Title	Regional differences in social consciousness within Egypt : an analysis based on "Egypt Attitude Survey in 2008"
Sub Title	
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Publisher	Global Center of Excellence Center of Governance for Civil Society, Keio University
Publication year	2010
Jtitle	Journal of political science and sociology No.12 (2010.) ,p.1- 26
JaLC DOI	
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Notes	
Genre	Journal article
URL	https://koara.lib.keio.ac.jp/xoonips/modules/xoonips/detail.php?koara_id=AA12117871-20100300-0001

Regional Differences in Social Consciousness within Egypt: An Analysis Based on "Egypt Attitude Survey in 2008"

Erina Iwasaki

Abstract

Egyptian society is spatially diverse in socioeconomic terms. It is known that there are differences in terms of income, employment structure, and educational levels, not only between Cairo and the provinces, but also between and within Lower and Upper Egypt. Are these socioeconomic differences reflected in social consciousness? To answer this question, this paper explores the data obtained from the report, "Egypt Attitude Survey in 2008", and analyzes the relationships between different components of social consciousness.

I. Introduction

The prominence of Cairo as the economic and political center in Egyptian society is well known. As such, studies of Egyptian society have tended to stress the Cairo–province relation as a primary axis of social dynamism, which in turn has led to a lack of spatial recognition within Egyptian society.

However, Egyptian society is spatially diverse in its socioeconomic aspects. It is known that there are differences in terms of income and poverty, and employment structures, between and within Lower and Upper Egypt.

How are these socioeconomic differences reflected in social consciousness? Studies of social class, civil society, gender, and of many other sociological phenomena tell us that social consciousness, defined as consciousness or awareness shared within a society, differs according to the socioeconomic background of each individual. Therefore, we may hypothesize that social consciousness may differ spatially.

This paper explores the spatial variation of social consciousness using the dataset obtained from a survey done in Egypt in 2008 "Egypt Attitude Survey in 2008", organized by the Need-Based Program for Area Studies, "The Middle East within Asia: Law and Economics".[1]

There are currently many attitude and opinion surveys conducted in Egypt.[2] However,

most of these surveys aimed primarily at exploring the differences in political attitudes in Egypt compared with those of other countries. Therefore, they are not designed for investigating the spatial differences within a country. The survey data used in this paper are different in this regard, and are designed to enable regional comparisons.

The paper proceeds as follows. Section II examines regional differences in socioeconomic terms using the results of cluster analysis of population census data. Section III reviews the survey design of "Egypt Attitude Survey in 2008" and the data obtained from it. Section IV presents the results of the analysis of people's attitudes using this data.

II. Regional Differences in Socioeconomic Factors[3]

Egypt is well known to be a hydrological society dependent on the Nile. Many issues in relation to Egyptian society have been discussed in connection with this hydrological argument. In terms of political regime, Egypt has been characterized as a centralized state, given the powerful control of Cairo over the provinces, and has been discussed in the context of the problem of center–province relations.

In regard to its spatial formation, apart from the prominent urban center of Cairo, Egyptian society has been considered a centralized agricultural society because of its dependence on the Nile. With the rise of nationalism, this view of Egypt as a centralized society was reinforced to support the unity of the Egyptian nation.

One outcome of viewing Egypt as a centralized and homogeneous society is that spatial variations within Egyptian society tend to be neglected. The spatial distinction often made when studying Egypt is that between urban society and rural society, which is a corollary of the center–province relationship. Another spatial distinction generally used in studying Egypt is that of the administrative division between the four provinces: Lower Egypt (the governorates north of the Cairo governorate in the Nile Delta); Upper Egypt (the governorates south of the Cairo governorate along the Nile River); the Frontier governorates (the South and North Sinai governorates in the Sinai Peninsula, Wadi Gedid, and the Marsa Matruh governorates in the Western Desert); and the Urban governorates composed of the large cities (Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said, Ismailya, and Suez governorates). However, this administrative division separates out large cities, and therefore is not different from the spatial distinctions of center–province and urban–rural.

This section aims at a regional categorization of Egyptian society, using the basic socioeconomic indicators—income, employment, and education data—and based on the smallest unit of analysis possible; that is, the smallest administrative unit (referred to as the *shiyakha* in urban areas and the *qarya* or village in rural areas). By undertaking this categorization, this section attempts to explore the regional diversity within Egyptian society.

The data used in this section are from the Population Census 1996 and the Income &

Expenditure Household Survey 1999/2000 undertaken by the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS). They are agglomerated at the smallest administrative unit levels (*shiyakha* and *qarya*) and were made available by CAPMAS staff as part of a joint research project between CAPMAS and Hitotsubashi University.

Regional categorization is conducted using income data and their relevant factors of spatial formation, which are employment and educational levels. The indicators used in the analysis are chosen on the assumption that these are the most basic and important elements for understanding Egypt's society and economy.

The regional categorization is conducted by cluster analysis, which is a statistical method for grouping objects into respective categories or clusters according to the similarity of their attributes.

The cluster analysis was carried out based on the scores for the 10 factors obtained from the factor analysis (Appendix Table 1). It produced seven clusters characterized by similar features of income, employment, and educational level (Appendix Table 2). A detailed description of these 10 clusters can be further understood by examining Figure 1 and Table 1, which show the geographical distribution of these clusters.

Table 1: Regional categorization according to cluster analysis

Cluster	Geographical location	Characteristics
1	Suburbs of large cities (Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said) Suburbs of Mahalla Kobra city Provincial cities in the central and southern parts of Lower Egypt (governorates of Menufiya, Sharqiya, Gharbiya) Villages in the southern parts of Upper Egypt	Predominance of industrial workers
2	Villages in the suburbs of provincial cities, especially in central and southern parts of Lower Egypt Villages in the southern parts of Upper Egypt, and oases in Frontier governorates	Markedly low rank government employment
3	Villages in northern parts of Lower Egypt Villages in Fayum governorate and other southern parts of Upper Egypt (Asyut, Sohag governorates)	Predominance of agricultural self-employment
4	Villages in southern parts of Upper Egypt (Minya governorate and northern parts of Asyut governorate)	Predominance of waged agricultural labor and low income
5	Villages in northern parts of Lower Egypt (governorates of Beheira, Kafr Sheykh) Villages in Minya governorate	Predominance of large-scale agricultural enterprises

6	Large cities, and most of the provincial cities	Mixture of government employment, commercial, and industrial activities
7	Some *qism* in Cairo	High income and dominated by the service industry

Source: CAPMAS, 1996 Population Census dataset, Household Income & Expenditure Survey 1999/2000 dataset.

The findings from the analysis are as follows.

