

DISCOURSES OF OTHERNESS:

Representations of Egyptian actors in international media

Bachelor's Thesis
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Tiivistelmä – Abstract <p>Tämä kandidaatintutkielman tavoitteena on analysoida Egyptissä 2000-luvun taitteessa tapahtuneiden väkivaltaisuuksien uutisointia kansainvälisessä mediassa. Keskeisiä analyysin kohteita ovat tiedon, vallan ja ideologian väliset vuorovaikutussuhteet jotka rakentavat diskurssia. Tutkimuksen kohteena on kaksi välikohtausta käsittelevää uutisartikkelia, ”Egypt's Human Wrongs” <i>American Spectatorista</i> ja ”Copts: a question for Egypt” <i>Le Monde Diplomatiquesta</i>.</p> <p>Valtarakenteita mediadiskurssissa analysoitiin kriittisen diskurssintutkimuksen ja Edward Saidin postkolonialistisen teorian avulla. Erityishuomiota kiinnitettiin sanavalintoihin ja lainauksiin.</p> <p>Analyyssissä selvisi että <i>American Spectator</i> representoi 'toisia' läntisen kulttuurihegemonian näkökulmasta, kun <i>Le Monde Diplomatique</i> antoi äänen 'toiselle' ja täten antoi hänen suuremman määrin representoida itseään.</p>	
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Contents

1. INTRODUCTION.....	3
2. BACKGROUND.....	3
2.1 Introduction.....	3
2.2 Discourse, discourse analysis, discursive practices, order of discourse.....	4
2.3 CDA: power, ideology, history.....	5
2.4 Imaging the Third World: Orientalism.....	6
2.5 Representation of the Other.....	7
2.6 Employing discourse analysis in Development studies: Vihersalo, K.	8
3. DATA AND METHODS.....	8
3.1. Data.....	8
3.2 Methods.....	9
4. ANALYSIS.....	9
4.1. Analysis of the <i>American Spectator</i>	10
4.2. Analysis of <i>Le Monde Diplomatique</i>	14
5. DISCUSSION.....	18
6. CONCLUSION.....	20

1. INTRODUCTION

The el-Kosheh riots took place in the Upper Egypt village of el-Kosheh in the years 1998, 1999 and 2000. The first instance led to the deaths of two Christian Copts in August 1998. The latter, more destructive confrontation took place from 31st of December 1999 to January 2nd 2000 and it led to the deaths of 22 people. In addition to this, more than 40 were injured, most of whom were Copts. It has been claimed by various newspapers and online sources that these murders were a result of a religious clash between Muslims and Christians. Especially the State of Egypt's actions in dealing with this event have been widely and heavily criticized by foreign and human rights authorities. The aim of this study is not to take part in this debate but rather analyze news coverage of the events to reveal the attitudes foreign media has had concerning the two ethnic groups in Egypt, the Christian Copts and the majority Muslims.

I will be analyzing two media texts dealing with the events in Egypt, one from an American magazine aimed at American readers and the other from a French newspaper, directed at an international readership. I will compare and contrast these two pieces of discourse and try to point out central differences between them. My main research question is “how is sociocultural power used through linguistic means in these two articles?”

My main aim in the thesis is to investigate the processes in discourse through which the representation of the Orientals (in this case, the Egyptians) is formed and to examine the underlying power relations and ideology that enable and motivate such a representation. Terms such as 'others', 'Orientals', 'Southerners' and 'Egyptians' will be used interchangeably in the course of this thesis.

I am motivated to conduct this study because if a biased, Western-centered representation of the Orient still exists, my aim is to uncover it and make it opaque. After trends like this in discourse have been uncovered they can be subjected to criticism and thus as a researcher I will have done my part to contribute to sociocultural change.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

As I will be analyzing pieces of media discourse, the theoretical framework in which to conduct the research will be provided by Critical discourse analysis (henceforth: CDA). CDA is a sub-field of discourse analysis which recognizes the role of language as constructing

social reality. CDA examines the relations of power, knowledge and ideology that exist in society and the ways they are reflected in the discourse.

A central part in my analysis of media discourse will be the analysis of representation of the actors presented in the articles. To analyze representations, I will draw upon Said's (1978) work on Orientalism and Hall's (1997) handbook on representation. Said's book deals especially with Egyptians when outlining the cultural hegemony of the West over the Orient so one of the aims of this thesis is to judge the validity of his theory in relation to contemporary media texts.

Lastly in this chapter I will present some ways in which discourse analysis has been applied to the study of otherness in media in the past. For instance Vihersalo (2009), which is a Bachelor's thesis on the practices of representation concerning women in Afghanistan.

2.2 Discourse, discourse analysis, discursive practices, order of discourse

A discourse, as defined by the *Merriam-Webster online dictionary*, refers to a variety of meanings, two of which are related to linguistics and which should not be confused. As a linguistic unit, a discourse refers to any entity larger than the sentence. As a general scientific term, a discourse means the way of organizing knowledge, ideas or experience that is rooted in language use and its context. To avoid confusion, in this thesis I will mostly be using the word discourse in the latter sense.

