization requested	problems	problems
97	No		134	Church	N/A	Kutsika (Helwan)	closing	al-Qahira	N/A	illegal	N/A	problems
97	No		135	Church	N/A	Kutsika (Helwan)	reopening	al-Qahira	N/A	N/A	N/A	no problems
97	No		136	Church	N/A	Hadayek El-Maadi	closing	al-Qahira	N/A	N/A	N/A	problems
97	No		137	Church	N/A	Hadayek El-Maadi	reopening	al-Qahira	N/A	N/A	N/A	problems
97	No		138	Church	N/A	El-Salam	new construction	N/A	N/A	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
97	No		139	Church	N/A	Al-Asafirah	closing	al-Iskandariyya	before 1998	N/A	N/A	problems
97	No		140	Church	N/A	Marsa Matrouh	closing	Matruh		illegal	N/A	problems

97	No		141	Church	N/A	Munira (Kantara)	new construction	al-Qalyubiyya	1973	legal	problems	problems
98	No		142	Church	Church of Prince Tadrous Monastery	Bani Shoukayr village in Manfalout	closing	Asyut	N/A	N/A	N/A	problems
98	No		143	Church	Church of Prince Tadrous Monastery	Bani Shoukayr village in Manfalout	reopening	Asyut	N/A	legal	N/A	problems
99	No		144	Church	Church of the Virgin Mary and of the Martyr Abanob	El-Kilj in Jebel El-Asfer (Shirbin El-Kom)	repair	al-Qalyubiyya	1989 1998	illegal	N/A	problems
100	No		145	Church	N/A	Ibrahim Pasha (Samalout)	new construction	al-Minya	N/A	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
100	No		146	Church	N/A	Ibrahim Pasha (Samalout)	new construction	al-Minya	N/A	illegal	N/A	N/A
100	No		147	Church	N/A	Ibrahim Pasha (Samalout)	closing	al-Minya	1991	illegal	N/A	problems
102	No		148	Church	N/A	aluminum city in Nag el-Hamadi	new construction	N/A		N/A	problems	N/A
111	No		149		N/A	Abu Teeg	new construction	Asyut	1990 1997	N/A	N/A	problems
113	No		150	Church	Holy Virgin Church	Daraaw	repair	Aswan	1998	legal	N/A	problems
75	No		309	Church	Church of the Holy Virgin	Kafr Darwish Al-Fashn	extension	Bani Suwaif	2001	legal	N/A	problems
132	No		151	Church	Coptic Catholic church	village of Hegaza Kebly, Kous district	rebuilding	Qina	1978 1993	legal	problems	problems
137	No		152	Church	Mari Mina and Abu Sefein Church	Manti, Shoubra Al-Kheima (Qalyoub)	new construction	al-Qalyubiyya	1992 1994 1996	legal	N/A	N/A
137	No		153	Church	Mari Mina and Abu Sefein Church	Manti, Shoubra Al-Kheima (Qalyoub)	closing	al-Qalyubiyya	1997	legal	N/A	problems
137	No		154	Church	Mari Mina and Abu Sefein	Manti, Shoubra Al-Kheima	reopening	al-Qalyubiyya	after 1997	ex ante legalization	problems	N/A

					Church	(Qalyoub)					requested		
142	No		155	Church	St. Tadrows Al-Showtby and Abou-Sefeen Coptic church	Shutb	repair	Asyut	2002	legal	problems	problems	
142	No		156	Church	St. Tadrows Al-Showtby and Abou-Sefeen Coptic church	Shutb	demolishing	Asyut	2002	legal	problems	N/A	
143	No		157	Church	St. Tadrows Al-Showtby and Abou-Sefeen Coptic church	Shutb	repair	Asyut	2000 2001 2002	illegal	N/A	problems	
143	No		158	Church	St. Tadrows Al-Showtby and Abou-Sefeen Coptic church	Shutb	demolishing	Asyut	2002	illegal	N/A	problems	
145	No	Emigrant Copts	159	Church	N/A	Al-Ubour City	new construction	al-Ismailiyya	2001	ex post legalization requested	N/A	problems	
148	No		160	Service Building	St. Paul church service building	Shubra El-Kheima	reopening	al-Qalyubiyya	2002	legal	N/A	N/A	
149	No		161	Church	N/A	Al-Minya Al-Gedida	new construction	al-Minya	N/A	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A	
151	No		162	Monastery	al-Muharraq	Al-Qussia	extension	Asyut	N/A	illegal	N/A	problems	
151	No		163	Church	N/A	Ezbet Rufai'il	new construction	Asyut	2002	N/A	N/A	problems	
152	No		164	Church	Meir	Meir	repair	Asyut	N/A	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A	
154	No		165	Church	N/A	Beni Walmis	opening	al-Minya	2002	N/A	N/A	problems	
155	No		166	Church	N/A	Beni Walmis	opening	al-Minya	2002	N/A	N/A	problems	
156	No		167	Church	N/A	Beni Walmis	opening	al-Minya	2002	N/A	N/A	problems	
157	Yes		168	Church	N/A	Beni Walmis	opening	al-Minya	2002	N/A	N/A	problems	
158	No		169	Church	N/A	Beni Walmis	reopening	al-Minya	2002	N/A	N/A	problems	
160	No		170	Church	Holy Virgin	Beni Walmis	reopening	al-Minya	2002	N/A	N/A	problems	