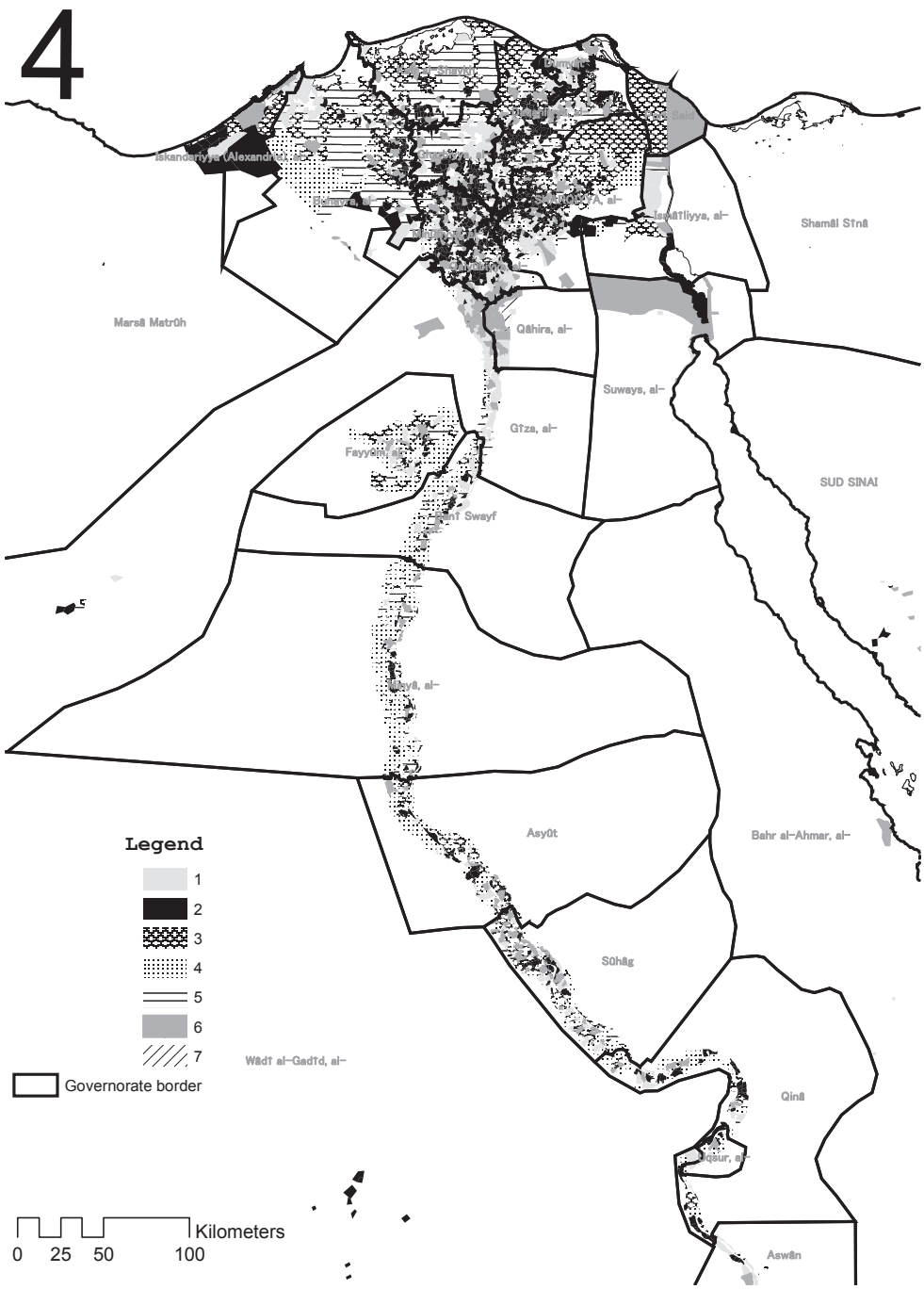
(1) Cairo is the primary city in terms of administration, commerce, industry, and size, as shown in the spatial distribution of Cluster 1, "*predominance of industrial workers*" and Cluster 6 "*mixture of government employment, commercial, and industrial activities*". Moreover, as shown in the spatial distribution of Cluster 7, "*high income level and dominated by the service industry*", the urban wealthy class is found exclusively in Cairo. Thus, Cairo can be identified as the preeminent center for administration and economic activity.

(2) Most of the provincial cities belong to Cluster 6, "*mixture of government employment, commercial, and industrial activities*", except for Mahalla Kobra and Damietta City. The main feature of this cluster is the predominance of government sector employment. This leads us to suppose that, although Cairo has experienced privately led economic development since Infitah, provincial cities remain dependent upon the government-led economy formed during the period of the planned economy.

(3) Unlike provincial cities, which seem to be homogeneous regardless of their geographical location, rural areas vary widely and qualitatively across the commonly used divisions of Lower and Upper Egypt. These regions are classified as follows:

- Central and southern Lower Egypt, for example, the Menufiya and Gharbiya governorates and the Frontier governorates, belong mainly to Cluster 2, "*markedly low rank government employment*".
- Southern Upper Egypt, from the Sohag to the Aswan governorates, is mainly in Cluster 1 "*predominance of industrial workers*". In this region, residents seem to depend on nonagricultural employment opportunities both in local factories and in the distant large cities through migration.
- The Kafr Sheykh and Beheira governorates are in Cluster 5, "*predominance of large-scale agricultural enterprises*".
- In southern Upper Egypt, for example, the Minya governorate, the majority of villages are in Cluster 4, "*predominance of waged agricultural labor and low income*". There, poverty seems to be associated with the agricultural sector.

Figure 1: Spatial distribution of clusters (obtained through Ward's cluster procedure method) (1999/2000, 1996) (unit: shiyakha/qarya)



Source: CAPMAS, 1996 Population Census dataset, Household Income & Expenditure Survey 1999/2000 dataset.

III. Overview of the Survey and Data

1. Overview of the Survey

"Egypt Attitude Survey in 2008" was organized by the Need-Based Program for Area Studies, "Middle East within Asia", in collaboration with "Relation between Political Changes and Stereotypes in the Middle East" (MEXT-Sponsored Research Project, "Promotion Project for Improvement of Collaborative Center of Excellence in Human Studies and Social Science"), and implemented by The Egyptian Research & Training Center (ERTC) in Cairo.[4]

The aim of "Egypt Attitude Survey in 2008" is to understand how Egyptians view their society and other Arab countries in terms of culture, socioeconomics and politics.

This is a nation-wide representative survey using a questionnaire administered to 1,000 Egyptian adult men and women aged 18 years or above.

The questionnaire was designed and elaborated based on *National Poll Survey in the Syrian Arab Republic (2007)*, organized by the Need-Based Program for Area Studies "Middle East within Asia".[5] Some question items were modified or deleted, and new question items on civil society and Egyptian social and political situations were added. As a design reference, the Attitude survey questionnaire conducted during the 2006 academic year by Keio University (Hiroshi Tomita, research representative, and Yasumasa Kuroda, research collaborator), "Civic Awareness in Egypt: Implementation of a Poll Survey and its Analysis" (a Joint Research Project under the Keio Gijuku Academic Development Fund), was used.

The sample population of the survey is made up of Egyptians aged 18 and over randomly selected from six governorates—the Cairo and Port Said governorates in Urban Governorates, the Menufiya and Kafr Sheikh governorates in Lower Egypt, and the Beni Suef and Sohag governorates in Upper Egypt.

Table 2: Number of selected area segments (PSUs) by governorates in the sample

		Number of PSUs	Number of households		Total number of households
			Urban	Rural	
Urban Governorate	Cairo	2	250	------	250
	Port Said	2	200	------	200
Lower Egypt	Kafr Sheykh	2	50	100	150
	Menufiya	2	50	100	150
Upper Egypt	Beni Suef	2	25	100	125
	Sohag	3	25	100	125
Total sample size		13	600	400	1,000

The sampling proceeded as follows. In the first stage, six governorates were randomly selected from the Urban Governorates, Lower Egypt, and Upper Egypt, for the purpose of drawing the sample. In the second stage, PSUs within these six governorates were randomly selected to represent the rural and urban populations using systematic random selection. The distribution of urban and rural PSUs was decided using the PPS (proportional to size) selection method. In the third stage, the number of households from each PSU was decided according to their proportionate share in the sample size. The required number of households was selected from each PSU using the 2006 census tract as sampling frame. This process resulted in selecting the PSUs in each governorate as indicated in Table 2. In the fourth stage, individuals aged 18 years and over were selected for the face-to-face interviews from the sample households by the Kish-Grid method.

2. Overview of the Data

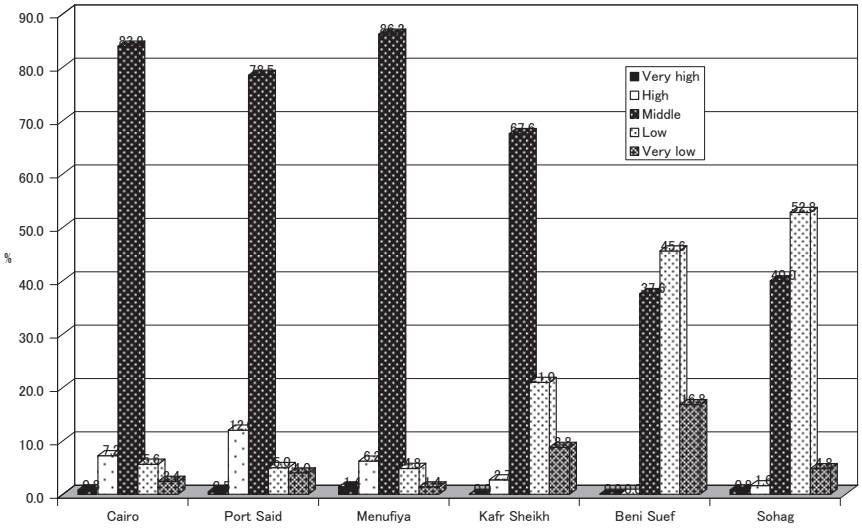
The questionnaire is composed of a wide range of questions on living standards, internal and international politics, and civil society: (1) Mother language and language ability; (2) Experience of staying abroad; (3) Country desired for living and working; (4) Interest in political issues; (5) Frequency of discussion on political issues; (6) Frequency of using mass media; (7) Attitude toward foreign intervention in Middle Eastern politics; (8) Opinions on the contribution of foreign countries to Middle Eastern politics; (9) Participation in civil society; (10) Participation in community and civic activities; NGOs and associations; (11) Perceptions on freedom and power; (12) Opinions on political thoughts; (13) Interest and participation in elections; (14) Supporting political parties; (15) Assessments of government; (16) Subjective social class; (17) Satisfaction with and change in living standards; (18) Opinions on social issues; (19) Attitudes toward Japan; and (20) Basic attributes (age, birthplace, educational level, household size, religion, employment, household income, etc.).[6]

Here, the question items considered to be the major components of social consciousness are overviewed by cross-tabulation with governorates.