Within sociolinguistics, a field of linguistics which examines the interaction between society and language use, discourse analysis is defined as being concerned with “the structure of social interaction, as manifested in conversation” (Brown & Yule, 1983: viii). Conversation, in this case does not mean the physical act of speech but all communication that has a social dimension. Text books, newspapers, paintings, television programs, sign language, non-verbal communication and even traffic signs fall within Brown & Yule's “conversation”, as all of these carry a social function.

Discursive practices, according to Alhanen (quoted in Paananen, 2007: 16) mean the socially established ways of producing utterances. These practices provide the “rules” with which the producers of discourse will have to operate in order to appeal to the recipients of the discourse.

The sum of discursive practices adds up to what Fairclough (1995: 10) calls order of discourse. In his view, the order of discourse is the social order in its discursive facet or the

historical impress of sociocultural practice on discourse. Although the order of discourse is a monumental concept, any discursive event can selectively reproduce and transform the order of discourse. Thus, discursive events are both based on their sociocultural and historical context and have a chance of “making history” (Fairclough, 1995:10), of reshaping the order of discourse.

2.3 CDA: power, ideology, history

Critical discourse analysis provides the theoretical framework within which this thesis is situated and thus it and its related concepts are some of the most central ones to my research. Wodak and Meyer (2001: 2) define CDA and its predecessor, Critical linguistics, as being concerned with analyzing transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. Thus, the aim of CDA is to examine the social inequality expressed, signaled, constituted and legitimized by language use.

Wodak and Meyer argue that being critical as a discourse analyst means to have distance to the data, to embed the data in the social, to take an explicit political stance and to focus on self-reflection as a scholar doing research. Critique in this sense is also “the practical linking of social and political engagement” with “a sociologically informed construction of society” (Krings et al., 1973:808, quoted in Wodak & Meyer, 2001:2). This means that the analyst must strive to reveal the interconnectedness of things (Fairclough, 1985: 747, quoted in Wodak & Meyer, 2001:2).

According to Wodak and Meyer (2001: 3), the three most central concepts in CDA are ideology, power and history. According to Kress and Hodge (1979; quoted in Wodak and Meyer 2001:3) the effects of power and ideology in the production of meaning are obscured and acquire stable and natural forms: they are taken as given. CDA considers power as an essential condition in social life, a relation of differences in social structures (Wodak & Meyer 2001:11). History in this case refers to the sociocultural context.

In Fairclough’s (1995: 19) view, CDA’s focus should in contemporary circumstances be to change the aforementioned discursive practices as a part of wider processes of social and cultural change. Wodak and Meyer (2001:10) state that CDA often chooses the perspective of those who suffer, and critically analyses the language use of those in power. In Fairclough's words, those in power are responsible for the existence of inequalities and who also have the means to improve conditions and thus it is them the critique should be directed at. In my

study, the ones with the power are the publishers and writers of the publications, and the powerless are the people being represented.

2.4 Imaging the Third World: Orientalism

Edward Said's 1978 book *Orientalism* has been massively influential in how the Western world has come to re-evaluate its attitude towards the underdeveloped world, or the **Orient**, as Said calls it. This is considered the founding text of contemporary postcolonial theory (McEwan 2009: 62). The basic definition that Said gives of Orientalism is “a Western way of dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient”. As a literary theorist, Said (1978:3) uses the terminology of discourse analysis fluently and refers to Orientalism essentially as a discourse, an enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage and produce the Orient through different exertions of power during the post-Enlightenment period. Because of this discourse, the Orient was not a free subject of action. He too bases his usage of the word *discourse* on Foucault's work.

Relating somewhat to the principles of CDA (although predating them by more than a decade), Said (1978: 5-6) states that ideas, cultures and histories cannot seriously be understood without their configurations of power also being studied. This relation of power between the West and the Oriental he refers to with the words “domination” and “varying degrees of a complex hegemony”. Time and time again in his analysis he points out that the Orient is not an empirically discernible entity, but something that has been built by the Westerners which reveals more about the West itself than the geographical entity it claims to present.

The Western cultural hegemony results in the Orient as being presented from the viewpoint of, in Said's words, “superior Europeanism”(Said 1978: 7). Karl Marx wrote, referring to small-holding peasants in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, “they cannot represent themselves; they must be represented” (quoted in Said 1978: title page). According to Said, the same applies to the Orient as according to the discourse of Orientalism only Westerners have the knowledge, and thus the power, to talk about the Orient.

Perhaps the most central application of Said's work concerning my thesis is indeed this, the analysis of the representations of the Orient. He argues that the whole existence of Orientalism is based on exteriority, the fact that the author of whichever text that regards the Orient is acting as a mediator for the Western audience. As the author is most often a Westerner him/herself, the exteriority of representation exists. He goes on to point out (1978:

21-22) that in instances of cultural discourse and cultural exchange, representations are what's being circulated, not "truths". As Said himself points out (1978: 5), as well as Hall (1997: 237) in his book, representations of the other naturally also define "us". They thus support and to an extent reflect each other.

