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The Rise of a New Generation:
Intergenerational Value Change in Egypt

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ABSTRACT

Arab Spring is commonly associated to youth mobilization and their dissatisfaction with respective Arab authoritarian regimes. This empirical study explores such claim through tracing various social, political and demographic indicators as determinants of generational value change in post-2011 Egypt. It employs a generational perspective in discovering such values following Karl Mannheim’s definition of generations. Mannheim argued that a political generation is composed of a birth cohort sharing similar values through a multifaceted historical process of socialization. The theoretical framework guiding considerable portion of this study is Ronald Inglehart’s “intergenerational value change thesis.” Inglehart argues that there is an ongoing transnational value shift towards “postmaterialism,” which includes self-expression, quality of life and sense of belonging values with less emphasis on “materialist” values of traditionalism and security concerns. For Inglehart, younger generations are more likely to be postmaterialists given that their formative experiences are shaped through socioeconomic prosperity if compared to older cohorts.

In this study, I aim to address central inquiry on whether youth values are different from their older peers and its relevance to the 2011 events in Egypt. In doing so, this research below, starts by inspecting the relevance of postmaterialism argument to Egyptian youth within international and regional contexts. Secondly, it maps out generational trends in relevance to political values. And finally investigate social parameters’ effects aiming at scrutinizing changing youth values in post-2011 Egypt. Most of studies on youth in Egypt and the Middle East are yet historical or anecdotal. In this project below, we examine secondary data from the World Values Survey and the
Arab Barometer collected between 2001 and 2013. In order to untangle the unique effects of our proposed forecasters, we run multiple regressions instead of conventional bivariate associations and percentage distributions.

On the whole, we find very limited support for Inglehart’s thesis in explaining the Egyptian case. Although younger generation shows more propensities for postmaterialism, nevertheless the relative salience of such values is low in Egypt. We call for reconsidering Inglehart’s model in developing nations. Moreover, we find evidence for cohort value variance in regard to some political and social values. However, part of these differences is related to intra-cohort aging effects. Thus, we cast doubt for the youth uniqueness claim and call for its refinement. Furthermore, we cast additional doubt for the claim on the liberal nature of young Egyptians. In addition, we find considerable support for youth fragmentation in Egypt. Much of the division among them is explained by demographic factors. Overall, this study opens the door for future qualitative studies through investigating our proposed criticisms and doubts on the existing claims on the youth distinctiveness in Egypt who agitated the 2011 uprising.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB: Arab Barometer
AKP: Justice and Development Party of Turkey
CAPMAS: Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics in Egypt
GDP: Gross Domestic Product
GIR: Index of Government Involvement in Religion
ICTs: Information and Communications Technologies
IMF: International Monetary Fund
ISIL: Islamic State in the Levant
JS: Jerusalem Supporters
MB: Muslim Brotherhood
MENA: Middle East and North Africa
NDP: National Democratic Party
OLS: Ordinary Least Squares
PCA: Principal Component Analysis
PDI: Percentage Difference Index
POS: Political Opportunity Structure
PTI: Political Trust Index
SMT: Social Movement’s Theory
SPSS: Statistical Package for Social Sciences
WVS: World Values Survey
CHAPTER I

The RISE OF A NEW GENERATION

1.1 Background

Political activism is regarded as a distinctive feature characterizing current young people in the world. This phenomenon has attracted scholars from diverse academic backgrounds to study and elucidate; particularly after the Arab spring uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Although there is plethora of studies on the social, economic and political milieu in which this new international generation has pushed through, less attention was assigned to understanding their value systems reflected in their means of expression and forms of engagement. This study aims to explore youth values in comparison to older cohorts testing the claim of their relative uniqueness.

Youth values -expressed in multiple forms of sociopolitical engagement- cannot be exclusively restricted in MENA-related activism. In late 2014, the young in Hong Kong led wide protests against Beijing’s interference in the constituency’s 2017 chief executive elections regulations.¹ This new generation that did not eyewitness the pre-1997 British ruling settings organized through “Occupy Central” movement expressing their low level of trust in the Chinese government policies; according to a recent poll by Hong Kong’s University public opinion program.² In a similar vein and away from the east and the underdeveloped world, “Occupy” movements have swept major western


capitals such as London, New York, and Paris. Described by its members as anti-consumerist movements, these utterances of outcry pinpoint to a different category of modern young people who hold new set of values in terms of involvement and social responsibility. In New York, participants in “Occupy” movement expressed their dissatisfaction with the unequal income distribution and the growing role of capitalism in decision-making process at the federal level in the United States of America. As such, youth movements’ experiences in the past decade such as “Otpor” in Serbia, “Pora” in Ukraine, “Kmara” in Georgia, and “Mjaft” in Albania managed to topple diverse authoritarian administrations; and in consequence inspired other MENA-youth movements like “6th of April” in Egypt to shadow their path.

Youth expression of dissatisfaction and desire for change are central melodies in MENA; this region which has been always allegedly resistant to democratization. For example in Iran, the 2009 so-called “Green Revolution” initiated by the new generation. Iranian youth expressed their skepticism of election results after naming the conservative candidate “Ahmedi Nejad” as president. Although such movement brutally repressed at its time, it forced the conventional-religious establishment to accept moderate candidate

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“Hassan Rohani” as the new president of Iran in 2013. Similarly, Middle East democracy scholars argue that Turkey is likely to remain unstable after the June 2013 youth protests given the unwarranted tough response from the Justice and Development Party (AKP)-Islamist ruling government. As consequence, recent 2015 parliamentary elections showed a similar trend like Iran leading to a lower turnout support for the ruling conservative party.

In a related vein, one can argue that political developments in Iran and Turkey are related to the historic 2011 youth led-mobilization in the Arab world. This led to the rise of question related to the distinctiveness of current Arab youth in relation to older cohorts who participated in earlier waves of anti-colonial activism subsequent to the World War II. Part of the answer related to the role of Information and Communications Technologies (ICTs) in helping the youth generation spreading their discontent through being active on the cyber space. This thesis does not dismiss such claim, although it aims at studying such elucidations in interplay with the changing youth values per se within a broad international generational replacement trend. Values of the “New Arabs” according to Juan Cole are historically different as they reflect a divergent level of socioeconomic progression in terms of excessive urbanization, cosmopolitanism and economic disparities, and a bulge including 60% of population across Arab states.


Events of “Arab Spring” are the highlight of youth activism in MENA. I believe it is likely to be –however not exclusively- related to young Arabs value system. Nevertheless, it is considerably hard task to capture youth values in the region that led to such unprecedented mobilization. In the efforts to approach such puzzle we empirically map youth values based on their socioeconomic context while using Ronald Inglehart’s intergenerational value change thesis as a guiding framework for comparison with other International young values’ trends.9

This study focuses on generational value differences in its focal case study “Egypt.” Egyptian youth are considered by many scholars to be the chief driving agent behind the 2011 uprising. Due to high level of unemployment and social inequality among young Egyptians, I believe this generation was frustrated by the political censorship exercised by Mubarak’s regime. Additionally, claims have been raised on this generation’s value system to be more liberal, less religious and more democratic, thus the 2011 uprising was considered to be natural breakthrough of the domination of these appearances.10 Most importantly, in terms of demographic power, Egypt is witnessing a historic youth bulge; in which 62% of Egyptians are below the age of 29 reported in 2012.11 This bulge is expected to last at least for the next three decades, if the current composition of population growth continues in a similar fashion. Based on the earlier

9 Ronald Inglehart and others argued extensively since the late 1970s that there is an international generational value change towards postmaterialist values. Based on refined version of modernization theory, he operationalized postmaterialism as progression towards self-expression and secular attitudes rather than religious and survival self-reported values.


mentioned facts, we believe that successive waves of youth activism in Egypt are expected to intensify, while treating the bulge effect as an amplifying factor for generational value change.

To sum up this introductory part, such recent international waves of youth activism in the developed as well as the MENA region indicate the salience of youth phenomenon in a way that was not addressed before. Moreover, it suggests that the current Egyptian youth generation holds different values from older cohorts in terms of activism, forms of expression, and channels of political participation. In understanding such claims, we aim to give considerable attention to the socioeconomic context allowing youth values to appear in Egypt. In addition to mapping out youth value system characteristics based on their attitudes towards democracy, religion, and gender tolerance.

1.2 Literature Review

At the theoretical level, there is an overabundance of studies that gave special attention to youth, generational value replacements, and characteristics of youth values in MENA. This part reviews related literature to intergenerational value change mechanisms, youth as an analytical category in the Middle East and its related characteristics. It aims at mapping out existing gaps when it comes to the study of the youth phenomenon in the Middle East, and the case of Egypt in particular.

Dynamics of Generational Value Change

Generational value change conceptualization is divided between two major schools of thought, one focuses on the life-cycle changing values, and the other bases its argumentation on the salience of formative experiences during early adulthood and its
enduring effects on youth values. **Institutional and Life-Cycle** school of thought bases its argument on stages of cognitive and biological progression through one’s life cycle. This school influenced much of the research on equal-sized age cohorts in studying partisan identification in the United States and Europe treating those effects as systematic ones.\(^\text{12}\) Other scholars looked on the interplay between aging processes and socialization. As the person ages, his attitudes become more rigid and conservative, due to the loss of social status, i.e. the lesser ability for interaction with others due to pure biological reasons such as cognitive disabilities. Similar evidence is found in the “disengagement theory.” It suggests that when individuals grow old, they tend to be more restricted in terms of group membership and interaction with others, either voluntarily or due to societal conducts.

Another possible explanation for the effect of age is by controlling for the variable of experience. As young people usually do not have enough experience coining their attitudes to be more optimistic. Other institutional theories focus on “the relearning alignment process,” where individuals change their opinions and attitudes through their life cycles disregarding the prominence of childhood and early adulthood socialization.\(^\text{13}\) However, empirical research does not fully support the continuity of early formed attitudes over successive life stages as cultural theorists suggest.\(^\text{14}\)

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In another vein, other set of studies underlines **Cultural and Political Socialization** explanations in shaping attitudes and their change. Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils argued that any given political system holds embedded group of sentiments and manifestations within; reflected on its public through their value system and roles in the polity afterwards.\(^\text{15}\) Similarly, Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba in their study of civic culture mapped the operational components of society's political culture to include cognitive, affective and evaluational attitudes towards their role and the general political system per se, thus shaping individuals’ attitudes and consequently their forms of political engagement.\(^\text{16}\) In the same line, James Scott studied the relationship between political culture and individual's political behavior and program of action.\(^\text{17}\) Scott argued that it can be best explained through mechanisms of political socialization.

Cultural theories stress on the process of political learning through which generations undergo subsequent phases of political socialization. David Easton and Robert Hess suggested that the process of political socialization starts in the early stages of childhood at the age of three through family, and the schooling system. However, such forms of socialization do not yield symmetric effects on the same birth cohort.\(^\text{18}\) Moreover, David Sears and others noted the importance of education in attitude formation that shapes the persistence of the ideological way of thinking with little change.

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over time.\textsuperscript{19} Fred Greenstein noted that attitudes are formulated at a very young age, but its ramifications and effects are shaped through adulthood-learning phase, as it works as "filters" for any subsequent kind of knowledge a person may acquire.\textsuperscript{20}

The study of generations was developed mainly through Karl Mannheim’s classic writings. Mannheim argued that political generations came to existence through a complex historical-social process of socialization.\textsuperscript{21} The impressionable years’ hypothesis was ultimately coined with the efforts of Theodore Newcomb and Norman Ryder based on Mannheim’s earlier explanation.\textsuperscript{22} Both scholars argued that individuals of the same birth cohorts aging tentatively between eighteen and twenty-five in their formative years are most likely to share the same political attitudes if witnessed a salient political event. Thus, this particular age cohort represents a distinctive political generation, and probably differs from other generations. Later on, Howard Schuman and others argued that attitudes fluctuate during youth time, then enters stability stage afterwards, thus they do not completely support the earlier proposition on attitudinal stability among birth cohorts.\textsuperscript{23} On the contrary, Paul DiMaggio and Ronald Inglehart stress the weight on


attitudes and memories on salient political events in early adulthood that is likely to persist after fluctuations to form certain characteristics of a given political generation.\textsuperscript{24}

On the other hand, Nicholas Danigelis and others found that not all political events qualify to be salient to add to the coining of political attitudes among certain age cohorts.\textsuperscript{25} In the same line, Kent Jennings tackled the salience nature of political events, relating it to its "visibility" for a certain birth cohort in their formative years.\textsuperscript{26} Therefore, Inglehart and others highlighted the need for careful cross-sectional intergenerational analysis as inter-cohort differences is more present in advanced societies than developing ones, due to the unstable political circumstances they pass through leaving no space for salient political events, as many can be considered as such.\textsuperscript{27}

Inglehart’s efforts in producing the Euro barometer and the World Values Survey (WVS) later on are considered major contribution to the study of generations based on the gradual accumulative socioeconomic progression thesis. This line of thought rejects Mannheim’s stance on the effect of salient events in shaping long-lasting political attitudes.\textsuperscript{28} Inglehart through his scholarship on value change in Western developed states, noted that there is a silent revolution tacking place allowing for a generational value change causing the emergence of postmaterialist values of self-expression and


\textsuperscript{28} Ronald Inglehart, “The Renaissance of Political Culture.” \textit{American Political Science Review}, Vol. 82, 1988, No. 4, pp.103-110.
secularism among younger birth cohorts born after the World War II.\textsuperscript{29} Moreover, Inglehart rejected the role of aging or life-cycle effects. Simultaneously, he noted the theoretical difficulty in distinguishing between cohort, period, and life-cycle effects even statistically-wise.\textsuperscript{30} Accordingly, for elaborating the cohort effects, it needs a suitable theoretical background to control or rule out the other effects for suitable understanding.

\textit{Youth Characteristics in the Middle East}

Youth bulge in the Middle East is growing intensively, with sixty percent of the population below the age of thirty, and more than half of the people fall below the age of twenty-five; that is twice the corresponding age category in North America.\textsuperscript{31} The segments below cover youth features and its usage as an analytical concept in the Middle East.

In his book, Tarik Yousef and Navtej Dhillon focused on the social grievances that unite the youth in MENA, arguing that such category is socially marginalized, thus contributing to their coherent collective action which affects the policy-making processes.\textsuperscript{32} The same line of thought is present internationally; Johanna Wyn stressed the policy-implications that affect the youth as social category, accompanied by the shift

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
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towards capitalist forms of policies in the western societies since the 1980s. Wyn looked at the youth through their reactions to such policy implications in the fields of education, health, and labor. Since the 1970s, the study of political generations in MENA highlighted the youth as active agents bringing up change in ways never expected before. This post-independence generation who are more educated, and urbanized are willing to determine the fate of their societies. Thus, the young are the main pillar for post-colonial political settings in MENA. Projecting such conception on the modern developments, Bahgat Korany noted the importance of youth activism as unique phenomenon adopting a social movement’s theory (SMT) which encompasses mobilization, political opportunity structure (POS), and framing. Similarity, Dina Shehata acknowledged the youth mobilization in the Egyptian 2011 uprising, arguing that their organization is integral to understand the dynamics of such events, as a part of a general Egyptian social movement.

On the other hand, other scholars overlooked the youth as an analytical category in relation to the Arab Spring events and in part as primary source of change. John Chalcraft extended his disagreement to oppose the "exclusive" linkage between Arab Uprisings and youth, while undermining the role of new forms of social media such as


"Facebook" in mobilizing these mass uprisings. In the same line, Kastrinou Theodoropoulou argued that using youth as analytical unit is of no theoretical significance as it renders different types of resistance and struggle into a nominal holistic building unit. Asef Bayat’s work on Islamists Movements in MENA suggested an alternative view. Bayat employed Bourdieu’s position on the manipulative nature of the concept of youth; as it does not represent a single category. Thus, it needs a deep examination. Consequently, Bayat proposed a youth-sensitive approach rather than treating the youth as a distinct analytical category.

Nevertheless this intense debate on youth in MENA, the generational replacement perspective is overlooked. It was only mentioned back in 2009 through Fahmy Hewidy’s induction on the Egyptian youth reactions towards political conflict with Algeria over a sports event. Likewise, Emma Murphy in the aftermath of the Arab Spring adopted the conception of generations through the study of youth and their value system to explain their activism. According to Murphy, young generation in the region


are different from their older peers, in terms of expressing their opinions, tools used, and their rejection of the “failed” Arab states in which they live in.

In the same line, other scholars argued that current MENA youth activism waves are reaction to deliberalizing respective political public spheres.43 Youth being left out of formal political channels, found in cyber space a parallel platform to express their opinions and voice out their dissatisfaction spontaneously away from state censorship. They transformed social media into active political recruitment venue leading to the historic 2011 mobilization. Moreover, other scholars like John Esposito argued that the Arab Spring was even an expression of distrust within the mainstream opposition movements, particularly the Islamists.44 Arab spring at that time as imagined to be led by liberal young Arabs who seek to democracy rather than establishing Islamic-oriented political systems based on the failures of Islamic experiences in Iran, Sudan, and Afghanistan.

On the other hand, recent studies showed that youth in the Middle East despite their online activism and international exposure; they lack sense of political organization and modern values.45 Such readings showed that Arab youth identify themselves as traditional-religious with high focus on subnational-tribal loyalties. Moreover, several elections’ experiences in post-2011 settings showed that Arab youth are not politically organized to impact decision-making in their respective societies. For instance in Egypt,


following Mubarak’s ouster, more than 140 political youth coalitions appeared on the scene; nonetheless they failed to agree on a joint list running for the 2011 parliamentary elections. As a result Islamists got 72% of the total turnout vote. Between the earlier presented narratives, this study is trying to map out youth values in chronological context in the Egyptian case to test such claims employing an empirical perspective.

1.3 Contextualizing Egyptian Youth

In theory, Egyptian youth are considered the critical mass to determine the future dynamics of politics as James Mattson argued on his scholarship on Arab political generations in the 1970s.\textsuperscript{46} In post-2011 settings, questions of legitimacy, income distribution, and social equality are critical for stability in Egypt. This study is trying to explore the current features of Egyptian youth and whether their changing values qualify to provide answers for the 2011 events and predict the potential route of politics in Egypt. In order to do such task, this section portrays youth demographics and their context of political socialization.

Demographic Characteristics

One of the major defining features of Egyptian youth is their relative size; composing a historic bulge that Egypt never witnessed before. Several indicators help in emphasizing such claim. 62% of Egyptians are below the age of 29 as reported in 2012.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{46} James Mattson, Op. Cit., p.13

Moreover, the average age of total Egyptian population is 25.1 years.\(^{48}\) Reported total fertility rate is 2.79 between (2010-2015) in comparison to 5.2 during the period of (1980-1985).\(^{50}\) Population growth rate was decreasing during (1980-1985) at 2.28\%.\(^{51}\) It decreased to be 1.56\% during the 1990s, and rose slightly to be 1.68\% during (2005-2010), however it expected to decline and reach 0.69\% in (2045-2050). Although fertility and population growth rates are declining; life expectancy rate is increasing over time reaching 73.45 years in 2014. All of that is reflected on Egypt’s population pyramid in figures (1.1-1.3); the wide skewed bases signaling youth population are obvious in figures 1.1 and 1.2, while it is expected to narrow down by (2045-2050) as shown in figure 1.3.\(^{52}\)

Figure 1.1 Egypt’s Population Pyramid in 2000

![Figure 1.1 Egypt’s Population Pyramid in 2000](image)

Source: U.S. Census Bureau


As shown in the above figures, current Egyptian youth cohort is demographically overrepresented and expected to be in such case over the next three decades at least. We argue that Egypt’s youth population values are vital for any potential political arrangements in the country. Moreover, Egypt’s current political generation is more urban and educated. Although present population distribution is inclined towards rural sort of residency, yet the internal migration waves towards urban parts of the country are obvious in the last two decades. Rural-Urban migration is estimated to be around 13.1% of total population movement between 1986 and 1996; however these numbers are
defining feature of Egyptian population if compared to growth rates at the time.\textsuperscript{53} Moreover, inter-urban migration is the highest during Egypt’s recent history; it ranges between 64.3\% at 1976 to 60.4\% according to the 1996 census.

