

EGYPT FROM *Tahrir to Transition*

Egyptians on their Assets and Challenges and What Leaders should do about it

June 2011



مرکز غالوب أبو ظبي

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About the Abu Dhabi Gallup Center

- A Gallup research hub based in the capital of the United Arab Emirates
- Research on the attitudes and aspirations of Muslims around the world; Muslim-West relations, wellbeing, religious identity, and more

Overview

- Key Findings
- Perspectives on the Revolution
- Economic Challenges
- Political Participation: Democracy or Theocracy?
- Egypt-U.S. Relations
- Recommendations for Egyptian and U.S. Leaders

Key Findings

Assets

- Egyptians expect a bright political and economic future.
- They envision a representative government where religious principles guide the democratic process, but with clerics limited to an advisory role.
- No other population in the world rejects attacks on civilians more than Egyptians, whose faith in peaceful means of change has only increased since the revolution.

Challenges

- At the same time, Egyptians are less satisfied with their standard of living, and the availability of necessities.
- They feel their communities have become less safe.
- Most Egyptians continue to have little faith in the leadership of the United States and envision a different kind of partnership for the future.



Perspectives on the Revolution

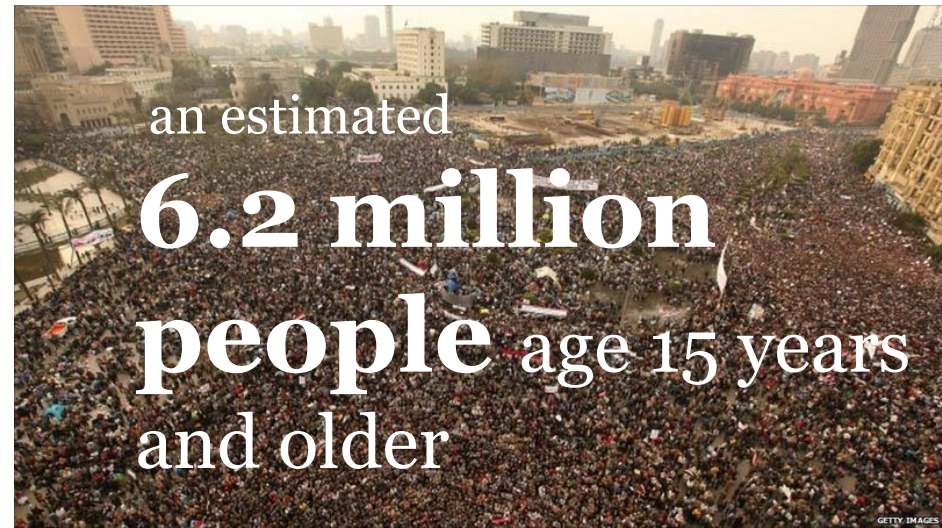
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Most Egyptians Support the Revolution

- **83%** supported the protesters who called for former President Mubarak's resignation
- **11%** participated in the protests
- **17%** of protesters had home Internet access



Though protesters were more likely to be young, educated, and male, they spanned the demographic spectrum. Their average household income reflected the public at large.

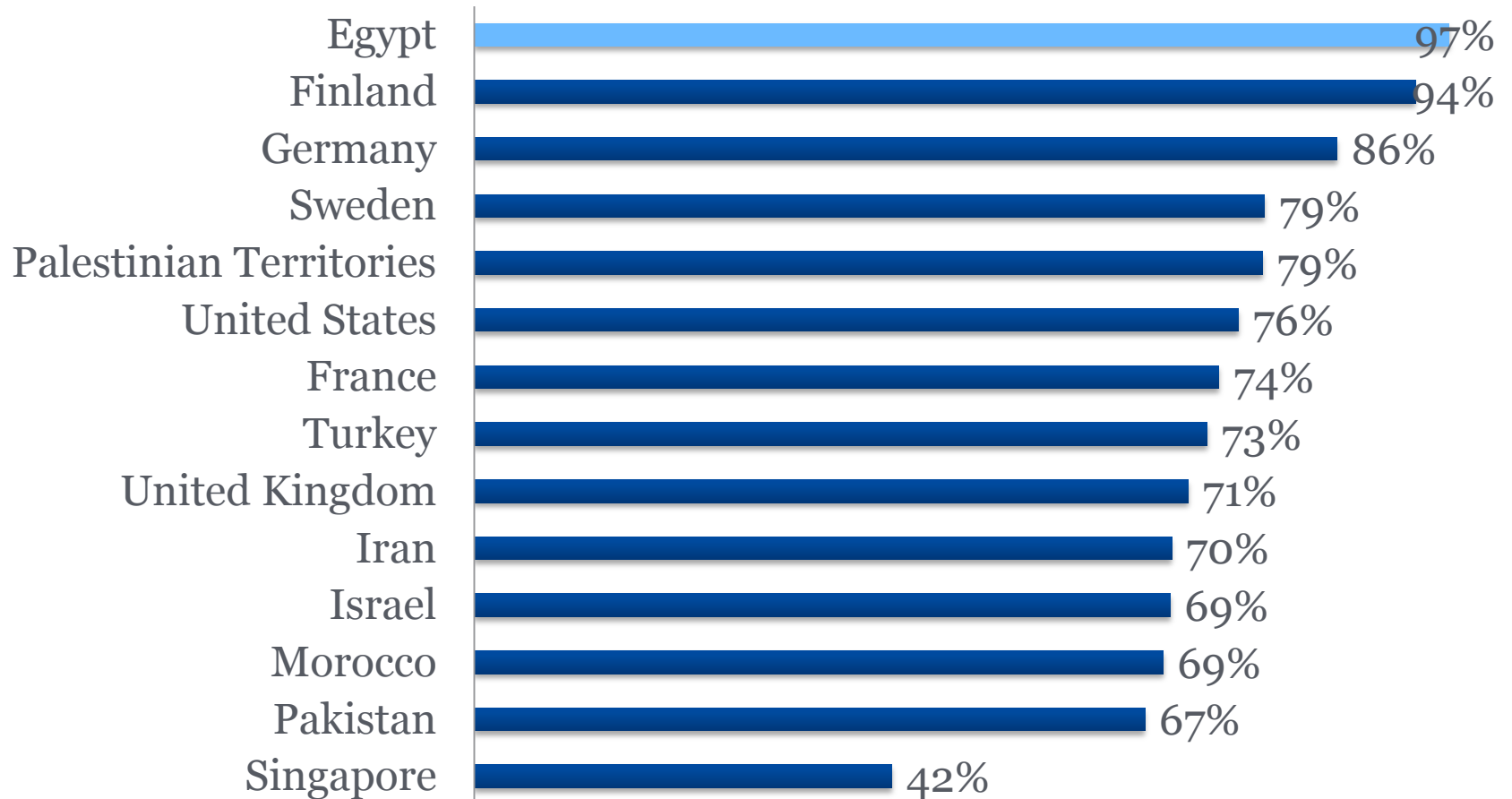
American Public Sympathized With Protesters