2.5 Representation of the Other

Hall (1997:235) looks at different theorizations of difference, of the "**Other**" across several scientific fields. Firstly, referring to Saussurean linguistic principles he points out that meaning in language depends on the difference between opposites. He goes further to quote Derrida (1974) and state that there are very few neutral binary oppositions, that in binary oppositions, one or the other pole of the binary is usually the dominant one, the one with the power in the relationship. One example of this would be the pre-civil rights movement US, where white Anglo-Saxon Protestants held social power over the dark-skinned African-Americans.

Introducing a different viewpoint, based on Bakhtin's views on language, Hall (1997: 235-236) argues that we need difference because we can only construct meaning through a dialogue with the Other. According to this view, meaning is nothing concrete and owned by the language user, but something that is negotiated in dialogue between language users. Thus, the "Other" is essential to meaning.

The process through which difference is built in society according to Hall is stereotyping, which is a part of the maintenance of social and symbolic order. It distinguishes between the "normal" and the "deviant", what is or is not "Other". Stereotyping is most evident in cases where there are gross inequalities of power and is related to ethnocentrism. This sort of a process is exactly what Said (1978) is talking about in his book in the case of Westerners and the Orient. This battle for power is also a struggle for hegemony, which Hall (1997: 258-259) defines as "a form of power based on leadership by a group in many fields of activity at once, so that its ascendancy commands widespread consent and appears natural and inevitable."

What Hall (1997: 263) and many other critics of Western cultural hegemony in discourse stress in their analysis of power relations in representation is that the powerless, the "victims" of the stereotyping process have to resist being trapped by the stereotype, unconsciously confirming by the terms by which they try to oppose it. The oppressed must not internalize the oppressor's superiority and their own inferiority.

2.6 Employing discourse analysis in Development studies: Vihersalo, K.

Vihersalo (2009) has written her Bachelor's thesis on the presentation of Afghan women in development magazine articles. The first article, "The everyday battle", is from *Developments*, a development magazine published by the UK Department for International Development. The second, "Beyond the Burqa", is from the magazine *New Internationalist*, and promotes more radical and development-critical views. The aim in her study is to examine the linguistic structures and discursive practices that construct the representation of Afghan women. Her method is analyzing linguistic choices that produce the identity of Afghan women, Muslims and Afghanistan in general. In her analysis, Vihersalo focuses especially on lexical choices in representation (verbs and words referring to the women themselves) and analysis of power relations within the sociocultural context of development aid.

She finds out in her study that the *Developments* article portrays women as success stories of international development; they are willing and able participants of the development process. The *New Internationalist* article, on the other hand represents the women as victims of the oppressive social structure of Afghanistan. Although the articles have different viewpoints and different areas of focus, her conclusion is that "The everyday battle" is as an official publication of the UK Department for International Development legitimizing and promoting the development co-operation currently happening in Afghanistan, while "Beyond the Burqa" criticizes the development co-operation efforts as being intrusive and unwanted.

3. DATA AND METHODS

3.1. Data

The two pieces of discourse I will be analyzing are magazine articles dealing with the murders that took place in the Upper Egypt village of el-Kosheh in April 1998 and December 1999. The first, "Egypt's Human Wrongs", was published in March 1999 in *The American Spectator*. The second, titled "The Copts: a question for Egypt", appeared in the English version of *Le Monde Diplomatique*, May issue 2001. They are of comparable length (circa 1900 and 3500 words, respectively), and include numerous references to both Egyptians and Westerners, Muslims and Christians, something that provides a fairly fruitful ground for an analysis of representation and otherness. It is to be noted that when *The American Spectator* article was published, the second instance of violence in el-Kosheh had not yet taken place.

The American Spectator (henceforth: AS) claims on its website to have been founded in 1924 in New York over a pint of ale by George Nathan and Truman Newberry. Other sources place the magazine's birth later, in 1967 at Indiana University. Its website furthermore characterizes the monthly, small-circulation magazine as a review of conservative opinion. It claims that it is “published remarkably without regard to sex, lifestyle, race, color, creed, physical handicap, or national origin.”

Le Monde Diplomatique is a French monthly newspaper founded in Paris in 1954, originally aimed at diplomats to help them keep track of the events in world politics. Nowadays *Le Monde Diplomatique* (henceforth: LMD) claims to be a truly independent, international paper which offers a clear, considered view of controversial issues. LMD is published in 26 languages and claims to have 2.5 million readers worldwide. Some sources identify LMD as being liberal and left-wing, since the magazine has published articles on anti-American opinions, such as 9/11 conspiracy theories.

3.2 Methods

In this chapter I will introduce the methods through which I will apply my theoretical background to my analysis. The tools which I will apply come mostly from the field of CDA and the writings of Fairclough. These methods are mostly qualitative, as my aim is to find out the motives and ideologies underlying the analyzed discourse. I will be analyzing different textual features such as the sociocultural context, representation of participants and connotations of the journalists' lexical choices.