In terms of education, youth literacy rate\textsuperscript{54} increased dramatically to reach 87.51\% in 2010 in comparison to 51.03 \% in 1976.\textsuperscript{55} Moreover, total number of enrolled students at higher education institutes in Egypt was around 2.02 million students in 2004, with 49\% females.\textsuperscript{56} In addition, it is not only the gross number of enrollment at different schooling levels that matters; however the content and quality of education is very indicative per se. Along with private and international schools for primary and secondary education; Egyptian public universities during the mid-1990s developed special language-based programs to privatize education and increase its quality. Therefore, there is a qualitative improvement in addition to the quantitative progression in Egyptian educational system.

Young Egyptians now are more connected to the world through cyber engagement. It resulted in creating parallel-virtual political spheres in which they act and express freely in away from the formal restricted conventional public sphere. One


\textsuperscript{54} Youth Literacy Rate: the percentage of people ages (15-24) who can read and write a short, simple statement on their everyday life.


indicator for that is internet usage in Egypt.\textsuperscript{57} It is estimated that about 40 million Egyptians use internet during July 2014.\textsuperscript{58} Internet usage increased by 490\% between 2002 and 2005, and then fluctuating at the 30-40\% level till it reached relative stagnation at 10\% from 2013 to 2014. In addition, it is estimated that there are more than 100 million mobile subscribers in Egypt with average 17\% annual growth in this booming sector.\textsuperscript{59} Moreover, 10.87\% of those users are estimated to use mobile internet in August 2012. Social media networks are very popular in Egypt; “Facebook” is the most used with total penetration rate of 16.5\% in 2014.\textsuperscript{60} Egypt’s active “Facebook” users are estimated to be about 12.9 million in 2014 and “Twitter” users are 510,000 thousands during the same period. It is important to mention that Egypt’s social media share is the highest within the Arab world with about 24\%.

\textit{Political Socialization of Egypt’s Millennial Youth}

Egypt’s millennial political generation has pushed through certain sociopolitical context that differs structurally from their older peers. Most of literature on political socialization focuses on age between 11 and 15 years old in the person’s life; being regarded as the starting point to encounter politics.\textsuperscript{61} Thus, if we take Egypt’s generation aging between (18- 35) between 2000 and 2013 as the data in hand entails; their

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{57} Internet User: individual who can access the Internet at home, via any device type and connection.
  \item \textsuperscript{60} “Facebook in the Arab Region,” Arab Social Media Report, May 2014, http://www.arabsocialmediareport.com/Facebook/LineChart.aspx, Retrived May 18, 2015.
\end{itemize}
formative political period ranges through 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s. Thus, we aim in this section to elaborate the context in which current Egypt’s youth have pushed through.

An important feature of Egypt’s political history in the last three decades is the role of its ruler Hosni Mubarak; although the political system was designed as “semi-presidential” according to the 1971 constitution, however in reality it was a one-man show. Egypt’s political system under Mubarak was characterized mainly by stagnation; I would owe much of that to the Mubarak’s personal characteristics who is considered to be the longest serving ruler of Egypt since 1850.62 That was reflected on providing no hope for successive political generations in Egypt.

1980s was marked by Egypt’s isolation from its Arab milieu following the peace agreement with Israel in 1978. Like his predecessor (Anwar Al-Sadat), Mubarak continued his liberal-economic policies with a desire to end the gigantic foreign external debt Egypt faced at the time. On the other hand, his early promises on political liberalization were proved wrong; two successive parliaments were dissolved in 1987 and 1990 respectively with the danger of Islamic insurgency in horizon. At the same time, he kept ruling the country under emergency law that eliminates nearly all sorts of political opposition and freedom of expression.63

During the 1990s, securitization of public sphere was prioritized over political bargaining. Faced with the threat of Islamist insurgencies, Mubarak relied on security forces to deal with waves of terrorism and sectarian violence. Many assassination


attempts for liberal figures were in display, such as the head of parliament professor Dr. Refa’at al-Mahgoub and Farag Fouda, a political liberal writer who publicly criticized Islamist-Jihadi groups. Even Mubarak himself survived an assassination attempt in Ethiopia in 1995. At the same time, Egypt started its “privatization” program in 1991 to treat its mal-functioning economy. However, by the end of the twentieth century, Egypt’s debt doubled with high rate of unemployment due to the inefficient handling of the privatization program.

During the 2000s, it was Mubarak’s third term in power, and started containing political opposition in various ways, following Albrecht and Schlumberger’s “liberalization/de- liberalization” explanation. Both scholars argued that after promises for political openness, authoritarian rulers restrict political freedoms in their route to sustain their power. Furthermore, the visibility of Gamal Mubarak –Mubarak’s son- in politics further instigated public discontent; coupled with the rise of his capitalist coalition that ruled Egypt through Ahmed Nazif’s government from 2004 to 2011. Another important development is the reaction towards major catastrophes and corruption cases that Egypt faced during mid-2000s. In early 2006, the “MS al-Salam Boccaccio 98” Egyptian ferry sank in the red sea, leaving about 1400 deaths. The government did not

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react and the ferry owner was allowed to escape the country after allegations of his relation to Gamal Mubarak and his membership in the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP) heading committee.

It is obvious that circumstances surrounding youth political socialization since the 1980s are turbulent and likely to affect their behavior and value expressions. I would argue that one important feature of Egypt’s history under Mubarak is the “condition of uncertainty,” shared by many of Egyptians, particularly the youth. As the political system restricted prospects of reform and youth’s future were dependent on one person who never mapped out a clear path for the future. I believe that such condition led to the 2011 mobilization that aimed to put an end to such cognitive danger.

1.4 Inglehart’s Value Change Thesis

In this section, I present the guiding framework that influenced much of this study in principle. Following the World War II; competing paradigms of modernization and dependency aiming to accelerate economic development were in display. Modernization theory with its linear evolutionary laws was criticized heavily by the dependency school that the “metropolis” or international western capitalism is the main reason for the underdevelopment happening in the periphery states. However, the post-cold war epoch coupled with the rise of South East Asian economies regained credibility in the modernization view. From this ontological perspective, Inglehart’s work stems out. However, Inglehart rejected some of the simplistic laws of modernization in his works after the 1990s. He considered social and culture changes owed to modernization as

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path-dependent. Moreover, such evolutionary changes are yet to take place in the long-term development of a given society. Thus, Inglehart though criticizing traditional modernization view, he can still be considered as a strong believer in modernization effects in a prolonged manner. Modernization is the dominant approach to the study of values in the literature. However, this research utilizes it as an outlining frame to approach its problematic inquiry. In another words, modernization help us in understanding the casual mechanisms behind values formulation and change. However, we argue through it this research that the universal views of modernization do not hold right in explaining all youth values in Egypt. Furthermore, we add several assumptions from the literature to further adjust Inglehart’s original thesis and help us in our study quest.

Inglehart based his changing values thesis on the Maslowan notion of hierarchy of needs. 69 Abraham Maslow noted that physiological needs are satisfied in a hierarchal progressive way from the lower order to the highest rank. 70 Drawing on such conception; Inglehart’s hypothesis argues that there is a “postmaterialist” value shift among younger generations whose formative years’ formulated after World War II due to unprecedented economic prosperity. For older cohorts born before the war, economic threats raised safety needs. However, younger cohorts’ priorities are coined by set of “post-bourgeois” values reflecting needs for belonging and intellectual expression demands. 71

Inglehart’s thesis is based on the primacy of the causality between socioeconomic development and generational value change. As socioeconomic progress changes society’s substantial basis and its social fabric, it is directly tied the conception of existential security. Inglehart agrees with Milton Rokeach’s definition of values as the desirable modes of conduct that shape human goals, therefore affect one’s behavior. Moreover, cultural anthropologists like Durham and others consider value change to be an evolutionary process as reflective for the prevailing conditions of existence. This understanding adopted by Inglehart entails that value orientations reflect existential living conditions. Moreover, if these conditions are to change, values will change as well but in a prolonged-time lag after the experience of new life strategies and conditions. Such change is arguably to be adopted by the young more than the elderly, as the latter hardly abandon their surviving traditions and ontological views, but once the new life strategies merge with new modes of thinking, the young will adapt with their new existential conditions.

Moreover, socioeconomic development reduces constraints on the human abilities in terms of independence, imagination and choice. As it decreases material constraints on human options and elevates the level of existential security, coupled with the increase in the level of formal education, and access to information through different forms of media. In addition, it increases working specialization and social involvedness which is reflected on more diversified human interactions.


Industrialization initiates bureaucratization and secularization, while the movement towards post-industrialization emphasizes individual autonomy and self-expression values. These cultural changes reshape people’s political orientations towards authority, but rather in different ways.\textsuperscript{75} The shift in human values accompanying the industrialization phase is attributed to the breakthrough in technology and different means of control over human conditions. As in pre-industrial societies, it was a game against nature, while in industrial societies, the control over nature and production decreased the role assigned to religious beliefs, as materialistic ideologies gave rise to secular interpretations of history and increased emphasis on human created bureaucratic organizations. Thus, the shift towards secular values from traditional religious beliefs is likely to occur.

In the process of post-industrialization, production outcomes are not yet material; rather they are in forms of ideas, innovative services and knowledge. In addition the mode of occupational division is not mechanical anymore; rather it occurs through an organic working environment. Hence, progression of existential economic conditions is more profound than in the industrialization phase; consequently changed people’s values in a different way. This emancipative process allowed people to be more autonomous, with more options, and skeptic of authority.

The prevalence of post-materialist values is not a universal phenomenon. Different nations experience different levels and patterns of technological and economic change, the emerging postmaterialist values are likely to prevail mainly in developed nations. This takes us to the Egyptian case, as well as the cases of other developing nations. This takes us to the Egyptian case, as well as the cases of other developing

nations where the uneven socioeconomic development values effects within the same generation is not accounted exclusively for Inglehart’s thesis.

**Adjusting Inglehart’s Thesis**

This thesis’s quest is to test Inglehart’s intergenerational value change hypothesis in the developing context of post-2011 Egypt. Moreover, this thesis explores the presence of post-materialist values among Egyptian societal sectors while acknowledging that reactionary stances towards such expected values shift are prevalent among other segments of the society.

Inglehart’s thesis overlooks the effects of persistent cultural traits including religion, and the scholarship on pre-materialist values in terms of political socialization in which socioeconomic progression is relatively low. This thesis attempts to broaden the analysis through the inclusion of these kinds of effects. Hence, this study is trying to further problematize such value change thesis in the developing world by accounting for the role of political attitudes and social values in explaining generational differences.

Samir Amin argued that Egypt historically did not enter the international capitalist system until the national bourgeois imposed revised division of labor on imperial power. With such process, and the uneven industrialization effects led to the creation of “developed pockets,” within the developing economy. Thus, projecting that on this research, we expect to find that the Egyptian society still contain such developed pockets attached to the international capitalist economy and in turn more globalized in the modern sense, while other segments are marginalized based on their relative socioeconomic status within this dual industrialized process. This entails different levels of socioeconomic development and consequently value holdings. Consequently, we
expect to find varying effects for economic development among specific sectors, while most of Egyptians still relate themselves to traditional-materialist values and that goes for the youth as well. Finally, the thesis thesis below considers Inglehart’s framework only as a guiding outline for the study of intergenerational value change in Egypt, however I tend to use other political and social indicators to map out Egyptian youth values and explain existing cohort differences.

1.5 Problematization and Objectives

This study’s subsequent sections and chapters base its analysis of youth values on the conception of political generation. A generation which is defined subjectively as members of the same birth cohort –following Mannheim’s definition- qualifies to explain changing values in the Egyptian case. Our main inquiry in this study is to answer the following question:

“Are youth political values different from older generation(s)? If they are different; in which manner?”

By integrating Inglehart’s typology of postmaterialist versus materialist values thesis, we develop another set of sub-questions:

- Do the same pattern(s) of youth values in the developed world hold for Egypt?

- Can Inglehart’s typology explain youth values in Egypt? If not, what are the main values that help in explaining cohort differences?

Furthermore, Egyptian youth values are perceived to be fragmented, i.e. not holding the same value patterns due to the internal socioeconomic variations, and effects of different stratifiers like class-system, education level, gender, place of residency, and
religion. For example, while some Egyptian youth hold post-materialist values, others go ultra-conservative joining the Islamic State in the Levant (ISIL) or Jerusalem Supporters (JS). Also, the thesis aim at explaining the 2011 uprising in Egypt, through posing the following questions:

1. What are the underlying factors that drive Egyptian youth in different directions?

2. Can the events of January 2011 in Egypt be explained by changing youth values?

In addition to the qualitative reasoning used throughout this thesis’s sections, it mainly relies on empirical demonstration of youth values using various data-sets based on its availability. In that sense, I depend on the following main hypotheses:

**Hypothesis A:** Youth holds different political values than older generations both in Egypt and the world.

**Hypothesis B:** The structure of youth values in Egypt is different from other societies

**Hypothesis C:** Egyptian youth values are fragmented due to uneven effects of socioeconomic development, where the increase in socioeconomic status is associated to higher expressions of postmaterialist values.

**Hypothesis D:** Religion is essential in explaining youth values trends in Egypt, where higher levels of religiosity are likely to yield traditional-material values
**Objectives**

This study takes up the mission of realizing the following interrelated goals:

i) Applying the generational perspective to map the Egyptian youth values in the new millennium that led ultimately to the January 2011 events.

ii) It attempts to cluster Egyptian youth value trends in comparison to older generations and to the mainstream trajectories of international youth through employing Roland Inglehart’s intergenerational value change thesis.

iii) The study’s contribution is yet an analytical one tackling the issue of the youth from an empirical/generational perspective that is under-researched in this part of the world.

iv) It contributes to the literature on democratization in MENA through mapping Egyptian youth values related to democratization, political Islam, and gender equality. Thus, to foresee effects of youth on democratic potential in Egypt.

**1.6 Data and Methodology**

This study is using secondary data from five different surveys conducted in Egypt during the period between July 2000 and March 2013. Data sources are respectively; the World Values Survey (WVS), the Arab Barometer (AB). All of these data sets are free to use according to the agreement conditions on each of the above research project websites. Data characteristics are shown in Table 1.1:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>Survey Date</th>
<th>Response Rate</th>
<th>Estimated Error</th>
<th>Data Collection Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WVS</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>July 2000-</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>+/- 1.8 %</td>
<td>EMAC Research and Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wave 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>January 2001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WVS</td>
<td>3051</td>
<td>March- April</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Survey Unit at IDSC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wave 5</td>
<td></td>
<td>2008</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WVS</td>
<td>1523</td>
<td>March- April</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>+/- 2.6 %</td>
<td>TNS Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wave 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>2012</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>June 2011</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>+/- 3 %</td>
<td>Al-Ahram Center (ACPSS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wave II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>February- March</td>
<td>71.6%</td>
<td>+/- 2.8 %</td>
<td>Mada Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wave III</td>
<td></td>
<td>2013</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Since not all of the above data sets are probably weighted, we weighted the WVS 4, 5, and 6 datasets around the 2006 Egypt’s census demographic characteristics issued by the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS).

As per the mathematical definition of political generations, we used a mediatory method to define youth in relevance to the data hand. The Population Council which conducted the Survey of Young People in Egypt defines this category to include those


between the ages of (15-29). On the Other hand, Mannheim's conception of the young's formative years to be between the ages of (18-25), whereas the individual transcends to the adulthood phase, and starts facing reality. While Mark Tessler in his study on Morocco’s political generations set the age of 35 years to be the threshold between younger and older political generations. We used a mediatory technique to count for generational gabs ranging between (10-14-19) years in the attempt to produce more stable attitude analysis over the different waves of surveys in use. Hence, in exploring postmaterialism values, I defined the youth as those falling within the age bracket of (16-30) following the CAPMAS weights in hand of the WVS on Egypt, while in assessing political, religious and social attitudes; I used a range of (18-35) to explain youthful orientations due to the weights of the AB II and III.

**Method of Analysis**

Throughout the research below, we rely on multiple approaches of analysis, given that there is no single indicator, or analytical method can solely explain a social complicated phenomenon such as attitude formation and value change.

In analytical empirical discussions, we used several dependent, independent, control and interaction variables using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression models in order to explain the effect of different predictors on our parameters that reflect youth values in Egypt over survey pools. In addition, for the sake of constructing world and regional maps of postmaterialism, I used Principal Component Analysis (PCA) in which

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common features reflecting Inglehart’s typologies where derived from country mean scores. I used both SPSS and STATA statistical applications in all the following analyses.

In conclusion, this study follows the subsequent line of inquiry; I first examine the trends of postmaterialist values in the world at the present moment and its relevance to Egyptian youth. I show how Egyptian youth values patterns are placed in their regional and global contexts. Then, I provide different manifestations on youth’s political value differences in terms of trust, efficacy, and democracy and possible explanations for such trends. Moreover, I project the role of religiosity on Egyptian youth and its effects on activism and gender tolerance. Finally, I project youth value change and its relevance to the Arab Spring events and account for fragmentation among the young in Egypt.
CHAPTER II

POSTMATERIALISM IN EGYPT

In this chapter, I aim to place postmaterialist value portfolio in Egypt within its global and regional contexts. In sections below, I explain thoroughly the underpinnings of such values and its current status in the world, producing a world cultural map complementing the earlier work presented by Inglehart. Then, I trace value shift in the Middle East based on socioeconomic causality. Finally, I provide insights on the level of postmaterialism among Egyptian youth and its main predictors.

2.1 Postmaterialism in a Comparative Perspective

The causal relation amongst social, economic and political vicissitudes is integral in the literature of social sciences. Ever since the Marxist doctrine on the primacy of economic infrastructure in shaping values and norms; this controversial debate never was outdated. Although a Marxist proletarian class never ruled out in due course of history, yet the primacy of socioeconomic causation implies some degree of predictably on the mode of global value change. This section aims at portraying the structure of postmaterialist values at the turn of the new millennium in a comparative perspective to serve as a starter to detect such trend in Egypt afterwards. This work is one hand novel in the context of the Middle East. In addition, it adds to the already existing earlier cultural maps developed by Inglehart and Welzel before.

Modernization Theory: Re-visited

For Karl Marx, production relations within class-systems are the infrastructure in any given society that influences the superstructure including state, culture, and legalities that reflects interests of a given dominant class, and through process of class-antagonism,
change is achieved. On the contrary, Emile Durkheim who is more of a sociologist was concerned with studying the patterns of stability than change in respective societies. In another line of thought, Max Weber confronted both Marx and Durkheim arguing that ideas can actually shape economic conditions under specific conditions through the introduction of the concept of “Verstehen” or understanding in German. Weber noted that through understanding the motivations behind actions, ideas can influence economic and political behavior. Still, recent inputs from scholars like Samuel Huntington, Robert Putnam, and Francis Fukuyama noted that regardless any kind of socioeconomic cultural variations caused by industrialization, cultural traditions are persistent mainly in orthodox societies and ultimately shape economic and political behavior per se.