Social class perception

Social class perception is measured by asking, “Which social class do you think you belong to in terms of living standard?” Approximately 80% of the respondents in the Cairo, Port Said and Menufiya governorates, and 68% of the respondents in the Kafr Sheikh governorate, consider their social class to be “middle” (Figure 2). In contrast, around half of the respondents in the Beni Suef and Sohag governorates consider that they belong to the “low” class.

Figure 2: Social class perceptions by governorate (%)



Source: "Egypt Attitude Survey in 2008" dataset.

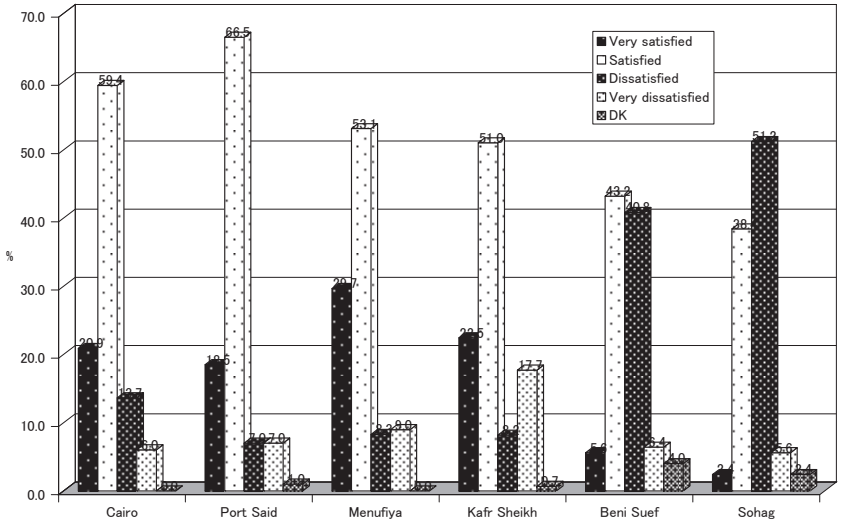
Satisfaction with and change in living standards

Estimation of living standards is demonstrated in answers to the question, "How do you feel about the quality of life in the area where you live?" The distribution of answers corresponds to that for social class perception. Satisfaction with living standards is higher in the Cairo, Port Said, Menufiya, and Kafr Sheikh governorates, whereas the two governorates of Upper Egypt exhibit a high percentage of dissatisfaction (Figure 3).

The question, "Compared with three years ago, do you think your present standard of living is better or worse?", asks about changes in living standards in the past, and the question, "Three years from now, do you think your standard of living will be better or worse?", asks about possible changes in the near future.

The respondents who consider their living standards better and worse are equally distributed in the four Urban governorates and in Lower Egypt. Respondents in the Beni Suef and Sohag governorates, on the other hand, tend to estimate their living standards as "the same" or "slightly worse". Estimations of living standards in the near future also exhibit the same trend, although not so clearly as those made with respect to the past.

Figure 3: Satisfaction with standard of living (%)



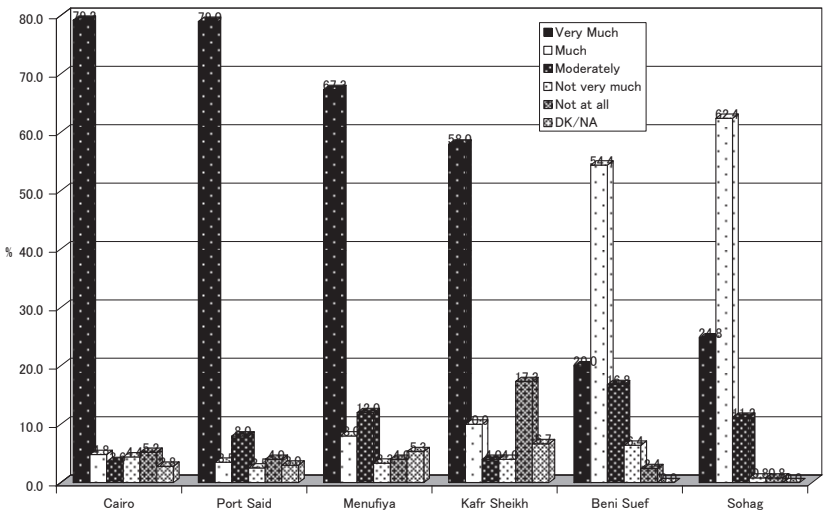
Source: "Egypt Attitude Survey in 2008" dataset.

Awareness of inequality

The question, **"**What do you think about the lack of equal opportunity between rich and poor in Egypt?", asks about the awareness of inequality. Nearly 80% of respondents in the Cairo and Port Said governorates consider the amount of inequality to be "very much" (Figure 4). The percentage for this indicator is also high in the Menufiya and Port Said governorates. Respondents in Beni Suef and Sohag governorates, on the other hand, tend to consider the level of inequality to be lower, since most of them respond with "much" for this question.

In general, those belong to lower socioeconomic classes might be thought to be more aware of inequality. However, the results of the survey show that those in the Beni Suef and Sohag governorates are less aware of inequality, although they perceive their social class to be low. This may be because the respondents estimate the degree of inequality not within Egypt, but within the city or region in which they live. In fact, large cities, especially Cairo, have high degrees of inequality in terms of income.[7]

Figure 4: Awareness of inequality (%)



Source: "Egypt Attitude Survey in 2008" dataset.

Social instability

Social instability is measured by three questions asking for opinions on social issues: (1) "Family ties are weakening in your country"; (2) "Morals are declining in your society"; and (3) "Women should take more active roles in your society". The distribution of the answers follows the same pattern as that for awareness of inequality; the Cairo and Port Said governorates exhibit the highest degree of instability, followed by the Menufiya and Kafr Sheikh governorates. The respondents of the Beni Suef and Sohag governorates, on the other hand, do not seem to consider that family relations and morals are deteriorating.

Job preference

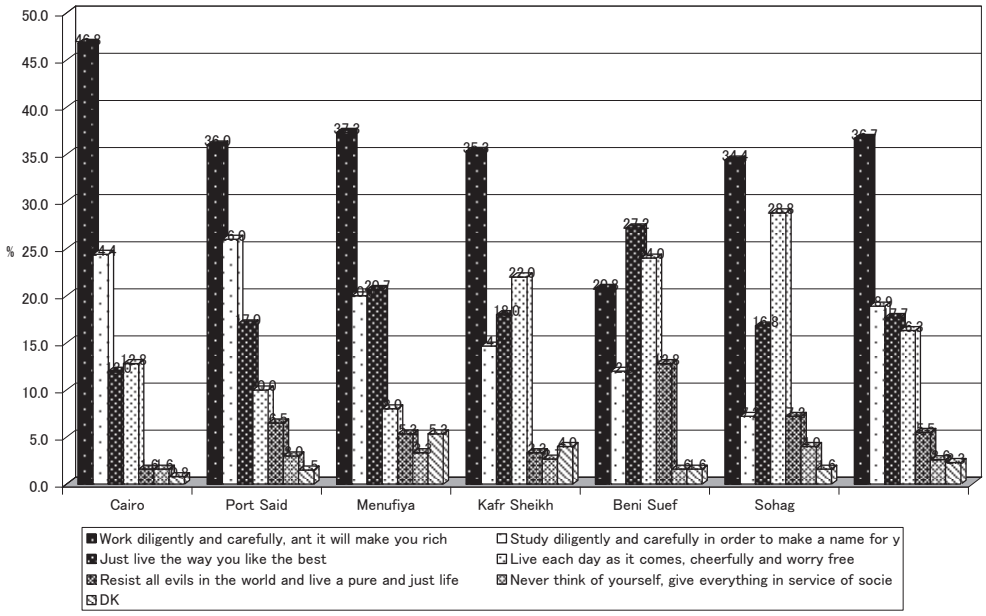
The question, "What kind of job do you expect for your son or grandson?" was included in the questionnaire to measure risk-taking behavior. Government jobs can be considered stable and business (self-employment) as risky. The majority of respondents in the Beni Suef and Sohag governorates prefer government jobs for their son or grandchild. In contrast, respondents in the Cairo, Port Said, and Menufiya governorates prefer that they "start an independent business".

