Forced Out of the Walls: The Effects of Egypt’s Civil Uprising on the Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church (A Case Study)

by

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A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Knox College and the Toronto School of Theology
In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Ministry awarded by Knox College and the University of Toronto

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2018

Abstract

The Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church is situated one block away from Cairo’s Tahrir Square, the primary location for the vast majority of the historical events of the January 25, 2011 revolution. Cairo’s Tahrir Square and the Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church (KDEC) continued to be the principle focal points up to and including the June 30 uprising some three years later. During this period of massive change in the history of Egypt, the Coptic church realized the need for political action in the face of persecution, and Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church was a focal example of leadership and service in this new Christian activism.

For the first time in the history of Christianity in Egypt, Christians ventured out of the sanctuary of their churches to protest against the traditional oppression of government. The theological understanding and leadership provided by the pastors, leaders, and members of KDEC encouraged significant change, including a new rapprochement between Christians and Muslims. Documenting the involvement of KDEC in the revolution, and its resultant influence on the history of Egyptian Christianity, led me to the following thesis question: In what way did the civil uprising on January 25, 2011, and the years that followed, force the Kasr El Dobara
Evangelical Church in Cairo, Egypt, out of its traditional reclusiveness into exerting an unprecedented influence in the society?
Dedication

To Nivine Hanna

My wife, soul mate & best friend

Your tireless hands and praying heart

Made this research possible

&

To my daughters Sandra & Rachel Hanna

The joy of my life

You are the greatest gifts I could have received
Acknowledgements

First and above all, I would love to praise and thank God, the Lord of my life who changed the course of my life, who guided me in His steps and provided me this opportunity, granting me the capability to proceed successfully.

Foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my wife Nivine Hanna for her continuous support throughout my life and for her patience, motivation, enthusiasm, and immense contribution during the years of my D. Min studies, challenging me to dig deeper, probe further, and question everything during the progress of this research.

This thesis appears in its current form due to the assistance and guidance of several people. It has been a pleasure and privilege to partner with many faculty members and staff of the Toronto School of Theology on the D. Min journey.

I was honoured to work under Rev. Dr. Andrew Irvine, Adjunct Faculty in Pastoral Theology, Director of the TST Doctor of Ministry Program & Director of the Centre for Clergy Care and Congregational Health, who believed in me since I was a student at Knox College doing my M. Div (2004 -2006). I was privileged and thankful that I had him as my supervisor. My grateful thanks go also to Dr. Joseph G. Schner, Professor Emeritus at Regis College, who has been so very helpful in developing my thesis subsequently. My sincere thanks also go to Rev. Dr. Sameh Maurice, the Senior Pastor of Kasr El Dobara Evangelical Church, who is not only the Senior Pastor of KDEC, but also my leader and mentor. Despite his busy schedule, he always took the time to listen to me and discuss matters related to my ministry and studies. He also provided me
with his valuable advice. I am so blessed and honoured to serve in this church under his leadership.

A very special thank you goes to Ashraf Hanna, for his exceptional effort and support in bringing this research to the light in a timely manner. I owe him much for his time, effort, incomparable editing skills and his immense contribution in developing the arguments presented in this research.

I also appreciate the input of many KDEC church members and the friends of KDEC who have participated in answering the surveys and questionnaire.

I would love to express my gratefulness for KDEC board members, who have expressed their love and support alongside with the congregation. A special thank you goes to Dalia Hanna who helped in the editing process.

I also add a big thank you to the Media House staff who has worked hard at compiling and creating the accompanying audio visuals of this research.

A special thank you also goes to the anonymous reviewers whose comments and suggestions were immensely helpful for the refinement of this research.

I would like to express my appreciation to the input of many church members and my ministry base group, back in Toronto, Canada, who have guided the progress of my thesis. A special thank you goes to Sarah Attia.

Lastly, but not least, I would like to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Rev. Anwar Hanna, the former vice president and Former Minister of the Chapel Presbyterian Church in Markham, Toronto, Canada who passed away to be with our Lord Jesus Christ in 2014. He was a great mentor and guided me all through my studies and life time in Canada. I owe this great man a lot.
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Introduction

Towards the end of 2010 and in early 2011, a spirit of discontent existed in Alexandria, Egypt. The people openly expressed their unhappiness with the direction in which their country was moving. The Alexandrian police force was accused of torturing a person to death. This event resulted in the creation of a Facebook page dedicated to the death of Mr. Khaled Said, proclaiming that what had happened to Mr. Said could easily happen to any other citizen. In spite of the fact that the police accused Mr. Said of being a drug dealer, the anger of the people resonated country-wide.

On December 31, 2010, an unprecedented attack was made on the Coptic Orthodox church of Saint Mark and Pope Peter in the Sidi Bishr neighborhood in Alexandria, the northern port on the Mediterranean Sea. Shortly after midnight, while the congregation of several thousand patiently filed out from the New Year mass, a car bomb exploded. Twenty-three deaths and over ninety-seven injuries resulted from this pusillanimous attack. This explosion was the most lethal act of violence against Egypt's Coptic Christians in more than a decade.

The fallout from this incident resulted in an increase in oppression, corruption, unemployment and poverty, which created ill feeling throughout the population. A call to demonstrate was made on social media. Protestors expressed complete dissatisfaction with the direction in which Egypt was headed. The movement adopted the slogan “Freedom, Change, and Social Justice,” which was similar to “Freedom, Equality and Social Justice,” the refrain commonly used in the French Revolution. This peaceful demonstration was to begin on January 25, 2011.
What happened that day was unimaginable. The organizers and the government security systems watched as the demonstration grew into a massive uprising. All strata of society, rich and poor, young and old, educated and illiterate, and both men and women participated. Tahrir Square became the epicenter. Surprisingly, the government and the world both acknowledged the strength and authenticity of this movement. Ultimately the head of state stepped down, shortly after realizing that Egypt’s army had joined in supporting the uprising. The searing impact of this uprising did not only affect Egypt; its reverberations were felt throughout the entire Middle East.

Conversely, the representatives of the Muslim religious institution insisted that it was wrong to revolt against the ruler. Instead, submission should always prevail, since rebelling against the rulers of the land contravenes the will of God. Two years later, the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) took over and started to Islamize Egypt. The constitution was changed and people loyal to the Muslim Brotherhood were placed in key leadership positions. However, on June 30, 2013, the Egyptian nation again rose against the MB leadership, resulting in a second deposing of the MB president and his party.

Back in the mid-1990s, the term “minority” had been introduced and applied to the Christian community in Egypt. It was used specifically to describe those Evangelicals who encouraged the Christian church to live out this “minority” concept. General isolation within the church walls was the resulting situation for these people. The national identity had given way to a heightened religious identity based on Jesus’ prayer recorded in John 17:16, which states that, “They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world.”¹ Heightened religious identity was not only found |

¹ All Scripture references are from the King James Version, except where otherwise indicated.
among Christians, but among Muslims as well. This development did little to foster the creation of a democratic society.

Like many citizens who love their country, I consistently try not to anger God and behave outside of His will. Nevertheless, the following questions require answers:

1. Should one submit to or be subdued by an unjust ruler?
2. Should one revolt against unfairness in order to attain justice and demolish oppression?
3. Is the role of the church spiritual, political or both?
4. Can the Evangelical community in Egypt assume an effective role in the society after the revolutions of January 25, 2011 and June 30, 2013?
5. Can the Evangelical community revisit its identity, or at least create a balance between its religious and civil identities?
6. Will “Love Outreach” find a place in the relationship between the Church and Egyptian society in the wake of the current economic, social, and educational decline?
7. Can the Evangelical community play a more positive role in diminishing the chasm between Christians and Muslims, while at the same time developing the community?

What follows is an attempt to secure reasonable responses to these questions.
Chapter 1
Background, Context and Thesis Statement

The chapter is organized into three main sections. First, I identify three life events that were significant in helping me to understand and explain my theological identity. Second, I review the context of my current ministry. This section describes my ministerial responsibilities as an ordained minister and provides an image to express my pastoral identity. Third, details are provided concerning the research statement, the current context and a practical approach to the ministry.

1.1. Background
I was born in 1968 into a family of four and raised in Cairo, Egypt. My education was in public schools and I attended the El Malak El Saleh Evangelical Church in Cairo throughout my childhood. In 1989, I graduated from Cairo University with a 3.85 GPA. While growing up, I was influenced by many events that helped shape my present convictions and thoughts. Three of the most significant incidents are detailed below.

The first significant event occurred during my early childhood and led to the eventual shaping of my identity and value system. When I was ten years old, my father received a lucrative employment offer from one of the largest firms in the Middle East. This job required that my father travel abroad while our family remained in Egypt. After several weeks of self-debate and deliberation, my father decided to reject the offer, preferring to remain in close proximity to our family. Facing the challenge of caring for us and celebrating our development was ultimately more important to my father than an increase in financial status. Witnessing this landmark family
event left an indelible mark on my life. I have never forgotten the financial sacrifice my father made to keep our family united.

As an adult, my love of family, friendship, values, and relationships has increased because of this childhood event. Family and relationships prevail over personal success or achievements. In retrospect, some other characteristics of my parents have impacted me greatly. These learned behaviours are clearly evident in the ways in which I conduct myself with my family and in my ministry. For instance, valuing people more than material things and demonstrating love for another person, rather than simply saying the words, are two more ways this event has shaped my life. Most importantly, I learned to give priority to my wife, children, and extended family, while seeing them as the platform of my ministry.

My encounter with God, and realizing and accepting him as my personal Saviour and Lord, was my second most significant life event. This reconciliation occurred at a church retreat when I was eighteen years old. From that point onward, I began to take my relationship with God very seriously, and this helped me discover the meaning and purpose of my life.

Bible study became an integral part of my life. Linking the Old and New Testaments helped me realize and fully appreciate the authenticity of the Bible. As a result of spending more time in prayer, the Lord made me realize that He listens to both the whispers of the heart and the out-spoken prayer (1Sam. 1:13). Repeated personal prayer requests were minimized in favour of discovering what the Lord wanted to reveal. This trend developed after I came to believe that He would fulfil all personal needs according to His timing, as confirmed by the following: “But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you” (Matt. 6:33).
Questions of the historical accuracy of the Bible also fascinated me. The more I studied the Bible, the more I grew to know Him. It became increasingly obvious to me that God sincerely wants to be involved in the life of every person he has created. He cares about everything we think, say, and do, and dearly wants to be in continuous communication with His people.

My years in college could be characterized as calm and relaxed. My love and passion for the people around me grew. Upon receiving my Bachelor’s certificate from the University of Cairo, I decided to pursue an MA in Information Science at Mainz University in Germany. Being independent at a young age, studying in a foreign country, and not knowing the language or the culture was very challenging, but after a short time, I adapted and became more at ease in my new surroundings. Within a year, I had learned the German language, and returned to Egypt to marry my fiancée. Together, we travelled back to Germany that I might continue my studies.

While living in Germany, my wife and I solidified a large number of friendships. We came to realize that many of these new friends were not being guided spiritually or socially. The paucity of love and care for these families, who were also living in a strange and foreign country, slowly became obvious to us. In response to, and with God’s grace, we started a small home cell group in conjunction with two Arabic-speaking families. Later, more families from a Muslim background came to know Christ and joined. It did not take long for our developing cell group to outgrow the available space in our homes. The Salvation Army allowed us access to their premises and facilities for meetings every Sunday, and over four years in Germany a weekly Arabic-Christian meeting was established in Wiesbaden, serving eighty-seven adults and their children.
In early 1998, my post-graduate studies were complete and it was time for us to leave Germany. Having lived there for nearly eight years with a daughter who only spoke German, and wondering who would take over our weekly meetings represented enormous challenges. I wondered who would counsel the families who had grown accustomed to our assistance. Together we prayed to the Lord for answers to this perplexing set of circumstances. In response, God directed us to train six people from different fields of study to continue the ministry upon our return to Egypt. We planned to visit Germany three times a year to check on, encourage, and support the ministry we had started years earlier.

To our surprise, God then revealed His plan for our next life step. The next move was to emigrate to Canada rather than return to Egypt. Upon our arrival in Canada, we witnessed the same spiritual and social needs in families similarly situated to those we had befriended in Germany. In October, 1998, we started our ministry among the Arabic speakers and churches in Canada. Two years later, I was elected an elder in the church.

Soon after, I began to feel God’s calling into the ministry. Since the families who surrounded me were actively seeking counselling, caring, and discipleship, the need for my services was significant. New immigrants needed orientation assistance to help them integrate into their new society. As these factors increased, the belief that God was calling me into full-time ministry was verified within the following three parameters. First, there was confirmation through prayer and the word of God in Jeremiah 1:4, 2; Timothy 4:5; Ezekiel 3:11 and Matthew 9:38, and this was a decisive factor. Second, the support of my wife, family, and friends confirmed in my mind that this was the path I must take. Support was also forthcoming from our local church, whose members encouraged me to enrol in Knox College and begin studying towards a theology
degree. Third, my inner peace was very strong. As a result of these three factors, plus my many years of training in the Christian faith and my personal study of the Word of God, I decided to enter the ministry on a full-time basis.

From 1998 to 2008, the ministry grew under my leadership. Assisting in this growth was the birthing of the Arabic Outreach Ministry (AOM), as a mission of the presbytery of East Toronto, and the guidance of the Missions Committee of East Toronto Presbytery. I had been ordained as the outreach link of the East Toronto Presbytery to the Arabic-speaking people in Toronto. Throughout these ten years, my dream was to create a suitable local environment for future faith communities among Arabs; to reach out to those in need; and to provide comfort in a world of insecurity. The AOM started a family-to-family ministry that reached out to the unchurched and organized a parenting and family counselling service for both KDEC members, Christians in general and Muslims in the community. A praise and music team visited new places and spread the word both through their music and by being with the people in the community.

1.2. Theology of Ministry

My theology of ministry, in terms of education for the local congregation, is to teach the people of the church how to initiate and maintain a personal relationship with God, with one another (koinonia), and how to grow in spiritual maturity or Christ-likeness (Gal. 4:19).

In my understanding of ministry as service, an opportunity exists for all. This includes adequate space for one more servant like me. Service requires little talent. Jesus said that giving a cup of cold water in His name is valued as service. It is my belief that the minister must be a servant who pleases God by serving others (James 1:27).
Ministry as presence requires living among those to whom one is sent. Jesus was present with the people. He lived with them, and he walked with them. He also taught, healed and fed them. Likewise, we are called to be present among the people in the world; not in the church but in their communities. Jesus highlighted this in his prayer in John 17:18: “As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world.” Similarly, Paul wrote in his first letter to the Thessalonians: “You know we lived among you” (1Thess.1:5). My theology of ministry is to live among people and to serve them according to their needs in the same way that Jesus did.

Several images come to my mind that express well the pastoral identity of my current context of ministry. The first image, which has resonated throughout my ordained life, is the picture Simon the fisherman becoming Peter the rock Jesus lived with him and mentored him into Peter the apostle.

The second is found in Romans 12:1-2 Paul is writing to the Romans exhorting them to the true reasonable worship; to be changed in the image by the renewal of the mind. I can also see Paul mentoring and counselling Timothy in his two letters guiding him to grow and be changed into the image of a responsible leader. Many a time Paul would write of his desire to visit and stay with the church and the believers in several cities. The transformation is never complete, since there is always room for additional growth, but change does occur. By the end of the story, people’s lives are not the same as they were at the beginning.

What is true of Paul is true of me. My life is developing in the same manner as God’s people in the Bible. As Eric Eriksson has suggested, identity is a matter of taking significant past events
and hopes of the future and forming them into a working synthesis in the present. If Eriksson’s assumption is valid, then an individual’s identity, either personal or pastoral, is dynamic rather than static, and continues to be affected by that person’s pastoral leadership style. This pastoral identity evolves continually in light of past events and future aspirations.

1.3. Context of Ministry

In 2010, I was invited to return to Egypt to begin serving officially as the associate and executive pastor in the Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church (KDEC). With a membership of over 8,000, KDEC is the largest Arabic Presbyterian church in the Middle East and also the world. This church reaches out to both the city of Cairo and the surrounding region through missions, sports, camps, television, a discipleship school, the freedom ministry (drug, sexual and physical abuse, etc.), and festivals. The vision of KDEC is that “the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord as the waters cover the sea” (Hab. 2:14).

My current ministry responsibilities include pastoral care, preaching, apologetics, and administration. As the associate and executive pastor, I oversee the whole setup of the church and its affiliated ministries. Taking Jesus as my example, I am also responsible and being personally involved in the growth and spiritual health of my immediate team. The church is now divided into four main departments. These departments are the main worship services, the external services (mission, sport, freedom, and medical ministries); the inside work of the church (teaching, preaching, study groups, and counselling, as well as media services including

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production, online streaming and the acting team); and finally the youth area (Sunday school, junior, senior high, and university students).

As when we lived in Germany and Canada, witnessing the community needs of the people convinced me that my calling was to attend to such needs. This was the driving force that motivated me to pray, think, and create initiatives to reach out to the society. These efforts fall under the umbrella of Christian faith in action towards society, which means reaching out and helping individuals regardless of faith, race, gender or age, on the basis of the love that God implanted in us.

The KDEC is unique in its setup and geographical location. It is located in the heart of Cairo, next to Tahrir Square, where the revolution of January 25, 2011 began. Most of the main diplomatic envoys, government offices, Parliament, and the Shura Council (upper parliament) are close by. Seventy percent of the 8,000 member congregation is under the age of forty. Members come from well-to-do and educated families with members holding prominent executive positions.

The revolution has strongly affected KDEC and its congregation due to its location, the status and education of its members, and the relatively young age of its many free-thinking members. The church, its leadership, and members, were therefore obligated to become increasingly involved in the revolution after the initial days. Many members prayed next to their Muslim comrades in a unique cohesion that reflected the unity of the nation. Others avoided contact and, when the bloodshed began, left the country.
Naturally, when the situation became so serious that people were suffering injuries, the youth of KDEC immediately erected a field hospital to tend to the wounded; and without hesitation and irrespective of affiliation, the injured received treatment. The offers of aid from these Christians stood in stark contrast to the traditional norms of a society where Christians separated themselves from the community. This self-separation stemmed from centuries of oppression after the Islamic invasion of Egypt in the seventh century. My initiative involved erecting a make-shift emergency centre in the middle of Tahrir Square which soon developed into the main field hospital. This large emergency centre served everyone requiring medical treatment, without partiality towards religion or chosen side. This attitude earned KDEC the nickname, “the Revolution Church,” since it became a safe haven for many people during the fighting. What Kasr Dobara did was the first of its kind. Both Christians and Muslims sought medical help and trauma counselling.

For three years after the January 25, 2011 revolution, the community deteriorated steadily. Needs increased as people lost their jobs. When food became scarce, our food bank initiative grew to the extent that I hired staff to gather food, locate the neediest families, and serve them. Organizing the Ramadan breakfast was another initiative aimed at reconciling the different factions of the society. In addition to peacemaking, the aim of this effort was to impact the majority and leave a positive impression. It was to stand in opposition to publically-aired messages of hatred and suspicion towards Christians. The fact that Kasr Dobara church was action central during the early days of the revolution provided leverage for current efforts to help society.

The daily prayer for Egypt increased in popularity as people began to pay more attention to the condition of the country. The congregation grew to understand their crucial role in standing up
for and interceding on behalf of the welfare of the people. Prayer meetings invited and involved various denominations to unite people in one prayer devoted to the safety and welfare of Egypt. The result of this prayer was felt in the political arena and eventually led to positive change. However, attacks on churches and other Christian property increased. Surprisingly, victimized Christians did not retaliate. Instead, they prayed more fervently for peace to prevail and for change in the condition of the community.

In my view, the family unit lies at the core of any community. If the family unit is built on a solid foundation, the surrounding community will become a strong and healthy environment where families and children will prosper. To help families succeed, the church provided a marriage encounter retreat where couples were informed about the foundation of Christian marriage over a three-day period. Time was allotted for couples to air their troubles, confront their problems and work towards eventual reconciliation. Both Christian and Muslim couples were included. Different family lifestyles and principles were described and discussed. After bonding together, families returned home with different insights and new perspectives about the importance of forging healthy family units.

The tension and turmoil experienced throughout Egypt affected many people. Many families lost members due to the extreme aggression and unprecedented killings. Some people resorted to abandoning their faith as an act of rebellion or because of the trauma they had suffered. Many people openly manifested signs of insecurity, paranoia, and personal loss. Counsellors were urgently needed to help people regain their equilibrium. Under my supervision, the church began to manage the training and equipping of professional counsellors through counselling schools in
Egypt. An inner healing ministry was activated, where, on a daily basis, counsellors held both group and individual sessions to help people deal with depression and fear.

People who had suffered physical and/or sexual abuse had any shame and disgrace assuaged through the Pearl Program. (The name of the program refers to the priceless value of each person as an individual in the eyes of God.) The program was open for Christians and Muslims from all categories of society.

The more I became involved in the administration of the church, the more I realized that the church should serve both the community and itself. The church could easily take a more active role in determining the future of the community. To accomplish this goal, however, the church would have to interact with and relate to the outside world more frequently and thereby reduce its isolation.

The church orders its life on the foundation of what it believes. The Presbyterian Church in Egypt confesses to the absolute centrality of the Lord Jesus Christ, who is our “Prophet, Priest, King, and the Minister of the covenant of grace.” In the view of the church, there is only one ministry. It is the ministry of Christ which is continued in the church and is the responsibility of all Christians. “The Lord continues his ministry in and through the church. All Christians are called to participate in the ministry of Christ. As his body on earth, we all have gifts to use in the church and in the world to the glory of Christ, our King and Head.”

3 Presbyterian Church in Canada, *Book of Forms* (Toronto), section 447.

At the same time, Christ recognizes that Christian communities need specific forms of leadership if they are to be renewed and continually nurtured for the ministry. Christ endows and calls individuals to provide leadership as ruling elders, congregational deacons, diaconal ministers, and ministers of Word and Sacraments. Christ also requires and enables the church to confirm these calls. This passage from *Living Faith* (1984) describes the purpose of these ministries: “The gospels clearly present Jesus’ call to loving service. John 13:35 states Jesus’ criteria for those who serve others, ‘By this all will know that you are my disciples, if you love one another.’ Mark 10:45 describes Jesus’ model for ministry, ‘The Son of Man came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many.’ Hence, the covenantal relationships among us, rooted in our relationship with the Triune God, are to be characterized by the spirit of mutual cooperation, respect, and love as brothers and sisters of Christ.”

My service at Kasr Dobara, which was based on this quotation, became my focus, especially after recognizing that members had become proactive in their attitudes and actions. Members began believing that they could make a difference by going out into the community, changing lives, and helping others find the peace that is absent elsewhere. Some churches began following in our footsteps, but not as many as we had expected.

My thoughts focused on discovering the force that had influenced the church away from its traditional functions to exerting an unprecedented influence in Egyptian society. The church’s traditional approach of isolation had prevailed for many centuries, yet it now embraced

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community involvement. How and why this transition occurred intrigued me and its detailed development warrants careful study.

1.4. Thesis Statement
As a participant observer of some of the changes that occurred in Egypt’s recent past, I have witnessed the Christian churches moving out of centuries of reclusiveness. The Coptic churches previously refused to enter broader society, lest they be attacked, and instead developed an alternative society parallel to the Islamic one. Now the churches are budding into a new era of proactive involvement with creative ways of reaching society. They are moving towards becoming change agents in attitudes and actions for the broader community, a community that includes both Christians and Muslims.

The leaders and congregation of Kasr Dobara Evangelical church have pioneered this renaissance over the past three years. In addition to physical action, this church has set an example of fervent prayer for the land and for the people in authority. It has obeyed the commandments of the Bible while praying for the rulers of Egypt. Therefore, my thesis question is as follows:

In what way did the civil uprising on January 25, 2011, and the years that followed, force the Kasr El Dobara Evangelical Church in Cairo, Egypt, out of its traditional functions into exerting an unparalleled influence in the society?

In other words, how is the revolution of January 25, 2011 impacting upon Kasr El Dobara Evangelical Church?

A more thorough understanding may be achieved by considering these additional questions:
1. What role did KDEC play in uniting the denominations in prayer and working together to be more effective in impacting the society?

2. How did the revolution force KDEC to revisit its theological, faith and pastoral perspectives?

3. In what ways can Love Outreach be adopted into the mission of the KDEC?

4. What role should Egyptian Christians have in politics?

5. How might the Christian churches play a more proactive role in ameliorating the crisis between Muslims and Christians in Egypt?
Chapter 2

Historical and Theological Background

Before presenting the results of the surveys and interviews, it is necessary to explore and analyze the historical, biblical, theological, and pastoral background of this study. I begin with the history of Christianity in Egypt.

2.1. Historical Issues (Christianity in Egypt)

The following section outlines the history of the Coptic Church from the earliest days of Christianity until the beginning of the twenty-first century, in order to provide a background to contemporary events. I explore the dynamics of change that have affected the Arab world’s largest religious minority and in particular how Copts have dealt with non-Christian governments through several political transformations.

2.1.1. Introduction

“This is the end of sectarianism in Egypt: from now on there will be no more conflict between Muslims and Christians.” These were the words uttered by some revolutionists in Egypt on January 25, 2011. Lifting up the Crescent and the Cross, together with the Qur’an and the Bible, to the sounds of Christian hymns and Muslim Friday prayers, the people echoed the cry of the 1919 Egyptian Revolution against British colonialism, during which period national unity reached its apex. Nevertheless, after ousting an authoritarian regime in February 2011, Egyptian
aspirations for justice, equality and freedom were in ruins in just eighteen months, as religious sectarianism escalated by 30 percent from 2010 and by 50 percent from 2008/2009.¹

Coptic Christian history goes back almost two thousand years, to the early days of Christianity when St. Mark the Evangelist is himself said to have brought the faith to Egypt. Both the words “Copt” and “Egypt” have the same ancient origin: the word Copt is originally derived from the ancient Egyptian Hikaptah (House of the Ka or spirit of Ptah), the temple of one of the gods of ancient Egypt.² The Greeks referred to Egypt as “Aigyptos,” and during the early centuries of Islam Egypt was known as Dar al-Quibt.³ Currently, the word Copts refers to Egyptian Christians who are considered the “purest descendants and heirs of the ancient Egyptians.” Copts have adopted different attitudes toward various governments: “that of seeing in the state a divine institution; that of acceptance of the state; and that of transformation of a pagan state into a so-called Christian state.”⁴ To comprehend the changing attitude of the Copts toward the state, it is helpful to provide an overview of the state’s attitude towards Copts throughout the various eras and dynasties.

¹Mariz Tadros, Copts at the Crossroads (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2013), 1-3.

²Jill Kamil, Christianity in the Lands of the Pharaohs (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2002), 1-2.


⁴Otto Meinardus, Christians in Egypt: Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant Communities, Past and Present (Cairo: The American University in Cairo, 2006), 16.
2.1.2. Geographical Background

Egypt is a country with clear-cut boundaries to the north (the Mediterranean) and to the east (the Red Sea). It covers more than a million square kilometres and is inhabited by approximately 97,553,151 people.\textsuperscript{5} Cairo, the capital, is the largest city in Africa. The Nile, which is one of the longest rivers in the world, flows through the Sahara, the largest desert in the world. There is not much rainfall in the valley of the Nile and neither is rain abundant in the Delta. Almost all of Egypt’s water comes from the Nile.\textsuperscript{6} This explains why 95 percent of Egyptians cluster in the small piece of fertile land along the River Nile, which divides the desert into two parts. In this green area one can easily differentiate between the Nile Valley in the south and the Nile Delta in the north. Egypt has always been known as the “Kingdom of the two lands.” This is a reference to its early political and physical division into Upper and Lower Egypt. The upper land is dry and rocky and culturally rural, whereas the lower has always been urban and more populous.\textsuperscript{7}

2.1.3. Ancient History

The history of Egypt dates back to around 7000 BC. It is assumed that in pre-dynastic times there must have been conflict between Upper and Lower Egypt, for the ancient Egyptians started their history with the unification of the two lands under a leader called Menes, after which Egypt became a major power in the Middle East.\textsuperscript{8}


\textsuperscript{6}Thompson, \textit{A History of Egypt}, 26.


\textsuperscript{8}Thompson, \textit{A History of Egypt}, 26.
Ancient Egypt was “embodied” in the king, who was called Pharaoh, a term that meant “the big house,” or the royal palace. The king ruled a united kingdom consisting of Upper and Lower Egypt as a god, and was credited with supernatural powers. The role of the “god-king” was to intercede between the gods and the people, to administer law and justice, and implement *moat*, a term which was extremely important in ancient Egyptian history as it meant truth, order, proper behaviour and justice. Over 2000 years ago, Herodotus, who greatly admired Egypt, wrote: “Concerning Egypt itself I shall extend my remarks to a great length, because there is no country that possesses neither so many wonders, nor any that has such a number of works which defy description.” He added later, “They [Egyptians] are religious to excess, far beyond any other race of men.”

2.1.3.1. The Greek Empire

Alexander the Great entered Egypt in 332BC. He travelled north to the Mediterranean and constructed a new city, Alexandria. Alexander’s death in 323BC was followed by a struggle for control among his generals. Finally, Ptolemy, who had escorted Alexander through many adventures, ruled Egypt and formed the Ptolemaic Empire. Greek people migrated to Egypt in great numbers and established many Greek towns there. The Ptolemaic dynasty ruled Egypt for three centuries until Egypt became part of the Roman Empire in 27BC.

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10Thompson, *A History of Egypt*, 64.
12Thompson, *A History of Egypt*, 64.
2.1.3.2. The Roman Empire

In one of his political statements, the Roman Emperor Augustus stated, “I added Egypt to the empire of the Roman people.” Like the Pharaoh, the Roman Emperor was considered divine. Although Alexandria remained the administrative centre of Egypt, the Greeks continued to dominate the city socially and culturally, and were given special rights and privileges. A huge Jewish population settled in Alexandria and impacted the city economically and intellectually. According to Egyptian tradition, St. Mark brought Christianity to Egypt during the reign of Emperor Nero, whereupon Christianity fell on “fertile soil,” spreading quickly and covering the land for several centuries. In 330, Constantine (306-337) shifted the political power of the Roman Empire from the west to the east and established a new capital at the site of the old Greek town of Byzantium. The city was named Constantinople, thus beginning the Byzantine era, which lasted for a thousand years and included Egypt. The new religion of Christianity could have been a “binding force”; however, it caused “irreconcilable differences.”

2.1.4. The Foundation of the Coptic Orthodox Church

The Coptic Church dates its connection with Christianity to the infancy of Jesus and His flight with His parents into Egypt. According to Matthew’s gospel, an angel warned Joseph that Herod was seeking to kill the infant. Joseph “took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt” (Matt. 2:13-14), fulfilling the prophecy in Hosea that God would “call my son out of Egypt” (Hos. 11:1). Coptic writers described the long journey and stated that the holy family crossed the Sinai by caravan route along the northern shore of the Mediterranean, and

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13 Thompson, A History of Egypt, 123.
14 Thompson, A History of Egypt, 146.
15 Thompson, A History of Egypt, 143.
then headed deep into Upper Egypt to a cave at a point 150 miles south of modern Cairo where the Monastery of Dair al-Muharraq was later built. A sycamore tree and a grotto with a niche where the infant slept were preserved in the village of Matarya and Copts built the church of St. Sergius at the site of the grotto in the fourth century.¹⁶

### 2.1.4.1. St. Mark the Evangelist

Luke the Evangelist informs us that there were Egyptians present in Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit descended upon believers (Acts 2:10). We can assume that some of these Egyptians returned to their homeland where they founded Egyptian congregations. Furthermore, it is believed that Alexandria, the second greatest city in the empire, was evangelized by St. Mark.¹⁷ According to Iris El Masri, a former secretary of the General Congregation Council of the Coptic Orthodox Church, St. Mark was born in Cyrene. In his childhood nomad tribes attacked his home town and robbed his family of all their belongings. Thereafter his family moved to Jerusalem where Mark grew up. Paul and Barnabas disagreed about Mark, who had left them at Pamphylia to return to Jerusalem (Acts 15:36-41).¹⁸ As a result, Barnabas took Mark with him, while Paul went to Syria and Cilicia with Silas. Mark was then led by the Holy Spirit to preach the gospel in his birthplace of Pentapolis, and from Pentapolis he went to Egypt. When Mark arrived in Alexandria, the city was a great center of knowledge. “Its famous school and great scholars were sought by all who thirsted for knowledge,” writes El Masri. “There, Greek philosophers, Hebrew rabbis, Persian and Indian

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seers, together with Egyptian hierophants pondered life’s mysteries. The Museum and Library were not only imposing buildings, they contained the rarest and best of human achievements in the mental, spiritual and artistic fields.”

2.1.4.2. Persecution of the Early Coptic Church

Alexandrians reported that when the apostle entered the city in AD61, he stumbled and broke a strap on his sandal. A cobbler named Ananias mended it for him and in doing so pierced his hand with the awl. “God is One,” he cried, and Mark immediately healed him. Ananias then invited Mark to his home, whereupon Ananias and his family were baptized. Soon afterwards many Alexandrians converted to Christianity. The growing number of Christians drew the authorities’ attention, because after their conversion their behaviour changed completely. It was said that, “Any pagan, behaving in the same upright manner, would be asked: did you meet a Christian today? Implying that even the encounter with a Christian was incentive enough for a man to change his mode of life.”

Mark left Alexandria to avoid the anger of the Egyptian authorities and visited the Church of Pentapolis, and then went to Rome where he had been summoned to join Paul. When Mark left for Rome, the cobbler Ananias became the patriarch of Alexandria. After the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, Mark returned to Egypt where he found Ananias and other converts had built a church at Baucalis. He also discovered there were rumours that Christians “were defiling and

overthrowing pagan deities.” Consequently, a mob attacked the Christians while they were celebrating Easter in 68 and dragged Mark around the streets on a rope until he “bled and bruised to death.” Christians took Mark’s body and buried him in a Cathedral. After the Council of Chalcedon in 451, his body was transferred, while his head remained in the Cathedral. Later in the ninth century, Venetian merchants stole the body and moved it to Venice where it stayed until 1968. The relics were finally given by Pope Paul VI to Abba Kyrillos VI, Pope of the Coptic Church, who placed them below the altar of St. Mark’s Cathedral in Abbasseya, Cairo.

By the 150s there were churches in most of the provinces between Syria and Rome. Christians multiplied, and by 211 twenty Coptic bishops had been nominated. According to writings found on fragments of papyrus, the Christian faith had spread far up the Nile Valley within a century. It then slowly penetrated south from Syene, modern Aswan, to the Nubian kingdoms and the Ethiopian Church, forming a tradition that lasted until 1948.

The history of the Coptic Church is regarded as both glorious and tragic. It is considered glorious because of the church’s distinguished and famous sons, such as Saints Athanasius, Cyril, Antony, and Pachomius. It is thought tragic because of the enormous number of its children who suffered persecutions and martyrdom for their belief in Christ. Men and women were condemned to death by the Romans in 180 for refusing to renounce their Christian faith. In 202, the Emperor Septimius Severus was astounded by the size of the Christian community in

23Moynahan, The Faith, 76.
Egypt. As a consequence he issued a decree forbidding conversion. He also issued an edict closing the catechetical school of Alexandria, since scholars such as Clement—who became its head in 190—attracted educated pagans of high Greek culture. During the Decian and Diocletian persecutions, Sinai Mountain served as a refuge for Egyptian Christians. The first bishop of Pharan was Chalcedonian Macarius in the fifth century and St. Nilus reported the martyrdom of forty Sinai monks in 400.26

The Coptic Church commemorates these martyrs to this day by using a Coptic calendar in which the years are dated from the Year of the Martyrs. This reminds the church of the great persecution of Christians that commenced in Egypt in 303 during the reign of Emperor Diocletian (284-311). It is for this reason that Christians had the era of the martyrs begin on August 29, 284, the year in which Diocletian became Emperor.27

### 2.1.4.3. The Catechetical School of Alexandria

This period of persecution was followed by a victorious period, the theology of which was to have a profound impact on the entire church.28 The most significant contribution of the Alexandrian Coptic Church to the Universal Church was the Didascalia, the famous Catechetical School in Alexandria. Christians worldwide still consider this the oldest Christian institution in the world to offer Christian religious teaching. The Christian scholar, Pantanaeus, founded it in about 190. Bishops from all parts of the world were taught there by great scholars such as Athenagoras, Clement, Didymus, and Origen, who was known as the “father of theology.”

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26 Meinardus, *Christians in Egypt*, 33.
27 Meinardus, *Christians in Egypt*, 33-34.
28 Meinardus, *Christians in Egypt*, 33-34.
Origen was a specialist in the field of comparative Biblical studies, writing in excess of 6,000 commentaries and famous also for his Hexapla. Beside theology, subjects such as science, mathematics and the humanities were also taught there. The “question and answer method of commentary” began in Alexandria, while wood-carving techniques were introduced to assist blind scholars in writing and reading almost fifteen centuries before the invention of Braille. The Didascalia became a centre of advanced intellectual teaching as teachers were not only knowledgeable in the holy books but also in Hellenistic literature and philosophy.29

Pantaenus was the first great scholar to serve as the head of the Didascalia. It is assumed that he first came to Alexandria in the year 180 and stayed there until his death, shortly before 200.30 He was succeeded by Clement, who was compelled to leave Egypt and take refuge in Cappadocia because of the severe persecutions of Septimius Severus. Clement was then followed by Origen, one of the greatest theologians and most prolific authors. He was born in 185 and worked in Alexandria from 204-232. During this period he travelled to Rome, Arabia, Athens, Cappadocia, Nicomedia, Antioch, and Palestine. In Palestine he was asked by bishops to give lectures in the churches and there he was ordained presbyter, and also founded a successful school that taught prolific scholars such as Gregory Thaumaturgos, Bishop of Neocaesarea. Origen was persecuted during the Decian period, survived, and finally died in Tyre in 253.31

Origen was succeeded as head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria by Heracles and then Dionysius, who was surnamed “the Great.” He became head of the Catechetical School in 231,

30Meinardus, Christians in Egypt, 33-34.
31Meinardus, Christians in Egypt, 33-34.
and in 248, Bishop of Alexandria, before fleeing to the Libyan Desert during the Decian persecution. It is noteworthy that in one of his letters, Dionysius referred to his predecessor Heracles as “our blessed pope Heracles.” That was the first time that the head of the church of Alexandria was given the title pope (papas). It was some fifty years before the title was used by the bishops of Rome. Dionysius was succeeded by Maxiumus (264-282) and then Theonas (282-300).