Postwar underdevelopment in the south is owed to the persistence of traditional economy, psychological and cultural traits in any given society. Thus, for any given society to develop, it has to follow the western capitalist model of modernization. However other neo-structuralist scholars, such as Wallerstein, regarded modernization as an outdated explanation of the underdevelopment in poor countries. The postwar modernization version failed to account for the external causes of underdevelopment. World-systems theorists owed the uneven center-periphery socioeconomic development


90 Daniel Lerner, Passing Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East, New York, Free Press, 1958.

to the exploitation of world capitalism. However, such perception has been under criticism itself, as Evans noted that global division of labor and inclusion into international trade can stimulate economic growth, and provide welfare portfolio for developing countries as well.

The post-cold war period coupled with the economic boom in South East Asian regained the credibility of the westernized version of modernization theory. Yet, Inglehart and others noted for the need to revisit the classical version of it to match the new global developments, for example Inglehart believes that Russia and China are likely to democratize because of the long-term effects of socioeconomic growth on individuals’ behaviors, thus the institutional manifestation of such values will take place. He advocated for the internal fallacies within the main stream underpinnings of modernization in terms of the perquisites that assume certain level of “modern” values for a given society to progress. On the other hand, he did not adopt the neo-Marxist stances that owed the underdevelopment of the poor countries to the exploitation by the rich capitalist north.

The process of industrialization leads to cultural shifts, yet this change is path dependent, i.e. not uniform. Cultural zones primarily designed by Samuel Huntington, and later on used by Inglehart prove to have a stabilizing effect on the worldwide post-

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materialist value change. Thus, Inglehart doubts the modernization forces’ capability of producing a global culture in the near future. Second, the growing trend of anti-secularism is overlooked. Theoretically, processes of industrialization and post-industrialization yields less emphasis on the traditional religious values, yet a growing interest in the meaning and purpose of life provides a counterbalanced effects. Third, the path dependency of value change is present within each cultural zone itself, not only cross-cultural. Finally, the mode and magnitude of value change is dependent on various factors, yet the distinction between long/short term value changes is highly important. Long-term value changes are likely to occur, with no necessary westernized “Americanization” turnover in world values. Thus, unlike the first phase of modernization theory, the post-industrial version of modernization increases the demand for democracy and little government interference with remarkable human autonomy.

The Postmaterialism Thesis

By late 1970s, Inglehart developed a technique to understand the value changing trends all over the world. He did not fell into the trap of unicultural attributes, and to overcome the hardships connected with the usage of culture as residual variable, he rather focused on long-term effects of socioeconomic development, which is fairly stable to overcome the legitimate criticism of the fluctuation and fragmentation of the culturist approaches.96 It started with his silent revolution thesis, observing a value change towards post-materialism analyzing the Euro barometer, then he considered more as a cultural shift by the end of the cold war, and by early 2000s, he started to revisit his original thesis

by accounting for the short-term effects of inflation and its temporal effects on long-term post-material value standings.  

In theory, the central claim of modernization is that economic prosperity leads to change in worldwide values in a predictable mode. The heavy reliance on industrialization is to yield occupational specialization, high levels of education, rising economic growth. These effects change the existential living conditions of individuals in any given society. Modernization is a budding course of human development forced by socioeconomic progression; it brings cultural change in terms of gender roles, authority perceptions, sexual norms, religious beliefs, and more participation in the polity’s affairs. It likely yields a new form of society that is more emancipative than earlier forms of societal progression. Such changes according to Inglehart are not under any control, thus elites or military leaders might think of limiting its effects, yet it is more profound and hard to be restricted.

On the other hand, post-materialism is linked to the changing nature of work and economy into post-industrial developments. Daniel Bell noted that the changes in nature of economic transactions in the postwar epoch, where a shift towards service products take over businesses all over the world. Such shift has major political, economic and social consequences. The more secure existential living conditions drives human value to focus on quality of life, environmentalism and self-expression, or in another words what

Inglehart regarded as postmaterialist values. The pre-industrial life is dominated by conflict against nature, thus more emphasis on traditional-religious values. Furthermore with complexities in economic transactions, humans manipulated their nature. This gave the rise of material ideologies that focuses on secular-rational interpretations of history. The shift towards post-industrial mode of production gave the rise of more autonomous explanations of history, where more and more people lives in mechanic societies, thus it becomes a game against persons.¹⁰¹

Findings of the WVS enhance the hypothesis on the Human Development Sequence as shown in figure 2.1 based on the rise of post-materialism in postwar developed societies. The core theme of broadening human choices by elevating social, material and cognitive constraints on human calculations results a socioeconomic change, rising values towards of self-expression, and growing trend of democratization. The socioeconomic modernization process decreases objective capabilities on humans that escalates people’s autonomous choices. Changing global values gives more emphasis on individual liberty, allows for human diversity, in other words “self-expression” values. This syndrome of values focuses on civil and political liberties which comprises democracy. It allows people the flexibility to be more autonomous, thus realizing freedom of speech and action. The rise of self-expression in short qualifies modernization to be an emancipative process of human development.

¹⁰¹ Daniel Bell, Ibid., pp. 149.
World Cultural Map in the New Millennium

Inglehart based on a conviction of the changing nature of world values towards postmaterialism has set different mechanisms to test his proposed thesis. The centrality of rising self-expression values in post-industrial societies provides an adequate indicator to see such related effects. As in such societies; services and knowledge-based businesses are prevailing, workers deal with binary codes, symbols and ideas; thus more freedom to take decisions and open up for new ideas. Moreover, the social safety net that surrounds new life conditions changes the existential threats that face the post-industrial individuals resulting in upgrading their human development syndrome as proposed by Inglehart. On the other hand and despite of globalization, the realization of self-expression and secular values is not yet homogenous around the world. In many parts of the world due to economic stagnation, individuals do not prioritize such post-materialist values.  

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In this section, I use Inglehart’s technique to trace the changes of world values related to the rise of post-materialism in the world at the turn of the new millennium to assess the global trend of such values, and then I classify it geographically rather than Inglehart’s classification that rests on Huntington’s cross-cultural clash units. Subsequent to the fall of the Berlin Wall; Samuel Huntington, Robert Putnam and others noted the persistence of cultural traditions over the simplistic conviction of homogenous international culture. Huntington classified the world into major cultural zones that includes; western-Christians, Orthodox part, Islamic world, Confucian, Japanese, Hindu, African and Latin American Zones. In this part I developed the same dimensions used by Inglehart to assess the shift in post-industrial societies to place different parts of the world in this cross-cultural variation values comparison.

I used data from the 6th wave of the WVS conducted between 2010 and 2014 to compare it to Inglehart’s earlier work on the same dimensions. I use PCA method to extract two dimensions reflecting “traditional versus secular-rational” values on the one hand, while the other indicates “survival versus self-expression” on the national level. Table 2.1 presents the factor loadings of these ten items and the description of the two-extracted dimensions.


104 Questions wording are in appendices A and B.
### Table 2.1 Dimensions of Cross-Cultural Variation: National-Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor Loadings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Traditional values emphasize the following</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>(Secular-rational values emphasize the opposite)</strong>&lt;br&gt;God is very important for respondent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is more important for children to learn obedience and religious faith than independence and determination (Autonomy Index)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abortion is never justified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent has a strong national pride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent favors more respect for authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Survival values emphasize the following</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>(Self-expression values emphasize the opposite)</strong>&lt;br&gt;Respondent gives priority to economic and physical security over self-expression and quality of life (4-item postmaterialist index)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent feels not very happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexuality is never justified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent did not and would not sign a petition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent is careful about trusting other people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: World Values Survey, Wave 6 (2010-2014)

As table 2.1 shows, the two extracted factors loaded quiet lower in my extracted PCA components than Inglehart’s earlier works of 1997 and 2005, as it loaded above (0.6) in his earlier work. I owe such results to the effect of missing data that is estimated to be about 12%; where the statistical application used here Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) excludes countries that contain missing items.  

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106 The first factor explains 38.9% of total cross-national variations. By multiplying the extracted factor with (-1), the positive pole is rational-secular values.

107 The second factor explains 22.6% of the total cross-national variations. By multiplying the extracted factor with (-1), the positive pole is self-expression values.

108 All cases (N=74042) were weighted around 1500. Principle component analysis was used to extract (factors=2) with varimax rotation, while excluding any coefficients (>=0.3). The two extracted factors are based on pairwise deletion, where correlation coefficients for each pair of variables are based on all cases with valid data for that pair. The model scored (.761) on Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling-adequacy test. Bartlett’s test of sphericity chi-square scored (56118.077) at p<0.05.
correlated at \( r=0.514 \). The logic behind selecting these ten items –same as Inglehart- is the consistency of these questions across the WVS.

In order to produce a world cultural map at 2014 that assesses postmaterialist value rankings around the world according to the earlier extracted factors, I then extracted the arithmetic mean scores of countries of the WVS sixth wave, and then place them graphically. For the sake of such analysis, country cases were weighted around 1500 observations per nation. And due to the effect of missing data, only 50 countries produced means, thus 16.4\% of the data were excluded due to pairwise exclusion technique, leaving the final cases to be (\( N=65183 \)). Missing values as mentioned above affects the number of eligible countries, as it was excluded automatically on the factor loading analysis.\(^{109}\)

Results of the countries’ mean score values of over the two extracted dimensions; emphasizes the same pattern discussed in Inglehart’s work of 1997 and 2005; where higher scores on the two dimensions is found among developed high-income countries.\(^{110}\) In accordance with the world development indicators of 2015, the countries of high economic status scored the highest on the estimated means of the post-materialism dimensions.\(^{111}\) Figure 2.2 represents the countries’ mean scores on two axes; the horizontal one indicates progression towards “Self-Expression” values, while the vertical axis tends towards “Secular-Rational” values. Both progressive values tend towards the positive pole.

\(^{109}\) 2000 World Cultural Map in appendix C

\(^{110}\) Full list of mean countries scores on Inglehart’s dimensions are in appendix D.

\(^{111}\) World Growth, World Development Indicators 2015, pp. 80-82.
The following figure is represented in geographical terms rather than Inglehart’s earlier reliance on Huntington’s cultural zones. The logic behind such classification is that I believe that the cultural-zones classification is subjective, geographical zones is more valid. Moreover it shows that Middle East is scoring lowest on both dimensions, in another words, one can grasp that peoples of such region face direct economic hardship particularly in the past four years following the political instability in this part of the world resulting in the focus on survival values, with reliance on traditional values expect for deviant cases such as Lebanon. On the other hand, Western Europe and North America scores are the highest on both dimensions. It reflects a higher level of existential security and social safety net, thus more emphasis on rationality and self-expression values are reported. Other parts of the world scores differently and in turn placed over diverse parts on the graph. South East Asia countries scores just below North America, which means that this part of the world is rapidly changing its value identification as result of the mid-1990s economic prosperity. The figure in general matches our original assumption that the high degree of modernity in terms of value expression is related to socioeconomic progression.

To sum up, the growing trend of postmaterialism at the turn of the new millennium is still prevalent; however the magnitude of such progression is different from one part of the world to another. While scores are really high in Western Europe and North America, the Middle East region is still scoring negatively on both dimensions. This growing trend which results in changing gender, political, and individualistic values can be contested in developing states as latter sections will show. Scores on Inglehart’s
survival/self-expression and traditional/secular-rational dimensions show variations in cultural homogeny of post-materialist values that he predicted before.
Figure 2.2 Mean of Country Scours on Cross-Cultural Value Variations (World Map)
Value Change in the Middle East

In this study’s quest to place Egyptian values within a wider global and regional context. I believe it’s of a great importance to compare Egyptian value system to other states in MENA given the commonalties among these states in terms of culture, economy and the nature of respective political regimes.

Figure 2.3 represents the location of MENA countries on Inglehart’s dimensions from 2000 till 2014. Vertical axis represents variation from traditional to secular-rational values towards the positive pole, while horizontal axis represents variation from survival to self-expression values. The reason for the incomprehensive representation in the below figure, i.e. missing countries, is due to large number of missing cases in wave 6 (2010-2014); thus, much of the respective country scores cannot be obtained. In addition, questions did change from wave to another, yet I tried to stick to Inglehart-Welzel original items in the 1997 and 2005 dimensions for comparison reasons. The figure shows Egypt’s value system changing from 2001 to 2008 on the self-expression continuum, and slightly towards secular-rational values. A plausible explanation for that is the growing disconnect with government’s economic and social policies during the Ahmed Nazif second’s cabinet with remarkable increase in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rates explained earlier. Thus, an obvious movement on the horizontal axis is noted, while degrees of conservatism are still maintain. However, it is important to bear in mind that Egypt’s scores lies in the (negative) area on the aggregate dimensions.

112 These mean value scores used in figure 2.3 were extracted in two ways. Waves (4=2000-2004 and 5=2005-2009) were derived from WVS’s website from Inglehart and Welzel’s representation of global cultural map, http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSContents.jsp?CMSID=Findings, Retrived March 20, 2015. Wave (6=2010-2014) was extracted from a principle component factor analysis used in the earlier section (2.1).
In fact most of the countries in the region scores negatively on both dimensions expect for both Lebanon (2010-2014) and Israel (2000-2004). While both Iraq and Tunisia changed their scores to be positive on the secular-rational dimension in (2010-2014), yet they still negatively scores on the self-expression dimension. An important remark as well, is that Qatar (2010-2014) and Saudi Arabia (2000-2004) scores the highest among other Arab states on the self-expression dimension. I argue that it does not necessarily mean a shift towards postmaterialist values, however it reflects a high level of existential security related to the oil-revenues that such states acquire.\footnote{Michael L. Ross, “Will Oil Drown the Arab Spring? Democracy and the Resource Curse,” \\emph{Foreign Affairs}, September/October 2011, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2011-08-19/will-oil-drown-arab-spring, Retrieved May 2, 2015.} Arab spring
states, such as Libya, Tunisia, Yemen, and Egypt scores higher than other states on the secular-traditional dimension, with less development on the self-expression axis. Hence, the above figure can lead us to assume that there is a limited movement towards more expression values in the Middle East.

2.2 Value System(s) in Egypt

By early 2000s, Egypt has been through considerable change in its political, economic and social spheres. This wave of transformation had its impact on the Egyptian society. Although many highlighted the post-millennial transformations in Egypt, yet little work accounted for the changing nature of changing values of the Egyptian society. In the section below, I start by highlighting the sociopolitical background of Egypt in the post 2000 epoch, then I account for the aggregate/disaggregate value change in Egypt based on Inglehart’s Postmaterialism indices. Other than filling the knowledge gap on the structure of Egyptian value system, this section further aims at providing an overview on the current settings of Egyptian value systems.

Socioeconomic and Political Background

Since 1978 peace agreement with Israel and the adoption of the Infitah “Open-Economy” during Sadat’s reign (1970-1981), the Egyptian society has transformed dramatically given its earlier socialist attachments prioritized by President Gamal Abdel-Nasser (1954-1970). Mubarak —coming from the same institutional background and formerly served as Sadat’s deputy- as mentioned earlier continued in his predecessor’s economic strategies. The composition of successive governments under Mubarak reveals such fact as well. Table 2.2 shows list of cabinets under Mubarak in which most of the

---

head of these governments were technocrats or university professors affiliated with the NDP adopted neo-liberal economic policies. Successive governments in Egypt aimed at coping with the International Monetary Fund’s (IMF) structural adjustments accords and the regime willingness at that time to integrate Egypt’s economy into world trade and alleviate the external debt.

Table 2.2 List of Cabinets under Mubarak since 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prime Minster</th>
<th>Government Term</th>
<th>Political Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atef Sedky</td>
<td>1986-1996</td>
<td>NDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamal Elganzouri</td>
<td>1996-1999</td>
<td>NDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atef Ebeid</td>
<td>1999-2004</td>
<td>NDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmed Nazif</td>
<td>2004-2011</td>
<td>NDP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In order for the Mubarak regime to face the chronic external debt that Egypt suffered from since the 1960s. Successive governments since the 1990s took harsh macro-economic measures mainly in the form of cutting public spending and privatization. However, the Egyptian economy entered a stagnation period by the end of the 1990s due to political instability and lack of investments. Thus, since 2004; Nazif’s cabinet had to rethink its Macroeconomic strategy, as to focus on deregulation in terms of trade regulations, tax system and investment portfolio to attract private and foreign investments. Coupled with the rise of Gamal Mubarak and his direct/ indirect involvement in both NDP and Nazif’s cabinet economic planning, Egypt GDP growth rate reached 7.2% in 2008 representing the highest value in 25 years. Moreover, World Bank considered the Egyptian economy as one of the most developing economies in mid-


2000. See Figure 2.4 below on Egypt’s GDP annual growth rates (1999-2011), that shows periods of economic growth and stagnation during the past decade.

![Figure 2.4 GDP Growth Rate in Egypt (1999-2011)](image)

Source: CIA World Fact book and World Development Indicators

However, the international recognition of the high GDP growth rates did not reflect in internal political stability or satisfaction with income redistribution given the earlier waves of privatization and social inequality shared by many sectors in the Egyptian society especially the workers. Table 2.3 shows the number of worker strikes from 1999 till 2008, it shows an increase especially during the high economic growth periods of 2007 and 2008 especially in the private sector. This raises the question of whether the periods of economic growth in Egypt reflects nominal or real economic growth and whether it resulted in just income distribution and higher livings standards.
Table 2.3 Number of Workers’ Strikes per Sector (1999-2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Government Sector</th>
<th>Public Business Sector</th>
<th>Private Sector</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Politically, the first decade of 2000s was remarkably salient in addition to several economic developments. In February 2005, Mubarak announced his intention to amend article 76 of the 1971 constitution which defines the procedures for choosing the president.\(^{117}\) It allowed for the first time for a direct people’s vote in selecting the president. Then in 2007 a set of amendments was passed on the same article that solidifies the ruling NDP’s role in selecting the future president of Egypt.\(^{118}\)

These amendments coupled with the visibility of Mubarak Junior, intensified the narratives on the possible line of succession of power in Egypt, i.e. within Mubarak’s


\(^{118}\) Amended article 76: The President shall be elected by direct, public, secret ballot. For an applicant to be accepted as a candidate to presidency, he shall be supported by at least 250 elected members of the People’s Assembly, the Shura Council and local popular councils on governorate level, provided that those shall include at least 65 members of the People’s Assembly, 25 of the Shura Council and ten of every local council in at least 14 governorates […] The number of members of the People’s Assembly, the Shura Council and local popular councils on governorate level supporting candidature shall be raised in pro rata to any increase in the number of any of these councils. In all cases, support may not be given to more than one candidate.

family. It was then termed as *Altawrith* “Inheritance” project.\(^{119}\) Such development gave a momentum for the rise of social movements to erupt given the restricted nature of the political regime at that time, *Kefaya* “Enough” movement -aimed at failing the earlier mentioned succession project- took the lead in paving the way for various routes of untamed opposition to appear. Youth movements were formulated from Kefaya and other protest organizations such as April 6\(^{th}\). These kinds of activities as argued in earlier sections used secured cyber space to organize and recruit their supporters.

Waves of post-2000 political activism according to Dina Shehata can be identified in four phases.\(^{120}\) The first phase is closely related to external affairs such as the Palestinian Intifada in 2000 and the war on Iraq 2003, which was manifested in the March 20\(^{th}\) movement that brought thousands of Egyptians into Tahrir square. The second phase focused on democratization, with the installation of "Kefaya" movement that adopted unconciliatory notions with the regime, which attracted cross-ideological youth. The third phase is closely associated with the socioeconomic grievances mainly manifested in workers’ demands, as youth comprehended that grass-rooted social work might be the mean for change. Finally, the fourth phase is a return to the political sphere with the timing of succession in the regime from Mubarak to his son.