140	No		171	Church	N/A	Beni Walmis	repair	al-Minya	N/A	N/A	N/A	problems
161	No		172	Church	N/A	Beni Walmis	opening	al-Minya	2002	legal	N/A	problems
162	No		173	Church	N/A	Beni Walmis	opening	al-Minya	2002	legal	N/A	problems
163	No		174	Church	N/A	Beni Walmis	opening	al-Minya	2002	N/A	N/A	problems
170	No		175	Church	Holy Virgin Church	Beni Mahdi	new construction	al-Minya	1977 1997	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
172	No		176	Service Building	Church of the Virgin Mary	al-Munshaa al Kobra (Qusiyya)	new construction	Asyut	2002	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
176	No		177	Monastery	Virgin Mary Monastery in the Assiut Mountain	Durunka	demolishing	Asyut	N/A	N/A	N/A	problems
177	No		178	Church	Coptic Orthodox church of the Martyr George	Besri	extension	Asyut	2002 2003	ex ante legalization requested	problems	problems
179	No		179	Monastery	N/A	Ra's Ghareb	demolishing	al-Bahr al-ahmar	2003	illegal	N/A	problems
180	No		180	Monastery	N/A	Ra's Ghareb	demolishing	al-Bahr al-ahmar	2003	illegal	N/A	problems
181	No		181	Monastery	monastery of Antonius	Ra's Ghareb	demolishing	al-Bahr al-ahmar	1992 2003	N/A	N/A	problems
182	No		182	Service Building	church of the great martyr Mar Girgis	Sandabees	new construction	al-Qalyubiyya	2001 2002	legal	N/A	problems
183	No		183	Church	Coptic Orthodox church of the Martyr George	Besri	closing	Asyut	2003	N/A	N/A	problems
183	No		184	Church	Coptic Orthodox church of the Martyr George	Besri	repair	Asyut	2003	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
184	No		185	Church	Church of the Virgin Mary	Al-Mounira (Al-Qanater)	new construction	al-Qalyubiyya	1973 1998 2002	legal	N/A	problems
184	No		186	Church	N/A	Al Arbaeen district in Mubarak City	new construction	Asyut	1997	legal	N/A	problems

184	No		187	Church	N/A	Al Hamra district in Mubarak City	new construction	Asyut	1997	legal	N/A	problems
185	No		188	Church	N/A	Garza (Al-Ayyat city)	new construction	al-Giza	2003	N/A	N/A	problems
186	No		189	Church	N/A	Garza (Al-Ayyat city)	new construction	al-Giza	2003	N/A	N/A	problems
187	No		190	Church	N/A	Garza (Al-Ayyat city)	new construction	al-Giza	2003	N/A	N/A	problems
189	No		191	Monastery	monastery of Antonius	Ra's Ghareb	demolishing	al-Bahr al-ahmar	2003	N/A	N/A	problems
190	No		192	Monastery	monastery of Antonius	Ra's Ghareb	demolishing	al-Bahr al-ahmar	2003	N/A	N/A	problems
191	No		193	Monastery	monastery of Antonius	Ra's Ghareb	demolishing	al-Bahr al-ahmar	2003	N/A	N/A	problems
192	No		194	Monastery	monastery of Antonius	Ra's Ghareb	extension	al-Bahr al-ahmar	1992 2003	N/A	N/A	N/A
193	No		195	Monastery	monastery of Antonius	Ra's Ghareb	demolishing	al-Bahr al-ahmar	2003	N/A	N/A	problems
194	No		196	Monastery	monastery of Antonius	Ra's Ghareb	demolishing	al-Bahr al-ahmar	2003	N/A	N/A	problems
195	No		197	Monastery	monastery of Antonius	Ra's Ghareb	demolishing	al-Bahr al-ahmar	2003	N/A	N/A	problems
196	No		198	Monastery	monastery of Antonius	Ra's Ghareb	demolishing	al-Bahr al-ahmar	2003	N/A	N/A	problems
200	No		199	Church	N/A	Garza (Al-Ayyat city)	new construction	al-Giza	2003	N/A	N/A	problems
202	No		200	Church	N/A	Al-Rihab City	new construction	al-Qahira	2004	N/A	problems	N/A
203	No		201	Church	N/A	Al-Rihab City	new construction	al-Qahira	2004	N/A	problems	N/A
204	No		202	Church	Mar Mina church	Taha al-'Ameda	repair	al-Minya	2004	illegal	N/A	problems
204	No		203	Service Building	Mar Mina church	Taha al-'Ameda	new construction	al-Minya	N/A	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
204	No		204	Church	N/A	Nazali Taha	new construction	al-Minya	N/A	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
204	No		205	Church	N/A	Dafash, Samalout	repair	al-Minya	2000	legal	N/A	problems

204	No		206	Church	N/A	Al Arbaeen district in Mubarak City	new construction	Asyut	N/A	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
204	No		207	Church	N/A	Al Hamra district in Mubarak City	new construction	Asyut	N/A	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
204	No		208	Church	Coptic Orthodox Church	Balut, al-Qussia	repair	Asyut	N/A	legal	N/A	problems
204	No		209	Church	Coptic Orthodox Church	Meir, al-Qussia	repair	Asyut	before 2004	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
204	No		210	Church	N/A	Fazara, al-Qussia	closing	Asyut	N/A	illegal	N/A	problems
204	No		211	Church	N/A	Sawada	rebuilding	al-Minya	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
204	No		212	Monastery	convent of Dimyana	N/A	extension	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
206	No		213	Church	N/A	Al-Rihab City	new construction	al-Qahira	2004	N/A	problems	N/A
208	No		214	Church	N/A	Mallawi	closing	N/A	1986	N/A	N/A	problems
212	No		215	Monastery	monastery of the Holy Virgin	Durunka	extension	Asyut	1985 1986 1998	legal	problems	problems
213	No		216	Service Building	N/A	N/A	new construction	al-Wadi al-gadid	2003	ex ante legalization requested	N/A	N/A
214	No		217	Church	N/A	Arbaeen district of Assiut	new construction	Asyut	1997 2001	legal	N/A	problems
214	No		218	Church	N/A	Hamra district in Assiut	new construction	Asyut	1997 2003	legal	problems	problems
214	No		219	Church	Mar Guirgis church	Sahel Selim	repair	Asyut	2001 2003 2004	legal	N/A	problems
214	No		220	Church	N/A	Maamoura	new construction	al-Iskandariyya	N/A	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
221	No		222	Monastery	Red Monastery	N/A	extension	Sohag	1999 2004	N/A	N/A	no problems
222	No		223	Church	church of Mar Girgis	Naj Beni-Khaled	closing	Sohag	1965 1992	N/A	N/A	problems