The Coptic Church played a notable role in the formation of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures, largely because of the teachings of Clement of Alexandria and Origen. Also significant is the uniformity of the testimony of the Alexandrian Church to the New Testament Canon and the acknowledgement as divinely inspired books such as the Epistles to the Hebrews, the two shorter Epistles of St. John and the Apocalypse.

2.1.4.4. Heresies

The fourth and fifth centuries witnessed the emergence of various theological controversies. The most famous of these was the Arian controversy, which led to the prominence of St. Athanasius, a prolific scholar and patriarch. Arius, a senior presbyter in Alexandria, promoted the heresy that the Son of God did not share the full divinity of the Father. He was an eloquent preacher, able to put his ideas into verse and popular hymns that were sung by the longshoremen on the

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32 Meinardus, *Christians in Egypt*, 35.
34 Meinardus, *Christians in Egypt*, 33-34.
35 Meinardus, *Christians in Egypt*, 33-34.
36 Meinardus, *Christians in Egypt*, 35.
docks. A church council in Alexandria excommunicated and exiled Arius in 320, but his followers only increased in number. Arguments over the Trinity led Constantine to hold the first General Council of the Church at Nicaea in 325 in order to impose his discipline on the new Christian faith. Athanasius, who was then a secretary to the bishop of Alexandria, wrote a book entitled *De Incarnatione* that supports Christ’s divinity. An Arian creed was proposed during the council, but it was refuted and rejected by the council. A confession made by candidates for baptism in Jerusalem was used instead, which confirmed “the coeternity and coequality” of the Father and the Son. It was affirmed that Jesus belonged “to the realm of the eternal and uncreated,” and it was stated that He was a “true God from true God.” Hence the faith received its first universal creed.38

### 2.1.4.5. Monasticism

In spite of the fact that St. Paul the Hermit was the first monk to live in solitude in the desert, St. Anthony, who was born in 250, is considered the “first Christian to blaze the trail of a consecrated life of solitude.” His life attracted many followers, as he set the example of a simple life-style, employed “spiritual self-discipline,” and was accorded the titles “Father of monks” and “Star of the desert.”39

Today, Copts make up a tenth of the entire population of Egypt. The majority of these Christians belong to the Coptic Orthodox Church,40 and the Coptic language is often used in Coptic Orthodox Church services. Because Copts believe that St. Mark was martyred in Alexandria,

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40 Meinardus, *Christians in Egypt*, 33.
“the apostolic foundation”⁴¹ is highly important in the Orthodox Church and the current Pope Tawadros II, who is the 118th Patriarch of the See of St. Mark, is called the Pope of Alexandria.⁴² In addition to the Coptic Orthodox Churches, there are six other Orthodox Churches in Egypt: Greek; Syrian, Maronite, Melkite, Nestorian, Armenian, and Georgian. These were closely linked with Antioch,⁴³ although members have been decreasing significantly since World War II.⁴⁴

2.1.5. The Advent of Islam

In 610, Muhammad, a forty-year old merchant from Mecca in west central Arabia, claimed that he had received divine revelations. His messages were about an “almighty and a compassionate god” who would hold people accountable for their deeds on a Day of Judgement. He was the only god, whereas all other gods were false. According to Muhammad, this god was the same as the god of the Jews and the Christians, only the revelations of the Jews and Christians were distorted.⁴⁵ Muhammad’s Islamic creed was memorised by his followers and later written down in classical Arabic in the middle of the seventh century under the supervision of his fourth caliph, Othman. According to the Qur’an, Muslims are expected to abide by five tenets: worshiping one god, Allah; praying five times a day; giving alms; making pilgrimage; and fasting during the month of Ramadan.⁴⁶ This “monotheistic” message, which was the foundation

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⁴¹ Meinardus, Christians in Egypt, 33-34.
⁴² Meinardus, Christians in Egypt, 33-34.
⁴³ Barnes, Athanasius and Constantius, 196.
⁴⁴ Meinardus, Christians in Egypt, 64.
⁴⁶ Kamil, Christianity in the Lands of the Pharaohs, 222.
of the Qur’an, aroused public hatred in Mecca, whereupon Muhammad fled to Medina in the north in 622AD. The new religion, Islam, spread quickly in the Arabian Peninsula and Muslim warriors started a series of religious conquests that went as far as Morocco and Spain in the west and India in the east.\textsuperscript{47}

\textbf{2.1.5.1. The Arab Conquest of Egypt}

When the Arabs reached Egypt in December 639, they encountered slight resistance. The local forces were reluctant to fight without adequate imperial support. Besides, the Copts’ hatred of the Byzantines had increased owing to severe religious persecution. The Bishop of Nikiu wrote, “Everyone knows that the defeat of the Greeks and the conquest of Egypt by the Muslims was in punishment for the tyranny of Emperor Heraclius and the wrongs he inflicted on [Egyptians] through the patriarch Cyrus.” Emperor Heraclius’ death on February 11, 641 led to strife, which weakened the central government. In April the fortress of Babylon fell and in September the Arabs entered Alexandria. The Byzantine Empire officially surrendered Egypt on November 28, 641. It later tried to retrieve Egypt twice; however, these attempts were in vain.\textsuperscript{48} In the year 641, individuals in Egypt were required to choose between the religion of Christ and that of Muhammad, who had died less than ten years before in a trading town in Arabia. The Arabs did not kill Christian priests; instead they used taxation as a weapon, firstly to guarantee easy surrender, and secondly to finance further conquest.\textsuperscript{49} In 641, the Arabs established a new

\textsuperscript{47}Thompson, \textit{A History of Egypt}, 164 -165.
\textsuperscript{48}Thompson, \textit{A History of Egypt}, 165-166.
\textsuperscript{49}M. Hodgson, \textit{The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in World Civilization}. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974).
capital for Egypt close to the Babylon fortress, Fustat, where they built the first mosque in Africa: The Mosque of Amr Ibn El As.\textsuperscript{50}

There is a controversial body of literature regarding the attitude of the Copts towards the Muslim conquest. Some historians claim that the Copts offered aid to the Muslims, whereas others claim that Copts described Arabs in their ancient literature as “oppressors who lead into captivity the sons of men.” One Coptic writer compared the Arabs’ “heavy yoke” to the yoke of the Pharaoh. However, this same writer praised Amr ibn Al As for preserving the churches.\textsuperscript{51}

\textbf{2.1.5.2. The Umayyad Caliphate (661-750 AD)}

In 657, Egypt became a battlefield between Ali Ibn Abi-Taleb, the fourth caliph, and the Umayyad’s family. Ali nominated Mohamed Ibn Abu Bakr, the son of the second caliph, as a ruler of Egypt in 658. However, Ibn Abu Bakr sent Amr Ibn al-As to govern Egypt. The Umayyad armies were led by Muawiyah. After a bloody battle in 658, Muawiyah became the first Umayyad caliph in 661, and allowed Ibn al-As to rule Egypt.\textsuperscript{52} Egypt thus became one of the provinces of the Arab Empire that was initially ruled by the Caliphs from Medina, then later from Damascus by the Umayyad Caliphate, which was established in 661. Although the Muslims did not aspire to a “mass conversion” to Islam, as they needed the taxes non-Muslims were obliged to pay for their further conquests, the number of Muslims in Egypt escalated as enormous numbers of Arab immigrants arrived in the eighth century. Moreover, many Christians were exposed to persecution, so they converted to Islam for professional

\textsuperscript{50}Hodgson, The Venture of Islam.
\textsuperscript{51}Davis, The Early Coptic Papacy, 122, 123.
\textsuperscript{52}Thompson, A History of Egypt, 166.
advancement purposes. Furthermore, Muslim men were allowed to marry Christian women and their children automatically became Muslims. In addition, extending taxes to churches and monasteries previously exempted, caused their number to diminish as of AD705. Hence, the Copts have gradually become a minority since the tenth or eleventh century.

During the Umayyad State, the central government hired two Copts to manage the affairs of Egypt. Maslama, the governor of Egypt, allowed Copts to build a church at al-Fustat and 'Abd al Aziz ibn Marawan stayed in a monastery. Abd Allah ibn Marwan, however, requested that Christians not wear the burnous and that monks wear special badges to distinguish them from Muslims. He also ordered the destruction of crosses on high buildings, and exchanged the images of the cross on metal coins with images of vertical columns. Copts were obliged to pay tributes and land taxes. In 722, many churches were closed, icons were destroyed and the patriarch was imprisoned. According to Emad Thomas, Professor of Coptic and Arabic Civilization, Copts did not have the right to join the army. Many lost their jobs owing to the Arabization of bureaucracy in 706. Umar bin Abdul Aziz tried to replace Copts with Muslims even in minor jobs; and all Christian village heads were replaced by Muslims. This Coptic exclusion did not last, as most of the financial management systems were understood by Copts only. Caliph Mutawakkil isolated Copts from working at the Nile Scale, even though it was

53Thompson, A History of Egypt, 169.
54Huub Lems, Holland Mission: 150 Years Dutch Participation in Mission in Egypt (Utrecht: Stichting de Zending der Protestantse Kerk in Nederland, 2005).
55Meinardus, Coptic Saints and Pilgrimages (Cairo: The American University of Cairo Press, 2007), 27.
56Meinardus, Coptic Saints and Pilgrimages, 27.
58Thomas, Arab Christians, 39; Thompson, A History of Egypt, 170-171.
59Meinardus, Coptic Saints and Pilgrimages, 27.
built by a Coptic engineer who also constructed the Ibn Tulun Tanker and the Ibn Tulun Mosque with two columns instead of 300. (These columns could not have been obtained except by the destruction of a number of old churches and temples.) Many mosques were also built by Christian architects who excelled in architecture and related industries.

The Umayyad institutions declined in their later years, as scandalous rumours about their immorality circulated. In the meantime, an opposition movement led by the Abbasid family claimed a strong relationship to Muhammad by tracing lineage to Abbas, one of Muhammad’s uncles. They revolted in 747 and slaughtered all the members of the Umayyad family.60

2.1.5.3. The Abbasid Caliphate (750-1250 AD)

The Abbasid Caliphate, under powerful Caliphs such as Harun al–Rashid (786-809), ruled for almost a century and moved the capital of the Muslim Empire from Damascus to Baghdad in 763. Egypt remained fairly secure during the ninth century, although people were occasionally rebellious.61 The Abbasids relied on those who had a long-standing culture in the region, such as the Christian Nestorians and the Syrian churches, which had good education systems. Copts were employed as writers, doctors and translators,62 and also occupied important financial roles in the government.63 In 865, the Caliph al-Mansur had a Christian doctor who was the chief of the medical doctors of Gundisapur School. His family was also honoured, as some of them were

60 Thomas, Arab Christians, 35-38.
61 Thompson, A History of Egypt, 169-170
63 Ekram Lamey, Christians between the Nation and the Holy (Cairo: The General Egyptian Institution for the Book, 2016), 49-60.
medical doctors and minsters of the caliphs. Caliph Al-Mutawaskkil, however, obliged Copts to hang wooden images of the devil over their doors and wear honey-coloured clothes with patches. They were also forbidden to ride horses.

Eventually the Abbasid Empire declined, owing to the fact that the Caliphate’s provinces sought independence from the central authority in Baghdad, and aspired to have members of their families in power. This was evident during the two dynasties of the Tulunids, 868-905, and the Ikhshidids, 935-69. Ahmed Ibn Tulun, who was a son of a Turkish soldier, came to govern Egypt in 868. He governed independently from Baghdad and maintained control of Syria. He built a new town, Al Qatai, and established the Ibn Tulun Mosque. He promoted economic stability, developed the taxation system and restored waterworks. After his death in 884, his son Khumarawayah ruled Egypt, failed to manage the economy, and was eventually murdered by his palace’s eunuchs. Consequently, Baghdad sent an expedition to Egypt in 905 that ruined Al-Quatai, except for Ibn Tulun’s Mosque.

Baghdad ruled Egypt for the following thirty years through a number of weak military commanders. Then Calih al-Radi nominated Muhammad Ibn Tughj as a ruler of Egypt. Ibn Tughj strengthened his army, resisted the Fatimids’ invasion from Tunisia and retrieved Syria. He was followed by his two sons who were too young to rule, so their Nubian tutor Kafur ruled on their behalf. Kafur dealt smartly with several challenges, such as rebellious movements, foreign invasions, earthquakes, famines, and low Nile levels (963-68). After Kafur’s death in

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64 Thomas, *Arab Christians*, 44.
65 Meinardus, *Coptic Saints and Pilgrimages*, 27.
968, the new ruler failed to cope with these difficult problems. Assistance came from the Fatimid Caliph, al Muizz, in Tunisia in the West.\(^67\) In general, during the era of the Tulunids (868-905) and the Ikshidids (935-960), there was religious tolerance.\(^68\)

### 2.1.5.4. The Fatimid Caliphate (969-1171)

Exhausted by all these internal problems, Egypt was easy prey. The Fatimids traced their lineage to Muhammad through his daughter Fatima.\(^69\) Their attempts to invade Egypt were successful and they founded Cairo and El Azhar University, which became a centre of Islamic culture and religion.

Because of the teaching of Patriarch Kirollos, who encouraged lay Copts to live virtuous lives in fear of God and submission to the government, a large number of bilingual Copts held government positions and were in charge of the caliphate’s affairs during the Fatimid State. Many Coptic merchants prospered also.\(^70\) Copts held important posts as university administrators, tax collectors and supervisors of the caliphates’ safes. These administrators were highly honoured and trusted by the rulers. This era also witnessed the appearance of Arabic literature by Coptic authors and poets. Moreover, many Christian physicians were experts in the fields of medicine, agriculture, and industry. Copts were also good at trade, meeting the needs of villagers with vast markets. There was also an increase in the presence of Copts in the higher administrative posts and they were given the freedom to build churches and practice religious

\(^{67}\) Thompson, *A History of Egypt*, 170-172

\(^{68}\) Otto Meinardus, *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo, 2002).

\(^{69}\) Kamil, *Christianity in the Land of the Pharoahs*, 239.

\(^{70}\) Kamil, *Christianity in the Land of the Pharoahs*, 239.
rituals.\textsuperscript{71} The Fatimid era in general witnessed an attitude of religious tolerance, with the exception of the era of Caliph al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah (969-1021), who expelled many Copts from public service jobs. He also ordered the destruction of all Christian churches and monasteries and confiscated their lands.\textsuperscript{72} Moreover, he gave Christians the choice between becoming Muslims, leaving the country, or wearing a cross that weighed five pounds.\textsuperscript{73} Copts were also ordered to wear a special uniform. In 1168, one of his ministers poured 20,000 barrels of oil to ignite fire in Fustat, with its mostly Coptic inhabitants, who escaped to the outskirts after burning their city.\textsuperscript{74}

2.1.5.5. The Ayyubid Dynasty (1171-1250)

Frequent wars with Berbers, Sudanese and Turks terminated the Fatimid Dynasty. When the last Fatimid Caliph died, Salah El Din, who was Kurdish in origin, became Sultan under the sovereignty of the Caliph in Baghdad. Salah El Din is known for his victory against the Crusades, as he built the Citadel to secure Cairo from the Crusaders. In his era, Egypt became a centre for Islamic military power.\textsuperscript{75}

After Salah El Din’s death in 1193, his Ayyubid family continued to rule for more than a century. Viewing Egypt as a key to the Holy Land, Egypt was subject to attacks by the Crusaders from 1163 until 1250. After the death of the last Ayyubid ruler, his Turkish wife Shajar al Durr became a ruler of Egypt. She sought assistance from some Mameluke soldiers to

\textsuperscript{71}Thomas, \textit{Arab Christians}, 48.
\textsuperscript{72}Meinardus, \textit{Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity}, 65.
\textsuperscript{73}Meinardus, \textit{Christians in Egypt}, 47.
\textsuperscript{74}Thomas, \textit{Arab Christians}, 49-50.
\textsuperscript{75}Kamil, \textit{Christianity in the Land of the Pharoahs}, 247.
command the army and married a Mameluke whom she soon killed, before being assassinated herself, thus ending the dynasty of the Ayyubids.

The Ayyubids considered Copts to be the Crusaders’ allies, so they increased their taxes. For their part, the Crusaders viewed the Copts as heretical and were angered that the Copts supported the Muslim rulers. Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi began his tenure by expelling Copts from their posts. He forced them to wear a uniform and forbade them to ride horses, so many gave up their lands to the rural people in exchange for protection, while others converted to Islam. In 1144, Emad al-Din Zingi entered Al-Raha city which was inhabited mostly by Christians. He looted their houses and churches and killed their men. The Cathedral of Alexandria was demolished so that it would not be a fortress for Crusaders. Salah al-Din also persecuted the Christian Kingdom of Nubia, destroyed monasteries near Aswan and the Great Coptic City of Faqt. After the Saladin’s victory over the Crusaders, he stopped all religious discrimination and Copts held government positions and rebuilt their churches in freedom. Salah El Din gave Christians a monastery adjacent to the Holy Sepulchre and restored the money and property that had been looted. He also chose a Copt to be his own personal assistant. As the Christians served the state efficiently, the rulers entrusted them with their money. There were writers, engineers and ministers in the government and those who built the citadel of Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi were Copts. The Coptic identity was revived as Coptic dictionaries and encyclopaedias were produced. *The Coptic Synaxarion*, or *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, and other Greek and Coptic biographies were translated into Arabic. Among the famous scribes were Abu el-

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77 Kamil, *Christianity in the Land of the Pharoahs*, 247.
Muffadal ibn el-Assal, who was a linguist and the spiritual leader of a group of academic writers in the city of Beni Suef. Abu Shakir ibn el-Rahib was another bilingual scribe who produced books on Coptic vocabulary and grammar, on the Holy Trinity and a Book of Histories.79

2.1.5.6. The Mameluke State (1250 -1517)

Another outside threat was posed by the Mongols, who aspired to world conquest and had already invaded China, Central Asia, and Russia, as well as parts of central Europe, Iraq and Syria. They attacked Egypt in 1260. The Mamelukes defeated them in 1260, however, killing many, and as a result, the Mameluke Empire took control of the government. In 1496, the three great empires in the Middle East were the Mameluke Empire, the Ottoman Empire, and the Persian Safadi Empire. However, after several serious economic crises and clashes with the Ottoman Empire, the Mameluke Empire declined.

The Mamelukes ruled ruthlessly, as they neither shared the pursuits of the Egyptians nor spoke their language. They struggled for power and pursued their own interests and wealth regardless of values or morals. They committed crimes of assassination and treachery to reach their goals and ignored the needs of the people. Egyptians lived in terror and insecurity, with the situation even more threatening for Christians, as the period included several incidents of violence. During Mameluke rule ten Popes shepherded the Copts.80 However, in their early years, the Mamelukes destroyed and burnt many churches and monasteries and closed fifty-four churches. Many Christians were martyred, such as St. Ruwais and St. Statures, who confessed his convictions.

79 Kamil, Christianity in the Land of the Pharoahs, 247.
before the Sultan. Christians were often forced to close their churches and hold underground services. Nevertheless, Copts were known for their honesty and faithfulness, and had superb management and financial skills, hence the Mamelukes hired them and gave them prestigious posts. This aroused public anger and forced the rulers to dismiss many Copts in order to placate non-Christians, particularly during the papacy of Abba Yoannis VIII, when Christians were subject to severe persecution. They were obliged to wear blue turbans and the already-high tribute increased dramatically. These persecutions ended when the Nubian King intervened and threatened to imprison Muslim traders. After the death of Caliph el-Nasir in 1341, disorder and chaos prevailed. Not only was the irrigation system neglected, causing a great famine, but the plague—the Black Death—spread from the Delta to Upper Egypt, leading to enormous loss of life. After the recovery, taxation and seizure of Church property increased. There were also more restrictions on repairing churches and building new ones was forbidden. Moreover, Egypt “lost its position at the crossroads of the world” after Vasco da Gama managed to reach India by sailing around the Cape of Good Hope in 1498, thereby forming a new trade route to the east.

2.1.5.7. The Ottoman Empire (1517-1798)

In the sixteenth century, Egypt became a province of the Ottoman Empire and a law was issued in 1580 that prohibited Christians from riding horses, using Muslim servants, buying slaves, and wearing colours other than black. Copts were also not allowed to walk on the right side of any street and further taxes were imposed on Christians. Sometimes they were forbidden to practice

83 Kamil, *Christianity in the Land of the Pharaohs*, 250.
their Christian rituals. “Copts were under such great pressure from the authorities that, in order to continue earning a respectable livelihood, many, especially those with scribal skills, converted to Islam.”

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Mamelukes attempted once again to gain power in Egypt. They thus became influential as they held prominent positions, although this was in fact in the interest of the Copts. When one of the Turkish governors wanted to demolish a number of churches, Mameluke princes intervened and their plea was accepted.

During that era Egypt entered a lengthy period of bad government and poor economy, which later made the country an easy prey for England and France. French troops invaded Egypt in 1798. Napoleon, who led the troops, brought with him a team of scientists whose work aroused cultural interest in ancient Egyptian history. However, the French were defeated by a British-Ottoman army in 1801. The Ottoman Divan suggested a mass genocide of all Copts, but the intervention of Ibrahim Bey prevented this from happening. For a short while, Copts and Jews started riding horses; however, Muslims persuaded Napoleon to force them to resume riding donkeys and wearing their turbans and belts.

Among the most prominent Copts during Napoleon’s time was Mu’allam Yaqub Tadrus, a tax collector in Upper Egypt. He was also a joint commander with General Desaix’s expeditionary

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86 Kamil, *Christianity in the Land of the Pharoahs*, 250
88 Meinardus, *Christians in Egypt*, 65
90 Meinardus, *Coptic Saints and Pilgrimages*, 66
force in the Upper Egyptian campaign against Murad Bey’s Mamalukes. Other famous Copts included Girgi al Gawhari, who was a minister of finance, Yusuf Malati, who served in the court, and Ilyas Buqtur, who was Napoleon’s private secretary and an official interpreter for the French army. Buqtur was one of those who collaborated in writing the first French Arabic dictionary in 1805. Various other Copts also held responsible positions in government and the military.\(^{91}\)

### 2.1.5.8. The Royal Family

An Albanese officer called Mohammed Ali ruled Egypt from 1805 to 1849, while Egypt was a province of the Ottoman Empire. His attempts to modernize the country were successful. In his era the army was renewed, plus he sought to introduce industrialization and expand agriculture. Mohammed Ali also strengthened ties with the Europeans and sent Egyptians to study in Europe. He was followed by a series of successors who were also interested in modernizing Egypt. Consequently, Egypt took out loans from European banks to finance various projects until enormous debts made Egyptian rulers hand over the country’s financial administration to a French-British consortium. Both countries thus had direct impact on Egyptian interior affairs. This situation finally ended with the British occupation of Egypt from 1882 to 1922. Britain declared Egypt’s independence in 1922, although the consequences of this declaration were to leave Anglo-Egyptian relations in a highly uncertain state. An Anglo-Egyptian Treaty was signed in 1936, which lasted twenty years and left Egypt far from total independence.\(^{92}\)

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\(^{91}\)Meinardus, *Coptic Saints and Pilgrimages*, 66-67

\(^{92}\)Thompson, *A History of Egypt*, 228-229.
Mohammed Ali hired Copts as bankers, revenue auditors, accountants and governors of cities. He allowed them to practice their worship rituals and did not turn down requests to build or repair churches. When Mohammed Ali’s only daughter was severely ill, he asked for assistance from Pope Petros, who sent Abba Serapamon to pray for her. In 1831, Ali sent a hundred Copts to work in Alexandria’s arsenals and exempted them from the tribute paid by Christians.\textsuperscript{93} A number of prominent Christians emerged during this period.\textsuperscript{94}

The Christian tribute was completely abolished in the reign of Muhammad Said Pasha (1854-1863). Said appointed a Christian ruler for the Sudan and prevented any celebrations if a Copt converted to Islam. In 1856, a law was issued that prohibited conversion to Islam by force and discrimination on grounds of religion, language, or gender. It also gave freedom to Christians to practice their religion, construct new churches and restore old ones. However, the law was later abused in 1934 during the reign of King Fouad (1917-1936), who prevented the construction of churches on agricultural land or near mosques and shrines. Abdeen Palace has manuscripts written during the era of Said Pasha and Khedive Ismail entailing commands for the construction of churches. It is reported that during the reign of Said and Ismail the orders for the construction of churches were numerous, and the governors would rush to execute them themselves. Under the reign of the Khedive Ismail (1863-1879) Christians participated in political life. They were elected to the Shura Law Council of the first Parliament in 1866, and Ismail was the first to grant the title Pasha to a Christian man, Nubar Pasha.\textsuperscript{95}

\textsuperscript{93}Thomas, \textit{Arab Christians}, 67-68.
\textsuperscript{94}El Masri, \textit{The Story of the Copts}, 308-310.
\textsuperscript{95}Thomas, \textit{Arab Christians}, 71-72, Thompson, \textit{A History of Egypt}, 207-218.
2.1.6. The Foundation of the Roman Catholic Church in Egypt

It was long assumed that the Roman Catholic Church started its work in Egypt between 1775 and 1822, when a politician introduced the faith during the era of Mohammed Ali. However, Catholicism in Egypt goes back to at least 451, as there is proof of the existence of seventeen Coptic Catholic bishops at the Chalcedon Council, which ended with the division of the Alexandrian Church. During the fifth crusade (1218-1221), Francis El Assisi visited Egypt to reunite with the Coptic Orthodox Church. As a result, the Sultan formed good relations with the Copts. From 1798 the Franciscans, Jesuits, Capuchins and some other religious orders worked in Egypt. It is estimated that today about 200,000 Roman Catholics live in Egypt. A Patriarchate for Coptic Catholics was founded in 1824 by the Holy See.

Abbas Helmi II (1892-1914) allowed Copts to hold significant posts in the state, especially in the Ministry of Finance and the public sector. However, during the period of Helmi II, Boutros-Ghali, a Christian Pasha, was assassinated by a Muslim extremist. The Mufti refused to execute the assassin, claiming an imbalance in the defendant’s mental powers and arguing that the killing device used was not mentioned in the Islamic law. During the 1919 Revolution against the English occupation, the nationalist, Saad Zaghloul, had the greatest impact on the integration of the Copts in the national struggle. During the era of monarchy there were numerous great Christian journalists, poets, historians, linguists and theologians.

96 Meinardus, Christians in Egypt, 74-87.
97 J. Davis, The Early Coptic Papacy: The Egyptian Church and Its Leadership in Late Antiquity (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, Cairo), 28.
98 Salama, History of the Protestant Church in Egypt, 26-27.
99 Salama, History of the Protestant Church in Egypt, 28-29.
2.1.7. The Foundation of the Evangelical Churches in Egypt

2.1.7.1. Peter Heyling

The first Evangelical Missionary to Egypt was Peter Heyling (1608-1652) from Lübeck, Germany. In 1628 he went to Paris to study law, where he joined a group of friends who hoped to revive the Eastern Orthodox Churches.\(^{100}\) In 1634, he sailed to Egypt, which was then ruled by Murad IV (1623-1640), who was causing hardship for Christians. Heyling was met by members of the Latin Church and was advised to study the Arabic language at Abu Maqaar Coptic Orthodox Monastery.\(^{101}\) Barsoum, who was second to the Coptic Patriarch and in service of the Turkish ruler, then accused Heyling of heresy. While Heyling was in the monastery, Arab mercenaries came to the Chapel to arrest him, but he refused to leave. After three months, he returned to Cairo where he engaged in various theological disputes. Later, a Syrian archbishop met him and promised to help him join the Syrian monastery. During that time he visited the archbishop regularly to learn the Syrian language. Heyling’s Latin rivals warned the archbishop of his heresies, but the archbishop disagreed and allowed Heyling to go back to the monastery where he stayed for five months, met monks, and read books from the large library there. In 1634 he returned to Cairo to join a group that was going to spend Easter in Jerusalem. In the same year he visited Ethiopia where he worked as a theologian and educator until 1652. However, on his way back to Cairo, the local pasha thought he was a spy and beheaded him.\(^{102}\)

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\(^{100}\) Meinardus, *Christians in Egypt*, 104-105.

\(^{101}\) Meinardus, *Christians in Egypt*, 105-106.

\(^{102}\) Meinardus, *Christians in Egypt*, 107.
2.1.7.2. The Brethren of Herrenhut

In the eighteenth century the Brethren of Herrenhut sent Johannes Rüfer to serve as a physician in Egypt, where he later died. In 1750 a medical student Fredrick Hocker came to Egypt and showed letters written by Count Zinzendorf to the Orthodox Pope, Mark VII. In 1753 the Pope responded and Hocker translated sermons and hymns by Zinzendorf into Arabic.\(^9\) John Antes, a violinist and composer of chamber music from the United States, joined the Moravian Brethren in Egypt and enriched them with his music. Some Arab notables tried to blackmail him, so he returned to Europe where he died in 1811. Johann Danke visited Upper Egypt in the eighteenth century and worked as a carpenter in Beni Suef. In 1772 he died in Cairo and was buried in a Greek Orthodox Church. His work was continued by other brethren for eight years. Three more German missionaries arrived in Cairo in 1780, but the Moravian mission in Egypt eventually ended a year after the death of Hocker in 1782.\(^8\)

2.1.7.3. The Bible Society

The British and the Americans together formed the Bible Society in Egypt in 1937. William Jowett from the Church Missionary Society (CMS) visited Egypt several times between 1818 and 1823. He met with Coptic Orthodox priests and distributed the four gospels in Arabic. At the end of 1825 the CMS sent five more German missionaries from the Basel mission. They worked among the Copts distributing Bibles and literature. They founded schools and clinics and encouraged the church to evangelize.\(^3\) In 1833 two schools were founded and a church was built in Cairo in 1834. By the year 1840, six Bible Study meetings had started in Cairo with the

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\(^8\) Meinardus, *Christians in Egypt*, 108.

permission of the Coptic Orthodox Pope. A seminary school was also established. Their letters and their mission statement written by the bishop in 1850 showed that they aimed to revive the existing church, not establish a new one. Although the relationship with the Coptic Church was excellent, the work ended in 1842.106

2.1.7.4. General Synod of the United Presbyterian Church of North America

In 1851 Joseph Thomson visited Egypt from New York and wrote a book in which he stated that the door to missionary work in Egypt was open.107 The General Synod of the United Presbyterian Church of North America thus decided in 1853 to send some missionaries who were working in Syria to serve in Egypt. By 1861 a total of seven missionaries had arrived in Egypt with their wives. The mission started its work in Egypt in 1854 and focused on both Muslims and Copts, and on founding schools and hospitals.108 They also started a Christian literature program and a preaching ministry that was conducted from a house-boat traveling up and down the Nile. In 1860, the missionaries were organized into a presbytery under the authority of the General Assembly in America, and in 1863 they formed the first congregation. In 1864 they opened a School of Religion and a Mission Association. The Evangelical Theology College was built after the Egyptian Presbyterian Council had decided to establish a theology class taught by missionaries in 1863. Tensions grew with the Copts when they started forming congregations, so in 1870 they separated themselves from the Coptic Church. After they had gathered about 4500

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106 Lems, Holland Mission, 21-22.
107 Barnes, Athanasius and Constantius, 51.
members they organized themselves into a presbytery in 1895. Later in 1899, they formed the “United Presbyterian Synod of the Nile.”

By the year 1900 four presbyteries had been established—today, there are eight. It was not until 1957 that the Synod of the Nile withdrew from the United Presbyterian Church of North America. The Theological Seminary gained full responsibility in 1926, however.\textsuperscript{110} The Coptic Evangelical Church also became fully independent in 1957, and the mission society came to an end in 1966. Nevertheless, several Americans continued serving the Coptic Evangelical Church. Today, it has about 200 congregations and around 120,000 members.\textsuperscript{111} The construction of the Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church (KDEC) occurred during the era of King Farouk (1920-1965), who signed the declaration for building the church in 1944. While Ahmed Hassanein Pasha, Farouk’s mentor, was studying in London, he stayed at the house of Rev. Alexander White, and then, when White died, his wife visited Egypt where she was escorted by Hassanein Pasha. Rev. Ibrahim Said welcomed her and requested permission to build the church. The building was completed in 1950. When Farouk saw the high cross on the church, he ordered that a mosque be built nearby. When Nasser visited the church in 1955, he was welcomed by Said who commented on the deportation of Farouk to Italy, saying: “King Farouk hated to see one cross. However, God sent him to a country where he could see only crosses.”\textsuperscript{112}

\textsuperscript{110}Meinardus, \textit{Christians in Egypt}, 109.
\textsuperscript{111}Lems, \textit{Holland Mission}, 24-31.
\textsuperscript{112}Thomas, \textit{Arab Christians}, 73-75.
2.1.7.5. The Episcopal Church

The Episcopal Church in Egypt is part of the Anglican Communion, and is a product of the work of the Church Missionary Society (CMS). The Church of England took missionaries from CMS in 1799 and formed the Society for Missions to Africa and the East. The Basel Mission was founded in 1815 and received support from Germany and Switzerland. The CMS sent William Jowett to Egypt in 1818, and in 1825 the Basel Mission sent five other pastors to Egypt. The first CMS mission started schools for boys in six towns where evangelical services were held with Orthodox Copts in attendance. The work of the mission ended in 1862, although after the British occupied Egypt in 1882, the CMS resumed their work to win the Muslims. They founded a hospital in Old Cairo and another in Minufiya in 1889. Educational work focused on schools that were later handed over to the Coptic Orthodox Church. In 1952 CMS missionary institutions were transformed into the Episcopal Church of Egypt.

2.1.7.6. The Holland Mission

In 1846 Willem Witteveen (1815-1884), the pastor of the Reformed Church of Holland, conducted a mission school. The Mission Congregation Society was founded after his death and was called “Witteveen’s Society” and in 1861 sent several missionaries to Cairo. The Holland Mission, however, first began its work in Egypt in 1871, establishing a primary school in El Kanater where Christian services and meetings were held. The Dutch Mission left Egypt in the

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113 Meinardus, *Christians in Egypt*, 102.
114 Meinardus, *Christians in Egypt*, 103.
115 Meinardus, *Christians in Egypt*, 103.
1950s and delegated their responsibilities to Lydia Matta, an Egyptian lady who had served for years as an assistant to the Dutch Headmaster.\footnote{Salama, \textit{History of the Protestant Church in Egypt}, 30.}

\textbf{2.1.8. President Nasser’s Era (1954-1970)}

July 23, 1952 was the day a conspiratorial group called “the Free Officers” set for their coup. The chairman of that movement was Gamal Abd Al-Nasser. They overthrew the government of King Farouk, who was the last successor of Mohammed Ali. They dethroned him and asked him to leave Egypt on July 26. Egypt was proclaimed a republic and its first president was Mohammed Naguib, a recognized leader in the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC). Conflicts between Naguib and Nasser led to Naguib’s ousting. Nasser became president in 1954 and ruled the country autocratically. He instituted a socialist regime and attempted to unify Arab countries. He abolished all political parties and arrested over fifty thousand people. Six Muslim Brothers (MB) were hanged for conspiring to assassinate him.\footnote{P. Mansfield, \textit{The Ottoman Empire and its Successors} (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1973), 80-81.}

Nasser’s era saw a decline in Coptic political participation. They failed to join the National Assembly because Nasser amended Article 49 of the Constitution, which had allowed the President to appoint ten members who were mostly Copts. In 1943 the number of Copts in the parliament was twenty-seven and the president of the Shura Council was a Copt. From 1952 onwards, not one Christian ambassador was appointed, although there had been a large number earlier. Moreover, Copts were affected by laws such as the nationalization of private sector firms, and the agrarian reform laws, since many firms and thousands of acres used to belong to Copts. Islamization of the community began with the establishment of Al-Azhar University.
There were no Coptic deans appointed to any of the twelve universities and 150 colleges and institutes. Before Nasser, more than 40 percent of the professors of the School of Medicine were Christians. During Nasser’s era, the proportion reached less than 4 percent. Oral exams were introduced in 1960 as a tool to reduce the number of Copts in academic posts. However, there was no sectarian strife and Nasser had a good relationship with Pope Cyril VI. Furthermore, the Coptic Orthodox Cathedral was built during his era, with Nasser himself laying the foundation stone in 1965.\footnote{Thomas, Arab Christians, 80-82.}

Egypt has played a vital political role in Middle East politics in modern times, becoming involved in several wars with Israel and eventually signing a peace treaty in 1979. Hence it moved from being a warring nation to a key representative in the peace process. The first war was in 1948, when Britain announced the creation of the Israeli state. This was followed by the war of 1956, when Israel, France and Britain decided to invade Egypt and seize control of the Suez Canal. This occurred after the nationalization of the Canal. The 1967 war ended with the occupation of Sinai by Israel.\footnote{Thompson, A History of Egypt, 323-324.}


Anwar El Sadat, who succeeded Nasser, was one of the original Free Officers. He planned a military action against Israel, catching Israel by surprise on October 6, 1973. Before the end of the first day of the war the Egyptians had established themselves on the east bank about ten kilometres into Sinai. By the end of the war the Egyptian military situation had deteriorated because of the Israeli thrust to south Suez which “cut off” the main Egyptian army in Sinai.
Nevertheless, the Egyptians regarded the October War a great military success as Sinai was recaptured. After the war, Sadat restored diplomatic relations with the United States, which in turn resumed its aid to Egypt. The U.S. also arranged the Israeli withdrawal a few kilometres from the east bank. Sadat agreed to put limitations on his military forces in the Suez Canal, which was reopened in June 1975. Eventually he signed a Peace Treaty with Israel in Washington on the White House lawn in 1979. But this historic step by President Anwar El Sadat to make peace with Israel led to Egypt being expelled from the Arab League until 1989. This treaty, together with Sadat’s “Open Door” economic policy aimed at attracting foreign investors, aroused hatred and opposition from radical Islamic groups, who finally assassinated him in 1981.

During Sadat’s era, attempts to Islamize Egypt began with the migration of Egyptians to the Gulf countries for business purposes in the mid-1970s. These immigrants were influenced by Wahhabism, and as a result, sectarian violence increased. Sixty Copts were killed in 1972 in al-Khanka. In 1981, ten Christians were murdered in al Zawiya al-Hamra, Cairo, when some Muslims set a church assembly building and a number of houses and shops owned by Copts on fire. This was followed by several acts of violence by Islamic groups against Copts at the Universities of Assiut and El Minya. A dispute broke out between the Pope and Sadat when Sadat amended Article II of the 1971 constitution, which stated that Islam is the religion of the state and the principles of Islamic law are the source of legislation. In 1981, conflict between some Muslims and Copts over a piece of land became an armed battle, resulting in the death of 121 Thompson, A History of Egypt, 323-324.