The earlier mentioned economic and political developments had major sociopolitical consequences on the Egyptian society in terms of social grievances, inequality and the rise of new-capitalist elites that took over the formal political sphere.


Postmaterialism in Egypt

Based on the qualitative assessments presented in earlier sections that indicate the changing socioeconomic and political milieu of Egyptian and the political socialization of Egyptian youth, we believe there are enough reasons to assume that Egyptian values are undergoing process of change as a reflection of existential progression. In this section; I use Inglehart “Materialism/Postmaterialism” 4-item and 12-item batteries to trace such value change through the WVS waves of 4, 5 and 6. These indices reflect progression towards postmaterialism at the positive end. Moreover, for more robustness, Egypt’s data were extracted and weighted according to several parameters provided by the CAPMAS. The Materialism/Postmaterialism 4-item index is composed repeated questions used in successive WVS waves that are classified on the earlier dimensions. Question items follow the subsequent order:

1. Maintaining order in the nation;
2. Giving the people more say in important government decisions;
3. Fighting rising prices;
4. Protecting freedom of speech;

With these earlier responses, 6 combinations can be reached. Options (2 and 4) yield postmaterialist values, while items (1 and 3) compose materialist values. The other

121 The Egyptian data were weighted in all following analyses according to the Egyptian Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) [http://www.censusinfo.capmas.gov.eg/], Gender (Males=50.5%, Females=49.5%), Demography (Urban=44.1%, Rural=55.9%), Age Categories (16-30=39.6%, 31-40=20.9%, 41-50=17.4%, 51-60=12%, 61+=10.1%), and Education Levels (Illiterate/Read=37.6%, Below High School=17.1%, High School Diploma=33.7%, College Degree=11.6%). In order to neutralize sample effects, sampling sizes have been approximated to N=2525 per wave.

remaining 4 combinations produce mixed-values yielding an additive scale ranging between -2 and +2, where the latter indicates postmaterialist values.

Projecting such index on the Egyptian case with data available from the WVS; Table 2.4 represents the distribution of “postmaterialist/materialist” percentages among the three waves on Egypt. The table clearly reflects a decreasing emphasis on the postmaterialist values after 2001. In theory, an increasing prioritization of one type of values is directly linked to a decrease in another set of value type. Where only 0.9% of Egyptians at 2012 were considered to hold such progressive values, coupled with growing emphasis on pure materialist values. Such result contradicts the high level of economic growth reported in the second half of the first decade of the 21st century in Egypt. In the same line, I constructed a Percentage Difference Index (PDI) scores to detect aggregate value shifts in Egypt. In the same table, PDI scores are increasing as well, in particular between 2008 and 2012 to reach -62.4%. Inglehart accounted for short-term fluctuations in the level of postmaterialist values in given societies as an effect of inflation. However, I urge with such obvious difference, post-2011 with the political and economic instability, it led for more emphasis on pure materialist values focusing on basic needs, thus less attention is assigned to emancipative values.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Postmaterialist %</th>
<th>Mixed %</th>
<th>Materialist %</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>PDI Score Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>2461</td>
<td>-40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>2523</td>
<td>-43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>63.3</td>
<td>2525</td>
<td>-62.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: WVS waves 4, 5 and 6 (2001-2008-2012)

123 PDI= postmaterialist value percentages (minus) materialist value percentages.
For more visual representation, figure 2.5 shows the same postmaterialist/materialist 4-item index distribution of the decreasing emphasis of post-materialist effects in the Egyptian society in bars from 2001 to 2012.

Figure 2.5 Postmaterialist/ Materialist 4-item Index Percentages by Wave in Egypt

Source: WVS waves 4, 5, and 6 (2001-2008-2012)

The other index used by Inglehart throughout his thesis is the 12-item value index. This index thought to be more reliable and valid as it shows a wide range of variability among respondents to account for the short-term inflation effects. In addition to the four-item battery; this index includes other two sets of questions adding up to 12-items as the following:

1. Maintaining a high rate of economic growth;
2. Making sure that this country has strong defense forces;
3. Seeing that people have more say in how things are decided at work and in their communities;

Questions wording is in appendix D.

4. Trying to make our cities and countryside more beautiful.

In this set, options (1 and 2) designed as materialist values, while options (3 and 4) yield postmaterialist values. The other set of this index includes:

1. Maintain stable economy;
2. Progress towards a less impersonal, more humane society;
3. Fight against crime;
4. Progress toward a society where ideas are more important than money.

Options (1 and 3) in this set designed to reflect materialist values as well, while options (2 and 4) yields postmaterialist values. The scores from respective categories on postmaterialist/materialism are summed up yielding an additive scale from 0 to +5, where the positive pole reflects postmaterialist values. Table 2.5 shows that the mean values on the 12-item index in Egypt by wave at three different points of time; 2001, 2008 and 2012. Bearing in mind that a perfect postmaterialist score by individual is achieving score of (+5), scores at its highest during the early 2000s was 1.68 on average. Moreover, results show a growing emphasis as well on pure materialist expressions that emphasize traditional-cultural attachments coupled with the importance of present-day challenges in terms of economic hardships.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Mean Score</th>
<th>(N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>2440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>2514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>2525</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: WVS Waves 4, 5 and 6 (2001-2008-2012)

In conclusion, overall scores on both 4-item and 12-item postmaterialism batteries in Egypt show an inverse trend towards materialist values different from the international trends portrayed in the earlier sections. Although countries in the region scores negatively on Inglehart’s cultural map, however I argue that postmaterialism status in Egypt is lower
than respective Arab states since its turbulent economy dating back to the 1960s. Moreover, such conclusion is emphasized in the post-2011 epoch due to political instability and the obvious social grievances expressed by individuals mainly through sectoral demands. Many scholars and commentators in Egypt argued that sectoral demands is the real driving force behind the 2011 uprising not liberal progressive aspirations. Such assumption can be packed by the general scores presented above.

2.3 Youth and Postmaterialism in Egypt

In this section I focus exclusively on youth postmaterialist values in Egypt before and after the 2011 uprising. As it was believed, the 2011 events aimed at achieving democracy and political freedoms, thus it can be placed under the category of postmaterialist “self-expression” values. I control for the age category between (16-30) as the weight provided through CPAMAS demographics, then I test two general claims, one is related to effect of age and other is income on postmaterialist values among Egyptian youth. However, it is worthy to note that overall scores of such values are low in Egypt in general. Moreover, questions used by Inglehart are not sensitive for developing communities. For instance, question such as “having more say in government decisions,” can be regarded as materialist in Egypt in contrast to its classification as postmaterialist indicator at other understandings in other parts of the world.

Effect of Age in Comparative Context

Much of the literature on long-term patterns of postmaterialist values in western societies is contingent upon generational replacement. Generational replacements due life socialization effects are central for Inglehart’s thesis. Younger generations (cohorts) replace older ones through an accumulative process of graduation resulting in change in
political and social attitudes and behaviors of the publics. In this section, I aim to portray
the structure of youth value system in Egypt on both postmaterialist 12-item and 4-item
indices developed by Inglehart. Then, compare it to similar patterns among other young
generations all over the world to assess the plausibility of Inglehart’s model in explaining
youth value change in Egypt.

I use both 12-item and 4-item postmaterialist indices for more comprehensive
results. They are constructed respectively on scales from (0 to +5) and (-2 to +2) that
possibly sensitive for short-term inflation fluctuations as well. Here, I test my first claim
that there younger generations in Egypt are more likely to hold postmaterialist values in
forms of desire to have more say in politics and active participation in their respective
communities. Since their formative socialization experiences took place during periods of
economic prosperity in comparison to older cohorts.

Hypothesis 1: younger generations are more likely to express postmaterialist
values in comparison to their older peers in Egypt

First, Table 2.6 tests the relationship between postmaterialist values and age in
Egypt through successive waves. Age as continuous variable tends to be highest on its
positive pole, and materialist/postmaterialist indices are positively arranged as explained
before. Cases were weighted based on earlier data –mentioned above- from the 2006
CAPMAS census in Egypt. The results show the same pattern of decreasing emphasis on
postmaterialism among all Egyptian from 2001 to 2008. However, postmaterialist values
increases when age decrease, which matches our original assumption as well as
Inglehart’s thesis on generational change. Still the magnitude of such association is
relatively low across all waves in Egypt. Association between age and postmaterialism is
at its maximum in 2001, Pearson coefficient scored $r= -0.153$ in the 4-item battery and $r= -0.145$ in the 12-item battery at 99% confidence level. And trends continue to decline in subsequent waves as well.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Year</th>
<th>4-Item Index</th>
<th>12-Item Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>-0.153**</td>
<td>-0.145**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>-0.026*</td>
<td>-0.049*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>-0.039</td>
<td>-0.017</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$

Source: WVS 4, 5, and 6 (2001-2008-2012)

Figure 2.6 show the mean scores of age categories on the Materialist/Postmaterialist 12-item dimension in Egypt is declining since 2001 through 2012. Arithmetic mean scores of the younger cohort (16-30) scores highest on the continuum among the three different waves. Such result further emphasizes the earlier correlation between age and the proposed dimensions. However, the trend in the table matches the original trend on decreasing emphasis on postmaterialist values especially after the 2011 events. Although younger cohort (16-30) scores highest on the continuum, which explains their differential values in relation to other cohorts, still the decreasing emphasis on postmaterialism leaves our quest unsolved. It can be owed to short-term inflation effects mainly that marked the post-2011 epoch. As mentioned above sectoral demands were at its highest following the uprising. Moreover, since Egypt increased its internal and external debts following the uprising, it was reflected in decreasing quality levels of public services, thus many of Egyptians including the youth see direct economic conditions crucial for life conditions.
Another simple method is to compare Egyptian youth mean value scores on the used index to the international means. In 2001, world youth (16-30) mean score value was 1.93, while Egyptian youth scored 1.8; that indicates that Egyptian youth at the turn of the millennium was of more open to participate more in the political process and rethink traditional norms on average level according to the international standards. In 2008, Egyptian youth value mean score was 1.46, while international mean was 1.55. Thus, still Egyptian youth was near to the average international scores. However, in 2012, the international mean score was 2.03, whereas Egyptian youth score was 1.08. That indicates a drastic decrease on the emphasis on postmaterialist values of self-expression and secularism on the contrary to what was expected in the aftermath of the 2011 events and related political mobilization. I argue this finding is very important to explain the de-politicization and polarization that Egypt is facing in the aftermath of the uprising after the overestimation of youth abilities at that time. Additionally, it opens the door for casting doubt about the youth abilities claim.
To further test the relationship between age and postmaterialism is to compare Egyptian youth in its regional and international contexts, thus to be able to answer the original hypothesis if international youth value trends hold for Egypt or not. I developed mean scores for countries on the 12-item index for the (16-30) age category based on the 6th wave of WVS (2010-2014).\textsuperscript{126} Cases were weighted around 1500 to normalize the results. Cross-national mean scores’ results were very informative. Bearing in mind that the international average score on this index is 2.03, results shows that Egyptian youth values mean score is between the lowest among the 50 countries used in this measurement. While it scored 1.08 in Egypt, western European countries scored the highest, for instance Sweden scored 2.81, and 2.14 was the U.S score. Even Arab states expect for Tunisia and Yemen, scored more than Egypt. Lebanese youth for instance got 2.08, even Libya, Morocco and Iraq scored between (1.77 and 1.68).

\textit{Income Effect}

In this final section, I test Inglehart’s main causal mechanism related to the generational shift towards postmaterialist values, which is the effect of income. As level of income increases, existential constraints on human minds decreases resulting in changing values related to gender, sexuality and more deliberative democratic practices. Thus, my main hypothesis in this section:

Hypothesis 1: higher income levels among young Egyptians, is likely to result in higher levels of postmaterialist value preferences

I use data from the WVS on waves 4 and 5 that were conducted in Egypt at 2001 and 2008 respectively to construct an OLS regression model only for youth (16-30).

\textsuperscript{126} Full table is in appendix D.
Cases were weighted according the 2006 CAPMAS demographic outputs as mentioned before. Data from 6th WVS wave at 2012 in Egypt were excluded as income and place of residency variables were not reported by the collecting agency. Dependent variable is the 12-item materialist/postmaterialist index that tends to positive pole, while the main independent variable is a scaled-income that was reported in local currency from less than 500 Egyptian pounds to more than 12501 pounds per month. Thus, we expect to find positive correlation between both variables. I use other controls that were reported in binary forms, education refers to college degree holders, gender refers to females, while place of residency refers to urban residents.\(^{127}\)

Results from table 2.7 on the factors affecting postmaterialism among Egyptian youth between 2001 and 2008; shows that income is of great explanatory power on our postmaterialist parameter in 2008, as it explains 0.37 increase in such values if income increases at 90% confidence level, while at 2001 it was statistically insignificant, this has to with the high level of economic growth reported between 2005 and 2008, thus those who has more income are likely to be postmaterialist. In a related vein, high education level is robust across models, explaining 0.425 in 2001 and 0.417 in 2008 the increase in such values at 95% and 99% confidence levels respectively, only males are more supportive of such values in 2001 which I think has to do with the higher level of social security among males at the turn of the millennium in comparison to females.

\(^{127}\) Place of residency variable in the WVS was derived for size of town variable, in which more than 20,000 inhabits are placed in the urban category.
Table 2.7 OLS Regression for Factors affecting Postmaterialism among Youth in Egypt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2001 Model 1</th>
<th>2008 Model 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>-0.008</td>
<td>0.37 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.017)</td>
<td>(0.017)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Degree</td>
<td>0.425**</td>
<td>0.417***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.152)</td>
<td>(0.115)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (=female)</td>
<td>-0.209**</td>
<td>0.091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.075)</td>
<td>(0.069)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>-0.007</td>
<td>-0.017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.074)</td>
<td>(0.083)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>1.905***</td>
<td>1.221***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.101)</td>
<td>(0.085)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2</td>
<td>0.017</td>
<td>0.026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: standard errors in parentheses
*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01
Source: WVS (2001 and 2008) on Egypt

Ultimately, I conclude the following remarks on the postmaterialist intergenerational value change thesis. First, Inglehart scholarship on growing accumulative long-term trend of postmaterialist value change was primarily designed and tested in the western developed hemisphere of the world. Although he revisited many of the universal conceptions of modernization, yet it cannot be argued that it holds comprehensively for other parts of the world as shown in earlier discussion. Hence, we call for refining the index while accepting its principal causal mechanism.

Second, mean scores for Egyptian youth values and other MENA-states are below the international average mean on the materialist/postmaterialist indices. Further this trend is back-warding internationally and clearly in Egypt due to different factors. Internationally, one can assume that the 2008 financial crisis caused much of this decreasing emphasis on postmaterialist values. However the overall international score on postmaterialist values are far from the scores of Egyptian youth in post-2011 on the
contrary to what have been theorized by many Middle East scholars of democracy. This finding is crucial to account that international postmaterialist patterns do not hold for Egyptian youth in the post-2011, in fact Egypt’s scores have been decreasing steadily since 2001. Therefore, I can say that structure of Egyptian youth values is different from other international youths. It still emphasizes more on materialist priorities of survival, existential security and traditional-cultural dominance according to Inglehart’s measures.

Third, overall scores of MENA-Muslim countries are quiet low on both the traditional/secular-rational and survival/self-expression dimensions. This raises issues of cultural singularity and persistence of cultural traditions in this underdeveloped part of the world. While scores of Western Europe, North America and South East Asia are relatively high, this further emphasizes my original criticism on the inadequacy of such dimensions to be tested in MENA and Africa per se. Finally, both Inglehart’s models (bivariate dimension and postmaterialist indices) are not sensitive for testing Egyptian youth value system. It can be owed to its Eurocentric routes, question wording, data collection techniques and might be due to the unfulfilled prophecy of modernization per se. The results above entails more investigation for the material values among Egyptian youth that was statistically shown to be different from older generations, yet have not been empirically considered before these lines are being written.
CHAPTER III

YOUTH POLITICAL AND DEMOCRATIC VALUES

The widespread popular mobilization took place in Egypt during 2011 had remarkable implications on the study of youth participation and role in the society. Moreover, it instigates problematizing this demographic phenomenon going beyond the age as independent factor in explaining such unpredicted wave of activism. Younger age cohorts -termed as political generation in much of this study-, who participated and in part prepared for this unprecedented historic wave of mobilization, gauge much of the potential of democratization in Egypt. Many scholars and commentators argued that they differ in their features from older generations, thus affecting the direction of change in the country’s political settings.

This chapter deals with such claim on Egypt’s current political generations; from an individual-oriented perspective. As earlier chapter showed that Egypt’s young generation differs from international trends of postmaterialism, I aim in this chapter to portray and anatomize youth value holdings. Moreover, I account for the fragmentation effects with the current generation of young Egyptians, in another words, I do not treat the youth as holistic one bloc. I start by examining youth political values using different parameters such as interest in politics, political trust and efficacy to gauge the differences among Egyptian cohorts testing the claim on youth’s singularity and its relation to mobilizing the 2011 uprising. Then, I examine their democratic values in terms of support, authoritarian attitudes and degree of satisfaction with political system based on

democratic literature that accounts for youth activism and their related role in successful democratization. This chapter provides an unconventional understanding for the profiles of young Egyptians that are believed to be diverse unlike the original assumptions by many Middle East scholars.

3.1 Youth Political Values

The study of political generations in the Arab world since the 1970s regarded the youth category to determine future pathways of respective Arab states. Tessler noted that before on his studies on Algerian and Moroccan youth in early 2000s, in which they differ from their older counterparts whose formative years were deeply entrenched with the independence struggle in contrast to the post-independence periods of 1970s and the 1980s.129 Those who were brought up after 1970s in the Arab world are thought to be more expressionists and democratic in different way from their peers as well.130

I hold similar argument in Egypt, given the historic mobilization took place in 2011 and its implications on the Egyptian political system. However, I believe that post-2011 settings showed lack of political organization and high fragmentation among the young themselves. In the following sections, we tend to explore the generational differences in respect to political orientations in Egypt during the 2000s. And the next step is to anatomize such generational-split, to measure the degree of value consistency

---


among youth. Table 3.1 shows list of political orientations’ parameters used in subsequent sections based on obtainability of available data sets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.1 Political Values’ Indicators</th>
<th>WVS 2000</th>
<th>WVS 2008</th>
<th>AB 2011</th>
<th>WVS 2012</th>
<th>AB 2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interest in Politics</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Trust</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Efficacy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* X= used items

**Interest in Politics**

Measuring political and behavioral attitudes is a deep-rooted tradition when it comes to assessing youth’s political involvement, participation, and the reasons for their social exclusion in the northern hemisphere of the world.\(^{131}\) Generally, youth perceived to be disinterested in politics and public affairs.\(^{132}\) Previous explanations owe such findings to the shared belief of irrelevance of politics to youngsters. Moreover, youth see no direct attachment for politics to their direct material interests. In addition, other studies focus on the complexity of the political phenomenon to young people to comprehend. Moreover, as part of their rebellious nature, young people showed steadily low level of confidence in governments and politicians. On the other hand, much of the research that challenges such deliberative alienated youth perceptions focuses mainly on their voluntary philanthropy activities.\(^{133}\) Hence and in the same line, following the 2011 events in

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In which prior to the politicization of the Egyptian society as a post transitory effect, youth vocally expressed their opinions through cyber space, social media platforms, and organized themselves through non-profit organizations. Scholars believe that such low-politics engagements led to the historic mobilization of January 2011. In this section, however we tend to discard the common perception that Egyptian youth are detached from public affairs, and account for the cohort differences in regards to political interest. Thus, I hypothesize the following:

**Hypothesis 1:** over the past decade, younger Egyptians are more interested in politics and public affairs.

In order to test such claim, I use a common repeated item through in the WVS surveys that asks respondent to show his/her degree of interest in politics on a scale from 1 to 4. We reversed the item, thus more interest in politics tends to be at the positive pole. Moreover, I use data from the WVS over a period of 11 years in Egypt comparing generational differences and intra-generational cohort change as well. We use a bivariate correlation matrix between the interest in politics variable and age categories, where age cohorts where rounded by the CAPMAS weights mentioned above.