My analysis aims to reveal the unstated attitudes that the magazines display towards different groups referred to in the articles. I will analyze separately both AS's and LMD's representations of Egyptian Muslims and Egyptian Christians. I will furthermore strive towards determining whether these representations are coherent and consistent within the text and in relation to the wider sociocultural context. These representations will then be related to Said's Orientalist perspective to determine whether they confirm or deny the Western cultural hegemony.

4. ANALYSIS

Essentially both articles depict the societal relationship between Copts and Muslims in Egypt and its international ramifications. Other tensions in the Middle East, such as the situation in Palestine are also introduced and related to the situation in Egypt. Both articles agree to an

extent on the fact that societal power in Egypt lies primarily in the hands of Muslims, although the LMD article goes on to point out that this might be changing. In my analysis I will undertake the task to make visible the transparent power relations between different actors, such as government officials, religious leaders, secular Copts and foreign advisers, in these articles.

In CDA, power manifests itself often as knowledge, and thus the articles can also be analyzed in terms of who is in possession of knowledge. Generally, as has been pointed out before, the producers of texts claim power over the subjects and readers of the texts. In instances like the one being scrutinized, where a single person (the reporter) acts as a mediator of foreign affairs for a public with no first-hand knowledge of the issue in question, this knowledge difference increases the difference in power. In my analysis I will attempt to deconstruct the power position of the reporter in order to examine and criticize his/her statements.

According to the CIA Factbook (2012), Muslims account for 90% of the Egyptian population, while Coptic Christians number 9%. They are the largest Christian community in the Middle East. From the 1950's on, Islam in Egypt has developed from a religion to a dynamic political movement, known as Islamism. Knudsen (2003: 1) attributes the Muslim Brotherhood's, a major Islamist movement formed in 1928, popularity to "its appeal to Islam as a complete system that offered an alternative to the westernisation, secularisation and materialism that now threatened Muslim societies". Islamism has, like the Coptic political agendas, been subjected to repression by the government. This interplay of religion, politics and ethnicity on national and international levels provides fruitful ground for further research.

4.1. Analysis of the *American Spectator*

Firstly, I will undertake the analysis of the *American Spectator* article, in terms outlined above. The article is titled "Egypt's Human Wrongs", the first instance of language which gives us an insight into the journalist's attitude towards Egypt and Egyptians. The word 'wrong' obviously carries very negative connotations and gives the impression that the Egyptian society is in some sort of a crisis; that something is awry. The subtitle strengthens this idea, stating that "Christian Copts continue to be *brutally* singled out" (emphasis mine). This places the blame on the Egyptian society as a whole, positing the Copts as a separate entity that is undergoing some kind of strife. The word choice 'brutally' is of note here, as it is designed to evoke images of barbarism and cruelty in the mind of the reader.

The article contains a number of value-laden lexical choices, the analysis of which can be useful in determining the reporter's attitude towards different Egyptian actors. The beginning paragraph seems to be very fruitful in this aspect. In the very first sentence of the article's main body of text, it is stated that “two Coptic Christians were *bludgeoned to death*” (emphasis mine), a phrase that seems to imply an especially brutal, almost prehistoric method of murder. At this point no speculations on the identity of the murderer are yet put forth. The next sentence contains the phrase “It ought to have been a simple enough matter to investigate”, something that posits the journalist above the investigating authorities, as the one possessing the knowledge of how such issues should be handled. The two following sentences, both starting with the word 'perhaps', reveal the reporter's doubts that the murder might have stemmed from a religious conflict. Although both of the speculating sentences start with the word 'perhaps', it is clear that the author favors the latter explanation, that the murder was indeed not of secular origin.

The second paragraph begins with the phrase “The identity of the killer or killers may never be known for sure” and goes on to quote a Western diplomat commenting on the lack of investigation capabilities in the ranks of the Egyptian police. Furthermore, the paragraph states that letters of protest relating to the events of el-Kosheh had been sent to Cairo by members of the U.S. Congress, as well as other foreign authorities. It is implied that the knowledge of what is the best course of action in this situation indeed does not lie in Oriental, but in Western hands.

The following paragraph continues by outlining the actions of the Egyptian police in the investigation, which allegedly involved “beatings or torture of a kind rarely encountered anywhere on such a huge scale”. Usage of expressions such as “beating”, “torture”, “gouged”, “huge red welts”, “rape” and “brutality” again highlight the inappropriateness of the police's actions.

In the fourth paragraph, the first Oriental voices are heard when the author of the article directly quotes an Egyptian Coptic newspaper, *El-Wattani*, and indirectly reports the words of Bishop Wissa, a Coptic leader, both of whom criticize the actions of the police. This paragraph also presents the fact that foreign human rights organizations monitor the situation, implying that the knowledge of human rights and the power to enforce them lies in international hands.