122 Thompson, A History of Egypt, 323-324.

123 Meinardus, Christians in Egypt, 16-17.
eighty-one Christians. In 1981, Sadat cancelled the republican decision to approve of Pope Shenouda III. The Pope was isolated and five bishops were appointed to form a Church administrative committee. Sadat arrested more than 1500 different political and religious figures. After a month Sadat was assassinated at the hands of MB.\footnote{124Thomas, \textit{Arab Christians}, 83; and Thompson, \textit{A History of Egypt}, 341-356.}

\textbf{2.1.10. President Mubarak’s Era (1981-2011)}

Hosni Mubarak was nominated by the National Assembly to succeed Sadat. He tried to take a more moderate line and stabilize the country. The greatest threat that Mubarak encountered, however, was the danger of Islamic extremists, who were held responsible for deadly terrorist attacks targeting tourists and Egypt’s Coptic community.\footnote{125Thompson, \textit{A History of Egypt}, 323-324.}

In Mubarak’s era, Christians prospered in business, engineering, tourism, electronics, and the pharmaceutical industry. However, the era witnessed the spread of sectarian strife and the increased strength of the MB. From 1981 till 2011, 324 sectarian strife incidents were recorded: 157 Christians were killed, 811 injured, 1384 looted and 103 churches were demolished and burned. There were no Christian university presidents, no deans of schools and no Coptic doctors in the Departments of Obstetrics and Gynaecology. Copts also suffered from unequal opportunities for appointment and promotion in government jobs. The military council did not have a single Christian and there were no Christian governors or security directors in any province.\footnote{126Thomas, \textit{Arab Christians}, 88-92.}
2.1.11. January 25 Revolution

The bombing of the Two Saints Church in Alexandria on New Year’s Eve changed the attitudes of the Copts towards the government. Muslims joined them in mass protests against the Mubarak regime. The protests were suppressed with a high level of brutality by the police.¹²⁷ This incident was followed by the January 25 Revolution. The media displayed images of some slogans that expressed religious unity during the eighteen days of the uprising in Tahrir Square. After the ousting of Mubarak, the stance of both the Coptic Orthodox Church and the Muslim Sunni establishment, Al Azhar, demonstrated how isolated they were from “the pulse of the street.” Christian writers conveyed how the youth demanded justice and dignity. In the meantime, the leaders of the Orthodox, Catholic and Evangelical Churches were condemned for siding with Mubarak’s regime.

2.1.11.1. Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church and the January 25 Revolution

By contrast, KDEC, which is the largest evangelical church in the Middle East, played a significant role during the revolution. During the period from 2011 till 2013, the area close to KDEC witnessed clashes, and the church was vulnerable as it was exposed to various attacks that occurred repetitively in Tahrir. KDEC leaders, Rev. Sameh Maurice, Rev. Sameh Hanna (the author) and Elder Ihab El Kharat, perceived the revolution as a great ministry opportunity. They gathered lay leaders from other churches and organized prayers for Egypt in Tahrir Square. Their prayers not only attracted Christians, but also Muslims. Songs such as “Lord Bless My Country Egypt,” became popular. Church volunteers cleaned Tahrir Square of debris, and started

¹²⁷Tadros, Copts at the Crossroads, 120.
a grief counselling ministry among families who had lost dear ones during the revolution. Furthermore, KDEC took ecumenical initiatives and called for non-denominational prayer meetings that united Christians from various denominations. Moreover, KDEC transferred part of its front premises into a temporary and officially recognized field hospital located inside the courtyard of its entrance. It offered the injured medical assistance and allowed Muslims to wash before their daily prayers. The mosque nearby could not hold the overflow of revolutionists who were at Tahrir Square. Thus KDEC became known as the “Tahrir Church.” There one could see both Muslim and Christian doctors and nurses attending to the injured and working side by side each night. After the revolution, KDEC continued to support and host political activists, party members, celebrities and several former presidential candidates, who visited the church during special occasions to extend Christmas and Easter greetings. Moreover, every Ramadan, Iftar banquets were served at KDEC to break the Ramadan fast. There are anecdotes about Muslims who attended the church services and were touched by God. 128 However, after the eighteen days of revolution, the Islamists tried to convey the idea that they were its guardians. The dynamics of Tahrir Square changed. The youth coalitions that had been dominant during the revolution were no longer seen on the stage, which started to host only the Muslim Brothers and their followers. Slogans such as “Raise your head high, you are an Egyptian” changed to “Raise your head high, you are a Muslim.” Other slogans such as “madaniya” which meant “civil” changed to “Islamiya,” which meant Muslim. 129

129 Tadros, Copts at the Crossroads, 139-149.

During the Military Council rule, the Church of the Holy Family on the border with Gaza was burned by armed men. Soldiers fired live ammunition, injuring the monks of a monastery in Wadi al-Natroun. Moreover, a church was burnt by Muslim extremists. As a result hundreds of people called for a peaceful march in protest against the burning of the church in Sol. This led to the deaths of ten Copts and five Muslims, as well as injuries to 114. Furthermore, a number of Qena residents held a ten day-sit-in in protest against the appointment of a Copt as a governor of Qena. In addition, a group of religious militants attacked a church in Imbaba to search for a Coptic girl dating a Muslim. They killed her and injured seventy-eight others. A church in Aswan was burnt because they had constructed a dome on the top. Furthermore, twenty-five Copts lost their lives and dozens were injured when they marched to the Masspero area, protesting peacefully against the attacks on a church. Copts were chased with tracked vehicles and were shot with live bullets. Consequently, the Supreme Council submitted a draft of a unified law to regulate the construction of places of worship. However, this project was rejected by Al-Azhar.\(^\text{130}\)


The Muslim Brotherhood (MB), which has always been considered the largest political force in Egypt, launched a political party called “Freedom and Justice,” which aimed to contest the elections. In the 2011-12 parliamentary elections, it won half the seats and its candidate, Mohamed Morsi, won the 2012 presidential election. Dissatisfaction with Morsi and the prevailing MB Party led to nationwide protests on June 30, 2013. It was a threatening situation that led Abdel-Fattah El-Sisi, then Egyptian Defence Minister, to advise Morsi to call for a

\(^{130}\) Thomas, *Arab Christians*, 101.
national referendum over whether he should stay or resign. Morsi rejected the proposal. Eventually, the military intervened and removed him from power on July 3, 2013. Morsi was referred to trial charged with espionage and deadly violence. El-Sisi proposed “a political roadmap,” which was backed by most Egyptians. This proposal entailed Adly Mansour, the head of the Supreme Constitutional Court, becoming interim president for six months; during which the constitution would be amended, followed by parliamentary and presidential elections.131

There were a number of sectarian attacks during Morsi’s era. In Dahshur, four Christian-owned shops were destroyed, a Muslim died, and all Christian families of the village were displaced. Moreover, there were clashes between Copts and Muslims in Beni Suef as Muslims there refused the legal building of a church in the village. Further, hundreds of Muslims gathered, claiming that a Muslim boy was raped by a Copt, although forensic evidence proved this to be a false accusation. Nine Christian families were displaced from the city of Matrouh. When some Christian children drew graffiti on the walls of a Muslim Institute in Qualubya a dispute arose that ended with the killing of four Copts and a Muslim. During the funeral at the Cathedral the police threw tear gas and three Copts were killed by gunshot. Moreover, several Copts were killed in Khosous in Beni Suef because of the rumour of a Muslim girl's disappearance.132


El Sisi began his era with a republican decision that licensed the building of the Evangelical Apostolic Church in Sohag and the Catholic Church in Assiut. He also visited the Coptic Orthodox Cathedral for the Christmas mass. However, there were some sectarian and violent

132 Thomas, Arab Christians, 101.
incidents in September 2014. Some police officers looted Coptic homes in El Minya after the disappearance of a thirty-eight year-old Christian woman. In 2015, a video was circulated by ISIS displaying the slaughter of twenty-one Copts on a Libyan beach, after they had been kidnapped for forty days. Egyptian warplanes made a retaliatory air strike against an ISIS organization settled on Libyan territory. In El Minya a Coptic teacher and three children were accused after acting a stage scene making fun of ISIS. The teacher was sentenced to five years in prison and the children were sent to a delinquency home, but were later released on L.E. 10,000 bail for each after having been locked up and beaten for more than a month. The teacher and his family were displaced from the village. In 2016, a Copt posted pictures considered offensive to Islam on Facebook. This resulted in the burning and destruction of property of Copts in his village and the displacement of the young man’s family. The crisis of El Rayan Valley monastery, which dates back to the fourth century, escalated when the state decided to build a road that penetrated the monastery and demolished parts of its wall. A dispute between the monks and the Ministry of Environment staff ended with the arrest of Monk Paul, who was sentenced to two years in prison. Destruction and looting of Christian homes in El Minya took place because of a rumour of a love affair between a Christian man and a Muslim woman: 300 men broke into the young man’s home and dragged his old mother nude on the streets. A group of Copts were charged with the crime of “prayers without permission” in a church building in Alexandria. The priest was assaulted and his car was smashed. Muslims torched the house of a Christian in El Minya, claiming that it was used as a church. They also burned four nearby houses owned by his brothers. Copts were awakened by an act of arson in a Coptic Orthodox

\[133\] Thomas, Arab Christians, 108-115.
Diocese in Luxor. Consequently, a new church building law (“Act 80”) was passed by the Shura Council. This law was approved by the majority of Christians. A suicide bomber blew himself up in St. Peter’s Church close to the Coptic Orthodox Cathedral, and killed twenty-eight, for which ISIS claimed responsibility. The state performed a military funeral for the martyrs. The government gave compensation to the families of the casualties and injured and announced that critical cases would get free treatment abroad.\textsuperscript{134}

In 2017 there were two deadly terrorist blasts on Palm Sunday against Alexandria’s St Mark’s Cathedral and Tanta’s St. George Cathedral. The terrorist attacks killed forty-four and injured 126. El-Sisi ordered the armed forces to assist the police in patrolling and securing churches. Furthermore, twenty-nine Copts on buses heading to a monastery in El Minya were killed in an armed attack. ISIS stated that it was responsible for the attack. The Egyptian armed forces displayed a video on the local TV channels showing an “air force strike against terrorist gatherings in Libya.”\textsuperscript{135}

\textbf{2.1.15. Conclusion}

The history of the Egyptian church is both glorious and tragic. Its significance is often underestimated, however. Much of the “orthodoxy of Christianity” came out of the first catechetical schools of Alexandria, the result of doctrinal disputes between St. Athanasius and Arius over the nature of Christ, or between Cyril I and Nestorius over the nature of Mary. We owe the early Egyptian churchmen the formulation of the Nicene Creed, and the canonical form of the New Testament. In a nutshell: Egypt was “a nursery and pillar” to the early Christian

\textsuperscript{134} Thomas, \textit{Arab Christians}, 115-119

\textsuperscript{135} Bassiouni, “Egypt’s June 30 Revolution,” 1.
Church. Even after the invasion of Islam, a strong Christian minority has continued to exist up to the present. Since the Arab conquest, the Islamic government in Egypt has been offering protection to the Copts; hence, they welcomed the change after the oppression of the Byzantine rulers. This relationship had a certain level of tolerance between the church and the state but it also implied that both sides would recognize the ‘spheres of interest and responsibility’. This attitude of genuine and spontaneous acceptance and cooperation between the church and the state fluctuated in the thirteen hundred years of Muslim rule in Egypt. It might be worth mentioning that from a sociological point of view the Coptic Church always kept its ‘church characteristics’, and hence, it maintained an ‘institutionalist attitude’ and a ‘sectarian isolation’. Thus, mutual acceptance was the most logical and plausible attitude for the church to survive.

The MB movement gave us more insight and awareness of features in our community that we were aware of, but ignored. The conflict made us aware that Egypt is encountering serious social and economic problems. Most of the adherents and the supporters of the MB belong to the lower socio-economic class. The Church needs to be aware that acts of mercy are essential for the growth of the church. Christians are obliged not only to forgive, but to reach out to the needy and get involved in more charitable development programs that will have a profound impact on the community.

2.2. Theological and Biblical Issues

The revolution in Egypt has forced Christians of the KDEC to re-examine their faith, and their role in political society. In this section I explore models of mission and evangelism, and relate

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137 Meinardus, *Christians in Egypt. Orthodox*, 28-31
these to the changing self-perception and role of the KDEC. Questions of how Christians of KDEC relate to other cultures and religions are important in this discussion, given the location of the KDEC within a predominantly Muslim culture. For this reason I also explore Richard Niebuhr’s typologies of the relation between Christ and culture, to try to identify the model that is best suited to the context of the KDEC. Finally, I briefly examine issues of equality and freedom and the role of leadership in the pastoral care required in this particular situation.

David Bosch has suggested that the Christian faith is “intrinsically missionary,” and it is helpful to unpack the implications of this claim for the KDEC.¹³⁸ Unlike previous centuries, where the meaning of mission was often restricted to the sending of individuals or groups to foreign lands, mission is now increasingly understood in a much broader sense, as being a central characteristic of the Christian faith. Evangelism is in turn an “essential dimension” of this overall missionary stance toward the world.¹³⁹ Evangelism is not equivalent to mission, however, for mission, Bosch says, is wider than evangelism.¹⁴⁰ Or as Bevans puts it: “The special end of … missionary activity is the evangelization and the implanting of the Church among peoples or groups in which it has not yet taken root.”¹⁴¹

According to Bevans, the church should immerse itself in the world’s various cultures, and see the good in them in order to open up the path to evangelization. He asks whether the church’s missional relation to other cultures should be prophetic or dialogical and concludes that it should

¹³⁹Bosch, Transforming Mission, 11.
¹⁴⁰Bosch, Transforming Mission, 421.
be both, coining the term “prophetic dialogue,” which includes both a willingness and openness to hear others and engage with them, and a prophetic call for liberation in the midst of political turmoil. Prophetic dialogue is one of four major styles or types of mission described in his major work on mission, co-authored with Roger Schroeder, entitled *Constants in Context: A Theology of Mission for Today*. This term, “prophetic dialogue,” seems particularly appropriate for the KDEC and its Egyptian context, and to better understand it, it is helpful to break it down further.

South African Catholic theologian, Albert Nolan, explains dialogue as chiefly a process of listening. “Listen, listen, listen. Ask questions. Listen!” Missionaries must allow themselves to be immersed in other people’s cultures and evangelized by them before evangelizing them.

Christians in Cairo are immersed in a different religious culture by default, simply because of their minority status, and, in terms of the understanding of mission described above, as Christians, all KDEC members are or should be “missionaries” in this broad sense. Thus dialogue is or should be at the very heart of the relationship between Christians and Muslims in Egypt.

Bevans identifies four different kinds of missionary dialogue: firstly, there is the dialogue of life in which Christians live, interact, form friendships, and get to know other people. Second, there is the dialogue of social action, in which people of different faiths come to unite for humanity against racism, sexism, immigration policy, and other just causes. (This is precisely the sort of dialogue that occurred during the Revolution, when Muslims and Christians joined together in protest.) The third is the dialogue of theological exchange, in which people begin to discover one

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142 Bevans, “Themes and Questions,” 2.
143 Bevans, “Themes and Questions,” 3.
another’s doctrines. Lastly, there is the dialogue of religious experience, where people come to pray together in their different ways.\textsuperscript{144} This sort of interfaith prayer began during the Revolution and now continues at KDEC and in other places in Egypt.

Bosch points out that “we cannot possibly dialogue with or witness to people if we resent their presence or the views they hold.”\textsuperscript{145} At the same time, dialogue does not mean sacrificing one’s own position.\textsuperscript{146} It is thus a delicate matter, and one which merits Bosch’s description of “mystery,” for it can only work if God is present in it.\textsuperscript{147} For his part, Bevans notes the significance of dialogue is that “the spirit of God is constantly at work in ways that pass human understanding and in places that to us are least expected.”\textsuperscript{148} This can certainly be said of the events of 2011 in Cairo.

The mission work of the church is also defined by Bevans as prophecy: it is a “telling-forth,” and in this case a telling forth of God’s authoritative words, spoken regarding His Son the Messiah. The gospel is the good news of Jesus Christ, and the role of the missionary is to set out and spread that good news. Mission is also viewed as prophecy in the sense of being a critique of injustice. Prophets like Hosea, Isaiah, and Amos in the Old Testament, and Martin Luther King Jr. and Dorothy Day in more recent times, all carried out this sort of prophetic mission. These individuals’ mission in the world was to stand and speak out against the injustice and inequality

\textsuperscript{144} Bevans, “Themes and questions,” 8-9.
\textsuperscript{145} Bosch, \textit{Transforming Mission}, 495.
\textsuperscript{146} Bosch, \textit{Transforming Mission}, 495.
\textsuperscript{147} Bosch, \textit{Transforming Mission}, 495.
that was occurring. As noted previously, the KDEC was at the forefront of speaking out during the Revolution and in the years that followed. In *Constants in Context*, Bevans and Schroeder bring together both aspects of prophetic dialogue in the following definition, which is worth quoting in full:

Mission is dialogue. It takes people where they are; it is open to their tradition as and culture and experience; it recognizes the validity of their own religious existence and the integrity of their own religious ends. But it is prophetic dialogue because it calls people beyond; it calls people to conversion; it calls people to deeper and fuller truth that can only be found in communion with dialogue’s Trinitarian ground.  

Bosch’s expression, “bold humility,” is an appropriate description of the attitude needed to carry out this mission of prophetic dialogue. He writes: “[W]e believe that the faith we profess is both true and just, and should be proclaimed. We do this, however, not as judges or lawyers, but as witnesses; not as soldiers, but as envoys of peace: not as high pressure salespersons, but as ambassadors of the Servant Lord.”

Or as Bevans puts it, missionaries are to be bold in proclaiming God’s truth out of love at any cost, for the greater good of humanity, while maintaining godliness, understanding, respect, and patience, as opposed to condemnation. The attitude Bosch and Bevans are speaking of is embodied in the following passage from Paul’s first letter to the Thessalonians, beautifully expressed in the King James Version:

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For yourselves, brethren, know our entrance in unto you, that it was not in vain: But even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated, as ye know, at Philippi, we were bold in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God with much contention. For our exhortation was not of deceit, nor of uncleanness, nor in guile; But as we were allowed of God to be put in trust with the gospel, even so we speak; not as pleasing men, but God, which trieth our hearts. For neither at any time used we flattering words, as ye know, nor a cloke of covetousness; God is witness: Nor of men sought we glory, neither of you, nor yet of others, when we might have been burdensome, as the apostles of Christ. But we were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children. (1 Thess. 2:1-7)

Another way of looking at mission, as we seek to understand and define the role of the KDEC in Egypt, is to see the work of the church as “Missio Dei,” or the Mission of God. In “Missio Dei and the Mission of The Church,”153 Arthur states that the mission of the church is essentially God’s mission within the world. The term Missio Dei was first used by Aquinas to explain the activity and Trinity of God the Father, who sent the Son, who then sent the Holy Spirit.154 The term was then expanded to include the Trinity sending the church into the world.155 In this sending, the mission is God’s mission, and not the church’s.

There have been various arguments about the meaning of the Missio Dei, and the role and importance of the church therein. Hoekendijk emphasizes the fact that mission is God-centred, rather than church-centred, because if the church is the centre, mission is finite and illegitimate. Taken to its extreme, a God-centered view of Missio Dei can render the role of the church irrelevant. As Bosch concludes, ultimately, “the recognition that mission is God’s mission

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155Bosch, Transforming Mission, 399.
represents a crucial breakthrough in respect of the preceding centuries.”¹⁵⁶ (Here he is referring to the way in previous centuries that mission was primarily viewed as something the church did, rather than something that God does.)

Alongside “Mission as Prophetic Dialogue,” and “Mission as the Missio Dei,” Bevans and Schroeder offer two further models or paradigms, to which they give equal attention, and these are “Mission as Liberating Service of the Reign of God,” and “Mission as Proclamation of Jesus Christ as Universal Savior.”

“Mission as Proclamation of Christ as Universal Savior” tends to be a style of missionary activity practiced by evangelicals and Pentecostals, and as such Bevans suggests, tends to err in the direction of the spiritualizing of religious life and “can easily fall prey to the maintenance of the status quo, particularly in situations of widespread injustice and oppression.”¹⁵⁷

To better explain mission in a contemporary discussion, Bevans elaborates on a phrase of St. Francis of Assisi: “Preach always; if necessary use words.”¹⁵⁸ He is signifying the role of the Christian to live a life that reflects Christ, rather than merely preach the good news. Pope Paul VI also said that the first means of evangelization is an authentic Christian life.¹⁵⁹ Bosch adds to that by stating “the deed without the word is dumb, and the word without the deed is empty.”¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, 347.
¹⁶⁰Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 420.
Indeed, the deed, rather than the word is often more appropriate in the difficult context of being Christian in Egypt, where flagrant proselytization can lead to persecution or death. (To name just one example, in 2011, Coptic priest Daoud Boutros was stabbed and beheaded, and accused of proselytism on a website.)\textsuperscript{161}

Bevans proposes six elements of mission suitable for the twenty-first century. These elements are 1) witness and proclamation; 2) liturgy, prayer, and contemplation; 3) justice, peace, and the integrity of creation; 4) interreligious dialogue; 5) inculturation; and 6) reconciliation.\textsuperscript{162}

Perhaps most relevant for the present discussion are numbers three to six. The third element, i.e., the quest for justice, peace, and the integrity of creation, parallels Mission as Liberating Service of the Reign of God discussed in Bevans and Schroeder’s major work on mission, where the authors argue the church has a responsibility towards the poor and marginalized and should act as a voice for those victims who have lost theirs, and in return help them to find their voice. It is an understanding of mission that “is truly prophetic and that takes the side of the world’s poor and excluded majority…” This task is part of KDEC’s mission also and as outlined previously, the church’s actions in reaching out to the poor, the oppressed and the wounded increased appreciably during and after the revolution.

The sixth aspect of mission Bevans discusses is reconciliation, which is also a highly relevant dimension for this present discussion. Reconciliation takes place on various levels, he notes.

\textsuperscript{161}George J. Marlin, \textit{Christian Persecutions in the Middle East: A 21st Century Tragedy} (South Bend, IN: St Augustine’s Press, 2015), 85.

\textsuperscript{162}Bevans, “Themes and Questions,” 5-11.
Firstly there is the personal level; then there is reconciliation among cultures and minorities that have been marginalized or deprived of their rights. The final level Bevans calls political—and he gives the example of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, which was an attempt to bring to memory and heal the injustices of apartheid that had been buried for decades. Reconciliation has a divine dimension. Only God can fulfil this process; it is a work of grace. It is only through the reconciling work of Jesus Christ that those barriers that were set up by the original injustice, can be demolished. In light of the centuries of antagonisms between Christians and Muslims in Egypt, this emphasis on reconciliation is important for any revised understanding of mission.

### 2.3. Perspectives on Religion and Politics

What happened in the Middle East and the “Arab Spring,” where many nations revolted against their rulers, has prompted church members to start questioning the biblical and theological basis for becoming involved in the revolution either as a church collective or as individuals. This is an age-old debate, and is linked to questions about the relation between Christians and the culture in which they find themselves. It is this relation that H. Richard Niebuhr deals with in his book *Christ and Culture*, a work that is useful for evaluating the different attitudes revealed in the surveys and interviews of this present research project.

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Niebuhr identifies five views of the relationship between Christ and Christians and the culture in which they find themselves. Firstly there is “Christ against Culture,” which is the most rigid attitude towards culture, requiring Christians to reject all connections with society, including the established church, the state, and any private property. Holders of this view consider culture sinful and pay a large price for leaving most, if not all, that can be considered worldly. Nevertheless, those people who have forsaken all do not completely cut themselves off from culture. They might live secluded lives, but are still connected to the world. This isolationist view has been represented in various ways in the KDEC both before and during the Egyptian revolution.

People who follow the view that Jesus is the “Christ of Culture” see him as the role model of society. They are to follow in his footsteps as they see it. Their faith and beliefs are happily connected with the life they are leading. These people are able to harmonize their understanding of Christian living with that of the surrounding society. They believe that by being in society they are able to make an impact on the people around them.

“Christ above Culture” is the view that considers culture to be basically good, but also that it needs to be developed and made better by the teaching and the work of the Church. This view takes the good in the culture, while at the same time rejecting that which is contrary to the Gospel, and considers Christ as the overseer of culture. Society cannot function without God in His grace being in control. This is also called the synthesis model, in terms of which God is involved in culture. “They cannot separate the works of human culture from the grace of God, for all those works are possible only by grace. But neither can they separate the experience of grace from cultural activity; for how can men love the unseen God in response to His love without
serving the visible brother in human society?"\textsuperscript{166} This position is one that is mainly accepted and practiced by Roman Catholics.

“Christ and Culture in Paradox” reflects a similar view to that of “Christ above Culture.” The followers of this position want to balance loyalty to Christ and responsibility for culture. They believe that this combination is not a comfortable one. In addition to bringing together Christ and culture, they underpin service with an existing conflict between Christ and culture due to the sin that exists in culture. Here grace is introduced into the equation as working with sin. This particular view highlights the Biblical tension that Paul writes about in Romans 7 and 8. There is a caution here in that the followers of this view may tend to passivity because they depend more on grace than on speaking out against sin.

Those who view Christ as the “Transformer of Culture” have a more positive attitude towards culture. They believe that God the creator, seeing humanity fallen, intervened in history, that by His grace human life could be transformed into something better. Since Christ is redeeming the creation, so too the Christian should be motivated to work at transforming culture for the glory of God. This particular view springs from a more hopeful attitude toward culture and the capability of change in the world around them. This view relates to Bevans’ notion of witness and proclamation in mission, and the call to be light and salt in the world. The transformation of culture begins with reflecting Christ in our community on a daily basis.

As I continued searching and observing the trends of thought in Egypt, especially in the church during the revolution, I found three trends of thought that relate to Niebuhr’s models. The first is

\textsuperscript{166}Niebuhr, \textit{Christ and Culture}, 119.
that of Christians advocating separation from society, since the latter departs from Christian norms. The majority of Egyptian society are non-Christian, and throughout the ages have often discriminated against Christians. In response, some Christians insist that the world is evil and corrupt; the church must not interact with the world, its people, and its ways. Teachers and followers of this view base their philosophy on biblical verses such as the call to “be separate” in 2 Corinthians 6:17.

Niebuhr’s opinion is that this view is inadequate, because the separation of the Christian and the world can never be achieved. As citizens of this world, Christians are obliged to be involved in the workforce and in day-to-day cultural activities. There is no separation of material and spiritual realms in this world, because ultimately God is the creator of this world and social order. Jesus Christ was involved in culture, submitting to the rulers and tax laws of His time. He enjoyed the company of sinners, Jews and Gentiles alike, breaking bread together. Christ often addressed the issues of His time through His teachings. He encouraged the Jews to pay taxes; He spoke out for the rights of women; defended the oppressed; and extended love to all people regardless of race, gender, and religion.

As I counselled members of the church and others from outside during the revolution, I also observed a group that asked: “Why go to the people? Let us wait for them to come expressing their need, then we can tell them the solution.” This second trend of thought is similar to the first, except that it is less antagonistic. Niebuhr considers this a view that still mandates complete separation, and prohibits identification with or imitation of the outside world and of worldly ways. Sinful people of the world are asked to join the separation in order to be saved. This second
view divides people into good and bad, saved and sinners. Teachers and followers of such teaching depend on biblical verses such as John 17:15-16 and 20 and Mark 16:16.

This second view is faulty since it implies that justice and mercy should only be vouchsafed to the body of believers, and that non-believers are insignificant. The only interaction between the two allowed in this school of thought is strictly that of preaching the gospel—no further involvement within culture, outside the limits of pursuing the salvation of others is encouraged. Jesus’ life counteracts this view as he was constantly extending mercy to all, healing the sick and feeding the multitudes, regardless of whether they followed Him or not. As Visser’t Hooft puts it: “a Christianity which would…escape from its responsibility for and in the common life of man is a denial of the incarnation.”167

The third trend that I observed as I interacted in the society during the revolution, though in a limited manner, is one that encourages members of the church to venture out into the world, merge into the community, and help improve it. This approach reflects Niebuhr’s view of Christ as the Transformer of Culture. The adherents of this attitude think human culture, though fallen, can be transformed to the glory of God.168 They believe that their focus on Christ’s attributes will help to counteract sin and offer hope and redemption to other cultures and societies through Christ. This view develops people socially, politically, and spiritually. Those who follow this ideology believe they are part of the material world, are responsible for it, and should interact with the community with the intention of changing its condition.

167 Cited in Bosch, Transforming Mission, 418
168 Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, 196.
This is not unlike Bevans’ “anthropological model” which presupposes that “the basic goodness of human nature and human culture are clearly recognized and strongly affirmed. Culture is viewed as the place where God’s revelation occurs, and one can speak of finding Christ hidden in a culture, rather than bringing Christ into the culture.”\textsuperscript{169} This view is also implicit in the biblical account of Jesus and the matter of payment of taxes. Matthew 17:24-27 reads:

> And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received tribute money came to Peter, and said, Doth not your master pay tribute? He saith, yes. And when he was come into the house, Jesus prevented him, saying, what thinkest thou, Simon? Of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? Of their own children, or of strangers? Peter saith unto him, Of strangers. Jesus saith unto him, Then are the children free. Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea, and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money: that take, and give unto them for me and thee. (Matt.17:24 - 27)

This third trend of thought underpins the dual identity of Christians: as part of the society, but also with higher priorities than those of the world, acting as change agents and with a hopeful view towards culture as described by Niebuhr.\textsuperscript{170} The Christian longs for and is attracted to his or her heavenly home, but also identifies with the country where he or she lives. This mirrors both the faith and the humility of Jesus’ character. Niebuhr goes on to say that Jesus lived among sinners, and washed his disciples’ feet. The rich and great one became poor to save humanity. He was God; He came to serve and enrich many. He did all this with dignity and strength rather than out of inferiority and fear.


\textsuperscript{170}Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, 191.
It is my view that this should be the identity of the Christian within modern culture. Christians should be willing to adapt to culture, in order to help carry out God’s plan of redemption, yet without compromising their belief system. Christians live in communities made up of social and political structures within which their role of bettering the community takes place.

Drawing on Niebuhr’s analysis above, on my research into the nature of mission, and from my perspective as a researcher, I introduce a model I call “Love Outreach.” It is a model that comes from an understanding of God’s calling and teaching. It also comes from applying personal Christian relationship and communication with the Divine Father and understanding His love for humanity, as a whole, regardless of ideologies. Christians are often found living in communities that have cultures that are different from that of their church, as seen in the various perspectives outlined by Niebuhr, and this is of course true of the KDEC in Cairo.

The other principle governing Love Outreach is the understanding of God’s calling to his church, both as congregations and as individuals, to go out to the world and impact it with the Divine Love that is bestowed on His people. When the Christian realizes this calling and looks at the surrounding community with its different cultural backgrounds and traditions, he or she has to think of reaching out with a language that can be understood. This realization is supported by the scripture verse to “Love thy neighbor as thyself, to give the poor and the widow and help the needy. Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world” (James 1:27). The Christian is also compelled by love to imitate Jesus when he came to earth; roaming about doing good deeds and healing the sick: “And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every
disease among the people” (Matt. 9:35). This Love Outreach model or message is put into practice using a language that the recipients understand. It connects to Niebuhr’s view of Christ being the transformer of culture as it sets an example for the Christian to leave the walls of the church and go out into the community. The Christian is to take part in the society and its development, keeping it from deteriorating; being salt and light. In similar vein in an essay on Christians living in a religiously pluralistic society, Michael Goheen argues: “The church is called to live at peace with other faith communities participating with them in the task of building a just and sustainable order….The church should pursue cordial co-operation on many social, political and ethical issues that is based on mutual respect.”  

Jesus lived as he expected his followers to do, even before he told them what he expected of them. We can see him healing the sick, loving the unloved, befriending the outcast, feeding the hungry. We also see him going out of his way to meet with the rejected, sitting up at late hours of the night with self-conscious leaders who would not jeopardize their positions to meet with Him in daylight. He communicated with all sorts of people: rich and poor, masters and slaves, enemies and friends, men and women, religious leaders and followers, thus exemplifying “love outreach.”

Such “Love Outreach” is exemplified in many parts of the Bible, but is not currently implemented on a large scale in Egyptian Christian culture. The term “Love Outreach” used in this research must firstly be distinguished from the Social Gospel introduced in America in the late nineteenth century by Walter Rauschenbusch, who believed that it was possible to bring the

kingdom of God into being if only we applied Christian ethics to social problems and issues of justice and set ourselves free from false doctrines.  

While Love Outreach may look similar, it is not based in the underlying philosophy of the Social Gospel movement, which had its roots in liberal Christianity and socialism. (While the history of the Social Gospel movement is very complex, nevertheless, for many decades Christians in America were roughly divided between the more liberal Social Gospel adherents and their conservative evangelical opponents.)

In this research, the term “Love Outreach” refers specifically to Christian faith in action towards society, to reaching out and helping individuals regardless of faith, race, gender, or age. It is God at work within us, in love, and in practice, as exemplified in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:30-37). Love Outreach would be closer perhaps to more recent forms of the Social Gospel, which seek to overcome the old dichotomy between evangelism and social work.

While the Evangelical Christian church in Egypt previously concentrated mainly on spiritual issues, largely because it existed in an often hostile environment, now the revolution has forced the church to revisit the teachings of the Bible. Thus, today the church orders its life on the foundation of one ministry, the ministry of Christ, which is continued in the church, and is the responsibility of all Christians including KDE members. The Lord continues his ministry in and through the church. As noted earlier in the chapter, this is Bosch’s claim that the Christian faith is essentially missiological. All Christians are called to participate in the ministry of Christ. As his

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body on earth, and as stated in *Living Faith*, a statement of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, we all have gifts to use in the church and in the world to the glory of Christ, our King and Head. Christ endows and calls individuals to provide leadership as ruling elders, congregational deacons, diaconal ministers, and ministers of Word and Sacraments. Christ also requires and enables the church to confirm these calls. “*Living Faith* describes the purpose of these ministries: The gospels clearly present Jesus’ call to loving service. John 13:35 states Jesus’ criteria for those who serve others: “By this, all will know that you are my disciples, if you love one another.” Mark 10:45 describes Jesus’ model for ministry: “The Son of Man came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many.” Hence, the covenantal relationships among us, rooted in our relationship with the Triune God, are characterized by the spirit of mutual cooperation, respect, and love as brothers and sisters of Christ.

When I began my studies at Knox College, I believed it would be a journey that would begin and end with my departure from this world. This has placed a special burden or privilege on me that many do not have. This privilege is to pray, study, and serve during this particular historical interval in which I live today in Egypt. Raising unusual topics, reading texts deeply, and restoring the heritage we have allowed to wither is my responsibility.

Charles Finney, the Presbyterian theological minister and famous revivalist of the nineteenth century once said: “Revolutions become necessary and obligatory, when the virtue and intelligence, or the vice and ignorance of the people demand them….When one form of

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174 The Presbyterian Church of Canada, *Living Faith (FoiVivante)*, Section 7.2.1.
government fails to meet the necessities of the people any longer, it is the duty of the people to revolutionize…. In such cases, it is in vain to oppose revolution; for in some way the benevolence of God will bring it about.”¹⁷⁶ Finney applied this principle to justify the American Revolution. The same principle can be applied to the Egyptian revolution. The following verse from Jeremiah also seems relevant here:

O house of David, thus saith the LORD; Execute judgment in the morning, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, lest my fury go out like fire, and burn that none can quench it, because of the evil of your doings. (Jer. 21:12)

In light of the above verse and Finney's words, the reality of the church today in the aftermath of the revolution of January 25 and June 30 can be better understood. According to Finney, “Upon this principle alone, can what is generally termed the American Revolution be justified. The intelligence and virtue of our Puritan forefathers rendered a monarchy an unnecessary burden and a republican form of government both appropriate and necessary. And God always allows his children as much liberty as they are prepared to enjoy.”¹⁷⁷ Finney concluded by asserting the following:

The stability of our republican institutions must depend upon the progress of general intelligence and virtue. If in these respects the nation falls, if general intelligence, public and private virtue sink to that point below which self-control becomes impossible, we must fall back into monarchy, limited or absolute; or into a civil or military despotism; just according to the national standard of intelligence and virtue. This is just as certain as that God governs the world, or that causes produce their effects.¹⁷⁸

Applied to what happened in Egypt, this is a national challenge. Will people continue as they started, seeking bread, freedom, human dignity and social equity? Or will the situation descend to the level of sectarianism, fear, apprehension, selfishness, and political opportunism?

2.3.1. Theology and Equality

Equality was one of the rallying cries of the Revolution, and was a demand made by both Christians and Muslims. It is thus worth noting that much Christian thinking is based on the right to equality for humanity. This is shown specifically in the story of creation in Genesis, where God created man, gave him a special place, and then a woman of the same stature and value, and both were created in God’s image (see Gen. 1:27-28).

In an article tracing the development of a revolutionary concept of equality in Paul’s thought, L. L. Welborn makes the point that “Paul has come to believe in a deity who voluntarily ‘impoverished’ himself … who abandoned plentitude … and by his self-emptying opened a space for human beings to pursue ‘equality’.”179

The first two articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights follow the principles of both the Old and New Testaments by confirming the right to equality between all people of the world:

**Article 1:** All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

**Article 2:** Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on

the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.\textsuperscript{180}

As stated in both the Universal Declaration and the Bible, all mankind is born free and equal to one another. Each possess rights of freedom regardless of their race, gender, skin color, religion, or any other traits. These are the same rights that the revolution was aiming to achieve: the right to equality, and the right to freedom. The right to equality thus needs to underpin any missiology of the church in Egypt going forward.

\textbf{2.3.2. Theology and Freedom}

Freedom was another of the rallying cries of the Revolution. How then should we understand freedom in a way that is useful? For the Christian, freedom has two dimensions—a spiritual and a political/cultural dimension—and the two are related. Thus biblically, the concept of freedom is related to redemption, a statement that is based in God sending His Son to die on the cross to pay for the sins of humanity. God could not see humanity crying out because of separation and do nothing. God took the initiative and came down, taking the form of man, to die on the cross:

“Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross” (Phil. 2:6-8). It is thus God who gives freedom to humanity and not humanity to itself, and in this particular context, freedom is seen as freedom from sin and death.