- **82%** of Americans said they sympathized with Egypt's protesters
- **83%** of Egyptians had a similar opinion



Egyptians Are the Most Likely Population in the World to Unconditionally Reject Individual Attacks on Civilians

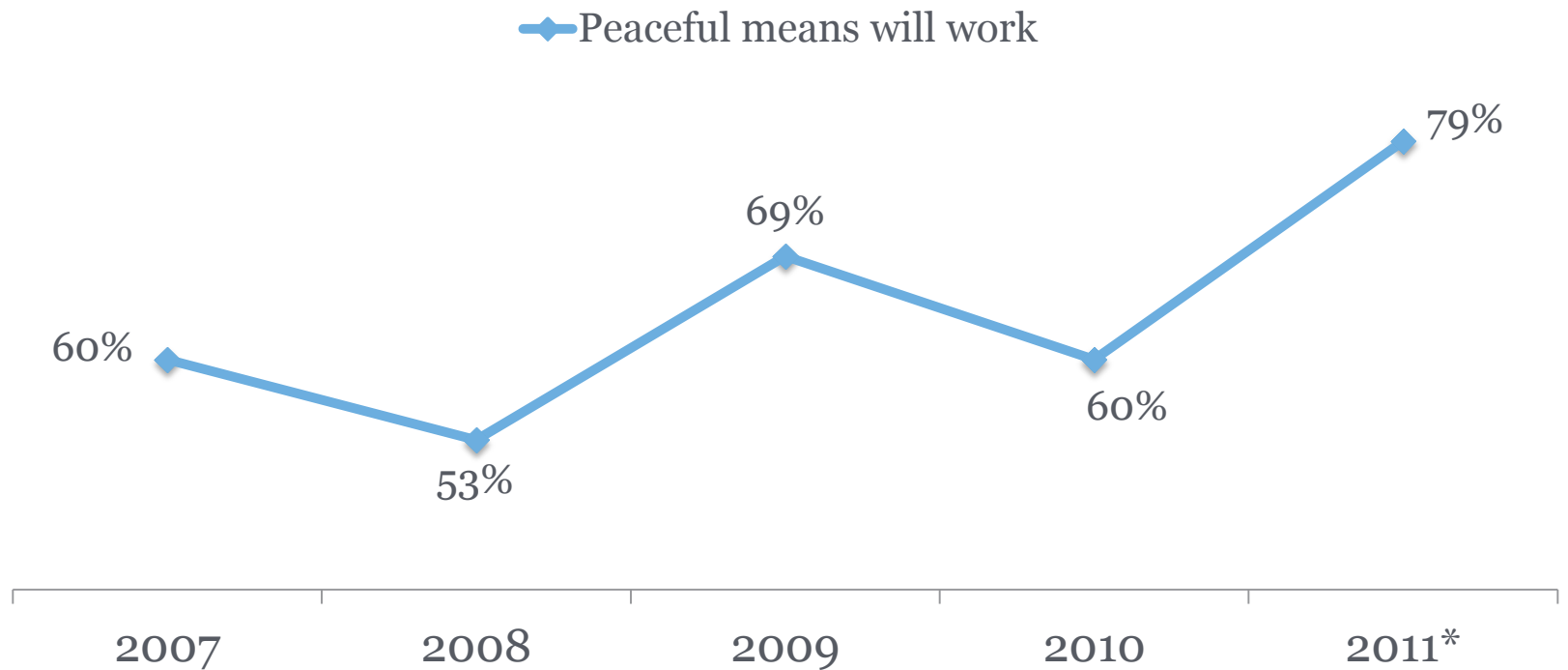
Some people think that for an individual person or a small group of persons to target and kill civilians is sometimes justified, while others think that kind of violence is never justified. Which is your opinion? – % Never justified



Egyptians' Faith in Effectiveness of Peaceful Means Alone to Correct Injustice

2007-2010: Some people believe that groups that are oppressed and are suffering from injustice can improve their situation by peaceful means ALONE. Others do not believe that peaceful means ALONE will work to improve the situation for such oppressed groups. Which do you believe?

Spring 2011*: Can oppressed groups improve their situation through peaceful means alone, or can oppressed groups NOT improve their situation through peaceful means alone?



Egyptians on Local Security and Reported Crime

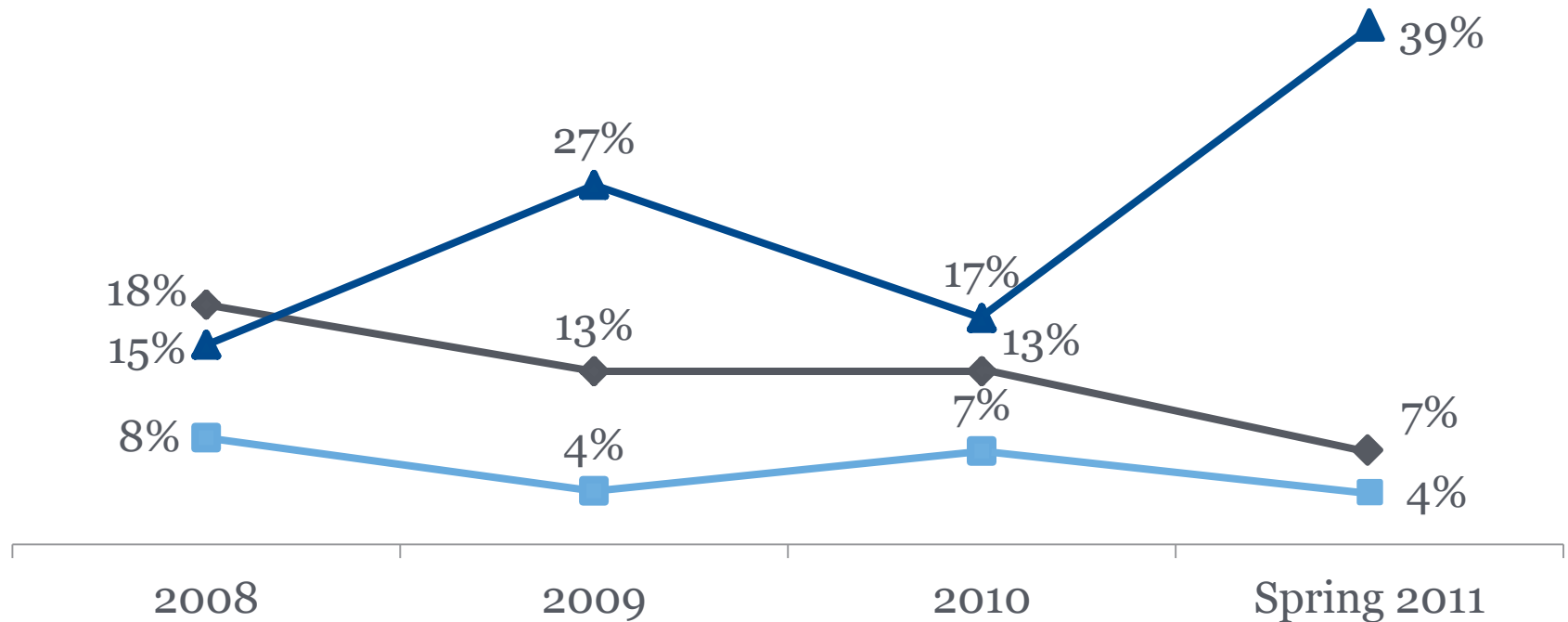
Do you feel safe walking alone at night in the city or area where you live? - % No

