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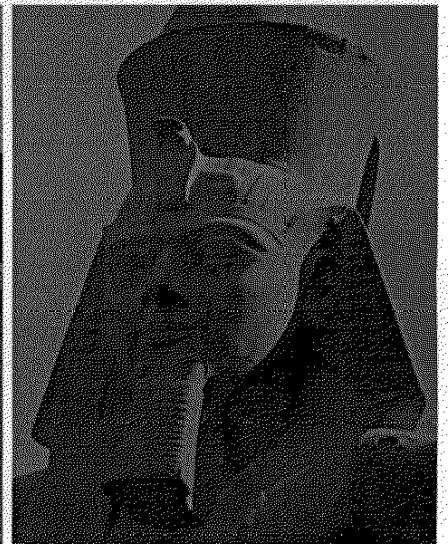
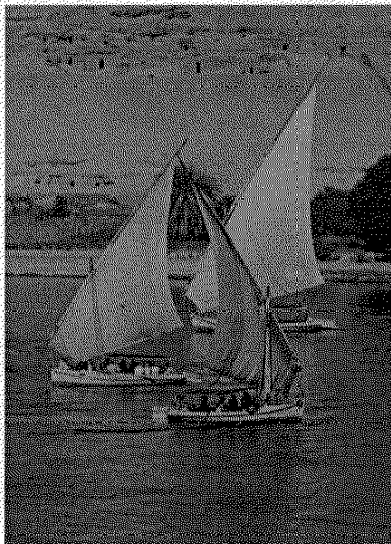
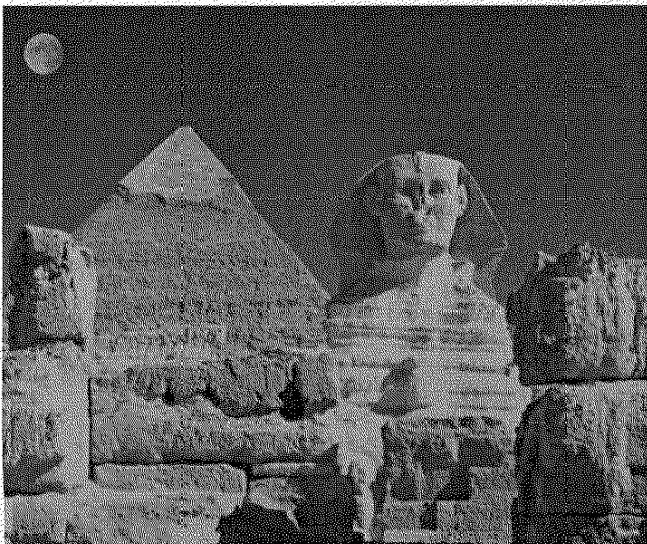
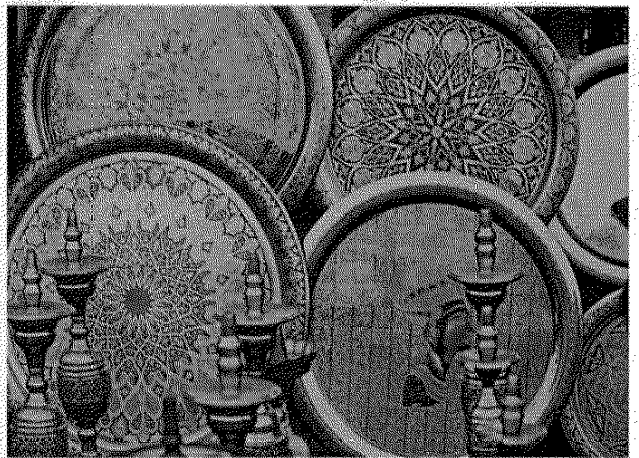
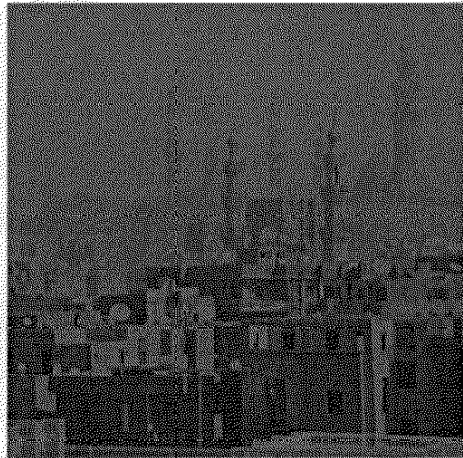
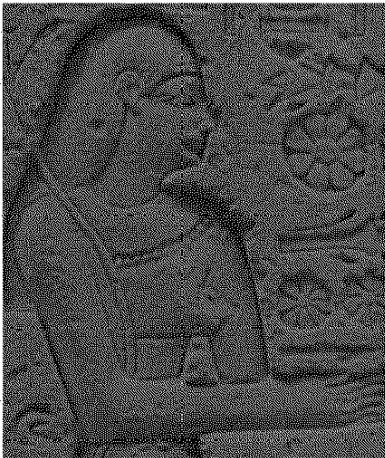
# Egypt Snap Poll

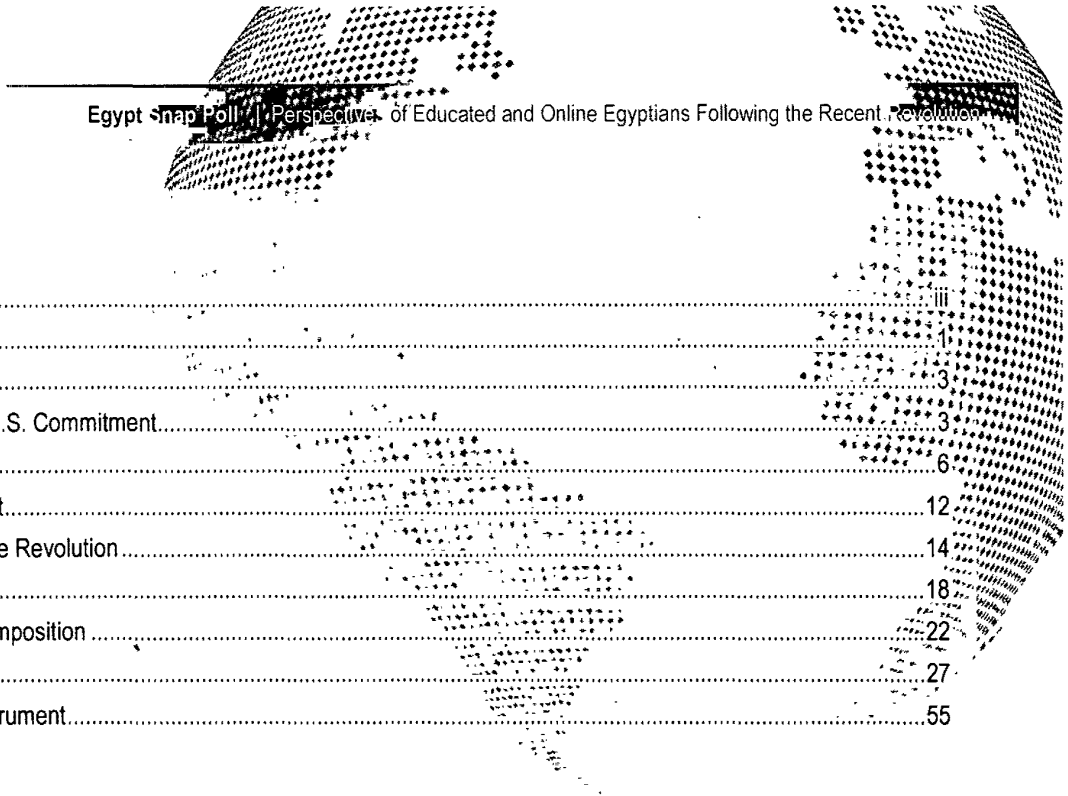
## Perspectives of Online and Educated Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution

March 17, 2011

Prepared for:  
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for the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy  
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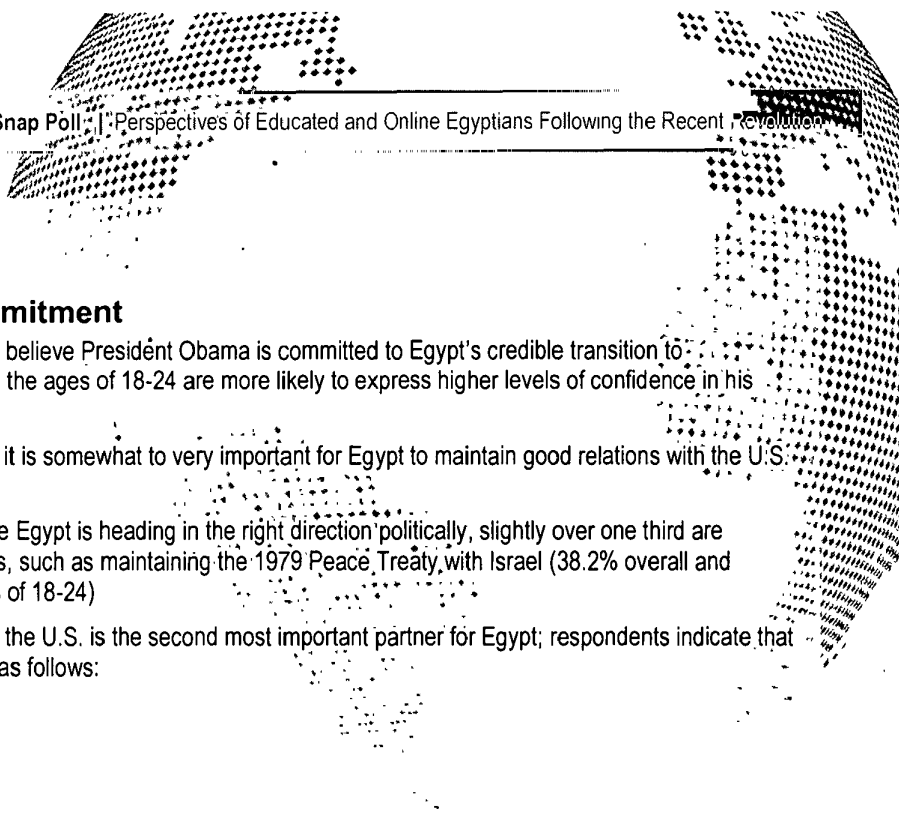




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## SUMMARY: KEY FINDINGS

### Partnerships and the U.S. Commitment

- ▶ While the majority of respondents do not believe President Obama is committed to Egypt's credible transition to democracy (66%), respondents between the ages of 18-24 are more likely to express higher levels of confidence in his commitment (42%)
- ▶ The majority of respondents believe that it is somewhat to very important for Egypt to maintain good relations with the U.S. (72.8%)
- ▶ Of the 94.8% of respondents who believe Egypt is heading in the right direction politically, slightly over one third are supportive of U.S. foreign policy interests, such as maintaining the 1979 Peace Treaty with Israel (38.2% overall and 64.5% of respondents between the ages of 18-24)
- ▶ The majority of respondents believe that the U.S. is the second most important partner for Egypt; respondents indicate that the top five most important partners are as follows:
  - 1) Saudi Arabia (87.5%)
  - 2) United States (77.4%)
  - 3) Japan (74.8%)
  - 4) China (70.8%)
  - 5) Germany (70.8%)

### Savvy and Hopeful

- ▶ Nearly half of all respondents agree that "A new, creative, talented and technologically advanced generation has emerged in Egypt" (44.6%)
  - Nearly a quarter of respondents ages 18-24 and 25-34 believe Egypt should partner with other countries on science and technology advances (26% and 21.7%, respectively)
- ▶ The majority of respondents are either somewhat or very optimistic about Egypt's future as a result of the demonstrations (93.5%)
- ▶ Those who are optimistic about Egypt's future are also more often confident that the elections will represent the will of the Egyptian people
- ▶ Males are slightly more optimistic than females about Egypt's future, political direction and economy (95.6% and 91.4%, respectively)

### Issues that Matter Most

- ▶ The following issues are among the most important for 97% of respondents between the ages of 18 - 24:
  - Access to employment/job opportunities
  - Security
  - Youth rights
- ▶ More female respondents than male respondents indicate that women's rights and protection are somewhat or very important (96.8% and 85.3%, respectively)
- ▶ Of those with a college-level education and above, approximately 29.2% identify free and fair elections as the priority issue area, compared to 20.9% of those who do not have a college education

### Demonstrations and the Revolution

- ▶ Most respondents believe that the demonstrations represented them and their interests (92.6%)
  - The majority of respondents between the ages of 18-24 believe that the demonstrations represented them and their interests (91.6%)

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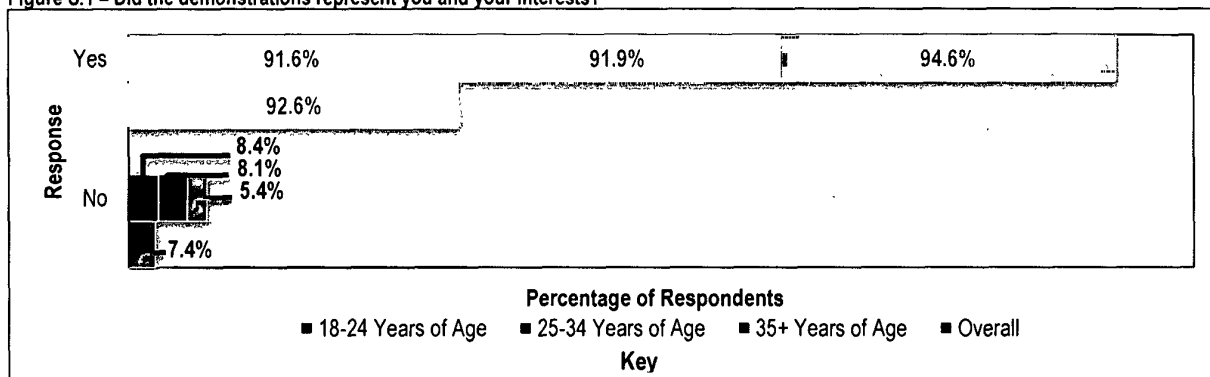
- ▶ The majority of respondents credit youth with initiating the demonstrations (61%); however, the percentage of those who credit the internet/social media is noteworthy (10.4%)
- ▶ Of the groups in Tahrir Square, respondents overall most identify with the Egyptian Army (54.8%), while the Muslim Brotherhood ranks fifth at 11.5%
  - Among the majority of youth ages 18-24, the Egyptian Army is also the group they most identify with in Tahrir Square (54.6%)
  - Youth respondents (18-24 and 25-34) also identify with Movement for Change and their slogan, Kifaya (60% combined compared with 33.2% overall)

**The Path Forward**

- ▶ The majority of those between the ages of 18-24 and 25-34 trust the Egyptian Army to steer the country's future in a positive direction (79.4% of those ages 18-24 and 84.1% of those ages 25-34)
- ▶ When compared to higher incomes, lower income respondents trust the Egyptian Army more (83.5% and 76.9%, respectively)
- ▶ The Muslim Brotherhood ranks as the sixth favored group to steer Egypt's future in a positive direction (7.7%), in the following order:
  - 1) Egyptian Army (80.4%)
  - 2) Pro-democracy civil society/NGOs (34%)
  - 3) Youth/student groups (31.7%)
  - 4) Egyptian Intelligence Service (15.6%)
  - 5) Omar Suleiman (7.8%)
  - 6) Muslim Brotherhood (7.7%)
  - 7) Business leaders/business groups (7.6%)
- ▶ Nearly half of the respondents believe Amr Moussa would make a good next President of Egypt (48.8%). However, 22.2% of respondents indicate that none of the seven listed response options would make a good next president of Egypt
- ▶ The majority of respondents believe the following issues are most important for Egypt to address in the next 6-12 months:
  - 1) Free and fair elections (28%)
  - 2) Economic reforms (27.6%)
  - 3) Higher wages and better working conditions (13.1%)
  - 4) Reducing unemployment (11.3%)
  - 5) Educational reforms (9.4%)

**Featured Bar Charts**

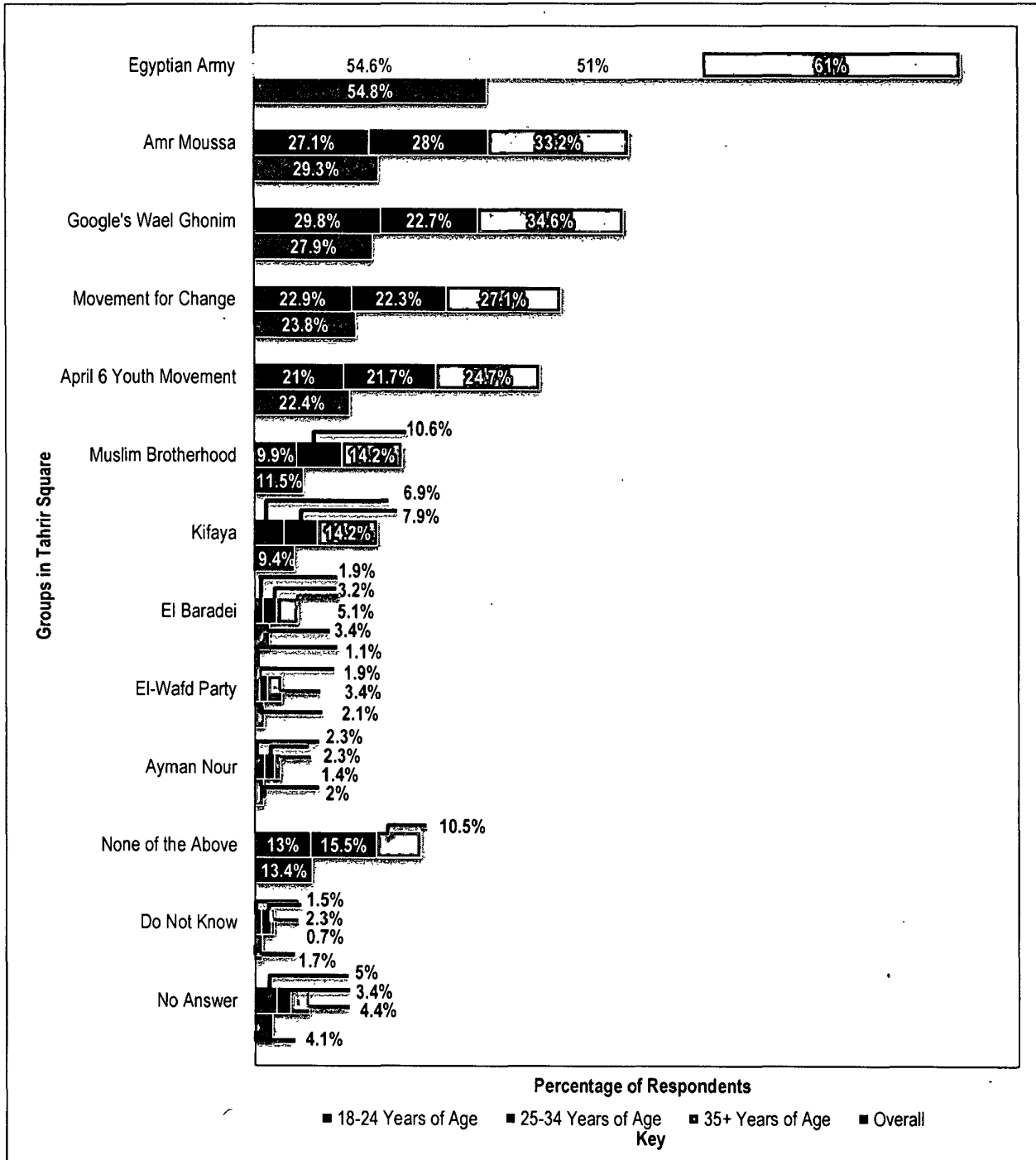
Figure S.1 – Did the demonstrations represent you and your interests?