Feelings of insecurity, fear, and uncertainty about the future are also a bonding factor for human beings. These emotions have a worldwide effect, especially when humankind tries to subdue others, causing slavery in thought and body in order to try to secure a future. Wars, invasions, and the creation of empires, are often a response to these fears. The Christian theological response to political unfreedom is varied and complex, but as Jim Wallis points out in an essay on the spirituality of liberation, true freedom and true spirituality come through the cross.\textsuperscript{181}

As Paul writes in 1 Timothy: “God will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth. For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus; Who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time” (2:4-6). He wants all to be free from within and, in return, to be free from the outside. Freedom, in this context, means the state of not being imprisoned or enslaved either internally or externally. In Romans 6:18-23, Paul writes of this freedom as being eternal life.

Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness. I speak after the manner of men because of the infirmity of your flesh: for as ye have yielded your members servants to uncleanness and to iniquity unto iniquity; even so now yield your members servants to righteousness unto holiness. For when ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness. What fruit had ye then in those things whereof ye are now ashamed? For the end of those things is death. But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life. For the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The same sentiments are echoed by Jesus during his teaching on earth. “If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed” (John 8:36). In this context, Jesus is referring to freedom from the captivity of sin; internal freedom to mankind.

An example of freedom from slavery and imprisonment is found when Paul writes to Philemon asking him to receive Onesimus, a slave who ran away but came to the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ and returned to his master. Philemon is to receive him as a brother rather than a slave, referring to the divine freedom: “For perhaps he therefore departed for a season, that thou shouldest receive him forever; not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved, specially to me, but how much more unto thee, both in the flesh, and in the Lord? If thou count me therefore a partner, receive him as myself” (Philem. 1:15-17).

This theology of freedom comes from within, and in return one is freed from outside pressure and influences. Jesus’ vision was not to enslave people unto him, but to give them the ability to be freed from themselves—something which can only happen through His divine power. Jesus gave people an opportunity to choose differently and not be enslaved by their own sins, desires or the lust of this world. Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights endorses this basic position by stating that, “Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.” This is a poignant statement in light of the situation in Egypt, where life, liberty and security of persons are fragile. Essentially, I am arguing that external freedom begins with spiritual freedom and that you cannot have one without the other. Furthermore, human freedom is something that is given by God, and respected by God.

The creation account in Genesis suggests that from the beginning of time, God gave humanity freedom of choice. Here freedom is defined as the power or right to act, speak, or think as one pleases, giving humanity the ultimate decision in choosing their path of life.

The pinnacle of God’s respect for human freedom is seen in Revelation, where God is imaged as standing at the door and knocking, waiting for the owner to hear Him and open the door:
“Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me” (Rev. 3:20). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in Articles 18 and 19, also states this principle clearly:

**Article 18:** Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

**Article 19:** Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

2.3.3. The Role of Leadership and Pastoral Care

How, as a church congregation, do we reconcile what we read in the Bible, with an understanding of the role of a Christian facing the particular challenges we face in Egypt? According to Robert J. Schreiter, “To be a congregation is also to engage in a quest to see our world in a special way from the perspective of God who has created that world and sustains it. ‘Understanding’ is therefore about coming to terms with the world in which we live and what happens to us in that world.”

The experiences we go through are what we try to understand from God’s point of view. This is faith seeking understanding. Faith seeking understanding is also about action. It is not only knowing about God, but knowing God in a relationship which is translated into a living tangible faith in action. This relationship challenges us in how to live our lives, causes transformation within, and calls us to be prophets who serve the community.

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Our theology must be revisited in order to understand what God intends us to do. It may be time for the church to rewrite its vision and mission statements in the full understanding of the Divine call to address the current needs and circumstances of the nation and community outside the walls of the church.

According to Schreiter, “Theology becomes important, especially when a congregation is faced with a major change and important decisions about its future.”183 Changes such as those that happened in the years after January 25 have led to social and cognitive conflict, underscoring the need for clarification of the theology of faith within the church. The beginning of clarification within the walls of the church is with the leaders of the church themselves, as they engage in pastoral care and counselling.

For this reason, I briefly discuss the theology of pastoral care and counselling in the church, especially as it relates to the KDEC and the need for strong and consistent leadership and nurturing. I first point out that pastoral care has a broader application and takes place in venues other than the church. The Independent posted an article on pastoral care as crucial for education, for example, stating “Pastoral care has become a vital aspect of independent schools, which are taking great pride in nurturing their pupils.”184 The goal of this care is to “create a nurturing and supportive setting.”185 It is to develop positive self-esteem, healthy risk taking goal setting, and

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185 Pozniak, “The Importance of Pastoral Care.”
negotiation, resulting in an overall wellbeing. This sort of general understanding of pastoral care is helpful as we reflect upon the kind of pastoral care needed in the present context.

The word “pastor” originated in the mid-fourteenth century, and means shepherd, and also spiritual guide or shepherd of souls. The old French word pastur and the Latin word pastorem mean a herdsman, while the verb means “to lead to pasture, set to grazing, cause to eat.”

Looking at the word pastor in a general sense, this is the person who does pastoral care. So, what is pastoral care? We can understand from the definition above that it is caring for the flock, in this case the members under one’s responsibility. The verse supporting such a definition is, “Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being examples to the flock” (1 Pet. 5:2-3).

This quotation gives a much broader sense to the word than just preparing and delivering sermons on Sunday or on any special day in church. It refers to loving and caring for the members and others from the outside, showing signs of faith, helping them find their way in life, comforting the troubled, and giving guidance and counselling to those struggling with issues in life.

Pastors cannot lead their congregations in faith or thought unless they themselves have experienced the same situations as their flock. They need to study and think through the issue of

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interacting with the society and making the right wise choices. They need to clearly understand the Gospel in action. Is it just caring within the walls of the church, or is it reconciling the spiritual aspects of life with the social aspects, thereby having an impact on the society around them, and in turn guiding the congregation to do the same? Much of the current theological scholarship suggests the latter position. Currently, Egyptians and Arabs are thinking about politics. Pastors generally seek to avoid dictating a political view, but they must nevertheless interact with the challenges of theology and faith that the situation presents. This interaction equips them with the ability to raise the faith of their people in times of fear and uncertainty, thus leading them to a deeper level of understanding of politics and religion.

Pastors give counsel and preaching to those who are fearful of what may happen today, tomorrow, and in the future. This raises questions about how we, as pastors, encourage individuals into political participation without imposing our own views. How can we direct people to a biblically-based political opinion, replete with love, justice, human dignity and freedom, while simultaneously excluding biases, personal gain, and sectarian interests? The contemporary and charismatic British evangelist Roger Forster summed this up by saying, “We work and pray for justice and peace as we do for the salvation of souls.”

Latin American countries have outrun us in becoming free from tyranny. The pastors and priests there did not hesitate to support the revolutions and social changes. Renowned Argentinian theologian, Rene Padilla, stated, “We have to understand that evangelism is not to make people happy or successful according to worldly standards, but calling people to gather in following

Christ Jesus in the commission that God is doing in the world, to lead humanity into a supreme purpose.”

The revolution in Egypt is a unique situation that has flooded our churches with challenges and questions. We must thus educate our people with Biblical truth and with a theology of mission towards our community. This will help church members clearly understand their mission, relate defining moments from the past, and realize their effect on the challenges and needs of today. However, for Love Outreach or theology to be understood in practice, we need to first describe the situation of the congregation, their set of beliefs, and their understanding of faith.

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When conducting empirical research, John Creswell recommends using a method that corresponds to the identified situation or conditions. In this particular situation, case study research was deemed the most appropriate. Case study research refers to the investigation and analysis of a single or collective case that is intended to capture its complexity. Creswell further explains that in the case study method, data is collected through open-ended interviews, overt and covert field observations, and a voracious mining of available documents. It is best, according to Creswell, “to examine a case bounded in time or place, and to look for contextual material about the setting of the case…gather extensive material from multiple sources of information to provide an in-depth picture of the case.”

The case study research method has developed into a useful tool for investigating trends in social science, psychology, anthropology, and ecology. This method has been recognized as a valid

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3Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 36.

4Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 40.
research technique for many years.\textsuperscript{5} It is considered the most flexible of all research designs, since it allows the researcher to retain the characteristics of real life events while investigating empirical actions. More specifically, a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context. It adds clarity when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, especially when multiple sources of evidence are used.\textsuperscript{6}

3.1. Advantages and Disadvantages of the Case Study

Case studies have been criticized for being time-consuming, highly labour-intensive, and stressful. In the initial stages, the researcher must uncover, assess, and analyze a wide range of phenomena and historical facts that lead to the current state of interest in the case. Planning and implementing the data collection process by retrieving and examining the parameters of each item of interest is tedious work. Later, questionnaires and surveys may often require extensive pre-testing prior to implementation. Compiling and tabulating the reams of information in a typical case study is both detail-oriented and time-consuming in order to ensure accuracy. Analyzing the data and eventually writing up the study clearly and in an unbiased way is of paramount importance in answering the research question and arriving at a reasonable set of conclusions.


Another criticism of the case study method is that there is little basis for scientific support and generalization, especially with single case studies. The possibility that interview responses may be coloured by the emotional stance of the participants is another reported criticism. Robert Yin agrees that there are some limitations to the procedures and approaches of the case study method. However, by standardizing the approach to data collection, inadequacies of the method are correctible. Since by design the case study method is narrow and focused on a single or small number of cases, its observations and conclusions cannot be generalized to other similar situations. However, the richness of the findings and learning experiences can be used for further development in other situations.

Conversely, there are advantages and benefits to using the case study method. This method provides answers as to why such attitudes, behaviours, and actions are occurring in the particular setting of the study and not elsewhere. After gathering, compiling and analyzing the findings of the research, the resultant knowledge and conclusions can be used in similar cases. More realistic responses, especially about rare phenomena, are produced by the case study method. In social science research, the case study method is both popular and essential in accurately capturing the lived realities of human social life.

In addition, the observation method, which is part of the case study method, uses all the senses of the researcher and all his or her mental powers of deduction to examine people in their natural setting. It also involves long periods of being among and alongside the subjects of interest, seeing the development of their thinking and decision-making.

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In this study, the subject of interest is a single case about various trends that began appearing during and after the January 25, 2011 uprising and continued in the years that followed.

The setting is the Kasr Dobara Church in Cairo. Its geographical location had a significant effect on involvement in the incidents that followed the January 25 revolution. The church is a few hundred meters away from Tahrir Square, where it was separated from the deadly action by a large government building. This building acted as a protective barrier against direct attacks and the overall aggression occurring in the Square, thereby allowing KDEC to serve the needy and injured. In this important and critical role, KDEC became a safe haven for people seeking refuge and protection and was the first church to proactively help those in need. With an unbiased attitude, KDEC served the wounded demonstrators and soldiers in its own emergency hospital during the January 25, 2011 uprising. Both Christian and Muslim doctors volunteered their services, working together within the church premises.

The KDEC has changed the image of Christians in Egypt because of its uniquely proactive role in leadership and among the congregation. Venturing into Tahrir Square and seeking social justice in the initial days of the revolution, is one example of this proactive stance. This new role is especially significant when compared with the leaders of other churches who chose not to become involved and actively advised their members not to participate. The KDEC’s actions swayed the societal image of Christians away from the impression of passivity that has characterized them for many centuries. With its large membership, KDEC is the biggest Arabic-speaking church in the Middle East. It is routinely recognized by the government for the many partnerships, services, and national activities it supports.
In response, foreign political figures began giving weight to the Church’s opinion. This trend was clearly demonstrated when delegates from Congress, members of the EU parliament, the British political attaché, the Dutch envoy to Egypt, and journalists from all over the globe insisted on visiting the Church to seek its opinion and ask for advice. For these reasons, KDEC serves as the focal point of this study.

3.2. Conducting a Step-Wise Case Study
The following procedure was adapted from material produced by the University of Melbourne, Australia. The first step in the process of conducting a case study is to identify and settle on the area or trend to be investigated. This topic area must be easily reachable, and accessible to the researcher. Material to study and the time to study must be plentiful. This present study fulfilled all of these conditions. Designing a research question was then accomplished by examining and evaluating the researcher’s desire to study the selected topic area. A main research question was established with corresponding sub questions that unpacked the desired understanding of the case. A literature review was undertaken to flesh out the existing knowledge about the case, fuel further queries, and refine the specifics of the area under study.

How data is gathered and analyzed is of utmost importance. Creswell underscores the importance of a mixed approach to data collection, since “it is useful to consider the full range of possibilities for data collection in any study and to organize these methods by their degree of predetermined

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nature, their use of closed-ended versus open-ended questioning, and their focus for numeric versus non-numeric data analysis.9

A well-constructed case study uses a number of research tools and techniques to establish trustworthiness in the obtained results. A variety of data collection methods and sources, such as face-to-face interviews, field observations, questionnaires, content analysis, and participant observation techniques should be considered to provide a more comprehensive portrait of the action under study. According to Creswell, the best data analysis techniques for case study research include the following: 1) categorical aggregation, where the researcher gathers instances, cases, or occasions into groups with the intent of yielding relevant meanings; 2) direct interpretation, where each case is examined separately, broken down and rebuilt in a more meaningful way; 3) pattern seeking, where patterns in the responses establish relationships within the data; 4) naturalistic generalization, where knowledge is developed and applied to other cases; and 5) detailed description, where traits or qualities of the action under study are exhaustively depicted chronologically in order to evaluate how they affect the reactions and responses of the involved parties.10

Prior to commencing data collection, all required permissions and guarantees of anonymity must be organized, distributed, signed, retrieved, and secured in a password-protected hard drive. A separate database to store the gathered data must be established and suitably secured. Data collection should be executed systematically to reduce and hopefully eliminate errors.


10Creswell, Qualitative Inquiry, 153-154.
Interviews should be open-ended with ample time and latitude afforded the participants. Written or tape-recorded field notes safeguard the accuracy of participant responses. Questions posed by the researcher should be flexible and delivered in a conversational manner. Maintaining eye contact with the participant allows the researcher to read the body language, gestures, mannerisms, mood, and overall disposition of respondents. Securing permission to clarify a participant’s responses at a later time serves as an excellent exit strategy.

The above were taken into consideration as the methods were prepared before application and use with the subjects of interest: Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church, its members, congregation and the friends of the church.

Data analysis was to be the mechanism by which the research questions were answered. The main research question was of primary concern and was assessed prior to any sub questions in order to avoid tangential scripting. Maintaining a suitable and clear tabulation of the results produced information that was easily comparable and that helped the researcher reach a verdict in answering the research question.

The above procedure was kept in focus during this research and the resulting analysis was according to the guidelines given. Writing up the report concluded the case study methodological process. The results section included stories, reviews, and historical records found in literature, opinions recorded from the media, interview transcripts and notes, tables and graphs, and other depictions from respondents’ questionnaires. The data was then compared to published literature and similar cases to confirm or annul its validity. Reaching a reasonable conclusion from the findings often leads to a set of new questions that warrant further investigation.
It should be noted that case study research is not limited to qualitative analysis. Instead, it can be used quantitatively to obtain tabulated information and statistics on trends, attitudes and behaviour patterns. Such is the situation in this study. A quantitative approach was useful at different times, especially when targeting the masses of church members.

### 3.3. Data Collection

Multiple sources of information were the drive for the data collection process in this study. Quick response surveys (Appendix B, D and E) were randomly distributed to members and friends of the church. The questionnaire was distributed to members and regular attendees of the five main worship services (the Sunday and Friday main church services, a Friday afternoon youth service, a Monday evening prayer service, and a Thursday women’s meeting). In total, 400 questionnaires were completed by church members and staff.

Demographic information such as age, gender, and social status was recorded. Completing this mostly multiple choice questionnaire did not take more than twenty minutes. The questionnaire was also distributed to forty outside friends of the church. These people had had close involvement with the church since the June 25 revolution.

All questionnaires were administered by pre-trained third parties, mainly leaders of each worship service, to ensure the appropriate distribution for age and gender. This process also minimized any possibility of bias. It was announced that participation in the survey was voluntary and anonymous and would in no way alter the participant’s relationship to the church or the researcher. The third party provided clear instructions, explaining the purpose of the research and answered questions during the data gathering process. Third-party assistants were chosen
according to their trustworthiness, position in the church, record of acceptance, and capability to assume responsibility.

Interviews were conducted in a non-threatening, conversational style, using an interview guide (Appendix C). Several categories of people within the church were asked to participate. These categories included people at the pastoral level, full-time workers, and the lay leadership of the church. Individual interviews were estimated to take an average of two hours to complete. In reality they took no more than the specified time. Questions were open-ended to encourage participants to engage freely in opinion sharing. Field notes were recorded by hand or by tape where permission was granted. Counsellors were available to assist with flashbacks caused by Post Traumatic Stress Disorder when recounting incidents in Tahrir Square, especially in the initial eleven days after the January 25, 2011 uprising. The church provided a comfortable and private area for counselling sessions.

An exhaustive content analysis of documents and media reports retrieved from government-owned and private publications was undertaken. Recorded interviews that were aired and later uploaded on social media and websites were transcribed and analyzed. The Kasr Dobara Church, during the uprising and its aftermath, was the primary focus.

The observation method was also used as previously mentioned. In a case study of this type, collecting and recording incidents and actions is a vital matter. Comparisons of trends and reactions of the people under study reflect their value systems and how these have developed in response to the external parameters, i.e. the revolution and violence starting in 2011.
3.3.1. Participant Selection - Interviews

The selection of potential interview participants from KDEC was fully dependent on the structure of the church, beginning with the senior pastor and the executive committee. Together these individuals oversee the four sectors of the church and report to a team of elders who are considered to be references of accountability. Four more pastors assist in the leadership, supervising the lay leaders who oversee the church, its vast membership and the several meetings that take place. The interviewer first read out a “Research Consent Form” to advise each person of their rights and responsibilities before proceeding. This form had to be signed before starting the interview. Each interviewee was advised that they might withdraw at any time without penalty and that all information acquired prior to the withdrawal would not be used in any form.

Names of interviewees would not be revealed at any time during the research. All rights to privacy were to be honoured. The names and contact information were recorded in a separate file with a corresponding code on the interview forms. Contact information was only to be used if

![Church Organizational Chart](image)

**Figure 1:** Church Organizational Chart
Interviews began with the senior pastor and the head and assistant of each sector. Under the Executive Committee are the four sectors in the church (the ministry teams, the youth sector, the external ministries, and the worship services). Representatives from the executive team and the board of elders were interviewed, for a total of thirteen participants. (Later three of these requested that their data not be included in this thesis.)

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<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive Committee</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Church Ministry</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Youth Sector</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The External Ministries</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Worship Services</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 2:** Distribution according to category and gender
3.3.2. Questionnaires

Four hundred church members and regular attendees (including staff) were selected to complete the questionnaire. The distribution of respondents depended on the average membership at each of the five main meetings (Fig. 3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average membership</th>
<th>% representation</th>
<th>Sample distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Sunday pm</td>
<td>Church service</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Friday am</td>
<td>Church service</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Friday pm</td>
<td>Youth meeting</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Monday pm</td>
<td>Prayer meeting</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Thursday pm</td>
<td>Women's Meeting</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5550</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3: Distribution of samples according to meetings.

Friends of the church comprised the third category of respondents. This group was defined as those who are not part of the church and are of different faith, who became involved with the church during the past three years. These people were invited to take part in any of the gatherings and celebrations in the church that honoured the families of those who died or were wounded in the uprising. Others came to sympathize with the Christians during the early church attacks. Another group heard and was touched by the prayers that were aired in the Square.
during the early days of the revolution and subsequently joined the church. Past volunteers were also included in this grouping of respondents.

The distribution of the chosen interview candidates according to gender and faith background is shown in Fig 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sample Number</th>
<th>Faith</th>
<th>Sample Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men 30-60 yrs.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women 30-60 yrs.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 4:** Distribution of the friends of the church.

### 3.3.3. Content Analysis of Documents and Recorded Programs

During the initial days of the revolution, a plethora of material was disseminated through all facets of media. Masses of people in the Square called out to show their dissatisfaction with the system and to demand change. Articles and programs aired over the last three years, both general and specific, were retrieved for consultation and revealed the reactions and contentions of prominent figures. Witness testimony of what KDEC did during this tumultuous time was explored and documented. Thousands of these testimonials exist. This valuable asset clarified the occurrences of the revolution.
3.3.4. Direct Observation

The personal observations of the researcher in relation to the development and involvement of the church in the revolutionary actions were noted. Changes that occurred during the last three years were documented and highlighted. The fact that the researcher has been pastor in Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church since 2010 gave him the right to conduct the observation process without any hindrances. Being present before and during the revolution gave him an excellent opportunity to interact with, observe and analyze the development of thinking and the change of ideology among the Christians of KDEC and other Christians.

3.4. Timeline

The interviews started in July, 2014 and were conducted at a rate of approximately two per week. In the meantime, I was transcribing and coding them as I continued doing the interviews. Second, the distribution of questionnaires was also made in July, 2014. Compiling the responses of all three groups started soon after in the third quarter of 2014. There was also the compilation of a journal of daily activities that became helpful in the writing up of the final project. The final write up began in December, 2014.
Chapter 4
Results

The collected data was summarized and tabulated in order to extract information that would help answer the sub-questions and, in turn, provide reasonable responses to the main research question. Results of the questionnaire which was distributed to 440 regular attendees, members of several meetings, staff, and friends of the church, were compiled into tables and finalized into graphs. These are shown below according to category and numbered accordingly. A verbal invitation was presented to the congregation in each meeting wherein they were asked to reconvene in a smaller, more comfortable hall. Instructions on how to answer the questionnaire, information consent details, and the rights and responsibilities of all individuals were clearly explained and shown. Freedom was given to the attendees to choose to continue or to decline the invitation and leave, not taking part in the survey. Confidentiality of information was underpinned. An identical process was undertaken with all target groups.

Also presented are the results of the “one-to-one interviews.” As the outcome of the first twenty-six hours of dialogue, the product has been transcribed and summarized in a table found in Appendix L. These ten interviewees were with a mix of leaders and friends of the church. There were originally thirteen interviews, but three requested their responses not be used in the final thesis. These ten interviewees preferred to keep their identity and information anonymous; thus each was assigned a letter from the alphabet. The one-to-one interview questionnaire (list of questions found in Appendix C), started with open-ended questions followed by a series of in-depth questions delving into the opinions and feelings of the interviewees. What is recorded in
the tables was written with the consent of each individual as to the wording and the opinion expressed in the interview. Each quote is a summary after a long discussion in answer to the corresponding question. Each interview took on average three hours or more in some cases. A second batch of twenty hours of recorded video interviews; conducted with leaders and friends of the church, was recorded and compiled into two twenty-six minute presentations. These one-to-one interviews were recorded with permission and names were kept after consent of participants. These are found in the two videos (with transcript) named Outside the Fences Part I & II; Appendixes F and G. The videos were produced in a joint agreement between the researcher and Media House; a documentary on the revolution with written permission to use in the case study.

Then follows the recording of my observations made during the years before the January 2011 revolution, during the revolution, and after. I recorded the reactions and transformation in reactions and handling of issues discussed in the thesis. This section is divided in three parts: before the revolution, during the 2011 uprising, and the period that followed.

This chapter thus presents the results and outcomes of the compiled material from the several methods used. The analysis of the collected data will appear in the next chapter.

4.1. Surveys

4.1.1. Characteristics of the Respondents

The questionnaires were preceded by a request for demographic information to be filled in and submitted with the survey. No names were requested out of respect for the privacy of the respondents. Demographic information included gender, age, area of residency, service(s) or meeting(s) attended by the individuals, current position in the church, length of membership, and
level of involvement in the meetings. This list provided the most relevant tools in helping to understand the trends observed in the research.

4.1.1a Gender Distribution

The two general service meetings (Sunday and Friday morning), showed a nearly equal gender response to the survey invitation. The Youth and Staff meeting showed a majority male response. The gender distribution was carefully chosen in the friends of the church group to have an equal balance. In the women’s meeting, only women responded.
4.1.1b Age Distribution

The Sunday and Youth meetings with the staff showed a tendency towards the younger generation being in the majority. The Friday meeting and friends of the church showed the mid-range. The women’s meeting tended towards the older category.
4.1.1c Address Distribution According to Meeting

The majority of the members in all meetings, except the women’s meeting, came from the Cairo area. The women’s meeting is nearly evenly distributed among the five major areas near the church.
4.1.1d Services Attended Other than Their Own

Fifty percent of youth and 69 percent of women who completed the questionnaire attend the Friday, Sunday, and Monday meetings. The Sunday and Friday members only attend the Monday meeting as a very low percentage. The forty-five staff are mainly distributed between the Friday, Sunday and Monday meetings.
Services Attended by Sunday Members

- 100.0% for Sunday Ev.
- 8.5% for Monday Ev.
- 0.0% for Friday Am, Youth Ev.

Services attended by Staff

- 35% for Sunday Ev.
- 33% for Monday Ev.
- 27% for Friday Am, Youth Ev.
- 0.0% for Sunday Ev.

Services attended by Women's Meeting

- 23.1% for Friday Am.
- 23.1% for Sunday Ev.
- 23.1% for Monday Ev.
- 0.0% for Youth Ev.

Services attended by Youth Members

- 100.0% for Friday Am.
- 30.0% for Sunday Ev.
- 15.0% for Monday Ev.
- 0.0% for Youth Ev.

Services attended by Friday Members

- 100.0% for Friday Am.
- 0.0% for Youth Ev.
- 0.0% for Sunday Ev.
- 2.3% for Monday Ev.
- 0.0% for Women Ev.
4.1.1e Current Position in the Church

There is no visible common trend in the meetings.

Note: An active member is registered in the church, attends services regularly and is involved in ministries and activities. A member is not regularly attending the church services and is not involved in any church ministry or activity. A regular visitor is a non-registered person who is regularly attending the church.
4.1.1f Level of Involvement in the Church

The Sacraments in the Sunday meetings show a higher percentage of involvement, while the social events and the activities inside the church show an equal distribution. The service outside the church shows an 80 percent involvement combining the “very” and “moderately” involved.

The youth meeting shows service inside the church to be the majority interest. Sacraments comes next in level of involvement. The women’s meeting shows a large involvement in practicing the Sacraments, social service and the services in the church. The staff show a strong and moderate involvement in all four areas studied. The percentage involvement is above 73 percent in all four areas.
4.1.2 Participation and Belief System

This set of questions shows the percentage of participation in both the January 25, 2011 and June 30, 2013 activities. It also answers which set of beliefs Christians hold towards individual participation and church participation in rising up against a ruler.

4.1.2a Participation in January 25 and June 30

The church meetings showed a nearly equal response to the January 25 Revolution, while on June 30, there was a noticeable increase in those who positively participated. The percentage ranged from 72 to 90 percent. The friends of the church showed the same trend. Though the women’s meeting showed a very small response to January 25, the increase was noticeable in the June 30 uprising.

![Graph showing participation in January 25 and June 30](image-url)
4.1.2b Should Christians Participate in Uprising?

The meetings showed a high agreement towards the right to revolt and express anger towards a wrongdoing. The friends of the church shared the same opinion.
4.1.2c Should Christians use Violence to Correct Injustice?

All of the meetings and the friends of the church expressed an opinion against using violence. Percentages ranged from 90 to 100 percent. The staff showed a slightly different distribution. Thirty-two percent confirmed the use of violence as compared to 10 percent in the other meetings.
4.1.2d Should the Church be Involved in Politics?

There was a higher tendency towards agreeing that the church should not be involved in politics. However, there was a range of 25-30 percent of respondents who thought the church should be involved in politics. To explain further, should the church as an entity have a political stand, directing its congregation to vote in one direction or the other? Should the church express political opinions? Here the results show that the majority members are against the church being
involved in politics. Here “involved in politics” specifically refers to directing its congregation towards one candidate or another.
4.1.2e Can Christians be involved in politics?

All target groups responded positively to the question. Thus they confirmed the right of Christians to be involved in politics. It was also seen through the observation that Christians ran for membership in parliament. Many took to the streets airing their opinions. The media was clear in underpinning this observation.
4.1.2f Understanding the Relationship Between Church and Community

All meetings showed the conviction that the church should be deeply or moderately involved in society.
Staff Understanding the relationship between church and community.

Friends of the Church Understanding the relationship between church and community.
4.1.2g Church’s Role in Responding to the Affairs of the State or Community

The majority of church members in the different meetings agreed that the church has a role to play in responding to community affairs. The friends of the church concurred.
4.1.3 The Early Days of the Revolution

4.1.3a Are you Pleased with the Church’s Response to the Uprising?

The majority of the respondents agreed with the way the church responded during the uprising.
4.1.3b Where Were you During the January 25 Demonstration?

While the majority of respondents were interested in what was happening in the January 25 Revolution, they did not participate in the demonstrations. Less than 25 percent participated in the initial demonstrations.
4.1.3c What Did You Feel About the Social Media Call to Demonstrate in Tahrir?

No general trend emerged. Mixed feelings prevailed.
**Youth Meeting**

What did you feel when there was a social media call to demonstrate in Tahrir?

- Happy/Encouraged: 20.8%
- Happy and afraid: 32.1%
- Skeptical: 28.3%
- Not happy at all: 18.9%

**Women’s Meeting**

What did you feel when there was a social media call to demonstrate in Tahrir?

- Happy/Encouraged: 15.4%
- Happy and afraid: 15.4%
- Skeptical: 30.8%
- Not happy at all: 38.5%

**Friday Morning**

What did you feel when there was a social media call to demonstrate in Tahrir?

- Happy/Encouraged: 22.6%
- Happy and afraid: 38.1%
- Skeptical: 20.2%
- Not happy at all: 19.0%
4.1.3d What Was Your Initial Response to the January 25 Revolution?

While the prevailing trend was supportive, a considerable neutral response was also noticed. The women’s meeting expressed more neutral and opposing views compared to the meetings and the friends of the church, who were more supportive.
Sunday Evening

What was your initial response to the January 25th revolution?

- Supportive: 64.4%
- Neutral: 30.5%
- Opposing: 5.1%

Youth Meeting

What was your initial response to the January 25th revolution?

- Supportive: 40%
- Neutral: 44%
- Opposing: 15%
4.1.3e Did you Participate in the Tahrir Demonstrations During the January 25 period?

If Yes, Why?  If No, Why Not? (Percentages are of the Total)

The majority of those who participated in the demonstrations wanted change. There was no dominant reason for those who responded negatively.
Friends of the Church

**Staff**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Did you participate in January 25th?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wanted change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Staff**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Did you participate in January 25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not convinced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Friday Morning**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Did you participate in January 25th?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wanted change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Friday Morning**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Did you participate in January 25</th>
<th>If No... Why?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not convinced</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afraid</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Friends of the Church**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Did you participate in Jan 25</th>
<th>if Yes why?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wanted change</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Followed my friends</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Went as an observer</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Friends of the Church**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Did you participate in Jan 25</th>
<th>if No, why?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not convinced</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afraid</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.3f How Did You Feel When the Revolution Escalated into Violence?

The major response to the escalation was anger. Fear was also mentioned, but not as frequently as anger. Friends of the church responded similarly.
4.1.3g How Did You Receive the Top Leadership Decision to be Involved?

The average for all of the meetings was over 70 percent support for involvement.
4.1.3h What Was Your Response to the Church Starting a Field Hospital?

The general trend was supportive in all of the meetings, including the friends of the church.
4.1.3i What was your Opinion when the Leadership of the Orthodox and Presbyterian Churches Called for Submission to the Rulers, and to Keep Away From the Demonstrations.

The combined opposition to the church call was 60 percent and above, except in the case of the women’s meeting. Their opinion was contrary to all of the other meetings. The women showed a strong agreement with the church.
Reaction to the leadership of the churches in Egypt calling for the submission to the rulers, and to keep away from the demonstrations.

**Sunday Evening**

- Strongly agree with the church: 8.9%
- Somewhat agree: 21.4%
- Neutral: 16.1%
- Somewhat opposed: 23.2%
- Strongly opposed: 30.4%

**Youth Meeting**

- Strongly agree with the church: 7.7%
- Somewhat agree: 7.7%
- Neutral: 19.2%
- Somewhat opposed: 25.0%
- Strongly opposed: 40.4%

**Women’s Meeting**

- Strongly agree with the church: 58.3%
- Somewhat agree: 8.3%
- Neutral: 0.0%
- Somewhat opposed: 16.7%
- Strongly opposed: 16.7%
Reaction to the leadership of the churches in Egypt calling for the submission to the rulers, And to keep away from the demonstrations.
4.1.4 The Muslim Brotherhood Period

4.1.4a Reaction to MB Taking Most of the Parliamentary Seats

A strong opposition opinion dominated the responses with a rating of 71 percent. If the category “somewhat opposed” was added, the opposing opinion would have been over 85 percent.
Reaction to MB taking most of the parliament seats (Women’s Meeting)

- Strongly opposed: 75%
- Somewhat opposed: 25%
- Neutral: 0%
- Somewhat agree: 0%
- Strongly agree: 0%

Reaction to MB taking most of the parliament seats (Staff)

- Strongly opposed: 53%
- Somewhat opposed: 12%
- Neutral: 25%
- Somewhat agree: 5%
- Strongly agree: 5%

Reaction to the MB taking most of the parliament Seats (Friday Meeting)

- Strongly opposed: 91%
- Somewhat opposed: 6%
- Neutral: 2%
- Somewhat agree: 1%
- Strongly agree: 0%
4.1.4b Reaction to the Muslim Brotherhood Winning the Presidential Elections

There was strong opposing reaction of 70 percent and above to the MB winning the presidential elections. If the “somewhat opposed” category was added, the total would have been over 85 percent opposed.
Reaction to the MB winning the presidential elections. (Youth Meeting)

- Strongly opposed: 63%
- Somewhat opposed: 17%
- Neutral: 12%
- Somewhat agree: 4%
- Strongly agree: 4%

Reaction to the MB winning the presidential elections. (Women's Meeting)

- Strongly opposed: 83%
- Somewhat opposed: 8%
- Neutral: 9%
- Somewhat agree: 0%
- Strongly agree: 0%

Reaction to the MB winning the presidential elections. (Staff)

- Strongly opposed: 65%
- Somewhat opposed: 12%
- Neutral: 16%
- Somewhat agree: 5%
- Strongly agree: 2%
4.1.4.c Reaction to the MB Changing the Constitution to Islamize the Country

A combined “somewhat” and “strongly opposed” opinion totalled over 90 percent. Friends of the church showed a slightly less committed opinion. The combined opposition was 78 percent.
Reaction to the MB changing the constitution to Islamize the country. (Sunday Evening)

- Strongly opposed: 87%
- Strongly agree: 4%
- Somewhat agree: 2%
- Neutral: 2%
- Somewhat opposed: 5%

Reaction to the MB changing the constitution to Islamize the country. (Youth Meeting)

- Strongly opposed: 88%
- Strongly agree: 2%
- Somewhat agree: 0%
- Neutral: 0%
- Somewhat opposed: 10%

What was your reaction to the MB changing the constitution to Islamize the country. (Women's Meeting)

- Strongly opposed: 100%
- Strongly agree: 0%
- Somewhat agree: 0%
- Somewhat opposed: 0%
- Neutral: 0%
What was your reaction to the MB changing the constitution to Islamize the country (Staff)

- Strongly opposed: 82%
- Somewhat opposed: 9%
- Neutral: 7%
- Somewhat agree: 0%
- Strongly agree: 2%

What was your reaction to the MB changing the constitution to Islamize the country (Friday Meeting)

- Strongly opposed: 94%
- Somewhat opposed: 5%
- Neutral: 1%
- Somewhat agree: 0%
- Strongly agree: 0%

What was your reaction to the MB changing the constitution to Islamize the country (Friends of the church)

- Strongly opposed: 50%
- Somewhat opposed: 28%
- Neutral: 17%
- Somewhat agree: 5%
- Strongly agree: 0%
4.1.4d What Did You Feel After a Year of Moving Towards a MB Dominated Government and Institutions?

There was an average of 92 percent of respondents who were opposed, including the friends of the church.
What did you feel after a year clearly moving towards a MB dominated government and country institutions. (Staff)

- Strongly opposed: 87%
- Submissive: 3%
- Somewhat Submissive: 0%
- Neutral: 5%
- Somewhat opposed: 5%

What did you feel after a year clearly moving towards a MB dominated government and country institutions (Friday Meeting)

- Strongly opposed: 83%
- Submissive: 5%
- Somewhat Submissive: 2%
- Neutral: 4%
- Somewhat opposed: 6%

What did you feel after a year clearly moving towards a MB dominated government and country institutions
Friends of the Church

- Strongly opposed: 50%
- Submissive: 0%
- Somewhat Submissive: 0%
- Neutral: 7%
- Somewhat opposed: 43%
4.1.4e. Reaction to the Memorandum of Understanding Between the MB and the Presbyterian Church

The reaction was much milder than 5.1.4.c, Islamizing the country, and 5.1.4.d, MB dominated country. It ranged between 60 and 80 percent.
Reaction to the MOU signed between the MB and the Presbyterian Church? (Women's Meeting)

- Strongly agree with the church: 34%
- Somewhat agree: 8%
- Neutral: 0%
- Somewhat opposed: 8%
- Strongly opposed: 50%

Reaction to the MOU signed between the MB and the Presbyterian Church? (Staff)

- Strongly agree with the church: 0%
- Somewhat agree: 15%
- Neutral: 15%
- Somewhat opposed: 12%
- Strongly opposed: 58%

Reaction to the MOU signed between the MB and the Presbyterian Church? (Friday Morning)

- Strongly agree with the church: 0%
- Somewhat agree: 3%
- Neutral: 16%
- Somewhat opposed: 13%
- Strongly opposed: 68%
4.1.4f Why Did the People Call for a Rebellion Against the First Elected Civil President?

(Before and During the June 30 Second Wave)

All the meetings agreed that all four reasons combined were valid. The friends of the church distributed their opinion between the four reasons combined and dissatisfaction with the outcome after one full year.