Preference of lifestyle

Preference of lifestyle is assessed by the question, "There are many ways to live. Which of the following ways of life would you say comes closest to your way of life?" The answer categories are as follows: "work diligently and carefully, and it will make you rich", for preference for money; "study diligently and carefully in order to make a name for yourself", for fame; "just live the way you like the best", and "live each day as it comes, cheerfully and worry free" for maintaining everyday life; and "resist all evils in the world and live a pure and just life", and "never think of yourself, everything in service of society" for spiritual life.

The respondents in the Cairo and Port Said governorates exhibit more preference for money and fame, followed by those in the Menufiya and Kafr Sheikh governorates (Figure 5). The respondents in the Beni Suef and Sohag governorates, on the other hand, placed more importance on maintaining their everyday lives.

Figure 5: Preference of lifestyle (%)



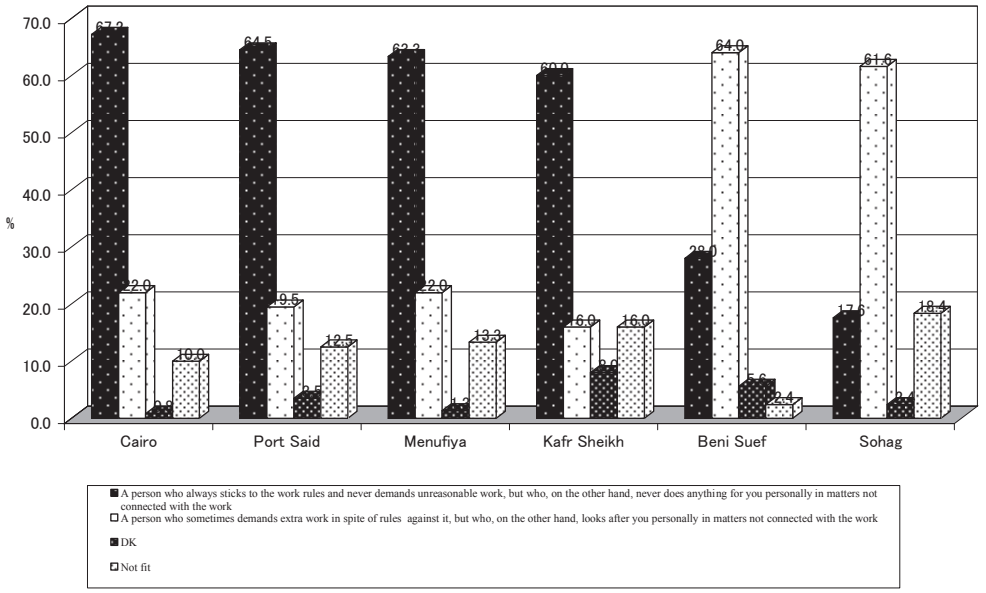
Source: "Egypt Attitude Survey in 2008" dataset.

Ideal boss

The question concerning one's ideal boss, "If you are working now (or in the past) in a firm or work place, which of the following department chiefs would you prefer to work under?", has two answers. One is "a person who always sticks to the work rules and never makes unreasonable work demands, but who, on the other hand, never does anything for you personally in matters not connected with the work", and represents a preference for rationality. The other is "a person who sometimes demands extra work in spite of rules against it, but who, on the other hand, looks after you personally in matters not connected with the work", and represents a preference for paternity.

The distribution of answers by governorate is similar to that for preference of lifestyle. Preference for rationality is higher in the four Urban governorates and Lower Egypt, whereas the preference for paternity is higher in the Beni Suef and Sohag governorates (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Ideal boss (%)

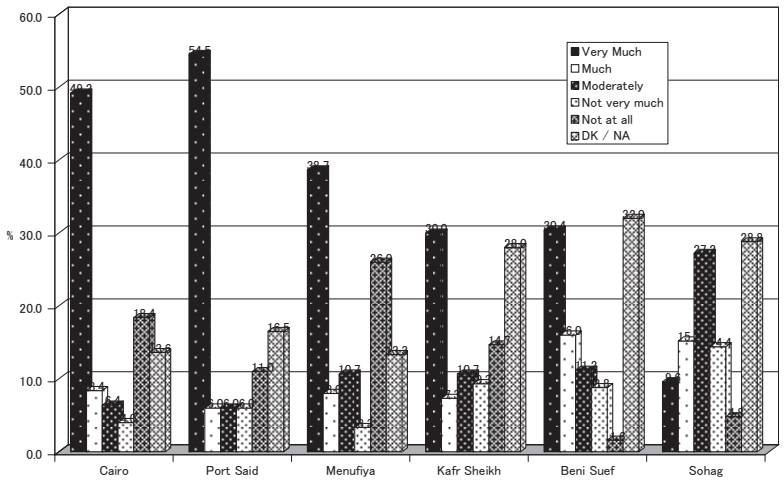


Source: "Egypt Attitude Survey in 2008" dataset.

Political stability versus democracy

Preference for either political stability or democracy is estimated by asking for opinions on the statement, "political stability is more important than democratic change". Respondents in Port Said tend to prefer political stability, followed by those in Cairo, whereas those in the Menufiya and Kafr Sheikh governorates tend to prefer democracy (Figure 7).[8]

Figure 7: Opinion on the statement "political stability is more important than democratic change" (%)

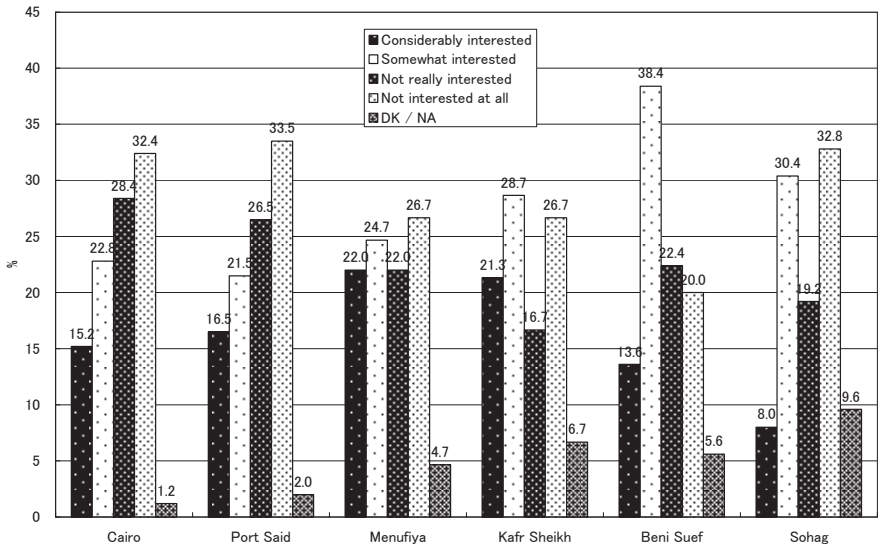


Source: "Egypt Attitude Survey in 2008" dataset.