The following paragraphs heavily criticize other media coverage of the event, both by foreign and Egyptian media. Fifth paragraph is critical of an article published in the British *Daily Telegraph*, which woke the Western world to what was happening in el-Kosheh. The article reported crucifixion and rape committed by the police when according to human rights organizations no such things had happened. This is pointed to as the instance when the Western world, including the British parliament and the U.S. Congress, realized the poverty of the human rights situation in Egypt. The paragraph quotes both the authorities who later arrested Bishop Wissa and Wissa himself (although indirectly).

The sixth paragraph brings forth doubts about the motivations of an “usually independent weekly *Al-Osboa*” which ran the news of a check which allegedly proves that EOHR, an Egyptian human rights agency which published the report on the events of El-Kosheh, took bribes from a British parliamentary committee. Usage of the word *usually* in this case implies that in this case *Al-Osboa* did indeed not work independently, but under government influence. After this claim, AS goes on with the sentence “*In fact*, the payment was part of a support program arranged *well before* the El-Kosheh incident” (emphasis mine). In this case it is clear that the knowledge of what really happened seems to rest with *The American Spectator*, and not an Egyptian magazine. The actions of *Al-Osboa* are reported in the article with interesting verbs; its captions “sneer” and “snicker”, human rights organizations are “blasted by” and human rights leaders are “savaged by” it. All of these verbs have hostile and/or brutal connotations. Nearing the end of the paragraph, *Al-Osboa* is compared with “*Komsomolskaya Pravda* during the Cold War”, an official newspaper in the former Soviet Union. As AS seems to be aimed at an conservative American readership, this statement is bound to convince the reader of *Al-Osboa's* evil motivations. In essence, AS criticizes *Al-Osboa's* attempt, whether government-sponsored or not, to deny foreign authority on the issue.

The following paragraphs outline the the actions of the Egyptian authorities and the civil society's response to them. Numerous times foreign critics, such as foreign governments, the Human Rights Watch, International committee of Jurists and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are referred to. Egyptian authorities are described as being “bovine” and their tactics “crude”. The government is also reported to have “clumsily cracked down on its own human-rights activists”. The government is criticized for “unfortunately” not giving legal status for human rights NGOs and for being uncomfortable facing human rights issues. Again,

AS positions itself with the critics of the Egyptian government and their actions relating to the El-Kosheh incident.

Chapter eleven contains a short summary of the Egyptian society, described by quoted native journalists as being “ruled by a system of 'soft authoritarianism'”. Of specific interest is the following sentence in the reporter's voice, which begins with the phrase “if it is not a real democracy”, referring to the state of Egypt. Again, AS defines what is democracy and thus claims power over the state of Egypt in these issues, in a similar fashion as with human rights. A short numerical survey of the Coptic representation in different spheres of the Egyptian society follows, all of which seems to be accurate by cross-checking with other sources (LMD article and CIA – The World Factbook). Copts are again shown as being “*brutally* murdered and assaulted by Islamic militants” and being “subjected to *horrific* tortures and beatings”. In both cases the agency is implied in the sentence, although both verbs are in the passive voice. In the latter case the tortures and beatings were performed by the security police. The actions of (Republican) US Senator Richard Lugar, who has worked to free Christian converts from jail, are described as “vigorous and persistent” and the resulting prisoners' freedom as solely his merit. This elevates Lugar to a kind of heroic position, selflessly helping foreigners under persecution.

The final two chapters again 'zoom out' to illuminate the issue in a larger perspective. The Egyptian national identity is stereotyped in the last paragraph where Egyptians are described as “almost universally friendly and warm” but who can “lurch into unaccountable paranoia” in the face of foreign criticism. It is instances of language use like this and the one quoted above of Egypt not being “a real democracy”, along with the critical take of the whole article, which establish the reporter's (and maybe the implied reader's) position above the Egyptian public, almost as a paternal figure judging and shaking his finger at disobedient children. As an example of the quoted paranoia, a prestigious Egyptian press representative is quoted comparing Americans to Nazis, a statement that will very likely shake awake any reader that was in the danger of falling asleep nearing the end of the article. The article finishes by bringing forth some Egyptians' critical attitudes towards the US and their association with the State of Israel.

To conclude with, the AS article is mainly concerned with the actions of the Egyptian governing body and Egyptian police, portraying the Copts as objects of actions rather than subjects. The government is for example shown as “clumsily cracking down on its own

human-rights activists” and the police as setting “in motion a round-up and interrogation of literally hundreds of the villagers”. Most of the instances of language use that depict the “human wrongs” that the Copts were subjected to, however, are in the passive voice, which somewhat mitigates their impact on the reader. Nevertheless, in cases such as “Bishop Wissa was summoned to police headquarters... and held for a day”, the agency, which lies with the governing authorities, is still implied.