Why did the people call for a rebellion movement against 1st elected civil president? (Sunday Evening)
Why did the people call for a rebellion movement against 1st elected civil president? (Youth Meeting)

- All of the 4 items, 78%
- Unsatisfied with the outcome after a full year, 4%
- Angry from the new leadership deception, 8%
- Seeing the future not promising, 8%
- Promised unkept, 2%

Why did the people call for a rebellion movement against 1st elected civil president? (Women's Meeting)

- All of the 4 items, 61%
- Unsatisfied with the outcome after a full year, 23%
- Angry from the new leadership deception, 8%
- Seeing the future not promising, 8%
- Promises unkept, 0%

Why did the people call for a rebellion movement against 1st elected civil president? (Staff)

- All of the 4 items, 73%
- Unsatisfied with the outcome after a full year, 2%
- Angry from the new leadership deception, 2%
- Seeing the future not promising, 8%
- Promises unkept, 15%
4.1.4g What Was the Impact of the June 30 Movement on the Church and Individuals?

The meetings showed an average of 55 percent involvement in the June 30 movement. An average of 20 percent were supportive.
What was the impact of this movement on the church and the individuals? (Sunday Evening)

- Strongly involved: 59%
- Was only supportive: 17%
- Neutral: 10%
- Somewhat opposed: 6%
- Strongly opposed: 8%

What was the impact of this movement on the church and the individuals? (Youth Meeting)

- Strongly involved: 56%
- Was only supportive: 27%
- Neutral: 13%
- Somewhat opposed: 2%
- Strongly opposed: 2%

What was the impact of this movement on the church and the individuals? (Women's meeting)

- Strongly involved: 39%
- Was only supportive: 38%
- Neutral: 15%
- Somewhat opposed: 8%
- Strongly opposed: 0%
What was the impact of this movement on the church and the individuals? (Staff)

- Strongly involved: 49%
- Neutral: 17%
- Somewhat Opposed: 5%
- Strongly Opposed: 10%
- Was only supportive: 19%

What was the impact of this movement on the church and the individuals? (Friday Morning)

- Strongly involved: 71%
- Neutral: 8%
- Somewhat Opposed: 1%
- Strongly Opposed: 4%
- Was only supportive: 16%

What was the impact of this movement on the church and the individuals? Friends of the Church

- Strongly involved: 28%
- Neutral: 25%
- Somewhat opposed: 0%
- Strongly opposed: 0%
- Was only supportive: 47%
4.1.4h Was June 30th a Coup or a Second Uprising?

In all the meetings and friends of the church, 70 percent and above called it an uprising.
4.1.4i Response to the MB Burning Churches and Christian Properties After the Deposing of the MB President

The interviewees expressed anger towards the burning of the churches. Percentages averaged 75 percent and above.
Response when you heard the MB burning churches and Christian properties after the deposing of the MB President.
(Youth Meeting)

Response when you heard the MB burning churches and Christian properties after the deposing of the MB President.
(Women’s Meeting)
Response when you heard the MB burning churches and Christian properties after the deposing of the MB President (Staff)

- Desperate and afraid: 5%
- Very angry and spoke out: 46%
- Desperate: 9%
- Neutral: 12%
- Angry: 28%

What was your response when you heard the MB burning churches and Christian properties after the deposing of the MB President. (Friday Morning)

- Desperate and afraid: 2%
- Very angry and spoke out: 47%
- Desperate: 7%
- Neutral: 2%
- Angry: 42%

What was your response when you heard the MB burning churches and Christian properties after the deposing of the MB President (Friends of the Church)

- Desperate and afraid: 13%
- Desperate: 0%
- Neutral: 0%
- Angry: 45%
- Very angry and spoke out: 42%
4.1.5 Church and the Community

4.1.5a What Role did the Revolution Play in the Daily Life of the Church?

Responses from all meeting and the friends of the church indicate that the revolution gave more freedom to the church.

**Sunday Evening**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More Freedom</td>
<td>39.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial Freedom</td>
<td>45.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial Restriction</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Restriction</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

 What role did the revolution play in the daily life of the church and its services?

**Youth Meeting**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More Freedom</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial Freedom</td>
<td>42.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial Restriction</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Restrictions</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

 What role did the revolution play in the daily life of the church and its services?
**Women's Meeting**

- More Freedom: 38.5%
- Partial Freedom: 38.5%
- Nothing: 7.7%
- Partial Restriction: 7.7%
- More Restriction: 7.7%

*What role did the revolution play in the daily life of the church and its staff?*

**Staff**

- More Freedom: 41.5%
- Partial Freedom: 31.7%
- Nothing: 26.8%
- Partial Restriction: 0.0%
- More Restrictions: 0.0%

*What role did the revolution play in the daily life of the church and its services?*

**Friday Morning**

- More Freedom: 47.0%
- Partial Freedom: 36.1%
- Nothing: 8.4%
- Partial Restriction: 3.6%
- More Restrictions: 4.8%

*What role did the revolution play in the daily life of the church and its services?*
4.1.5.b. What Role did KDEC Play in Uniting the Denominations

The majority in all meetings believe that KDEC has played a pioneering role in uniting the denominations in prayer and impacting the society.
What role did KDEC play in uniting the denominations in prayer (Women's meeting)

- Tried to initiate union: 21%
- Catalyst only: 7%
- Did nothing: 0%
- Pioneering role: 72%

What role did KDEC play in uniting the denominations in prayer (Staff)

- Tried to initiate union: 26%
- Catalyst only: 17%
- Did nothing: 2%
- Pioneering role: 55%

What role did KDEC play in uniting the denominations in prayer (Friday Meeting)

- Tried to initiate union: 6%
- Catalyst only: 2%
- Did nothing: 0%
- Pioneering role: 92%
4.1.5.c What Role should Christians Have in Politics?

Over 75 percent of the people interviewed believe that Christians should have an active role in politics.
4.1.5d How Can the Church have a more Constructive Role in Changing its Image, Leaving a Positive Life-Changing Imprint, and Ameliorating the Crisis Between Muslims and Christians in Egypt?

The majority agreed that creating initiatives to serve society is the most important strategy to change the existing impression of the church. Creating and maintaining an ongoing Christian/Muslim dialogue will reduce crises between these groups.
How will the church have a more constructive role in changing the impression, annihilating the crisis between Muslims and Christians? (Youth Meeting)

- Create initiatives involving Christians serving the society: 62.1%
- Create initiatives involving Christian and Muslim Dialogue: 17.2%
- Christians to strive to take leadership roles in politics and government positions: 19.0%
- Do nothing: 1.7%

How will the church have a more constructive role in changing the impression, annihilating the crisis between Muslims and Christians? (Women's Meeting)

- Create initiatives involving Christians serving the society: 57.1%
- Create initiatives involving Christian and Muslim Dialogue: 42.9%
- Christians to strive to take leadership roles in politics and government positions: 14.3%
- Do nothing: 0.0%

How will the church have a more constructive role in changing the impression, annihilating the crisis between Muslims and Christians? (Staff)

- Create initiatives involving Christians serving the society: 48.8%
- Create initiatives involving Christian and Muslim Dialogue: 32.6%
- Christians to strive to take leadership roles in politics and government positions: 9.3%
- Do nothing: 9.3%
4.2 Individual interviews

This section is the result of twenty-six hours of dialogue, the outcomes from the “one-to-one interviews” of which the transcript is found in Appendix L. These ten interviewees are a mix of leaders and friends of the Church. These are the ones who preferred to keep their identity and information anonymous; thus each was assigned a letter from the alphabet. (There were thirteen interviews in fact, but three participants requested that their responses not be used in this thesis.) The “one-to-one interview questionnaire” (list of questions found in Appendix C), started with
open-ended questions followed by a series of in-depth questions delving into opinions and feelings of the interviewees. What is recorded in the tables was written with the consent of each individual as to the wording and the opinion expressed in the interview. Each quote is a summary after a long discussion in answer to the corresponding question. Each interview took on average three hours or more in some cases. Another twenty hours of recorded video interviews, conducted with leaders and friends of the church, were recorded and compiled into two twenty-six minute presentations. These one-to-one interviews were recorded with permission and names were kept with the consent of participants. They are found in the two videos (with transcript) entitled Outside the Fences Part I & II; Appendixes F and G.

4.2.1 Participation and Belief system

What is Your Understanding of the Relationship Between the Church and the Community?

Most interviewees stated emphatically that the church should be involved in the community and be as “salt and light.” As a whole, the church should not be involved politically, but it should encourage its individual members to become and remain involved.

Do You Believe the Church has a Role to Play in Responding to the Affairs of the State or Community?

The respondents mainly agreed that the church as an entity should not play a direct role, but should teach its members the principles of social justice and community development. The church should also take part in building schools, hospitals and other support facilities. It is clear that its figures throughout history have changed the society.
**Are You Pleased with the Church’s Response During the Uprising?**

The vast majority of the comments were positive, supportive, and clearly demonstrated continued appreciation. Only one interviewee was not pleased with how the church reacted to the revolution.

**4.2.2 The Early Days of the Revolution**

**Where Were You During the January 25 Demonstrations?**

Approximately 50 percent of the interviewees attended the demonstrations while the balance stayed home or were scattered in random places.

**What Did You Feel When There was an Internet/Social Media Call to Demonstrate in Tahrir?**

Approximately 20 percent of the interviewees said they felt it was time for them to do something, while the vast majority held mixed feelings.

**What Was Your Initial Response to the January 25 Revolution?**

A little over 60 percent of the interviewees approved of the revolution. The balance had mixed feelings.

**Did You Participate in the Tahrir Demonstrations During the January 25 Period?**

If yes, why? About half of the interviewees felt the time was right to express their opinion of the oppression they were suffering.
If no, why? About half of the interviewees were afraid of the consequences.

**How Did You Feel When the Demonstrations Escalated Into Violence?**

All interviewees expressed anger and confusion. Only one person fully expected violence to erupt at some time during the demonstrations.

**As a Member of the Leadership of the Church or a Friend of the Church, how did you Receive the Top Leadership Decision to be Involved?**

Over 80 percent of interviewees stated that they were proud of the decision.

**What Was Your Response When you Heard the Church Started a Field Hospital?**

Over 80 percent of all interviewees stated that they were proud of the decision.

**Before Mubarak Stepped Down, the Leadership of the Orthodox and Presbyterian Churches in Egypt Advised People to Submit to the Rulers and Stay Away from the Demonstrations. What Was Your Personal Opinion?**

Approximately 70 percent of the interviewees opposed the action of the church, while 20 percent defended the decision. Only one interviewee (10 percent) denied that the church called for such action.

**4.2.3 The Muslim Brotherhood Period**

**What Was Your Reaction to the MB Taking Most of the Seats of the Parliament?**

The vast majority of the interviewees displayed dissatisfaction and anger, while one expected the outcome.
What Was Your Reaction to the MB Winning the Presidential Elections?

The vast majority of the interviewees were disappointed, angry, and sad, while one of the ten showed very little emotion since they expected it to happen.

What Was Your Reaction to the MB Changing the Constitution to Islamize the Country?

Most of the respondents were disappointed, disagreed with the policies and overtly expressed their rejection of what was occurring. Again, one person expected it to happen.

What Did You Feel After a Year of Clearly Moving Towards a MB Dominated Government and Institutions?

The vast majority of the interviewees openly expressed their disappointment, anger and disagreement. About 20 percent went so far as to refer to it as a dark era of Egypt.

What Was Your Reaction to the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) Signed by the MB and the Presbyterian Church in Egypt?

Approximately 40 percent of the interviewees did not hear anything about the MOU, 10 percent defended it, and about 30 percent were angry. The balance of 20 percent did not comment.

Why Did the People Call for a Rebellion Against the First Elected Civil President?

The vast majority of the interviewees stated that president did not deliver on his election promises, and relinquished power to the Muslim Brotherhood, who used oppression against Christians, excluded other parties, and routinely served interests other than those that would benefit the country.
What was the Impact of this Movement on the Church and Individuals?

All interviewees felt encouraged and hopeful. Prayers were raised in the church.

The World called June 30 a Coup, While the Majority of Egyptians Referred to it as the Second Uprising. What Do You Believe it Was? Why?

Over 70 percent of the interviewees referred to the June 30 event as a second uprising, while 10 percent explained it away as a different type of voting. The balance referred to it as a coup (technically).

What Was Your Response When you Heard of the MB Burning Churches and Christian Properties After the Deposing of the MB President?

The vast majority of interviewees felt angry that the violence was occurring, but were proud of the peaceful response of the Christians. Sadness and grief prevailed when the losses of life and property were mentioned.

4.2.4 Church and Community

What Role Did the Revolution Play in the Daily Life of the Church and its Services?

An overwhelming response included statements that the church trusted the leadership of God and His intervention in history; members became more courageous; the church gained more freedom; and there was a noticeable presence of Muslims in the churches.

What Role did KDEC Play in Uniting the Denominations in Prayer and Working Together to be More Effective in Impacting the Society?
Approximately 60 percent of the interviewees confirmed that KDEC has been taking a leading role while 30 percent did not comment. One interviewee was against this trend.

4.2.5 Biblical Issues

How Did the Revolution Force KDEC to Revisit its Theological, Faith, and Pastoral Perspectives?

Approximately 60 percent of the interviewees believed that it was a natural process and, over time, that circumstances helped develop their way of thinking. The emerging attitude of venturing out into society and serving the nation became a focal point. About 40 percent did not comment because they were from outside the church.

Where Will the Love Outreach Find its Place and be Adopted into the Church?

According to one interviewee, “It should be adopted outside the church and led by the Spirit.”

What Role Should Christians Have in Politics?

Approximately 70 percent of the interviewees stated that Christians should take an active role in the political arena.

How Can the Church Have a More Constructive Role in Changing its Image, Leave a Positive Life-changing Imprint, and Annihilate the Crises between Muslims and Christians in Egypt?

According to one interviewee, “We will never ‘annihilate’ the gulf but may build some encouraging bridges through our love and participation with Muslims in rebuilding Egypt.”
Another interviewee said, “When Christians continuously show love and accept others irrespective of their background, then we can leave a positive impact.”

### 4.3 Observations

Upon my return to Egypt in 2010 to serve as senior executive pastor in the Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church (KDEC), I started to record my observations. These observations are written below in divided sections: before, during and after the revolution. These observations are not just observations from seeing, but also from interacting and receiving feedback and impressions from people I interacted with.

#### 4.3.1 Observations before January 25, 2011

a) Prior to the revolution, Christians in general still isolated themselves from the rest of the society. Pastor Gohar Azmy (Video 1–2:06 and 4:03) mentioned that Christians were living in a “parallel society.” He also called it a “substitute society.” He went further and explained that Christians responded in such a way because they were marginalized from politics, sports, high ranking office, while writer and thinker Osama Salama confirmed the observation (Video 1-2:08). Copts became politically isolated in the 1960s and socially isolated in the 1970s. Mr Farid Zahran, Vice President of the Social Democratic Party (Video1-5:09), explains this isolation as the result of more freedom given to fundamentalists to attack Christians in the 1970s.

b) In November 2010, for the first time in decades, Christians aired their frustration against the oppression in a practical way. The police force came with a heavy hand against the church in Omraniya, stopping the construction. Christians stood up against this oppressive action. Clashes between Christians and the police resulted in three dead and many wounded. Pastor Refaat Fekry (video 1 – 15:56) says, “It was the straw that broke the camel’s back. Christians demonstrated for
the first time outside the fences of the church...outside the Cathedral walls. They blocked the roads near the Giza Governorate headquarters.” Ashraf Ramelah put it in another way: “Having reached the point of no return regarding abusive police brutality, Coptic protestors cried out for freedom of religion and demanded equal treatment under the law in order to build their place of worship. In addition, these protesters demanded that Mubarak step down. Police retaliated by attacking protesters, killing three and injuring many. These actions were not caught on camera, and they certainly were not sparked by Facebook organizers.”¹

c) Christians were shocked at the January 1 suicide bombing of the church in Alexandria. Counselling sessions increased in number and the main subject was the bombing and divine protection. There was a spirit of anger expressed in many of the conversations. Bombings, let alone suicide bombings, were unheard of in Egypt and especially in the large cities. The Muslim community was also shocked and the feeling of safety was eroding. Muslims also showed solidarity with Christians on January 7, the Eastern Christmas, by attending mass in churches all over Egypt.²

4.3.2 Observations During the Events of January 25, 2011
a) Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church (KDEC), its leadership and members, were strongly affected by the January 25, 2011 revolution. They joined in the demonstrations from the very beginning.


The KDEC church has a membership of 8,000. This church is involved in reaching out to the community and the region. This outreach is made through missions, sports, camps, television, a discipleship school, the freedom ministry (drug, sexual and physical abuse, etc.) and festivals. Most of this is from the spiritual aspect. There is also a mercy ministry that helps the needy by supplying a small portion of their daily needs. The church has a small outpatient hospital, a set of clinics and the one-day operation room.

Geographically, KDEC is located in the heart of Cairo. Most of the main diplomatic envoys, government offices, Parliament, and the Shura Council (upper parliament) are close by. The majority of the congregation is under the age of forty. Members come from well-to-do and educated families, holding prominent executive positions.

The geographical closeness of the church to Tahrir Square made the members more involved from the initial days. Many members aired their opinions next to their Muslim comrades in a unique cohesion that reflected the union of the nation. This is also mentioned by Osama Salama’s comment in Video 2 (6:10). The leaders were asked to lead worship and prayer in a show of solidarity. Labib Meshreky (Video 2 - 6:56), one of the worship leaders who led the multitudes in the square in prayer and worship seeking God’s intervention, records his change of attitude and growth of love for the people. Mr. Salama underpins the observation in general on the Christians (Video 2 - 6:31).

b) When the revolution turned serious, with clashes between the government and the demonstrators, both parties suffered injuries. The KDEC members immediately erected a field hospital. The injured received treatment without hesitation and irrespective of their affiliations.
The offers of aid from these Christians stood in stark contrast to the traditional norms of the society where Christians separated themselves from the community. Pastor Refaat Fekry underpins this observation (video2 – 10:11). This attitude earned KDEC the nickname, “the Revolution Church,” since it became a safe haven for many people during the fighting. What Kasr Dobara did was the first of its kind. Both Christians and Muslims sought medical help and trauma counselling.

c) It is also noteworthy that others avoided contact; when the bloodshed began they left the country. This did not apply to Christians alone, but to many Muslims, who were afraid of the consequences. Negar Azimi wrote in the New York Times Magazine of the progress of thinking that led to Christians fleeing the country.³

4.3.3 Observations after January 25, 2011

a) Later, Christians were actively involved in politics; they expressed their opinions and took to the streets. They even participated in the elections; they went out of their homes in multitudes and were obvious when standing in the voting lines. Nathan Hollenbeck also observed this in his article: “Now, even widows who—in accordance with Egyptian cultural norms and social expectations—have hardly set foot outside their homes since the death of their husbands 20 years ago are emerging from their social quarantine to vote. The revolution has awakened an awareness

of the possible for even the rural poor in Egypt, and those like the widow and orphaned-fatherless
who are on the margins of civic and social access.”

b) A clear change in the attitude of the members was noticed; they started caring even more about
the society. A year into the Revolution many companies closed down. Unemployment increased
drastically. The KDEC started the food bank initiative.

The daily prayer for Egypt increased in popularity as people began to pay more attention to the
condition of the country. The congregation came to understand its crucial role in interceding on
behalf of the nation. Prayer meetings involved various denominations. The result of this prayer
was felt in the political arena, eventually leading to positive change.

A surge in attacks on churches and other Christian property was noticed. Surprisingly, victimized
Christians did not run away as expected. Instead they prayed more fervently for peace to prevail
and for change in the condition of the community.

The need for counselling increased due to the traumatic experiences people went through during
the years following January 25. Many openly demonstrated signs of insecurity, paranoia, and
personal loss. Counsellors were urgently needed to help them regain their equilibrium. An inner
healing ministry was activated, where, on a daily basis, counsellors held both group and
individual sessions to help people from all religious backgrounds deal with depression and fear.

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4 Nathan Hollenbeck, “Washington Post on Copts in Egypt and America,” Coptic Orphans Blog, September 22,
egypt-and-america/.
c) More people left as the Muslim Brotherhood took over the country and worked at Islamizing it. Even moderate Muslims decided to leave the country. This was noted in several newspapers, one of which was The Telegraph, which posted an article on Christians fleeing the country after the Islamic takeover.⁵

d) Christians played a large role in the downfall of the Muslim Brotherhood after they took over the country. Christians took to the streets on June 30, 2013, along with the rest of the population. It was clear people were encouraging each other to go down and express their dissatisfaction with the outcome of the first uprising. The Muslim Brotherhood mentioned this clearly and within forty-eight hours their supporters had attacked and burned over ninety churches and Christian property all over Egypt; the style with which the property was dealt with was similar in all incidents. They even attacked and burned shops, homes and cars of Christians in a similar style.

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Chapter 5
Discussion of Results

According to Robert Schreiter, and as noted in Chapter 2, “Theology becomes important, especially when a congregation is faced with a major change and important decisions about its future.”¹ There has been a great renewed interest in theological questions in Egypt in the twenty-first century, in light of the turbulent events, and this renewed interest is reflected also in the results of the survey.

The research question for this study is as follows: In what ways will the civil uprising of January 25, 2011, and the years that followed, force the Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church in Cairo, Egypt, out of its traditional functions and into exerting an unprecedented influence in the society?

In order to reach a clear and more complete understanding of the research question, in this chapter I analyze the survey data and interview responses in relation to the theological findings of Chapter 2 using the following sub-questions:

*Question One:* What role did KDEC play in uniting the denominations in prayer and working together to be more effective in influencing society? (see graphs 4.1.5b, and Appendix L).²

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²These numbers refer to the numbering of the graphs in Chapter 4.
As noted in the historical discussion in this work, after the American and English missions arrived in Egypt, there began a 150-year feud between the Protestant Church and the indigenous Orthodox Church, the main reason being that the Protestant Church was accused of stealing members from other churches. The feud was also fuelled by the fear felt by all Egyptian Christians over the Islamic invasion, for when the missions arrived in Egypt, the activity of the Protestant denomination was likened to the Islamic conversion.

With this historical division in the background, survey data revealed that an average of 70 percent of 440 respondents drawn from member groups of KDEC, as well as friends of the church, believe KDEC has played a pioneering role in uniting the divided Christian denominations, largely through prayer meetings. Another 19 percent of respondents believe that KDEC played the initial role of catalyst in bringing about this newfound unity. (Here the difference between a catalytic and pioneering role is that the former sets the wheel of change in motion, while the latter signifies an ongoing leading role throughout the change process.) Taken together, however, the figures suggest close to 90 percent of respondents affirm the view that KDEC was at the forefront of change in this matter (see graphs 4.1.5b).

Interviews and observations further illustrate this perception of KDEC as a role model motivating other churches to behave in similar ways, especially in relation to prayer meetings. In a representative response from ten one-on-one interviews, Interviewee H responded as follows: “The messages from the pulpit of KDEC were always messages calling for forgiveness, unity, love and hope for all Egyptians. All this had a major impact in unifying many church leaders and were even admired and talked about openly between moderate Muslims” (see Appendix L).
In this way, KDEC embodied and continues to embody Stephen Bevans’ model of prophetic dialogue, discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis. The dialogical prayer that the KDEC is engaged in (along with other churches) demonstrates that “the spirit of God is constantly at work in ways that pass human understanding and in places that to us are least expected.”

Here I would like to quote Bevans and Schroeder’s definition of prophetic dialogue again, for this definition captures precisely the process that has now begun in Egypt through the prayerful activities of the KDEC.

Mission is dialogue. It takes people where they are; it is open to their tradition as and culture and experience; it recognizes the validity of their own religious existence and the integrity of their own religious ends. But it is prophetic dialogue because it calls people beyond; it calls people to conversion; it calls people to deeper and fuller truth that can only be found in communion with dialogue’s Trinitarian ground.

The new political activism of the churches in Egypt can be considered a form of prophetic dialogue for several reasons. It is prophetic because, in the tradition of liberation theology, it points to the injustice and persecution that it finds in the society and speaks out against it. The churches in Egypt, and particularly the KDEC, began to speak out as never before, and have continued to do so. It is also prophetic because it is prayerful and “calls people beyond.” The new and prayerful activism can also be considered dialogical, because there has been an unprecedented coming together with Muslims, both during the revolution and afterwards.


has also been increased dialogue within Egyptian Christianity, i.e., between the denominations: Protestant and Orthodox.

There were significant increases in the number of worshipers attending national prayer rallies organized by KDEC. The inaugural prayer rally that combined all three denominations was held in the Saint Simon Cave Church on November 11, 2011. Over 40,000 people attended the overnight prayer meeting that began at 6:00 p.m. and concluded at 6:00 a.m.\(^5\) What followed were numerous other similar rallies across Egypt, the last of which was held in 2014 in the Wadi area, which is halfway between Cairo and Alexandria. With a physical attendance of 15,000 or more worshipers from all over Egypt, worshipers spent three days of prayer, intercession and worship. These same rallies that are initiated, organized, and perpetuated by KDEC, are also routinely followed by between seven and eight million people on live satellite television and by a further 963,000 via the internet and social media all over the world.\(^6\) This phenomenon is the subject of a comment by Interviewee H, who notes that “KDEC gained the reputation of being the Tahrir Church, in other words, the Revolution Church. So, young people across Egypt, from all denominations, were rallying behind KDEC message. The worship and prayer meetings of KDEC were followed by millions of Egyptians through the satellite broadcasting” (see Appendix L).

As noted in Chapter 2, Bevans proposes six elements of mission he considered suitable for the twenty-first century. These elements were 1) witness and proclamation; 2) liturgy, prayer, and


\(^6\) Michel Helmy, Kasr Dobara media ministry. Telephone interview by assistant researcher, February 8, 2015.
contemplation; 3) justice, peace, and the integrity of creation; 4) interreligious dialogue; 5) inculturation; and 6) reconciliation. The sweeping prayer movement that was initiated and perpetuated by KDEC encompasses all of these six elements, to a greater or lesser extent

**Question 2:** How did the revolution force KDEC to revisit its theological, faith, and pastoral perspectives? (Reference graphs# 4.1.2b, 4.1.2c, 4.1.2d, 4.1.2e, 4.1.2f, 4.1.2g, 4.1.3d, & 4.1.3j).

The vast majority of survey respondents (i.e., 80-90 percent), from across the entire spectrum of groups, all stated that the church should be deeply involved in the surrounding society by providing services such as hospital care, education, and food for the needy as well as other forms of community service (see graphs 4.1.2.f and 4.1.2g). This recalls the words of St. Francis of Assisi, who said: “Preach always; if necessary use words.”

St Francis was arguing that the role of the Christian is to live a life that reflects Christ in its care for the needy, rather than merely preaching the good news. Pope Paul VI has also remarked that the first means of evangelization is an authentic Christian life (which includes care for the poor and the oppressed). As mentioned in Chapter 2, Bosch has a similar saying that captures this insight: “The deed without the word is dumb, and the word without the deed is empty.” This is echoed by Labib Meshreky from KDEC, who comments that “the church should exist without fences. It should be available to people on the streets presenting Christ to them. For years, we waited for people to come inside

7 Bevans, “Themes and Questions,” 5-11.
the church to see Christ. But the church is the community of believers…who live outside the walls of the church” (see video transcript, Appendix G). The church thus lived out its renewed pastoral perspective.

When it comes to the church getting involved in politics, an average of 70 percent of the respondents disagreed. In their view, pastors should give counsel to the congregation without imposing their own convictions and political views on others. However, pastors leading followers to a deeper level of understanding of politics was considered an acceptable activity. Interestingly, and slightly contradictorily, while respondents were significantly opposed to the church as an institution becoming involved in politics, they were heavily in favour of individual Christians doing so. The historical section in Chapter 2 described in detail the increasingly difficult political situation facing Christians in Egypt, and ways that Christians were marginalized in the public/political spheres, especially from the twentieth century onwards. It has thus not been easy for Christians to engage in greater political involvement of the kind seen in recent years.

In spite of this, the different groups registered approval rates for individual Christian involvement in politics that ranged between 83 and 100 percent (See graphs 4.1.2d and 4.1.2e.), which arguably suggests a shift in perspective on the relation between Christianity and politics. I discuss this response to the perceived role of individual Christians in politics in more detail in relation to Question 4 (below). Interview data underscored the idea that, pastorally, the church should be responsible for the development of the individual who, in turn, then becomes an effective citizen concerned with community development. Thus Bishop Mounir Hanna of the Episcopal Church of Egypt, North Africa and the Horn of Africa, commented that the role of the church is to encourage its youth to have their own opinions and think critically and positively about society.
He added that if Jesus were to appear in our present-day society, He would not simply sit in a cathedral, but would circulate among and interact with regular people, living openly among them (see video transcript, Appendix G).

**Question 3:** When will Love Outreach find its place as part of the church? (Reference graphs # 4.1.3h, 4.1.3i, and 4.1.4g)

The decision of the church to become involved in serving the community during the revolution was supported by the majority of respondents. Thus graphs 4.1.3g show the top leadership’s decision for involvement supported either fully, or “with caution” by an average 75 percent of church members and staff. This involvement initially took the form of the establishment of a field hospital, an initiative that was supported by 90 percent of survey respondents. Graphs 4.1.3h reveals that the majority of respondents were either supportive, or “supportive but cautious” about the field hospital, with the women’s group being the most cautious. Of the eleven respondents from the women’s group, 61.5 percent were supportive, with another 31.8 percent “supportive, but cautious.” This contrasts with the youth group, where 80.4 percent of 72 respondents were fully supportive, and only 13.7 indicated their support was accompanied by caution. (Because it is a much smaller sampling, it is probably wise not to draw strong conclusions from the results of the women’s group.)

Looking back at Niebuhr’s various models of the relationship between Christ and Culture, discussed in Chapter 2, the church’s increased outreach in the society (led by KDEC in the first instance) can be seen as most closely adhering to the model of Christ transforming Culture. Niebuhr argued that it is not possible or even desirable for Christians to separate themselves from society/culture. Christians, he said, have a dual identity. They are part of the society, but do not
belong fully to the world. The Christian longs for and is attracted to his or her heavenly home, but also identifies with the country where he or she lives. This, Niebuhr says, is how Jesus’ character is also.¹¹

After witnessing this outreach, people of all denominations and faiths volunteered, including Muslim doctors who took turns caring for the wounded. When confronted with the question of whom the hospital would serve, Eva Botros, Director of the field hospital, immediately responded that service would be provided to any wounded person, regardless of the side they were supporting (see video transcript, Appendix G). This approach mirrors the impartiality of the love of Christ, and is also affirmed in the missiological literature discussed in Chapter 2. Nearly all the hospital supplies were donated by people of all descriptions from all over the city.

A trauma-counselling ministry soon accompanied the field hospital to assist those people who had suffered severe attacks or lost loved ones. Director Botros believes that the church should live the role that Christ called it to do and stated, “Not only by sermons, services and worship but by taking Christ as its role model, who went around doing good and healing all those under the devil’s power” (see video transcript, Appendix G).

The one-on-one interview responses revealed that it was well-known in society that the KDEC assumed a proactive role in serving the community by venturing out and addressing the needs of individuals. In this way, the church demonstrated the message of Good News. These actions were affirmed by Interviewee I, who stated: “The teaching, worship, outreach and interaction of the church within the larger society should be a reflection of who Jesus Christ is. Therefore the

¹¹Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, 191.
church should encourage individual involvement in the fields of education, health, social support networks, relief in disasters, poverty reduction as well as the professional world. The church should model, challenge and support Christ-like characters within family relations (e.g. family counseling, family education, etc.) as well as state relations (e.g. politics, revolutions, legislative activities). However, the boundaries of these three spheres of ‘power and authority’ should be well kept and guarded” (see Appendix L).

To sum up the responses to Question 3, Love Outreach is adopted by the church to serve the community, irrespective of gender or faith. Its motive is to serve the individual person in the same way Christ did and continues to do through the Church and its members. The specifics of Love Outreach resonate with several models explored in the theological section of this thesis: in particular Niebuhr’s “Christians Transforming Culture”; and mission as Missio Dei and prophetic dialogue, as outlined by Bevans and Bosch in their seminal works.

Question 4: What role should Christians have in politics? (Reference graphs # 4.1.2a, 4.1.3b, 4.1.3f, 4.1.4 [all] and 4.1.5c)

As noted in relation to Question 2, while survey respondents did not feel the church should be involved in politics as an institution, they were overwhelmingly in favour of Christians as individuals getting involved.

Thus survey responses reveal that between 75 and 90 percent of the 440 respondents believe Christians have the right to revolt against an unjust ruler (see graphs 4.1.2b). Most in favour of this right were the youth, at 88 percent of 72 respondents, followed by staff and members of the Friday morning meeting at 88 percent of 45 staff members and 88 percent of 144 Friday morning
respondents respectively. The women’s meeting members were less enthusiastic about the right to revolt at just 53.8 percent of 11 respondents. Again, the smaller sampling of women needs to be taken into account here.

The congregation’s concern about the politicization of the church as an institution, can be understood in terms of the history of Christianity in Egypt, where Christian faith tended over the course of centuries to become more spiritual and private than outward and practical, and this because of the increasing isolation of Christians within the majority culture.

However, there are times when political involvement by the church is not only acceptable, but mandated, as Charles Finney points out in relation to the American revolution: “Revolutions become necessary and obligatory, when the virtue and intelligence, or the vice and ignorance of the people demand them….When one form of government fails to meet the necessities of the people any longer, it is the duty of the people to revolutionize…. In such cases, it is in vain to oppose revolution; for in some way the benevolence of God will bring it about.”

And indeed, the survey findings revealed that the majority supported the right of individuals to participate in a revolution. Survey findings also revealed, however, that while the majority are in favour of the right to participate in a revolution, that does not mean they are in favour of a violent revolution. Between 90 and 100 percent of the 440 respondents were adamantly opposed to the use of violence in response to violence or to effect change (see graphs 4.1.2c). This conviction was confirmed when Christians of KDEC responded with composure and prayer to the extreme violence perpetrated against them after the Muslin Brotherhood was overturned. In just two days,

over 150 Christian properties, i.e., churches, church-related facilities, schools, orphanages, shops, and homes were attacked and/or torched. Many more Christians were assaulted and/or murdered. The Christian reaction was one of serenity as Christians gathered in burned out churches all over Egypt, praying for God to intervene. This opposition to violence is in line with all the missiologists discussed in Chapter 2. None advocate violence. Resistance must always be prayerful and peaceful, if it is to be of God, if it is to be a reflection of the Missio Dei.

There is evidence to suggest that Christians became more courageous as a result of the revolution, or as Interviewee F put it, the revolution “helped church members and congregation to go beyond their usual ways and be engaged in the community and not segregated or isolated” (See Appendix L). When comparing Christian involvement in politics between the January 25 and the June 30 uprisings, a surge of nearly 40 percent was clearly discernable in the area of political participation, as indicated by membership at meetings (see graphs 4.1.2a).

Survey data revealed strong opinions in the political arena. It was evident that Christians held a definite understanding of the situation. Thus more than 50 percent of the 247 respondents who participated in demonstrations say they did so because they “wanted change” (see graphs 4.1.3e). The majority expressed anger that the revolution degenerated into violence, and an overwhelming majority expressed very great anger at the burning of churches by the Muslim Brotherhood.

Graphs 4.1.4i are interesting, in that the women’s group, normally much more cautious in their responses than the other groups, reflected the highest response with 10 out of 11 respondents either “angry” or “very angry and spoke out” about the burning of churches.

The strength of the convictions of Christians that came to the fore in the revolution are evidenced also in the one-on-one interviews (see Appendix L), where respondents expressed their
convictions clearly. Thus, according to Pastor Ghar Azmy, Assistant Secretary of the Synod of the Nile Evangelical schools, it is usually a minority that initiates change in society and country. Minorities have the power to change the structure of the society, its values, and priorities. In his view, Christians must realize this truth and act upon it by joining political parties to influence the society (see transcript, Appendix G).

After the revolution, some Christians of KDEC members and other Christians became involved in the government via parliament and in the council that drafted the constitution. Bishop Mounir argues that the church must raise political awareness among its members to help Christians become more proactive. As the salt and light of the world, Christians must take this active role in politics (see transcript, Appendix G).

Charles Finney expresses a similar point as follows, “To state that Christians are to obey the ruling system and evade in participating to choose who will lead them is utter nonsense and void.”

This same point was affirmed in the survey data where, as noted, there was a positive response to the question whether it is permissible for a Christian to participate in an uprising against a ruler. Between 73 and 88 percent of the 440 respondents agreed, except for the women’s group, where the numbers were noticeably lower, with just six of the eleven respondents agreeing (see graphs 4.1.2b).

**Question 5:** How can the church have a more constructive role in changing its image, leaving a positive life-changing imprint, and easing the crisis between Muslims and Christians in Egypt? (See graphs 4.1.2g and 4.1.5)

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Responses to general survey questions indicate overall approval for increased initiatives to serve society, and by so doing change the image of the church in society. Thus graphs 4.1.2g show that an overwhelming majority of respondents (ranging between 76.9 percent in the women’s group to 98.8 percent in the Friday morning group), believe strongly that the church has a role to play in society.

More specifically, when asked precisely how the church might improve relations with Muslims, on average between 50 and 60 percent of respondents from all groups (440 in total) indicated that initiatives to serve the broader society would be the most effective means of so doing (see graphs 4.1.5d). This result connects again with the points made above from Chapter 2, i.e., that preaching is ineffective by itself, and that it is deeds of love, not words, that are needed. The second most favored option for improved relations with Muslim groups is dialogue. The women’s group was most supportive of this idea at 5 out of 11 respondents agreeing percent, and interestingly, the youth group appeared least in favour with just 17.2 percent (of 72 respondents) giving first place to the importance of dialogue. The survey question was presented as a choice of three options, however, and this result simply means that initiatives to serve the broader community took precedence with the youth. Overall, dialogue was a highly favoured option, and, as noted above, a form of prophetic dialogue between Christians and Muslims has indeed been evident in Egypt since the revolution. The idea for improving relations that took third place across all groups, with scores ranging between 6 and 19 percent, was that of taking up leadership roles in politics and government.

These findings were further elaborated upon and explained in qualitative data collected through interviews. For example, Interviewee H said “The church learned afresh that acts of love, no
matter how costly, are to be indiscriminately showed to all people around us” (see Appendix L).