Interest in politics

Interest in politics is measured by the question, "How much are you interested in political issues, such as the new ministerial formation, and living conditions in your country, such as unemployment, prices, salaries, etc.?" Interest is higher in the Beni Suef and Sohag governorates ("somewhat interested") and low in the Cairo and Port Said governorates (Figure 8). Respondents in the Menufiya and Kafr Sheikh governorates are equally distributed, and do not seem to exhibit any particular tendency by governorate.

Figure 8: Interest in politics (%)

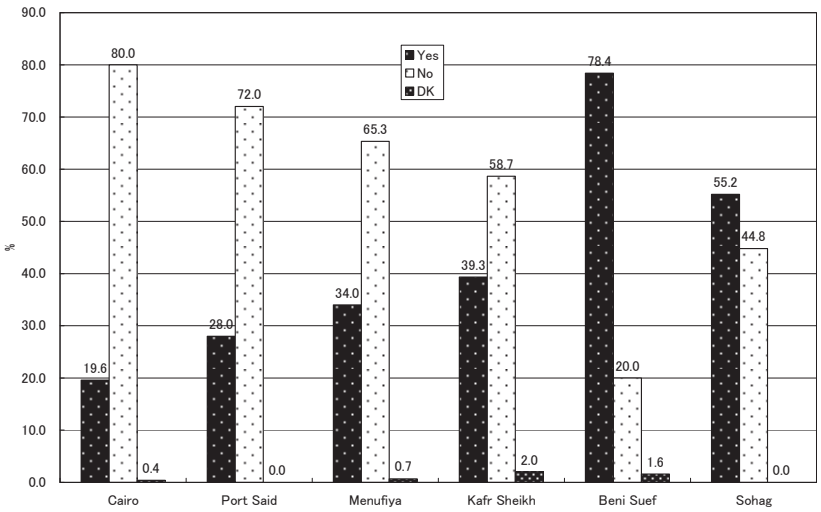


Source: "Egypt Attitude Survey in 2008" dataset.

Participation in elections

According to answers to the question, "Did you vote in any previous elections or referendums?", the respondents in the Cairo governorate exhibit the lowest percentage of participation, followed by those in the Port Said governorate (Figure 9). The highest percentage of participation in elections is found in the Beni Suef governorate, followed by Sohag governorate.

Figure 9: Participation in vote (%)



Source: "Egypt Attitude Survey in 2008" dataset.

Participation in civil activities

The question, "Regarding real life, to what extent do you think a citizen actually participates in decision making in your community?", asks about participation in civil activities. The degree of participation is low in all of the governorates, and follows a similar pattern in all of six governorates.

Participation in civil activities is concentrated in charity and welfare activities. The percentage of participation is higher in the Sohag governorate. Respondents in the Cairo and Port Said governorates, on the other hand, tend to answer, "have never participated, but wish to participate".

IV. Correspondence Analysis

1. Method of Analysis

Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) is used in this section because it fits with the purpose of this paper, which is to investigate the relationships among various components of social consciousness, the causality of which is unknown.

Here MCA is used as an exploratory technique designed to analyze multiway tables containing some measure of correspondence between their rows and columns. The results provide information about degrees of similarities that allow one to analyze the pattern of relationships in several categorical variables.

The interpretation in MCA is often based upon proximities between variables in a dimensional map. When the variables are closer to each other, they tend to exhibit higher correlation. When they are far from each other, they tend to be less correlated.

The advantage of using MCA is that it allows researchers to visualize relationships among categories of categorical variables of large datasets. However, it would be difficult to detect relationships on a dimensional map if there were too many variables, so the variables used in the analysis are limited to the following: (1) subjective (self-reported) social class perception, (2) Satisfaction with living standards, (3) awareness of inequality, (4) social instability measured by the question on changes in family ties and morals, (5) preference of lifestyle, (6) ideal boss, (7) political stability versus democracy, (8) interest in politics, and (9) participation in elections.

The answers to these questions are simplified into three or four categories to make them easier to visualize.

2. Results of Analysis

Table 3 show the results of MCA using the variables mentioned above related to social consciousness. Figure 10 is a two-dimensional map displaying the scores (correlates) of each variable, with the first axis in the horizontal and the second axis in the vertical direction. It also plots the location of “governorate”, which was added as a supplementary variable.

Total inertias of 55.8% and 25.6% are explained by the first and second axes. Since the remaining total inertia is 19.7%, it is understood that the relationships between the variables are mostly explained by these two axes. Since the total inertia of the second axis attains one fifth of the total inertia, the relationships in this second axis are important as well. In other words, it is not sufficient to judge the social consciousness of Egyptians only by a single dimension.

In Figure 10, the Beni Suef and Sohag governorates are symmetrically located in relation to the Cairo and Port Said governorates. On the right-hand side of the first axis, where the Beni Suef and Sohag governorates are located, respondents who prefer political stability to democracy a good deal (“much”), who are very aware of inequality and social unstableness (“much”), and who prefer “spiritual life” or “everyday life” and bosses who “look after” employees, are plotted in proximity.

On the left-hand side of the first axis, where Cairo and Port Said are located, the awareness of social instability becomes keener, since those who answer “very much” are

located there; those who are highly aware of social instability ("very much") are in proximity with those who prefer "money or fame", and bosses who work "to the rules".

Political interest, participation in elections, class perception, and estimation of living standards also vary between the right- and left-hand sides of the first axis. Interest in politics and participation in elections become negative toward the left-hand side. Estimation of living standards and class perception shifts from low levels on the right-hand side to high levels on the left-hand side.

The Menufiya and Kafr Sheikh governorates, on the other hand, are plotted on the negative side of the second axis. They are in proximity to the preference for democracy, the highest level of satisfaction with living standards, and low or no levels of inequality awareness. Except for the Menufiya governorate, and in respect to the highest satisfaction with living standards, these variables are not correlated with the first axis because they are located on the origin of the first axis.

The alignment of variables on the second axis also tells us that social consciousness becomes acute only when there is awareness of inequality, since all the other variables are located on the positive side of the second axes. This is the case for Cairo, Port Said, Beni Suef, and Sohag.

Thus, we may judge that large differences in social consciousness occur between Cairo and Port Said (Urban Governorates), Beni Suef and Sohag (Upper Egypt), and Menufiya and Kafr Sheikh (Lower Egypt), and that there are three spatial variations of social consciousness (Table 4). Spatial variations of social consciousness between these three regions are:

(1) Urban governorates, characterized by higher social class perception and with high satisfaction with living standards, greater awareness of social instability and inequality, and low level of participation in elections.

(2) Upper Egypt, characterized rather by low social class and low satisfaction with living standards, awareness of social instability and inequality, and high levels of political interest and participation in elections.