Within the last 12 months, have you **(read A-B)**?

A. Had money or property stolen from you or another household member - % Yes

B. Been assaulted or mugged - % Yes

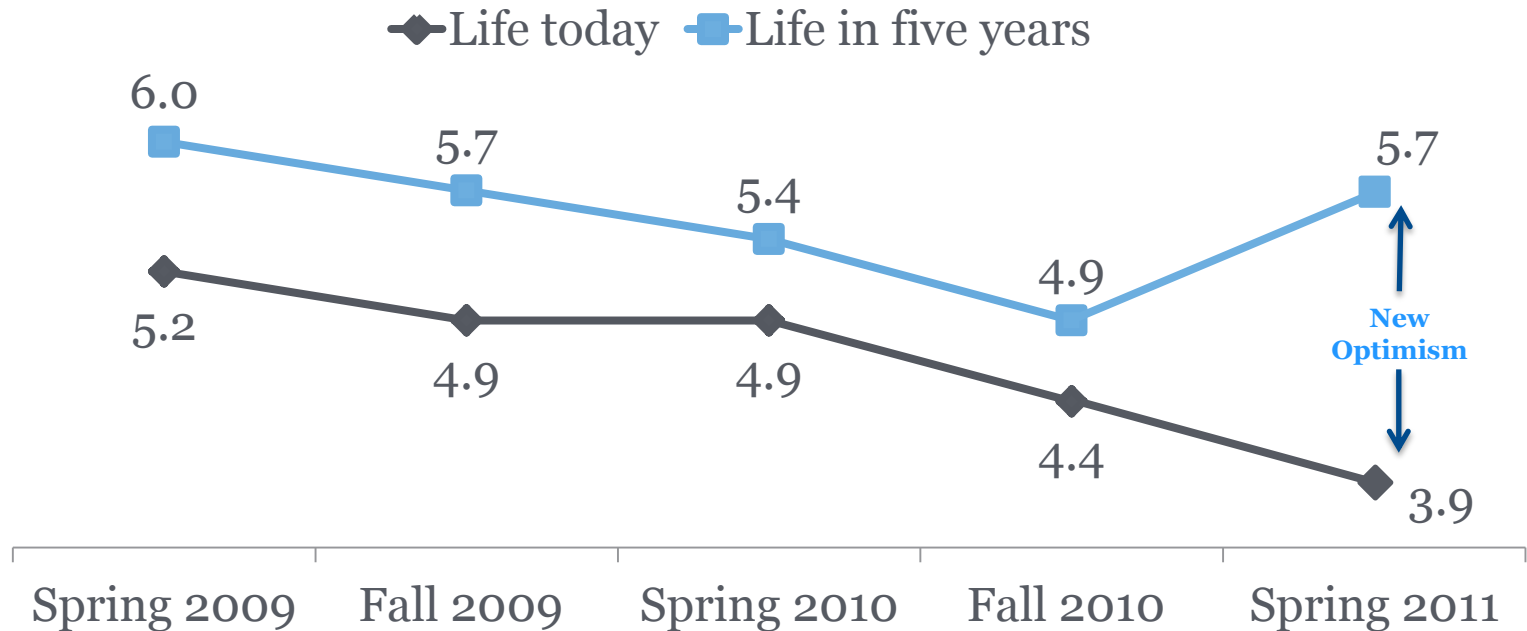
◆ Money/Property stolen ■ Assaulted or mugged in past year ▲ Feel safe walking alone



Egyptians on Life Evaluation and the Future

Please imagine a ladder with steps numbered from 0 at the bottom to 10 at the top. Suppose we say that the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you, and the bottom of the ladder represents the worst possible life for you. A. On which step of the ladder would you say you personally feel you stand at this time, assuming that the higher the step the better you feel about your life, and the lower the step the worse you feel about it? Which step comes closest to the way you feel?