While the chasm between Christians and Muslims may never be closed, frequent attempts to build bridges must take place. A biblically and theologically-sound platform is needed to increase the understanding of human rights, political and public participation, and prophetic voices against selfish and egoistic actions. Reducing the prevailing atmosphere of intolerance may occur by through proactive acts of love. As Interviewee H stated, an attitude of accepting all others irrespective of race, color, gender, or religion is required.

The need for such an attitudinal and behavioral transformation connects with the model of “prophetic dialogue” outlined by Bevans. Prophetic dialogue, which Bosch calls a “mystery,” is needed to overcome the centuries of growing separation described in the historical section of Chapter 2, a separation that intensified during the course of the twentieth century.

Postscript

After observing the many changes that occurred in the years after the revolution, it became obvious to me that the church was transitioning from centuries of reclusiveness into a budding new era of proactive involvement, with creative ways of reaching society. Traditionally, the church refused to enter its surrounding society lest it be attacked. Now the church (and in particular the KDEC) was acting as a change agent in attitude and action for the community.

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14 See Bevans, “Transforming Mission.”
15 Bosch, Transforming Mission, 393.
16 For an excellent overview of the terror of the persecutions faced by Egyptian Christians, both in the past and in the present, and why they have in the past largely remained “behind the walls,” see the chapter on Egypt in George J.
Findings from this study do tend to confirm the hypothesis that Egyptian Christians have begun to rethink their position and attitude. Habitual passivity and detachment in relation to involvement in society do appear to be changing in favour of assuming the role of change agents in the history of the country.

There is evidence to suggest that Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church pioneered this reawakening. The KDEC became the leading example for other churches to follow. Many churches recognized the value and propriety of this new attitude and increasingly emulated the actions of KDEC.

Supporting these assertions that the revolution greatly increased Christian participation in politics and society, and in particular the Christian participation of the KDEC is found in the perspective of an outsider, an ethnographic observer, Anna Dowell, whose description is worth quoting at some length. (Dowell is a Fellow of the Social Science Research Council and conducted doctoral studies in Protestantism and politics in Egypt at Duke University. She spent some weeks of 2011 observing developments in Cairo and interviewing church members and staff of KDEC.)

The year 2011 saw a remarkable increase in the public participation and activism of Egypt’s Christian population—in young revolutionaries of the Maspero Youth movement, in overnight televised prayer meetings for “national unity” attended by up to 7,000 Egyptians Christians, in slogans of “Christians and Muslims, one hand!” from Tahrir Square. One of the most striking aspects of this increased visibility was the fact that, although they represented only 10 percent of the Christian population and a mere 1 percent of the entire Egyptian population, Protestant Christians were some of the most outspoken and celebrated Christian revolutionaries represented in the public squares and in Egyptian media. In fact, Kasr al-Dobara Evangelical Church (KDEC), a megachurch that borders Tahrir Square, became famous throughout Egypt for being—as it was and is colloquially referred to—“The Church in the Square.” It was known in Egyptian media as “The Church with a Nationalist Flavour.”

Marlin, *Christian Persecutions in the Middle East: A 21st Century Tragedy* (South Bend, IN: St Augustine’s Press, 2015), 81-95.

In 2014, in its continued efforts to heal the chasm between Christians and Muslims, the church, set up the “Maidet El Rahman” Rahman Table (the table of God). This is a table set up to feed people after Muslims break their fast after sundown during the month of Ramadan. In fifteen days, this event fed 7,000 people with the assistance of 310 volunteers who served tables. This is a clear example of the proactive attitude towards society Christians have now adopted in order to improve relations with the Muslim community.

Enveloped in the KDEC’s new role of change agent was the growth of the prayer movement throughout the country. I have observed this movement since I became part of the prayer initiatives in other churches following the KDEC example. This was not only in Cairo, as I was invited to lead some of the initiatives in other cities in the country.

The winds of change can be felt in the wider Christian community. A notable example is the occasion of the first ever attendance at a Christmas service by an Egyptian prime minister, which took place when President al-Sisi attended a Christmas Eve liturgy at Cairo’s St. Mark’s Cathedral on January 7, 2015.18

Labib Meshreky’s argues that the church should exist without walls, be open and available for everyone, and present the word of Christ to all who will listen. He recommends that churches should obey and follow the commandment in the Bible that portrays Christ as healer, saviour and provider for those in need (see Appendix H). Reflecting back on the models of mission, evangelism and inculturation explored in Chapter 3, Bevans and Shroeder’s presentation of mission as Missio Dei, and Niebuhr’s understanding of Christ transforming culture, are perhaps

18Marlin, Christian Persecutions in the Middle East, 94.
the most appropriate models to pursue when seeking to follow Meshreky’s recommendations. Following the 2011 Revolution, the Christian religion, its leaders and congregations, and especially its churches throughout Egypt, are intensifying their offerings of assistance, influence, and prayer based on KDEC’s example.

**Thesis Question**

In what way will the civil uprising in January 25 2011, and the years that followed, force the Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church in Cairo, Egypt, out of its traditional functions into exerting an unparalleled influence in the society?

The preceding survey results and interview data indicate that many KDEC members reached a new understanding of the biblical and theological concept of a proactive influential Christian life. The uprising on January 25, 2011 appears to have pushed many Christians out of the isolation that began with the Islamic invasion and attacks on Christians in the seventh century. An attitude of seclusion and non-participation continued to the present day, that is, until the actions of the KDEC on January 25, 2011 began the process of dismantling it. By voting, demonstrating, volunteering, providing assistance to injured demonstrators, opening a field hospital, and distributing food and blankets to the needy, KDEC members ventured beyond their protective walls to offer assistance to the surrounding society.

It also appears that the civil uprising also gave Christians greater courage to express their opinions. Thus, as noted earlier, graphs 5.1.4i reveal a surprisingly high percentage of respondents angry enough to speak out against the burning of churches by the Muslim Brotherhood after the deposing of the Muslim Brotherhood president.
Christian participation and prayer propelled the second uprising, which now stands as indisputable evidence that Christians became an effective power that changed the course of history. The overall period of the revolution has encouraged the KDEC and its members to make efforts to unite Egypt’s churches in prayer for permanent change as part of an ecumenical undertaking to try to ensure that human dignity and social justice is available to all. Interviewee H describes the role of the KDEC as follows:

The church in general was caught in the middle of the events, willingly as in the case of my church, KDEC; or just because of the nature of the struggle which was political and religious too. Christians all over Egypt were affected. Widespread prayer meetings, across denominations and spread across the country took place. The church felt the need to be united too; so we saw unprecedented worship and prayer meetings uniting different church denominations. The church had a very positive; we can say even a leading role in the society towards reconciliation (see Appendix L).

The KDEC continues to manage the prayer movement and encourages other churches to do the same. The regular Monday prayer meeting has been imitated in other churches and cities. There are semi-regular mass prayer rallies that started with KDEC that are now prominent in churches in several other provinces. Prayer movements that were initiated by KDEC have been implemented in many churches throughout Egypt.

The impression left by KDEC has caused people to think highly of the church and its members. To provide just one example, George Ishaq, politician and founder of the Kifaya movement, is on record as saying: “KDEC’s name should be written in gold. Egyptian history has never seen anything like it” (see transcript, Appendix G). According to Gohar Azmy, KDEC became the symbol of the church of Egypt during the revolution. It saved the face of the Christian institution by getting involved in Tahrir Square and leading prayers for peace and change. The KDEC
demonstrated solidarity and called for Christian unity on several occasions during the Revolution.

while leading worship services where men and women of both Muslim and Christian faith stood
together in Tahrir Square and prayed for a blessing over the country (see transcript, Appendix G).

In sum, because of its geographical position and assistance to those in need during and after the
Revolution, there is evidence from the study to suggest Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church,
changed its understanding of the Gospel, perhaps even substantially. While church
members were
continuously confronted with difficult decisions, many sought answers in the Bible and from
KDEC leaders. This was evident in increased demand for counselling sessions during the
uprising and the specific questions of those seeking guidance. This counselling was not confined
to Christians; many from the wider society came for counselling also, and the church’s pastors
were required to provide answers. The KDEC pioneered combined prayer meetings, inviting
denominational and Muslim leaders together under one roof. That the KDEC played a pioneering
role in bringing the denominations and faiths together is affirmed by the survey results, where the
overwhelming majority of respondents saw the KDEC as having a pioneering role in bringing the
denominations/faiths of Egypt together.

The second most significant action of the KDEC was in organizing and continuing the field
hospital. This initiative brought together church members and doctors of both Christian and
Muslim faiths. Donations from people of all faiths came pouring in. Nearly everything in the
hospital was donated and the continuous supply was replenished regularly by the community.

Later, when the economy weakened and people lost their jobs, a food bank was established to
support families with no source of income. In 2014, the budget for the food bank was 1.2 million
EGP of which 1 million EGP was collected locally. This support was distributed in fourteen of
Egypt’s twenty-seven governorates. This increased support for the needy is a clear indication that the church members realized that “[p]ure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit orphans and widows in their afflictions, and to keep oneself unspotted from the world,” (James 1:27 [MKJV]). Currently the food bank also serves Sudanese and Syrian refugees living in Egypt as well as Egyptians. This expansion has become increasingly vital since Egypt is considered a safe haven for many. The church also saw a growing need for the mercy ministry to expand as the poor became needier. Adel Eliya, the volunteer director of the church’s mercy ministry, stated, “The one time support people who came to the church door asking for help rose from 220 to 540 in 2014, which is a 245 percent increase. The permanent number of families served increased from 450 to 600 in 2014, which is a 133 percent increase.”

In an effort to build bridges between Muslim and Christian communities, KDEC and other churches organize special community celebrations. The Ramadan feast at the end of the Muslim fasting month is one example.

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19 Adel Eliya, Volunteer Director of the Mercy Ministry in Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church. Telephone interview by assistant researcher, February 14, 2015.
Conclusion

This chapter presents a set of conclusions drawn from the findings and analysis of the previous chapter, as well as some closing remarks. The primary motivation for undertaking this study was to answer the following research question: **In what way did the civil uprising of January 25, 2011, and the years that followed, force the Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church in Cairo, Egypt, out of its traditional functions into exerting an unparalleled influence in the society?**

Prior to the January 2011 uprising, two major events occurred that arguably paved the way for a historically monumental conflict. As explained in more detail previously, the first took place on November 23, 2011, in the community of El Omraniya, across the River Nile from Cairo. While a new church was being built, neighbourhood authorities and security forces halted construction. A riot ensued and thousands of Christians took to the streets to protest the perceived injustice, with many arrested and jailed. The second, more tragic event, occurred a little over a month later on January 1, 2011, when the Alexandria Two Saints Church was attacked by a suicide bomber, killing twenty-three Christians and injuring ninety-seven more. These two events led to a dramatic change in the Copts’ attitude towards the government.

Christians in Alexandria and throughout Egypt held anti-government protests condemning the government for not protecting its citizens and Muslims joined in these mass protests. Without question, these two incidents provided the spark that ignited the January 25, 2011 Revolution and continued to fuel the rush of tragic incidents that followed.

On June 30, 2013, in the second wave of the Revolution, over 30 million people blocked the streets of Cairo and surrounding areas, calling for the deposing of President Morsi and the
Muslim Brotherhood Party. Christian involvement was unmistakable in both demonstrations. More specifically, the role voluntarily adopted by the Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church gained worldwide attention.\textsuperscript{229}

As one of the pastors of KDEC, I personally witnessed my church revisiting its theology of ministry. The preaching changed, prayers took another direction, and community outreach was implemented with a new understanding of and attitude towards the majority in the community. I have witnessed the Church hold enormous prayer meetings involving all denominations and faiths. Church members stopped being passive and started to speak out, not only in the political arena, but also in the church (see graphs 4.1.4i). Christians began assuming active roles and became involved in politics much more than in past years (see Appendix L). Even more noticeably, Christians started using all aspects of social media to speak out. Participating in public speeches and inviting prominent figures to take part in church activities became frequent Christian activities. Love Outreach now appears in many forms, including public gatherings initiated by the church, community meals, medical assistance, and help in feeding the poor via a food bank. Christians have openly ventured out into the community to make a difference by changing lives and helping people find a peace that cannot be found anywhere else. All of these initiatives of serving the community occur with no partiality in relation to faith, age, gender or status. In the new vision of KDEC, everyone is welcome.

This pioneering approach is a modification of the traditional habit of minding one’s own business and avoiding an active role in the society. By assuming a revolutionary role, KDEC has

changed the image of Egyptian Christians. Instead of being referred to as “those who walk by the wall,” Christians are now known for taking an active role in society under the banner “Bread, Freedom and Social Justice.”

To better understand what happened in Egypt, I utilized the case study method, with KDEC as the object of the study, since KDEC was the center of the action in the Revolution, to the point of becoming known as the “Revolution Church” or the “Church of the Square.” As a member of the church hierarchy, I was in an ideal position to observe what happened and record developments. Both quantitative and qualitative methodologies were used to conduct this study, thereby providing complementary parameters.

Data collection was based on responses to 440 surveys of church members and friends of the church. Leaders were also interviewed at length. A selection of interviews were compiled into two video presentations. The vast majority of the stakeholders exhibited an eager desire to share their opinions, which is a fact worth highlighting in itself, since it reveals the proactive attitude that evolved after the Revolution.

The primary value of this study lies in its description of the Christian change in attitude and how this has reverberated through Egyptian society. The two video presentations document how attitudinal changes developed into an increased love for Egypt, and a greater desire to make the country better. New and different actions include calling for prayer and intercession, standing before God and pleading for the healing of the nation, becoming more involved in society, and encouraging others to participate in voting and elections. Others reacted by considering running for seats in parliament. This study has thus dutifully documented KDEC’s wish to make a difference and help change the course of history.
Conducting this study helped reinforce my understanding of a theology of ministry to serve and be present among the people we serve. The interviews and surveys tended to confirm that KDEC played a unique and pioneering role in breaking open the walls of years of isolation. The KDEC spearheaded social services, with the clearest example being the professional organization and operation of a field hospital when no one else dared to continue. Volunteers risked their lives, obeyed the will of God, and demonstrated His love in action while serving the wounded. Later, a trauma counselling centre was set up and operated by KDEC to serve those who had been affected by the horrific violence. KDEC also set up a food bank to support those who had lost their jobs.

Another prominent outcome of this study is the documenting of how KDEC assumed a pioneering role in uniting different denominations in prayer and intercession for the good of the entire country. The initial meeting was attended by over 40,000 Muslims who prayed alongside Christians for the healing of the country. Following this initiative, a regular prayer meeting was organized by KDEC and held in several other places. Soon this phenomenon was spreading all over Egypt. The KDEC was therefore both catalyst for, and pioneer of a national prayer ministry.

This study also documented how Christians expressed their national identity in observable ways. Voicing their right to revolt alongside other Egyptians, Christians showed that they were not khawagas (foreigners) as society had earlier tagged them. This study illuminated the fact that Christians also significantly influenced history before and after the June 30 Revolution. In fact, the Muslim Brotherhood accused Christians of being the key factor in deposing their chosen president, Morsi, from power. Their accusatory anger was so intense that burning churches and Christian property became the default reaction, even though, as Catholic Bishop, Kyrillos
William noted at the time, that there were 35 million people who went on to the streets against Morsi, and not just Christians. “We have been scapegoated,” he said.  

This kind of ongoing violence against, and harassment of Christians since the revolution helps explain why more than 200,000 Christians have left Egypt since 2011. The KDEC is against this exodus, however. Ethnographer Anna Dowell describes the church leadership’s position in this matter as follows: What sense does it make to leave the country in the middle of the divine intervention the church has been awaiting for a decade?  

Another important outcome of the revolution highlighted in this study is that there is now an active change of heart towards the Muslim majority. Instead of evading Muslims or having hidden aggressive attitudes, Christians are taking the initiative in minimizing the antagonistic spirit. This is done through actions such as honouring the families of those who died in the revolution and extending invitations to Muslim religious leaders and political and media personnel to participate in or attend special occasions. Another act of reconciliation has been the creation of the “Maidet El Rahman” Rahman Table (the table of God) to feed Muslims when they break their fast after sundown during the month of Ramadan. This symbolic action of eating together refers to friendship in the Middle East.  

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230 Marlin, Christian Persecutions, 93.  
231 Marlin, Christian Persecutions, 94.  
Bibliography


Additional Resources


Appendix A: Research Consent Form

Toronto School of Theology
47 Queens Park Crescent E,
Toronto, ON M5s, Canada.

Researcher:
Name: Rev. Sameh Hanna
Address: 35 Newbridge Ave, Richmond Hill, ON L4E 3Z9
Phone: 416-800-7061 email: samehh23@hotmail.com

I am a doctoral student at the Toronto School of Theology working under the guidance of Dr. Andrew Irvine, Adjunct Faculty in Pastoral Theology, Director of the TST Doctor of Ministry Program & Director of the Centre for Clergy Care & Congregational Health of Knox College.

Thank you, for agreeing to participate in this study which is taking place on ---.

This form outlines the purpose of the study and provides a description of your involvement and rights as a participant.

The purpose of this research is:

1) To interview some key leaders and lay leaders to determine their lived experience in the Church during the January 25th Egyptian revolution and later

2) To gain insight and experience, in the way that they looked at the revolution and to determine the factors that contributed to their presence or lack of involvement in the Church.

Two methods of data collection will be involved. First, a questionnaire, to determine the broader issues relating to the impact of the revolution on KDEC and its reaction and position from the revolution. The second will involve in depth, one-on-one interviews with key leaders in KDEC, to determine their own views on certain issues related to the revolution and the Church as well as their lived experience within the church during this time.

Afterwards, I will write a report about the findings. You are encouraged to ask any questions at any time about the nature of the study and the methods that I am using. Your suggestions and
concerns are important to me; please contact me at any time at the address/phone number or email listed above.

I will use the information from this study to write the thesis. Before it is published, this research will be read by the Research and Thesis advisors and the appropriate evaluation committee.

I guarantee that the following conditions will be met:

1) Your real name will not be used at any point during the collection of information, or in the written case report. Instead, you and any other person or place involved, will be given pseudonyms that will be used in all verbal and written records and reports.

2) If you grant permission for audio taping, no audio tapes will be used for any purpose other than this study, and will not be played for any reason, other than the completion of this study. At your discretion, these tapes will either be destroyed or returned to you.

3) Your participation in this research is voluntary; you have the right to withdraw at any point of the study, for any reason, and without any prejudice, and the information collected and records and reports written will be turned over to you.

4) Your access to and acceptance within this community of faith will in no way be affected by this research.

5) If you have any concerns or questions about this study or the interview process, please feel free to contact the Research or Thesis advisors:

Rev. Dr. Joe Schner
Director, D.Min. Program
47 Queen's Park Crescent East, Toronto, Ontario M5S 2C3
Tel: 416-978-4039 email: dmin.director@utoronto.ca

Rev. Dr. Andrew Irvine
Director of the TST Doctor of Ministry Program & Director of the Centre for Clergy Care & Congregational Health, Knox College

59 St George St, Toronto, ON M5S 3H8
(416) 978-4500 email: andrew.irvine@utoronto.ca

6) If you have questions about your rights as a participant, you may contact the Office of Research Ethics at, ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273
7) This information letter is made of two copies, one for each party as a reference.

Do you grant permission to be interviewed?  
Yes _____ No _____

Do you grant permission to be quoted directly?  
Yes _____ No _____

Do you grant permission to be audio-taped?  
Yes _____ No _____

I agree to the terms:

Respondent ___________________________ Date _____________

I agree to the terms:

Researcher ___________________________ Date _____________
Appendix B: Interview Survey

Name: _____________________________________________________________

Address: _______________________________________________________________________

City: ___________________________ Province: _____________ Postal Code: ________

Phone: _____________________________ Email: ___________________________

Gender: ________________ Age: _______ Last degree held: ________________

Current Position in the church: ____________________________________________

Role in the Church: _______________________________________________________

Are you a friend of the church?        Yes ____ No ____

Are you a member of KDEC?        Yes ____No____   Year of membership:_______

Are you an active member of KDEC?        Yes____ No_____ 

What is the level of your involvement in KDEC?

— Sacraments: Very Involved____ Moderate____ Seldom____ Never____

— Service inside the church: Very Involved___ Moderate___ Seldom___ Never___

— Service outside the church: Very Involved___ Moderate___ Seldom___ Never___

— Social Events: Very Involved ___Moderate___ Seldom___ Never ___

— Staff : Yes __ No ___
Did you participate in January 25\textsuperscript{th} Revolution? Yes ____ No ____

Did you participate in June 30\textsuperscript{th} Uprising? Yes ____ No ____

Should Christians participate in uprising against a ruler / governor? Yes ____ No ____

Should Christians use violence to correct injustice? Yes ____ No ____

Should the church be involved in politics? Yes ____ No ____

Can Christians be involved in politics? Yes ____ No ____
Appendix C: One-to-One Questionnaire

Thank you, for agreeing to participate in this study.

I will be interviewing some key leaders and lay leaders, to determine their lived experience in the Church during the January 25th Egyptian revolution and later. I also want to find out, how can we benefit from this experience and come up with a proposal for other churches to follow in the country and out.

**Introduction**

— What is your understanding of the relationship between the church and the community?
— Do you believe the church has a role to play in responding to the affairs of the state or community?
— Are you pleased with the Church response during the uprising?

**The early times of the revolution.**

— Where were you during the January 25th Demonstrations?
— What did you feel when there was an internet/social media call to go down and demonstrate in Tahrir?
— What was your initial response to the January 25th revolution?
— Did you participate in the Tahrir Demonstrations during the January 25th period?
   — If yes… Why?
   — If no… Why?
— How did you feel when it escalated to violent?
— Being part of the leadership or friend of the church how did you receive the top leadership decision to be involved?
— What was your response when you heard the church started a field hospital.
— During the first 10 days before Mubarak stepped down, the leadership of the orthodox and the Presbyterian churches in Egypt called to submission to the rulers, and to keep away from the demonstrations. What was your personal opinion?

**During the Muslim Brotherhood period.**

— What was your reaction to the MB taking most of the seats of the parliament?
— What was your reaction to the MB winning the presidential elections?
— What was your reaction to the MB changing the constitution to Islamize the country?
— What did you feel after a year clearly moving towards a MB dominated government and country institutions?
— What was your reaction on the Memorandum of understanding signed between the MB and the Presbyterian Church in Egypt?

**Before and during the June 30 2nd wave:**

— Why did the people call for a rebellion movement against 1st elected civil president?
— What was the impact of this movement on the church and the individuals?
— The world called June 30th a coup, while the majority of Egyptians call it the second uprising. What do you consider it and why.
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**Church and community:**

— What role did the revolution play in the daily life of the church and its services?
— What role did KDEC play in uniting the denominations in prayer and working together and be more effective in impacting the society?

**Biblical Issues:**

— How did the revolution force KDEC to revisit its Theological, Faith and Pastoral perspectives?
— Where will the Love Outreach find its place and be adopted into the church?
— What role should Christians have in politics?
— How will the church have a more constructive role in changing the impression leaving a positive life changing imprint, annihilating the crisis between Muslims and Christians in Egypt?

**Concluding Thoughts**

— Please provide any other significant information or comments which may enhance this research.
— What was your impression on the interview and would you like any follow up information?
5 Appendix D: Survey Questionnaire

(Church members)

Please mark the appropriate answer.

Gender:

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</tr>
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</table>

Age:

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<th>16 – 19</th>
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<th>40 – 49</th>
<th>50 - 59</th>
<th>Above 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Address:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cairo</th>
<th>Giza</th>
<th>Maadi</th>
<th>Helwan</th>
<th>Heliopolis</th>
<th>Nasr City</th>
<th>New Cairo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Service you attend:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Friday morning</th>
<th>Friday evening</th>
<th>Sunday evening</th>
<th>Monday evening</th>
<th>Women’s meeting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Current position in the church:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>Active member</th>
<th>Member</th>
<th>Regular visitor</th>
<th>New comer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

If you are a member of KDEC, how long have you been a member?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0 – 10</th>
<th>11 – 20</th>
<th>21- 30</th>
<th>31- 40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
What is the level of your involvement in KDEC?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sacraments:</th>
<th>Very Involved</th>
<th>Moderate</th>
<th>Seldom</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Events</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service inside the church</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service outside the church</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Did you participate in January 25th Revolution?</th>
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<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
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**Introduction**

What is your understanding of the relationship between the church and the community?

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Opposing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Did you participate in the Tahrir Demonstrations during the January 25th period?

If yes…, Why?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wanted change</th>
<th>Followed my friends</th>
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If no…, Why not?

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What did you feel after a year clearly moving towards a MB dominated government and country institutions?

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**Church and community:**

What role did the revolution play in the daily life of the church and its services?

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**Concluding Thoughts**

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Appendix E: Survey Questionnaire

(Friends of the Church)

Please mark the appropriate answer.

Gender:

| Male | Female |

Age:

| 16 – 19 | 20 – 29 | 30 – 39 | 40 – 49 | 50 - 59 | Above 60 |

Address:

| Cairo | Giza | Maadi | Helwan | Heliopolis | Nasr City | New Cairo |

Service you attend:

| Friday morning | Friday evening | Sunday evening | Monday evening | Women’s meeting |

| Yes | No |

Did you participate in January 25th Revolution?

| | |

Did you participate in June 30th Uprising?

| | |

Should Christians participate in uprising against a ruler / governor?

| | |

Should Christians use violence to correct injustice?

| | |

Should the church be involved in politics?

| | |

Can Christians be involved in politics?
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Are you pleased with the Church response during the uprising?

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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Did you participate in the Tahrir Demonstrations during the January 25th period? If yes…, Why?

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Concluding Thoughts

Please provide any other significant information or comments which may enhance this research.

-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
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Appendix F: Church Without Walls (Part 1)

Video 1 CD

Below is the transcript of the video interviews recorded with the consent of all participants in the interviews. They have agreed to reveal their identities after the introduction and explanation of the procedure. The questions used are mainly those listed in Appendix C for the one to one interview questionnaire. These questions led to others that were also recorded as seen significant to the research.

Transcript of Part I

Narrator (00:33)
Looking at the Egyptian Society as a whole, we might think of it as a coherent society with no differences among individuals. But if we look closely with a deeper perspective … we discover that this society is now deeply divided.

Participation in social and political life among the Coptic Egyptians… was essential in building the nation’s culture and glory. But the Christians in Egypt today live in near isolation… Behind fences built over many years.

Pastor Gohar Azmy; (1:27)
Assistant Secretary; Synod of the Nile Evangelical Schools.
A quick superficial look at Egyptian society … doesn’t show that Copts are isolated. They live side by side with Muslims, sharing the same transportation, jobs at companies. They speak the same language and dialects. They suffer from the same problems in society.
So, this doesn’t show any isolation among Copts.
But at a closer, deeper look into the Egyptian Society…
shows that the Christian Community lives in a parallel society…
a substitute society.
On the surface we see contact, blending and fusion…
But the truth is that the Coptic Christian society is a parallel one…
in which Christians live and practice their faith privately.

Pastor Refaat Fekry: Shoubra Evangelical Church. (2:29)

Egypt enjoyed freedom before the year 1952.
It was an era of liberalism.
There were few sectarian or religious problems.
There were individual incidents,
but they were hardly worth mentioning.
We enjoyed coexistence and tolerance in our communities.
But things got worse after 1952.
And in the 1970s things got worse for Christians.

Mr. Osama Salama: Writer and Arab intellectual. (3:03)

Copts became politically isolated in the 60s.
And, in the 70s, social isolation started.
As Islamic Fundamentalism began to flourish,
some groups started to attack Christians,
who had no representatives in political circles.
They turned to the church.
It became their only refuge and it welcomed them.

Pastor Gohar Azmy (3:32)

Islamic fundamentalism spread through the 70’s,
especially in the universities.
Islamization of Egyptian society proliferated.
Christians feared for their children.
Hence, a parallel Christian society started to appear.
Discrimination in the Egyptian society became quite obvious,
even in sports clubs and in upper management in the workforce.
Copts felt the discrimination, marginalization and exclusion,
in addition to the force or other tactics used by Islamists.

Pastor Refaat Fekry. (4:26)
A considerable number of churches were attacked.
El Khanka Church incidents.
El Zawya El Hamra incidents.
Attacks against a number of Christians.
Attacks on jewelry shops and the theft of merchandise.
Assaults on pharmacies. Murder of Christian doctors.

Sadat (4:47)
I’m a Muslim president of an Islamic state.
in which Muslims live side by side with Christians.

Mr. Farid Zahran: Vice president; Egyptian Social Democratic party (4:59)
President Mohamed Anwar el Sadat
labeled himself a “believer president”,
and started using the terminology of political Islam.
He gave freedom to the Muslim Brotherhood.
He assigned one of them as Governor in Assiut,
who gave daggers to students to attack us at the universities.
This added to the terror that Christians already felt
because the government supported this spread of Islam.
If the president takes pride in his faith using religious messages
and giving freedom to religious groups,
this increased the isolation among Christians.
Narrator (5:52)
In light of this, this intentional exclusion church institutions provided an open door by embracing the Christian Community. The reason for, and the source of this confidence was a unique person. Christians held him with great Respect and love. Pope Shenouda III

Mr. George Ishaq Politian and founder of Kifaya movement (6:28)
Pope Shenouda was a charismatic person. He embraces the Christians within the fences of the Church. Christians went about all aspects of their lives within the fences of the church, socially, culturally, even in sports and recreation. Life went on within the fences of the church.

Mr. Osama Salama: Writer and Arab intellectual (6:51)
Copts found a cohesive community within the church, which provided low cost commodities and medicine in addition to Coptic hospitals that were affiliated with churches. A self- sufficient society.

Mr. Kamal Zakher Moses: Political leader, Intellectual (7:13)
This lead to segregation between Christians and Muslims. You couldn’t find integration anymore, as had been seen in years earlier. It’s not a religious struggle. It is an existential struggle. The church evolved into a substitute society.

Pastor Refaat Fekry (7:46)
Christians felt like foreigners who belonged to some other country. Therefore, they didn’t participate in trade union elections.
With no identifiable participation in the society, Christians boycotted the larger Egyptian society.

Church scene: worship time. (8:05)
I don’t belong here, because I have another home.
I don’t belong here, because I have another home.

Narrator (8:21)
Those words resounded, becoming a motto for many Christians.
Not only on the spiritual level, but also in their citizenship, and their right to live in a better society.
Amid exclusion and marginalization over many years.

Pastor Gohar Azmy (8:47)
and with the spread of theological teaching that reinforced isolation…
and spoke about alienation,
that we are only strangers and visitors …
we accepted this Biblical view of life here in this world.
But this idea was presented so people would understand …
that this society is aggressive against me and my spiritual life, hindering my spiritual growth and piety.
This kind of teaching portrayed society as an enemy…
… so I have to Isolate myself for my spiritual growth.
Thus there is virtue, holiness and purity in Isolation.
It feeds the sense of Alienation…
If you are a stranger and a guest in this country.
So the more Isolated you are, the more pure you become.
This kind of teaching spread in the early 70’s.
It was seen as a justification for the church’s isolation.
and the church played a positive role in justifying it.
In greater part, the church feared for its members.
It wanted its youth to discover their energy and talents.
Presenting creative people to the society.
But this added to the isolation.
This kind of theological teaching wasn’t correct the way it was presented.
We have to separate form this larger society…
Because were strangers who don’t belong here.

Mr George Ishaq. (10:49)
This is very critical. There’s richness in diversity.
The more diverse a society is the more rich it is.
Christians are an important part of the Egyptian population.
But Christians weren’t the only ones isolate in Mubarak’s time.
Muslims were also, because only a very few were seen as privileged.
Some people stopped trusting elections and the government.
So Muslims were also excluded.

Narrator (11:28)
This phenomenon of exclusion pushed many Christians..
Into trade and commerce where they succeeded.
Within a few years, they became a major economic force.

Pastor Gohar Azmy. (11:49)
Some reports claimed Copts controlled 40% of Egypt’s economy.
Knowing that the Coptic community is only 10-15 % of the population…
Is amazing that they have such economic power.
My personal explanation for that is …
that Christians couldn’t find a way to move up the ladder…
In academics and politics so they turned to commerce.
With the free market and in an open economy…
Christians were able to succeed.
and play a major role in it …
Because it was the only level playing field available to them.
It was not like the academic, political or diplomatic circles.
This minority group played a role in the country’s economy.

**Mr. George Ishaq.(12:56)**

Egyptian Christians focused on business.
They had craftsmanship and found alternatives.
They played an important role in Egyptian economy.
Luxemburg is the smallest country in the European Union…
Yet it’s the brain that moves the whole of the EU.
Minorities are always creative.
Their presence in the country adds color to the Egyptian Society.

**Pastor Refaat Fekry. (13:37)**

We don’t have official numbers for the Christian population…
but it can’t be less than 10 or 11 million.
So it surely is an appropriate number.
Christians are a considerable voting block as well.
When there are trade or parliament elections…
Presidential or Shoura council elections…
we have to take Christians into account.
Christians are surely an effective force.

**Narrator (14:22)**

The El Omrania incident
One of the major events – a turning point in Christians’ attitudes,
Towards the state and the church.
Severe clashes between security forces and Christian demonstrators…
took place when Christians gathered at the Giza Governorate Headquarters…
They protested the police hindering construction work…
on a church at Omrania District in Giza.
Mr. Kamal Zakher Moses (15:04)

The clashes were between unarmed citizens…
who belonged to no specific party or political movement…
simply, poor citizens who faced fully armed security forces…
and weren’t defeated.

Pastor Gohar Azmy (15:29)

Events at El Omrania were a turning point…
For the Christian public, not for the official Christian church.
In their view, the regime…
heard the first cries for the fall of Mubarak’s government.
It was the first outcry in the last 60 years of Christian history.

Pastor Refaat Fekry (15:56)

It was the straw that broke the camel’s back.
Christians demonstrated for the first time outside the fences of the church…
Outside the Cathedral walls.
They blocked the roads near the Giza Governorate headquarters.
Demonstrations started from Shubra and other areas in Cairo.
I believe it was the first time Christians truly came out.

Scene from the Alexandria Church bombing

Have no fear! Everything is all right.

Narrator (16:50)

The first minutes of 2011…
carried specific significance for Egyptians in general, but especially for Christians
An incident stained this country’s history.
As Christian worshippers were leaving the Saints Church in Alexandria…
after the New Year service was over…
a bloody massive explosion took place outside the church doors. People found their relatives torn to pieces.

More than 20 were killed and more than 40 injured.

A passionate anger took root in Egypt.

It wasn’t exclusively Christian but was felt by all Egyptians.

**Pastor Gohar Azmy. (17:51)**

This energy, bravery, enthusiasm and momentum… escalated and became clearer with Muslims joining as well.

They chanted El Omrania Motto calling for the fall of the regime… of Mubarak’s regime and Al Adli, his right hand man.

**Mr. Osama Salama (18:18)**

For the first time people spoke against the former president Mubarak.

When the regime was at the peak of its strength.

Bishop Youanas tried to calm the Coptic youth down,

But calls against the regime escalated.

**Church scene Bishop Youanas (18:44)**

On behalf of Pope Shenouda III

We thank our president

**Congregation (18:50)**

“Irhal … step down... “

**Mr. Kamal Zakher Moses (19:13)**

Egyptians saw dramatic moments in the shedding of precious blood.

Muslims and Christians felt as if their own children had died.

It was the trigger of an angry movement.

All the armies in the world couldn’t stand up in the face of it…”
Pastor Refaat Fekry. (19:55)

The Egyptian street started to boil.
Egyptian Muslims joined Christians …
As they demonstrated and condemned the attacks.
The combined violence against Christians and churches …
Together with Christmas eve events in Naga Hammadi…
Added to the public anger felt by Christians and a considerable number of Muslims.
Christians took courage and spoke out publicly.

Mr. Osama Salama (20:42)

During Christmas Mass Pope Shenouda addressed
President Mubarak and his cabinet with words of appreciation
The Congregation expressed their anger outside the fences of the church.

Mr. Kamal Zakher Moses (21:03)

Christian youth didn’t want to send kind greetings.
Breaking historic church traditions…
on how highly Christians respect the church and its clergy…
Young people suddenly called for the downfall of the regime.
They acted with political maturity …
Considering the church as a reference for spiritual, rather than political issues.

John Melad Politician and Theatrical artist (21:42)

For years we expressed our opinions..
But we were very few in number.
The first time we saw huge numbers join together…
was after the Saints Church incident…
when voices were raised against President Mubarak and his regime.
For the first time, during the funeral of those victims,
high government officials were in attendance.
The following week on January 8th we organized a candlelight sit it.
People of all religions and backgrounds stood in total silence.  
I was one of the organizers and participants,  
We donated blood for the victims at the Saints Church  
This single attack united us all.  
As we realized that what had been going on was against all human rights…  
people were rising up against the police and interior Minister Al Adli.  
Anger kept Building until it triggered the January 25th Revolution.

George Ishaq (23:10)  
It was like a rehearsal for the 25th January.  
We used to gather in Shubra square…  
both Christian and Muslims, forming one big demonstration,  
Demanding justice for the victims of the Saints Church incident.  
To this day we don’t know who is behind the bombing.  
Rumors include the national Security and extremist fanatics…  
but it was the major breaking point.

Mr. Kamal Zakher Moses (23:45)  
As it’s called in theater a “general prova…”  
young people mainly Christians known to be obedient,  
Stepped outside the fences of the church and faced security forces…  
and they never turned back..

Mr. Farid Zahran (24:12)  
So Copts broke out of their isolation after that attack.  
Two weeks later, I was at a panel discussion …  
And I shared my expectations for conditions to get worse..  
and for some kind of turmoil to break out on the streets…  
simply because Christians broke their silence .  
They are the most conservative social community.  
They get easily scared and have been isolated for years.
So if the Christians were fed up and expressed such courage…

Then surely everybody else would follow suit.

End of part 1 (25:05)
Appendix G: Church Without Walls (Part II)

This, Part II is a continuation of the one to one interviews and Part I of this set of video recordings. Part II is a further discussions and interviews with leaders who did not mind showing their identity in a recorded medium. The questions used are mainly those listed in Appendix C for the one to one interview questionnaire. These questions led to others that were also recorded as seen significant to the research.

Transcript of “Outside the Fences” Part 2
00:00 Start of film part 2 Scenes from the January 25th Revolution 2011.