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

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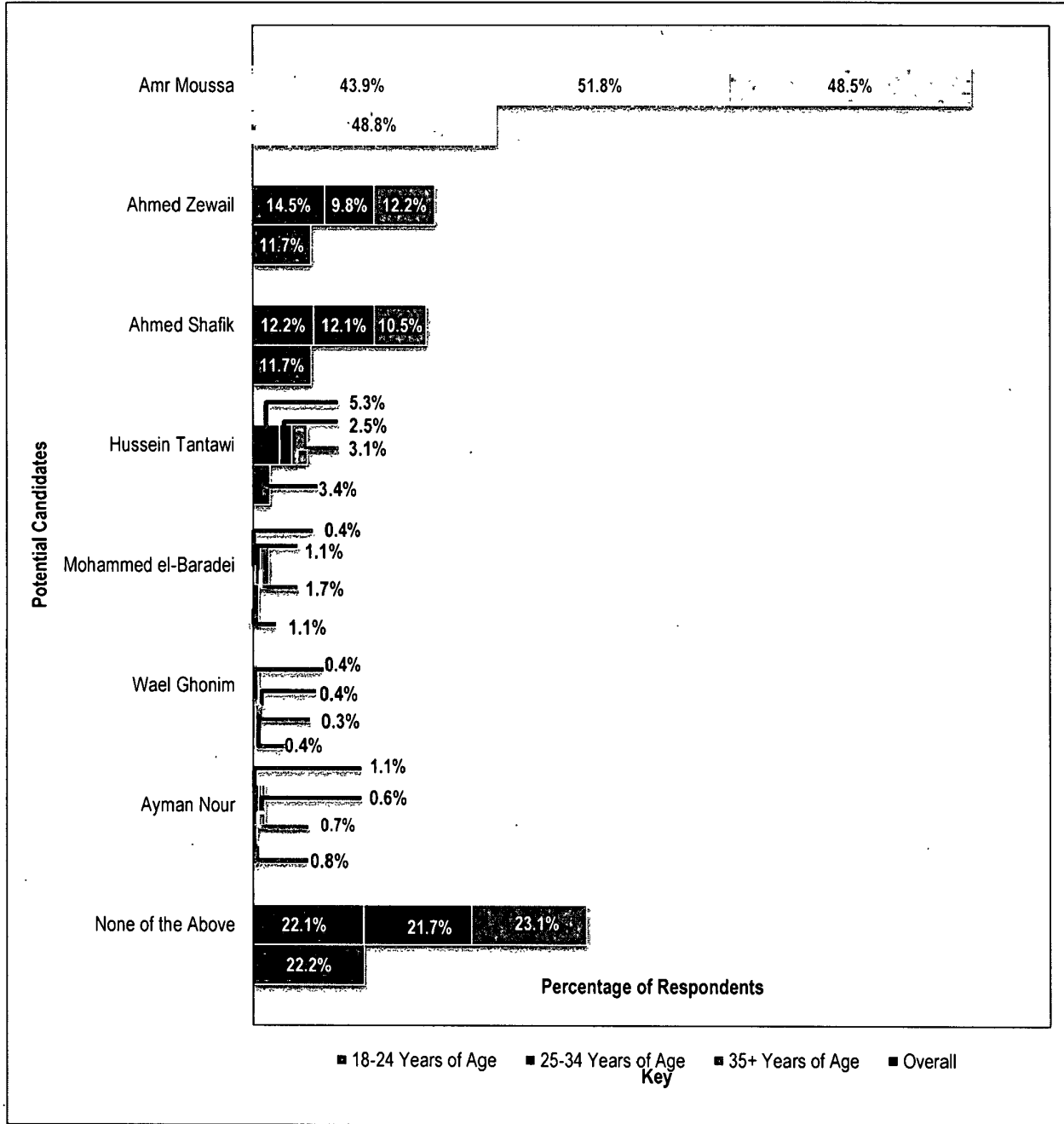
Figure S.2 – Which groups in Tahrir Square did you most identify with? (Check all that apply)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

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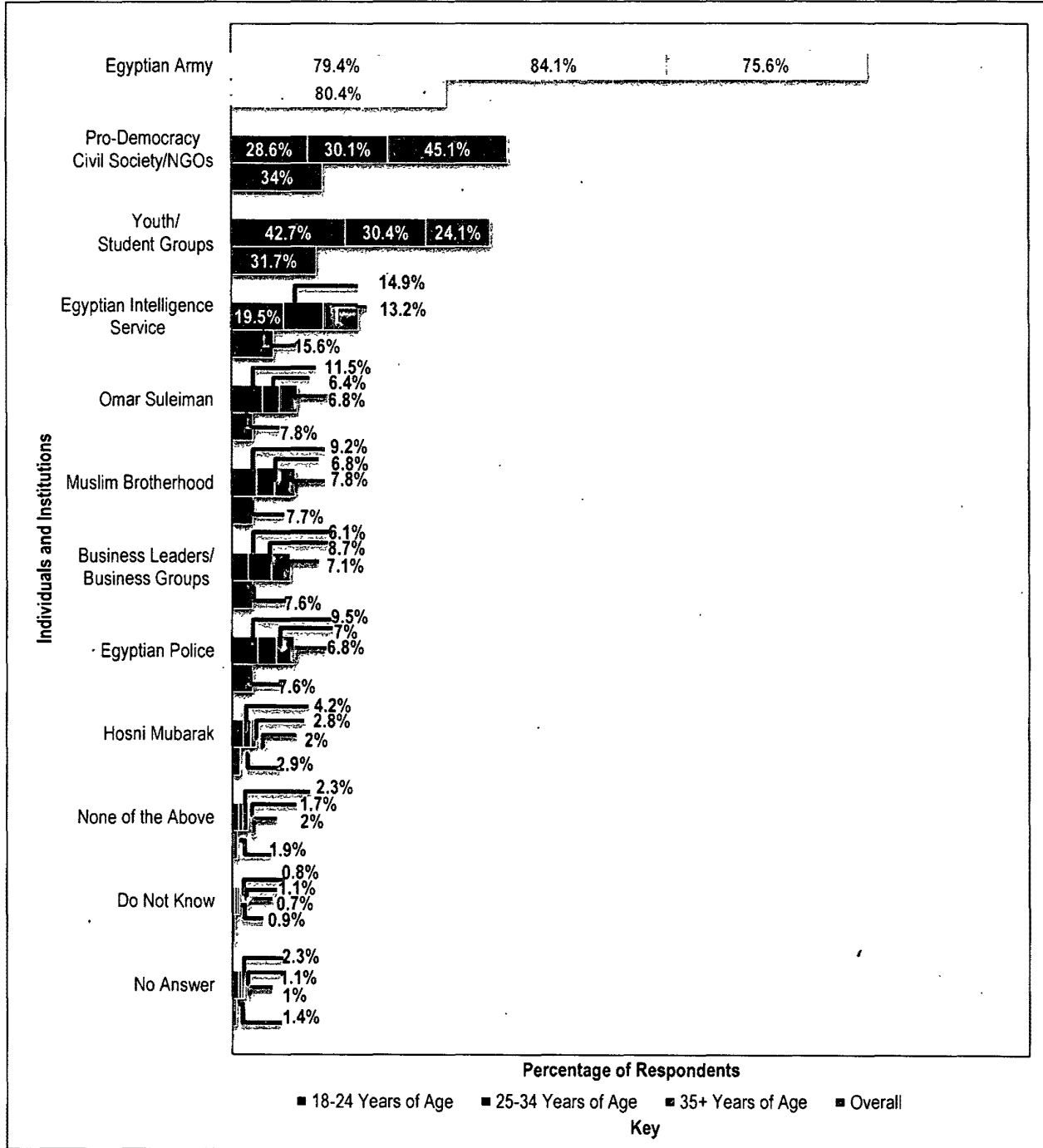
Figure S.3 – Who would make a good next president of Egypt?



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

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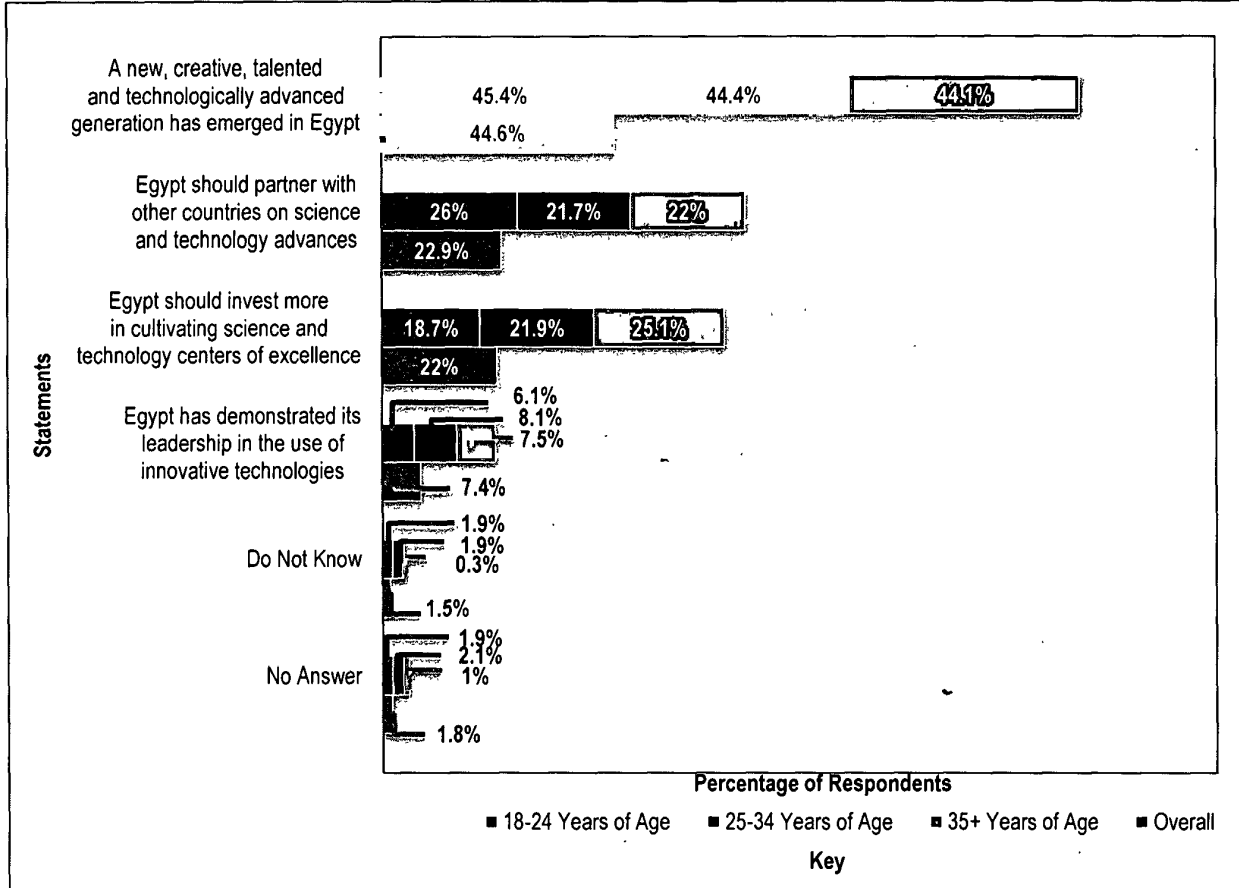
Figure S.4 – Which of the following do you most trust to steer Egypt's future in a positive direction? (Check all that apply)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

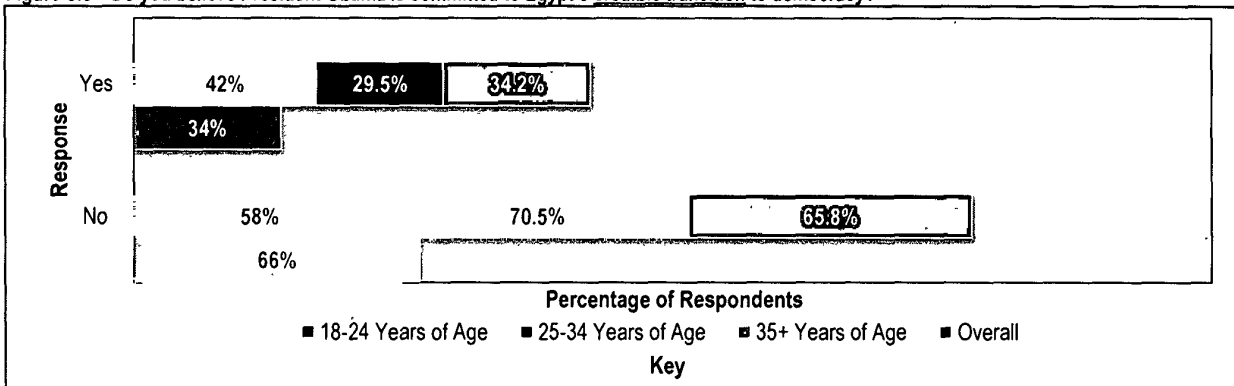
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Figure S.5 – Which of the following statements do you agree with most?



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

Figure S.6 – Do you believe President Obama is committed to Egypt's credible transition to democracy?

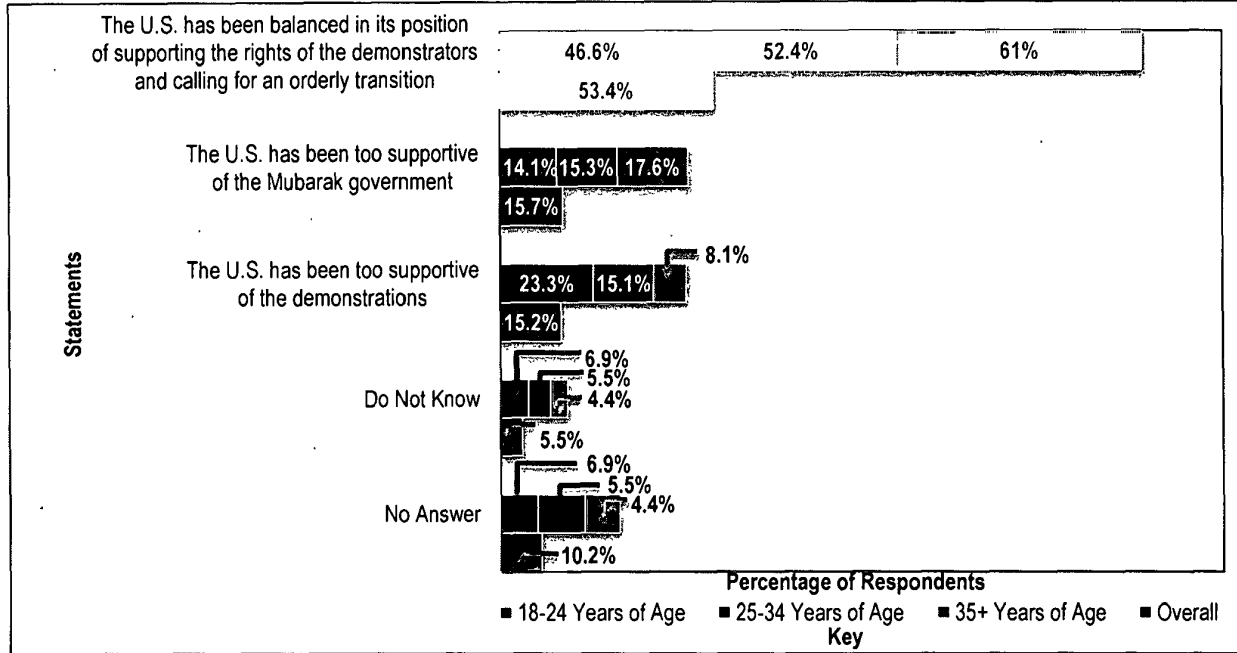


SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)



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Figure S.7 – Which of the following statements do you agree with most?



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

Figure S.8 – Whom do you Credit with Initiating the Demonstrations?  
Illustrative Examples of Open-Ended Responses Categorized as Youth (Non-Exhaustive)

"The fighting youth and the determined and patient spirit"	"The educated and country loving youth"
"We, the youth of Egypt, and no one else"	"The persistent Egyptian youth"
"The ambitious youth"	"The youth of this great country"
"The promising youth"	"Collective mindset of the youth"
"The youth who were involved in peaceful demonstrations"	"The free youth after feeling the injustice"
"The promising Egyptian youth who will change the future for the better"	"The brave, great Egyptian youth"
"All Egyptian youth who stood in Tahrir Square and sacrificed their souls for freedom"	"Dedicated Egyptian youth"
"The honorable and aware Egyptian youth"	"All the youth"
"The credit, in the beginning, goes to the youth hopeful for change..."	"The youth of January 25 who sacrificed their souls"
"The youth get all the credit"	"Only the youth, not a specific party or a group"

SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

NOTE: All responses translated from Arabic to English

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# 1 INTRODUCTION

In early February 2011, the United States (U.S.) Department of State's (State) Evaluation and Measurement Unit in the Office of Policy, Planning and Resources for the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (R/PPR-EMU) commissioned Booz Allen Hamilton (Booz Allen) to conduct quantitative survey research in Egypt by way of a "Snap Poll." With the escalation of citizen movements across the Middle East and North Africa, the recent revolution in Egypt necessitated this survey research to pulse Egyptians on their perspectives and experiences during and following the demonstrations that led to President Hosni Mubarak's resignation on February 11, 2011.

Informed by sources of input within State's Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs and the U.S. Embassy Cairo Public Affairs Section, R/PPR-EMU coordinated the development of a survey instrument to collect data from a sample of Egyptians online. Research objectives included acquiring situational awareness from Egyptians "on the ground" to ultimately inform the development of U.S. engagement strategies in Egypt during this critical period of transition within the region.

## 1.1 Data Collection Methodology

To enable rapid data collection characteristic of a Snap Poll, the research was carried out online with an Egyptian panel maintained by Booz Allen's partner in this engagement, Ipsos Public Affairs. Booz Allen leveraged its vast survey research and analytic capabilities to conduct this research within a one week timeframe. The survey was administered to 1,028 respondents in Arabic and formally fielded from **February 18 through February 24, 2011**. Please refer to Appendix C for the final English language survey instrument.

Currently, online data collection in Egypt is not representative of the general population. Furthermore, the online population in Egypt is largely comprised of those younger, educated and in some cases, more socio-economically privileged. Therefore, as the data demonstrates, online sources of information are invaluable because among this population are those who are engaged as active message multipliers. Because the majority of Egyptians currently do not have internet access and/or internet literacy, the online population who participated in the survey represents a community that is evolving in association, yet remains unrepresentative of the entire Egyptian population.

The majority of the Egyptian population is not connected to the internet, as internet penetration levels in Egypt are currently estimated to be **24.26%**<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1.1 Overview: Online Panel Composition

Both highly educated and connected online, 71.3%, or the majority of respondents, in this research are 34 years of age and under. However, the demographic composition of Ipsos' online panel in Egypt is quite comparable to the general population data in the most recent Egyptian Census administered by the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) in 2006.<sup>2</sup> Based on the 2006 Census data, nearly half of the general population is between 15 and 45 years of age.<sup>1</sup>

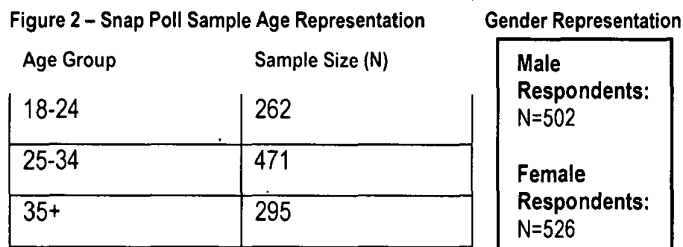
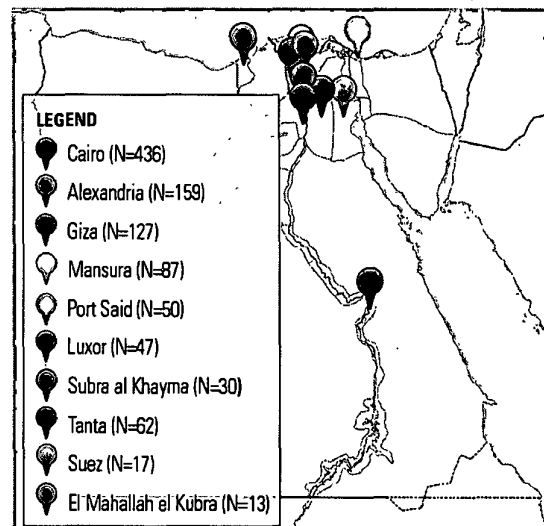


Figure 1 – Snap Poll Sample by Respondent Location (Overall N=1,028)



<sup>1</sup> For further information on how the demographic data from this survey compares to the 2006 CAPMAS Census data, please refer to Figure 2 below or Appendix A for graphical representations.

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The online survey was administered through a unique survey link sent to each of the 1,028 respondents from a pre-established panel of randomly selected Egyptians who are online and have regular internet access.<sup>3</sup> Of respondents in this survey, 65.2% are employed in some capacity, 19.6% are unemployed, 12% are students and 3.2% are retired. The data were not weighted for this research because no viable target weighting profiles exist and there is insufficient Census data to determine an exact profile for the Egyptian online population. Currently, there are significant differences in age and education levels between the online and offline populations in Egypt.

Figure 3 – A Closer Look at the Snap Poll Online Panel Composition Compared to the 2006 Egypt Census Data

Demographic Type	Snap Poll Survey Sample	General Population <sup>4</sup>
<b>GENDER</b>		
Male	48.8%	50.5%
Female	51.2%	49.6%
<b>AGE</b>		
18-24	25.5%	25.2%
25-34	45.8%	25.4%
35-44	17.9%	20.7%
45-54	8.0%	17.4%
55+	2.8%	11.3%
<b>EDUCATION</b>		
Illiterate	0.6%	29.6%
Read and Write		11.9%
Literacy		1.0%
Under Intermediate (Elementary/School up to 4 Years)		19.4%
Mediate (Secondary/SSC/HSC/School 5-9 years)	13.8%	26.0%
Above Intermediate (2-year Colleges)	85.6%	2.5%
University Degree		9.4%
Above University Degree		0.2%
<b>RELIGION</b>		
Islam	95.6%	90.0%
Christianity	1.8%	10.0%
Other	2.6%	Minimal

Note. General Population figures are informed by the 2006 CAPMAS Census data. The 2006 figures made publicly available by CAPMAS organize age groups in an architecture different from that utilized in this survey. As such, 2006 raw data figures made available through CAPMAS were re-calibrated to align with the age ranges in this Snap Poll.

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2 FINDINGS

2.1 Partnerships and the U.S. Commitment

KEY FINDINGS



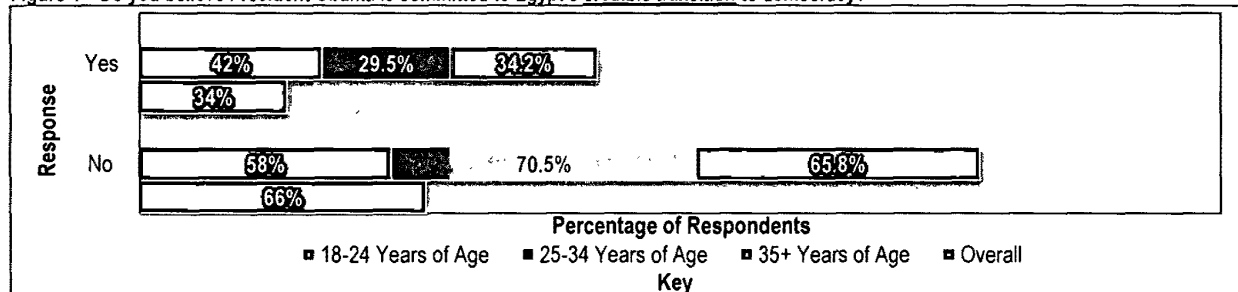
- ▶ While the majority of respondents do not believe President Obama is committed to Egypt's credible transition to democracy (66%), respondents between the ages of 18-24 are more likely to express higher levels of confidence in his commitment (42%)
- ▶ The majority of respondents believe that it is somewhat to very important for Egypt to maintain good relations with the U.S. (72.8%)
- ▶ Of the 94.8% of respondents who believe Egypt is heading in the right direction politically, slightly over one third are supportive of U.S. foreign policy interests, such as maintaining the 1979 Peace Treaty with Israel (38.2% overall and 64.5% of respondents between the ages of 18-24)
- ▶ The majority of respondents believe that the U.S. is the second most important partner for Egypt; the top five most important partners are as follows:
  - 1) Saudi Arabia (87.5%)
  - 2) United States (77.4%)
  - 3) Japan (74.8%)
  - 4) China (70.8%)
  - 5) Germany (70.8%)

Over the years, various studies including the Pew Research Center's 2010 *Obama More Popular Abroad than At Home, Global Image of the U.S. Continues to Benefit* sought to measure U.S. favorability levels among Arab populations in the Middle East and North Africa. In this Egypt Snap Poll, emphasis is placed on the responses of an online and educated Egyptian population, looking at their perceptions toward President Obama's commitment to democracy and the U.S. position on the recent demonstrations. Moreover, the extent to which respondents view the U.S. as an important partner for Egypt when compared to a sample of other countries is also examined given its implications for U.S. engagement strategies with target populations in Egypt.

2.1.1 President Obama and U.S. Foreign Policy

When asked whether or not they believe President Obama is committed to Egypt's credible transition to democracy, 34% of respondents believe that he is committed while 66% disagree. However, among the survey respondents, 42% of those between the ages of 18-24 constitute the 34% minority who believe President Obama is committed. While the majority of this youth bracket is confident in President Obama's commitment, those 25 years of age and older are more skeptical; 70.5% of those between the ages of 25-34 and 65.8% of those 35 and older do not believe he is committed to a credible democratic transition.