B. Just your best guess, on which step do you think you will stand in the future, say about five years from now?





Economic Challenges Persist

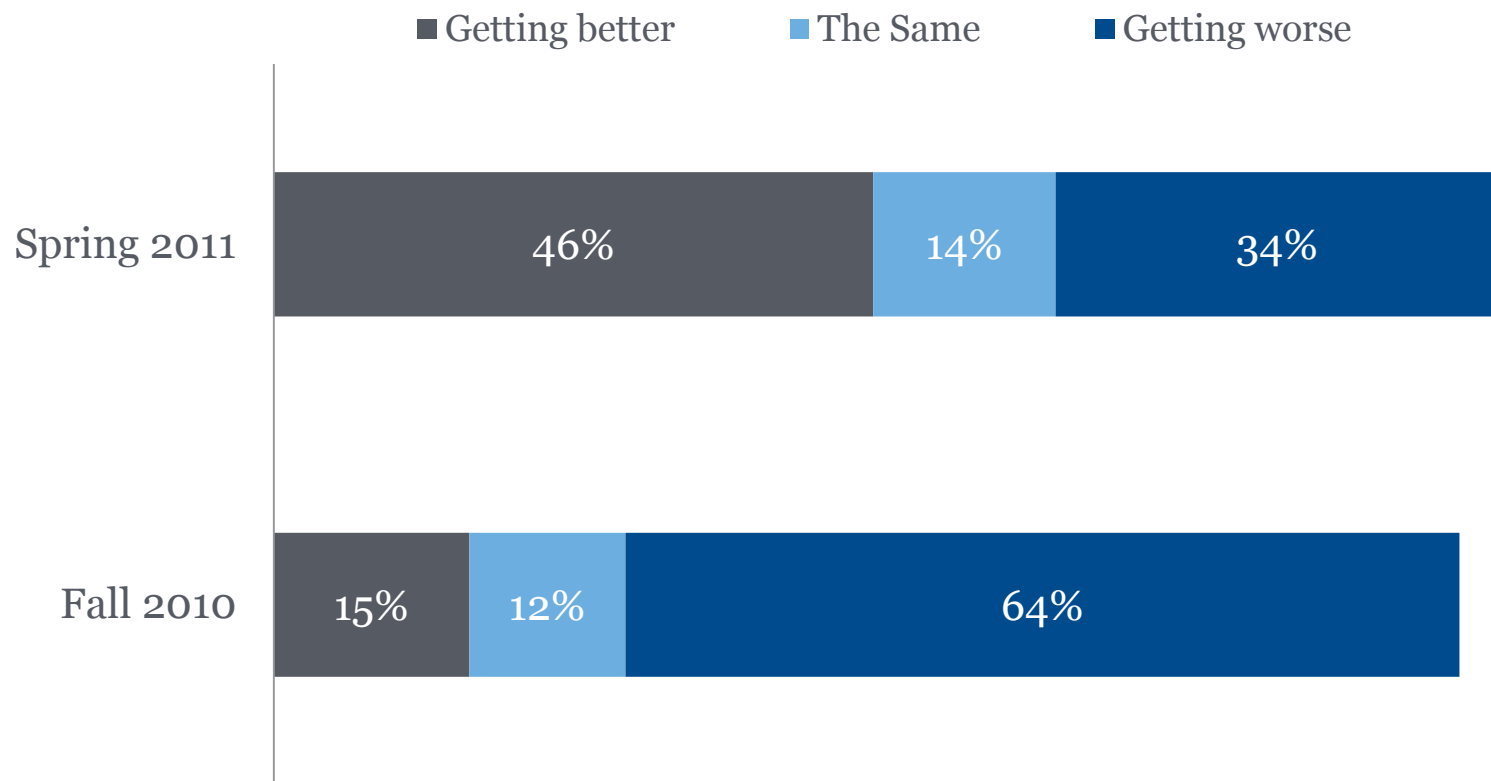
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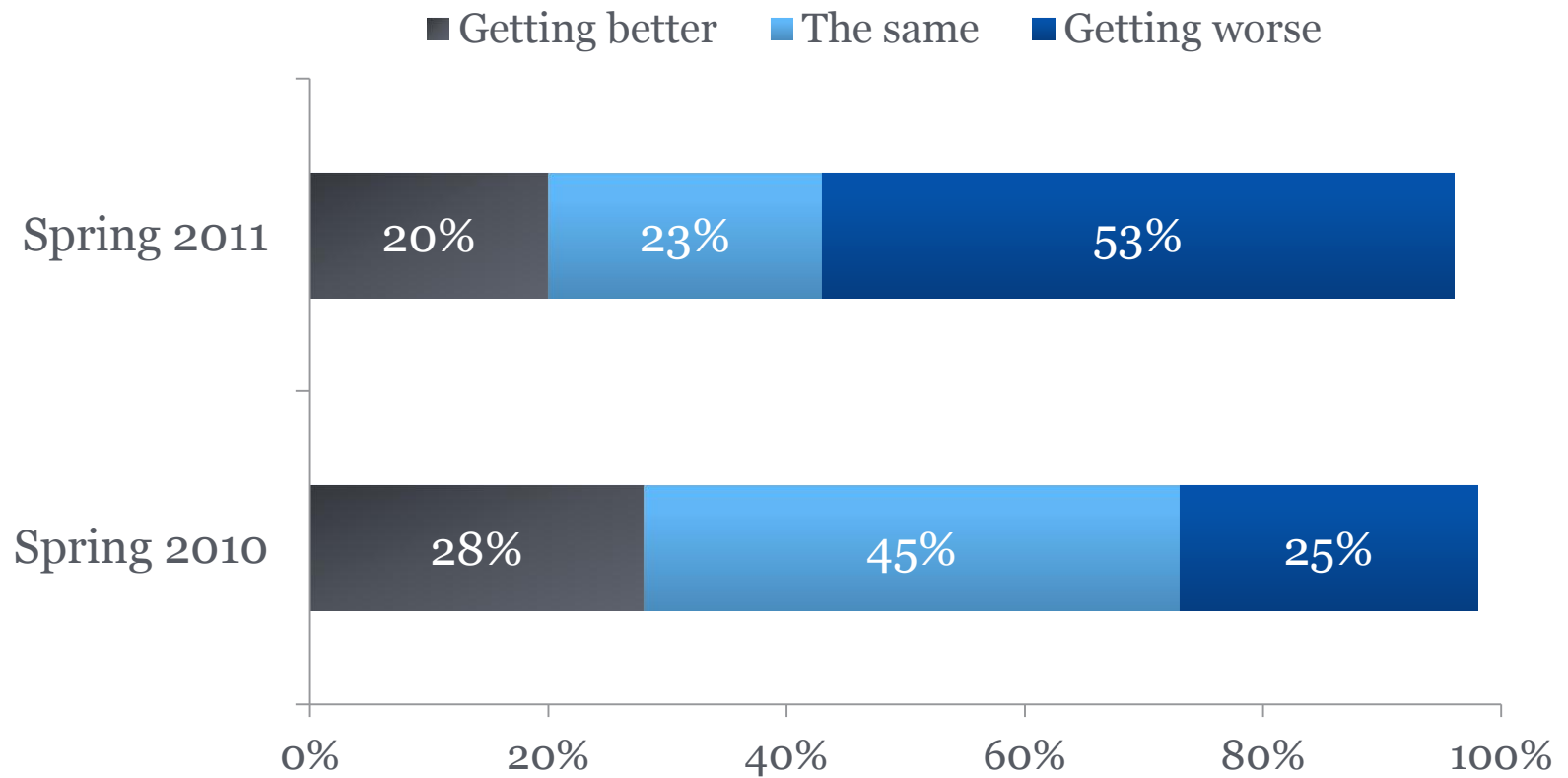
More Egyptians Believe the National Economy Is Getting Better After the Revolution

Right now, do you think the economic conditions in Egypt, as a whole, are getting better or getting worse?