In the analysis of this article it has become clear that the journalist does not hold the Egyptian government and its instances in a very high regard. On the one hand, almost in every sentence where the government or the authorities are mentioned, it is done in a negative light, presenting them and their actions as somehow barbaric and brutal. On the other hand, when Egyptian Copts are referred to, they're most often a suppressed minority struggling under the power of an unjust government failing to recognize even their basic rights. The stand *Le Monde Diplomatique*, the other magazine under scrutiny in this study, takes, is quite different.

4.2. Analysis of Le Monde Diplomatique

Secondly I will analyze the LMD article “Copts: A question for Egypt” in relation to the same questions as discussed above. The title itself does not give similar clues as in AS's case towards the magazine's opinion on the question, merely that the question exists. At first glance the article seems more expository in character, compared to the narrative take of the AS article. LMD uses in its article a large number of direct quotations from Egyptian Copts and explores the sociocultural context, political and historical power relations in more detail than AS. It is to be noted, though, that the LMD article is considerably longer (a word count of 3570 versus AS's 1900).

The first paragraph of the main body of the text outlines recent events in Egypt, including the presidential visit to Egypt by George W. Bush, and the court ruling which “found none of the 96 defendants guilty of murder... when at least 20 Christians and one Muslim were killed”. This paragraph also includes a quotation from a radical expatriate Coptic community, The Pen vs The Sword, which demonstrated in Washington D.C. against Coptic persecution at the time of the presidential visit. This piece of news is followed by the phrase “This year there has been much to march about”, which not only recognizes that the Coptic community is under strife, but sympathizes with their position.

The third paragraph criticizes the US Commission of International Religious Freedom, which was sent to Egypt to deal with and investigate the events of El-Kosheh. Their intervention is

considered (by the Egyptian public) to be “*meddling* in Egypt's internal affairs” and it causes “*uproar*” (emphasis mine). The fact that LMD foregrounds this critique of the US government means acts as evidence to the aforementioned claim that LMD is generally critical towards America and its foreign policy. It is also pointed out that the commission was led by a person who had connections to Israel and thus the Egyptian public's reaction is legitimized by the fact that their national politics are being meddled with by someone who has connections to the events in Palestine.

In the following paragraph, Pope Shenouda III, the leader of the Coptic church is described as “a highly intelligent man” which further reinforces the positivity of the Coptic image of the article. While expatriate Copts protested against the actions of the US committee, Shenouda agreed to meet them and advised expatriate Copts to “refrain from 'ill-advised actions' that might compromise the presidential visit”. Even though earlier in the article the marching of expatriate Copts was sympathized with, in this paragraph the journalist clearly identifies with the moderate Copts following the Pope, not the expatriate activist groups, such as The Pen vs The Sword.

The fifth paragraph further deals with the expatriate Coptic communities. It is somewhat confusing, as it at first refers to the victims of the events as “*martyrs*”, a value-laden term which means something valorous, taking one's cause so far that you are ready to die for it. The very next sentence though turns this attitude around and refers to some expatriates as a “small but powerful fringe of *extremists*... who promote *anti-Muslim hate groups*” (emphasis mine). “*Extremist*” and “*hate group*” are obviously words that evoke images of terrorism and violence in the minds of the reader and are thus to be used carefully in any text. To add to this effect, the paragraph also contains the word “*Zionist*” in reference to a specific expatriate group, a word which in some contexts, especially for a Muslim audience, has very negative connotations.

The sixth paragraph refers to the expatriate Copts when stating “such people are an *embarrassment* to Copts inside Egypt, especially at a time when the country is *in shock* because of Israel's treatment of the Palestinians” (emphasis mine). This is where the magazine's stand on Coptic radicalism most clearly comes through. It is apparent that the LMD article argues for a peaceful, moderate way of working towards enhancing the Coptic situation in Egypt, not one that could potentially endanger the status quo. It is to be noted that the situation's delicateness is increased by the amount of active Islamist groups in Egypt. Like

the next paragraph article states, the president “cannot be seen to be making too many concessions to the Copts when he has crushed the armed Islamists and is taking all possible measures to prevent their resurgence”.

Paragraph 8 quotes Pope Shenouda, the Coptic patriarch directly. As will be observed later, LMD utilizes numerous direct quotes from Coptic individuals. The same paragraph goes on to state that Copts are “the original Egyptians, descendants of the Pharaohs”, which is followed by a short look into the sociocultural position of the Copts, including history and demographics. Stating that Copts are the “original Egyptians” legitimizes their presence in Egypt to the reader and is designed to invoke a surprised, sympathetic reaction towards the minority.

Several following paragraphs utilize poetic language to immerse the reader in the story and everyday life of the Copts in Egypt. Phrases such as “in the dust and sunshine of Egypt”, “The churches are packed... some with arms half-raised, hands half-open, lost in prayer”, “They flock to the churches, rich and poor, past the acrid fumes of the shanty town of the zebelin” and “rescue and recycle riches from the trash” romanticize the religious fervour in the middle of the Copts' everyday struggle. From rags to riches or vice versa is a powerful, oft-evoked metaphor which, in this case helps the reader connect the story of the Copts to the stories of Western popular culture.