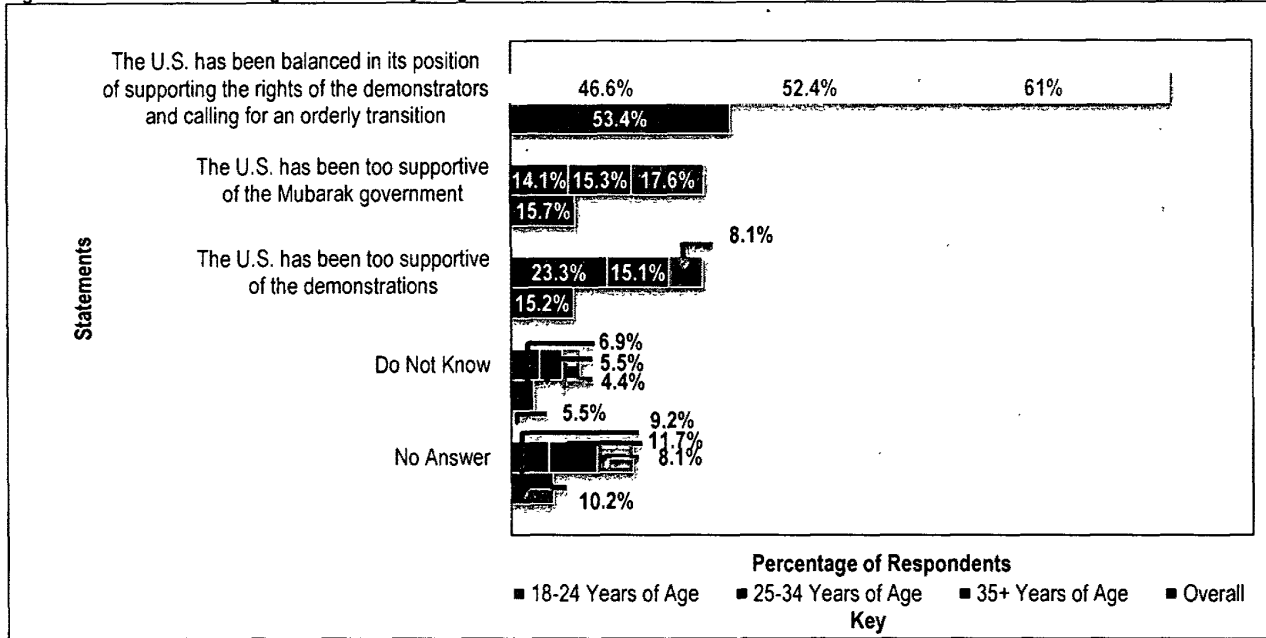
Figure 4 – Do you believe President Obama is committed to Egypt's credible transition to democracy?



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

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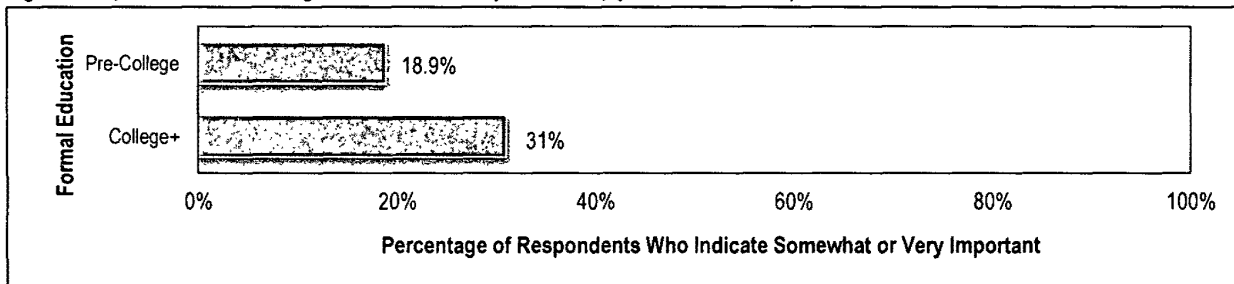
Figure 5 - Which of the following statements do you agree with most?



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

The data illustrates that there is significant variance among the 18-34 age bracket and those 35 and older on the topic of President Obama and the U.S. Of respondents between the ages of 18-34, 23.3% believe the U.S. has been too supportive of the demonstrations, while 17.6% of those over age 35 believe the U.S. has been too supportive of the Mubarak government. Moreover, respondents with greater levels of education (Figure 5) tend to skew slightly more favorably toward U.S. foreign policy priorities, such as maintaining good relations with the U.S. and maintaining the 1979 Peace Treaty with Israel. However, figures are low; of the 85.6% of respondents who have a college education or higher, 31% maintain views that the 1979 Peace Treaty with Israel is somewhat to very important.

Figure 6 - Importance of Maintaining the 1979 Peace Treaty with Israel (By Level of Education)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

- ▶ Of the 94.8% of respondents who believe Egypt is heading in the right direction politically, 38.2% believe that maintaining the 1979 Peace Treaty with Israel is very important while 72.8% believe that it is somewhat to very important for Egypt to maintain good relations with the U.S. This finding parallels the 53.4% of respondents who believe the U.S. has been balanced in its position of supporting the rights of the demonstrators and calling for an orderly transition.

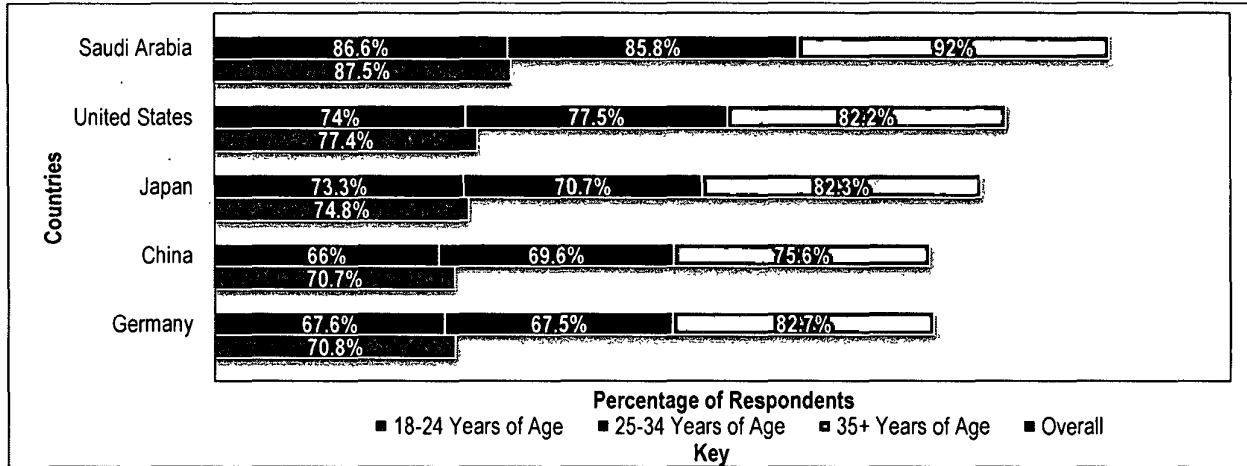
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- ▶ Almost two thirds of respondents ages 18- 24 believe maintaining the 1979 Peace Treaty with Israel is important (64.5%).
- ▶ 71.4% of respondents between the ages of 18 and 24 believe that it is somewhat to very important for Egypt to maintain good relations with the U.S.

2.1.2 Important Partners for Egypt

Respondents who do not believe the U.S. is an important partner for Egypt are also less likely to believe that President Obama is committed to Egypt's credible transition to a democracy. For example, 84% of those who do not think the U.S. is an important partner for Egypt do not believe Obama is committed to Egypt's democratic transition. Despite the 66% who do not believe Obama is committed to Egypt's credible transition to democracy, 72.3% believe the U.S. is a somewhat to very important partner for Egypt. Respondents rank the U.S. as the second most important partner for Egypt, following Saudi Arabia.

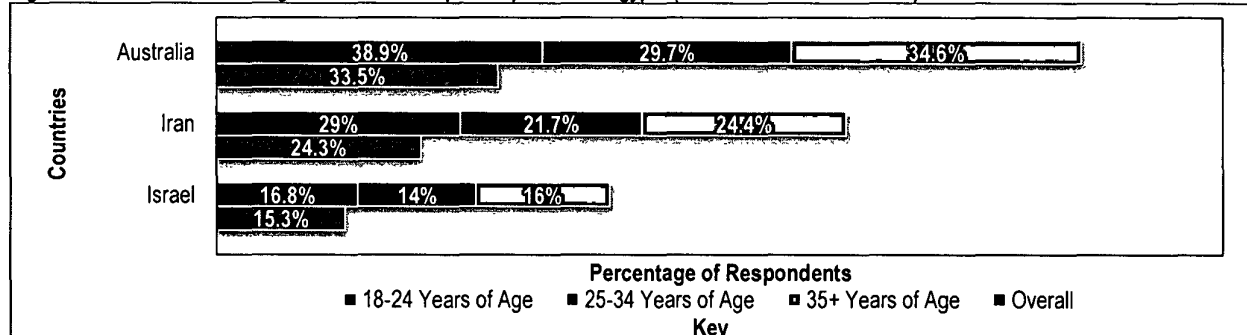
Figure 7 - Which of the following countries is an important partner for Egypt? (Top 5 Ranked Countries)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

- ▶ For those 18-24 years of age, 86.6% view Saudi Arabia as an important partner, followed by the United States at 74%, Japan at 73.3%, Germany at 67.6% and China with 66%. Respondents ages 25-34 and over 35 years of age share the views of youth 18-24 with great consistency.
- ▶ Overall, respondents view Israel, Iran and Australia as the least important partners for Egypt. Of respondents ages 18-24, only 16.8% believe Israel is an important partner, while 29% select Iran and 38.9% identify Australia.

Figure 8 - Which of the following countries is an important partner for Egypt? (Bottom 3 Ranked Countries)



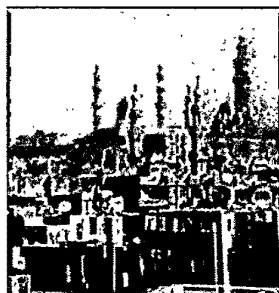
SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

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In the absence of qualitative data to explain respondent rationale for the five frontrunners above, based on other data in the survey, what becomes clear are the linkages among the data and core issues in development. For example, in addition to Islam bridging Saudi Arabia and Egypt, Saudi Arabia's economic influence in the region is also critical. Furthermore, in 2009 and 2010, the Egyptian Minister of Investment paid two visits to China to promote developing the Upper Egypt and Red Sea regions.<sup>5</sup> Of the countries listed in the survey, respondents view Iran and Israel as relatively unimportant partners for Egypt, 60.9% and 69.3% respectively.

## 2.2 Savvy and Hopeful

### KEY FINDINGS



- ▶ Nearly half of all respondents agree that a new, creative, talented and technologically advanced generation has emerged in Egypt (44.6%)
  - Nearly a quarter of those 18-24 and 25-34 years of age believe Egypt should partner with other countries on science and technology advances (26% and 21.7%, respectively)
- ▶ The majority of respondents are either somewhat or very optimistic about Egypt's future as a result of the demonstrations (93.5%)
- ▶ Those who are optimistic about Egypt's future are also more often confident that the elections will represent the will of the Egyptian people
- ▶ Males are slightly more optimistic than females about Egypt's future, political direction and economy (95.6% and 91.4%, respectively)

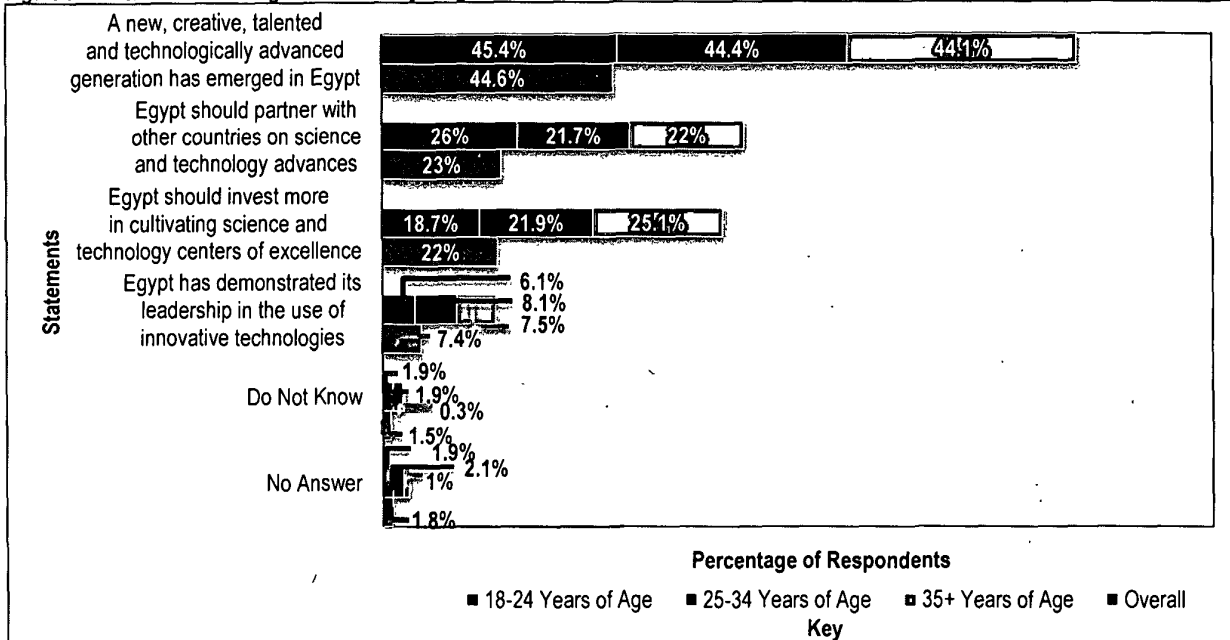
### 2.2.1 Young, Connected and Engaged

Of those surveyed, 44.6% agree that a new, creative, talented and technologically advanced generation has emerged in Egypt. Approximately 22.9% agree that "Egypt should partner with other countries on science and technology advances," while approximately 22% agree that "Egypt should invest more in cultivating science and technology centers of excellence."

- ▶ Overall, with regard to agreement that a new, creative, talented and technologically advanced generation has emerged in Egypt, there are no statistically significant differences among age groups.
- ▶ However, when compared to those 25 and older, youth ages 18-24 more often indicated that Egypt should partner with other countries on science and technology advances.

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Figure 9 - Which of the following statements do you agree with most?

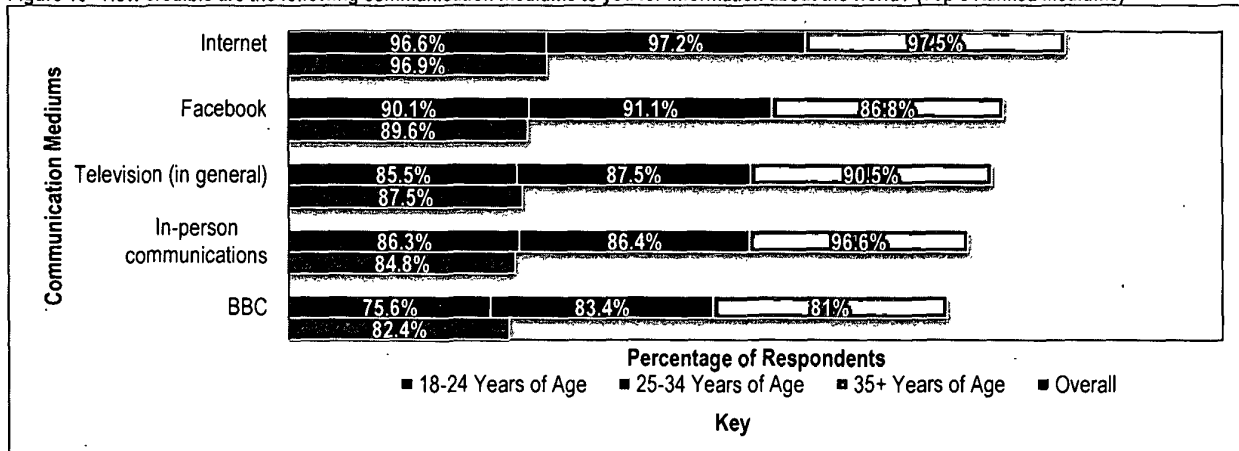


SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

While internet penetration levels in Egypt currently do not extend beyond a quarter of the population, the following are key findings which shed light on how the internet is used among the minority who are connected:

- ▶ 96.9% of respondents identify the internet as a credible communication tool for obtaining information about the world.
- ▶ Facebook's credibility as a communication medium is vast, with 89.6% of respondents indicating it is somewhat to very important.
- ▶ Of those who believe Egypt is moving in the right political direction, 90.5% believe that Facebook is either somewhat or very important.

Figure 10 - How credible are the following communication mediums to you for information about the world? (Top 5 Ranked Mediums)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)



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Because of the online panel approach in this survey, respondents are already pre-disposed to the internet. According to a January 2011 Dubai School of Government report, Egyptians comprise 22% of Facebook users in the Arab region, though the male to female ratio is 2:1, which differs significantly from Facebook's global 54% female user base.<sup>6</sup> Facebook and Twitter user data in Egypt is as follows:

**FACEBOOK<sup>10</sup>**

- ▶ **4,634,000** Egyptian users (December 2010)
- ▶ **5.49%** penetration level among the Egyptian population (December 2010)

**TWITTER<sup>11</sup>**

- ▶ **14,642** Twitter users identify their location as Egypt, Yemen or Tunisia
- ▶ **122,319** crisis-related "Tweets" from January 16 – 23, 2011
- ▶ **1,317,233** crisis-related "Tweets" from January 24 – 30, 2011

From January 28 - February 2, 2011, the Egyptian government blocked internet access to citizens across 80 internet providers.<sup>12</sup> In the absence of internet access, Google, SayNow and Twitter identified an opportunity to forge a unique partnership and created *Speak2Tweet*.<sup>13</sup> *Speak2Tweet* provides Egyptians with the opportunity to call an international telephone number via mobile or landline and leave a voice message.<sup>14</sup> The messages are automatically uploaded to Twitter at *Twitter.com/speak2tweet* along with the "hashtag" *#egypt* to facilitate searching.<sup>15</sup> Users can also call the same international phone numbers to hear the voice messages left by other callers.<sup>16</sup>

Collaborating on...

## facebook

A February 13, 2011 New York Times article reports that Tunisian and Egyptian youth had collaborated for two years on Facebook.<sup>7</sup> Activists had reportedly used the platform for brainstorming about technology use and for sharing tips and best practices, such as the one contained in this message: "*Advice to the youth of Egypt: Put vinegar or onion under your scarf for tear gas.*"<sup>8</sup> The April 6 Movement also relied on Facebook for organizing the demonstrations.<sup>9</sup>

Image Courtesy of www.facebook.com

Figure 11 – *Speak2Tweet* Illustrative Example: February 8, 2011<sup>17</sup>

# SayNow

Learn More • Browse People • Blog • Sign Up • Login

Message

**speak2tweet : 16504194196**  
02/08/11 01:53 PM 04:17

02/08/11 01:53 PM 00:43

[About Us](#) | [Terms of Service](#) | [Privacy Policy](#) | [Help and Support](#)

Text message notification works on most U.S. carriers. SayNow is free, but your cell phone carrier may charge you for receiving text messages or for long distance calls depending on the type of plan you have. To stop receiving text messages text STOP to 729669 (SAYNOW). For help text HELP.

**Arabic Transcription:**  
 اليوم في ميدان التحرير رأيت العجب، رأيت ما جعلني أشعر بالفخر والإعزاز. رأيت ما جعلني أعتز فرحاً وطرباً. رأيت الثورة الفاضلة. رأيت مواكب الطبيب بجوار العامل، المحامي بجوار الأستاذ، المهندس بجوار المزارع، أساتذة جامعات والعمال وكل طبقات المجتمع بدأ بيد. صفاء ونقاء. تحس بأنك في عالم آخر.

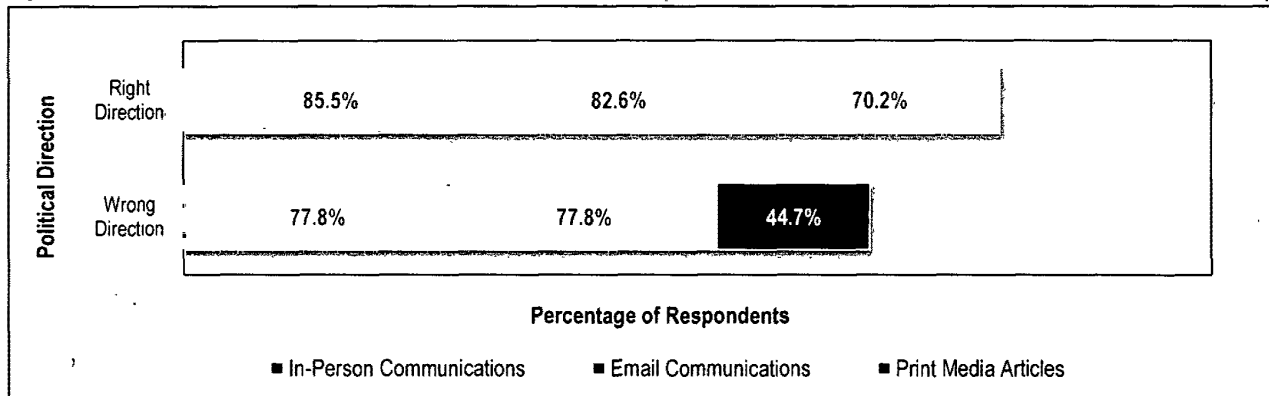
**English Translation:**  
 "Today, I saw wonders in Tahrir Square. I saw what made me feel proud, and made me want to jump in joy. I saw the revolution. I saw the doctor walking beside the worker, the lawyer next to the teacher, the engineer next to the farmer. I saw college professors, workers and all social classes, hand in hand. It was pure and honest, as if one was in another world."

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2.2.2 Traditional Forms of Communication

Despite the attention that the internet and social media have received among Egyptians, it is important to note that the data points to the importance and relevance of traditional media.<sup>18</sup> For example, 84.8% of respondents identify in-person communications as an important medium for obtaining information about the world. Also, 9.1% of respondents volunteer open-ended information regarding other personal forms of communications used for information about the world, such as family interactions and attendance at live events. While email and television are also somewhat to very important sources of information, 81.8% and 87.5% respectively, 69.3% of respondents also view print media articles as somewhat or very important.