The Majority of Egyptians Believe Economic Conditions in Their City Are Worsening

Right now, do you think that economic conditions in the city or area where you live, as a whole, are getting better or getting worse?

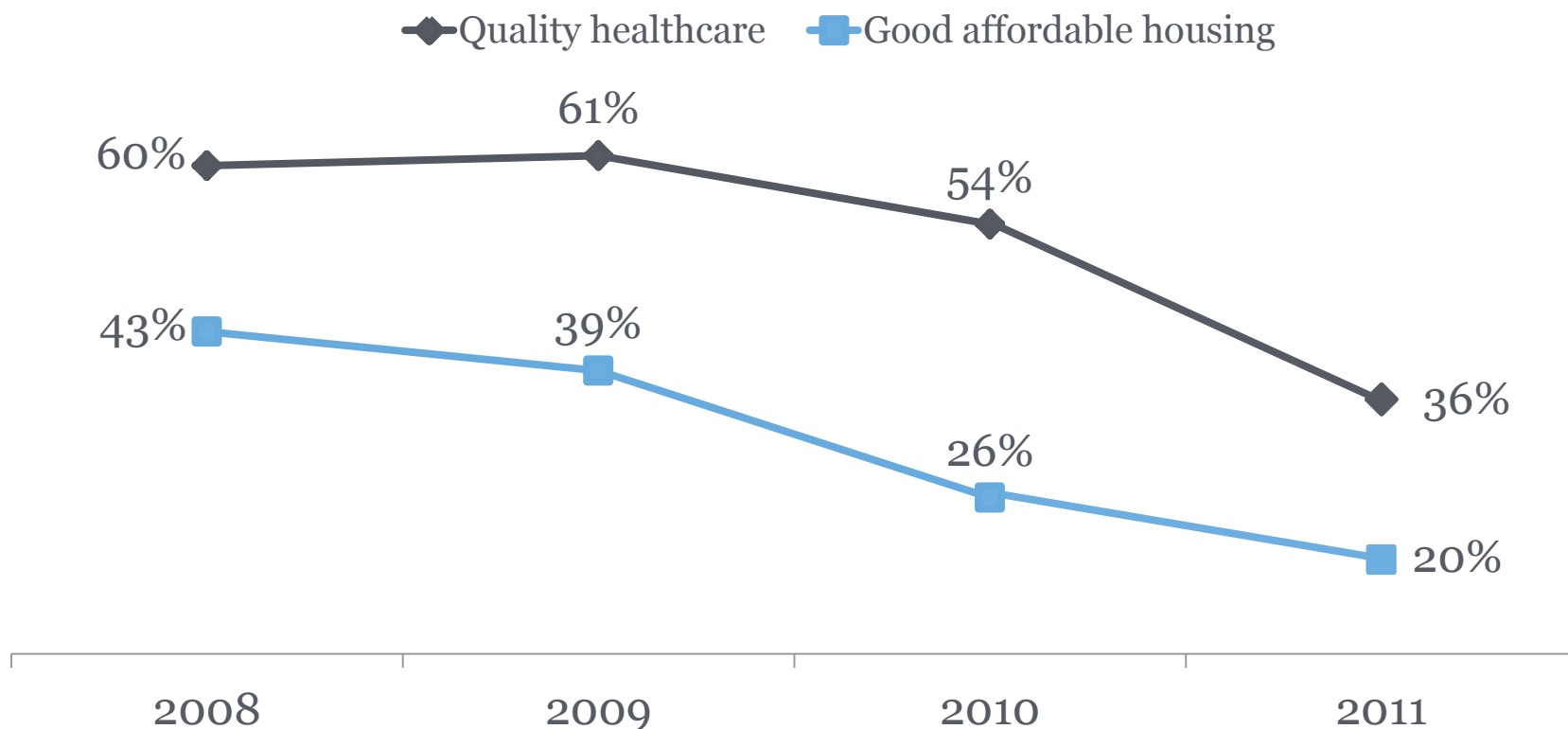


Egyptians' Satisfaction With the Availability of Quality Healthcare and Good Affordable Housing After the Revolution

In the city or area where you live, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with?

The availability of quality health care - % Satisfied

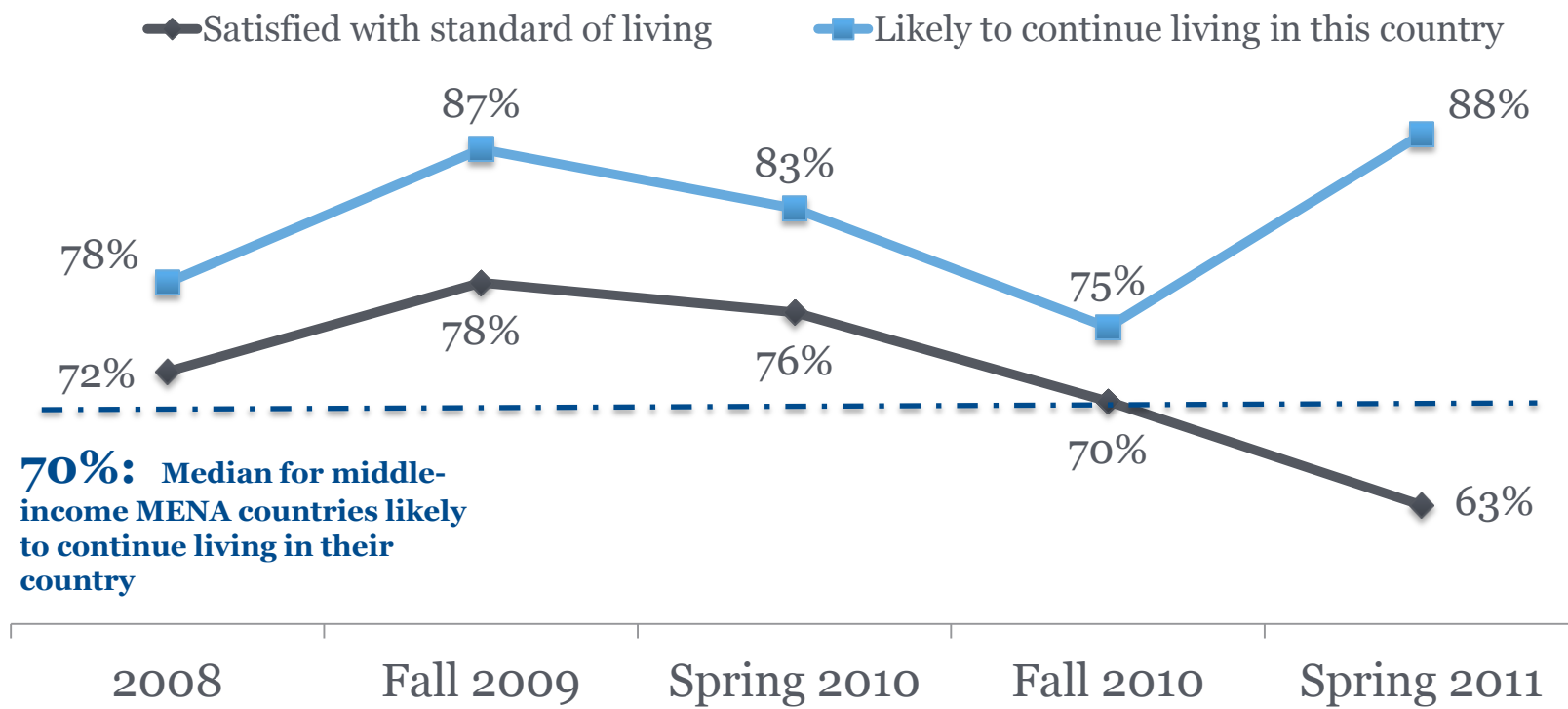
The availability of good affordable housing - % Satisfied