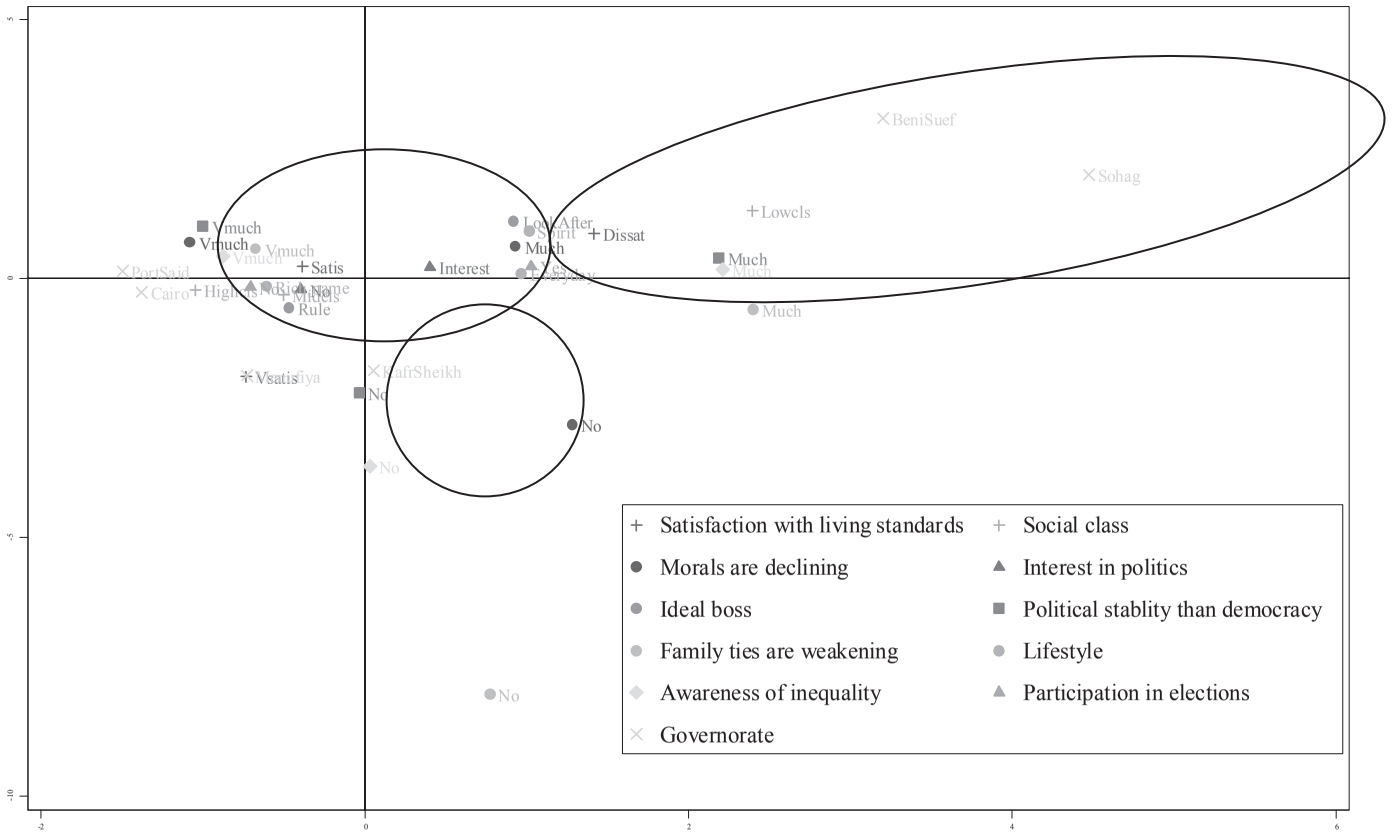
(3) Lower Egypt, characterized by middle social class perception and the highest satisfaction with living standards, low awareness of inequality, low levels of political interest, and with a preference for democracy.

Table 3: Coordinates of the first and second axes

		First axe	Second axe
Satisfaction with living standards	Very satisfied	0.734	1.883
	Satisfied	0.389	-0.239
	Dissatisfied	-1.416	-0.867
Perception of social class	High class	1.046	0.220
	Middle class	0.502	0.309
	Low class	-2.393	-1.312
Agree to the opinion that morals are declining	Very much	1.081	-0.701
	Much	-0.932	-0.613
	No	-1.282	2.818
Interest in politics	Interested	-0.402	-0.217
	No	0.396	0.214
Ideal boss	Rule	0.469	0.559
	LookAfter	-0.922	-1.100
Political stability rather than democracy	Very much	1.003	-1.014
	Much	-2.186	-0.390
	No	0.036	2.210
Agree to the opinion that family ties are weakening	Very much	0.674	-0.576
	Much	-2.399	0.590
	No	-0.772	8.019
Lifestyle	Become rich, ma	0.606	0.158
	Everyday life	-0.968	-0.090
	Spritual life	-1.014	-0.913
Awareness of inequality	Very much	0.877	-0.431
	Much	-2.213	-0.176
	No	-0.033	3.617
Participation in elections	Yes	-1.028	-0.237
	No	0.706	0.163
Governorate	Cairo	1.379	0.264
	Port Said	1.499	-0.148
	Menufiya	0.731	1.878
	Kafr Sheikh	-0.054	1.783
	Beni Suef	-3.200	-3.098
	Sohag	-4.472	-2.006

Source: “Egypt Attitude Survey in 2008” dataset.

Figure 10: Multiple correspondence analysis: projections on the first two dimensions



Source: "Egypt Attitude Survey in 2008" dataset.

Table 4: Summary of the results of multiple correspondence analysis

Governorate	Class perception & standard of living	Awareness of inequality	Social attitude	Political attitude
Cairo Port Said	High Middle	Very high	Rationality Become rich, make name Highly aware of social instability	Do not participate in elections Prefer political stability
Menufiya Kafr Sheikh	Middle	Low	Not aware of social instability	Low level of interest in politics Prefer democracy
Beni Suef Sohag	Low	High	Paternity Everyday life, spiritual life Slightly aware of social instability	Interested in politics Participate in vote Prefer political stability

Source: See Figure 10.

V. Conclusion

"Egypt Attitude Survey in 2008" was conducted in the socioeconomically different regions discussed in Section II: Cairo and Port Said as Urban Governorates, Kafr Sheikh as (Northern) Lower Egypt, Menufiya as (Southern) Lower Egypt, Beni Suef as (Northern) Upper Egypt, and Sohag as (Southern) Upper Egypt.

Results of the analysis attest that these regions are different in regard to social consciousness. Many of the differences occur between the Urban Governorates (Cairo and Port Said), Lower Egypt (Kafr Sheikh), and Upper Egypt (Beni Suef, Sohag), since each of the two governorates in the same regions have similar propensities. Thus, it may be concluded that the large cities (Urban Governorates), Lower Egypt, and Upper Egypt are different not only in socioeconomic structure, but also in social consciousness. Egyptian society, therefore, in contrast to the conventional wisdom that assumes it is homogeneous, is regionally diverse even in social consciousness.

The evidence of these spatial variations suggests that there are various relationships between the components of Egyptians' social consciousness, and that the relationships do not take a one-way direction. In effect, a bigger middle class and higher satisfaction with the living standard do not lead to higher interest or participation in politics or a preference for democracy, as is the case for the Urban Governorates. Moreover, awareness of social instability is not correlated with dissatisfaction, but with satisfaction with living standards. It appears that social and political attitudes are rather a matter of recognition of inequality,

since low awareness of inequality does not correspond with these attitudes.

As has been mentioned, the methods of analysis used in this paper do not take causality in account. For further study of social consciousness in the Egyptian regions, we need to examine the income distribution patterns in each region, and how people in different regions perceive risk; in other words, we need to ask, why are people in Cairo and Port Said more aware of social instability although they benefit from higher quality of life? We also need to ask why political attitudes (particularly prodemocracy attitudes) seem to be correlated with low inequality; in another words, why does Lower Egypt exhibit more prodemocracy attitudes than other regions?

Notes

[1] See http://www.econ.hit-u.ac.jp/~areastd/index.htm

[2] For example, the World Values Survey was conducted in Arab countries, including Egypt (and Jordan, Morocco, and Algeria), in 2000–2002. http://www.worldvaluessurvey.com/

[3] This section is based on Iwasaki (2008).

[4] See Research Report No.8, "Egypt Poll Survey in 2008" for details. http://www.econ.hit-u.ac.jp/~areastd/index.htm

[5] See Research Reports No.4 (in Japanese) and No.5 (in Arabic) for details of the National Poll Survey in the Syrian Arab Republic (2007). http://www.econ.hit-u.ac.jp/~areastd/index.htm

[6] For details of the questionnaire, see http://www.econ.hit-u.ac.jp/~areastd/egypt.htm.

[7] Iwasaki (2009).

[8] A similar finding is made in Tessler (2002), p.17. "Residence is related to both dependent variables to a statistically significant degree in Egypt and Algeria, but in the former country pro-democracy attitudes are associated with residence in *smaller* towns and in the latter country they are associated with residence in *larger* towns and cities."