For better visualization, frequency distribution was converted into percentages as shown in Table 3.2. It shows the levels of those who showed high or some interest in

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135 Question wording is in Appendix F
politics divided by age categories. Results show that total percentages of interest in politics have fluctuating over the past decade in Egypt to reach its maximum after the 2011 events reaching 69.1% of total sample in 2012. Respondents of (16-30), showed the lowest level of interest in politics in 2001; however their scores increased dramatically at 2012, when they became at the age of (31-40) to score 71.7% interest in public affairs. Although Egyptian society has shown high level of politicization in general, and the differences between cohorts are not blunt, yet those who are between 16 and 30 are among the most politicized sections of the society with 68.2% at 2012. Life-cycle theories argued before that interest in public affairs is a function of age, yet the high level of youth politicization is remarkable and differs from other parts of the world. This assures our initial assumption on the politicization of Egyptian youth during 2000s and in the post-2011 epoch. It shows how the 2011 events politicized the whole society, especially among youth who are most interested in the fate of politics in their country.

Table 3.2 Interest in Politics by Age Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% Interested in Politics</td>
<td>% Interested in Politics</td>
<td>% Interested in Politics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-30</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>68.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>71.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>73.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>66.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61+</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
<td>32.7%</td>
<td>69.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: WVS (2001-2008-2012)

The high level of interest in politics in the Egyptian society signals convoluted messages for the sake of analysis, thus table 3.3 shows the generational value change in
terms of politicization, it shows that Egypt’s younger generation in 2012 are highly interested in politics in relation to their older peers, while the youth of 2001 showed high degree of change in their interest in politics over time by (-3.2+44=40.8%) reflecting a higher propensity of intra-generational value change over the past decade in Egypt. One important lesson to be drawn here regardless of the young interest in politics; is such scores reflect a reaction to a certain stimuli and there is no guarantee that this will continue to be the case in the near future.

Table 3.3 Change in Values of Political Interest

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Categories</th>
<th>2001-2008 Value Change</th>
<th>2008-2012 Value Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-30</td>
<td>-3.2</td>
<td>+33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>-12.5</td>
<td>+44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>-13.7</td>
<td>+42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>+18</td>
<td>+61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61+</td>
<td>-22</td>
<td>+35.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Political Trust**

Political trust as concept is different from trust in governing institutions; the latter implies an evaluating perception of the performance of ruling institutions, while the former entails confidence in policy outcomes. Political trust is a conviction that the political system –as whole or part- would return ideal outputs, even in the case of it being untended.\(^\text{137}\) This sentiment is one of the most important pillars of given regime’s political stability. Political trust reflects tangible attitudes rather than mere reactions towards certain policies. Moreover, it provides a window for any given political system to

\(^{136}\) Value Change = T2-T1

maneuver if faced different hardships with the credit of trust portrayed by its citizens. Following the literature on “political trust,” there are two main broad themes in explain such sentiments.

One is the rational choice theory that views it from cost-benefit analysis of political actors’ choices. Although this perspective does not deny the role of values and norms in shaping public’s behavior, yet it does not regard it as sole controlling factor in explaining political trust. Rational choice theories focus on governmental actions and behavior, where the controlling independent factor is the ability of respective regimes for providing good policies and the public perception of officials as good or bad people.

On the other hand, cultural theories argue that short-term material calculations have little explanatory power in predicting the outcomes of political trust. Although the public react to different stimuli, however there is an interceding mechanism that ascribes meanings and values for it. Thus, these interceding orientations make the actors react differently to the same events based on number of stratifiers. On the other hand, culturalists do not overlook institutional effects; however changes in value and norms are independent from the former. Values affect people’s behavior and have considerable explanatory power in predicating political trust in a given society.


Projecting the earlier review on the Egyptian case; studies on political trust as part of democratic culture has not been thoroughly tested in the Egyptian case as part of a general trend of overlooking such implications in the developing world. Political trust is expected to be higher in authoritarian contexts as a given government presents itself as the state guardian, protector of peoples’ needs and most importantly using sentiments of nationalism especially in the developing world. Examples of the populist regimes are various in the Arab world; Egypt under Nasser provides a clear example for such sentiments and connotations. On the other hand, studies of civic and participatory culture suggest some sort of political distrust, as a measure of keeping elected officials under the public’s power restraining them from power abuse and corruption.

In this section, we argue that political trust is of importance to be tested in the Egyptian case reflecting generational divide. Data in hand -that reflects post-2011 circumstances- is expected to show such divide and even more fragmentation among the youth themselves. Much of the research done in the developed states, show that political trust is a reaction towards governmental outputs rather than accumulated events. Moreover, we expect the young to show more political distrust than their older counterparts. Part of the explanation is that younger Egyptians who instigated the events feel that the political system let them down and insensitive for their continuous hardships, while the elderly who are affected by national sentiments of the post-independence

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regimes are expected to enjoy more trust regardless of the relative failures of the Mubarak regime and its dissolution. This I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 1: younger generation is expected to show less political trust in comparison to older cohorts

Hypothesis 2: Those who receive less income are expected to show less political trust than those who receive more income per month in Egypt

In doing such task, we constructed Political Trust Index (PTI) from the Arab Barometer data on Egypt at 2011. PTI serves as the main dependent variable in OLS regression showing the effect of age and income on such parameter. It is constructed through an additive scale ranging from -1.5 to1.5 constructed from 4 items as shown in figure 3.1. Items included vary from supporting government decisions unconditionally, government is aware of citizens’ needs, political leaders care about public opinion, and that government takes citizens’ opinions into account. These items correlated on reliability scale test at $\alpha= 0.753$, where p-value< 0.01

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizens must support the government’s decisions even if they disagree with them</th>
<th>Reversed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government employees are aware of citizens’ needs</td>
<td>Reversed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political leaders are concerned with the needs of ordinary citizens</td>
<td>Reversed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The government takes the opinions of citizens seriously</td>
<td>Reversed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.1 Political Trust Index Items of the Arab Barometer 2011

Note: Arab Barometer Wave II

Also I check for interaction between low income receiving individuals below 300 pounds a month and younger generation defined as those are less than 35 years old, and I

144 Question Wording is in appendix G
expect to find highest level of political distrust among them. As for the independent variables, we use age and income in continuous manners, while the latter is measured in Egyptian pounds. Moreover, I use number of controls such as gender and place of residency and education level ranging from illiterate to postgraduate degree, thus in the models below, we insert independent variables and check for interactions while accounting for the various controls.

Table 3.4 OLS Regression for Factors affecting PTI in Egypt at 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
<th>Model 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.024***</td>
<td>0.021***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.007)</td>
<td>(0.006)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger Generation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.700***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.207)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young and Low Income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.852***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.312)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>0.027</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>-0.024</td>
<td>-0.021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.054)</td>
<td>(0.042)</td>
<td>(0.052)</td>
<td>(0.053)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>0.082</td>
<td>0.055</td>
<td>0.126</td>
<td>0.150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.200)</td>
<td>(0.158)</td>
<td>(0.202)</td>
<td>(0.198)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (=female)</td>
<td>0.031</td>
<td>0.202</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.217)</td>
<td>(0.152)</td>
<td>(0.219)</td>
<td>(0.219)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>9.413***</td>
<td>9.684***</td>
<td>10.511***</td>
<td>10.346***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.391)</td>
<td>(0.322)</td>
<td>(0.217)</td>
<td>(0.265)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>0.013</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>0.022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>708</td>
<td>1159</td>
<td>708</td>
<td>708</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
Source: AB Wave II

Results from the OLS regression above in table 3.4 shows that only age accounts for political trust as expected, however, it is of low magnitude, where in model increase in PTI is a function of an increase of 0.021 years. It means as well that levels of political trust are low among all Egyptians in general. Other controls did not yield significant
correlations. As for the interaction between those of who are below 35 years old and of low income was statically insignificant. Thus, in this section, I can argue that overall level of political trust is low and age provides little evidence on its salience. However, we do not dismiss the effect of age in explaining low political trust.

**Political Efficacy**

Concept of political efficacy is of a major explanatory power in predicting political behavior and participation mechanisms. Efficacy is the feeling that socio-political change is possible and that one can play a vital role in this evolutionary process. Great deal of political efficacy implies empowered citizens, in which they feel that they can influence outcomes and decisions of respective political systems. It is argued that those who are more confident in their ability to affect the political system are likely to support democratic system. Since the 1950s, scholars such as David Easton, has incorporated the concept of political efficacy into the studies of political support. Easton and others based political efficacy during the socialization process to be the potential pillar for active participatory citizens in democratic systems.

One major pillar for political efficacy is the concept of “self-efficacy” where it is defined as one’s judgment of his/her competences to organize sequences of action to

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yield certain types of enactments.\textsuperscript{148} Thus, self-efficacy affects one’s choices, efforts and emotions related to the performance of a certain tasks. In his social cognitive theory, Bandura argues that self-confident citizens have the belief that they can produce certain effects through political actions.\textsuperscript{149} He also distances between collective and personal efficacy, where the latter or as termed “internal efficacy” might be influenced by adulthood experiences. Thus, early democratic experiences are expected to have everlasting effects on one’s perception of his ability to influence and change his society in post-adolescence periods.\textsuperscript{150}

In the case of Egypt’s younger generation under study here, we aim to explore their political efficacy attitudes especially in the post-2011 epoch based on number of stratifiers. Little empirical research has been done to clarify such convoluted concept, whether young Egyptians are politically confident in their abilities or not. We expect to find younger generation more confident than their older peers especially in the post-2011, may be in another circumstances such assumption might be invalid. However, such attitudes might reflect certain reactive responses rather than profound beliefs.

Hypothesis 1: younger Egyptians are more likely to be confident in their political leverage abilities

Hence, we predict political efficacy attitudes by age to measure its correlation and figure out the main drivers behind such confident attitudes among young Egyptians.


Political efficacy as the main dependent variable is constructed from item in Arab Barometer surveys on Egypt at 2011 and 2013, which indicates that politics is too complicated for understanding. We convert the original scale of this item from (1 to 4) to (-1.5 to +1.5) then multiply the later by -1, thus the final version indicates more confident in one’s abilities towards the positive pole. Age is the main predictor factor that is used in continuous terms, and I run the regression for each wave among those who are less than 35 years old as well. Moreover, we use number of controls including income, education, gender and place of residency.

Table 3.5 OLS Regression for Factors affecting Political Efficacy in Egypt at 2011 and 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2011 Full Sample</th>
<th>2011 Below 35</th>
<th>2013 Full Sample</th>
<th>2013 Below 35</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Model 1</td>
<td>Model 2</td>
<td>Model 1</td>
<td>Model 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.003</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td>0.017</td>
<td>0.029*</td>
<td>0.045**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.017)</td>
<td>(0.020)</td>
<td>(0.017)</td>
<td>(0.020)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>0.100</td>
<td>0.092</td>
<td>0.058</td>
<td>0.038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.063)</td>
<td>(0.077)</td>
<td>(0.061)</td>
<td>(0.074)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (=female)</td>
<td>-0.209***</td>
<td>-0.170*</td>
<td>-0.019</td>
<td>-0.076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.068)</td>
<td>(0.087)</td>
<td>(0.065)</td>
<td>(0.081)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>2.054***</td>
<td>1.814***</td>
<td>1.738***</td>
<td>1.744***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.124)</td>
<td>(0.078)</td>
<td>(0.138)</td>
<td>(0.093)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2</td>
<td>0.020</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>0.015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>708</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>759</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
Source: AB Waves II and III

Table 3.5 shows regression results for factors affecting political efficacy attitudes in Egypt between 2011 and 2013. Our assumption that such attitudes are influenced by

151 Question wording is appendix H
age cannot be assessed as such correlation was very weak and insignificant. Among the control variables, being female in 2011 decreases confidence in political abilities by 0.170 at 99% confidence level among the younger generation; and this is a general remark in post-2011 that women were marginalized from politics with the rise of Islamist parties as result of the political vacuum following the fall of Mubarak regime. Moreover, education is robust in 2013 in explaining confidence attitudes and such effect I believe is attributed to the effect of urbanism as well.

To sum up, political orientations’ parameters showed little support for age in explaining much of its variance. High level of politicization in the Egyptian society in the post-2011 settings decreases gaps among age cohorts, where political interest escalation is due to intra-cohort change. As for political trust age was a weak predicator in explain distrust among youth although reported, and the profile of low-income young Egyptian was statistically insignificant to be proven. On the other hand, high education and masculinity only proved to be relevant to explain political efficacy attitudes among Egyptian youth in between 2011 and 2013.

3.2 Democratic Values

Almond and Verba in their historic book “Civic Culture” argued that stable democracies come to existence through the equilibrium between acts of democratic institutions and public expectations.152 This influential school of thought has been always dominant in the study of democratic attitudes and democratic stability in the developed world. Consequently, many political scientists have proposed models for testing such

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enduring hypothesis.\textsuperscript{153} This assumption holds that democracy tend to stabilize, when citizens’ demand for democracy equates institutional supply of it. Scholars of political culture holds that high level of support of democracy results in institutional breakthrough and that such support is an integral ingredient for sustaining democracy.\textsuperscript{154}

However, such model of democratic supply and demand receives little empirical support when empirically tested in cross-national studies developed through the WVS successive surveys.\textsuperscript{155} Moreover, the same trend is present when analyzing democratic support in the Arab world, where high support for democracy did not result in democratization or institutional change per se. Results from the AB I and II support such earlier findings through the works of both Mark Tessler and Amaney Jamal.\textsuperscript{156}

In this section, I hold Lingling Qi and Doh Shin’s assumption that democratic demand is two-dimensional conception that comprises support and dissatisfaction with democracy at the same time.\textsuperscript{157} In this view skepticism towards democratic political system is not a threat for democracy in principle. On the contrary, it can be perceived as a qualification for improving democratic practices per se. However, in Egypt where democracy was never tested for enough time to consider dissatisfaction with it as a mean of its modification, I believe that such indicator serve to provide a comprehensive picture


of democratic attitudes among young Egyptians. Moreover, since demand for democracy is procedural in MENA and in Egypt particularly, I detect the level of authoritarian support as well.

Hence, in this section I start by analyzing levels of pro-authoritarian attitudes, satisfaction with the political system and finally predict support for democracy based on the earlier qualifications. As many scholars believed that the main derive for the 2011 uprising is youth’s aspiration for freedom and democracy.

**Pro-Authoritarian Support**

To detect the generational differences regarding authoritarian support, I run regression. In which, I use an additive scale of pro-authoritarian attitudes composing two variables from AB data on 2011 and 2013 conducted in Egypt. This scale included questions on the inadequacy of democracy to protect civil liberties, and having rulers in power with no elections.\(^\text{158}\) Both items were associated on reliability check at \(\alpha=0.529\) at 2011 and \(\alpha=0.538\) at 2013, at \(p<0.05\). Questions were suited by reversing the item on rulers with no elections, to indicate higher level of support for authoritarian attitudes at the positive pole. The reason for choosing these kinds of measures is availability across the data sets for comparison reason. Moreover, I ran regressions on two steps, one for the whole sample explained by age, and other for those who ages less than 35 years old, controlling for other factors. Controls are standardized across waves that portray demographic parameters such as age, income, education and place of residency.

Table 3.6 shows a little association between age and pro-authoritarian attitudes in the Egyptian society, where it only explains 0.004 decrease in it at 90% confidence level

\(^\text{158}\) Questions wording in appendix I
in 2011 with no evidence in 2013, while being female is important right after the revolution for holding progressive anti-authoritarian values among ordinary Egyptian and the young generation as well. Moreover, being Urban and young has a considerable impact on decreasing authoritarian attitudes by 0.167 at 90% confidence interval at 2011. In 2013, and during the Islamist reign in Egypt, urbanism still plays a robust predictor for less support for democracy and its effect increases in the case of youth by 0.206 at 90% confidence level if compared to the status in 2011. Other, education qualifies to explain much of less support for such attitudes among all Egyptians in 2013.

Table 3.6 OLS Regression for Factors affecting Authoritarian attitudes in Egypt at 2011-2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2011 Full Sample Model 1</th>
<th>2011 Below 35 Model 2</th>
<th>2013 Full Sample Model 1</th>
<th>2013 Below 35 Model 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.004*</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.003)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.003)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-0.013</td>
<td>0.011</td>
<td>-0.045*</td>
<td>-0.043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.020)</td>
<td>(0.024)</td>
<td>(0.025)</td>
<td>(0.030)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>-0.029</td>
<td>-0.167*</td>
<td>-0.281***</td>
<td>-0.206*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.074)</td>
<td>(0.094)</td>
<td>(0.088)</td>
<td>(0.112)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (=female)</td>
<td>-0.324***</td>
<td>-0.244***</td>
<td>0.056</td>
<td>-0.093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.081)</td>
<td>(0.105)</td>
<td>(0.095)</td>
<td>(0.124)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>3.132***</td>
<td>2.909***</td>
<td>3.469***</td>
<td>3.621***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.145)</td>
<td>(0.095)</td>
<td>(0.198)</td>
<td>(0.141)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2</td>
<td>0.032</td>
<td>0.033</td>
<td>0.038</td>
<td>0.034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>728</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
Source: AB Waves II and III

*Satisfaction with Political System*

In this section, we aim to show variation among Egyptians by generations in respect to their confidence and satisfaction in the regimes performance at 2011 and 2013 through an OLS regression. The two-items used in this scale deal with confidence of
Egyptians in their government, armed forces at the times in which the AB survey was conducted. The items correlated on the reliability scale at $\alpha=0.503$ in 2011, $p<0.01$, where the positive pole on the additive scale indicates more satisfaction with the political system. The reason for choosing such items is their availability over waves, and because both the military and government are considered to be direct cause for regime satisfaction attitudes in respective literature. And we ruled out analysis for 2013, government at that time represented an ideological government, and the army had its own independent position from the ruling Islamists elite during the period in which the data was collected. Moreover, I ran regressions on two steps, one for the whole sample explained by age, and other for those who ages less than 35 years old, controlling for other factors. Controls are standardized across waves that portray demographic parameters such as age, income, education and place of residency.