222	No		224	Church	church of Mar Girgis	Naj Beni-Khaled	reopening	Sohag	N/A	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
223	No		225	Church	Mar Girgis	Najaa al-Assaara	repair	Sohag	2004	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
227	No		226	Church	N/A	Damshāw Hāshim	new construction	al-Minya	N/A	N/A	N/A	problems
228	No		227	Monastery	Al-Macsara Monastery	Cairo	extension	al-Qahira	N/A	illegal	N/A	problems
229	No		228	Church	N/A	Qassāsīn	new construction	N/A	2005	illegal	N/A	problems
230	No		229	Church	N/A	Damshāw Hāshim	new construction	al-Minya	2004	N/A	N/A	problems
231	No		230	Church	N/A	Damshāw Hāshim	new construction	al-Minya	N/A	N/A	N/A	problems
238	No		231	Church	Mit Bera Church	Qouwisna	repair	al-Minufiyya	1991	legal	N/A	N/A
238	No		232	Church	St Dimiana Church	Kafr al Sheikh	rebuilding	N/A	2004	legal	N/A	N/A
243	No		233	Church	Holy Virgin's church	Burg El-Arab	new construction	al-Iskandariyya	1988 1989 1993 1999 2003 2004	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
243	No		234	Church	N/A	Al-Marina	new construction	al-Iskandariyya	2004	legal	N/A	N/A
244	No		235	Church	N/A	Tilwana (Al-Bajour)	extension	al-Minufiyya	2005	illegal	N/A	problems
245	No		236	Church	N/A	Tilwana (Al-Bajour)	new construction	al-Minufiyya	1993 2005	N/A	N/A	problems
248	No		237	Church	Mar Youhanna al-Meimadaan (St John the Baptist's)	Awlad Elias	repair	Asyut	1999 2001 2005	legal	N/A	problems
249	No		238	Church	N/A	Shubra al-Kheima	new	al-	2002	ex ante	problems	N/A

							construction	Qalyubiyya	2003 2004 2005	legalization requested		
250	No		239	Church	N/A	Qalyoub	new construction	al- Qalyubiyya	2005	N/A	N/A	problems
251	No		240	Church	N/A	New Assiut	new construction	Asyut	2005	N/A	N/A	no problems
253	No		241	Church	Mar Marqus	New Assiut	new construction	Asyut	2005	N/A	N/A	no problems
254	No	General	242	Monastery	Holy Virgin's monastery	Beni-Sweif	extension	N/A	2005	legal	N/A	N/A
259	No		243	Church	Church of the Virgin Mary	cAbd al-Malik Mansour	new construction	al- Scharqiyya	2005	legal	N/A	N/A
266	No		244	Church	Virgin Mary Church	al-Khārja district	repair	al-Wadi al- gadid	2005	legal	N/A	N/A
266	No		245	Church	N/A	N/A	new construction	al-Wadi al- gadid	2005	legal	N/A	N/A
274	No		246	Church	Virgin Mary Church	al-cUdaysāt	new construction	al-Uqsur	1971 2006	N/A	problems	problems
277	No		247	Church	Virgin Mary Church	al-cUdaysāt	repair	al-Uqsur	1970 2006	N/A	problems	problems
278	No		248	Church	N/A	Manqāṭin (Samāllout)	new construction	al-Minya	1977 2004	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
278	No		249	Church	Virgin Mary Church	al-cUdaysāt	new construction	al-Uqsur	2006	ex post legalization requested	N/A	problems
280	No		250	Church	Virgin Mary Church	al-cUdaysāt	new construction	al-Uqsur	1970	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
280	No		251	Church	Virgin Mary Church	al-cUdaysāt	new construction	al-Uqsur	1970 2006	ex post legalization requested	problems	N/A
280	No		252	Church	Virgin Mary Church	al-cUdaysāt	repair	Qina	1998 2006	illegal	N/A	N/A
286	No		253	Church	Virgin Mary Church	al-cUdaysāt	new construction	al-Uqsur	2006	ex post legalization requested	N/A	problems

288	No		254	Church	N/A	Dashmīr	new construction	al-Minya	2005	N/A	N/A	problems
294	No		255	Church	N/A	al-Haj cAlī Ās	new construction	al-Giza	2006	legal	N/A	problems
296	Yes		256	Church	N/A	Izbit Wāsif	new construction	al-Giza	2006	illegal	N/A	problems
304	No		257	Church	St. George	Assiut	repair	Asyut	2003	legal	N/A	problems
308	No		258	Church	N/A	al-Sabcīn village, Koum Umbou	new construction	N/A	2006	N/A	N/A	problems
315	No		259	Church	Holy Virgin Church	Maamoura	new construction	al-Iskandariyya	1969 1979 1980 1982 1983 1998 2002	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
317	No		260	Service Building	house for the aged belonging to the Holy Virgin's Church	Manshat al-Kubra in Qoussiya	rebuilding	Asyut	2002 2005	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
319	No		261	Church	Coptic Catholic church of the Holy Virgin	Nag-Ruzeiq	repair	Asyut	2005 2006	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
322	No		262	Church	church of Anba Barsoum al-Erian	Arabat Abu-Aziz	extension	Sohag	N/A	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
322	No		263	Church	church of Mar-Girgis	Sohag	repair	Sohag	N/A	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
323	No		264	Church	church of Saint Simeon the Tanner	Muqattam	new construction	al-Qahira	1974	illegal	N/A	N/A
326	No		265	Church	N/A	Al-Tur	new construction	Ganub Sina	N/A	N/A	problems	N/A
221	No		310	Monastery	Red Monastery	N/A	demolishing	Sohag	1999 2004	legal	N/A	problems
29	Yes	Emigrant Copts	311	Church	Ezbat Al-Aqbat (Church of Martyr	Al-Khanka	repair	al-Qalyubiyya	1990	illegal	N/A	problems

					Abanoub)							
322	No		312	Church	church of the Holy Virgin	Sheikh Youssef, Maragha	repair	Sohag	2006	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
328	No		313	Monastery	Anba Balamon al-Sayeh	Naga Hamadi	repair	Qina		ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
329	No		314	Church	Coptic Orthodox Church Deacons Association	Beni Khālid village in Maghāghah	closing	al-Minya	2007	illegal	N/A	problems
330	No		315	Church	N/A	Jazīrat Mahrs	closing	Sohag	2007	ex post legalization requested	problems	problems
330	No		316	Church	N/A	Jazīrat Mahrs	reopening	Sohag	2007	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
330	No		317	Church	N/A	Jazīrat Mahrs	new construction	Sohag	2007	ex post legalization requested	problems	problems
331	No		318	Monastery	Holy Virgin	Durunka	extension	Asyut	1985 1996 1997 1999 2001 2002 2003 2004	legal	problems	problems
332	No		319	Church	N/A	Izbit al-Nakhl	new construction	al-Qahira	2007	legal	N/A	problems
333	No		320	Church	Saint George	Assiut	repair	Asyut	2007	N/A	N/A	problems
333	No		321	Church	N/A	al-Hamra (Asyut)	new construction	Asyut	2006	legal	N/A	problems
334	No		322	Church	Saint Virgin	Bayad Al-Arab	repair	Bani Suwaif	2007	legal		problems
335	No		323	Monastery	Anba Balamon al-Sayeh	Naga Hamadi	repair	Qina	2003	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A