Figure 12 – Level of Importance of Communication Mediums Based on Opinion of Egypt’s Political Direction (Overall)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

Among those who believe Egypt is heading in the right direction politically, respondents place significant emphasis on the importance of in-person, email and print media communications. As such, those who view these communication mediums as credible sources of information are more likely to be confident that Egypt is headed in the right direction. Since in-person and print media articles are nearly equally, if not more, important than email communications, the following are non-exhaustive examples of the specific newspapers voluntarily named by some respondents when indicating how they acquire information about the world:

- ▶ Al Masry al Youm
- ▶ Youm 7 Sabe'
- ▶ Al Masriya

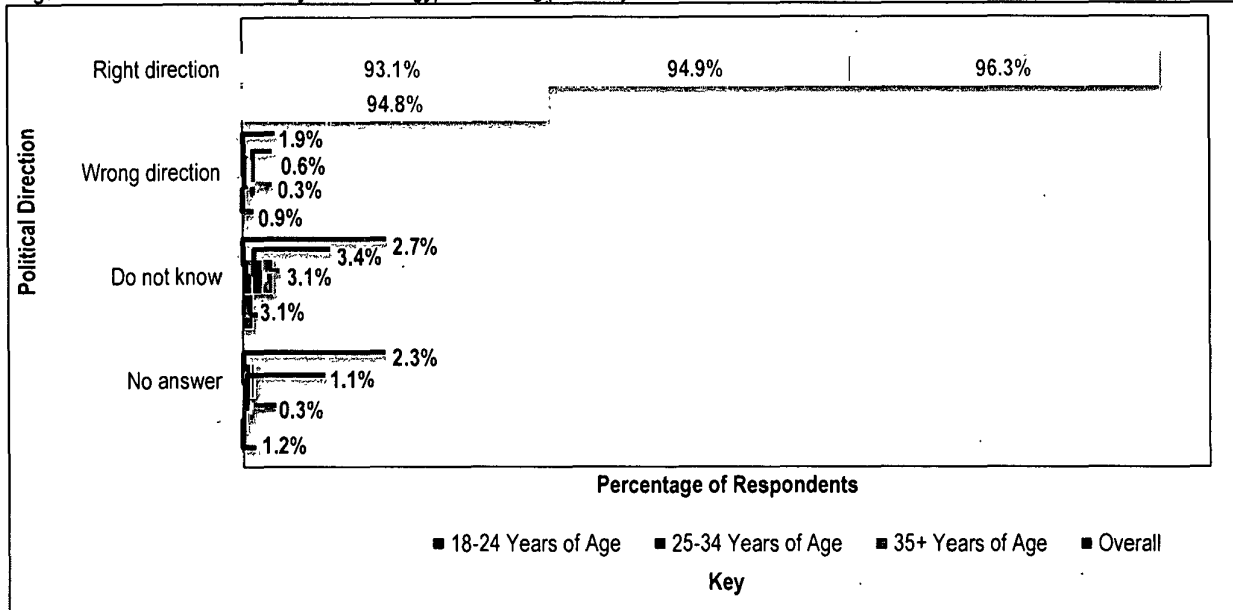
Of importance is that all three newspapers are Egyptian publications, and while "print media articles" is a prompted response option, some respondents volunteer specific publication information. Furthermore, 69.7% of respondents overall indicate that Al Jazeera is an important information source, while 93.1% of respondents over the age of 55 and 61.5% of youth ages 18-24 believe Al Jazeera is somewhat or very important. Similarly, both CNN and BBC acquire high ratings of somewhat or very important, 75.1% and 82.4% respectively.

2.2.3 Politically and Economically Hopeful

Of the 94.8% of respondents who believe Egypt is heading in the right direction politically, 93.1% are between 18-24 years of age, 94.9% are between 25-34 years of age and 96.3% are over 35 years of age.

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Figure 13 - In which direction do you believe Egypt is heading politically?



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

**CHANGES IN POLITICAL DIRECTION**

Because the scope of this Snap Poll is not inclusive of formal qualitative methodologies, there is no data to explain what constitutes the “right” political direction in Egypt versus the “wrong” direction. However, recent changes in Egyptian political discourse may shed light on some causality:

*On February 13, 2011, the Supreme Council of Armed Forces assigned an 8 person Legal Panel headed by Tariq al-Bashry to amend the 1979 Constitution, which is currently suspended until a public referendum is held because of the number of recent amendments incorporated by President Hosni Mubarak.<sup>19</sup>*

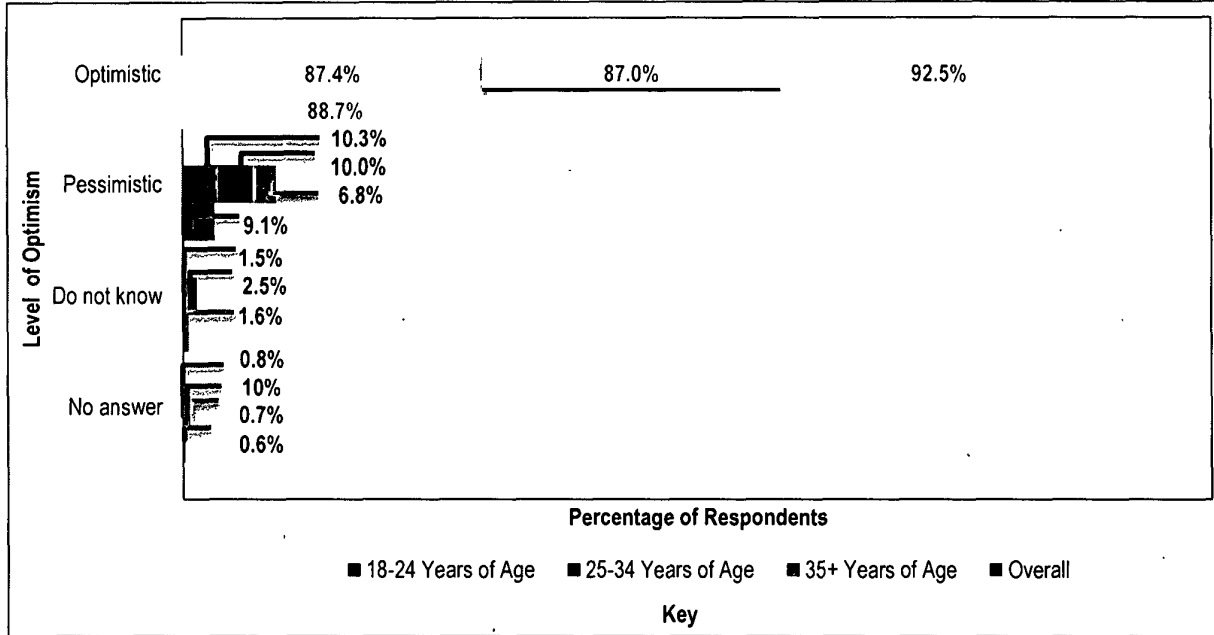
The views of the majority who believe Egypt is heading in the right direction politically may also be attributed to proposed constitutional changes, such as the following suggested modification to Article 77:<sup>20</sup>

- ▶ **PRESENTLY:** The duration of the presidency is 6 years starting after the announcement of the winning candidate; the candidate can be re-elected as president for *another* term.
- ▶ **PROPOSED:** The duration of the presidency is 4 years starting after the announcement of the winning candidate; the candidate can be re-elected as president for *one* more term.

Similarly, the survey probed participants about their views on economic conditions in Egypt. Overall, 88.7% of respondents express optimism about the Egyptian economy following the demonstrations. This percentage, however, indicates slightly lower optimism about the economy than about Egypt’s future and political direction.

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Figure 14 - How optimistic are you about economic conditions in Egypt?



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

Figure 15 - How optimistic are you about economic conditions in Egypt? (By Geographic Location)

Location	Overall Respondent Sample Size (N)	Percentage of Optimistic Respondents
Cairo	436	89.2%
Alexandria	159	91.2%
Giza	127	89%
Subra al-Khaymah	87	90%
Port Said	50	82%
Suez	47	94.1%
El Mahalla el Kubra	30	84.6%
Tanta	62	88.7%
Mansura	17	83.9%
Luxor	13	89.4%

SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

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2.3 Issues that Matter Most

KEY FINDINGS

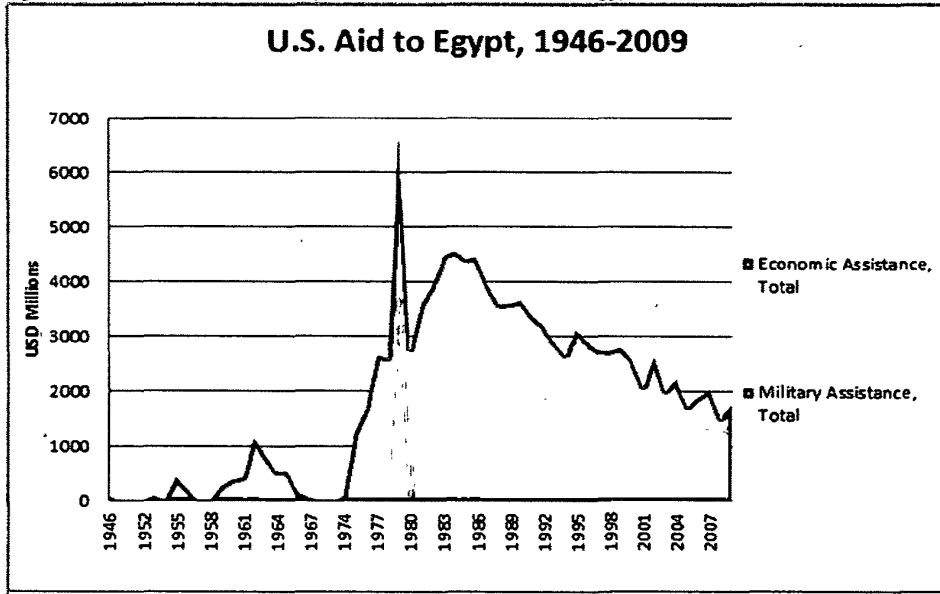


- ▶ The following issues are among the most important for 97% of respondents between the ages of 18 - 24:
  - Access to employment/job opportunities
  - Security
  - Youth rights
- ▶ More female respondents than male respondents indicate that women's rights and protection are somewhat or very important (96.8% and 85.3%, respectively)
- ▶ Of those with a college-level education and above, approximately 29.2% identify free and fair elections as the priority issue area, compared to 20.9% of those who do not have a college education

Employment opportunities, democracy and security are among the principal issues that are top of mind and important to Egyptian respondents in this survey. 96.7% of respondents believe that access to jobs/ employment opportunities is either a somewhat or very important issue. Similarly, 97.7% believe that better wages/working conditions are a somewhat or very important issue.

As indicated by the Center for Global Development, the U.S. provides an average of \$2 billion USD in foreign economic and military assistance to Egypt annually.<sup>21</sup> While the majority of the assistance goes directly to the military, a significant portion of funding is allocated through an Economic Support Fund (ESF), which provides resources for health, education and economic growth. 80.4% of respondents indicate they most trust the Army, which is significant given that most of the U.S. aid to Egypt is in the form of military aid.<sup>22</sup> Since 1979, Egypt has been the second largest U.S. foreign aid recipient, with the majority allocated to military aid.<sup>23</sup>

Figure 16 – Center for Global Development Illustration of U.S. Aid to Egypt, 1946-2009<sup>24</sup>

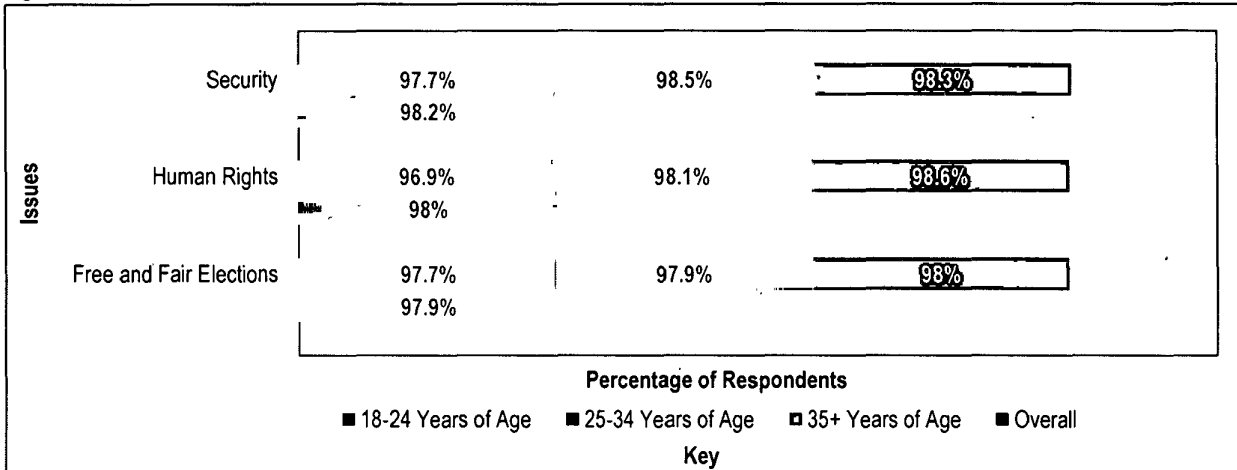


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2.3.1 Issue Prioritization

Respondents demonstrate that both free and fair elections and economic reforms are the most important issues for Egypt to address in the next 6-12 months. Specifically, 28% identify free and fair elections as the priority while 27.6% select economic reforms. Males with higher education and income levels prioritize free and fair elections more often than other respondent groups. 32.7% of males prioritize free and fair elections, compared to 23.6% of females. Of those with college-level educations and above, approximately 29.2% identify free and fair elections as the priority issue area, while 20.9% of those who do not have a college education do so. Similarly, 34.4% of those more affluent with incomes above 1500 EGY per month select free and fair elections, compared to the 22.6% of those with incomes under 1500 EGY per month.

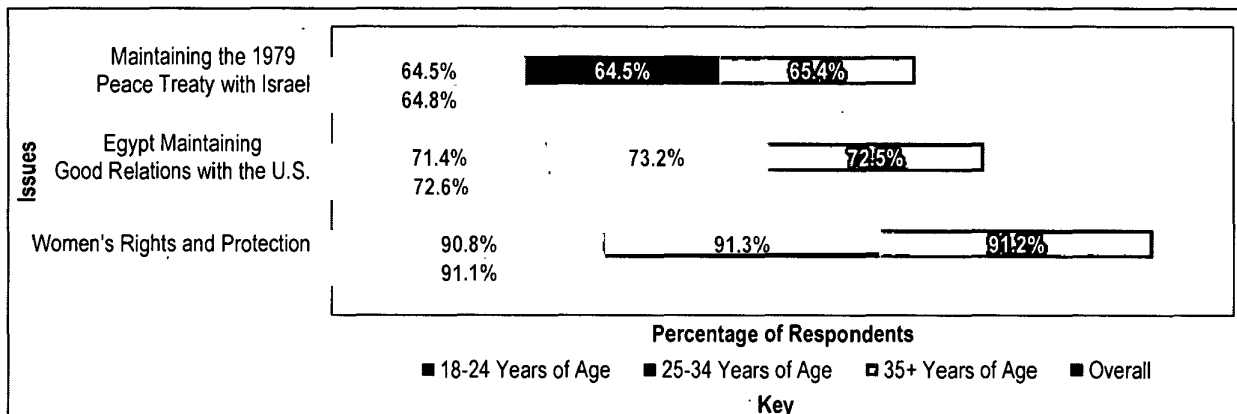
Figure 17 – Top 3 Most Important Issues of Concern for Respondents



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

According to respondents, security, human rights and free and fair elections are among the top 3 most important issues of concern relating to Egypt, with more than 95% of respondents overall attributing importance to these 3 issues. Meanwhile, women's rights and protection, maintaining good relations with the U.S. and maintaining the 1979 Peace Treaty with Israel are the 3 least important issues concerning respondents. Among youth ages 18-24, 90.8% believe women's rights and protections are important, 71.4% view maintaining good relations with the U.S. as important and 64.5% believe that maintaining the 1979 Peace Treaty with Israel is important. Responses among those ages 25-34 and 35+ mirror the responses of those ages 18-24.

Figure 18 – Top 3 Least Important Issues of Concern for Respondents

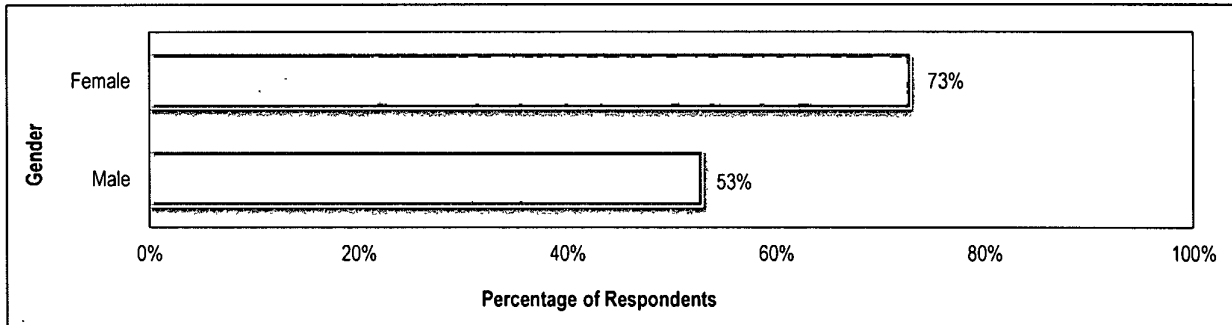


SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

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Female respondents indicate that women's rights and protection are somewhat to very important more frequently than males, 96.8% compared to 85.3%. This data are the only instance of significant variation between male and female responses. Of the female respondents, 73% believe that women's rights and protection are very important, while only 53% of male respondents share that view.

Figure 19 – Level of Importance of Women's Rights and Protection Based on Gender



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

With regard to location, 100% of respondents from El Mahalla el Kubra agree that youth rights are very important. The sample size of 13 individuals in El Mahalla el Kubra is very small relative to the sample sizes in other cities, meaning that the sample size is not representative of the population. Additionally, due to the quantitative nature of the Snap Poll, it is implausible to deduce reasons for this variation. However, based on situational awareness and history, linkages can be made with the 2008 strike among workers in El Mahalla el Kubra, which inspired national strikes that catalyzed the momentum behind the April 6 Youth Movement.<sup>25</sup>

**The April 6 Youth Movement** was born following the 2008 labor strikes in support of the demonstrations that started in the Delta industrial region of El Mahallah el Kubra.<sup>27</sup>

- ▶ Aims to promote political reform, implement democratic governance, protect the right to form parties and engage in the political process
- ▶ Not a political party, but instead a movement that was facilitated and advanced through Facebook following its initial support by 100,000 users

## 2.4 Demonstrations and the Revolution

### KEY FINDINGS



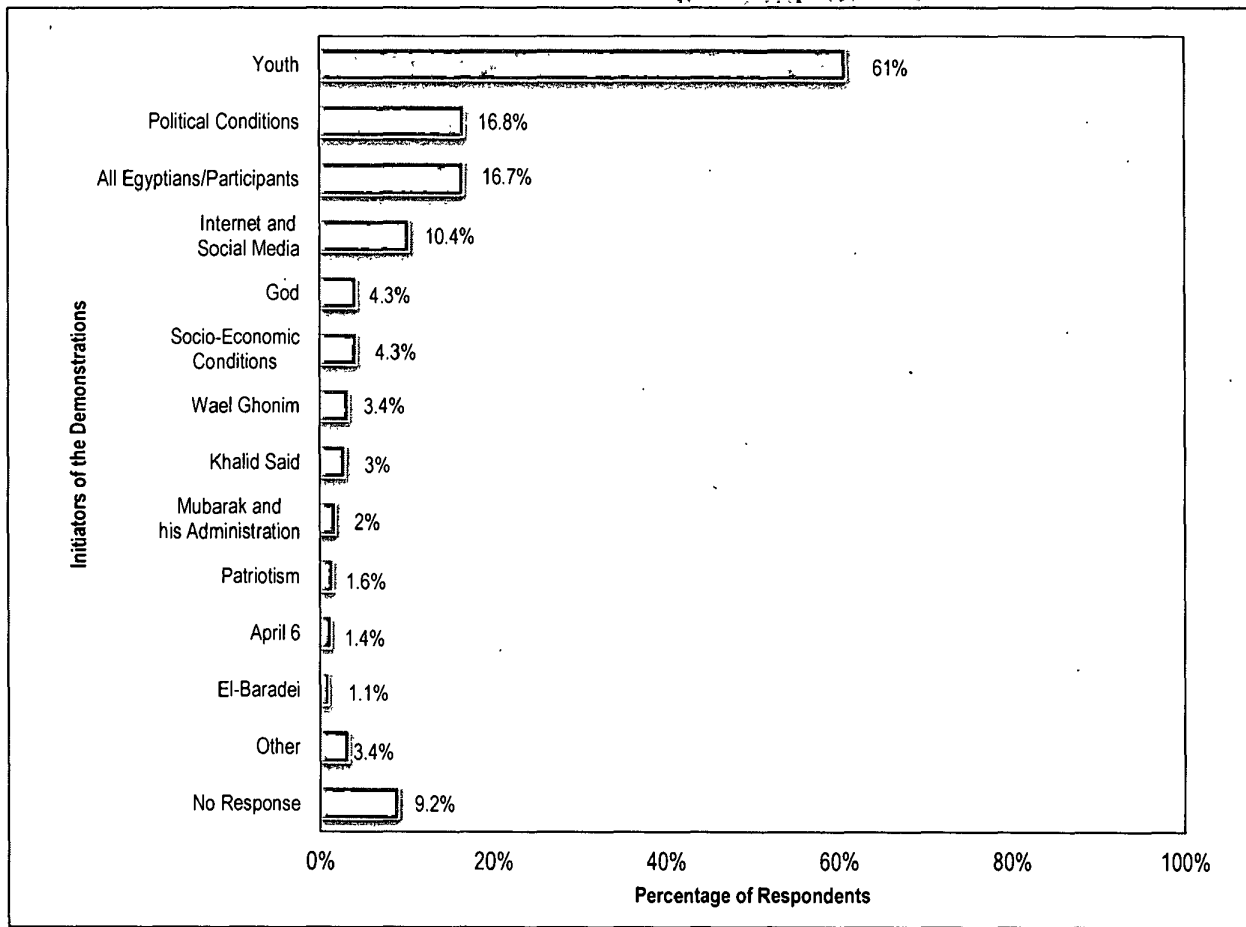
- ▶ Most respondents believe that the demonstrations represented them and their interests (92.6%)
  - The majority of respondents between the ages of 18-24 believe that the demonstrations represented them and their interests (91.6%)
- ▶ The majority of respondents credit youth with initiating the demonstrations (61%); however, the percentage of those who credit the internet/social media is noteworthy (10.4%)
- ▶ Of the groups in Tahrir Square, respondents overall most identify with the Egyptian Army (54.8%), while the Muslim Brotherhood ranks fifth at 11.5%
  - Among the majority of youth ages 18-24, the Egyptian Army is also the group they most identify with in Tahrir Square (54.6%)

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More than 90% of respondents indicate that the demonstrations represented them and their interests, and while only 7.4% indicate that the demonstrations did not, there is little variation among demographic sub-groups on this measure. Of this 92.6% of respondents, 61% credit youth for initiating the demonstrations, followed by 16.8% who credit existing political conditions and another 16.7% who credit all Egyptians, irrespective of the demographic. Those Snap Poll respondents who credit existing political conditions for the initiation of the demonstrations volunteer the following examples in their responses:

- ▶ Injustice
- ▶ Oppression
- ▶ Insecurity and instability
- ▶ Corruption
- ▶ Suffering
- ▶ Rights

Figure 20 – Categorization of Open-Ended Responses Identifying Whom Respondents Credit for Initiating the Demonstrations



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

Of the 4.4% of respondents who credit socio-economic conditions with initiating the demonstrations, responses include poverty, hunger, economic disparity and unemployment. Respondents who credit youth with initiating the demonstrations volunteer the following open-ended responses:



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Figure 21 – Whom do you Credit with Initiating the Demonstrations? Illustrative Examples of Open-Ended Responses Categorized as Youth (Non-Exhaustive)

"The fighting youth and the determined and patient spirit"	"The educated and country loving youth"
"We, the youth of Egypt, and no one else"	"The persistent Egyptian youth"
"The ambitious youth"	"The youth of this great country"
"The promising youth"	"Collective mindset of the youth"
"The youth who were involved in peaceful demonstrations"	"The free youth after feeling the injustice"
"The promising Egyptian youth who will change the future for the better"	"The brave, great Egyptian youth"
"All Egyptian youth who stood in Tahrir Square and sacrificed their souls for freedom"	"Dedicated Egyptian youth"
"The honorable and aware Egyptian youth"	"All the youth"
"The credit, in the beginning, goes to the youth hopeful for change..."	"The youth of January 25 who sacrificed their souls"
"The youth get all the credit"	"Only the youth, not a specific party or a group"

SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

\*NOTE: All responses translated from Arabic to English

2.4.1 Citizen Movements

Interestingly, only 3.4% of respondents credit Wael Ghonim for initiating the demonstrations and 3% credit Khaled Said. In June 2010, Said was publicly beaten and killed by Egyptian police in Alexandria, Egypt.<sup>27</sup> His death triggered the creation of a Facebook page which helped facilitate the recent demonstrations. As a result of his death and the police's denial of their involvement, Said has become a symbol of the revolution.<sup>28</sup> Wael Ghonim, a Google marketing executive, created "We Are All Khaled Said", a Facebook page to raise awareness and generate momentum for injustice and rampant corruption.<sup>29</sup> Ghonim, to whom 27.9% of respondents indicate they most identified with in Tahrir Square, maintained the Khaled Said Facebook page to expand reach and engage Egyptian Facebook users. As a result, Ghonim had disappeared for 12 days only to reappear in the public eye after conducting a television interview on February 7, 2011. In this interview, he indicated he had been detained and imprisoned by the Egyptian authorities. This interview re-energized the opposition movement and thousands of protesters returned to the streets of Cairo the next day.<sup>30</sup> Ghonim continues to share updates and views from Egypt via social media.<sup>31</sup>

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Figure 22 – “We are all Khaled Said” Facebook Page Screenshot: February 16, 2011

**We are all Khaled Said** Like

Wall Info Notes Photos Discussions Events >>

We are all Khaled Said + Others **Just We are all Khaled Said** Just Others

**We are all Khaled Said** Welcome to the new Egypt. A new country that started in Tahrir square. A country of unity, peace, freedom & justice for all. Help us build it. Keep your support. Thanks to all your efforts & help.