Table 3.7 OLS Regression for Factors affecting Regime Satisfaction in Egypt at 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full Sample Model 1</th>
<th>Below 35 Model 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td>0.016***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.003)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Income</strong></td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>-0.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.023)</td>
<td>(0.025)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urban</strong></td>
<td>-0.307***</td>
<td>-0.233**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.085)</td>
<td>(0.099)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender (=female)</strong></td>
<td>-0.185**</td>
<td>-0.127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.092)</td>
<td>(0.110)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Constant</strong></td>
<td>6.589***</td>
<td>7.398***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.167)</td>
<td>(0.099)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>R2</strong></td>
<td>0.067</td>
<td>0.025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
<td>709</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses
* $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$
Source AB Waves II

159 Questions wording are in appendix J
Results from table 3.7 for factors affecting regime satisfaction attitudes show that age is positively correlated with high level of confidence in political system. Where it explains increase in support by 0.016 in 2011, which is low indeed, yet it provides an insight on the rule of thumb logic that as person ages, his satisfaction with the status quo increases. Urbanism continue to be a decisive factor in the Egyptian case, where its robustness in explain less degree of satisfaction with regime performance reaches 0.233 in explaining such attitudes among youth. Gender shows negative association in 2011 which matches the rule of thumb that women who face more structural hardships are more likely to show less satisfaction with respective political system.

**Democratic Support**

In this section, I aim to test Lingling Qi and Doh Shin’s argument on reasons behind democratic support. Thus, I assume that lower levels of regime satisfaction and authoritarian attitudes is direly related to the increase demand on democracy, and then test such argument on Egyptian youth between in 2011.

Hypothesis 1: The less authoritarian attitudes, the higher democratic demand

Hypothesis 2: less levels of regime satisfaction is related to democratic demand

For regression, I constructed a democratic support additive scale from AB dataset on Egypt at 2011, including questions on democratic performances in relation to economy, marinating order, inclusivity and if it is the most preferred political system by respondents.\(^{160}\) Items correlated at $\alpha = 0.919$ at 2011 $p<0.1$. Items were reversed, thus

\(^{160}\) Questions wording in appendix K
positive pole indicates more democratic support. I use similar set of demographic controls used in earlier sections.

Table 3.8 OLS Regression for Factors affecting Democratic Support in Egypt in 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full Sample Model 1</th>
<th>Full Sample Model 2</th>
<th>Below 35 Model 3</th>
<th>Below 35 Model 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.007)</td>
<td>(0.011)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-Authoritarian</td>
<td>0.395***</td>
<td>0.420***</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.202*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.097)</td>
<td>(0.122)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.117)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regime Satisfaction</td>
<td>-0.326***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.084)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-0.010</td>
<td>-0.037</td>
<td>-0.037</td>
<td>-0.035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.052)</td>
<td>(0.064)</td>
<td>(0.060)</td>
<td>(0.062)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>0.456**</td>
<td>0.460*</td>
<td>0.498**</td>
<td>0.404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.194)</td>
<td>(0.242)</td>
<td>(0.238)</td>
<td>(0.247)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (=female)</td>
<td>-0.163</td>
<td>0.232</td>
<td>0.368</td>
<td>0.237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.214)</td>
<td>(0.273)</td>
<td>(0.270)</td>
<td>(0.279)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>8.306***</td>
<td>7.173***</td>
<td>5.811***</td>
<td>8.515***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.728)</td>
<td>(0.630)</td>
<td>(0.432)</td>
<td>(0.898)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td>0.040</td>
<td>0.020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
Source: AB Wave II

Table 3.8 shows factors affecting popular democratic demand among Egyptian youth in post-2011 epoch, results are informative given the high level of political instability the country has pushed through reflected on values. Results show that democratic support is not a function of age across all models. Surprisingly, pro-authoritarian attitudes explain much of the support for democracy in full samples and among the youth. Democratic support increases due to an increase of 0.42 in 2011 at 99% confidence level. This striking finding stresses that democratic norms in Egypt still is different from the western societies, moreover during the times in which the surveys was
conducted both in June 2011, youth failed to organize themselves and allied with conventional powers in the society which is by virtue non-democratic. In another vein, regime satisfaction correlated negatively in 2011, which matches our original assumption. Other urbanism continues to be a robust measure in explaining such attitudes.

Finally, I conclude this chapter by stating the findings aimed to be reached through analyzing several political and democratic indicators of Egyptian younger generation. Moreover, I believe this study is salient, as it presents for the first time different insights on the degree of fragmentation with the holistic bloc “youth” treated by many scholars and commentators. First, following the post-2011 events till the present moment, there is a high degree of politicization of all segments of the Egyptian society. Most importantly, from 2001 to 2008, may of the young generation have been under process of political socialization increased their interest in public affairs, which in part explains the 2011 uprising afterwards. However the post-uprising political attitudes are wed mainly to intra-cohort changes rather than generational replacement.

Unlike the common logic that Egyptian youth feel more confident in their political abilities, results showed that age does not explain much attitudes in post-2011, however, higher levels of education and masculinity increaser the level of political efficacy. On the other hand, political trust as expected which works mainly in authoritarian contexts is negatively associated to attitudes shared by young Egyptians particularly in early 2013, before toppling down the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) backed government by the army during that summer.

Finally, democratic attitudes works among Egypt in dissimilar fashion like rest of the world. However, it matches Amaney Jamal and Mark Tessler’s earlier work on the
procedural democratic aspirations in the region. The main feature that determines
democratic demand among Egyptian youth is urbanism. I think it has to do with the
cosmopolitan nature of living in big cities and exposure to alien ideas other than the
traditional effects of conservative institutions in rural places. Moreover, support for
authoritarianism explains much for democratic support, and it matches earlier findings in
the region that democracy aspired in this part of the world is not liberal in the western
sense and reflects a polarized situation among youth between 2011.
CHAPTER IV

YOUTH RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL VALUES

Social scientists such as Weber and Durkheim have argued since the late nineteenth century that conventional religious attachments are fading as result of modernization thus to be regarded the central thesis of social inquiry during that period of time; however MENA region along other parts of the world raised skepticism over the former thesis after the “Six-Days” war of 1967 and “Yom Kippur” war 1973. Much of the writings stemmed from the Arab region regard the above mentioned events to be the base line of religious revival in the Middle East after the successive secularization attempts carried out by post-colonial regimes in the region such as Nasser in Egypt and Habib Bourguiba in Tunisia. Moreover, since levels of socioeconomic development varied across the region and within societies, I believe that it did not yield such universal trend of secularism as argued by modernization theorists before.

In another vein, literature on the propensity towards religiosity in the Middle East is descriptive and anecdotal; it does not attempt to produce systematic generalizable models of explanation. In addition, it does not focus on the individual-level as basic unit of analysis to explain difference and variations particularly within generations. Moreover, less writings focus on the interplay between religious attitudes and events of the Arab spring 2011. As Islam plays an important role in agitating and mobilization protests as part of decreasing the costs given the developed sense of religious solidarity


among protestors. Thus, the underlying assumption in this chapter that religion “Islam” plays an important role in affecting people political and social attitudes in MENA and particularly in Egypt and we expect to find a relationship between piety and political activism in Egypt. Furthermore, drawing on our original thesis quest of generational value replacement in Egypt, I aim to uncover such complicated thesis through assessing the degree in which religion affects youth’s political attitudes towards protesting, support for religious movements and gender equality. As findings from earlier chapters that demographic predictors is indeed in interplay with traditional influences and I believe that Islam plays an important role in that sense.

4.1 Debating Religiosity

Despite the universality of the secularization thesis argued by many social thinkers and modernization theorists since the beginning of the last century, the 1990s sparked a continuing wave of criticism for the fade of religiosity thesis. Secularization thesis depended heavily in its explanation on evidence from the developed western hemisphere of the world, yet various anomalies within such part of the world mainly the United States of America proved to be an attention-grabbing deviant case coupled revival of religious spiritually in Europe and the rise of violent radical religious-based movements in the Muslim World. New trends of right-wing voting in Europe and sectarian politics in MENA further emphasize such skepticism over the decline of religion thesis prophecy advocated during most of the past century. Several questions were raised after the 9/11 attacks to explain the “Bin Laden” phenomenon who was basically rich and well educated, still managed to lead one of the most radical violent

163 Marc Lynch, the Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East, New York, Public Affairs, 2012, pp. 91-92.
religious-based movement worldwide. Socioeconomic factors failed to predict and explain such rich-based fundamentalism trend in the Arab World which opens the door for more cultural-based explanations tracing individual-level attitudes and the propensity for religious attachments.

There are two competing paradigms in explaining religiosity and its revival in literature; one is “bottom-up” theories suggesting that societies regardless of their type of religious attachments will lose interest in religion given the change in existential security status as consequence of socioeconomic development. On the other hand, “top-down” explanations argue that demand for religion is cross-nationally constant at any given point of time, what controls the level of religiosity is the supply from religious institutions and leaders in which they maintain the spiritual attachments among individuals.

Drawing on the earlier distinction, Weber –an advocate of the secularization thesis- developed a thesis on the loss of faith in religions based on the mounting rationality among humans given the scientific advancements that confound religion in different aspects. This Eurocentric vision of the redoing role of churches and priests is owed to the technological advancements such as the Darwinism evolution thesis that challenges the biblical interpretations. Moreover, such view regards the mystical explanations of religion is to lose its importance due to growing logical expansion of biology, quantum physics and chemistry. However, Weberian thesis is hard to prove

given empirical findings and it did not account for the undeveloped parts of the world in which science is still at its least status. Another related explanation is the “Functional-Religion” theory that regards religion not to be only sets of metaphysical beliefs and norms; rather it is a scheme of activities that identifies one’s identity and route in life from cradle to grave.\textsuperscript{168} Durkheim who laid the seminal foundations of religious functionalism see that religion primarily is aimed at maintaining social cohesion and providing collective benefits in forms of endowment and church-related services. However industrialized societies are marked by functional differentiation where professions are devoted for providing social services, health care and security thus to replace the conventional roles done by the churches. In his description, such development is arguably to lead for the loss of purpose for religious attachments and support.

Such western explanations for religious attachments have been criticized especially in the past couple of decades from theories stemming from the same rational scheme of thought as well. Scholars such as Rodney Stark and William Bainbridge argues in contrary to Durkheim that religious plurality among Christianity led to fortifying religious attachments as the demand for religion is constant among human beings.\textsuperscript{169} The theory of “Religious Markets” assumes that the more religious denominations are in rivalry, the more likely for religious institutions to exert more effort to keep their followers and effect. Such theory is valid according to its origin in the developed world that is predominantly Christian marked by different denominations and

history of church domination over the medieval ages, yet explaining religiosity in the Muslim world and Middle East region—for me—is due to different set of reasons.

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart developed a secularization theory that is based mainly on the level of existential security in given society, however it accounts also for the persistence of cultural traditions in keeping religious faith in tact in different parts of the world. Their first core assumption lies on security in which richer nations are expected to be more secure in terms of economic as well as direct material one. This has a direct effect on the existential security that affects one’s cognitive abilities to think and question societal norms, thus in richer nations secular-rational norms tend to be the most dominant. The other underlying axiom that Norris and Inglehart’s theory depends on is cultural traditions; according to this view accumulative value change is path dependent on contrary to viewing it as an iron law applied to all universal cases. The latter universal view in debating religion in societies is yet having never been tested in the underdeveloped world, although it accounts for it. In the next section, I analyze the role of Islam in shaping values and the symptoms of religiosity in Egypt especially among the youth and its expected implications on supporting religious movements, political activism and gender equality.

4.2 Religious Revival in Egypt

During the 1960s, Egypt was on the track of modernism in the western sense that included secularism highlighted with the confrontation between the state and religious organizations mainly the MB and coupled with the nationalization of the Al-Azhar. However the post-1967 war with Israel led to revisiting the Islamic influence in Egypt.

due to the loss of faith in secularism and the end of pan Arabism. Islamic revival was at its peak in MENA and Egypt during much of the 1970s and 1980s. Coupled with the state desire to confront leftist-Nasserists, students become Islamized in which some took violent roots heightened by the assassination of Egypt’s president Anwar Al-Sadat in 1981. Girls starting wearing veil in a contrasting feature to their mothers who did not adopt such custom during much of the twentieth century. Features of Islamization continued during much of the twentieth century as result of the petrodollar effect coming from cultural remittances from the ultra-conservative Gulf States.

Egyptian state as mentioned above has utilized religion in different ways to keep its influence and sustain legitimacy in the post-colonial ear. Egypt scored 62.92 with the third rank in the Middle East on the index of government involvement in religion (GIR). This index measures the degree of government involvement in religious affairs based on a combined five factor scores of the official function of religion in a given state, state’s treatment for all religions, minority religious freedom, regulation of the majoritarian religion, and the degree in which laws depends on religion. Moreover, one cannot explain the religious revival without accounting for the transforming role of the historic Egyptian main Islamic institution “Al-Azhar” and its clergy “Ulema.” Starting from 1961, the nature of education at Al-Azhar has been qualitatively and quantitatively

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under severe change. First, introducing non-religious subjects led to changing the
cognitive perception of the Ulema to face the long-lasting controversy of science and
religion and the need to deal with such puzzle. Other through institutionalizing it to be a
public university— with the remarkable increase of student enrollment as showed in Table
4.1-led to delegitimizing its sacred nature that Al-Azhar’s Ulema have always utilized to
keep their influence in the society.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Institutes</th>
<th>Number of Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1962-63</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>64,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>1,265</td>
<td>89,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>1,273</td>
<td>302,044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987-88</td>
<td>2,053</td>
<td>517,968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992-93</td>
<td>3,161</td>
<td>966,629</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Moreover, modernization of Al-Azhar opened a venue for its political role
welcomed by the state during much of the 1960s and 1970s. Such political activism was
intensified with the rise of fundamental Islamism during the 1970s till the moment of
assassination of Sheik Al-Dahabi in 1977. However since many other Islamist factions
challenged its legitimacy mainly the MB and fundamentalists, Al-Azhar Ulema became
more politically involved than ever during the 1970s; coupled with a divergence within
its clergy body itself. The presence of religious competition led to the creation of
peripheral Ulema apart from the official coopted ones, thus their political role diversified
in consequence as well. Some Al-Azhar clergy as well became radicalized and theorized

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Another explanation for the rise of religiosity in Egypt among youth since the 1970s that continue till this day is the malfunctioning nature Arab States. Nazih Ayubi argued that Arab states are alien structures created by foreign powers rather than national bourgeoisies. Hence, these post-colonial structures are over-stated in sense of the supremacy of the formal apparatus in relation to other non-state actors; this hinders the role of intermediary institutions such as civil society in fostering democracy.\footnote{Nazih N. Ayubi, \textit{Over-stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East}, London, I.B. Tauris, 1995, p. 12.} Although in Egypt, President Sadat in 1980 passed a constitutional amendment stating that \textit{Sharia} (Islamic Jurisprudence) is the main source of legislation as Islam is the official religion of the state, to face the rising wave of Islamism in society. However, Egypt burdened with huge defense public spending due to the successive wars with Israel abstained from its nation-building tasks, and more importantly from building national consensus regarding controversial foundations of the state.\footnote{Azmi Bishara, \textit{A Contribution to the Critique of Civil Society}, Ramallah, Muwatin, 1997, p. 241-242 (in Arabic)} Public space in Egypt following Sadat’s “Manaber” plurality conception integrated only state’s coopted/loyal elites allowing no other venues for opposition expect the grassroots social service work. In this sense, Islamists’ role was growing especially with recruiting the young who were attracted to
the charitable work coupled with “da’wa” (preaching for Islam) in the absence of the state’s role in providing for social services.\textsuperscript{179}

In this context, Islamist grassroots movements have been functioning with an attractive platform offering an alternative for the restrictive Egyptian regime. Following the toppling down of Mubarak in 2011, the main Islamist opposition movement (MB) with their long history of providing social services in marginalized areas capitalized such social activism to a political power and won both parliamentary and presidential elections in 2011 and 2012. The logic behind such social activism is rooted in Islamist movements’ doctrine, according to the teachings of Hassan Al-Banna –MB founder– reforming society is a lengthy process that has to start with preparing an Islamic individual, family and then community.\textsuperscript{180} Such doctrine attract young men who get education, spiritual and social training through practicing Islam in wider sense.

Combating the un-Islamic state of Egypt, various Islamist movements from MB to Salafis or Sufis; focused on social work to gain support and recognition from ordinary Egyptians and in particular the youth.\textsuperscript{181} Islamic charity filled the diminishing role of the indebted Egyptian state that adopted the IMF structural adjustment plan. For instance, it is estimated that 2,457 Islamic charity organizations were in function in Egypt at 2003. This trend of charitable work is very important in underrating religious revival in Egypt if taken comprehensively in a wider context of the rise of political Islam.\textsuperscript{182}

\textsuperscript{182} Robert Lee and Lihi Ben Shitrit, Ibid., p. 237.
Egyptian youth have been suffering from identity crisis since the 1967 defeat and the fade of Pan-Arabism. As such Islamism provided a solution for those who are struggling to define themselves as Muslims in the light of the Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement of 1978. Individual religiosity provided a compromise for young Egyptians coupled with economic hardships due to the uneven socioeconomic distribution in the society.\textsuperscript{183} The ICT advancements and social networking helped in fortifying such sentiments as well; still it is a hard exercise to map youth Egyptian religious attachments and whether it means a break from the religious establishments or it still attached somehow to the pre-2011 Islamists movement’s doctrine. Thus, my quest in the next sections to map attitudes regarding supporting political Islam, participating in protests based on Islamic justification and gender equality.

4.3 Religious Effects

As mentioned above this central section in this chapter aims at mapping outcomes of youth religious attitudes in Egypt and its implications on supporting political Islam, mobilization/ political activism. All these aspects are theoretically challenged on religious basis, and my aim here to map such claims and test it in relation to the post-2011 settings especially among the youth in Egypt.

\textit{Propensity to Support Political Islam}

Concept of political Islam is a theoretically debatable one; as there is no comprehensive definition for its underlying components. Historically political Islam is related to the rise of Islamist movements and parties that advocate the rule of Islamic

jurisprudence in their respective societies; a clear example for that is the Islamic revolution regime in Iran in the post-1979 settings. One view to illuminate political Islam is treating it as a set of ideas that explains all aspects of life including political interactions, and societal rankings according to the laws of good “Shari’a.” Thus supporters of political Islam have this universal belief that Islamic laws works for times and societies according to the same sacred pattern. Other scholars define it procedurally as set of actions that help political Islam supporters to provide a future imagination for a perfect Islamic community through re-applying the basic traditions and principles of the virtue ancestors.

Another contending view is to define Islamist movements as the cradle of political Islam we talk about in the sense of political activism. Identifying Islamist movements is yet a hard task to be done, and the blurry lines between fundamentalists, traditionalists, and Islamists are hard to draw. Even there is no clear definition for an Islamist, Muslim and Islamic scholar, if ruling the political objective out. Thus, Bjørn Utvik argued that there are three main key pillars for placing a movement into the Islamic category. One is the adherence to the ultimate rule of Shari’a; other is identifying themselves as Islamists, and lastly the institutionalized nature of their work towards their goal. According to this former practical definition, many movements qualify to be considered as Islamist movement; however my quest in this section is more comprehensive to test

---


the propensity for supporting goals of political Islam among young Egyptians in the aftermath of the 2011 events.

There are many reasons portrayed in the literature for supporting Islamist movements, one must theoretically differentiate between sympathy/support and actual casting votes for Islamist parties competing in pluralistic elections, if any. However, my aim here to focus on support for political Islam, and I develop a causal claim around piety and socioeconomic conditions that push ordinary citizens to support—at least sympathize—with Islamist political movements. Orientalists in their scholarship of the Middle East, have arguing that Islam provides a comprehensive instrument to explain and cope with different societal and political conditions; anyone can counter throughout his lifetime.\(^{187}\) This develops my first casual examination here that those who are more pious tend to support political Islam as their conception of the unity of Islam, politics and social order intensifies such feelings and conviction. Moreover, I expect to see such relationship among the pious youth as well.