3. Full version of the table “Table for the number of articles published by each newspaper/publications related to ‘houses of worship’ recorded by AWR

Timeframe of this table: 1998 to March 2007	
To trace the exact source of all these articles see: Appendix; table on “all articles recorded by AWR related to building houses of worship”	
The ten newspapers/publications which published articles related to houses of worship recoded by AWR	Number of articles published by the publications of articles on “houses of worship” according to the records of AWR
Watani	80
Watani international	30
Rose al-Yusuf	27
Al-Ussbu ^c	26
AWR	23
Al-Ahram	15
<i>Al-Ahram Weekly (not systematically covered by AWR)</i>	1
Al-Ahram Al-Arabi	2
Sawt Al-Ummah	16
Al-Ahali	15
Al-Arabi	11
Al-Akhbar	10
Al-Wafd	9
Press Review	7
Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	7
<i>Al-Dustur (not systematically covered by AWR)</i>	7
Al-Musawwar	7
Al-Ahrar	6
Al-Maydan	4
<i>US Copts Association (not systematically covered by AWR)</i>	3
Akhir Sacah	3
October Magazine	2
Al-Hayah	2
Al-Jumhuriyah	2
Al-Qahira	2
<i>Cairo Times (not systematically covered by AWR)</i>	2
<i>Reuters (not systematically covered by AWR)</i>	1
<i>Al-Kirazah (not systematically covered by AWR)</i>	1

<i>The Truth [an e-mail service of American Copts, probably related to one of the Coptic associations] (not systematically covered by AWR)</i>	1
Aqidati	1
Sabah Al-Khair	1
<i>Al-Sha^cb (not systematically covered by AWR)</i>	1
<i>US International Religious Freedom Report (not systematically covered by AWR)</i>	1
<i>Egyptian Gazette (not systematically covered by AWR)</i>	1
<i>Layman (not systematically covered by AWR)</i>	1
Al-Liwa Al-Islami	1
Several	1
Total: 36 different publications	Total number of articles: 330
To trace the exact source of all these articles see: Appendix; chapter 1.1 “all articles recorded by AWR related to building houses of worship”	

4. Full version of the table “Table for the number of concrete church building cases presented by the different publications/newspapers in the articles related to “houses of worship” recorded by AWR

Timeframe of this table: 1998 to March 2007	
Name of the Table: Table for the number of concrete church building cases presented by the different publications/newspapers in the articles related to “houses of worship” recorded by AWR	
The newspapers/publications which, according to AWR, presented concrete church building cases in their articles related to “houses of worship”	Number of concrete church building cases mentioned in the articles related to “houses of worship” AWR recorded
Watani	90
Watani international	24

AWR	34
Al-Arabi	21
Al-Wafd	18
Al-Ahali	17
Al-Uсбу ^c	16
Sawt Al-Ummah	13
Al-Ahram	7
Rose al-Yusuf	6
US Copts Association (<i>not systematically covered by AWR</i>)	5
Press Review	5
Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	4
Al-Dustur (<i>not systematically covered by AWR</i>)	4
Al-Maydan	3
Al-Hayah	2
Al-Ahrar	2
Al-Akhbar	2
Al-Musawwar	2
Reuters (<i>not systematically covered by AWR</i>)	1
Al-Jumhuriyah	1
Several	1
Al-Qahira	0
Al-Kirazah (<i>not systematically covered by AWR</i>)	0
The Truth [an e-mail service of American Copts, probably related to one of the Coptic associations] (<i>not systematically covered by AWR</i>)	0
Al-Ahram Weekly (<i>not systematically covered by AWR</i>)	0
Aqidati	0
Cairo Times (<i>not systematically covered by AWR</i>)	0
Sabah Al-Khair	0
Al-Shacb (<i>not systematically covered by AWR</i>)	0
US International Religious Freedom Report (<i>not systematically covered by</i>	0

AWR)	
Egyptian Gazette (<i>not systematically covered by AWR</i>)	0
Layman (<i>not systematically covered by AWR</i>)	0
Akhir Sacah	0
October Magazine	0
Al-Liwa Al-Islami	0
Al-Ahram Al-Arabi	0
total: 36 different publications	278
To trace the exact source of all these concrete church building cases see: Appendix; chapter 2.1 “concrete church building cases which were mentioned in the articles recorded by AWR”	

5. Table; Comparison of the number of concrete church building cases of the newspapers/publicationss with the number of these cases which were presented as problem cases by the same newspaper/publications

Name of the table: Comparison of the number of concrete church building cases of the newspapers/publicationss with the number of cases which were presented as problem cases by the same newspaper/publications			
Newspaper/ publications	Number of concrete church building cases mentioned in the articles related to “houses of worship” AWR recorded	number of church building “problem cases” mentioned in the articles related to “houses of worship” AWR recorded	Percentage of “problem cases” in the concrete church building cases
Watani	90	75	83.30%
Watani International	24	19	79.20%
AWR	34	28	82.40%
Al-Arabi	21	19	90.50%
Al-Wafd	18	2	11.10%
Al-Ahali	17	9	52.90%
Al-Ushbu3	16	12	75.00%
Sawt Al-Ummah	13	10	76.90%
Al-Ahram	7	0	0.00%
Rose Al-Yusuf	6	2	33.30%
US Copts Association (<i>not systematically covered by AWR</i>)	5	4	80.00%
Press Review	5	4	80.00%
Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	4	3	75.00%
Al-Dustur (<i>not systematically covered by AWR</i>)	4	4	100.00%
Al-Maydan	3	3	100.00%
Al-Hayah	2	2	100.00%
Al-Ahrar	2	2	100.00%
Al-Akhbar	2	0	0.00%
Al-Musawwar	2	2	100.00%
Reuters(<i>not systematically</i>)	1	1	100.00%

<i>covered by AWR)</i>			
Al-Jumhuriyah	1	0	0.00%
Several	1	0	0.00%
22 different publications	278 concrete church building cases	201 cases in which problems related to the concrete church building cases were mentioned	72.3% of all cases which were reported in the media reported on problems
Timeframe of this table: 1998 to March 2007 To track the exact source of these concrete church building cases and to find out whether the cases can be classified as problem cases please see: Appendix; chapter 2.1 “concrete church building cases which were mentioned in the articles recorded by AWR”			