Egyptians on Standard of Living and Migration

Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your standard of living, all the things you can buy and do?

Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to move PERMANENTLY to another country, or would you prefer to continue living in this country?





Political Participation: Democracy or Theocracy?

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Egypt's Current Political Parties Lack Broad Support

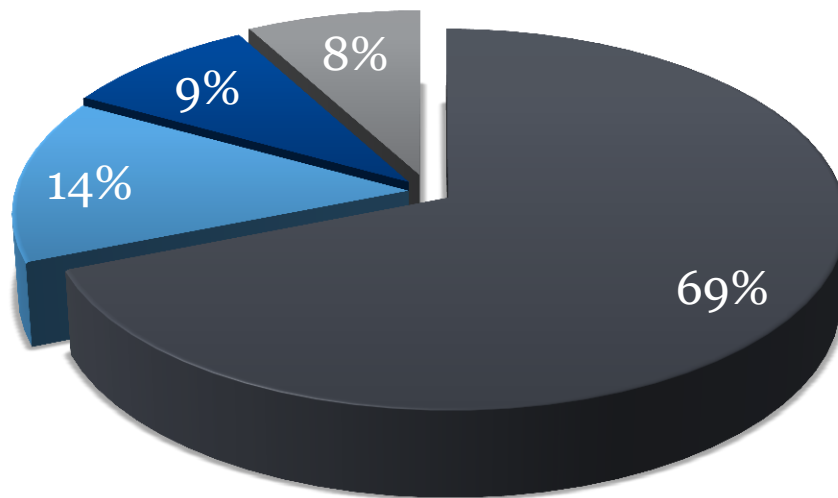
Please indicate whether you support or do not support each of the following political parties:

Political Party	Support
Muslim Brotherhood	15%
National Democratic Party (NDP)	10%
The Wafd Party	9%
The Wassat Party	5%

Most Egyptians Favor an Advisory Role for Religious Leaders

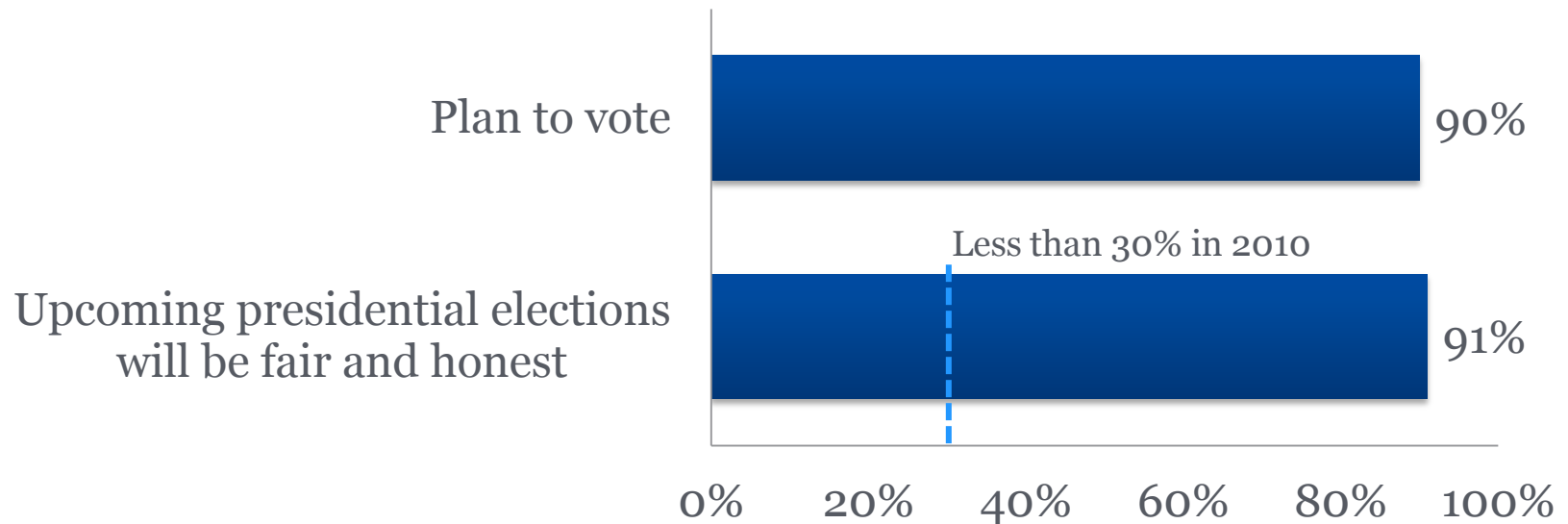
Some people have had discussions about the role religious leaders should have in the area of writing national legislation – that is, drafting new laws to which everyone would be subject. In general, which of these statements comes closest to your point of view? *(Read and rotate 1-3)*

- Religious leaders should advise those in authority with writing national legislation
- Religious leaders should have full authority to write national legislation
- Religious leaders should have no authority to write national legislation



- Advise those in authority
- Have full authority
- Have no authority
- Don't know/Refuse

Egyptians Have Greater Trust in the Fairness of Their Societies After the Revolution



- 94%: Confidence in the military
- 80%: Confidence in the judicial system and courts
- 66%: Confidence in the national government
- 39%: Confidence in the police in 2011 (58% in 2009)