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Appendix

Appendix Table 1 Factor loadings (principal component method, Varimax rotated) (1999/2000, 1996) (unit: shiyakha/qarya)

Factor		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Household average Income（LE/year）		0.064	0.798	0.012	0.178	0.052	0.063	0.031	0.043	-0.019	0.038
Employment situation	unemployed	0.634	-0.199	-0.107	-0.073	-0.114	0.021	0.070	-0.309	-0.048	0.053
(age 15 & older)	self-employed (with employee)	-0.230	0.055	-0.125	-0.067	0.097	-0.071	0.819	-0.016	0.026	-0.047
	selfemployed (without employee)	-0.289	-0.177	-0.120	-0.096	-0.745	0.108	-0.341	-0.060	-0.094	-0.044
	waged	0.291	0.247	0.334	0.173	0.640	-0.041	-0.354	0.156	0.055	0.062
	unpaid	-0.377	-0.158	-0.359	-0.072	0.018	-0.067	0.494	0.042	0.092	-0.045
Sector	government	0.922	0.168	-0.037	0.028	0.132	0.025	-0.140	0.049	0.052	-0.086
(age 15 & older)	public	0.166	0.148	0.195	0.609	0.154	-0.005	-0.020	-0.036	0.013	0.568
	private	-0.854	-0.225	-0.036	-0.254	-0.177	-0.016	0.143	-0.032	-0.035	-0.152
Economic activity	agriculture/forestry	-0.603	-0.369	-0.495	-0.374	-0.040	-0.117	0.112	-0.210	-0.024	-0.068
(age 15 & older)	fishing	-0.134	0.063	-0.057	0.106	-0.411	-0.341	-0.246	0.409	0.184	-0.021
	mining	0.037	-0.007	-0.001	0.025	0.012	-0.011	-0.037	0.061	-0.008	0.914
	manufacturing	0.228	0.127	0.478	0.617	0.041	0.067	0.065	-0.002	0.052	0.059
	electricity/gas/water	0.269	0.025	-0.033	0.323	0.150	-0.074	-0.007	0.034	-0.105	0.013
	construction	-0.067	0.005	0.719	0.113	0.242	0.014	-0.225	-0.057	-0.071	0.022
	wholesale/retail/repair	0.195	0.430	0.575	0.189	-0.131	0.255	0.142	0.281	-0.016	-0.060
	hotel/restaurant	0.133	0.145	0.213	-0.043	0.068	0.100	0.074	0.734	-0.100	0.099
	transport/storage/communication	0.264	0.154	0.176	0.624	-0.003	0.103	-0.076	0.150	0.011	-0.129
	finance/real estate/leasing/business services	0.441	0.735	0.166	0.007	0.067	0.036	0.026	0.076	-0.022	-0.008
	public administration/defense	0.822	0.078	-0.109	-0.068	0.152	0.042	-0.117	0.123	0.031	-0.093
	education	0.839	0.145	-0.010	-0.136	0.015	-0.043	-0.110	-0.100	0.067	-0.063
	health/social works	0.677	0.417	0.086	-0.017	0.079	0.025	-0.025	-0.012	0.013	0.002
	community/social/personal services	0.101	0.112	-0.008	0.064	0.016	0.772	-0.109	0.029	0.024	-0.054
	household services	-0.033	0.748	-0.083	0.020	0.109	0.177	-0.074	-0.020	-0.014	0.001
	international organization & other	0.011	0.729	-0.089	0.046	0.101	0.074	-0.087	-0.001	-0.019	-0.009
Job rank	managers	0.335	0.738	0.345	0.050	-0.056	0.055	0.115	0.154	-0.011	0.006
(age 15 & older)	professionals	0.552	0.753	0.090	-0.068	0.064	-0.008	-0.046	-0.025	0.027	0.003
	technicals	0.805	0.133	0.160	0.185	0.040	-0.018	-0.031	-0.017	0.005	0.154
	clericals	0.829	-0.007	0.055	0.044	0.011	0.034	0.051	0.073	0.083	-0.013
	sales/service workers	0.403	-0.031	0.055	0.296	0.294	0.296	-0.158	0.549	-0.003	0.033
	farmers	-0.687	-0.323	-0.470	-0.336	-0.095	-0.174	0.063	-0.098	0.006	-0.073
	craftsmen	0.011	0.002	0.846	0.287	0.135	0.064	-0.093	0.094	-0.032	0.035
	machinary-operating workers	0.057	-0.051	0.222	0.846	0.079	0.081	-0.069	-0.001	0.013	0.062
	ordinary workers	-0.084	0.204	0.294	0.146	-0.156	0.713	-0.008	0.162	0.036	0.039
Education	illiterates	-0.767	-0.393	-0.155	-0.288	-0.006	0.011	-0.050	-0.129	-0.032	-0.023
(age 10 & older)	read & write	0.151	-0.079	0.141	0.458	-0.081	0.001	-0.014	0.147	-0.625	-0.088
	primary	0.362	-0.110	-0.019	0.111	0.037	0.034	0.031	0.003	0.808	-0.035
	preparatory	0.658	0.036	0.107	0.202	0.022	0.005	0.048	0.041	0.485	-0.051
	secondary	0.815	0.272	0.116	0.068	0.015	-0.030	0.090	0.104	0.056	0.161
	above secondary	0.288	0.265	0.466	0.017	-0.102	-0.098	0.115	0.034	0.078	0.009
	university & above	0.315	0.896	0.061	-0.014	0.062	-0.005	0.007	0.011	-0.017	0.033
Eigenvalue		13.512	4.130	3.520	1.657	1.428	1.329	1.239	1.191	1.105	1.040
Variance (%)		33.0	10.1	8.6	4.0	3.5	3.2	3.0	2.9	2.7	2.5

[a] Household average income per year is calculated at *qism* level for *shiyakha* (urban), and *markaz* level for *qarya* (rural). It is calculated by dividing the total household income by the number of households in each of *qism/markaz*.

Source: CAPMAS, 1996 Population Census dataset, Household Income & Expenditure Survey1999/2000 dataset.

Appendix Table 2 Average factor scores of clusters (Ward's method) (1999/2000, 1996) (unit: shiyakha/qarya)

	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Cluster 4	Cluster 5	Cluster 6	Cluster 7
Factor 1	-0.161	0.841	-0.354	-0.826	-0.388	0.640	-0.549
Factor 2	-0.192	-0.328	-0.137	-0.206	-0.201	0.821	7.329
Factor 3	0.449	-0.412	-0.427	0.091	-0.527	1.221	-1.613
Factor 4	1.063	0.161	-0.268	-0.685	-0.143	-0.089	-0.047
Factor 5	0.198	0.076	-1.181	0.624	0.378	-0.329	1.095
Factor 6	0.010	0.034	-0.241	-0.247	-0.115	0.582	0.529
Factor 7	-0.210	-0.423	-0.178	-0.616	1.542	0.343	-0.898
Factor 8	-0.263	0.053	-0.141	-0.159	0.020	0.572	-0.688
Factor 9	0.427	-0.288	-0.033	-0.167	0.338	-0.078	-0.073
Factor 10	0.387	-0.140	0.013	-0.049	-0.095	-0.037	0.091
Number of shiyakhat/qarya	732	1147	742	870	723	692	51

[a] Household Income & Expenditure Survey 1999/2000 dataset does not cover all of the *qism* and ,markaz, so some of the *shiyakha/qarya* are excluded from the analysis.

Source: CAPMAS, 1996 Population Census dataset, Household Income & Expenditure Survey1999/2000 dataset.

Appendix Table 3 Perception of social class and satisfaction in standard of living (%)

		Cairo	Port Said	Menufiya	Kafr Sheikh	Beni Suef	Sohag	Total
Perception of social class	Very high	0.8	0.5	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.6
	High	7.2	12.0	6.2	2.7	0.0	1.6	5.8
	Middle	83.9	78.5	86.2	67.6	37.6	40.0	69.4
	Low	5.6	5.0	4.8	21.0	45.6	52.8	18.7
	Very low	2.4	4.0	1.4	8.8	16.8	4.8	5.7
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(Number)	(249)	(200)	(145)	(148)	(125)	(125)	(992)
Satisfaction in standard of living	Very satisfied	20.9	18.5	29.7	22.5	5.6	2.4	17.7
	Satisfied	59.4	66.5	53.1	51.0	43.2	38.4	54.0
	Dissatisfied	13.7	7.0	8.3	8.2	40.8	51.2	18.9
	Very dissatisfied	6.0	7.0	9.0	17.7	6.4	5.6	8.4
	DK	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.7	4.0	2.4	1.1
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(Number)	(249)	(200)	(145)	(147)	(125)	(125)	(991)
Standard of living compared to the past	Much better	14.9	18.7	15.9	13.5	0.8	6.4	12.7
	Slightly better	32.9	29.8	28.3	21.6	34.4	27.2	29.4
	Same	16.1	20.2	16.6	21.6	20.0	28.8	19.9
	Slightly worse	22.1	17.2	23.5	21.6	36.8	32.0	24.3
	Much worse	14.1	13.1	15.2	21.0	8.0	5.6	13.2
	DK	0.0	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.4
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(Number)	(249)	(198)	(145)	(148)	(125)	(125)	(990)
Standard of living in future	Much better	18.5	8.0	24.1	21.6	2.4	8.8	14.4
	Slightly better	16.9	13.0	17.2	8.8	28.8	16.8	16.4
	Same	18.1	18.5	14.5	17.6	27.2	27.2	19.9
	Slightly worse	9.2	9.5	11.7	6.1	16.8	14.4	10.8
	Much worse	6.0	12.5	11.0	13.5	4.0	2.4	8.5
	DK	31.3	38.5	21.4	32.4	20.8	30.4	30.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(Number)	(249)	(200)	(145)	(148)	(125)	(125)	(992)

Source: Egypt Attitude Survey 2008 dataset.