The poetic passages also act as an introduction to the next chapter in the article, titled “Search for God”, which deals with the religion of the Copts. These paragraphs contain numerous quotes from Coptic individuals, such as Rafik Habib, a Coptic author, who comments on the prejudice against Copts in the Egyptian society. The reporter agrees with Habib, beginning the following sentence with “Nowhere is that [prejudice] plainer than in Upper Egypt's largest city”. In dealing with the instance of violence which the AS article was based on, the murder of two Copts in el-Kosheh on August 14th 1998, this article presents the police “in an attempt to *frame* a Christian.. rounded up more than a thousand Copts and *beat* or even *tortured* them” (emphasis mine). The word choice *frame* is especially of note here as it evokes the image of an innocent Christian deemed guilty. It is of note, though, that the words *beat* and *torture* in this sentence do not have modifiers such as *brutal* or *horrific* as in AS. A value-laden judgement follows, “nothing was more likely to lead to further trouble”, with which also LMD claims to know the proper course of action better than the Egyptian officials.

The last chapter of the article, “Time of Flowers” focuses on the positive trends of change in the Egyptian society and the wary optimism of the Copts considering the future. This includes numerous quotations from Coptic individuals. A high percentage of Copts is stated to be “educated, successful, affluent” but still “Copts never reach the top jobs”. An educated, successful and affluent person is what most people would consider an epitome of European-ness, being Western. In this case the magazine likens the Copts of Egypt as being more Western than the majority Muslim population, thus arguing that the West should help them overcome their oppressors in order to make their society more civilized and equal.

Paragraph 29 onwards discusses the different elements in the Coptic community, the more radical element led by Bishop Wissa, secular intellectuals and the majority following Pope Shenouda III. The following paragraph begins “The quiet dialogue of the moderate Copts within Egypt is actually working”, which clearly again situates the magazine's sympathies with the moderate Copts. LMD goes further to point out that the government listens to the radical commentary of Wissa exclusively “because of the high-profile US connection”. In this case it is again implied that the views of the magazine do in fact differ from the policies of the US government.

The article finishes with an optimistic flourish, and mentions Egypt's younger generation, in whose opinion the country should “open up economically, politically and culturally, to reduce poverty, tackle ignorance and prejudice through better education”. It is to be noted that this is not a quotation in the original article. Again, all of these issues can be grouped under the rubric of Westernization. As this sentence is in the reporter's voice it can be read either as a descriptive or a normative statement as the European reader most likely has no other source of the Egyptian youth's sentiments. He can be either arguing for a preferred direction of “development” or then describing an actual trend in the society. The reader has no way of knowing which. In attempting a grand finish, the journalist claims to speak with the voice of Egypt's younger people.

As we have seen, in the article Egyptian Copts are largely represented as actors, not barely objects of government repression, which is also evident in the number of quotations from Coptic individuals within the text. The hardships of the Copts are obviously mentioned, but the article focuses more on the daily life of Egyptian Copts and what the journalist regards as positive trends of change, e.g. increasing Coptic participation in the public sphere.

5. DISCUSSION

In the analysis of these two articles we have seen numerous differences between their approaches and representation of the different Egyptian groups and entities. In this section of my thesis I intend to examine the motivations behind the linguistic choices made in the articles. I also examine the content and motivations of the articles from a wider global political viewpoint.

A central issue that was evident in the analysis was that both magazines posited themselves above the Egyptian society and the Egyptian press, claiming that they know how human rights issues should be handled and how the Egyptian government should act. This phenomenon where reporters claim authority over Orientals is an established discursive practice in Western discourse about the Orient. Both articles also reported foreign authorities working in Egypt, but while for AS their criticism of the state of Egypt was justified, LMD reports the US intervention as “meddling”.

Who then, besides the reporter, has the power and knowledge to enforce human rights? Who has the power and knowledge to solve the Coptic question? Answering questions like these in light of our previous observations of the articles can prove useful. While both articles sympathize with Egyptian human rights organizations, they also refer to foreign government bodies and politicians who criticize the Egyptian situation. Furthermore, AS mentions the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a UN document which has been signed by the state of Egypt and which is currently, in AS's view, being violated. Thus, foreign governments (notably, the US in AS's case) and the UN are posited at the top of the so-called food chain, able to advise countries in situations like this. Of the two articles, AS more clearly believes in foreign intervention, while LMD remains mildly critical of the actions of, for example, the US Commission of International Religious Freedom.

Some critical theorists would point out that AS's eagerness to promote 'meddling' in the Egyptian situation is a textbook example of the postcolonial imperialism exercised by Americans in the Middle East since the 1950's. According to McEwan (2009: 90) in present day US foreign policy “development is seen as the antidote to 'terrorism’”. This legitimizes the presence of foreign authorities such as human rights organizations and the US Commission for International Religious Freedom in the Middle East.