6. Table; Table for the kind of church construction type which had the highest media attention

Name of the table: Table for the kind of church construction type which had the highest media attention	
action[what type of church building was done in the concrete church building case]	Number of actions which were presented in the concrete church building
New construction	105
Repair	71
Closing	27
Demolishing	21
Rebuilding	17
Extension	16
Reopening	13
Opening	7
No action mentioned	1
Actions were divided into 9 different types	Concrete church building cases in the media which were recorded by AWR: 278
Timeframe of this table: 1998 to March 2007 To trace back the exact source of these concrete church building cases and to find out which “action” parameter value a case took please see: Appendix; chapter 2.1 “concrete church building cases which were mentioned in the articles recorded by AWR”	

7.1 Information provided by the governor of Assiut

In October 2002 AWR was received by the governor of Assiut, Excellency General Ahmed Hamam Atiyeh. He provided AWR with an official list in Arabic of church building cases recoded between 10th October 1998 and October 10th 2002. This information was published in 2002 on December 23rd.

The records present 90 church building cases. The papers state that they recoded 98 church building cases but regrettably 8 records were missing in the papers handed to AWR. As a reader one has to take care of the numbering because it is not correct. The following list will present 84 church building cases. The 6 cases in which a presidential permit was requested were listed separately. This list will follow after the first one.

No.	Province	Church Name	Location				Decree No.	Date
				Restoration	New	Renovation		
1	Assiut	Catholic Church Mari Girgis (St. George)	Durunka	-	-	Rebuilding 1	Governorate Decree No. 812 of 1999	17 - 11 - 1999
2	Assiut	Angel Mikhael Church	Durunka	Restoration1	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 2908 of 1998	10 - 11 - 1998
3	Assiut	St. Mary Monastery	Durunka	Restoration2	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 634 of 1999	22 - 3 - 1999
4	Assiut	Holiness Revival Church	Mesrie	Restoration3	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 266 of 2000	9 - 3 - 2000
5	Assiut	Bishop Qulta Church	Rifa	Restoration4	-	-		20 - 10 - 2001
6	Assiut	Evangelical Church	Musha	Restoration5	-	-		28 - 2 - 2000
7	Assiut	Apostolic Church	El-Matyaa	-			Presidential Decree No. 441 of 2001	
8	Assiut	Church of St. John the Baptist	Al-Zawya	Restoration6	-	-		14 - 4 - 2001
9	Assiut	Catholic rest house	Durunka	-	Building a ground floor and four other floors1	-	Governorate Decree No. 1106 of 1999	15 - 7 - 1999
10	Dayrout	Coptic Orthodox archbishopric	Dayrout Al-Sharif	-	Complete building the fence and rooms2	-	Decree of Dayrout province (merkaz)	22 - 1 - 2000
11	Dayrout	Catholic Copts Church	Amshoul	Restoration7	-	-		9 - 2 - 2000
12	Dayrout	Mari Girgis (St. George) Church	Al-Mahmoudia	Restoration8	-	-		19 - 4 - 2000
13	Dayrout	St. Mary Church for Orthodox Copt	Massarah	Restoration9	-	-		11 - 9 - 2000
14	Dayrout	St. Dimyana Church	Bannoub Zahr Al-Gamal	Restoration10	-	-		19 - 9 - 2000
15	Dayrout	Evangelical Church	Koum Bouha Bahary	Restoration11	-	-		21 - 10 - 2000

No.	Province	Church Name	Location				Decree No.	Date
16	Dayrout	Apostolic Church	Mansheit Nasser, Ezbet Wissa		Building a fence3	-		21 – 2 – 2001
17	Dayrout	Evangelical Church	Dashlout	Restoration12	-	-		7 – 4 – 2001
18	Dayrout	Bishop Sarabamun Church	Dayrout Al-Sharif	Restoration13	-	-		13 – 6 – 2001
19	Dayrout	Bishopric of Orthodox Copts	Dayrout	Restoring the fence14	-	-		18 – 6 – 2001
20	Dayrout	Farm of Dayrout bishopric	Al-Mahmoudia	Rebuilding a part and restoring the rest of the fence15	-	-		22 – 4 – 2002
21	Dayrout	The Church of the Plymouth Brethren	Nazlet Moustafa	Restoration16	-	-		28 – 4 – 2002
22	Dayrout	Church of Martyr Tadrous Al-Sharqi	Nazlet Daher	Restoration17	-	-		28 – 5 – 2002
23	Dayrout	Mari Mina Monastery	Sinbo		Building a guarding room4	-		19 – 6 – 2002
24	Dayrout	Evangelical Church	Biblaw	Restoration18	-	-		29 – 7 – 2002
	Missing pages							
25	Manfalout	Evangelical Church	Bani Addi Al-Bahariya	Restoration19	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 149 of 1999	31 – 1 – 1999
26	Manfalout	Evangelical Church	Bani Addi Al-Bahariya	Restoration20	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 1602 of 1999	15 – 7 – 1999
27	Manfalout	Apostolic Church	Al-Azziya	Restoration21	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 1603 of 1999	15 – 7 – 1999
28	Manfalout	Holiness Revival Church	Al-Hawatka	Restoration22	-	-	Governorate Decrees No. 2058 and 2792 of 1999	3 – 9 – 1999 16 – 11 – 1999
29	Manfalout	Evangelical Church	Gahdam	Restoration23	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 58 on 7 – 2 – 2002	February, 2002