**The birth of a new EGYPT**  
www.youtube.com  
Tahrir Square PRESENTS The birth of a new EGYPT Directed by Safwan Nasser El din D.O.P Safwan Nasser El din Mohamed el kady Nader el MaSrabay Edited by Safwan Nasser El din Pros by Marwan Abdin

56 minutes ago · Share

247 people like this.

View all 46 comments

**We are all Khaled Said** Thanks to Eric for his video in support of the Egyptian dignity revolution.

**Tahrir Caravan**  
www.youtube.com  
I wanted to celebrate and honor the spirit, bravery, and determination of the people of Egypt to peacefully change. For freedom. For dignity. For a people's right to self determination. For peace to triumph over all efforts to subvert it and drag it down into the mud. For the heart and soul of

4 hours ago · Share

**Information**

About:  
<http://elshaheed.co.uk/>  
[alshaheed@gmail.com](mailto:alshaheed@gmail.com)

Background story  
<http://bit.ly/8YR4LA>

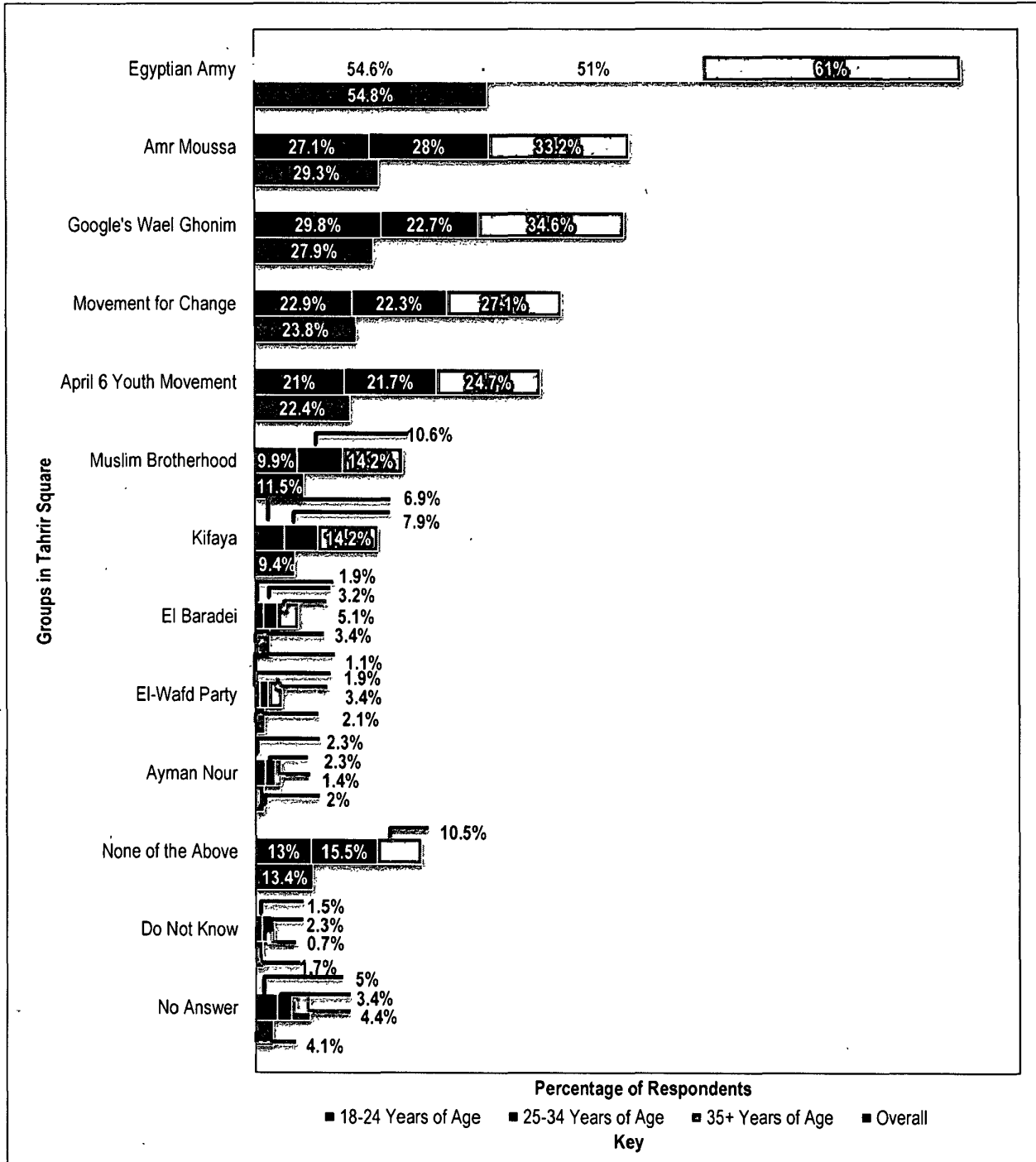
Here is how you can help: <http://bit.ly/axp6kB>

One paragraph summarizing our cause and our aims translated to many languages: <http://bit.ly/axp6kB>

Another Facebook platform of significant popularity among respondents is that of the April 6 Movement. Of the 22.4% of respondents who most identify with the April 6 Movement in Tahrir Square, 66.8% indicate that Facebook is a very important communication medium for credible information about the world. Of similar statistical significance, when combining Movement for Change and they slogan *Kifaya*, 33.2% of respondents most identify with this group in Tahrir Square. Arabic for "Enough", *Kifaya* represents the Movement for Change which seeks to promote various democratic principles, such as direct elections, and opposes both American and Israeli influences in the region.<sup>32</sup> The Movement was founded by 300 Egyptian intellectuals from various ideological backgrounds in November 2004 and has called for an end to President Hosni Mubarak's rule.<sup>33</sup> Despite the frequency with which respondents indicate they most identify with the Movement for Change, the April 6 Youth Movement or Wael Ghonim in Tahrir Square, the majority of respondents, 54.8% overall, indicate most identifying with the Egyptian Army while Amr Moussa ranks second. With respect to the Egyptian Army, there is very little variance among age groups. On average, 13% of respondents overall do not identify with any of the individuals or groups prompted in the survey.

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Figure 23 - Which groups in Tahrir Square did you most identify with? (Check all that apply)

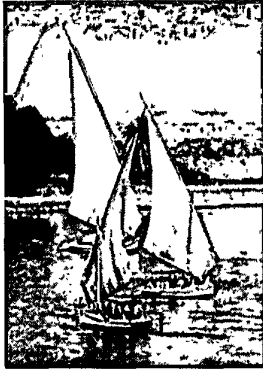


SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 - 24, 2011)

## Egypt Snap Poll: Perspectives of Educated and Online Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution

## 2.5 The Path Forward

### KEY FINDINGS



- ▶ The majority of those between the ages of 18-24 and 25-34 trust the Egyptian Army to steer the country's future in a positive direction (79.4% of those ages 18-24 and 84.1% of those ages 25-34)
  - When compared to higher incomes, lower income respondents trust the Egyptian Army more (83.5% and 76.9%, respectively)
- ▶ The Muslim Brotherhood ranks as the sixth favored group to steer Egypt's future in a positive direction (7.7%)
- ▶ Nearly half of the respondents believe Amr Moussa would make a good next President of Egypt (48.8%). However, 22.2% of respondents indicate that none of the seven listed response options would make a good next president of Egypt
- ▶ The majority of respondents believe the following issues are most important for Egypt to address in the next 6-12 months:
  - 1) Free and fair elections (28%)
  - 2) Economic reforms (27.6%)
  - 3) Higher wages and better working conditions (13.1%)
  - 4) Reducing unemployment (11.3%)
  - 5) Educational reforms (9.4%)

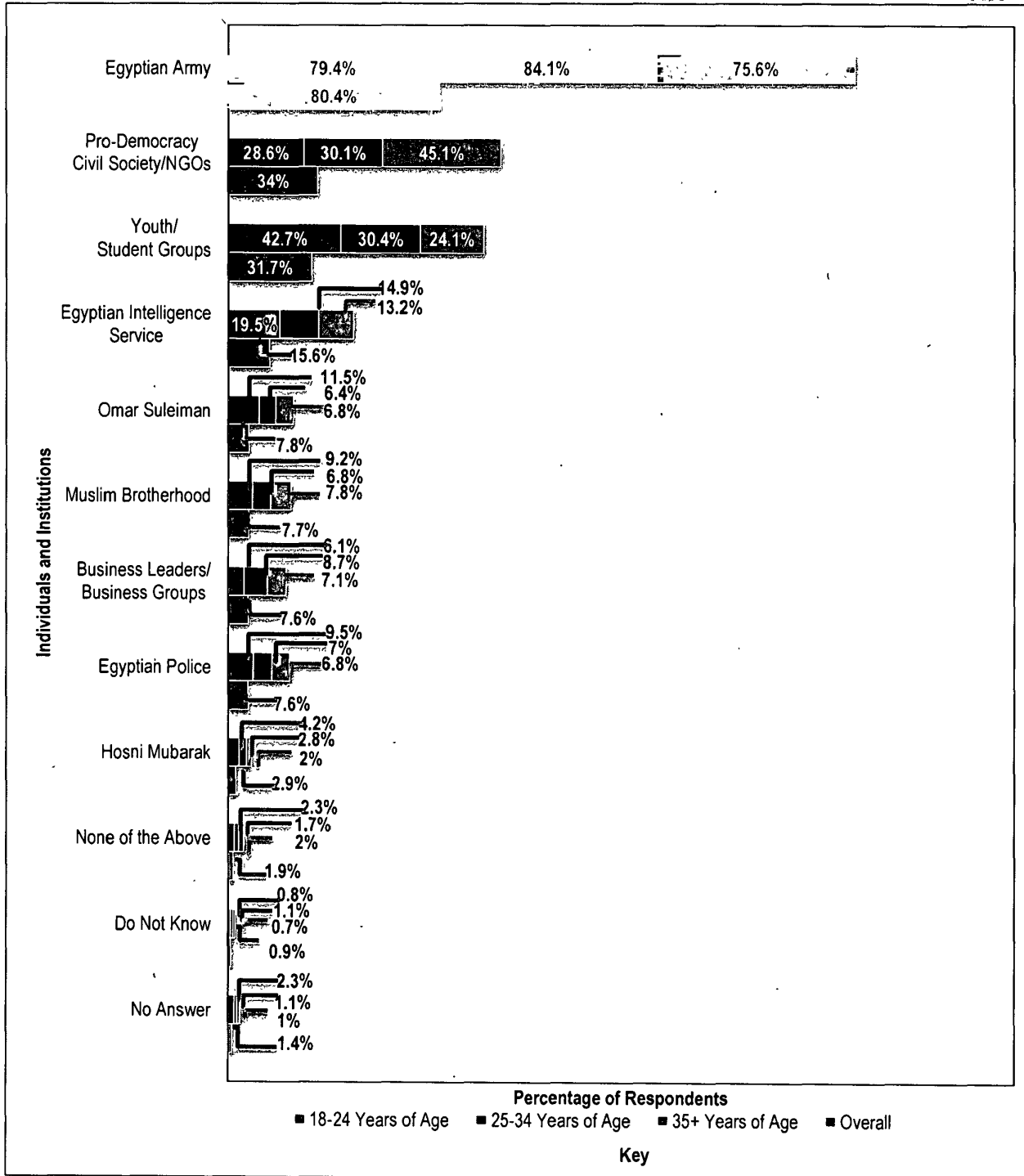
### 2.5.1 Egypt's Leadership

The majority of respondents, or 80.4%, identify the Egyptian army as the institution they most trust to steer Egypt's future in a positive direction. Specifically, 79.4% of youth ages 18-24 and 84.1% of those between the ages of 25-34 most trust the Army. Additionally, 81% of respondents who believe Egypt is heading in the right direction politically also trust the Egyptian Army to steer Egypt's future. 83.5% of those with income levels below 1500 EGY pounds per month trust the Army, compared to the 76.9% of those who most trust the Army with income levels above 1500 EGY pounds per month. Potential military conscripts can provide payment in exchange for exemption from serving in the military, resulting in military units staffed by less affluent members of society who cannot afford payment.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, lower income respondents and members of the Egyptian Army may also constitute similar socio-economic brackets.

Despite the 27.6% of respondents who believe economic reforms should be a priority issue in Egypt within the next 6-12 months, only 7.6% indicate that they trust business leaders to steer Egypt's future in the right direction. Like in many developing countries, business leaders in Egypt constitute a small, yet elite and socio-economically privileged group maintained by limited social mobility among the masses. Since the Pharaonic times, Egypt has retained a social, political and cultural elite class consisting of members of the royal family, absentee landlords, professionals and business people.<sup>35</sup> In Cairo and Alexandria, a disproportionately large number of foreigners belong to the elite groups.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, only 7.6% of respondents indicate that they trust the Egyptian Police to steer Egypt's future. This could relate to the death of Khaled Said, the powers granted to the police under the Emergency Law, which has been in effect since 1967.<sup>37</sup> The Emergency Law affords greater power to the Police, suspends certain constitutional rights in the name of security and legalizes censorship.<sup>38</sup>

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Figure 24 - Which of the following do you most trust to steer Egypt's future in a positive direction?

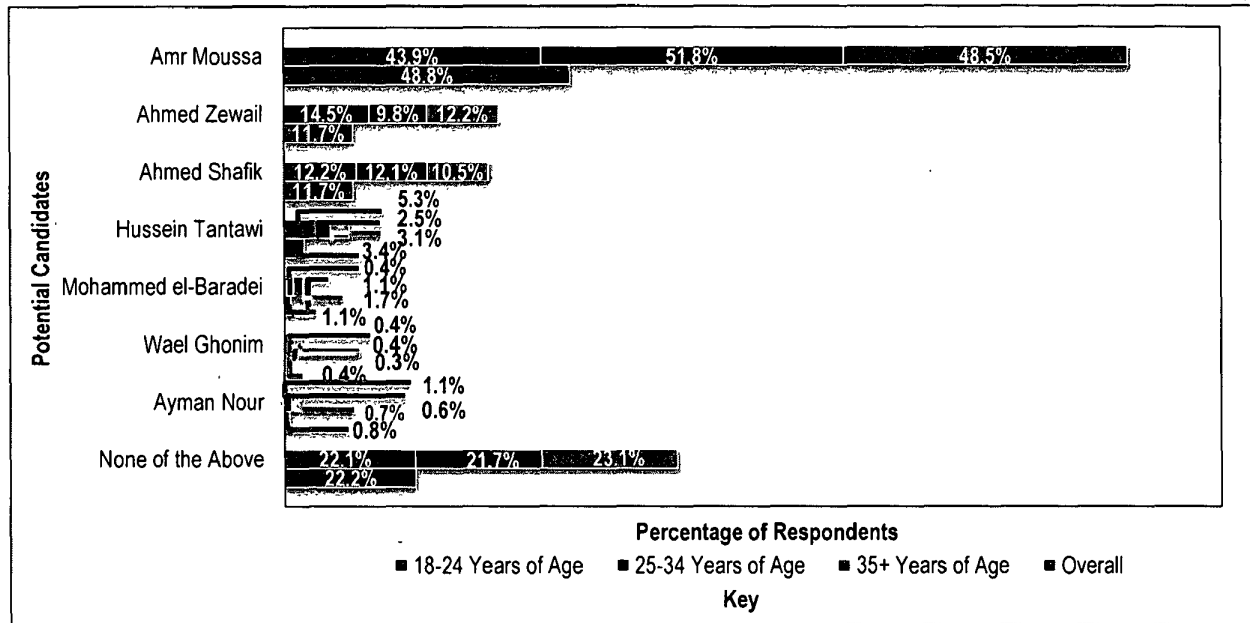


SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 - 24, 2011)

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With regard to the next president of Egypt, while 48.8% of respondents believe Amr Moussa would be a good next President of Egypt, 22.3% of respondents overall do not believe any of the pre-prompted candidates in this question would make a good next president. Of those who believe Moussa would make a good president, 43.9% are 18-24 years of age, 51.8% are 25-34 years of age and 48.5% are over 35 years of age. Males are more likely to select Moussa, 54.6% compared to 43.3% of females, respectively.

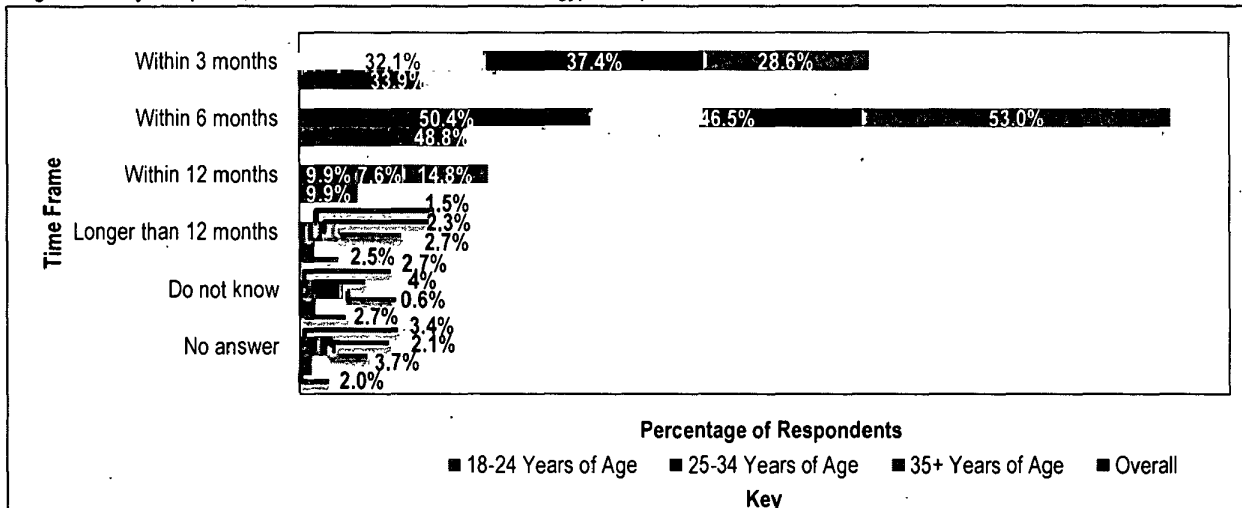
Figure 25 - Who would make a good next president of Egypt?



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

2.5.2 National Elections

Figure 26 - In your opinion, when should national elections in Egypt take place?

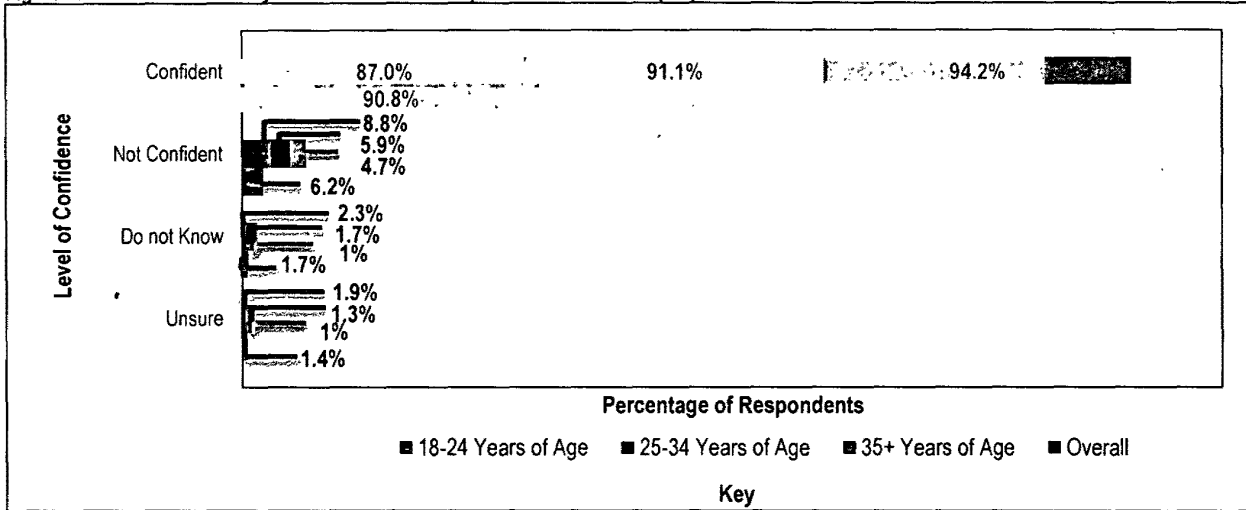


SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

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Of the 48.8% of the respondents who believe Egyptian elections should take place within 6 months, 50.4% are youth ages 18-24, 46.5% are 25-34 years of age and 51.2% are over 35 years of age. The majority of the respondents are confident that the upcoming election will represent the will of the people. Respondents ages 25-34 and those 35 years of age and over are most confident on this measure when compared to youth ages 18-24.