Egypt-U.S. Relations

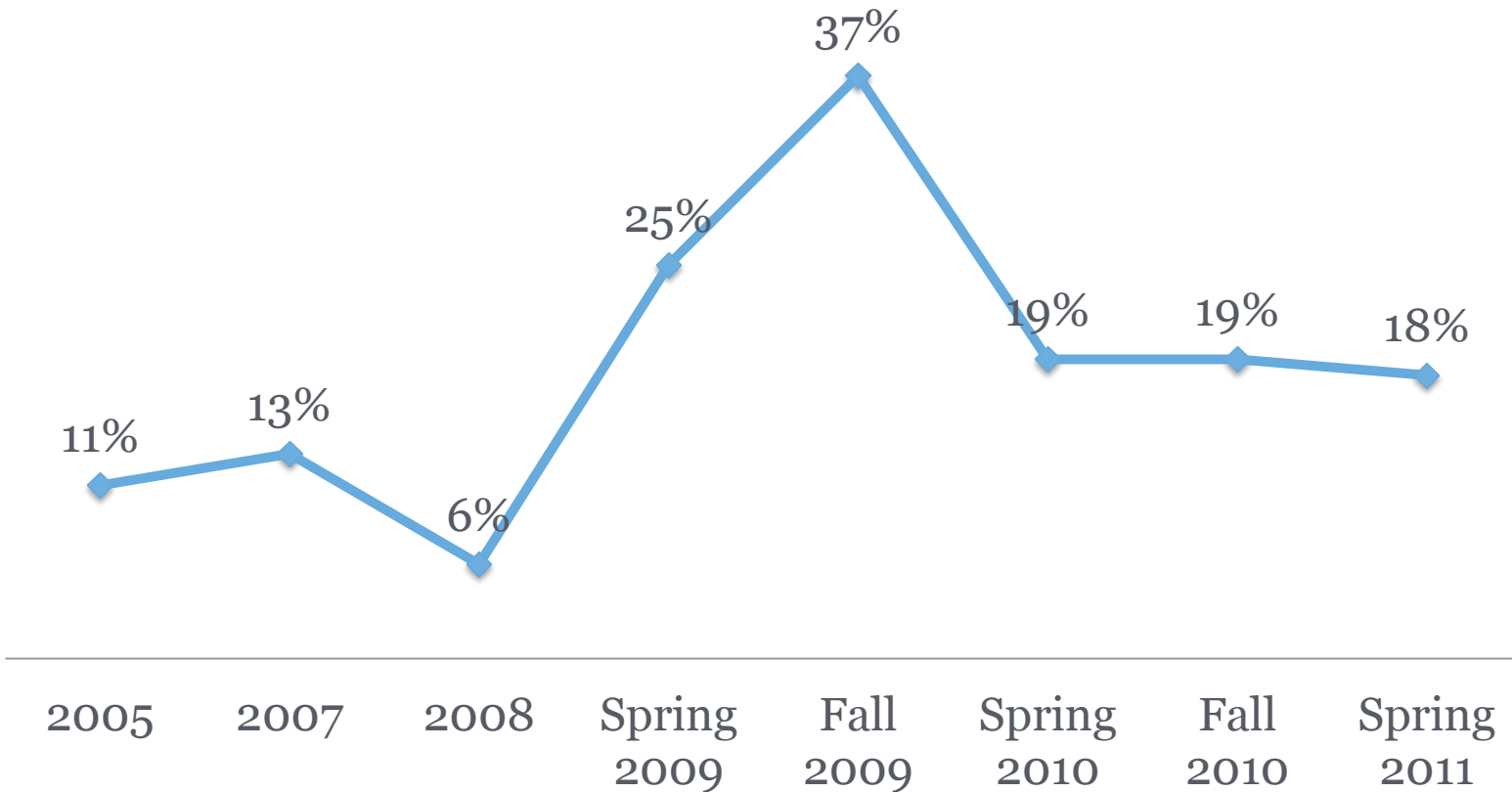
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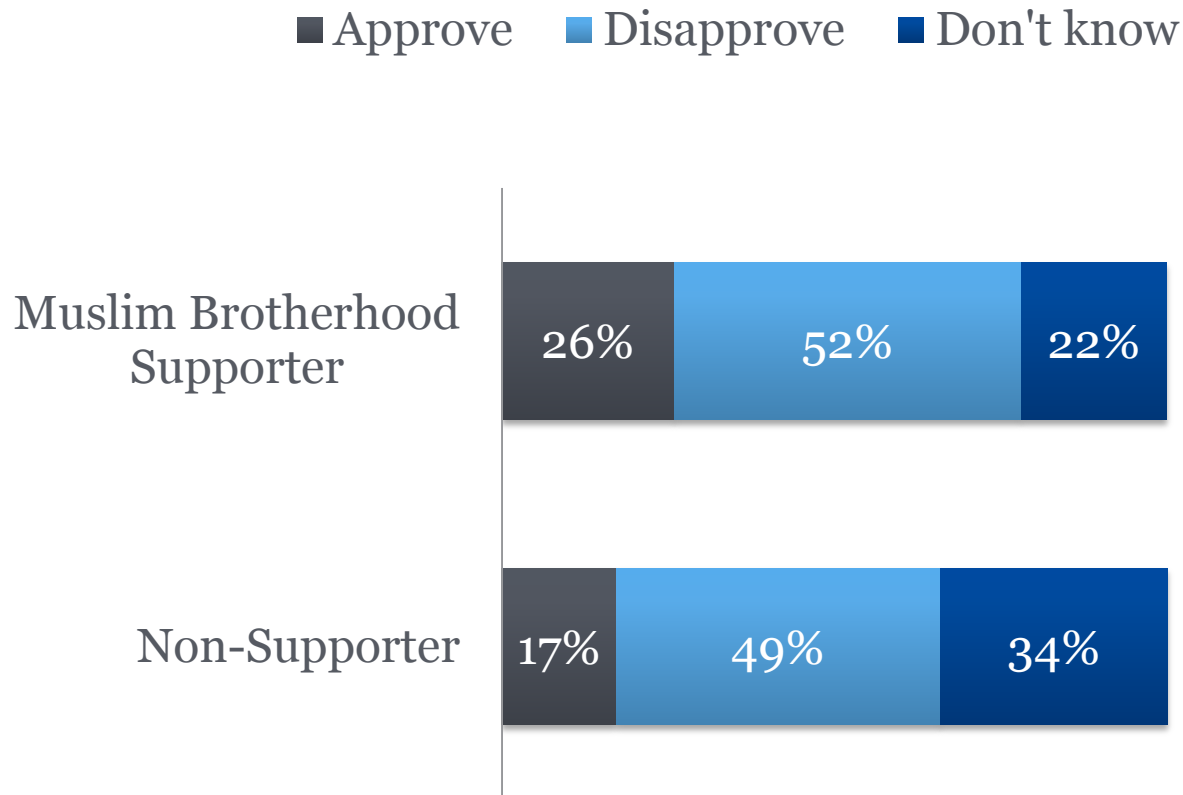
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Egyptians Approval of U.S. Leadership Unchanged After the Revolution