Title (00:32)
“Outside The Fences”

Scenes from Part 1
00:33 “The Islamic movement spread in the early 70’s”
00:36 “A number of churches were attacked”.
00:41 “I’m a Muslim president of an Islamic State…”
00:44 “President Sadat identified himself as a Muslim president”.
00:48 “Pope Shenouda was a charismatic person… 
00:55 … who embraced Christians ‘inside the fences’ of the church.
00:58 Christians found a holistic society inside the fences of the church”.
1:03 (riot scenes). “The first cries to bring down President Mubarak and his regime…
1:09 …came during the event at El Omrania”.
1:12 “Fully armed national security forces couldn’t defeat the demonstrators”.
1:20 (Scene of the bombing of the Shahidein Church Bombing, Jan 1 2011) Service in procession, followed by screams.
1:28 “It triggered and angry outburst which couldn’t be stopped”.
1:36 “Christian youth clashed with security forces…
1:41 …after years of obedience”.
1:46 “It was a rehearsal for the January 25th Revolution”.
1:50 “If peaceful Christians were fed up, then everyone would join…”
1:59 … “outside the Fences”

Habib El Adly, former Minister of Interior (2:03)

“The terrorist crime on New Year’s Eve in Alexandria…
… shocked the nation. As we fight to preserve our unity.
… this crime targeted all of Egypt”.

Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, former Egyptian President (2:27)

“I express my deepest condolences to the families of victims…
… Copts and Muslims.
The blood of our children will not be shed in vain”.

Narrator; Scenes of demonstration (2:46)

“In the early hours of January 25th,
2:54 … Egyptians formed big demonstrations in Cairo and other governorates...
3:02 … against President Hosni Mubarak and his government.
3:07 They demanded reformation of the regime and the government.
3:15 But things developed over the next 18 days…
3:22 … into a full popular uprising.
3:25 … bringing down a regime that had lasted for 30 years”.

Omar Suleiman, Former vice president (3:34)

“President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak has decided to remove himself…
3:40 … from his position as president. The Supreme Military council…
3:44 … has taken control of the affairs of state. May god protect us.

John Melad, Politician, Theatrical artist (3:54)

“I participated in the revolution even though I had a good job.
4:00 I demanded social justice for everyone.
4:05 After what I’ve seen at workshops in other governorates…”
people with good skills and talents get paid extremely low wages.

When I used to speak out, I would receive threats from the police …

...because I’ve criticized the president and his son.

Many people thought, ‘This is it…’

‘… that Egypt couldn’t offer them anything more’.

I’ve travelled around the world and I know how great Egypt is!”

Sara Tadros, Teacher, Nefertari School (4:52)

“I saw that something wrong was going on.

There was too much injustice.

The government dehumanized people.

It’s painful to see people suffer to get bread and cooking gas.

My life is not that bad.

But I could not help seeking what was best for other people.

That is why I participated in the Revolution”.

Osama Salama, Writer and Arab Intellectual (5:34)

“Christian youth were well represented in the revolution…

in the exact same ration as the Christians in the society.

They were side by side with Muslim youth.

They didn’t chant religious mottos. They shouted national ones.

They participated as Egyptian youth.

When people thought that Christians only obeyed the Pope…

… Christians had to show their full participation.

Some Evangelical clergymen were present on Tahrir Square.

We saw Christian Women wearing jewelry shaped like the Cross…

…helping Muslims wash before their prayers.

We saw Muslims with Christians during mass held on Tahrir Square.

Christian youth began to emerge into Egyptian political life”. 
Labib Meshreky, Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church (6:48)

“I went to Tahrir Square uncertain of what I should do…
6:54 … among all the crowds that gathered.
6:59 But for the first time I felt at home among these millions…
7:04 … that my role as an individual mattered.
7:08 every person matters if they played their part.
7:14 For the first time I felt that I could make a difference.
7:23 January 2011 means a lot to me personally.
7:32 I’ve always felt love for my country…
7:36 …but deep inside I wasn’t sure.
7:40 the Revolution proved to me that I love this country…
7:44 … and I want it to be the best it can be.
7:48 I felt love for people.
7:51 I love how they look and the way they live…
7:55 … even the things I might have criticized earlier in my life .
7:59 On Tahrir Square I felt a stronger love for Egypt than ever before‖.

Pastor Gohar Aszmy, Asistant Secretary, Synod of the Nile evangelical Schools (8:16)

“Christians participated in the January 25th Revolution…
8:22 … but they were hesitant in their participation…
8:28 …because the ‘official church’ didn’t encourage it.
8:34 Kasr El Dobara Evangelical Church was an official Christian body…
8:42 … which participated as a church not merely as individual Christians.
8:50 it took a stand as a church, an establishment, a recognized organization…
8:57 …with clear participation in the Revolution.
9:00 They honored all Christians”.

Mr. George Ishak, politician, founder, Kifaya movement (9:04)

“History will write the name of Kasr El Dobara Evangelical Church in gold.
9:08 They took initiative and opened a field hospital.
9:13 Their New Year’s Eve service was magnificent.
9:16 I salute them from the bottom of my heart.
9:20 The field hospital inside the church was the best…
9:26 … with doctors, volunteers, and medicines available to everyone”.

Pastor Refaat Fekry, “Kasr El Dobara is Located in the heart of the Tahrir Square (9:33)
9:36 Demonstrations were going on all around the church…
9:43 … So it had to participate and play a positive role.
9:50 Many were injured and killed by violence in Tahrir Square.
9:56 There should be an investigation to see who was behind all that.
10:03 Kasr El Dobara played a crucial role through its field hospital.
10:12 It offered tremendous help to people.
10:17 The church even opened its door for Muslims to pray.
10:25 All Churches should do the same wherever they are…
10:30 … to resolve problems and meet the needs of the society around it…
10:37 …so that it can offer a true service and ministry to the community”.

Eva Botros, Field Hospital director (10:57)
“We had no plan when we started the field hospital.
10:57 Field hospital in Tahrir Square were targeted and demolished.
11:07 Muslim doctors took refuge inside the fences of our church.
11:18 The pastor of our church is also a medical doctor.
11:12 He welcomed Muslim doctors who brought medicines in as well.
11:27 Within three hours God’s hand built this hospital in the church.
11:41 Not only doctors from Tahrir Square worked there, but doctors..
11:46 … who left their homes, their clinics, and the expensive appointment…
11:57 … and joined the field hospital offering their help,
12:06 … both Muslim and Christian doctors.
12:12 We received the warnings that the church might be targeted.
12:19 A field hospital inside a church at the heart of Tahrir Square…
12:24 had a clear identity of taking Christ as its role model.
12:33 ‘He went around doing good and healing all under the devil’s power…”
Anyone injured on Tahrir Square,
whether a Muslim or Christian, a revolutionary or military,
an attacker or one attacked…
we opened our doors to anyone in need,
including soldiers and police offices…
who themselves threw tear gas at us on Tahrir Square.
They too received treatment.
So the church lived its role as God wants it to.
Not only in sermons, services and worship…
Some people, who knew nothing about any church…
even those who were taught as Muslims that churches were haunted…
they are now our best friends.
‘it’s the first time in my life I’ve ever entered a church…’
was a common statement we heard.
Church was no longer a place of horror for them…
but a place that treated whoever was in need”.
“Islolation means being locked away.
Christians have suffered for years from marginalization and exclusion,
but now the door is open…
to present Christ as a servant to the country and society…
so that we can be salt to earth and light to the world.
Demonstrator: “long live the Crescent and the Cross!”

Bishop Mounir Hanna Anis Episcopal diocese of Egypt, North Africa and the horn of Africa
(15:06)
“For the church to help its youth in the political sphere…
it should start by raising political awareness.
instead of directing them to limited opportunities…
which the church approves of …
we should encourage our youth to have different opinions.
instead of their conformity with the church bishop and his opinions…”
15:43 … we should push our children towards critical thinking…
15:48 ...to be positive and to participate in political life.
15:56 That’s the church’s role”.

Eva Botros (16:00)

“I’d like to hear sermons that teach us about…
16:06 … not living for ourselves,
16:12 … not even in spiritual dimensions.
16:16 It’s not health to keep working only for my own sake,
16:22 … improving my spiritual skills and only focused on myself.
16:28 ‘for we are all God’s Handiwork, created in Christ Jesus …
16:32 … to do good works, which God prepared beforehand’
16:35 God called me to do certain things for his Kingdom…
16:42 ... for Him to be made known and his Kingdom to come.
16:46 It’s not important how great I become spiritually or socially.
16:53 You’re not called to survive, or to be at your best...
17:01 not even to climb the ladder of society to gain high status.
17:11 You’re called by God to live beyond the limits to yourself.
17:15 This attitude helps me not focus on my own benefits…
17:22 … but to focus on God’s calling for me to go out for the sake of others.
17:30 As a church then I’ll live the calling God has given me.
17:37 The number of my church members might not increase…
17:43 …because it’s not taking all the credit and promotion.
17:48 But the church would do what Christ wants her to do…
17:54 …to be salt and light instead of isolating itself,
17:59 …but to be a blessing to people to people all around”.

Sara Tadros (18:01)

“God didn’t put us in this world to enjoy life inside the fences of the church.
18:08 We were created in Egypt specifically …
18:15 …to reach out to people around us…
18:21 … to show them who Christ is through our actions, not just our words.
18:30 Christ taught us to live out His teachings.
18:37 He hasn’t told to live in isolation”.

**Labib Meshreky (18:40)**

“The church should exist outside the fences.
18:46 It should be available for people on the street…
18:51 … presenting Christ to all people.
18:53 For years we waited for people to come inside the church…
18:58 … to see Christ. But the church is the community of believers…
19:06 … who live outside the walls of the church.
19:12 What use would we be together if we have no effect outside the church?
19:23 … or only a weak and insignificant impact?
19:27 Today we are supposed to represent Christ outside the church…
19:33 … to show Him as the healer and Savior…
19:40 … going around doing good to people.
19:45 The church has a role in taking care of its believers,
19:51 … but it’s just one of many other roles that church has”.

**Bishop Mounir Hanna (19:58)**

“If Christ came to Cairo today, where would we find Him?
20:06 Seated on the bishop’s chair in the cathedral?
20:14 … or among people at a coffee shop?
20:18 … talking to people who are playing cards and smoking?
20:24 He won’t do as they’re doing, but he’ll be in their midst.
20:31 I imagine us criticizing Christ for doing that.
20:24 It’s important for us today to get involved in all aspects…
20:49 … of politics social and economic life…
20:53 … to break our isolation, cowardice and fear which is not who we are”.

Pastor Gohar Azmy (21:02)

“… Minorities are able to change societies and countries.

21:06 It’s an important fact that the minority usually is the spark that leads to change.

21:13 The Christian minority should realize …

21:15 … that it can change the structure and values of the society.

21:22 It can change the priorities of society.

21:28 It can start sparks of change and become a light for society.

21:39 Christians have to realize that they are able to change society.

21:43 In the past 40 to 50 years Christians lived in Isolation…

21:53 ..but were still able to make a difference in society”.
Appendix H: Kasr El Dobara Uniting the Denominations

Video 3

A Worship celebration; attended by representatives from the different denomination in the country of Egypt. Where “the Ministry of washing of feet” took place among the leaders of the churches. It is an initiative by the Kasr Dobara Evangelical church to unite the denominations starting by joint prayer festivals. The first gathering was held in November 11, 2011 where over 40 thousand attended from 6:00pm to 6:00am in a nonstop prayer and worship.

The video is one in a series of meetings held in later months.
Appendix I: Thesis Proposal

Forced to be Out of the Walls.

The effect of the civil uprising in January 25\textsuperscript{th} 2011 and the years that followed on the Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church in Egypt.

(A case study)

A DMin Thesis Proposal

Submitted to the DMin Thesis Proposal Committee

Toronto School of Theology

April 2014

By

Sameh Hanna

Signature_____________________________________
Name of Thesis Director
Signature_____________________________________
Name of College Advisor
Signature_____________________________________
Name of Collaborative Learning Group Representative
Signature_____________________________________
Name of Ministry Base Group Representative_____________________

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In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Ministry

Awarded by

Knox College

And

The University of Toronto

April, 2014
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Chapter 2

Background, Context and Thesis Statement.

1.1 Background and Context.

In 2010, I was invited to return to Egypt to begin serving officially as the associate and executive pastor in the Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church (KDEC). With a membership of over 8,000, KDEC is the largest Arabic Presbyterian church in the Middle East and also the world. The church is reaching out to the city and the region through missions, sports, camps, television, a discipleship school, freedom ministry, (drug, sexual and physical abuse, etc.) and festivals.

My current ministry responsibilities include pastoral care, preaching, apologetics, and administration. As the associate and executive pastor, I oversee the whole setup of the church and its affiliated ministries. Taking Jesus as my example, I am also responsible and being personally involved in the growth and spiritual health of my immediate team. The church is now divided into four main departments. These departments are the main worship services, the external services (mission, sport, freedom, and medical ministries); the inside work of the church (teaching, preaching, study groups, and counselling, as well as media services including production, online streaming and the acting team); and finally the youth area (Sunday school, junior, senior high, and university students).

Seeing the need, made me more convinced that my calling is attend to the needs of the community, it was the driving force that motivated me to pray, think and create initiatives to reach out to the society. Here it is worth introducing the term “love outreach”, what I mean, is the Christian faith in action towards the society, reaching out and helping the individuals regardless of faith, race, gender or age.

KDEC is unique in its setup and location. Geographically it is located in the heart of Cairo; next to the Tahrir Square, where the spark of the 25th January revolution started. It is in the vicinity of
most of the main diplomatic envoys. It is also in the area where most of the government offices, the Parliament and the Shura Council (upper parliament) are. Seventy percent (70%) of the congregation is below the age of 40. The members come from well to do families and of higher education, holding prominent positions in the executive world.

The revolution has strongly affected KDEC and its congregation due to its location and the status of the members; its large numbers, education, middle and young age, free thinkers. This forced the church, leadership and members to go out and be more involved in the revolution since its initial days. On the other side many wanted to keep away and mind their own business to the extent that when things escalated and bloodshed started, some families left the country. Naturally everything avalanched into progressive steps, and when the situation became serious and people were getting hurt, the youth went to the pastoral leadership asking to start a field hospital to tend to the wounded. Without hesitation the request was accepted, but this was against the norm. Christians were minding their own business and separated from the community, a condition resulting from centuries of oppression after the Islamic invasion of Egypt in the seventh century.

The decision to open the field hospital to serve the wounded, without partiality to religion or fighting side, tagged the church by The Revolution Church. It became the safe haven to many during the fighting.

What Kasr Dobara did, was the first of its kind, Christians and Muslims went to seek not just medical help but trauma counselling. A food bank was established for those who lost their jobs in the years that followed.

Kasr Dobara where I am serving became the focus of my attention, seeing how the members have changed in their attitudes and actions becoming proactive. They started having the attitude of going out into the community making a difference, changing lives and helping others find peace that cannot be found anywhere else. Other churches started to follow in the footsteps but not as many as expected. This made me think, what forced this church out of its traditional functions into an unprecedented influence in the society? I became intrigued to study this change, compared to the original state of the church that was for many centuries, described as minding its own business and being evasive in taking an active role in the society. My belief and
understanding of ministry incarnated resonated with what is currently happening, thus inducing in me the desire to study such a phenomenon. From here developed my research interest.

2. Thesis Statement

As an observant of the changes that happened during the past few years, I saw the church moving from centuries of recluse; refusing to enter the society, afraid lest it be attacked, into a budding new era of proactive involvement and creative ways reaching the society, being a change agent in attitude and action for the community.

Kasr Dobara Evangelical church, pioneered this renaissance in the past three years; leaders and congregation. They did not just get involved in physical action but also set an example of fervent prayer for the land and the people in authority, obeying the commandment of the Bible, praying for the rulers.

Thus my Thesis Statement or research question is:

In what way will the civil uprising in January 25th 2011 and the years that followed, force the Kasr El Dobara Evangelical Church in Cairo, Egypt, out of its traditional functions into an unparalleled influence in the society?

In other words, how is the 25th of January revolution impacting the Church?

To understand the above, we need to answer a few other questions:

-- What role did KDEC play in uniting the denominations in prayer and working together and be more effective in impacting the society?
-- How did the revolution force KDEC to revisit its Theological, Faith and Pastoral perspectives?
-- Where will the love outreach find its place and be adopted into the church?
-- What role should Christians have in politics?
-- How will the church have a more constructive role in changing the impression leaving a positive life changing imprint, annihilating the crisis between Muslims and Christians in Egypt?
Chapter 3

Theoretical Exploration:

Theology of ministry and Area of Specialization.

Before delving into the study of the phenomenon that happened within the church after the revolution I need to explore the historical, biblical, theological and pastoral issues relevant to the study.

3.1.1 Historical issues:

Christians are separating themselves from the society. This form of thinking became the norm after the Islamic conquest of Egypt in the 7th century; its new rulers imposed tough laws on the Coptic Christians who were then the native inhabitants. They were to pay protection tax in order to be left alone ensuring their security. If this was not possible, they were made to choose between fleeing for their lives leave their land to be taken by the rulers, killed, or submit to following the religion of Islam. This issue was enforced throughout the history of Egypt until this very day. It ebbed into force after the Muslim Brotherhood took to power; it was discussed in the parliament while setting the 2012 constitution, and enforced by some radical groups, imposing these issues on villages of majority Christians as in Dalga in the province of Minya.

The enemies of Islam [as interpreted, include all that are not Muslim] are not to be entertained, subjects are to wear distinctive garments with a girdle around the waist. Their houses must not be built higher than those of the Muslims, the sound of the church bells, the reading and chanting of the liturgy must not be forced on the ears of the Muslims. Crosses must not be displayed. The dead are to be mourned and buried in private. The law also regulated building places of worship; churches and synagogues. It is unlawful to build such constructions in the land of Islam.¹

3.1.2 Biblical Issues

The love outreach is mentioned in many parts of the Bible but it is not implemented these days in Egypt and needs to be revisited.

The first to come to mind would be the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:30-37) where a person considered an enemy served the victim and tended to his wounds while his own people did not.

The second is the feeding of the widows in Acts 6:1-7 and how the church was caring for them. It is very clear that it was a serious issue that they prayed, chose staff and laid hands on them to tend to this ministry. Paul in 1 Timothy 5 also devoted this chapter to instruction as to serve the widows. The love outreach was very clear in the New Testament in tending to the needy.

A third part mentioned in the four gospels, when Jesus fed the multitudes; he did not only care for their spiritual wellbeing, but also for their physical. He had compassion and took loaves blessed them and gave the multitude to eat, leaving an example to his disciples and the church later on.

A fourth issue Jesus also showed compassion and healed the sick and helped those who are unwanted and rejected by the society.

Looking at this in our current century the church is mainly concentrating on the spiritual aspect, but the revolution has forced the church to revisit the teachings of the Bible with respect to this issue.

2.1.3 Theological Issues

At the time of the Occident radical shift, during the Protestant era; Paul Tillich raised an important question in the book "The Essential Tillich". The very same question could be asked today but in a new version more appropriate for the Egyptian revolution. This existentialist theologian and wonderful revolutionary "Paul Tillich" wondered if Protestantism - as a historical effective element- would remain vivid, relating to its essence & principles which is protesting against the fraudulent forms of religion (In order to confirm the active presence of God on the world and in it) through untying and dissolving its supporters with the bourgeois ideology (conservative and balanced thinking pattern of the middle class) recreating a new image of the
old forces critique & the entrance of the new ones who mounted the platform of the revolutionary transformation, the transformation of people and their world. ²

The theological challenge facing this generation of Egyptians or Evangelical Arabs is how to maintain the strength and effectiveness of the principle, rituals and traditions of Protestantism.

“A protest in favor of authentic and free spiritual life, for its faith”. As Tillich said, the maximum attention is to God, not to religion. The essence of our being is love, justice and freedom not the guardianship of the people.

This protestant principle must be called now to think about the dismantling of the alliance between the usual morality of capitalism, such as hard work and submission to authority, good citizenship, and preoccupation with only small circle of morality (No smoking - no curses - church attendance - adhering to good reputation) in favor of the emphasis of the heavier law, on the big moral issues of justice, love and freedom.

The challenge that the church faces in this period of time, especially after the 25 January Revolution is the answer to the question: what are the things that call to say with Martin Luther: Here I stand! "Here I stand; I can do no other. God help me"

The challenge I place before the church today and even tomorrow; is the application of the essence of the religious Protestant principle, on the spiritual, existential, political, social, local & contemporary culture of the Egyptian actuality.

A second theological challenge is to maintain the protestant principle of freedom of interpretation and the assimilation of the Biblical text. Evangelical means the right of people and every individual to read and interpret the Holy Bible. What I mean by Holy in this context, is not its infallibility but mostly; in the sense of awe, wonder, amazement and variation in the face of spiritual reality.

The Bible is not holy because it is a divine dictation brought down to us. It's holy because the saints of God wrote it driven by that sense of awe, the realization of the inexpressible… This accurate description of daily events and experiences which is not lawful for a man to utter, they wrote driven by the Spirit of God…

Who interprets the Bible? We all…
Who would correctly interpret or misinterpret? We all…
Who has the right to interpret? We all…

I began my studies at Knox, the Faculty of Evangelical Theology, a trip that began and I think it would end with my departure from this world. This puts on me a special burden, rather, a special privilege that many do not have, that is to pray study and serve at this historical interval that I live today in Egypt. This means raising unusual topics and reading texts we used to read on the surface and the restoration of the heritage we left withering.

Charles Finney, the Presbyterian Theological minister and the famous revivalist of the nineteenth century; once said: "Revolutions become necessary and obligatory, when the virtue and intelligence, or the vice and ignorance of the people demand them"

"This is a thing of course. When one form of government fails to meet any longer the necessities of the people, it is the duty of the people to revolutionize."
"In such cases, it is in vain to oppose revolution; for in some way the benevolence of God will bring it about"

Finney applied this principle to justify the American Revolution, and we can apply the very same principle on the Egyptian revolution.

In light of Jeremiah 21:12, 22:3-5 and Luke 4:18-19 and Finney's words; we may look at the reality of the church today in the aftermath of the January 25th revolution and June 30th. Finney proceeded to say:" Upon this principle alone, can what is generally termed the American Revolution be justified. The intelligence and virtue of our Puritan fore-fathers rendered a

monarchy an unnecessary burden and a republican form of government both appropriate and necessary. And God always allows his children as much liberty as they are prepared to enjoy."\(^4\) Then Finney closed his speech by asserting that "The stability of our republican institutions must depend upon the progress of general intelligence and virtue. If in these respects the nation falls, if general intelligence, public and private virtue sink to that point below which self-control becomes impossible, we must fall back into monarchy, limited or absolute; or into a civil or military despotism; just according to the national standard of intelligence and virtue. This is just as certain as that God governs the world, or that causes produce their effects."\(^5\)

I relate this to what happened in Egypt, but it is a national challenge. Will people continue as they started? Seeking bread, freedom, human dignity and social equity? Or would it descend to the levels of sectarianism, fears, apprehensions selfishness, and political opportunism?

2.1.4 Pastoral and Faith issues

Pastors cannot lead their congregation through faith or thought unless they themselves have experienced the same. The Egyptians and Arabs now days are thinking politics; Pastors are to evade dictating a political view but they have to interact with the theological and faith challenges to raise the faith of the people at times of fear, and uncertainty, thus leading the people to a deeper level of understanding; the distinguishing of politics and religion.

Pastors are to give counsel, and preach to those who are afraid today and tomorrow for several years. This raises questions like; how will we as pastors encourage individuals into political participation, without imposing on them our own stand? How can we direct them to have a biblical based political opinion impregnated with justice, human dignity and freedom; excluding biases, personal gain and sectarian interests?

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4 Finney, p 15.

5 Ibid
The contemporary British Charismatic evangelist summed it in, to be filled with the Spirit for the sake of Justice to the oppressed and the individual ethics and in turn the larger society. We work and pray for justice and peace as we do for th salvation of souls.  

The revolution is a unique situation with its challenges and questions that appeared in our churches during this period. This leads us to what Charles Finney has written; Holding onto a good leadership system and helping in establishing it, does not distract us from our main responsibility, the salvation of souls. Establishing the general good and human happiness is the basic means to do good and the salvation of souls. To state the Christians are to obey the ruling system and evade in participating to choose who will lead them is utter nonsense and void.  

Latin American countries have outrun us in getting free from tyranny; the pastors there, did not hesitate to support the revolutions and social change. The renowned Argentinian theologian Rene Padilla stated; we have to understand that evangelism is not to make people happy or successful according to worldly standards, but calling people to gather in following Christ Jesus in the commission that God is doing in the world, to lead humanity into a supreme purpose.

2.2 Assumptions

The research will tackle the following assumptions; The Christians are taking an active role and getting involved in politics more and more than in the years past to the extent that the Muslim Brotherhood are accusing the Christians for the second uprising in June 30th that resulted in overthrowing the MB president. The Church members stopped being passive and started to speak out not only in the political arena but also in the church. Christians also started to speak in the social media, on television, taking part in the public speeches inviting prominent figures to take part in the church activities. The love outreach is seen by several initiatives as in public.

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7 Finney p.154

gatherings initiated by the church, community meals, and a food bank. The church also, is serving the community with no partiality or bias in food distribution and medical service. The revolution has catalyzed the church leadership mindset to revisit the incarnation theology and the love outreach.

KDEC is taking the initiative to have regular mega prayer meetings where all denominations are involved, strengthening the bond between them.

KDEC became the revolution church and a part of the fabric of the Muslim majority society, where it became a haven for many individuals to enter and find rest and freedom to take part in the worship services.

The Revolution and the role the church played during these years of the uprising had an impact in raising the rate of conversion.
Chapter 4

Methodology (of the action research).

I chose the Case Study Method of research as the most suitable for the research question presenting itself in this paper. It follows closely with Creswell’s explanation of the method; and the data collection through interviews, observation, and documents.¹

This “Qualitative Case study Method”, describes a church setting where its geographical location has had a significant effect on its involvement in a direct way in the incidents that followed the January 25th revolution. The church is a few hundred meters away from the square where the action was separated by a large government building acting as a barrier or a great protective wall from the direct attacks and aggression giving it a critical and important role in serving the needy that are getting hurt and wounded both physically and psychologically. Its place made it a haven for those who are seeking refuge and protection. Another reason is that The Kasr Dobara Evangelical Church is the first church that was proactive in providing help to all those in need with an unbiased attitude; serving the wounded, demonstrators and soldiers in the emergency hospital that was set up after the 25th January uprising. The doctors volunteering to help were Christians and Muslims together helping shoulder to shoulder within the church premises an unprecedented image.

KDEC has changed the image of the Christians in Egypt because of its proactive role of the leadership and congregation; going into the square in the initial days of the revolution seeking social justice. On the other hand, leaders from other churches chose not to be involved and actively advised their members not to participate.

By doing so, it also saved the Christians’ image in the society, from the passive impression that has always tagged them for many centuries.

KEDEC being the largest Arabic speaking church of over 8 thousand members is yet another reason for picking it as the object of study. Not only this, but it being recognized by the government and the many partnerships and services and national activities it was involved in, such as the Ministry of Youth and Sports in aiding in organizing the Africa Games when it was held in Egypt.

The foreign policy started to give weight to the Church’s opinion. For example the delegates from the Congress, members of the EU parliament, The British political attaché, the Dutch envoy to Egypt and journalists from all over the globe, all made it a point to visit the Church and ask for its advice.

Data Collection:

The data collection will be through multiple sources of information. I will be using surveys (Appendix “B”) and Interviews (Appendix “C”) with several categories of people; on the pastoral level, full time workers, and the lay leadership of the church. I will be using questionnaires (Appendix D) with members all over the spectra of the 5 main worship services; age, gender, and social status will also enter into the selection equation. I will also be using questionnaires (Appendix E) with friends of the Church; people from outside who have had a close involvement with the church since the 25th revolution. It is worth noting here that the questionnaires will be distributed by a third party, mainly the leaders of each worship service insuring the right distribution among age and gender. Second, through documents that have been written by media personnel, interviews that were recorded will also be pursued.

Listing this in a practical manner:

1- Interviews and /or Questionnaires

The choice of the people to be interviewed is dependent on the structure of the church, thus let me describe such a setup. There is the senior pastor who oversees the four sectors. With him, is
an executive committee; representatives from the main meetings and the several ministries the church runs. They report to a team of elders who are considered the reference of accountability. There are also four more pastors who assist in the leadership. Then there are the lay leaders who are also deeply involved in overseeing the church and its vast membership and the several meetings that take place.

The choice will include the senior pastor and two (the head and assistant) from each sector in addition to two representatives from the executive team and the board of elders, a total of thirteen. Gender and age was taken into consideration. The sample in focus is five women to eight men and ages ranging from 30 to 60.

The congregation sample will be as shown in the table below, noting age and gender distribution will be taken in consideration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Average membership</th>
<th>% representation</th>
<th>Sample distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sunday pm</td>
<td>Church service</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Friday am</td>
<td>Church service</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Friday pm</td>
<td>Youth meeting</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Monday pm</td>
<td>Prayer meeting</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Thursday pm</td>
<td>Women's Meeting</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>5550</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 %</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The friends of the church, defined as those who are not part of the church and of different faith, who became involved with the church during the past three years. They will also be reached as shown in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample Number</th>
<th>Faith</th>
<th>Sample number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men 30-60 yrs.</td>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moslem</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women 30-60 yrs.</td>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moslems</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2- **Documents written and programs recorded.**

There were some programs and articles made within the last three years recording reactions of several figures that can be taken into consideration.

3- **Direct observation**

This will depend on my personal observation of the development and involvement in the action and change that occurred during the last three years.

**Timeline**

I anticipate starting the interviews by July 2014 and conducting approximately two interviews per week. In the meantime, I will be transcribing and coding them as I’m going along. I will also be keeping a journal to make any notes which might be helpful in the writing of the final project. I should begin the final write up around January of 2015 and have the entire thesis completed by May 2015.
Chapter 5

Results (of the action research)

The data collected from the interviews, documents and direct observation will be tabulated for the quantitative part, while the open ended opinion responses will then be compiled according to relatedness and similarity of response, in such a way to build the large picture of chronology of events. The flow of development will also be observed and highlighted. This will then lead to an attempt to answer the main research question and the several sub-questions that have evolved in the research paper.

This will be done by compiling the answers to each question together and see the trend, then correlating the full answers and opinions gathered to come up with answers to the questions mentioned above.
Chapter 6

Analysis and application of results.

+ Limitations of the study

**Data Analysis (Interpretation and Evaluation)**

The analysis will consist of a detailed description of the case study and its setting from the compiled data; followed by an attempt to find answers to the thesis question. Usually direct interpretation of each main incident and also relation it to other consequences will be taken into consideration. I will also look at the patterns\(^1\) established during the years that followed the revolution.

Through the use of quotations and a thorough examination of the transcripts, I will be able to offer an insightful interpretation to the material at hand and provide adequate observation which will be of great significance to the study. This area is of an immense importance, not only to the young people who are being active in the revolution and the Church, but is an indicator to the future of the Church at large. Through this study, I will be able to deduce a theory which might be helpful not only to KDEC but to all the congregations across Egypt and the world.

**Limitations of the study**

There are several risks which I have recognized that will set limitations to this research;

The fact that the interviewees are laity and I am their minister, may affect their responses as I am in a position of authority. It is my responsibility to assure them that their responses do not carry any ramifications outside of the interviews.

Because I personally was involved during the January 25\(^{th}\) and later, I need to exercise extreme care not to influence the interviewees in coercing them towards a certain answer. I will have to be

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\(^1\) Creswell, p 154
careful as to let them speak without my intervention setting a stress free and comfortable atmosphere. I must also be careful to show neutrality setting an unbiased atmosphere.

The interview may bring back negative memories of the terror of the first few days of the revolution. A list of counselors could be on standby in case of need.

The findings might not represent a larger homogenous group since my sample size is relatively small. In addition, this research may not be relevant to other Churches within Egypt or other countries around the world.
Chapter 7

Conclusion – implications and further questions.

This research will significantly impact my ministry since I am involved in seminars and preaching in other churches. It will help me better understand people’s perspective of the role of the church in circumstances like the revolution. Thus I will be able to demonstrate the role of the church to be incarnated in the society, Giving KDEC as an example of a church that actively became involved in the society affecting it in a positive way.

Finally the research will be a study model for other churches of the challenges KDEC faced and learning experience from its triumphs and failures.
# 6 Appendix J: Chronological Record of Attacks on Christians

(Before, during and after the Revolution Period)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidents on Christians prior to the January 25th Revolution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>November 2010</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>January 1st 2011</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^2\) Ibid
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Incident Description</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 29 2011</td>
<td>Bombing of St George church in Rafah</td>
<td>The church was attacked by unknown assailant; The property was robbed and then destroyed and burnt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 23 2011</td>
<td>St Pshoy Monastery incidents</td>
<td>A confrontation with the monks by the army on the pretense that the Monks took government land and annexed it to the monastery. The army destroyed the wall of the monastery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 4th 2011</td>
<td>Soul Church incident</td>
<td>A feud between a Christian and a Muslim family related to a romantic affair was escalated into sectarian violence resulted in an attack on and burning the Shahidein (St. George and St. Mina) church in Soul a village in Etfih, Helwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 5th 2011</td>
<td>The First Maspero (standoff) demonstration</td>
<td>A demonstration in front of the National TV station (Maspero) by Christians requesting the authorities to take action defending the Church in Soul. Seven days later the police came attacked the demonstrators with stunt guns and barbed wire to disperse them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 8th 2011</td>
<td>The Mokattam incidents</td>
<td>Some of the Christian youth in the Mukattam vicinity set up a demonstration protesting the attack on the Soul Church. The Muslims came out to attack them and violence erupted.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 Ibid
4 Ibid
5 Ibid
6 Ibid
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 22nd 2011</td>
<td>Cutting the ear of a Christian</td>
<td>Tens of Salafis attacked a Christian (Ayman Anwar Metry) cutting his ear and severing the back of his neck, burning his car and an apartment that he was renting to a Muslim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 19th 2011</td>
<td>Abu Korkas incidents</td>
<td>A fight over a speed breaker resulted in the death of two, the violence escalated in the funeral resulting of burning of shops, and property belonging to Christians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 4th 2011</td>
<td>Imbaba incidents</td>
<td>Around 500 hardline Salafis surrounded the T. Mina church in Imbaba alleging that a Christian girl converted to Islam is being held in the church against her will. Though the police confirmed no one was held in the church, still the mob raided and attacked, resulting in the burning of three Coptic Orthodox churches and the destruction of many Christian owned houses and businesses. Fifteen people were killed and over 200 were injured.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 8th – 14th 2011</td>
<td>The Second Maspero (Standoff) demonstration.</td>
<td>The Christians demonstrated in front of the TV station after the attack on the churches in Imbaba; demanding the government to find and capture the assailants. On the night of the 14th armed thugs attacked the Christian demonstrators.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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7 Ibid
8 Ibid
9 Ibid
10 Ibid
11 Ibid
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| September 28th 2011 | The Marinab church incidents                  | A group of gathered after Friday prayers outside Saint George's Church in the village of Marinab, close to the town of Edfu, a village in Aswan Governorate, 800km south of Cairo, eyewitnesses said Friday. Security sources said a group of Muslims clashed with the village's Christian residents and destroyed their shops, adding that Central Security Forces cordoned off the village to control the clashes. Earlier this month, Christian-affiliated news websites reported that a group of Salafis had warned Christians not to leave their homes in Marinab unless they removed the dome from Saint George's Church, which was restored this month.  


| October 9th 2011 | The Maspero Massacre                       | A peaceful demonstration of Christians condemning the demolition of a church in Aswan came under attack by the security forces, Islamists and thugs in front of Maspero TV station in Cairo. Armored vehicles charged into the crowds in an attempt to disperse the demonstrators killing 14 under the wheels and another 11 were shot (total 25 dead). Hundreds were also injured.  


| February 2012 | Forced displacement of The Amiriya (Alexandria) Families. | Eight Families were force displaced (Evacuated) upon allegations that a Christian youth photographed a Muslim in indecent situations.  

14 Zaki
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August 4th 2012</td>
<td>Dahshour Incidents</td>
<td>A fight between a Muslim and a laundry owner over a burnt shirt, resulted in the burning of the Christian Laundry owner’s home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2012</td>
<td>Forced displacement of the Rafah (Sinai) Christians.</td>
<td>The Fundamentalists in the North Sinai, threatened to attack the Christians if they did not leave their homes. One man was literally attacked and his shop was destroyed as a sort of warning to the others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2012</td>
<td>El Fashn</td>
<td>Muslim Salafis assaulted Christians after Sunday mass, angry that Christians from neighboring villages who have no churches attend mass in the village of Tala, el Fashn, in the Beni Suef Governorate. The pastor of St Georges Church Father Cheroubim Chehab could not go out of church for hours after mass. Eyewitnesses reported that as Christians left the church, they found a huge mob of mostly young Salafi Muslims waiting for them, armed with batons. The assaults lead to 5 Copts being hospitalized after suffering broken limbs, and the torching of two cars which transported the congregation from the other villages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2012</td>
<td>Deir Mawas (Mouas monastery) in Minya incidents.</td>
<td>Printed material inciting Muslims to attack Christians after a gangster who had Christians pay a levy or face attacks was killed by authorities during an arrest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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15 Ibid

16 Ibid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location/Event Description</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 5th 2012</td>
<td>Attack on Church services building in Shubra Kheima, Cairo</td>
<td>The building was attacked and taken by Salafis by force. The authorities later were able to retrieve back the building site and return it to the church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 15th 2012</td>
<td>Seresna Church in Fayoum incident</td>
<td>The Muslims of the village attacked and torched the church, after a complaint from a Muslim not wanting the church next to his premises. This resulted in the destruction of the dome and large parts of the interior of the church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 28th 2013</td>
<td>Komombo Church</td>
<td>Five policemen were injured in the rioting that took place for several days in front of the church of Mar-Girgis (St George) in Kom-Ombo, Aswan. The rioting is on account of the disappearance of the 35-year-old Muslim woman Sahar al-Touni; rumors were circulated that she had been seen heading to the church. Her neighbors suspect that she was abducted by a Copt (even though no-one, man or woman, was named as abductor) and taken to church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 17th 2013</td>
<td>St George church in Bani Sueif. Incident</td>
<td>Salafis attacked the St George church in Bani Sueif on allegations that a girl was abducted and taken to church, though the girl denied any of the allegations in an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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18 Zaki
19 Ibid
20 Ibid

21 “Copts Attacked on Rumors of Hiding Muslim women”, Coptic Solidarity  March 2, 2013
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event/Incident</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; to 7&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; 2013</td>
<td>El Kkususs incident</td>
<td>Six Christians were killed and a church set on fire, on allegations that two Christian youth painted a swastika cross on a religious building. 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 7&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; 2013</td>
<td>The Cathedral incidents</td>
<td>The cathedral was attacked upon the ending of the funeral of the six killed in El Khususs. The Christians took refuge within the church for hours as they were attacked. The police present on the scene through tear gas on the Christians in the church too. 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 8&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; 2013</td>
<td>Demiana’s court ruling, Aswan</td>
<td>Demian was accused of blasphemy and contempt of religion. It was alleged she defamed Islam by putting her hand on her throat while talking about The Prophet. The parents of the three children are Fundamentalist. Though the rest of the children and the school principal defended Demya the case still went on. 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Incidents right after the July 3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; 2013 (ousting of the Muslim Brotherhood president).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>The mass attacks on the</td>
<td>Organized and orchestrated attacks in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22 Zaki
23 Ibid
24 Ibid
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Egyptian Church in Egypt</td>
<td>Synchronized and timely fashion all over Egypt by Muslim Brotherhood supporters in retaliation for the ousting of the Muslim Brotherhood president. Christians were blamed for taking the leading role in his deposing. This left over 100 Churches, church related buildings, monasteries, convents, orphanages, schools, Christian hospitals, ransacked and burned fully or partially. The signature was the same in all incidents. This does not count the shops, homes and property of Christians that could not be counted.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Appendix K : Memorandum of Understanding (MOU)

Between the Muslim Brotherhood and the Presbyterian Church

This text is transcribed from documents received from the Coptic Evangelical Organization for Social Services, headed by Dr. Andrea Zaki, a chief participant in this meeting.