Hypothesis 1: young pious Egyptians tend to support political Islam more than non-pious youth.

Another rational for supporting political Islamist movements is the socioeconomic situation that individual face in his life. With profound history in charity, Islamist grassroots organizations in Egypt have been active over the last three decades in providing educational, health and financial support for different Egyptian stakeholders.\(^{188}\) Thus, we expect to find a trend among those who suffer economically to be more


supportive for Islamist movements based on the casual claim mentioned above, coupled
with it we add a control in the same sense that since the governments detained from
providing for social services, those who distrust government more are likely to support
political Islam.

Hypothesis 2: young poor Egyptians are more likely to support political Islam.

Hypothesis 3: The more level of government distrust among young Egyptians, the
more likely to support political Islam.

Finally, another reason for supporting political Islam is the demographic nature of
youngsters. This hypothesis goes in both directions; the first is that the young, urban and
well-educated with a certain degree of western exposure are less likely to support
political Islam as Inglehart’s theory of generational value change and its implications in
industrialized societies towards secular-rational kind of values. On the other hand, Oliver
Roy argues that among the proponents of militant Islamist movements are those who
comprise the young elite in the society, where those who are well-educated facing harsh
conditions to get recognition in the Egyptian society.\textsuperscript{189} Thus, we believe that education
has dual effects.

Hypothesis 4a: young Educated Egyptians tend to support political Islam

Hypothesis 4b: young less-educated Egyptians tend to support political Islam

Moreover, in order to further test the relationship between education, income and
piety, I use set of interactions to control for the effect of piety on both income and
education and its outcome on supporting political Islam in Egypt among the youth.

The analysis below aims at examining youth support for political Islam at two different points of time after the Arab Spring events in Egypt at 2011 and 2013 based on the data available from the Arab Barometer waves II and III. The dependent variable used to measure propensity for political Islam is an additive scale variable of three different survey items as shown in figure 4.1, where the positive pole indicates more supportive attitudes towards political Islam.\(^ {190}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure 4.1 Arab Barometer Items to measure Support for Political Islam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious leaders should not interfere in voters’ decisions in elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your country is better off if religious people hold public positions in the state.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious leaders should have influence over government decisions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: AB Waves II and III (2011 and 2013)

The main independent variables used in this analysis are a continuous variable for income measured in U.S dollars, and another for education categories, and a measure for piety that uses number of times in which the person reads Qur’an.\(^ {191}\) The reason for choosing this variable is its reasonability in measuring piety according the investigators of the Arab Barometer.\(^ {192}\) And finally, a measure for government distrust that indicates respondents’ distrust in government after reversing the original parameter.\(^ {193}\)

For interactions, low income level denotes those who belong to the bottom 25% income quintile in respective datasets or in other words their income is less than 300 Egyptian pounds in 2011 and 600 in 2013. As for education, we account for those who

\(^{190}\) Questions wording is in appendix L

\(^{191}\) Question wording is in appendix M


\(^{193}\) Question wording is in appendix N
hold above post-secondary degrees. Thus I multiply low income and high educated cases by our measure for piety.

I use different set of controls including age as continuous and as category for those who are less than 35 years old, controlling for it on the sample level in our regression as this study’s purpose is to account for youth political values in principal. Other, gender, place of residency, unemployment, and political interest are used. Unemployment is an additional control to help in predicting economic hardships and its effect on the outcome variable, while political interest, gives an overall view on the degree of political exposure to other ideas to see if it would effect on supporting political Islam.

Tables 4.2 and 4.3 below shows the OLS regression results for factors affecting support for political Islam for Egyptian youth at both 2011 and 2013. It reflects high degree of fragmentation in youth attitudes based on the political turbulences the country has gone through in post-2011 epoch. As we find no explanatory power for age in explaining such attitudes, I used a secondary step regression focusing only on the younger generation or those below the age of 35 years old. Higher income levels related really low in 2013 in explaining less support for political Islam.

As for interactions worked in our assumed propositions in 2011, yet it yielded insignificant statistical correlations. In 2013, due to the high level of politicization of the Egyptian society and divide among Islamists and secularists, such interactions worked in souring way. By adding their coefficients, those who are pious and poor actually showed less support for political Islam unlike our expectation by 1.14 at 99% confidence level; this has to do with the perception of the MB in power and the decrease in their services
delivery. In a similar fashion, piety worked in different ways, while it explained 0.184 decrease in support for political Islam in 2011, it increased to explain 0.404 increase in political Islam during March 2013. Again this is an obvious effect for the degree of politicization and fragmentation among Egyptian youth prior to the 30th of June protests. And the same goes for political interest which was robust measure across all models in both waves, however started by predicting less support in 2011 to high support in 2013.

Thus, we can argue that high level of politicization and fragmentation among Egyptian youth actually challenges existing narratives in the literature; we find evidence for an interaction between low income and piety rather in showing less support for political Islam in 2013 and the same for high education. However, piety in itself has different effects in both cases. This we can assume that personal piety was a function of political polarization when the MB ruled the country in mid-2012.
Table 4.2 OLS Regression for Factors affecting Support for Political Islam in Egypt in 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full Sample</th>
<th>Below 35 Model 1</th>
<th>Below 35 Model 2</th>
<th>Below 35 Model 3</th>
<th>Below 35 Model 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td>-0.002</td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
<td>-0.001**</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>-0.001*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Income</strong></td>
<td>-0.001**</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>-0.001**</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>-0.001*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td>0.041</td>
<td>(0.041)</td>
<td>0.062</td>
<td>(0.049)</td>
<td>0.036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.515)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Secondary and Pious</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.145)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Poor</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.634)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Poor and Pious</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.191)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Individual Piety</strong></td>
<td>-0.113</td>
<td>(0.079)</td>
<td>-0.184*</td>
<td>(0.102)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender(=female)</td>
<td>-0.021</td>
<td>(0.175)</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
<td>(0.222)</td>
<td>-0.035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-0.162</td>
<td>(0.146)</td>
<td>-0.147</td>
<td>(0.185)</td>
<td>-0.159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.184)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>(0.086)</td>
<td>0.096</td>
<td>(0.106)</td>
<td>0.076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest in Politics</td>
<td>-0.456***</td>
<td>(0.080)</td>
<td>-0.546***</td>
<td>(0.097)</td>
<td>-0.569***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.586***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Distrust</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>(0.078)</td>
<td>-0.029</td>
<td>(0.106)</td>
<td>-0.009</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
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<td>(0.431)</td>
<td>8.368***</td>
<td>(0.558)</td>
<td>7.877***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7.687***</td>
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<tr>
<td>R2</td>
<td>0.078</td>
<td>0.109</td>
<td>0.103</td>
<td>0.103</td>
<td>0.095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
Source: AB Wave II
Table 4.3 OLS Regression for Factors affecting Support for Political Islam in Egypt in 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Full Sample</th>
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<th>Below 35</th>
<th>Below 35</th>
<th>Below 35</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Model 1</td>
<td>Model 2</td>
<td>Model 3</td>
<td>Model 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.008</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.006)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>-0.001*</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-0.037</td>
<td>-0.107**</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.106**</td>
<td>(0.044)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.040)</td>
<td>(0.045)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td>-1.417**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.613)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Secondary and Pious</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.269</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.135)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-4.511***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>(1.118)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor and Pious</td>
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<td>1.043***</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.245)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Piety</td>
<td>0.377***</td>
<td>0.404***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.074)</td>
<td>(0.099)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (=female)</td>
<td>0.271*</td>
<td>0.296</td>
<td>0.288</td>
<td>0.238</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.158)</td>
<td>(0.194)</td>
<td>(0.198)</td>
<td>(0.196)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>-0.189</td>
<td>0.054</td>
<td>-0.010</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.135)</td>
<td>(0.167)</td>
<td>(0.169)</td>
<td>(0.165)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>-0.020</td>
<td>-0.072</td>
<td>-0.015</td>
<td>-0.045</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.085)</td>
<td>(0.098)</td>
<td>(0.099)</td>
<td>(0.097)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Interest</td>
<td>0.187**</td>
<td>0.221**</td>
<td>0.208**</td>
<td>0.222**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.075)</td>
<td>(0.095)</td>
<td>(0.097)</td>
<td>(0.094)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Distrust</td>
<td>0.581***</td>
<td>0.549***</td>
<td>0.561***</td>
<td>0.593***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.069)</td>
<td>(0.083)</td>
<td>(0.084)</td>
<td>(0.082)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>3.181***</td>
<td>2.646***</td>
<td>4.213***</td>
<td>4.227***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.440)</td>
<td>(0.521)</td>
<td>(0.328)</td>
<td>(0.326)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2</td>
<td>0.170</td>
<td>0.165</td>
<td>0.135</td>
<td>0.168</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>452</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
Source: AB Wave III
**Political Mobilization**

In this section, I aim to examine the role of religiosity and its effect on political mobilization among Egyptian youth, mainly participating in protests in the light of the Arab Spring events. Youth are considered the main agitator of the 2011 uprising and its subsequent protests calling for political liberalization and social equality throughout the last four years. The reason for such assumption is that in many of the Arab Spring states, Islamists took over power either through elections or through violent confrontation with the ancient regime. However, many commentators and scholars portrayed the Arab Spring at its commencement to be a non-Islamic spring calling for liberal values away from the religious and sub-national authoritarian settings of the Arab world.194

On the other hand, other scholars such as Marc Lynch in his work on contentious politics in Egypt suggested that mosques were a decisive factor in mobilizing Egyptians especially the young to participate in the massive protests during January 2011.195 Furthermore, following the 2011 events, Fridays were the main day for protests in Egypt till the present moment, and this adds to the role that Islam plays in agitating protest feelings. Thus, our aim to examine the Islamic component in political mobilization against the authoritarian regime among Egyptian youth, hence to be able to provide an explanation for the casual mechanisms behind the 2011 uprising in Egypt away from the direct socioeconomic causality.

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Taking our aim at the theoretical level, on the casual mechanism between protesting as an outcome behavior and religion, several studies tackled such complicated linkage. One aspect as Amaney Jamal describes it is the communal aspect of participating in religious rituals, as it develops sense of homogeneity among religious denomination members through developing a united sense of solidarity.\footnote{Amaney Jamal, “The Political Participation and Engagement of Muslim Americans Mosque Involvement and Group Consciousness,” American Politics Research, Vol. 33, No. 4, 2005, pp. 542-543.} In the same sense, participation in protests in authoritarian is physically and emotionally costly given the force used by the incumbent regime, thus developing a religious spirit through communal participation is explanatory to understand protest mechanism. In this view, individual piety is less important than communal practices in explaining protesting behavior.\footnote{Robert Putnam, Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community, New York, Simon and Schuster, 2000, pp. 73-75.}

Another set of explanations are developed at the individual level on the effect of religion on protesting and political mobilization. One of them is the different aspects of religious participation on political engagement, while religious activism activates resources for collective action, while individual piety develops interest in politics, and sense of political distrust.\footnote{Frederick Harris, “Something Within: Religion as a Mobilizer of African-American Political Activism.” Journal of Politics, Vol. 56, No. 1, 1994, 63-65.} Michael Hoffman and Jamal identified several pathways in which religion affect political mobilization.\footnote{Michael Hoffman and Amaney Jamal, “Religion in the Arab Spring: Between Two Competing Narratives,” The Journal of Politics, 2014, Vol. 76, pp. 598-600.} One is through building network of trust among the members of same religion or members of the same religious community through charitable services and continuous participation in religious rituals, which allow more political engagement. Another mechanism is through the joint prayers as the case of
“Friday” prayers in Islam that provides resources for collective action. And lastly, the nature of religious teachings itself, as all religions have a utopian conception of society that affects one’s imagination of the society, thus open pathways for political engagement.

Capitalizing on the discussion above and in order to examine the link between religiosity and political involvement in Egypt among youth, I developed number of hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: the more pious young Egyptians are likely to be politically active

Hypothesis 2: attending religious communal practices increases the likelihood of political activism among Egyptian youth

Hypothesis 3: the more the support of political Islam among Egyptian youth the more politically active they are.

Building on that, the dependent variable measures political activism during the post-2011 epoch. Items are shown in figure 4.2 where added up together to form a continuous variable since logistic regression.

Figure 4.2 Items measuring Political Activism during Arab Spring in 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer Options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>During the past three years, did you attend a meeting to discuss a subject or sign a petition?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During the past three years, did you participate in a protest, march or sit-in?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: AB Wave III (2013)

As for the central independent variables, I use the same variables of individual piety and support for political Islam used in the previous section, in addition to a measure for communal religious practice, asking individual if they attend Friday prayers on a scale

200 Questions wording is in appendix O
order, the scale were reversed to indicate more communal practices towards the positive pole. Other control variables does not differ that much from the last section to include gender, education, income, unemployment and political interest, while age is inserted as continuous then control for the younger generations in the OLS regression models.

Table 4.4 OLS Regression for Factors affecting Political Activism in Egypt in 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full Sample</th>
<th>Below 35</th>
<th>Below 35</th>
<th>Below 35</th>
<th>Below 35</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Model 1</td>
<td>Model 2</td>
<td>Model 3</td>
<td>Model 4</td>
<td>Model 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piety</td>
<td>-0.140***</td>
<td>-0.114**</td>
<td>-0.060</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.043)</td>
<td>(0.057)</td>
<td>(0.050)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Islam</td>
<td>0.014</td>
<td>0.036</td>
<td>0.026</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.019)</td>
<td>(0.024)</td>
<td>(0.024)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communal Practice</td>
<td>0.089*</td>
<td>0.079</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.046)</td>
<td>(0.056)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.050)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (=female)</td>
<td>-0.039</td>
<td>-0.099</td>
<td>-0.093</td>
<td>-0.152</td>
<td>-0.063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.088)</td>
<td>(0.109)</td>
<td>(0.097)</td>
<td>(0.102)</td>
<td>(0.105)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>0.088***</td>
<td>0.105***</td>
<td>0.101***</td>
<td>0.106***</td>
<td>0.102***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.020)</td>
<td>(0.024)</td>
<td>(0.023)</td>
<td>(0.024)</td>
<td>(0.023)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
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<td>0.186**</td>
<td>0.221***</td>
<td>0.209**</td>
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<td>0.119**</td>
<td>0.099*</td>
<td>0.121**</td>
</tr>
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<td>(0.048)</td>
<td>(0.051)</td>
<td>(0.049)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-0.193*</td>
<td>-0.516**</td>
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Note: standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
Source: AB Wave III

201 Question wording is in appendix P
Results from table 4.6 suggest that our main independent variables including political Islam do not explain much of the variation in regard to examining the relation between religiosity and political activism for the youth in Egypt. Only individual piety explains the outcome of political activism at its highest of (-0.114) at 95% confidence level when it comes to those who are younger than 35, however it goes against our original hypothesis that individual piety affects political activism in positive manner. Moreover, communal practices scores relatively low at the full sample at (0.089) at 90% confidence level with high standard error of 0.046, thus the precision of such explanation is under question in explaining political activism during the Arab spring events in Egypt. Other control variables as rules of thumb suggests explain much of the reasons to be politically active in a robust way. Higher education levels increases the propensity for youth political activism. Moreover, urbanism is another robust measure that explains much of youth activism; with no other controls it explains 0.185 involvement at 95% confidence level.

4.4 Youth and Gender Equality

Samuel Huntington along with other orientalists stressed on the incompatibility of Islam with democracy and related values. His “Clash of Civilization” thesis mapped this perception on Islam and its utility in regard to democracy and gender equality that is invalid among Muslims. On the other hand, scholars from the Middle East stressed on the tolerant nature of Islam, especially when it comes to protecting women rights. This gave rise to the appearance of Islamist feminism line of thought; Heba Raouf argued that

western orientalists tend to portray Islam an obstacle for gender tolerance, yet there is a grey area adopting that Islam can be compatible with democracy and gender equality in its heart.\textsuperscript{203} Within these competing paradigms this section evolves in its attempt to explain gender equality attitudes among Egyptian youth based on religious explanatory factors. Taking into consideration the modernization stances on the linkage between low levels of socio-economic development and gender tolerance or democratic attitudes; this section aims at assessing the religious factors that affect gender tolerance as a measure of democratic support among Egyptian youth in post-2011 settings.

As mentioned above, the cultural school argues that Islam is not compatible with granting women rights, as the values of Muslims and the west are totally different from one another. In that sense, some scholars argue that Islamic teachings provide structural hindrances for women rights and equality within Muslim communities.\textsuperscript{204} Moreover, as Huntington argued other cultures than the western one denounces human individualism to focus on the collective aspect of society, thus freedom in general is an inferior concept including women in their respective society.\textsuperscript{205}

On the other hand, Muslim scholars stressed that actually Islam emancipated women historically from the \textit{Jahlia} or ignorance before its arrival in the Arabian Peninsula. Islam favored gender equality, for instance constraints on “polygamy,” mentioned in Quran are hard to overcome when it comes to reality. And for women

\begin{footnotes}
\item[\textsuperscript{205}] Samuel P. Huntington, Op. Cit., p.40.
\end{footnotes}
inheritance which is half to male siblings was very liberating at the time of revelation in contrast to the Arabian pre-Islamic context.

In post-2011, many Egyptian women movements voiced out gender inequality, and organized several campaigns against “sexual harassment,” such as “HarrasMap” and “Women’s Revolution in the Arab World.” Hence, my aim in this section is to test if religion is linked to gender tolerance. Thus to assume that when public opinion support for a certain cause; institutional breakthrough is likely to take place as result, as in the cases of environmentalism in Northern Europe. Thus, I use two aspects of piety, as used in earlier sections, one I related to the individual level of religiosity and the other is related to supporting Islamist movements. We expect to find a negative relationship between piety and the support for gender equality.

Hypothesis 1: More pious young Egyptians less supportive for gender tolerance.

Hypothesis 2: More support for Islamist movements means less support for gender tolerance.

Another aspect that I want to test is the effect of western value system and its effect on young Egyptian attitudes towards gender equality. Most of the political rhetoric on promoting gender tolerance in the Muslim world and Egypt originated by western governments; different western international donors condition their aid to Egypt based on empowering women in society. Thus, those who see gender equality ideas as western
form of neo-colonialism other than traditional military invasion are expected to be more reluctant to accept ideas related to gender tolerance.207

Hypothesis 3: the more anti-western feelings the less support for gender tolerance

In order to test such hypotheses, I use OLS regression to predict the religious factors explaining gender tolerance at both 2011 and 2013. The dependent variable as figure 4.3 shows is constructed on a scale based on additive scale from the Arab Barometer survey at 2011 and 2013, where more support for gender equality is directed towards the positive pole of the scale.208

![Figure 4.3 Arab Barometer Items measuring Gender Equality in Egypt in 2011 and 2013](image)

A married woman can work outside the home
In general, men are better at political leadership than women
University education for males is more important than university education for females

Note: AB Wave II and III
As for central independent variables, I use the same variables used to measure piety and support political Islam, while for anti-western feelings, I use an item that asks respondent to show their opinion regarding violent acts against the U.S as result of their interference in the Arab world.209 Other controls, do not differ that much from the earlier sections to include gender, education, income, unemployment and political interest, while age is inserted as continuous then control for the younger generations in the OLS regression models.