No.	Province	Church Name	Location				Decree No.	Date
30	Manfalout	Mari Girgis (St. George) Church	Bani Sanad	Restoration24	-	-		4 – 6 – 2000
31	Manfalout	Al-Amir Tadrus Monastery	Manfalout	-	Building WCs For men and women5	-	Governorate Decree No. 2541 of 2000	14 – 6 – 2000
32	Manfalout	Manfalout Bishopric	Manfalout	-	Building a ground floor + two other floors6	-	Governorate Decree No. 1604 of 2000	8 – 8 – 2000
33	Manfalout	St. Mary Church	Manfalout	Restoration25	-	-	Province Decree No. 106 of 2000	29 – 3 – 2000
34	Manfalout	Angel Mikhael Church	Bani Majd	Restoration26	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 562	11 – 2 – 2001
35	Manfalout	Holiness Revival Church	Damanhur	Restoration27	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 921	19 – 3 – 2002
36	Assiut Western District	Apostolic Church	Kom Abu Abbas	Restoration28	-	-	District Decree No. 154 of 1999	
37	Assiut Western District	Evangelical Church	Abu Saada Street	Restoration29	-	-	District Decree No. 153 of 1999	
38	Assiut Western District	Baptist Church	Abu Saada Street	Restoration30	-	-	District Decree No. 341 of 2000	
39	Assiut Western District	Martyr Abadeer Church	Zein Al-Deen Al-Sharif Street	Restoration31	-	-	District Decree No. 74 of 2000	
40	Assiut Western District	Mari Girgis (St. George) Church	Youssri Ragheb Street	Restoration32	-	-	District Decree No. 75 of 2000	
41	Assiut Western District	Catholic Church of St. Antony	26 th of July Street	Restoration33	-	-	District Decree No. 363 of 2000	
42	Assiut	Church of God	Qula Company	Restoration34	-	-	District Decree No.	

No.	Province	Church Name	Location				Decree No.	Date
	Western District						134 of 2001	
43	Assiut Western District	St. Traze Church	Qula Company	Restoration35	-	-	District Decree No. 182 of 2001	
44	Assiut Eastern District	Angel Mikhael Church	Al-Nammes Street next to Nasser Mosque	Restoration36	-	-	District Decree No. 58 of 2000	
45	Assiut Eastern District	St. Maqar Church	Riyad Street	Restoration37	-	-	District Decree No. 277 of 2001	
46	Assiut Eastern District	The third Evangelical Church	Al-Sharifa Street in Al-Walidia	Restoration38	-	-	District Decree No. 137 of 1999	
47	Assiut Eastern District	The Second Keraza Church	Takseem Al-Petroll Street	Restoration39	-	-	District Decree No. 163 of 1999	
48	Abnoub	St. Mary Church	Bani Mohammed	Restoration40	-	-	Province Decree	14 – 11 – 2000
49	Abnoub	Church of Mari Mena Monastery	Al-Maabda		Building a ground floor7	-	Presidential Decree No. 22 of 2001	17 – 1 – 2000
50	Abnoub	Church of the Brothers	Bani Mohammediya t	Restoration41	-	-	Province Decree	25 – 10 – 2000
51	Abnoub	Church of Mari Mina Monastery	Al-Maabda	-	Building three new floors8	-	Presidential Decree No. 384 of 2001	24 – 10 – 2001
52	Al-Fath	St. Mary Church	Bani Elaag	-	-	Renovation2		
53	Al-Fath	Mari Girgis (St. George) Church	Tal Awlaad Serag	Uplifting the outward fence42	-	-		
54	Al-Badari	Mari Girgis (St. George) Church	Al-Atmaniya	Restoration43	-	-	Presidential Decree No. 453 of 1999	28 – 12 – 1999

No.	Province	Church Name	Location				Decree No.	Date
55	Al-Badari	St. Maqar Church	Al-Aqal Al-Qebly	Restoration44	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 3317 of 1998	26 – 12 – 1998
56	Al-Badari	Evangelical Church	Al-Aqal Al-Qebly	Restoration45	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 2907 of 1998	10 – 11 – 1998
57	Al-Badari	Holiness Revival Church	Al-Aqal Al-Bahari	Restoration46	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 1604 of 1999	9 – 9 – 1999
58	Al-Badari	Apostolic Church	Al-Qadareek	Restoration47	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 1794 of 1999	
59	Sahel Selim	St. Shenouda Church	Al-Nazla Al-Mustagada	Restoration48	-	-		
60	Sahel Selim	Church of the Brothers	Nazlet Bakhoum - Bwat	Restoration49	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 1601 of 1999	15 – 7 – 1999
61	Sahel Selim	Church of Al-Methal Al-Massehi) the Christian Example)	Al-Shamiya	Restoration50	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 1599 of 1999	15 – 7 – 1999
62	Sahel Selim	Al-Amir Tadrous Al-Shatbi Church	Bwat	Restoration51	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 1598	15 – 7 – 1999
63	Sahel Selim	Mari Girgis (St. George) Church	Al-Unna	Restoration52	-	-	Governorate decree No. 3804 in 12- 10 – 2001	
64	Sahel Selim	St. Bishoy Church for Orthodox Copts	Nazlet Annan	-	-	Renovation3	Governorate decree No. 2093 in 3-6 -2002	
65	Sahel Selim	Th Evangelical Church of Holiness Revival	Nazlet Al- Al-Malek	Restoration53	-	-	Presidential Decree No. 6 of 2002	
66	Abu Teeg	Al-Keraza Bel Enjeel Church (Preaching the Gospel Church)	Abu Teeg city	Restoration54	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 1483 of 1999	6 – 9 – 1999
67	Abu Teeg	Mari Marqos Church for Orthodox Copts	Abu Teeg city	Restoration55	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 1443 of 1999	2 – 11 – 1999
68	Abu Teeg	Evangelical church	Abu Teeg city	Restoration56	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 376 of 1999	1 – 4 – 2002
69	Abu	Apostolic Grace	Al-Nakhela	Restoration57	-	-	Governorate Decree	27 – 5 – 1999