Appendix Table 4 What is your personal point of view on the following opinions about your country or society? (%)

		Cairo	Port Said	Menufiya	Kafr Sheikh	Beni Suef	Sohag	Total
Family tie is weakening	Very Much	76.0	86.0	76.7	72.0	60.0	20.8	68.6
	Much	11.6	2.5	10.7	9.3	31.2	56.0	17.3
	Moderately	6.0	3.5	2.0	6.7	5.6	16.0	6.2
	Not very much	0.8	2.5	0.7	1.3	0.8	2.4	1.4
	Not at all	2.8	2.5	6.0	0.7	1.6	0.0	2.4
	DK / NA	2.8	3.0	4.0	10.0	0.8	4.8	4.1
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(Number)	(250)	(200)	(150)	(150)	(125)	(125)	(1000)
Moral is declining	Very Much	60.0	65.5	48.7	44.7	10.4	12.0	44.9
	Much	10.0	7.0	16.0	12.7	10.4	8.8	10.6
	Moderately	13.2	13.0	14.0	19.3	45.6	36.8	21.2
	Not very much	9.2	5.5	7.3	6.7	18.4	25.6	11.0
	Not at all	4.4	5.5	10.0	6.0	14.4	13.6	8.1
	DK / NA	3.2	3.5	4.0	10.7	0.8	3.2	4.2
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(Number)	(250)	(200)	(150)	(150)	(125)	(125)	(1000)
Women's active role	Very Much	50.4	59.5	44.7	34.0	25.6	17.6	41.7
	Much	9.2	8.0	9.3	17.3	44.0	40.0	18.4
	Moderately	13.2	11.0	14.7	12.7	15.2	23.2	14.4
	Not very much	5.6	4.0	6.7	10.0	8.0	8.0	6.7
	Not at all	18.8	15.0	20.7	18.0	7.2	9.6	15.6
	DK / NA	2.8	2.5	4.0	8.0	0.0	1.6	3.2
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(Number)	(250)	(200)	(150)	(150)	(125)	(125)	(1000)
Political stability is more important than democratic change	Very Much	49.2	54.5	38.7	30.0	30.4	9.6	38.5
	Much	8.4	6.0	8.0	7.3	16.0	15.2	9.5
	Moderately	6.4	6.0	10.7	10.7	11.2	27.2	10.8
	Not very much	4.0	6.0	3.3	9.3	8.8	14.4	7.0
	Not at all	18.4	11.0	26.0	14.7	1.6	4.8	13.7
	DK / NA	13.6	16.5	13.3	28.0	32.0	28.8	20.5
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(Number)	(250)	(200)	(150)	(150)	(125)	(125)	(1000)
Lack of equal opportunity between rich and poor in Egypt	Very Much	79.2	79.0	67.3	58.0	20.0	24.8	60.0
	Much	4.8	3.5	8.0	10.0	54.4	62.4	19.2
	Moderately	3.6	8.0	12.0	4.0	16.8	11.2	8.4
	Not very much	4.4	2.5	3.3	4.0	6.4	0.8	3.6
	Not at all	5.2	4.0	4.0	17.3	2.4	0.8	5.7
	DK/NA	2.8	3.0	5.3	6.7	0.0	0.0	3.1
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(Number)	(250)	(200)	(150)	(150)	(125)	(125)	(1000)

Source: Egypt Attitude Survey 2008 dataset.

Appendix Table 5 Ideal boss, job preference and preference of lifestyle (%)

		Cairo	Port Said	Menufiya	Kafr Sheikh	Beni Suef	Sohag	Total
Ideal boss	A person who always sticks to the work rules and never demands unreasonable work, but who, on the other hand, never does anything for you personally in matters not connected with the work	67.2	64.5	63.3	60.0	28.0	17.6	53.9
	A person who sometimes demands extra work in spite of rules against it, but who, on the other hand, looks after you personally in matters not connected with the work	22.0	19.5	22.0	16.0	64.0	61.6	30.8
	DK	0.8	3.5	1.3	8.0	5.6	2.4	3.3
	Not fit	10.0	12.5	13.3	16.0	2.4	18.4	12.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(Number)	(250)	(200)	(150)	(150)	(125)	(125)	(1000)
Job preference for child (or grandchild)	Government worker	27.2	32.5	24.0	38.0	50.4	68.0	37.4
	Private company employee	11.6	13.0	10.0	8.7	19.2	13.6	12.4
	Continue our family business	10.0	5.5	10.0	6.0	1.6	2.4	6.5
	Start an independent business	43.2	39.0	45.3	33.3	17.6	9.6	33.8
	Public company employee	2.8	3.5	4.0	1.3	11.2	5.6	4.3
	Other	5.2	5.0	2.7	8.7	0.0	0.8	4.1
	NA	0.0	1.5	4.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	1.5
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(Number)	(250)	(200)	(150)	(150)	(125)	(125)	(1000)
Lifestyle	Work diligently and carefully, ant it will make you rich	46.8	36.0	37.3	35.3	20.8	34.4	36.7
	Study diligently and carefully in order to make a name for y	24.4	26.0	20.0	14.7	12.0	7.2	18.9
	Just live the way you like the best	12.0	17.0	20.7	18.0	27.2	16.8	17.7
	Live each day as it comes, cheerfully and worry free	12.8	10.0	8.0	22.0	24.0	28.8	16.3
	Resist all evils in the world and live a pure and just life	1.6	6.5	5.3	3.3	12.8	7.2	5.5
	Never think of yourself, give everything in service of socie	1.6	3.0	3.3	2.7	1.6	4.0	2.6
	DK	0.8	1.5	5.3	4.0	1.6	1.6	2.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(Number)	(250)	(200)	(150)	(150)	(125)	(125)	(1000)

Source: Egypt Attitude Survey 2008 dataset.

Appendix Table 6 Interest and participation in politics (%)

		Cairo	Port Said	Menufiya	Kafr Sheikh	Beni Suef	Sohag	Total
Political interest	Considerably interested	15.2	16.5	22.0	21.3	13.6	8.0	16.3
	Somewhat interested	22.8	21.5	24.7	28.7	38.4	30.4	26.6
	Not really interested	28.4	26.5	22.0	16.7	22.4	19.2	23.4
	Not interested at all	32.4	33.5	26.7	26.7	20.0	32.8	29.4
	DK / NA	1.2	2.0	4.7	6.7	5.6	9.6	4.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(Number)	(250)	(200)	(150)	(150)	(125)	(125)	(1000)
Participation in civil activities	They participate actively in the decisions	11.6	9.5	9.3	15.3	1.6	11.2	10.1
	They participate in the decisions only to a small extent	36.8	39.0	44.7	35.3	37.6	52.0	40.2
	They do not have the right to participate at all in the decision	40.0	38.5	38.0	38.7	32.8	16.8	35.4
	DK / NA	4.8	6.5	6.7	8.7	28.0	19.2	10.7
	Other	6.8	6.5	1.3	2.0	0.0	0.8	3.6
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(Number)	(250)	(200)	(150)	(150)	(125)	(125)	(1000)
Participation in vote	Yes	19.6	28.0	34.0	39.3	78.4	55.2	38.2
	No	80.0	72.0	65.3	58.7	20.0	44.8	61.1
	DK	0.4	0.0	0.7	2.0	1.6	0.0	0.7
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(Number)	(250)	(200)	(150)	(150)	(125)	(125)	(1000)

Source: Egypt Attitude Survey 2008 dataset.