208 Questions Wording is in appendix Q

209 Question wording is appendix R
Table 4.5 OLS Regression for Factors affecting Gender Equality in Egypt in 2011

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<th>Below 35</th>
<th>Below 35</th>
<th>Below 35</th>
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<td>Model 2</td>
<td>Model 3</td>
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<td>Model 5</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>(0.187)</td>
<td>(0.190)</td>
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Note: standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
Source: AB Wave II
Table 4.6 OLS Regression for Religious Factors affecting Gender Equality in Egypt in 2013

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<td>Model 2</td>
<td>Model 3</td>
<td>Model 4</td>
<td>Model 5</td>
</tr>
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<td>(0.044)</td>
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<td>-0.148</td>
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Note: standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
Source: AB Wave III

Results from tables 4.8 and 4.9 shows that religious factors works in different ways among Egyptian youth at 2011 and 2013 due the polarization taking place in the society in the post-2011 events; for instance piety explains supporting gender equality by 0.167 at 95% confidence level in 2011 in contrast to our original hypothesis, while it has no effect in 2013. Anti-American sentiments explain less support for gender equality
2011. Anti-American sentiments are very robust especially among the youth, if no other independent factor was added, while it provides no significance in 2013.

Support for political Islam is a robust measure to explain about 0.14 less support for gender tolerance if no other independent factor is added in 2013 at 99% confidence level. This has to do with the changing nature of the Egyptian political formula at the time in which the survey was conducted. During the MB rule, they showed less support for women empowerment in society and their share in shaping public policies. Other, being female and showing political interest is robust factors across all models for the whole sample and the younger generation to explain more support for gender equality at 99% confidence level in 2011 and in 2013, it robustly explains much of the support, while age works in dissimilar way, as those who are old more supportive for gender equality, when controlling for education and income in 2013. This provides a surprising fact that being young does not mean necessarily adopting liberal values reflected in gender equality.

To conclude this chapter, I state the main remarks we can draw from this chapter. It provides an interplay on youth social, activism and religious values in the post-2011 epoch in Egypt. Earlier chapters prove that Egyptian youth fall behind international and rather regional trends in terms of adopting values on the postmaterialist standardized index. I hypothesized that religion plays a salient role in predicting such attitudes. Thus, I draw some conclusions that I believe worth highlighting and open the door for future research beyond the scope of this thesis. As presented, Egyptian youth with doubt can be considered as one liberal bloc in the western sense. Youth in Egypt are historically involved in the waves of Islamic revival since the early 1980s and the rise of violent
militant Islamic groups. Assassination of Egypt’s late president Sadat is an example for that. Exploring the propensity for young Egyptians to support Islamist movements in the post-2011 settings, I find no evidences for deprivation motives, may be it can be related to voting behavior that was not assessed in this study, where actually the interaction between low income and piety yields less support for political Islam. It entails that there is separation between Islam in the public and private spheres. However, Egyptian youth who showed support for political Islam are divided based on the effect of higher education levels even if they are pious and the same holds for distrusting governments, which I think is chronic symptom of the post-independence Egyptian state. Other effects were dismissed from analysis due to data availably such as the effect of transnational petro-dollar from the Gulf States that I think explains much of the religious revivalism in the Egyptian society.

Other, participating in the 2011 uprising and its subsequent waves of protest and political activism among youth during the last four years is not explained by piety. In part communal practices such as mosque attendance explain part of such mobilization, yet not in a very coherent way. On the other hand, youth demographics determine much of such activism which typically includes urbanism and interest in politics. Finally, age actually works in an opposite direction in explain gender tolerance as one of the most liberal value as argued by many scholars. Thus, youth show an overall level of traditionalism when it comes to supporting gender equality. Moreover, young Egyptians who hold anti-western feelings in 2011 and support the MB and related Islamist movements in 2013 show higher degree for gender intolerance.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The aim of this concluding chapter is to present findings from previous sections and chapters in relevance to the study’s main quest of tracing generational value differences in Egypt and its explanatory power in relation to the 2011 uprising. In doing such task, I start by drawing features of youth fragmentation and then account for the role of generational value change in relation to the Arab spring.

5.1 Fragmentation of Egyptian Youth

We started the analysis contesting the common assumption that youth in Egypt cannot be rendered one holistic bloc, yet it encompasses different parts. Moreover, this study challenged claims on youth features in MENA to be liberal and secular, thus those who agitated the 2011 uprising were actually angry youth facing different structural hardships as argued by several scholars such as John Esposito. This study aimed to explore youth values in Egypt in relation to both its international and regional milieu as well.

Given the salience of worldwide youth activism, and the rise of different protest movements over the past decade, ranging from toppling down authoritarian regimes in East Europe to the Arab spring to occupy movements in the western developed part of the world; Inglehart since the 1970s argued that there is a sweeping generational value change towards postmaterialist values of self-expression, quality of life and belonging given the changing nature of societies, where economic security deceases much of the constraints on human minds, thus opting for post-material sort of values. Hence, values
of gender and sexual equality in addition to the rise of environmentalism were expected to take place all over the world.

Assessing the current status of such values, I constructed a world values map from 2010 and 2014 to detect such growing trend based on Inglehart’s earlier work started in early 2000s. However, my analysis used a geographical categorization rather than Inglehart’s cultural zones units. Geographically, such values are present in the developed northern hemisphere of the world. Following North America and Western Europe, South East Asia provides support for such changing context of world values. However the Middle East scores least on Inglehart’s dimensions (Secularism and Self-Expression), even below many Latin American and African states.

Egypt as part of the Middle East as showed in both world and regional maps falls among the lowest scoring countries on dimensions of postmaterialism, although there is some deviant cases like Tunisia, Iraq, and Lebanon. This part of the world still raises Inglehart’s concerns with persistence of cultural traits and its relative singularity. Projecting such thesis on the Egyptian case, we find little support for such thesis. Other than being one of the lowest scoring countries in the world and the region on preferring such values, Egyptian emphasis on postmaterialist values are moving backward since early 2000s. This in part has to do with economic stagnation the country is facing following the 2011 uprising, but also shed the light on the uneven distribution of income within the country even during economic growth by the mid-2000s. Such fining opens the door for investigating long-term versus short-term effects of economic progression on value change in developing states such as Egypt.
Egyptian youth give more emphasis on postmaterialism in relation to older cohorts, thus there some evidence on existing cohort differences, however their international and regional peers particularly following the Arab spring reflects more solid emphasis on such new values according to Inglehart’s scholarship. High income and education levels explain the propensity for such values among Egyptian youth. Other evidences for cohort differences are found when analyzing basic political and social attitudes such as political efficacy and gender tolerance, however much of these emphases are due to intra-cohort changes, rather than generational replacement per se.

During the past four years in Egypt, attitudes are found fluctuating, thus it needs more time and surveys to detect profound generational value differences employing longitudinal analysis technique. I believe that although results show little support for Inglehart’s thesis, one cannot disregard its effects, as Egyptian youth proved through the analysis to be fragmented based on different predictors, mainly demographic ones. Results of postmaterialism regression showed that such values are function of high education and income and masculinity.

Other, youth according to the study above are divided based on different social, political and demographic factors. Urbanism is the prevalent factor that explains much of the liberal attitudes in Egypt, where being urban means showing more support for democracy and gender equality, and it means less support for political Islam and authoritarian attitudes. Being a male explains support for democracy, with more confidence in one’s political leverage, and support for postmaterialist values, expect for the case for gender equality that is mainly supported by females. Education plays an important role in giving more emphasis among youth on postmaterialism and political activism during the past
years following the 2011 uprising. Other religious values like piety explains propensity among youth for political Islam in various ways over different waves in Egypt. However, we draw a distinction between individual religiously and communal religious practices in explaining political activism in Egypt during the post-2011 epoch, where the latter is found to have more power in explaining political activism. These findings further support our doubt on the homogenous nature of Egyptian youth and their related liberal nature as many of Middle East democracy scholars argued before. Hence, features of post-2011 political polarization and organization might be explained by our earlier mentioned findings on the fragmented nature of Egyptian youth.

5.2 Arab Spring and Value Change

This section aims to project the study’s findings on Arab Spring events and related value change. Scholars and commentators have been emphasizing the liberal and tolerant nature of current Egyptian youth who led the popular mobilization against Mubarak in 2011, resulting in his step down. Results actually cast doubt regarding the progressive nature of current Egyptian youth. However, other findings provides an insight on the illiberal and less secular nature of politically active Egyptians who may be have been underestimated by foreign commentators when it comes to describe Egyptian youth. Adding double-faced dimensions from factors affecting political activism and political efficacy values, I can argue that the model for Egyptians who have been politically active over the past years following the 2011 events are marked by urbanism, high education, interested in politics and less piety. It actually matches many of the arguments of the young generation portrayed in western circles, however their leverage in the society is what we cast doubt for.
Moreover, results from previous chapters with little evidence shows that young Egyptians are more dissatisfied with their respective political regimes, with a low degree of political trust. Thus, indicating a general trend of dissatisfaction with the status quo and urge for political change, however, pious young Egyptians show more support for political Islam which in turn means less support for democracy, and gender equality. Moreover, young pious Egyptians showed higher levels of political interest and efficacy, thus the scope of change towards liberal settings in post-2011 arrangements requires additional investigation. This is related to the MB rule in Egypt for while the AB III survey was being collected in early 2013.

Moreover, and most surprisingly pro-authoritarian attitudes explains much of the support for democracy among Egyptian youth in post-2011 settings. It means that democracy in the western conception in terms of rotation of power through elections is not fully shared by young Egyptians . This takes back to Jamal, Tessler and Hoffman’s conception of illiberal democracy spread in MENA. Empirical evidence from the AB has showed repeatedly that democracy for Arabs is procedural rather than normative per se.

Thus, I can argue that young Egyptians who were active through social media and led protests on the eve of 25th of January reflects that type of liberal politically active young people and show postmaterialist propensities as well as Juan Cole and Esposito argued before. However those who took over the scene afterwards hold different set of traditional values as Religion proved to explain much of the variance in relation to democracy and gender equality. Different features of social and political conservatism were there in post-2011 and arguably supported by Egyptian youth. One example is the election of MB members both for parliament and presidency. However, this study did not
account for the role of Islamist youth in particular in post-Tahrir arrangements. This study is different, as it provides an empirical insight on youth changing values in the Middle East and Egyptian society. It opens the door for democracy scholars to study this historic bulge from a generational point of view rather than treating them as one bloc. Moreover, it shows that conservatism is a growing trend in the region and it explains much of the variance in regards to conservational issues and basic human rights and freedom. Moreover, it allows for qualitative study on the profiles of different Egyptians, thus treating the January 25th events in isolation from the January 28th supporters and later forms of youth political associations. It takes democratic aspirations in the region to ground, thus exploring other questions that might be actually center to the future of Egypt and the Middle East, most importantly the question of political Islam.
Appendix A

Traditional versus Secular-Rational Values
World Values Survey: Wave 6 (2010-2014)

1- How important is God in your life? Please use this scale to indicate. 10 mean “very important” and 1 means “not at all important.”

2- Here is a list of qualities that children can be encouraged to learn at home. Which, if any, do you consider to be especially important? Please choose up to five, where 1=mentioned, 0=not mentioned
   - Independence
   - Determination and perseverance
   - Religious faith
   - Obedience

3- Please tell me for each of the following actions whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between: “Abortion” on a scale from 1-10. 10 means always justifiable

4- How proud are you to be (Nationality), on a scale from 1-4, 1 means very proud

5- I’m going to read out a list of various changes in our way of life that might take place in the near future. Please tell me for each one, if it were to happen, whether you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or don't you mind? (Greater respect for authority) on scale from 1-3, where 3 is bad.
Appendix B

Survival versus Self-Expression Values
World Values Survey: Wave 6 (2010-2014)

1- Materialism/Postmaterialism 4-Item Index:
   If you had to choose, which one of the things on this card would you say is most important? (Two choices; first and second)
   - Maintaining order in the nation (M)
   - Give people more say (PM)
   - Fighting rising prices (M)
   - Protecting freedom of speech (PM)

2- Taking all things together, would you say you are happy? Scale on 1-4, 1 means very happy.

3- Please tell me for each of the following actions whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between: “Homosexuality” on a scale from 1-10. 10 means always justifiable

4- Now I’d like you to look at this card. I’m going to read out some forms of political action that people can take, and I’d like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have done any of these things, whether you might do it or would never under any circumstances do it “Signing Petition,” 1= did, 2= might do, 3=would never do

5- Would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people? 1=most people can be trusted, 2=need to be very careful
Appendix C

World Cultural Map at 2000

## Appendix D

Table: Mean Scores of Countries on Dimensions of Cultural Variations Sorted by Highest Loads on Survival/ Self-Expression Values

World Values Survey: Wave 6 (2010-2014)

<table>
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Appendix E

Materialist/Postmaterialist 12-item Value Index

1- Materialism/Postmaterialism 4-Item Index

2- People sometimes talk about what the aims of this country should be for the next ten years. On this card are listed some of the goals which different people would give top priority. Would you please say which one of these you, yourself, consider the most important? (Two choices; first and second):
- A high level of economic growth (M)
- A strong defense forces (M)
- People have more say about how things (M)
- Trying to make our cities more beautiful (PM)

3- Here is another list. In your opinion, which one of these is most important? (Two choices; first and second):
- A stable economy (M)
- Progress toward a less impersonal and more humane society (PM)
- Ideas count more than money (PM)
- The fight against crime (M)
Appendix F

Table: Mean Scores of (16-30) age category by Materialist/Postmaterialist 12-item Index during 2010 and 2014 by Country Sorted by Highest Loads on Mean Column


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Appendix G

Interest in Politics
World Values Survey: Waves 4, 5, and 6

- How interested would you say you are in politics? Are you (read out and code one answer):
  1- Very interested
  2- Somewhat interested
  3- Not very interested
  4- Not at all interested

Appendix H

Political Trust Index (PTI)
Arab Barometer Wave II: Egypt 2011

- To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “Citizens must support the government’s decisions even if they disagree with them”?
  1- I strongly agree
  2- I agree
  3- I disagree
  4- I strongly disagree

- Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Government employees are aware of citizens’ needs
  1- I strongly agree
  2- I agree
  3- I disagree
  4- I strongly disagree

- Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Political leaders are concerned with the needs of ordinary citizens
  1- I strongly agree
  2- I agree
  3- I disagree
  4- I strongly disagree
- Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? the government takes the opinions of citizens seriously
1- I strongly agree
2- I agree
3- I disagree
4- I strongly disagree

Appendix I

Political Efficacy
Arab Barometer Wave II: Egypt 2011

- Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Sometimes, politics are so complicated that I cannot understand what is happening
1- I strongly agree
2- I agree
3- I disagree
4- I strongly disagree

Appendix J

Pro-Authoritarian Attitudes
Arab Barometer Waves II: Egypt 2011

- I will describe different political systems to you, and I want to ask you about your opinion of each one of them with regard to the country’s governance – for each one would you say it is very good, good, bad, or very bad? A democratic political system (ensures public freedoms, equality in political and civil rights, devolution of authority, and accountability and transparency of the executive authority)
1- Very Good
2- Good
3- Bad
4- Very Bad

- I will describe different political systems to you, and I want to ask you about your opinion of each one of them with regard to the country’s governance – for each one would you say it is very good, good, bad, or very bad? A political system with an authoritarian president (non-democratic) who is indifferent to parliament and elections (Reversed)
1- Very Good
2- Good
3- Bad
4- Very Bad
Appendix K

Satisfaction with Political System
Arab Barometer Waves II: Egypt 2011

- I will name a number of institutions, and I would like you to tell me to what extent you trust each of them: the Armed Forces-Reversed
  1- I trust it to a great extent
  2- I trust it to a medium extent
  3- I trust it to a limited extent
  4- I absolutely do not trust it

- I will name a number of institutions, and I would like you to tell me to what extent you trust each of them: The government (the cabinet)-Reversed
  1- I trust it to a great extent
  2- I trust it to a medium extent
  3- I trust it to a limited extent
  4- I absolutely do not trust it

Appendix L

Pro-Democratic Orientations
Arab Barometer Waves II and III: Egypt 2011 and 2013

- To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Under a democratic system, the country’s economic performance is weak (Reversed)
  1- I strongly agree
  2- I agree
  3- I disagree
  4- I strongly disagree

- To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Democratic regimes are indecisive and full of problems (Reversed)
  1- I strongly agree
  2- I agree
  3- I disagree
  4- I strongly disagree
- To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
  Democratic systems are not effective at maintaining order and stability (Reversed)
  1- I strongly agree
  2- I agree
  3- I disagree
  4- I strongly disagree

- To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? A democratic system may have problems, yet it is better than other systems
  1- I strongly agree
  2- I agree
  3- I disagree
  4- I strongly disagree

Appendix M
Support for Political Islam
Arab Barometer Waves II and III: Egypt 2011 and 2013

- To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Religious leaders (imams, preachers, priests) should not interfere in voters’ decisions in elections
  1- I strongly agree
  2- I agree
  3- I disagree
  4- I strongly disagree

- To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Your country is better off if religious people hold public positions in the state -Reversed
  1- I strongly agree
  2- I agree
  3- I disagree
  4- I strongly disagree
- To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Religious leaders (imams, preachers, priests) should have influence over government decisions-Reversed
  1- I strongly agree
  2- I agree
  3- I disagree
  4- I strongly disagree

Appendix N

Piety Measure
Arab Barometer Waves II and III: Egypt 2011 and 2013

- Do you “Listen to or read the Quran”? -Reversed
  1- Always
  2- Most of the time
  3- Sometimes
  4- Rarely

Appendix O

Government Distrust
Arab Barometer Waves II and III: Egypt 2011 and 2013

- I will name a number of institutions, and I would like you to tell me to what extent you trust each of them: The government-Reversed
  1- I trust it to a great extent
  2- I trust it to a medium extent
  3- I trust it to a limited extent
  4- I absolutely do not trust it
Appendix P

Arab Spring Political Activism
Arab Barometer Waves III: Egypt 2013

- Here is a set of activities that citizens usually take part in. During the past three years, did you attend a meeting to discuss a subject or sign a petition? (Reversed)
  1- Once
  2- More than once
  3- I have never participated

- Here is a set of activities that citizens usually take part in. During the past three years, did you participate in a protest, march or sit-in? (Reversed)
  1- Once
  2- More than once
  3- I have never participated

Appendix Q

Islamic Communal Practice
Arab Barometer Waves III: Egypt 2013

- Do you “Attend Friday prayer”? -Reversed
  1- Always
  2- Most of the time
  3- Sometimes
  4- Rarely

Appendix R

Gender Equality
Arab Barometer Waves II and III: Egypt 2011 and 2013

- I will read a set of statements that relate to the status of women in our society to you in order to gauge the extent of your agreement or disagreement with each statement: “A married woman can work outside the home” –Reversed
  1- I strongly agree
  2- I agree
  3- I disagree
  4- I strongly disagree
- I will read a set of statements that relate to the status of women in our society to you in order to gauge the extent of your agreement or disagreement with each statement: “In general, men are better at political leadership than women”
  1- I strongly agree
  2- I agree
  3- I disagree
  4- I strongly disagree

- I will read a set of statements that relate to the status of women in our society to you in order to gauge the extent of your agreement or disagreement with each statement: “University education for males is more important than university education for females”
  1- I strongly agree
  2- I agree
  3- I disagree
  4- I strongly disagree

Appendix S

Anti-western feelings
Arab Barometer Waves II and III: Egypt 2011 and 2013

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “The United States’ interference in the region justifies armed operations against the United States everywhere.” (Reversed)

  1- I strongly agree
  2- I agree
  3- I disagree
  4- I strongly disagree
BIBLIOGRAPHY