No.	Province	Church Name	Location				Decree No.	Date
	Teeg	Church					No. 176 of 1999	
70	Abu Teeg	The Apostolic Church	Al-Nakhela	Restoration58	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 396 of 2000	1 – 10 – 2000
71	Abu Teeg	Mari Yohanna Church (St. John Church)	Dewina	Restoration59	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 458 of 1999	1 – 9 – 1999
72	Abu Teeg	St. Shenouda Church for Orthodox Copts	Al-Zaraby	Restoration60	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 231 of 1999	6 – 7 – 1999
73	Abu Teeg	St. Mary Church for Coptic Catholics	Deir Al-Ganadla	Restoration61	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 202 of 1999	3 – 2 – 1999
74	Abu Teeg	Angel Mikhael Church for Orthodox Copts	Deir Al-Ganadla	Restoration62	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 1067 of 1999	15 – 7 – 1999
75	Abu Teeg	Th Evangelical Church	Al-Dewar	Restoration63	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 2491 of 1999	18 – 10 – 1999
76	Abu Teeg	Holiness Revival Church	Al-Dewar	Restoration64	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 1609 of 1999	15 – 7 – 1999
77	Abu Teeg	Mari Girgis (St. George) Church	Kom Asfeht	Restoration65	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 1482 of 1999	4 – 7 – 1999
78	Abu Teeg	Mari Girgis (St. George) Church	Kom Abu Hagar	Restoration66	-	-	Province Decree in 30 – 4 – 2001	
79	Abu Teeg	Holiness Revival Church	Al-Barba	Restoration67	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 99 of 1999	23 – 1 – 1999
80	Abu Teeg	Al-Keraza Bel Enjeel Church (Preaching the Gospel Church)	Keman Saeed	Restoration68	-	-	Governorate Decree	2 – 7 – 2001
81	Abu Teeg	Mar Yohanna Church (St. John Church)	Awlad Elias	Restoration69	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 1605 of 1999	15 – 7 – 1999
82	Abu Teeg	Holiness Revival Church	Al-Wa'dla	Restoration70	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 1817 of 1999	7 – 8 – 1999
83	Abu Teeg	Holiness Revival Church	Al-Shanayna	Restoration71	-	-	Governorate Decree No. 2113 of 1999	6 – 9 – 1999
84	Abu Teeg	Church of Martyr Abskharoun Al-Qelini	Al-Shanayna	Restoration72	-	-	Governor Decree in 23 – 12 – 2000	

t of presidential permits:

The Prime Minister was addressed for issuing a presidential decree for the following churches:

4. The Evangelical Church of Massara, Al-Fath province (merkaz)
5. Angel Mikhael of Massara, Al-Fath province
6. Mari Morqos Church of Abu Teeg province
7. Saint Mary Church, Al-Waadla of Sadfa province
8. The Church of Saint Eqladuos the Martyr, Al-Qosiya province
9. The Church of the Plymouth Brethren, Abdel Khaleq Tharwat St., Assiut

7.2 Table; Number of the different construction types which were recorded in the official documents of the governorate of Assiut

Name of the table: Number of the different construction types which were recorded in the official documents of the governorate Assiut	
Recorded construction type	Number of times a certain construction type was recorded
Restoration	72
New[Extension]	8
Presidential permit requested	6
Renovation[Rebuilding]	3
No construction type mentioned/records were missing	9
	Total: 98
Timeframe of this table: 1998 to 2002	
To trace back the exact source of this source of these records please see: Appendix; Chapter 7.1 „Information provided by the governor of Assiut“.	

7.3 Concrete church building cases in Assiut presented by the media during the same time

The following table is going to present all concrete church building in cases from 1998 to 2002 in the governorate of Assiut which were mentioned in the articles AWR recorded on “houses of worship”.

For the codebook of this table see chapter 2 “Codebook of the table ‘Concrete church building cases which were mentioned in the articles recorded by AWR“.

Adressen - listelD	Sectarian Violence	Foreign Interference	Case Number	Building Type	Name	Town	Action	Province	Year	Legal Status	Permit Remarks	Action Remarks
32	No		35	Church	Saint Mary	Abu Al-Hadr, Dairou	repair	Asyut	1999	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
39	No		40	Church	Arch Angel Michael	Beni Magd, Manfalut	repair	Asyut	1997 1998	legal	N/A	problems
42	No		50	Church	Yohanna Al-Ma'madan [Saint John the Baptist]	Duniya village, Abu Tig city	repair	Asyut		legal	N/A	N/A
45	No		53	Monastery	Virgin Mary Monastery in the Assiut Mountain	Durunka	extension	Asyut		ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
74	No		84	Church	Church of St. John the Baptist	Awlad 'Elias, Sadfa	repair	Asyut	1999	legal	N/A	problems
74	No		85	Church	Church of St. John the Baptist	Awlad 'Elias, Sadfa	extension	Asyut	1999	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A
76	No		89	Church	church of Arch Angel Michael	Beni Magd, Manfalut	extension	Asyut	1998 1999 2000	legal	N/A	problems
86	No		99	Service Building	N/A	Manfalout	rebuilding	Asyut	1926 1943 1950 1997 2001	legal	problems	problems
97	No		131	Church	farm of Al-Kassan	Manfalout	closing	Asyut	1987	N/A	N/A	problems
98	No		142	Church	Church of Prince Tadrus Monastery	Bani Shoukayr village in Manfalout	closing	Asyut	N/A	N/A	N/A	problems
98	No		143	Church	Church of Prince Tadrus Monastery	Bani Shoukayr village in Manfalout	reopening	Asyut	N/A	legal	N/A	problems
111	No		149		N/A	Abu Teeg	new construction	Asyut	1990 1997	N/A	N/A	problems

142	No	155	Church	St. Tadrows Al-Showtby and Abou-Sefeen Coptic church	Shutb	repair	Asyut	2002	legal	problems	problems
142	No	156	Church	St. Tadrows Al-Showtby and Abou-Sefeen Coptic church	Shutb	demolishing	Asyut	2002	legal	problems	N/A
143	No	157	Church	St. Tadrows Al-Showtby and Abou-Sefeen Coptic church	Shutb	repair	Asyut	2000 2001 2002	illegal	N/A	problems
143	No	158	Church	St. Tadrows Al-Showtby and Abou-Sefeen Coptic church	Shutb	demolishing	Asyut	2002	illegal	N/A	problems
151	No	162	Monastery	al-Muharraq	Al-Qussia	extension	Asyut	N/A	illegal	N/A	problems
151	No	163	Church	N/A	Ezbet Rufai'il	new construction	Asyut	2002	N/A	N/A	problems
152	No	164	Church	Meir	Meir	repair	Asyut	N/A	ex ante legalization requested	problems	N/A

8.1 Information provided by the governor of Qalyoubiyya

This information was given to AWR during an interview with H.E. Adli Hussein, the governor of Qalyubiya on March 20th, 2001. The document is not dated, nor are the dates given about when certain procedures were taken.

The document was published by AWR in week 22 in 2001.

First: Banha:

Name of church: Mar Youhana

Topic: Tearing down and rebuilding the church building

Procedure taken: There are no information whether the building is licensed to be built as church or not.

Name of church: St. Nicholas

Topic: Renovating the church

Procedure taken: Approval of building a concrete ceiling to replace the wooden one

Name of church: The Orthodox Coptic Bible Friend's Society in Banha

Topic: Licensing building a residence to the new society in Manshiyet Badawi in Banha

Procedure taken: the society president was informed it is necessary to rename halls to offices in the blueprints. License will be provided to the new blueprints

Name of church: Orthodox Copts Bishopric

Topic: Finishing the bishopric house in Saad Zaghloul street to be one ground and eleven floors instead of one ground and six floors

Procedure taken: Two final floors (eighth and ninth) were approved. They are planned to be used as one unit.