Figure 27 - How confident are you that elections will represent the will of the people?



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 - 24, 2011)

The current environment in Egypt is evolving daily as its citizens bear witness to the dynamics associated with a critical period of transition in Egypt's history. The path forward for Egypt has only just begun. The findings from this Snap Poll indicate that the environment in Egypt is conditioned for long-term impact that can potentially reset the course of U.S. engagement with the region.

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**APPENDIX A – ONLINE PANEL COMPOSITION**

**Approach**

Online panels, as with all research methods, encompass a variety of key considerations that should be taken into account given the scope and intent of the research objectives. The following table summarizes some of the key advantages and disadvantages associated with conducting surveys using an online panel.

Advantages	Disadvantages
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Research in the developing world can be focused on those generally younger and more educated due to the trends in internet usage across this demographic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Unrepresentative of the general population, when internet penetration levels are low</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Typically cost-efficient and conducive to quick-turn surveys</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Excludes qualitative data collection methodology</li> </ul>

In this research, the online panel approach allowed for greater geographic penetration, as it reflected the perspectives of those from or near 10 different cities, representing 9 of the most populous Egyptian principalities.<sup>2</sup> Given the evolving environment in Egypt, Snap Poll data must be collected and analyzed quickly in order to remain relevant, which the online panel approach facilitates.

As mentioned in the report, Egypt's internet penetration level is approximately 24% as of December 2010; hence, the survey sample is not representative of the overall population. This panel does, however, allow for targeting a younger and more educated population. In this instance, 25.5% of the Snap Poll sample falls within the 18-24 age group, 45.8% falls within the ages of 25-35, which amounts to 71.3%. Additionally, 70.6% of the Snap Poll sample has a Graduate or Post-Graduate level education, which points to a highly educated demographic.

**A Closer Look at the Online Panel in Egypt**

Booz Allen Hamilton's partner in the administration of this Snap Poll, Ipsos Public Affairs, maintains a panel in Egypt consisting of approximately 400,000 individuals, 90% of whom prefer Arabic language surveys, while 6% are comfortable completing a survey in either Arabic or English and 4% prefer English. 37% of panelists are from Cairo, 13% from Alexandria, 10% from Giza, 6% from Mansura, 4% from Tanta and the remaining 29% are from other unspecified Egyptian cities. Of the 400,000 panelists, approximately 18% identify their occupation as "student," followed by 15% in "professional services," 10% in "other" professions, and 6% who report unemployment. Furthermore, 2% of the 400,000 panelists are non-Egyptian nationals.

For this Snap Poll, after 13,760 panelists were selected at random based on the criteria that there be a 1:1 ratio of males to females and that each panelist be 18 years of age or over, a unique survey link was electronically sent to each panelist. Due to the brief duration of the Snap Poll, respondents received one electronic invitation to participate. Aside from proportional gender representation and the age criteria, no other screening elements were applied to the random selection of the 13,760 panelists. The survey response rate of 7.5% resulted in 1,028 complete responses between February 18 and February 24, 2011.

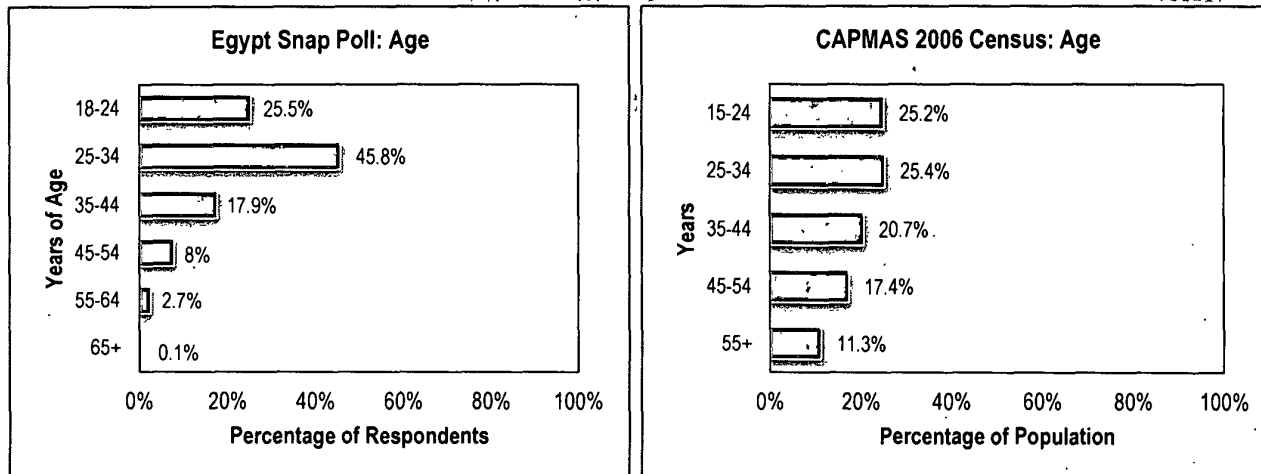
<sup>2</sup> CIA World FactBook 2011 Central Intelligence Agency, last modified 01 Mar. 2010. <<https://www.cia.gov>>.



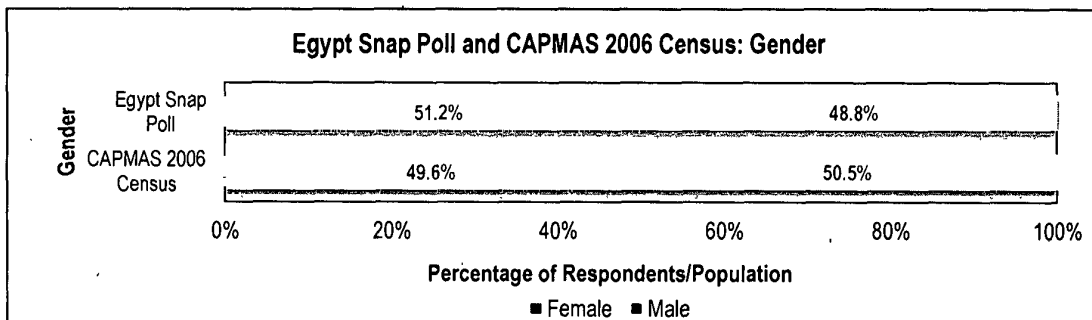
Egypt Snap Poll / Perspectives of Educated and Online Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution

A Comparison of Egypt Snap Poll Demographics to the 2006 Census Demographics

Age

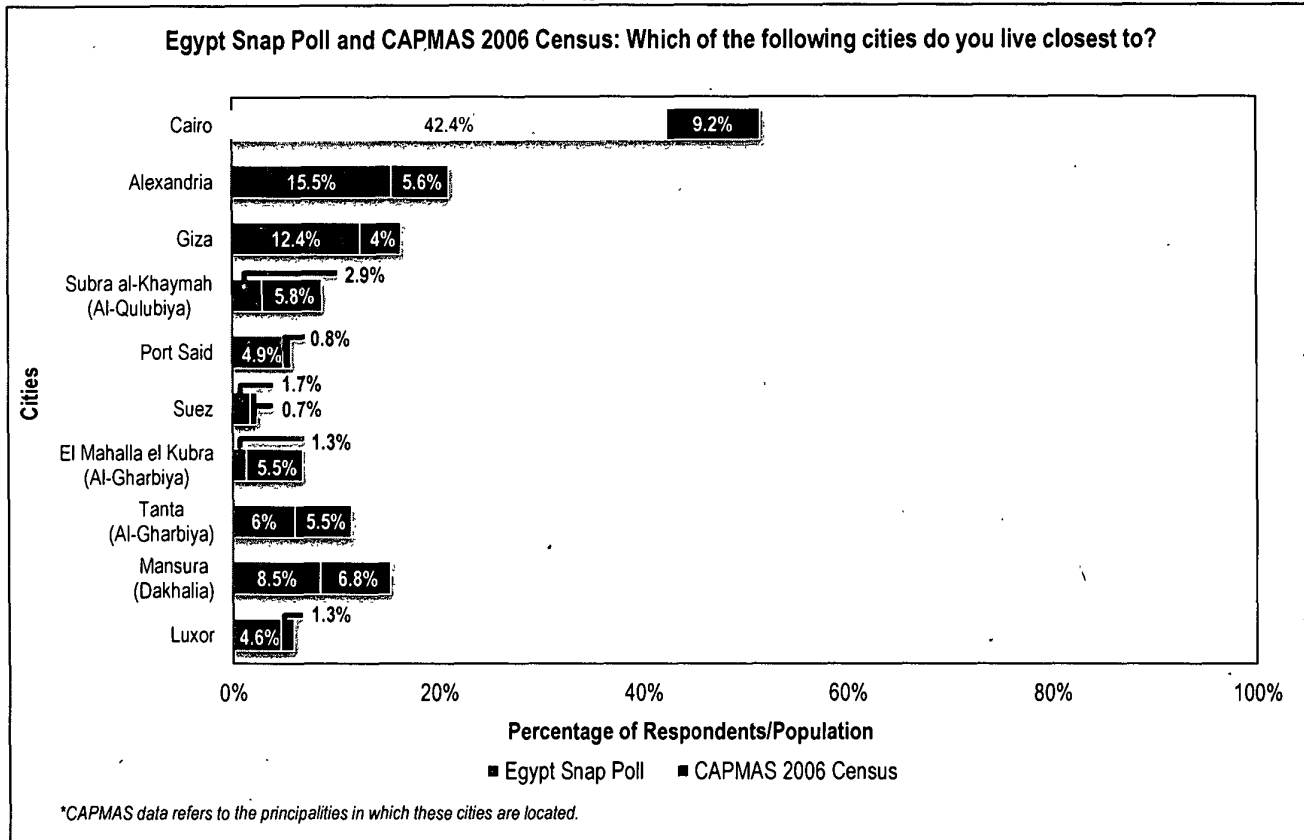


Gender

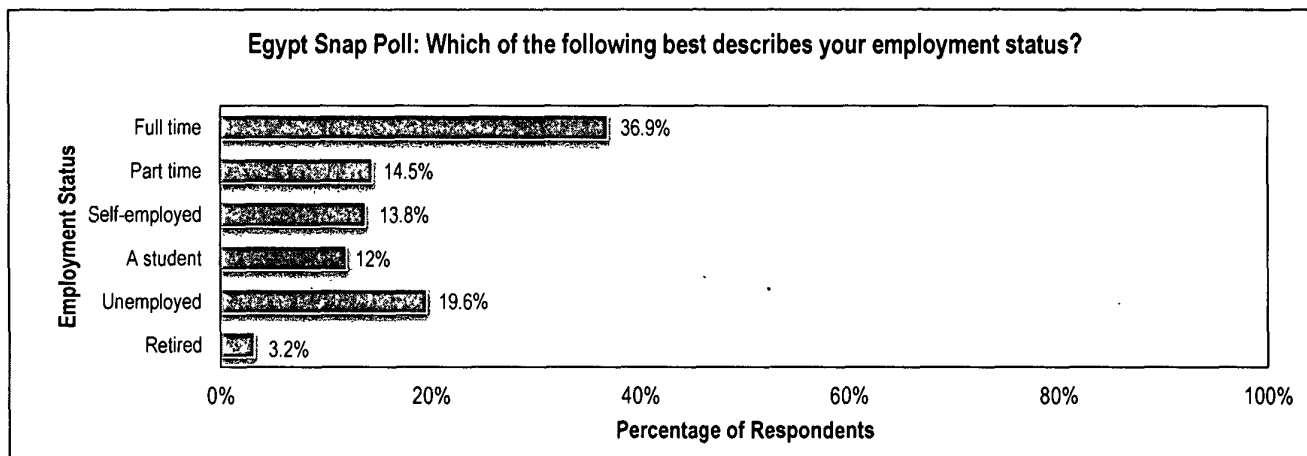


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**Geographic Location**

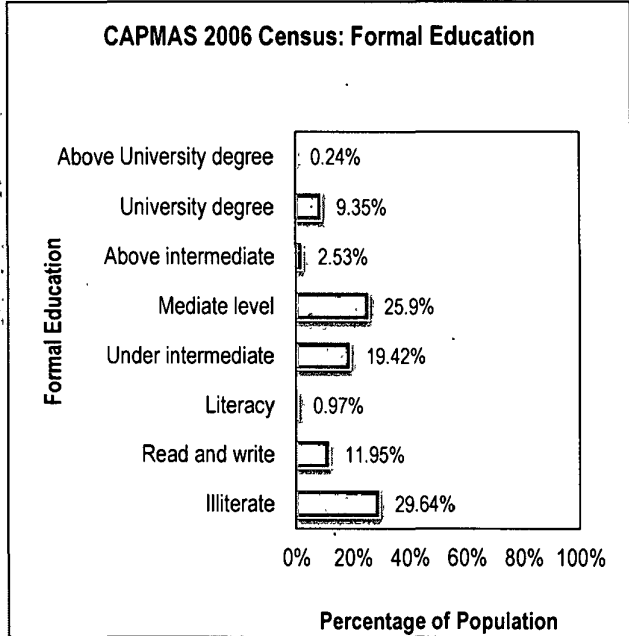
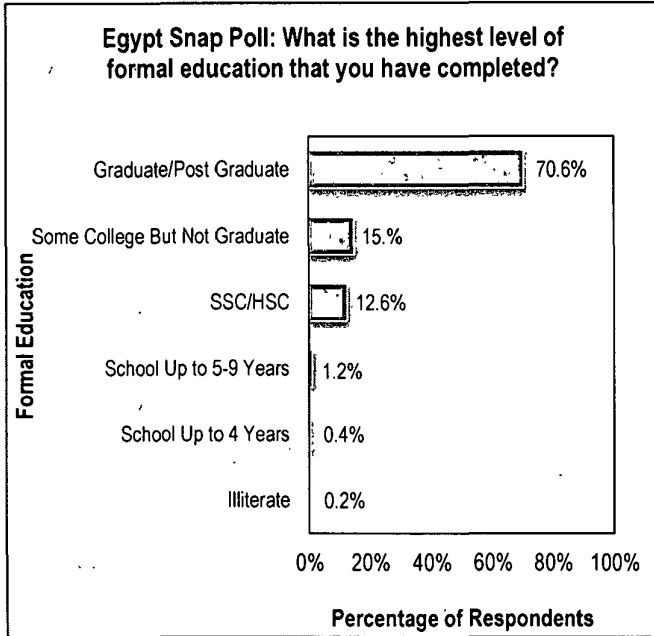


**Employment Status<sup>3</sup>**

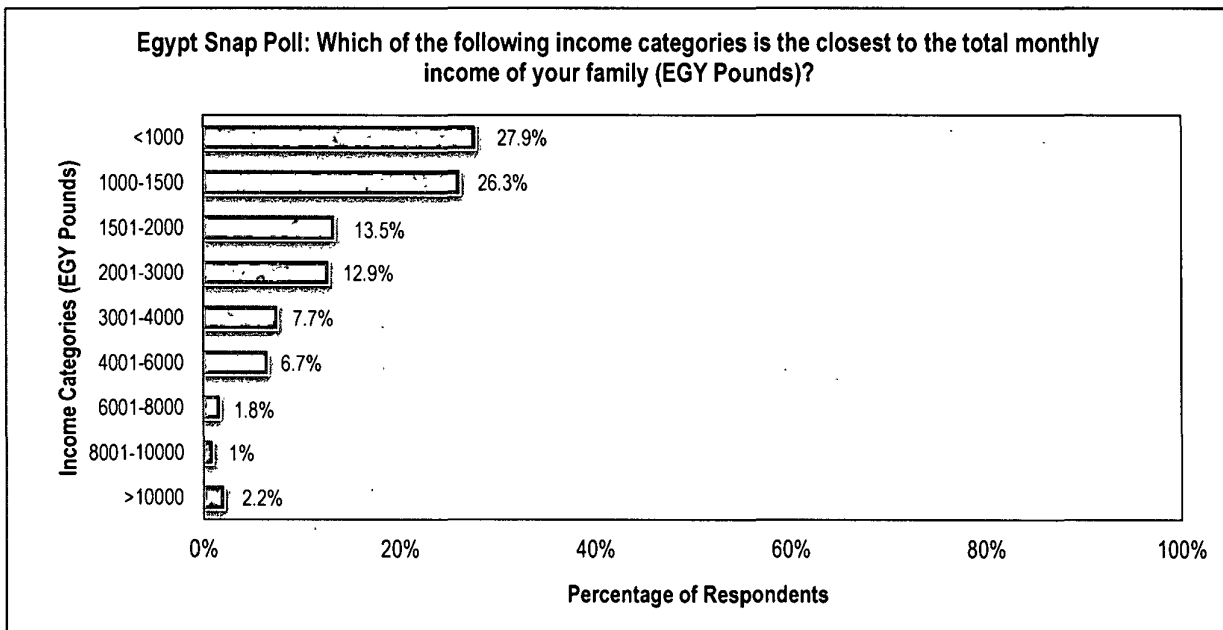


<sup>3</sup> Employment data is not publicly available in the CAPMAS 2006 Census. The census provided a projection of unemployment for the year 2009, estimated at 9.4%. Additionally, the census provided a projection of self-employed individuals for the year 2008, estimated at 10.8%.

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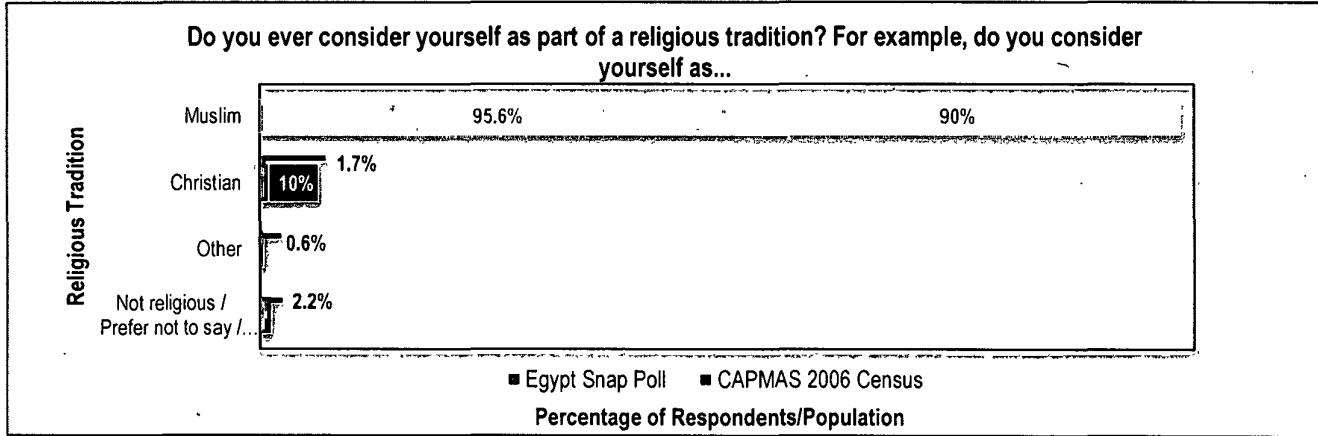
Monthly Household Income<sup>4</sup>



<sup>4</sup> Monthly household income data is not publicly available in the 2006 CAPMAS Census.

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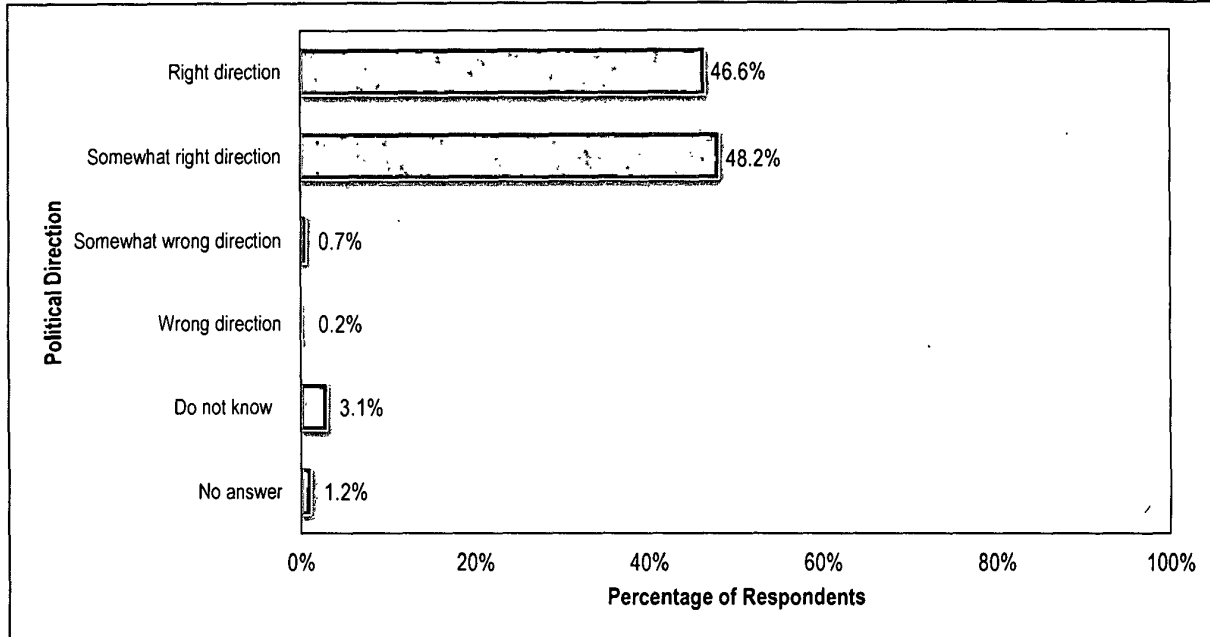
**Religious Affiliation**



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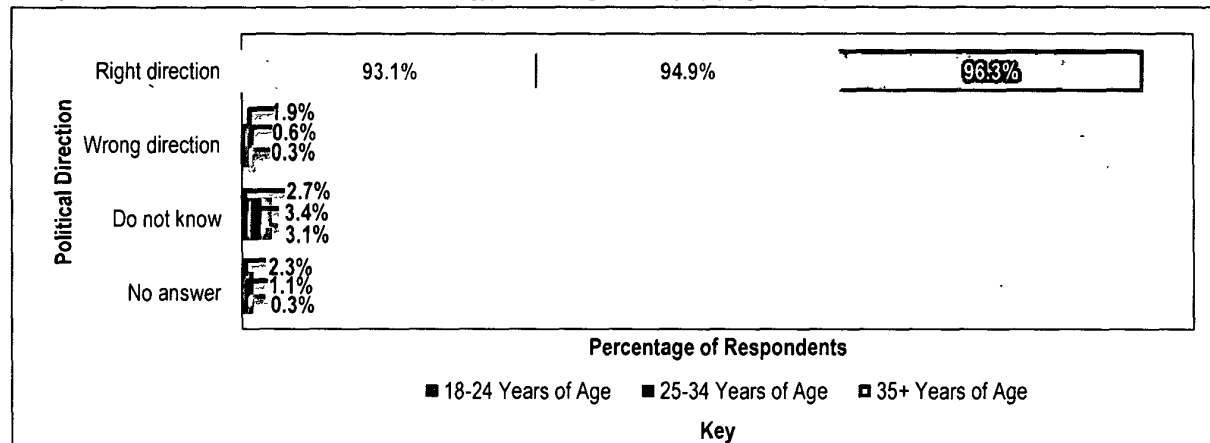
**APPENDIX B – SURVEY RESULTS**