The text reads:

Based on a welcoming letter from Dr. Rev. Safwat al-Bayadi, President of the Protestant Community of Egypt and Dr. Rev. Andrea Zaki, Vice-President, sent to the General Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood, which addressed some public opinion issues at this critical stage in Egyptian history after the January 25th Revolution and gained the attention of the Guidance Office of the Muslim Brotherhood, and based on the two parties’ communication, the General Guide called for a meeting to gather the leaders of the evangelical church and the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood. The meeting took place on February 28, 2012, at the headquarters of the Muslim Brotherhood. The General Guide has agreed to visit the headquarters of the evangelical church upon invitation.

The participants consented on the importance of the current historical moment Egypt is going through after the revolution, which requires everyone to take social and historical responsibility to advance the country. The participants emphasized that Egypt’s future depends on community cohesion and unity, and stressed on the basic values of the Egyptian society that represent its social and cultural identity and brings its citizens together.

*The participants agreed on the following:*

- The sons of the country are all partners in one destiny and one future.

---

• The joint struggle of all Egyptians of all segments of society, that was manifest in the January Revolution, represents the cornerstone of societal unity; the struggle reflects that full citizenship, based on equality, is the foundation of this society.

• All sons of the country have the same rights and responsibilities as the constitution states. Equality among all citizens constructs societal unity; efficiency is the only criterion to hold a public position; and equality of economic opportunities is the basis of justice.

• The Egyptian society is based on solidarity, interdependence and compassion among all people, which represents the bond that includes all citizens without discrimination. Therefore, education should promote the values of tolerance, solidarity and pluralism.

• Respect for beliefs and sanctities is obligatory. Prevention of any contempt of others’ beliefs and the incitement of hatred is a compulsory social responsibility of loyal citizens.

• Freedom of belief and religious practices as well as freedom to build or renovate religious houses – in light of the law and the right for citizens to resort to their own religious laws concerning their personal affairs along with other rights mentioned in the Islamic Sharia’ – are all considered part of the values of the Egyptian society and a base for its cultural authenticity.

• The participation of all citizens in defending the country is the responsibility of all, and it is the crucible where all segments of society are melted and form national unity. This national unity is crucial to fighting all internal and external enemies of Egypt who want to drive a wedge between its societal segments.

• The religious values are the motives of the renaissance. Therefore, everyone must mobilize these values to achieve a better future for Egypt.
- Societal responsibility obliges all leaders, institutions and religious movements to fight
  against all types of strife, intolerance and discrimination, and consolidate the unity of
  society.
- The Egyptian society’s identity represents the frame for all its people. All people have
  made contributions to this identity and deserve its legacy. Protection of societal values is
  considered the basis of cultural uniqueness and the responsibility of all citizens who
  contributed to building Egypt’s civilization together over time.

All participants of this meeting made emphasis on the importance of communication between the
two parties to promote joint activities, especially among the youth, such as encouraging active
participation, advocating for values and religious morals, and carrying the social responsibility of
fighting the illness that affected the Egyptian society under the previous regime. This will
guarantee everyone the right to participate in building a new
Egypt that achieves the demands and dreams of the revolution.

**Attendees from the Muslim Brotherhood:**
- Dr. Mohamed Badie (General Guide, Head of the Executive Office)
- Mr. Mohamed Mahdy Akef (former General Guide)
- Dr. Rashad Mohamed Bayoumy (Vice-General Guide)
- Dr. Hosam Abo Bakr al-Seddik (Member of the Guidance Office)
- Mr. Walid Shalaby (Media Counselor to the General Guide)

**Attendees from The Evangelical Church in Egypt:**
- Dr. Rev. Safwat al-Bayadi (President of the Protestant Churches in Egypt)
- Dr. Rev. Andrea Zaki (Vice-President of the Protestant Churches in Egypt)
- Rev. George Shaker (Secretariat of the Protestant Churches in Egypt)
- Rev. Soliman Sadek (Pastor of the Evangelical Church in Fagala)
- Dr. Rev. Makram Naguib (Pastor of the Evangelical Church in Heliopolis)
- Dr. Rev. Atef Mehanny (President of the Evangelical Seminary)
- Dr. Helmy Samuel (Member of the Parliament)
- Dr. Rafik Habib (Coptic Evangelical Organization for Social Services)
- Rev. Refaat Fathy (Secretariat of the Evangelical Synod)
- Dr. Rev. Sarwat Kades (Chairman of the Board of Dialogue of the Evangelical Synod)
- Dr. Emad Ramzy (Secretariat of the Board of Directors of CEOSS)
- Rev. Daoud Ebrahim (Member of the Council of the Presbyterian Church in Egypt)
- Rev. Eid Salah (Member of the Council of the Presbyterian Church in Egypt)
- Mr. Farouk al-Zabet (Head of the Congregation of the Evangelical Brethren Church)
- Dr. Fready al-Bayadi (Member of the Council of the Presbyterian Church in Egypt)
• Rev. Nady Labib (Head of Cairo Presbyterian Council)
• Rev. Refaat Fekry (Pastor of the Evangelical Church in Ard Sherif)
Appendix L: Transcript of Interviews (One-to-One Questionnaire)

Below is a transcript of the one on one interview. These ten are a mix of leaders and friends of the Church. They are the ones who liked to keep their information anonymous; thus each was assigned a letter from the alphabet. The “one to one interview” (List of questions found in Appendix C) started with open ended questions followed by a series of in-depth questions delving into opinion and feelings of the interviewee. What is recorded in the below tables was written with the consent of each individual on the wording and the opinion expressed in the interview. Each quote is a summary after a long discussion in answer to the corresponding question. Each interview took on average of three hours or more a total of 26 hours. Another 20 hours of interviews were recorded with permission and names were kept after consent of participants. These are found in the 2 videos named Outside the Fences Part I & II; Appendix F&G
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>I</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is your understanding of the relationship between the church and</td>
<td>Church should not be involved in the actual</td>
<td>The Church should improve the economic and</td>
<td>The church is part of the community and its</td>
<td>Salt &amp; Light – loving, positive contribution</td>
<td>The Church should incarnate the life and</td>
<td>Church should serve community in all</td>
<td>The church is meant to be the community of</td>
<td>The church should be part of the community,</td>
<td>The church should be part of the community,</td>
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<td>the community?</td>
<td>political process siding with political</td>
<td>education al level in the community.</td>
<td>congregation has a mission to the</td>
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<td>principles of Jesus Christ in the</td>
<td>possible ways reflectin g the image of</td>
<td>the redeemed, a model of human beings who</td>
<td>close to it, mirroring it, and serving it.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>parties (elections and so forth) however it</td>
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<td>community. When God creates his people in</td>
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<td>community. It must be the salt and light,</td>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>fully living the current situation of the</td>
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<td>should encourage its member to be active in</td>
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<td>the world, he asks them to play an active</td>
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<td>serving, proclaiming the Gospel, and be as</td>
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<td>world but who are in the same time</td>
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<td>such process. Moreover Church has to be</td>
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<td>role in it.</td>
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<td>a transformat in g catalyst in the</td>
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<td>manifesting the promise of heaven. The</td>
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<td>(through its spoke persons) active and</td>
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<td></td>
<td>community.</td>
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<td>church is more than the sum of the</td>
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<td>vocal in the different political and social</td>
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<td>redeemed individuals, the</td>
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<td>issues promoting justice, equality, human</td>
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<td>relationships, spirit of unity, ethos and</td>
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<td>rights, and also promoting morals and</td>
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<td>bonding between its members is as important</td>
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<td>aestheticism in media, art and</td>
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<td>as the spiritual life of each member.</td>
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</table>
even architecture. In general, the Christian churches which believe in resurrection and restoration of created order has to promote all kinds of "good" in this life.

| 2 | Do you believe the church has a role to play in responding to the affairs of the state or community? | ¾ Stated above I should also add that history tells us that the Christian church, even though it had disgraceful political/social positions, in the middle ages (The crusades) and during the second world war when it supported the Nazis apart from Christian heroes like St. Francis of Assisi in the former and Dietrich Bonhoeffer in the latter, it still had a prominent positive role in many decisive movements of The Christians, not the church. | the church should play an indirect role in the state. It should teach their people to have the Christian’s ethics in their life. And some of them should engage directly with the state and politics. | Not as a Church, but as individuals in a church. | The church should respond positively to every need as much as the church is equipped and can afford to serve in all possible ways. | Church as an official entity should only pray addressing the community correcting thoughts being an example but not to engage with authoriti | Yes, the church cares for people and their life conditions. It is to defend the right of the poor and oppressed. It is to help the helpless, the widows and the orphaned. It does that through direct involvement in the community and it work hard to change. | The teaching, worship, outreach and interaction of the church within the larger society should be a reflection of who Jesus Christ is. Therefore the church should encourage individual involvement in the fields of education, health, social support networks, relief in disasters, poverty reduction as well as the professional world. The church should model, challenge and support Christ. | Yes I do. |
protest and political/social activism in modern times, that changed the face of our world, like the role of William Wilberforce in the Abolition of Slavery in England and consequently the rest of the western world, the role of the Polish church in bringing down Communism, and the role of Bishop Tutu in ending apartheid in South Africa through the African Commission of Truth and Reconciliation. Still many Christian efforts are being done in responding to human trafficking, the Gay movement and HIV/AIDS treatment, and many other things.

state laws in favor of the poor and oppressed.

like characters within family relations (e.g. family counseling, family education, etc.) as well as state relations (e.g. politics, revolutions, legislative activities), however the boundaries of these three spheres of "power and authority" should be well kept and guarded. The church can sponsor building hospitals and it can and should contribute to medical ethics but it cannot tell doctors what is effective treatment and what is not, this is the power of science. The church can and should teach on relations between parents and children but cannot and should not go and tell each
father or mother how big an allowance they should give to their children or what should be the time and rituals of meals within their household, or what kind of wedding reception or family holidays etc, this is the “power” of the family. Similarly on the sphere of state and politics the church should teach and model the principles of justice, integrity, transparency, rights of the weak, equality, solidarity, participation in decision making (democracy is one form of that), etc, the church should encourage its members to actively participate in politics, upholding these principles. But church leaders should not tell
| 3 | Are you pleased with the Church response during the uprising? | I consider the position of the Christian church in Egypt during the 25th of January, and the 30th of June revolutions and the months following (especially after burning down churches, killing and displacement of Christians by Muslim fundamentalists), should be added in history to the political/socio-spiritual role of the Christian Church in history. This response should also be reinforced, broadened and deepened to | No. It was too much involved | NA | Most of the time, KDC played a very good role during the uprising. It played a moderate role most of the time by opening itself as hospital, shelter, etc. It’s members were in the Tahrir square playing direct role from the early stages. | KDC was a model to us all | I was very much pleased with the positive responses of the members, teams, leaders and the congregatio. | At first yes but now no. Church changed attitude. I guess they fear new authoriti.es. | Yes | I am pleased and proud of the response of my local church, Kasr El Dobara Evangelical church. I was less so with the general church in Egypt. The Evangelicals were more aware and proactive and initiative. The Copts were, mostly conservative and supported the regime, any regime. | Yes |
The early times of the revolution.

| 4 | Where were you during the January 25th Demonstrations? | I didn’t attend the demonstrations on the 25th. I joined on the 28th (The Angry Friday) | At home watching the events, and went to Tahrir square and Etihadeya. | – I participated in the demonstration on the 25th of January from Shubra to Ramsis and went home right before the crowns entered Tahrir Square. | I was with some of members of the Protestant Community of Egypt discussing the role of the Protestant churches of Egypt in what was happening. | NO | Egypt | Tahrir square | In Wadi El Natroon, near Cairo | I was on the front line of all the demonstrations, spoke to the crowds in Tahrir a number of times, coordinated closely with street leaders and was in the sit in during the whole 18 days. | I was in the demonstrations |

| 5 | What did you feel when there was an internet/social media call to go | I was, among many Egyptians, dissatisfied with the way the country is run during, at | Wrong decision from the government | – I wasn’t sure how serious or effective it would be, but on that morning I felt | It was not clear enough what was going on. | Doubtful | I cannot remember my reaction at that time. | Felt it is right but impossible | We weren’t sure in the beginning if it is serious uprising. | The call was to have marches from different points of greater Cairo heading to Tahrir. The marches were in | I did not know about through the internet, my daughter told on the morning of |
down and demonstrate in Tahrir? least, the last 10 years, where the Late president Mubarak got very old and became like a puppet in the hands of a group of business beneficiary group who dictated the policies of the country favoring the rich over the poor, as well as preparing to pass presidency to Mubarak’s son through forging elections. The gap between the rich and the poor widened. Even though there was a satisfactory economic growth, it didn’t trickle down to the poor social strata. For all these reasons, I felt the time has come for change, and for this reason I was a moral obligation to participate none the less and stand with a few who wanted to stand for change and against injustice. but when it became obvious that thousands of people are respondin g, we decided to participate protest of police brutality on Police day January 25th. I was surprised and thrilled when my daughter Maie told me that 750 000 wrote on Facebook that they will attend the event. I told her I guess if 100 000 showed up we will have a breakthrough. the 25th and I decided to accompany her.
encouraged to join the protest.

**6** What was your initial response to the January 25th revolution?

Stated above

Skeptical

I believe on the right of protests, and declared that. And I asked from the revolutionaries and government did not use violence.

Surprise

Positive

Approved it and was very much a supporter and defender of the movement

I was overjoyed, a dream came true. I joined the crowds and soon found myself on the front line. I found friends among the crowds and some of them were friends and colleagues.

Joy, fear, amazement, disbelief, excitement.

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**7** Did you participate in the Tahrir Demonstrations during the January 25th period? If yes why If no why

Yes. I joined on the 28th and the reasons are stated above

¾ No, in the beginning, then I went to Tahrir because I realized the government.

If yes… Why? Because I felt that the corruption and social injustice was obvious and that it was my obligation as a Christian and as a person who was born into privilege in a society that was and is full of poverty and oppression to stand against that and fight for change, to “Speak up for those who cannot speak

Yes, I believed that Mubarak and his regime corrupted the economic, social and political Egyptians’ life.

No I was in intensive care in hospital during the 10 days of the revolution

No, because I am a public religion figure. I didn’t want to associate religion with politics. But my children participated.

I participated afterwards. Wasn’t sure what was going on.

Yes Because Egypt has been under the same ruler for over 30 years with lack of democrac y. Very little was done to improve people’s lives when it comes to education, health care, job creation, many even starve to death. The rigging of elections was the standard, but what happened

Yes, I was so upset with police brutality, corruption and political repression, as well as the grave social injustices. I saw the poor dying in hospitals for lack of funds, they are deprived of any decent education, live in slums and many even starve to death. The first day was to be with my daughter, the rest of the days because I felt that this is what I wanted for my country for a long time, and at last I have the opportunity and courage to come out and say it. I was happy to feel the Egypt is still
| 8 | How did you feel when it escalated to violent? | I was displeased with the violence; however I understood that no revolution is absolutely clean. I was among those who were victims of state violence, shock at the demonstration and Egyptians who were demonstrators. | I felt sorrow for my fellow Egyptians who were victims of state violence, shock at the demonstration and Egyptians who were demonstrators. | It was a very difficult time because the violent was all around Egypt and many have been killed. | Worried and Sad | We expected this to happen and we were praying that God would save the lives of my country and that I am Egyptian. | Fear and anger | We did not support violence of course. | My youngest son was slightly injured on the Tuesday the 25th, when the police threw stones on the protesters. I was bullied by | Surprised and did not understand, confused. |
| Christians who maintained that the causes of this revolution were just, however the practices were not all approved from a Christian point of view. | extent and audacity of the violence, concern at the fact that some demonstrates and revolutionaries responded back with violence and that would affect the “cause” negatively and an obligation to continue the fight for social justice and dignity peacefully. | and many intuitions were burned. | people. | police thugs on the morning of the 28th (Wrath Friday), police officers and soldiers were accompanied by informers (I can recognize those as a political and human rights activist) and thugs (common thieves and petit drug dealers, I can also recognize those as a psychiatrists specialized in drug rehabilitation) they took away my son and a friend of his in a microbus without numbers plate and we did not know to where. Then I was subjected to tear gas and had to withdraw from this demonstration before the shooting and real violence started. My son was released on the same day the riots, he |
helped police men to escape the wrath of the crowds later in this after noon. I was expecting police violence and was not happy with the protesters violence in reaction from the beginning. In the evening of the 28th the police forces were badly beaten up by the crowds and they withdrew in haste. I was in front of Doky Police station and managed with others to convince the angry crowd not to attack the station. On the 29th of January 2011, I went to Tahrir, protesters were there, thousands has been sitting in and hundreds of thousands were pouring in. Many wanted to go and attack the Ministry of Interior headquarters, few blocks
| 9 | Being part of the leadership or friend of the church how did you receive the top leadership decision to be involved? | I was though very much appreciative and encouraged of the role the Church in Kasr El Dobara and the Heliopolis church had played in treating the wounded whatever their background was, during all the stages of the revolution. | I agreed to open the field hospital | — I was very proud of the church’s position after the ousting of Mubarak but a bit frustrated that it wasn’t involved in the first 18 days of the revolution. | I supported this but I had a lot of fears. | With pride | NA | Was happy | I was involved in the very first meeting with church leaders when the decision was made. I was a supporter of the opinion that saw the church involvement as an obligation. | I am proud of them, and I was very happy | Kasr El Dobara Evangelical church leaders were up to the mark. Members were encouraged to voice and express their position peacefully. Teaching on the legitimacy of political involvement and of opposing the government and teachings on revolutions were put on the website, but the leaders did not
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>What was your response when you heard the church started a field hospital</th>
<th>Stated above</th>
<th>Delighted</th>
<th>I was very proud and glad that the church was involved in a way that was humanitarian but not political.</th>
<th>Delighted</th>
<th>NA</th>
<th>Very happy about it.</th>
<th>I spread the news and tried to pass supplies calling by Internet</th>
<th>During the first 10 days before Mubarak stepped down, the leadership of the orthodox and the Presbyterian churches in Egypt called to submission to the rulers,</th>
<th>This true service, the true love, integrity of heart, action not only words.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>During the first 10 days before Mubarak stepped down, the leadership of the orthodox and the Presbyterian churches in Egypt called to submission to the rulers,</td>
<td>I was against that position and I even wrote a book to respond to the Biblical and theological rationalizations for that position. The book’s title was “Yes You Can” (Ophir Publishing).</td>
<td>A big mistake</td>
<td>My opinion was they were mistaken and that although it was a time of uncertainty and chaos they should have chosen to stand with the victims of the Mubarak’s regime.</td>
<td>I felt Christians can be involved as individuals but not as a Church</td>
<td>In democracy, submission to the will of the people not the government. We encouraged the people to be positively engaged to Was not surprised. I knew their response was not out of wisdom but out of fear + they have no right to</td>
<td>I saw this call as a wrong and passive call. I wish it never took place.</td>
<td>I opposed these views strongly. I helped in preparing a biblical refutation of these views and it was further developed and authorized by our pastoral team and put on the church website.</td>
<td>I felt that they had no right to do so, and that they have their own reasons, my sons wrote on their T-shirts “I am Christian and Egyptian” and went to join any side, I was on the front line in Tahrir, calling for Mubarak to leave, but many other cz leaders. Evangelicals were better than Coptic orthodox but many leaders AV</td>
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and to keep away from the demonstrations. What was your personal opinion?

2011) I think the Church should have sided with Justice, and should have been more understanding to the sense of dissatisfaction that was boiling in the Egyptian street since 2005 against all the above mentioned practices of the ruling regime.

During the Muslim Brotherhood period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>What was your reaction to the MB taking most of the seats of the parliament?</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>I was frustrated but hopeful.</th>
<th>I declared that the schedule of the election was not good because it was during the holy week. And its result was not expected.</th>
<th>Expected</th>
<th>Shocked, but I could see later why God allowed this to happen.</th>
<th>Expected but frustrated</th>
<th>Angered. Because the percentag of seats won did not reflect the actual percentag of their supporters.</th>
<th>I was disappointed and disenchanted. But I was confident that democracy will be triumphant and that they will not last long in authority. I gave them 2 to 4 years.</th>
<th>Stupid Parliament</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>#</td>
<td>What was your reaction to the MB winning the presidential elections?</td>
<td>Disappointed</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Sad but expected it</td>
<td>It was a trauma</td>
<td>Depressed</td>
<td>Same as above</td>
<td>Darkness all around</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Very sad. I felt that the MB had stolen our revolution. During the elections I was shocked that the orthodox church had chosen to support Shafiq who was Mubarak’s prime minister in the primary elections and their votes was the reason he reached the second round and guaranteed Morsi’s, if any other candidate was against the MB candidate he would have lost, in all honestly I blamed this disaster on the church’s cowardly and regressive decision to try and bring the old regime back.</td>
<td>NA</td>
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<td>Sad but expected it</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Disappointed</td>
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<td>It was much better for the MB to win, because they have threatened if they do not win to burn everything. They would have reacted in a destructive way.</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Sad but expected it</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>It was a trauma</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Depressed</td>
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<td>Almost lost hope in the country.</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Same as above</td>
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<td>Darkness all around</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>What was your reaction to the MB changing the constitution to Islamize the country?</td>
<td>Disappointed. However I was among those who went in protests against the constitutional committee and the so called constitutional declaration that was issued in November 2012. I was one of those who kept going in small demonstrations since this date till the 30th of June 2013</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>I felt we had to resist in parliament and on the street but wasn’t sure how it would all pan out,</td>
<td>I rejected this constitution because it does not reflect all Egyptians.</td>
<td>Worried</td>
<td>This was the worst thing.</td>
<td>Helpless and hapless</td>
<td>Extremely angry. It was done in an unconstitutional way!</td>
<td>I was elected as part of the first drafting committee of this constitution; I resigned in protest with almost all non-Islamists early on as soon as we found out that they are manipulating the process towards Islamization. I was then on the front line of those calling for a vote of NO to the constitution, we were a majority in Cairo and almost all the cities. They won by a tiny majority, with the votes of people who were desperate for &quot;stability&quot;. We kept fighting for a amending this Islamic and reactionary constitution. I felt the MB have exposed themselves and will soon fall</td>
<td>Praying and having hope.</td>
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<td>What did you feel after a year clearly moving towards a MB dominated government and country institutions?</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Stated above</td>
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<td>Disagree</td>
<td>I didn’t feel that the MB was “clearly dominating all government institutions” I felt both the media and the general public were very vigilant and they were being met with so much resistance, I was proud of how much we were giving the hard time and felt that the public debate was bringing them down and they were being exposed and losing their popularity very quickly.</td>
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<td>What was your reaction on the Memorandum of understanding signed</td>
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<td>Didn’t hear about it</td>
<td>It was important in its time.</td>
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<td>Neutral</td>
<td>I have no knowledge of it</td>
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<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Didn’t hear about it.</td>
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<td>Disaster</td>
<td>The leadership was simple hearted. I expected the MB to break their promises in this memo.</td>
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<td>Why did the people call for a rebellion movement against 1st elected civil president?</td>
<td>Because of many things, mostly the November declaration and the targeting of almost all state institutions, including the constitutional supreme court and the non-convincing performance and character of this aforementioned president.</td>
<td>The MB didn’t accept opposition or sharing power because he was failing as a public figure and as a politician to understand and meet the real needs of the street and was pursuing an Islamist agenda which was provoking an irritating the public because it wasn’t their priority.</td>
<td>For several reasons: The president empowered MB while exclude other parties and groups. MB played the role of the president.</td>
<td>Because they felt in danger.</td>
<td>The condition of the country was deteriorating in all aspects …. The 1st elected president was ruling his group and not the whole country.</td>
<td>It was a bad choice and he is a bad image and rumors were that he is a traitor.</td>
<td>Because it became obvious that his office was not serving the interest of Egyptians but rather it was serving the interest of the Muslim Brotherhood, his own political and religious affiliation.</td>
<td>The MB revealed an ugly face: lies, not keeping promises, incompetence, obstinacy, rigidly they tried to &quot;Islamize&quot; or &quot;brotherize&quot; the state and transform its culture. The failed to deliver on every single electoral campaign promise, particularly the first 100 days promises. In November 2012 the president issued a &quot;Constitutional Decree&quot; granting himself impunity and usurping extra powers. They then tried to crush the wide spread demonstrations. The whole nation was frustrated that the religious leader they elected deceived them by using the name of God.</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>What was the impact of this movement on the church and the individuals?</td>
<td>If you mean KDEC, I am not aware. But if you mean Christians in general, they were very much supportive and active in such movement.</td>
<td>Many went to the streets</td>
<td>-- people felt it was the answer to their prayers and were relieved and hopeful.</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Great encouragement</td>
<td>HOPE -- We called for prayer for 10 days before the 30th of June.</td>
<td>People got energized again. Not sure about church.</td>
<td>The church had prayed for a long time for freedom and for a restored society in Egypt. It was obvious that Morsi was implementing at a very high speed the agenda of the MB. This agenda was against freedom and was dividing polarizing the society. So, the campaign gave hope and determination back to most Egyptians including members of churches.</td>
<td>The church's faith became stronger, individuals felt triumph, satisfaction and relief, and their faith was strengthened.</td>
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church saw this movement as an answer to prayer. Individual 
s, if we’re talking about the Egyptian society at large, I 
guess the sheer number of people went in the street on June 
30th says it all. Over thirty million Egyptians were in the streets in all cities across Egypt protesting against the MB and in support of removing them from power.

| 19 | The world called June 30<sup>th</sup> a coup, while the majority of | Technically yes. It was technically a coup de ta. However being | It is an uprising, but the decision of the | At the time my opinion was that it was a popular uprising that | I called second uprising because the most of | It was a different kind of voting, with our feet | I consider it the greatest revolution in the | It is a coup that people endorse | I consider it a second uprising because the | It is a second wave of the same popular revolution, same slogans and | I was again in Tahrir, people were in thousands, |
| Egyptians call it the second uprising. What do you consider it and why. | in response to an unprecedented widespread people movement makes it politically a revolution. Similarly, the 23th of July 1952 was technically a coup, however the popular support of it made it politically a revolution. | Army was too fast which made it look like a coup. Egyptians asked for it. And the military supported it. rather than using ballots whole history of Egypt. Where 30 million people came out in the streets for a rebellion movement against the 1st elected civil president. d. The army was planning to take over and they needed people and people needed to get rid of MB as well so it was common interest military responded to the will of the people, which was expressed by over thirty million Egyptians on that day. There is no coup in the human history that resembles anything like that day. | Army was too fast which made it look like a coup. Egyptians asked for it. And the military supported it. rather than using ballots whole history of Egypt. Where 30 million people came out in the streets for a rebellion movement against the 1st elected civil president. d. The army was planning to take over and they needed people and people needed to get rid of MB as well so it was common interest military responded to the will of the people, which was expressed by over thirty million Egyptians on that day. There is no coup in the human history that resembles anything like that day. |

| 2 | What was your response when you heard the MB burning churches and Christian properties after the deposing of the MB President? | Sad. However I was proud of the Christian response, both the institution and the people. This response I guess, should be recorded in history as one of the times the Christian church has reacted in both Christian and patriotic way that participated in the demise of the Islamic political/militant. Angry | The deposition of the MB president was on the 4th of July, the burning of the churches started on the 14th of August after the violent dispersal of the MB sit-in in Rab3a, I felt that the government had chosen a wrong method to deal with the remnant od MB supporters I supported the state and I asked all Egyptians to leave the violence. Worried it would continue and spread but expected it. Unmasking the true face of Muslim Brotherhoo d. | Angry because army didn't do anything It was sad, and of course we felt for every Christian community that lost it's place of worship. But, as expressed by many leaders in Christian community, we tried to follow the teaching I expected more, this is their nature. | Angry because army didn't do anything It was sad, and of course we felt for every Christian community that lost it's place of worship. But, as expressed by many leaders in Christian community, we tried to follow the teaching I expected more, this is their nature. | At last what we were threatened by for decades is happening, and nothing happened to Christians, or to the country. I was proud with the Christian's response, it was full of Jesus love, and extremely patriotic. I looked at the
I was depressed and hopeless because of the government’s violence in Cairo and the MB’s violence in upper Egypt and was grieving the dream of a free, peaceful and prosperous Egypt which was birthed on January 2011.

and that Christians were paying the price of the cycle of violence, that we would see more violence and that this would increase sectarianism and violence in our society and the burning of the churches was the beginning of it. I was depressed and hopeless because of the government’s violence in Cairo and the MB’s violence in upper Egypt and was grieving the dream of a free, peaceful and prosperous Egypt which was birthed on January 2011.

of Christ, expressing forgiveness and love for those who committed these acts.

normal Egyptians and found that they were rethinking of their beliefs. Churches are a small price for people to doubt Islam.
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<th>2</th>
<th>What role did the revolution play in the daily life of the church and its services?</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>It gave it some freedom</td>
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<td>Services started being about the peace we have in God and not in circumstances, people started expecting hard time and persecution.</td>
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<td>The church more trusted in leading of God for the history. The church involved in the political life.</td>
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<td>Helped the church members and congregations to go beyond their usual ways and be engaged in the community and not segregated or isolated.</td>
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<td>All sermons became politically based and they tried to tailor make prophecies to suit current events.</td>
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<td>The church in general was caught in the middle of the events, willingly as in the case of my church, KDEC; or just because of the nature of the struggle which was political and religious too. Christians all over Egypt were affected. Widespread prayer meetings, across denominations and spread</td>
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<td>People became more oriented to their responsibility as citizens and as salt of the earth. The church itself will have to be more democratic in its structure.</td>
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<td>Raised the Spirit, brought them together, if not in the church then in homes, increased praying, cancelled some services, but gained a lot in other services when they were held. Made Muslims enter the church and enjoy Worship.</td>
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across the
country
took
place. The
church felt
the need
to be
united too;
so we saw
unprecede
nted
worship
and prayer
meetings
uniting
different
church
denominat
ions. The
church
had a very
positive;
we can
say even a
leading
role in the
society
towards
reconciliat
ion.

2
2

What role did
KDEC play
in uniting the
denomination
s in prayer
and working
together and
be more
effective in
impacting the
society?

I was not in
close
relationship
with this,
however I think
it was a highly
positive role.

Pioneerin
g role

NA

NA

A great
symbol for
all
Christians
and a
uniting force

The senior
leadership
of the
church is
part of a
group or
movement
called
―Mustard
Seed‖ a
group of
Orthodox,
Catholics

They
held
events
that to
me
didn't
have
any
impact
on
church
leaders
however

KDEC
had a
major role
in that.
KDEC
gained the
reputation
of being
the Tahrir
Church, in
other
words, the
Revolutio

KDEC took the
initiative, a
leading role.

Did a great
job.


and Protestant leaders. This group was formed after the commence of the revolution. We meet every week and pray together for General issues for the country and the church... E.g. Unity of the church in Egypt, and praying for our country. We joined in events where the 3 denominations participated in. And people participated from all Egypt. Congregations were happy and hopeful in Church. So, young people across Egypt, from all denominations, were rallying behind KDEC message. The worship and prayer meetings of KDEC were followed by millions of Egyptians through the satellite broadcasting. The messages from the pulpit of KDEC were always messages calling for forgiveness, unity, love and hope for all Egyptians. All this had a
### Biblical Issues:

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<td>How did the revolution force KDEC to revisit its Theological, Faith and Pastoral perspectives?</td>
<td>It made it look more and more to community service and Social Gospel.</td>
<td>I am not sure about the church services but it did open the debate between people in the church about our role in society, politics and reform. About what we hope in and expect in this world and about evil and pain.</td>
<td>NA</td>
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Then, we saw the wounded people all around the church premises and could not ignore it. So we decided to have the church field hospital to care for the wounded regardless of their religion or their political affiliation. So the church learned afresh that acts of love, no matter how costly, are to be indiscriminately showed to all people around us. The church also felt that were not given attention suddenly became on the front line.
pressure of persecution under the MB rule; so again, it became obvious that we need to stand united, regardless of our denominations, to show love and forgiveness to the society at large and to care for the discriminated Christians all over Egypt. We can say that God led the church open up and become the Church Without Walls that, I hope we can say.
Where will the Social Gospel find its place and be adopted into the church? (the term is meant to be love outreach)

During this century of revolution

Wrong question because the term “Social Gospel” is a misnomer relating to a movement in America in the early 1900s

It should be adopted outside the church and led by The Sprist not arranged in a crusade marketed campaigns

The Social Gospel is increasing finding its way in the church; taking action in feeding the poor, offering medical care, supporting families who lost their source of income, caring for who ever needs help; not only when or if they approach the church doors, but the church is going out to find them wherever they are.

Social gospel is an unfortunate term, the gospel is an integral message about eternal salvation, the kingdom of God and His love and an answer to the estrangement of human beings, individuals, communities and the whole society. The gospel means the joy of holiness in our hearts, homes, schools, offices, workplace and governments.
<p>| What role should Christians have in politics? | * | Impacting as individuals | NA | Salt and light | Christians (individuals) should join political parties and be involved in the political life. They have all the rights as citizens of this country. | They should mingle and be among decision making system | Christians are to be good citizens, practicing all their political rights for the good of the good of their societies. The bible teaches us to pray for authorities, so this is an added responsibility for those good citizens, we can say! | Christian figures are now prominent both on the revolutionary and conservative sides of politics. &quot;Maspero Youth&quot; is an example of a mass political Christian movement with a progressive tinge. Christians already have a tangible presence in the new parties, parliament, constitution drafting and media. They also play a role in funding the political scene. This presence should reflect the Christian concern with human dignity, justice and freedom more than &quot;denominational demands&quot; or &quot;religious privileges&quot;. | They should be there as part of the community to apply what they believe, and to fight for what they are praying for. |</p>
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<th>How will the church have a more constructive role in changing the impression leaving a positive life changing imprint, annihilating the crisis between Muslims and Christians in Egypt?</th>
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<td>I have stated my opinion about the church in general. I am not in a position that should allow me give a specific opinion about the Theological and Pastoral perspective of this particular local Church. <em>(For All of the above Points)</em></td>
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<td>Dialogue, Debates and community service</td>
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<td></td>
<td>By helping those who need help regardless of their religion or politics, by working on a rhetoric that is inclusive and free from stereotypes and prejudice.</td>
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<td>We will never “annihilate” the gulf but may build some encouraging bridges through our love and participation with Muslims in rebuilding Egypt.</td>
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<td>By incarnation into the society</td>
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<td>By just acting normal with no gushing over reacted emotion and love with a pure heart inviting Moslem s to common events and voluntary service</td>
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<td>When the church message of love is loud enough through words and practical deeds, Muslims are drawn to it. We saw newspaper articles, TV shows and even the new president himself, witnessing to the role of Christians unifying the society. This happening in front of our own eyes in unprecedented clear and loud way, it’s the only way Christ taught us too!</td>
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<td>We need a platform for Biblical and Theological basis for Human Rights, political and public participation. Coupled by courageous prophetic voices against selfish and egoistic, even opportunistic political actions by some Christians. We also need to face the roots of a lack of political awareness and the prevailing air of intolerance (up to verbal violence and may be more) among the public and even among Christians.</td>
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<td>By accepting others no matter what religion they believe in, to be true friends with them, to work with them. To serve them as much as the church serves Christians</td>
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<td>Concluding Thoughts</td>
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Appendix M: Ethics Review Approval

PROTOCOL REFERENCE # 30050

November 5, 2014

Dr. Andrew Irvine
KNOX COLLEGE

Rev. Sameh Hanna
KNOX COLLEGE

Dear Dr. Andrew Irvine and Rev. Sameh Hanna,

Re: Your research protocol entitled, "Forced to be out of the walls: The effect of the civil uprising in January 25th 2011 and the years that followed on the Kasr-El-Dobara Evangelical Church in Egypt"

ETHICS APPROVAL

Original Approval Date: November 5, 2014
Expiration Date: November 4, 2016
Continuing Review Level: 1

We are writing to advise you that the Social Sciences, Humanities, and Education Research Ethics Board (REB) has granted approval to the above named research protocol under the REB's delegated review process. Your protocol has been approved for a period of one year and ongoing research under this protocol must be renewed prior to the expiry date.

Any changes to the approved protocol or consent materials must be reviewed and approved through the amendment process prior to its implementation. Any adverse or unanticipated events in the research should be reported to the Office of Research Ethics as soon as possible.

Please ensure that you submit an Annual Renewal Form or a Study Completion Report 45 to 30 days prior to the expiry date of your current ethics approval. Note that annual renewals for studies cannot be accepted more than 30 days prior to the date of expiry.

If your research is funded by a third party, please contact the assigned Research Funding Officer in Research Services to ensure that your funds are released.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research.

Yours sincerely,

Sarah Wakefield, Ph.D.
REB Chair

Dean Sharpe
REB Manager