Do you approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of the U.S. – % Approve



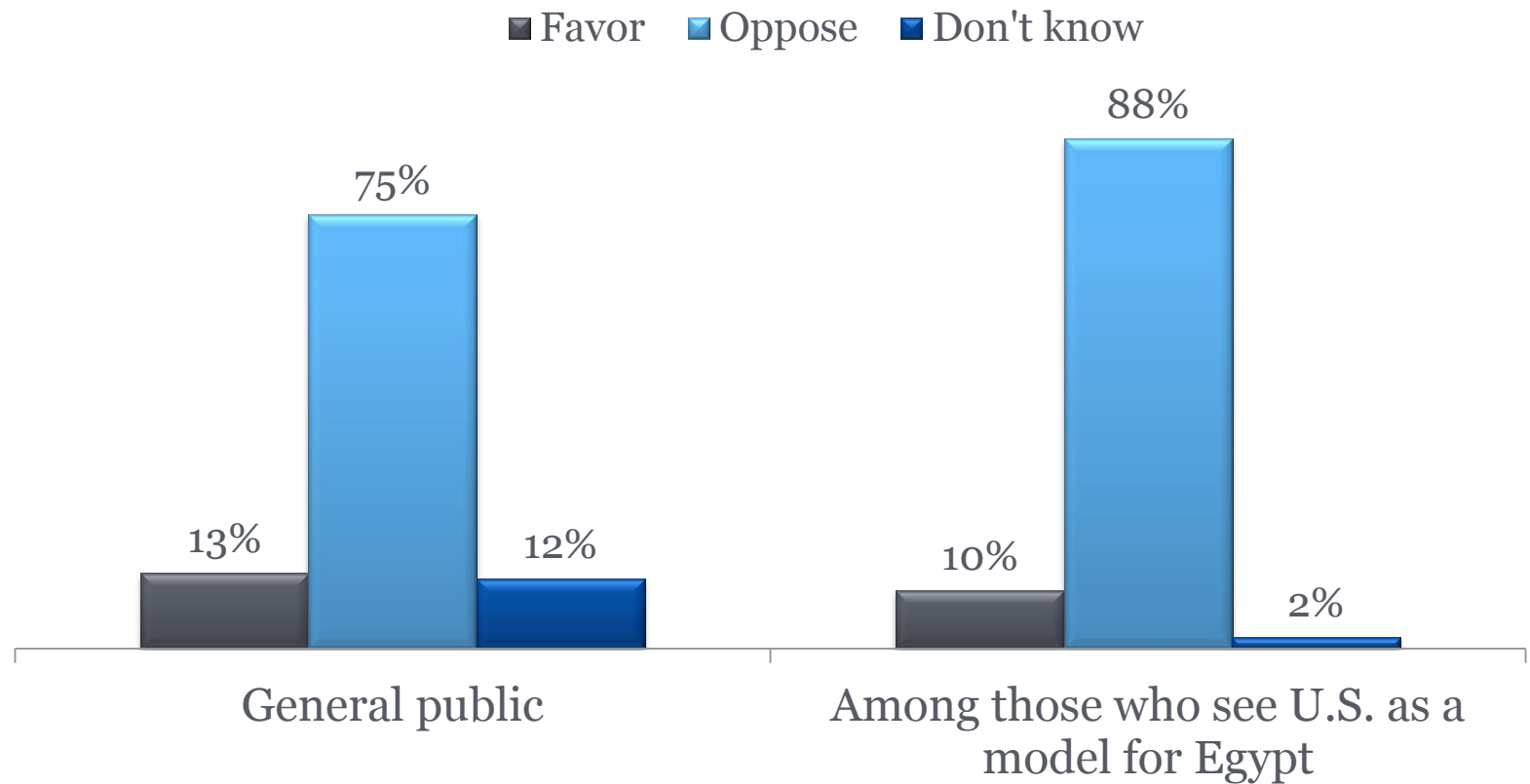
Muslim Brotherhood Supporters Slightly More Likely to Approve of U.S. Leadership



Most Egyptians Oppose U.S. Aid to Political Groups in Their Country

Which country would you consider to be a political model for Egypt's future government?

Do you favor or oppose the U.S. sending aid to political groups in Egypt?





Recommendations

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Recommendations for Egypt

- Build on the success of the referendum vote to carry out and build public trust for transparent and fair elections.
- Create jobs and encourage new business development so that more can share in the country's macroeconomic success.
- Improve inter-religious cohesion by focusing on national unity and citizenship equality, rather than pushing for a “secular state.”
- Reform local governments and institutions.
- Harness Egypt's positive image with the American public to build a new relationship with the U.S. based on mutual respect and mutual interest.

Recommendations for the United States

- Protect the independence of Egypt's political system by supporting democratic principles, not political parties or individuals.
- Invest in favorable trade agreements and concrete, visible projects that directly address a societal need, rather than “promotion of democracy.”

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Survey Methods

- Gallup is entirely responsible for the management, design, and control of this study
- **Egypt Results:**
 - Bases on face-to-face interviews with approximately 1,000 adults, aged 15 and older, in each survey administration
 - Survey Dates:
 - July 2007
 - April 23-May 18, 2008
 - March 7-22 and Aug. 11-19, 2009
 - March 13-23 and Sept. 25-Oct. 26, 2010
 - March 2-April 2, 2011
 - Margin of Error ranges from ± 3.31 to ± 3.5 percentage points
- **Results From American Public:**
 - Bases on telephone interviews with a random sample of national adults aged 18 and older using random-digit-dialing sampling
 - Interviews are conducted with respondents on both landline and cellular phones
 - Landline respondents are chose at random within each household on the basis of which member had the most recent birthday
 - Survey Dates:
 - Feb. 2-5, 2011
 - Margin of Error ranges from ± 4 percentage points
- **Results From Other countries:**
 - Bases on face-to-face interviews with approximately 1,000 adults, aged 15 and older in each country
 - Survey Dates:
 - Various dates in 2009
 - Margin of Error ranges from ± 3.3 to ± 4.2 percentage points
- The margin of error reflects the influence of data weighting. In addition to sampling error, question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of public opinion polls