Survey Question 1: In which direction do you believe Egypt is heading politically? (Overall)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

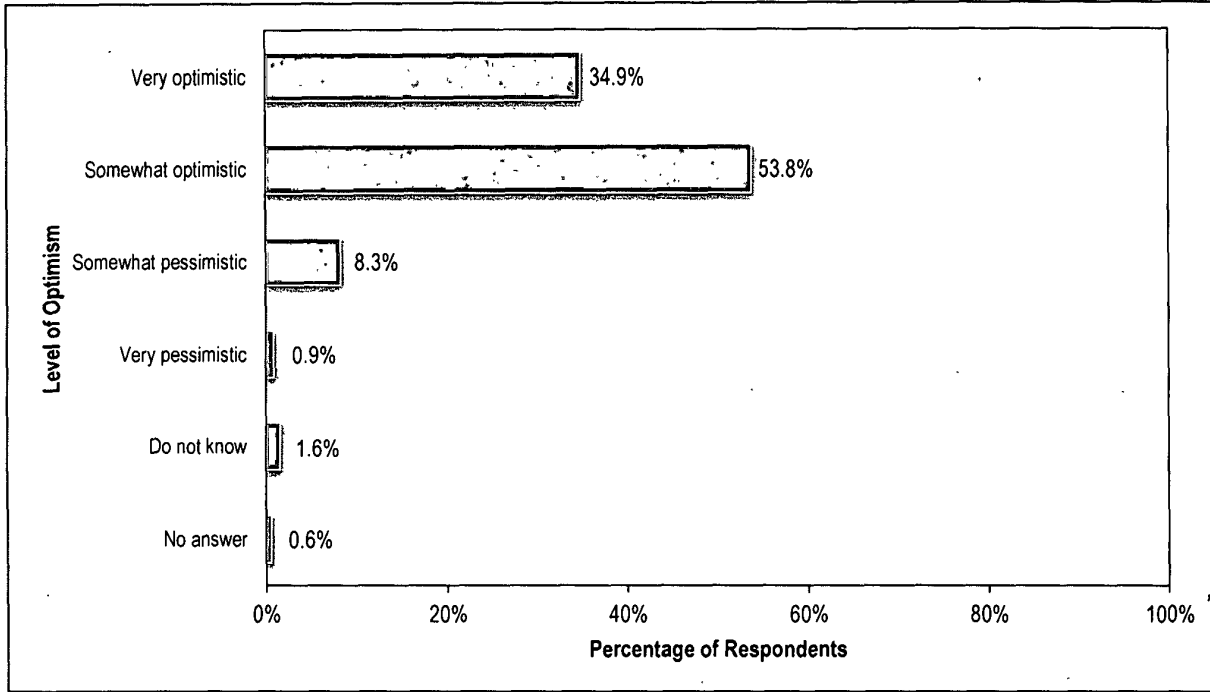
Survey Question 1: In which direction do you believe Egypt is heading politically? (By Age Group)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

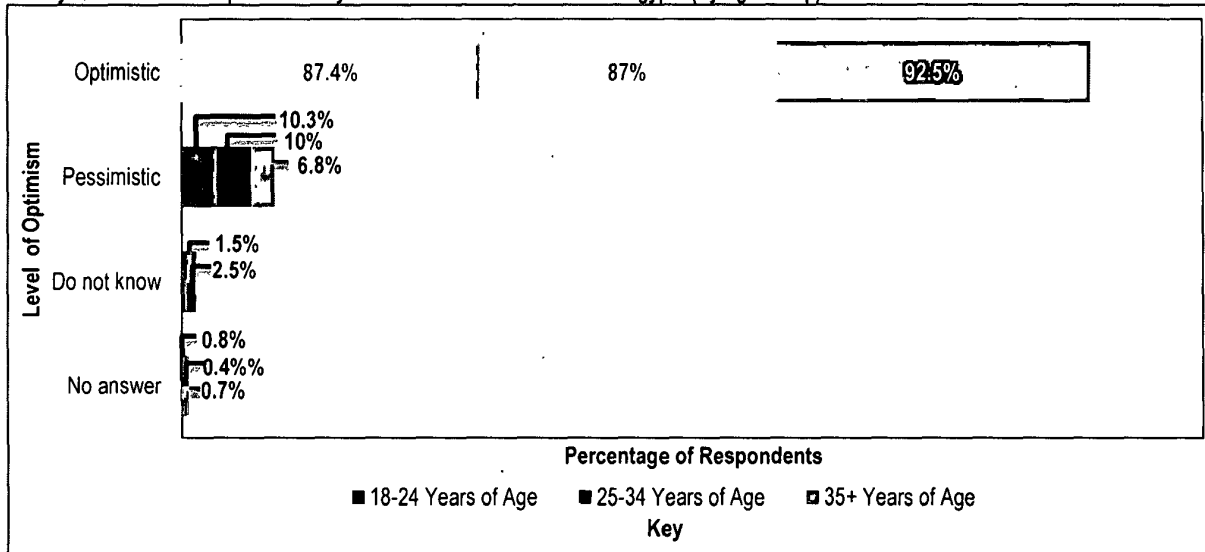
Egypt Snap Poll | Perspectives of Educated and Online Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution

Survey Question 2: How optimistic are you about economic conditions in Egypt? (Overall)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

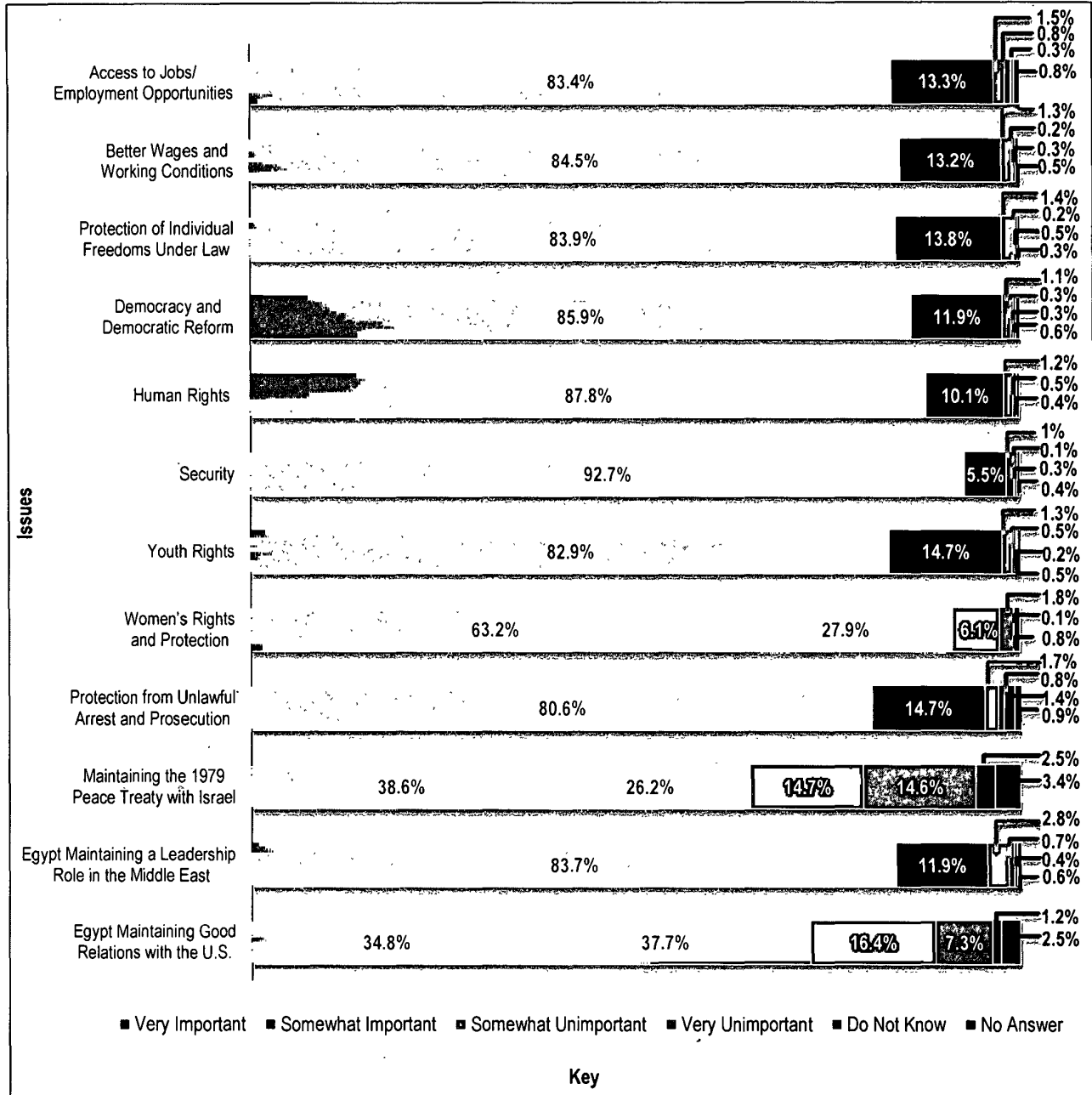
Survey Question 2: How optimistic are you about economic conditions in Egypt? (By Age Group)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

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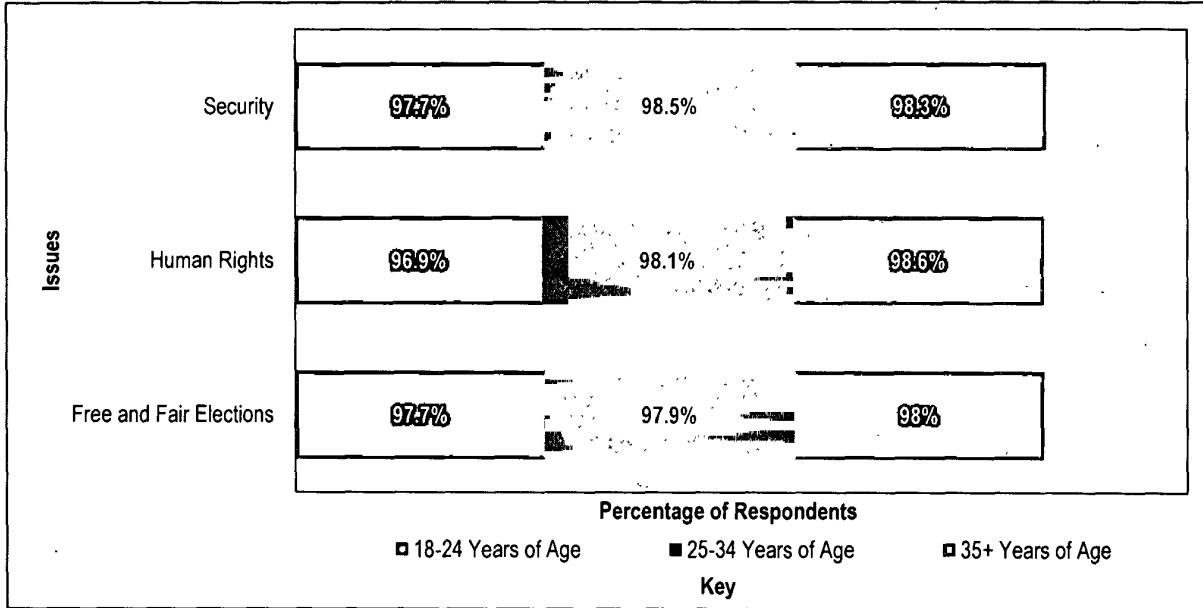
Survey Question 3: The following are some issues of concern that may relate to Egypt. Please indicate how important the issues are to you using the following scale. (Overall)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

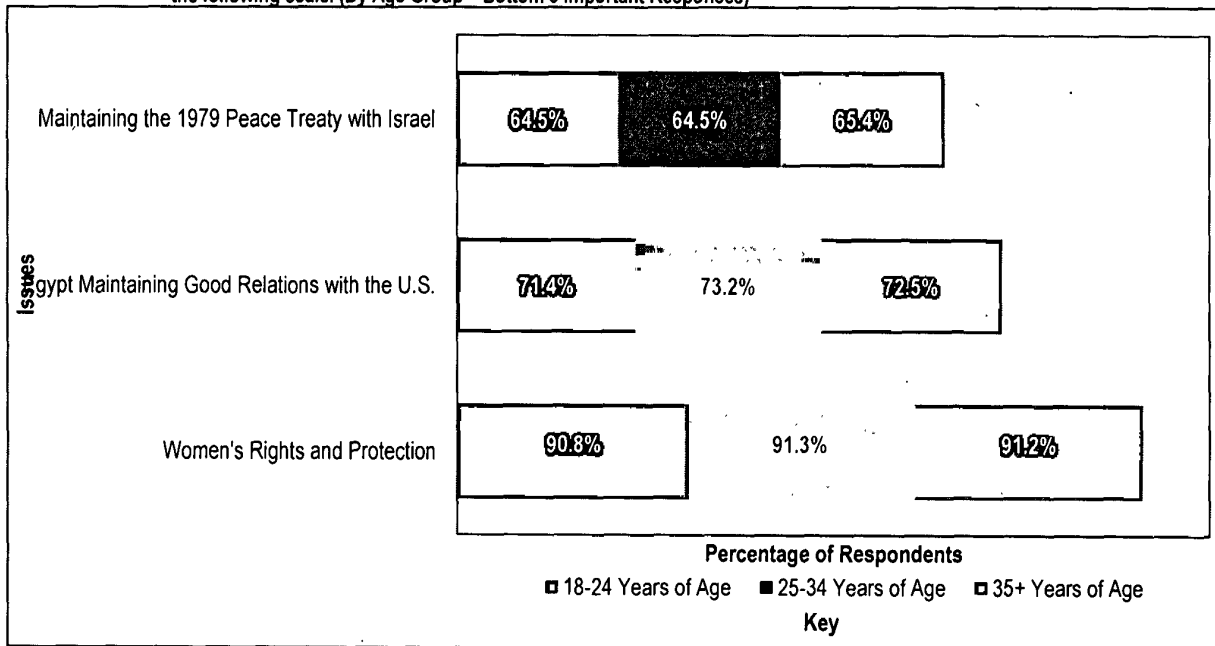
**Egypt Snap Poll: Perspectives of Educated and Online Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution**

Survey Question 3: The following are some issues of concern that may relate to Egypt. Please indicate how important the issues are to you using the following scale. (By Age Group - Top 3 Important Responses)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

Survey Question 3: The following are some issues of concern that may relate to Egypt. Please indicate how important the issues are to you using the following scale. (By Age Group - Bottom 3 Important Responses)

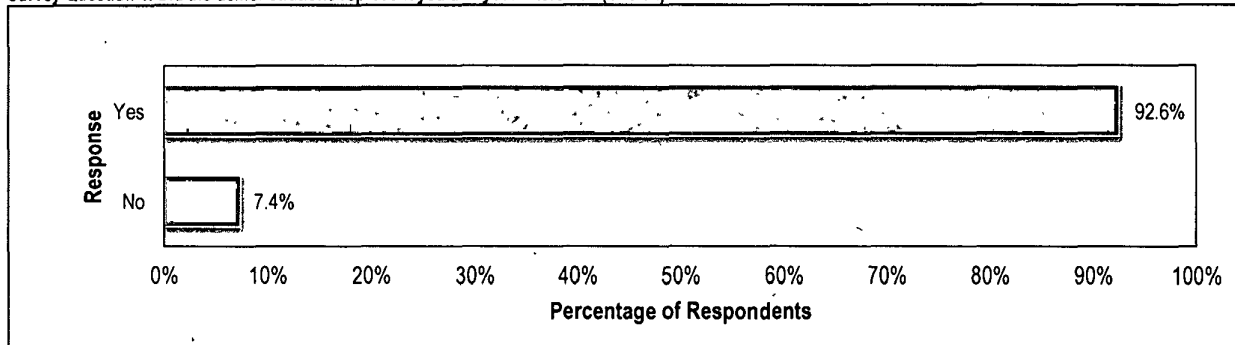


SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)



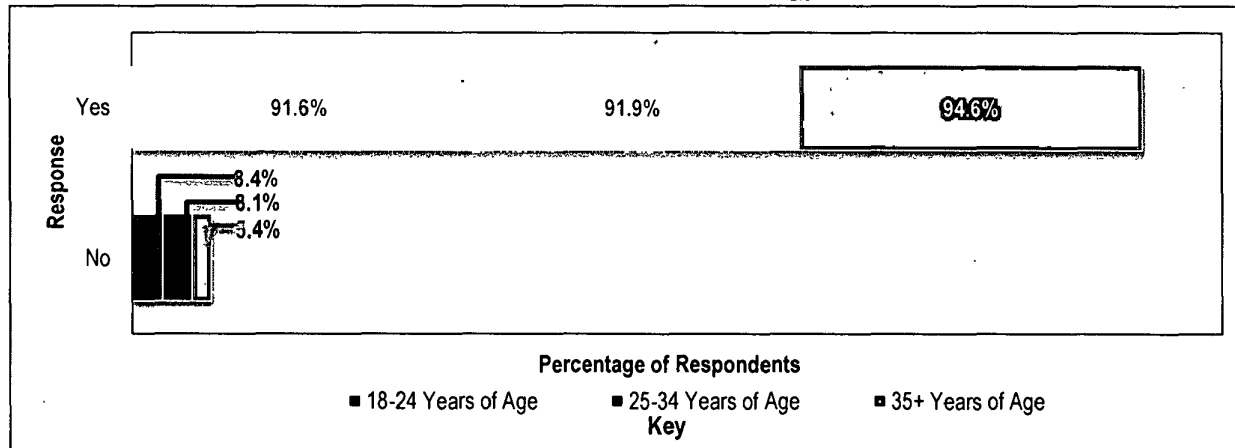
Egypt Snap Poll | Perspectives of Educated and Online Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution

Survey Question 4: Did the demonstrations represent you and your interests? (Overall)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

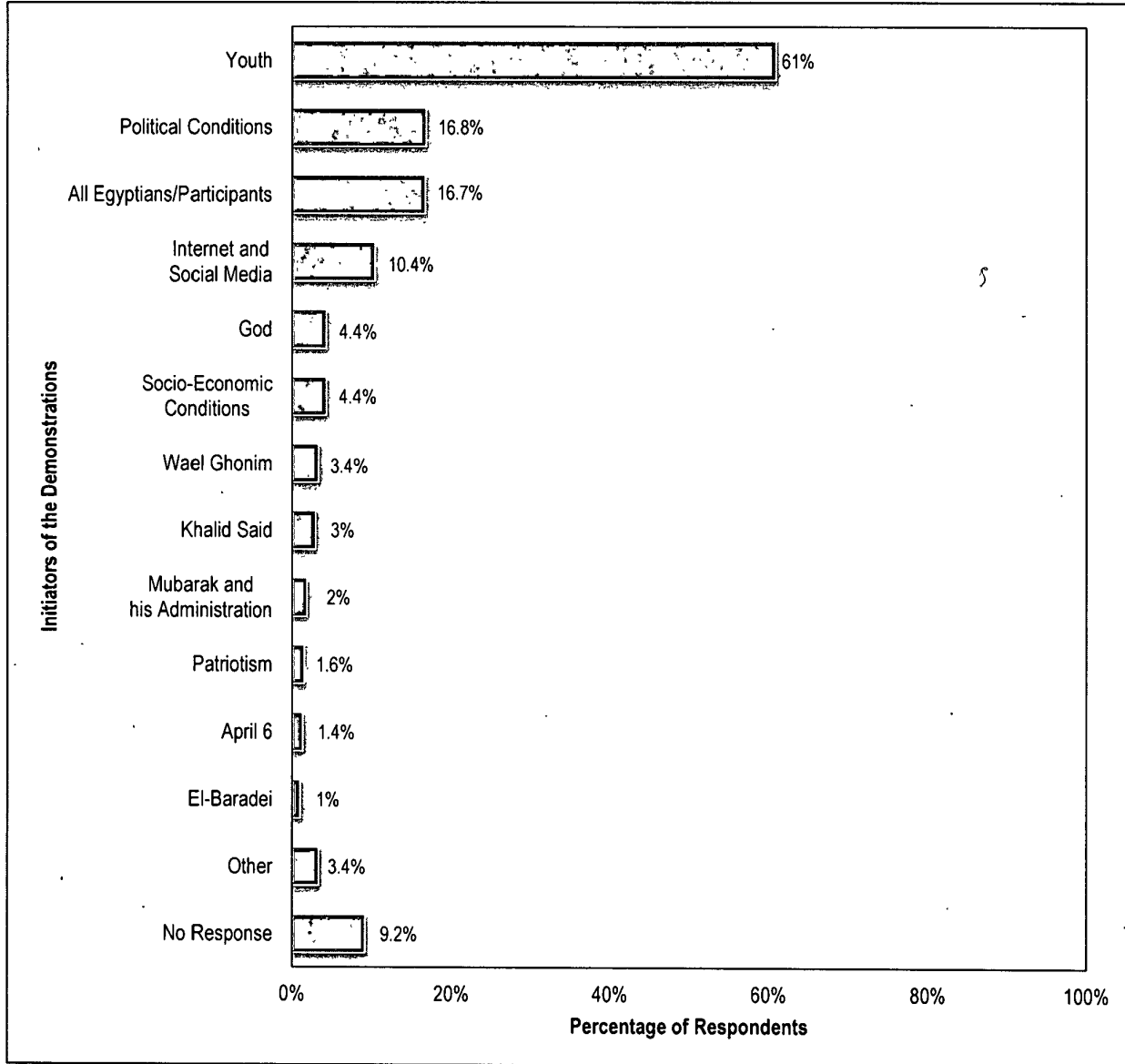
Survey Question 4: Did the demonstrations represent you and your interests? (By Age Group)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