In the course of the analysis we established that AS represents the Egyptian actors (government, officials, media representatives) as hostile and barbaric. This trend in

representation can be attributed to the process of stereotyping where the Egyptians are marked “other” and “deviant”. By the tenets of Ethnocentrism the Western culture is usually considered the pinnacle of civilization, democracy and progress. This leads to everything deviant being grouped under the binary oppositions of these terms: barbarism, despotism and backwardness. This difference is demonstrated for example where “Egypt's Human Wrongs” refers to the heroic actions of Senator Richard Lugar which are juxtaposed with the “horrific tortures and beatings” performed by the security police.

While LMD's representation of the Egyptian Muslims is less value-laden, it represents the moderate Copts in a very positive light. Adjectives associated with the moderate Copts in the article include intelligent, innocent (to a crime), educated, successful, affluent and religious. Also the Copts' long history is brought into focus. These characteristics are contrasted with the image of expatriate and radical Copts, who form “hate groups”, are “extremists” and an “embarrassment” to other Copts. Thus, it can be argued that in LMD's case it does not seem that the moderate Copts are subjected to Ethnocentric stereotyping. The point can be made, though, that while elevating Copts to a Western status in discourse LMD is in fact implicitly marking the majority Muslim population of Egypt as 'other'.

Table 1. Speech representation in the articles in question

	AS: direct quotations	AS: reported speech	LMD: direct quotations	LMD: reported Speech	AS: Speech representation per a thousand words	LMD: Speech representation per a thousand words
From Egyptians	12	9	31	15	11,05	12,89
From foreigners	2	0	2	0	1,05	0,56

For the purposes of Table 1 a single quotation is, disregarding the length of the quotation, everything in a sentence that is situated within quotation marks (this can be several sentences as long as they are contained within a single quotation). For reported speech, a single one is a sentence, unless the sentence contains both reported speech and direct quotation, in which case both are counted.

Since the amount of speech representation from foreign authorities is so low, no reliable conclusions can be drawn from it. However, what can be noted is that LMD does utilize a greater amount of quotations, especially direct ones, from Egyptians than AS does. Although even direct quotations are not unmediated by the reporter and the magazine (they are chosen after all!), they nevertheless give some power to the subjects of the representation themselves. Based on this fact it can be argued that LMD gives more power to the Orientals over their own representation. In this case, thus, Marx's remark does not hold (See chapter 2.4.).

6. CONCLUSION

A central notion in this thesis has been power over knowledge and to situate myself in this interplay of power relations, I must acknowledge that as a researcher, I am also a creator of knowledge and thus exercising power. Perhaps by exposing the popular trends in discourse that alienate the 'other', the 'Orient', I am not indeed arguing for their right to represent themselves but am instead claiming power over them. As optimistic as my the motivation for my study was (see Chapter 1), I might still only be a cog in the great postcolonial machine, unable to influence or escape the order of discourse within which I operate.

This thesis could be expanded by utilizing other later postcolonial theories, such as other work by Said (e.g. 1993), Bhabha and Spivak. According to Bhabha (1994: paraphrased in McEwan, 2009: 65) the formation of the relationship between the postcolonial peoples and their former oppressors can be characterized as 'hybridization' between the discourses of the two constituents, instead of the all-out cultural hegemony model introduced by Said. In Bhabha's view, then, both the colonizer and colonized influence one another's identities. Utilizing the analytical tools of Spivak, characterized in McEwan's book (2009: 67) as a "Marxist-feminist-deconstructionist", could be used to bring into focus the role of the Orient woman in this interplay of discourse.

According to Spivak (1988, quoted in McEwan, 2009: 80), 'representation' has a dual meaning – speaking *for* and speaking *about* a person or a group. It can be argued that in *American Spectator's* case the emphasis on the former, when *Le Monde Diplomatique* focuses on the latter. On the one hand, the *American Spectator* text is mainly a political one, making a case for the improvement of the Coptic position in the Egyptian community. On the other hand, *Le Monde Diplomatique* aims to show the reader an insight into the Egyptian society and the everyday life of Coptic Christians.

Another way of expanding this thesis would be to connect the observations to the current, post-revolution political situation in Egypt. The shift of power towards the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamist groups after the 2011 revolution is bound to influence the ability of Copts to voice their concerns over their rights. Whether it will be towards increased or decreased Coptic participation can only be speculated.

To conclude with, we have seen that while both articles posit themselves above the Egyptian society and public in terms of knowledge and power, “Copts: A question for Egypt” gives a voice to the Oriental, while “Egypt's Human Wrongs” does not. We have also taken a look at Egyptian attempts to deny foreign authority in their internal affairs, which AS criticizes explicitly and LMD seems to disregard. LMD agrees that the status quo in the Egyptian society is (and should not be) not a lasting one, but does so fairly implicitly, without referring to the 'way things should be'. From this evidence alongside the fact that AS promotes foreign involvement in Egypt it can be argued that in *American Spectator*, Western cultural hegemony seems to be more explicitly communicated than in *Le Monde Diplomatique*.

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