Name of church: Virgin Mary

Topic: Opening a door from a building next to the church to the church's yard

Procedure taken: Approval of opening a 90 X 200 cm door was given as requested.

Name of church: Mar Youhana Church

Topic: Replacing wooden ceiling of a concrete one

Procedure taken: Approved under supervision of the Local Unit

Second: Qaha:

Name of church: Great Martyr Mar Girgis

Topic: Building concrete ceiling in the church

Procedure taken: Asking for blueprints

Third: Shebin Al-Qanatir

Name of church: Michael, Head of Angels, in Al-Qashish

Topic: renovating the church, adding concrete columns and concrete ceiling

Procedure taken: Approved to be under supervision on Qanatir District and City Local Unit

Name of church: Angel Michael, in Al-Qashish

Topic: Renovating the churches

Procedure taken: Approved

Name of church: Angel Michael, in Al-Qashish

Topic: Renovating the churches concrete columns and ceiling

Procedure taken: Approved

Fourth: Kafr Shokr:

Name of church: Kafr Salib Salama, in Asnit

Topic: Renovating the church and building a sunshade

Procedure taken: Approved

Fifth: Tukh

Name of church: Martyr Dimiana

Topic: Replacing wooden ceiling with a concrete one

Procedure taken: Approved

Name of church: Mar Girgis

Topic: Replacing and renovating the fence around the main entrance

Procedure taken: Approved

Name of church: Virgin Mary, in Tant Al-Gezira

Topic: Replacing and renovating the church's fence

Procedure taken: Approved

Name of church: Priest Kirlis, in Tant Al-Gezira

Topic: Building a services building in the church

Procedure taken: Approved

Sixth: Qalyoub:

Name of church: Virgin Mary

Topic: building a second floor above the services building next to the church

Procedure taken: Approved under supervision of architecture consultant

Name of church: The archeological [or historical church of the] Virgin, in Kom Ashfin

Topic: Finishing the fence from the Northern side

Procedure taken: Approved

Name of church: Orthodox Copts Bishopric

Topic: Renovating in the church

Procedure taken: Approved

Name of church: virgin Mary, in Tanan

Topic: Building another floor, and renovating the Northern side of the church

Procedure taken: Approved under supervision of the Local Unit

Seventh: Al-Khanka

Name of church: Orthodox Virgin Mary, in Al-Zarayeb

Topic: Rebuilding the fence

Procedure taken: Being considered

Name of church: Virgin Mary and Martyr Abanoub, in Al-Qalg

Topic: Licensing the new church in Copts rural settlement, next to Saayda [Upper-Egyptians]
rural settlement

Procedure taken: Approved according to the blueprints

Eighth: Al-Qanatir Al-Khayreia:

Name of church: Orthodox Virgin Mary
 Topic: Building two floors over the church's sunshade
 Procedure taken: Approved

Name of church: Sandabis Church
 Topic: Replacing the annex
 Procedure taken: Approved

8.2 Table; Table for the number of actions taken in Qalyoubiyya

Name of the table: Table for the number of actions taken in Qalyoubiyya	
Actions which were taken in the church building cases presented by the governor of Qalyoubiyya	Number of the actions which were taken in the cases presented
Renovation	13
Extension of a church	4
Extension of a service building	2
Construction of a service building	1
Licensing of a building	2
tearing down and rebuilding	1
	Total number of actions: 23
Timeframe of this table: Unknown	
To trace back these 23 church building cases please see: Appendix; chapter 8.1	
“Information provided by the governor of Qalyoubiyya”	

8.3 Table; Number of different procedures which were taken in Qalyoubiyya

Name of the table: Number of different procedures which were taken in Qalyoubiyya	
Procedures which were taken by the administration in the cases presented by the governor of Qalyoubiyya	Number of the procedures which were taken by the administration
approval	20
Request to give further information on the building project	2
Still in consideration	1
	Total number of procedures taken: 23
Timeframe for this table: Unknown	
To trace back the exact source of these procedures please see: Appendix; chapter 8.1	
“Information provided by the governor of Qalyoubiyya”	

9. Table; Comparison of the ten conditions for mosques and churches

See next page:

Name of the table: Comparison between the ten conditions for building mosques and churches		
General category of the condition	Ten conditions for building mosques	Ten conditions for building churches
Legal status of the land on which the house of worship is built	The land on which the mosque is to be built should not be a subject of conflicts or illegally owned.	10. Is the land on which the church is to be built empty or agricultural land and does it belong to the person presenting the request? Land ownership papers have to be appended to the presented request.
Necessity of the building project	8. The distance between any two mosques should not be less than 500 meters. 9. A mosque should only be built in an area that really needs it.	11. Is there another church belonging to this denomination in the same town or village? 12. What is the distance between the nearest church belonging to this denomination and to the town in which the requested church is to be built? 13. What is the number of Christians in the area?
Instructions concerning the location	9. The Ministry of Irrigation should approve the building of the mosque if it is next to the River Nile.	2. If the land on which the church is to be built is close to Nile bridges or public utilities belonging to the Ministry of Irrigation, an approval should be sought from the Ministry itself. Also, if it is near to railway lines, the railway authorities should also give their approval.
Design of the building	11. Mosques are not permitted to be built under residential buildings 6. The land surface of the mosque should not be less than 175 square meters 7. The designs that are made by the Ministry of Awqaf for building mosques must be applied. 8. There should be a social and health activities floor built under the mosque.	2. The applicant must present with his request architectural drawings in the ratio of 1/1000 that are signed by the head of the religious denomination and the engineer who has expertise of the area on which the church is to be built. The competent administration should investigate the truthfulness of the papers, and should sign it, and present it with the investigation papers.
Conditions which do not correspond to each other and can thus not be compared	4. Only with permission from the Ministry of Awqaf [Religious Endowments] should the mosque be built. 7. The donator of building the mosque must deposit not less than 50 thousands pounds in bank as a guarantee of the seriousness of the building program.	5. What is the distance between the proposed church and surrounding mosques? 11. If the land is vacant, is it amidst Christian or Muslim settlements? 11. If it is amidst Muslims, do they have any objections to it?