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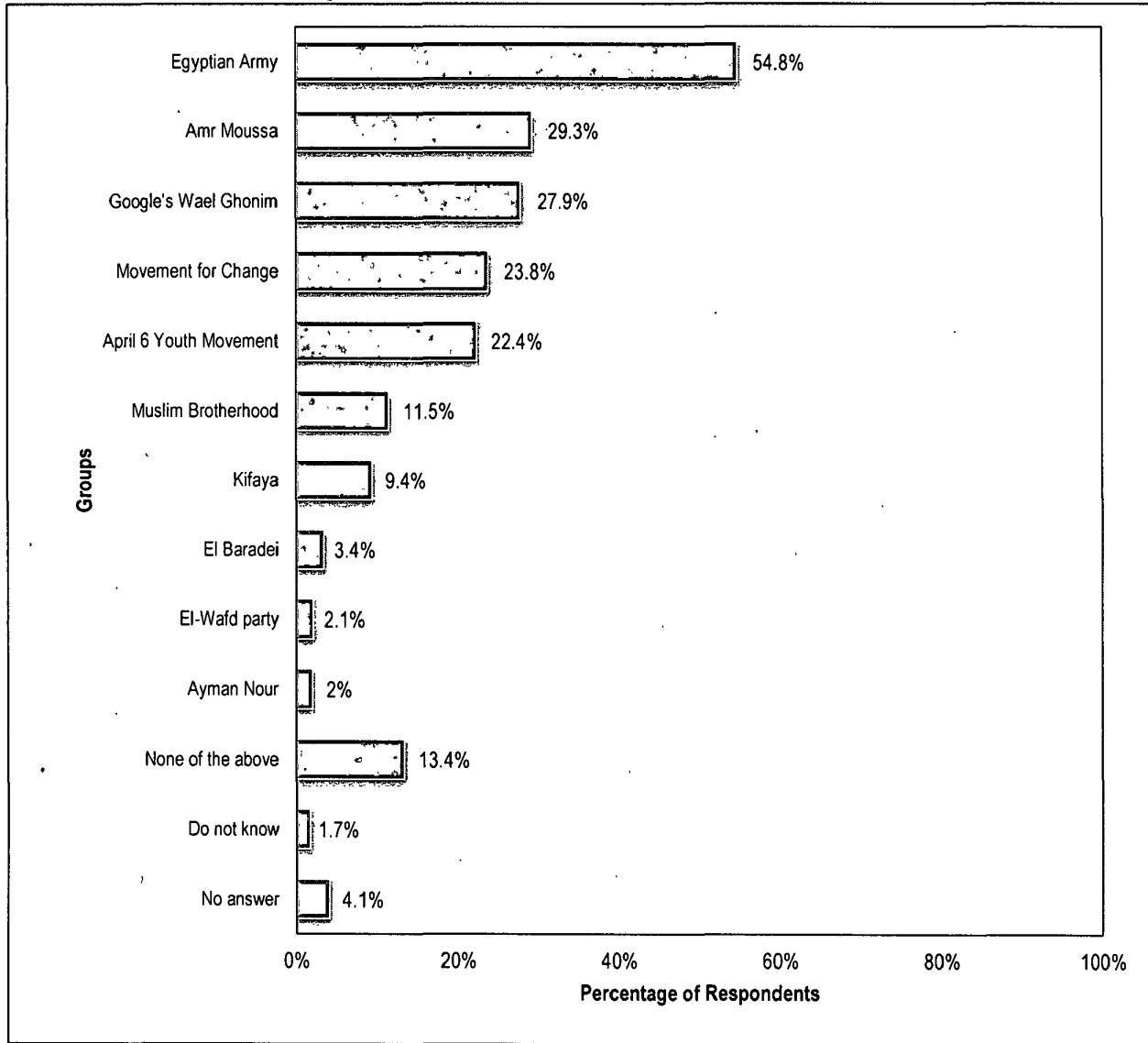
Survey Question 4a: If you answered "Yes" to question 4, whom do you credit for initiating the demonstrations? (Overall)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

Egypt Snap Poll: Perspective of Educated and Online Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution

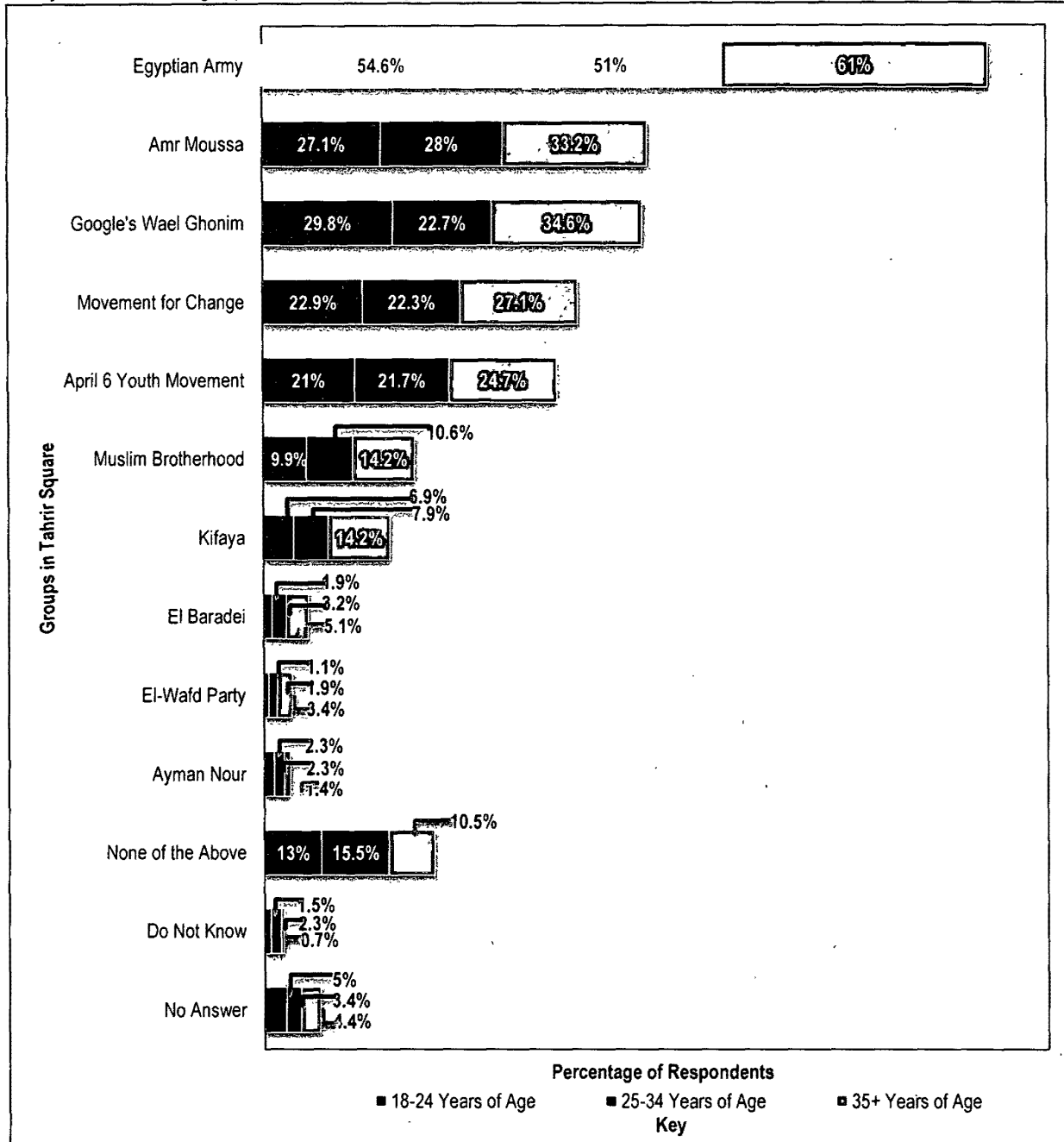
Survey Question 5: Which groups in Tahrir Square did you most identify with? (Overall)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

Egypt Snap Poll: Perspectives of Educated and Online Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution

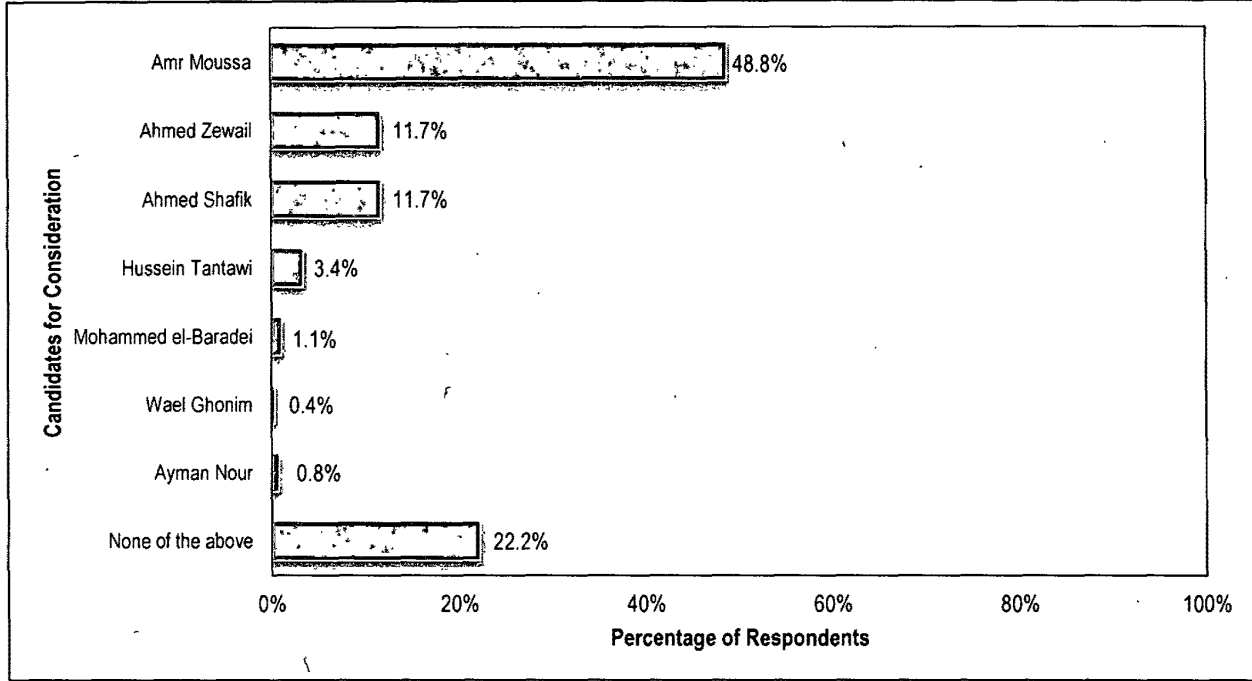
Survey Question 5: Which groups in Tahrir Square did you most identify with? Check all that apply (By Age Group)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 - 24, 2011)

Egypt Snap Poll | Perspectives of Educated and Online Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution

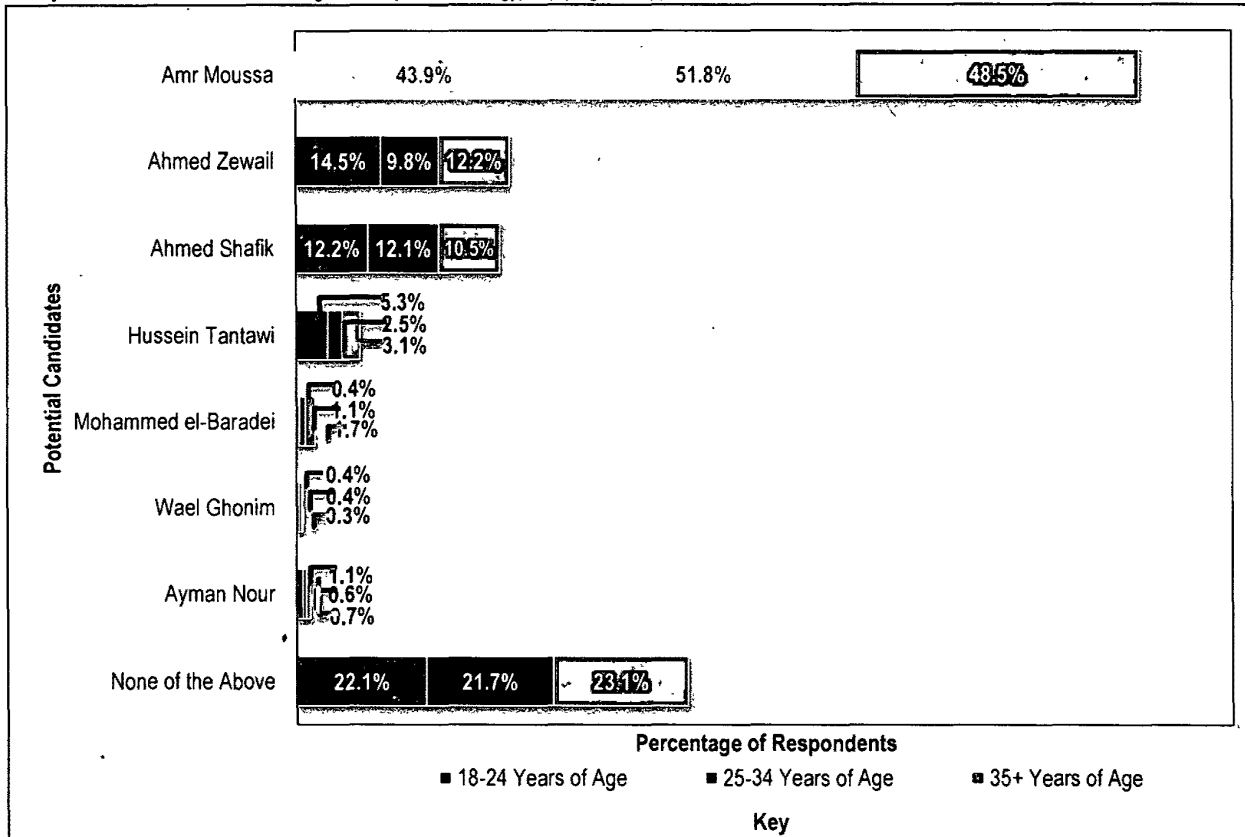
Survey Question 5a: Who would make a good next president of Egypt? (Overall)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 - 24, 2011)

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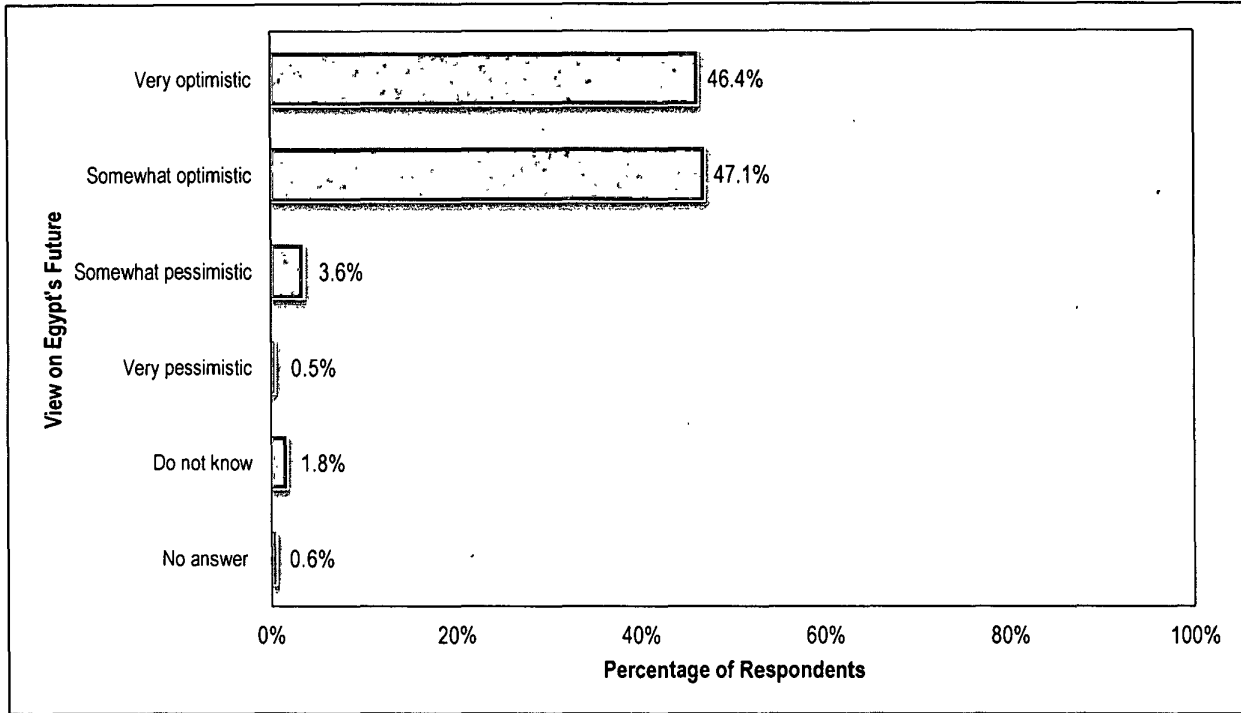
Survey Question 5a: Who would make a good next president of Egypt? (By Age Group)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 - 24, 2011)

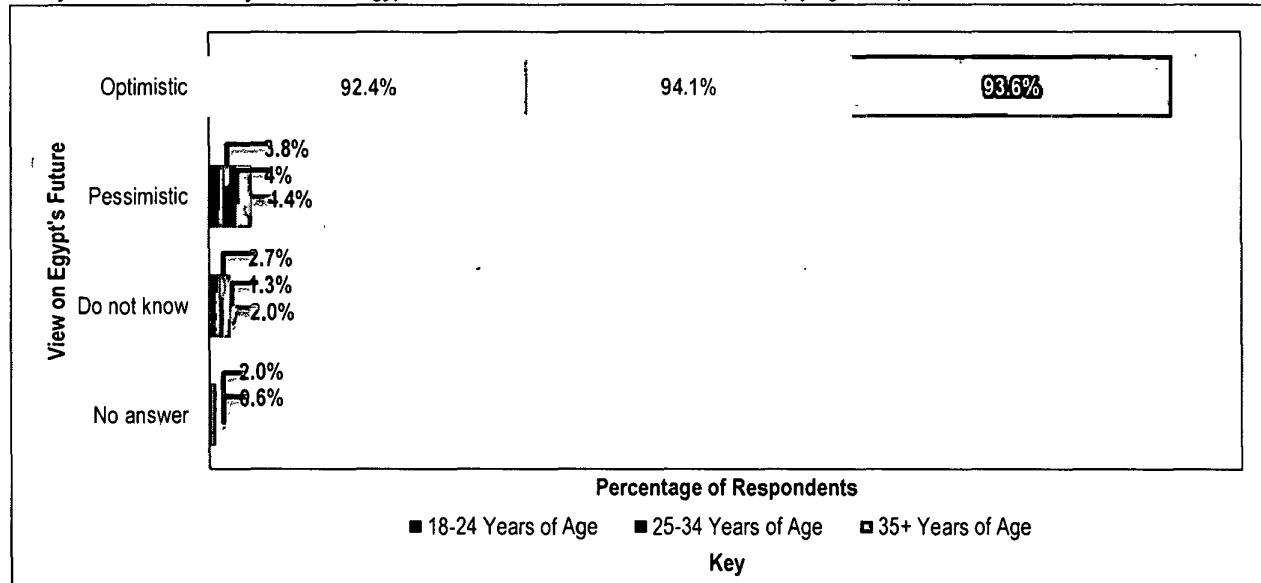
Egypt Snap Poll: Perspectives of Educated and Online Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution

Survey Question 6: What is your view on Egypt's future as a result of the demonstrations? (Overall)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

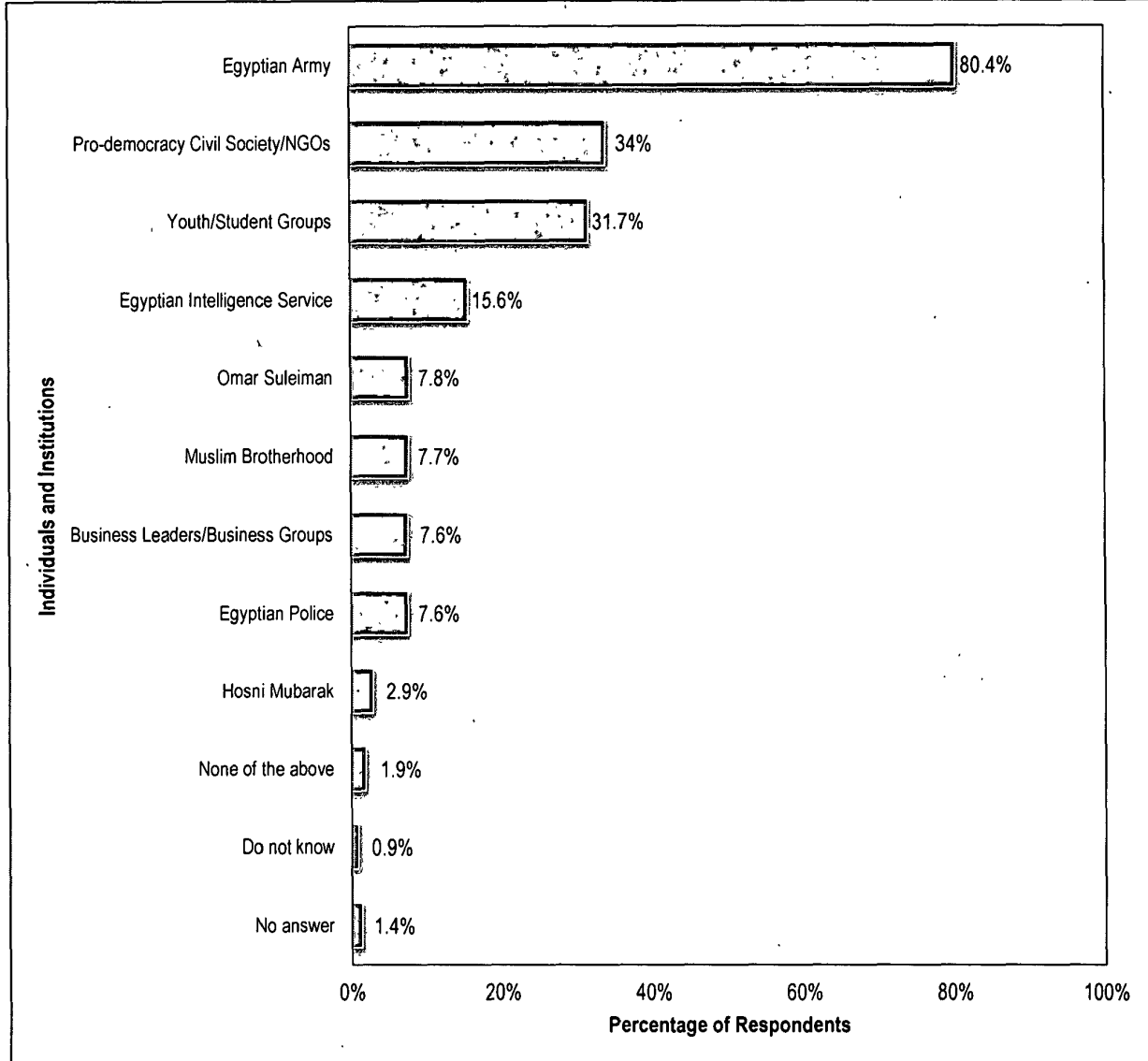
Survey Question 6: What is your view on Egypt's future as a result of the demonstrations? (By Age Group)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

Egypt Snap Poll: Perspectives of Educated and Online Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution

Survey Question 7: Which of the following do you most trust to steer Egypt's future in a positive direction? (Overall)

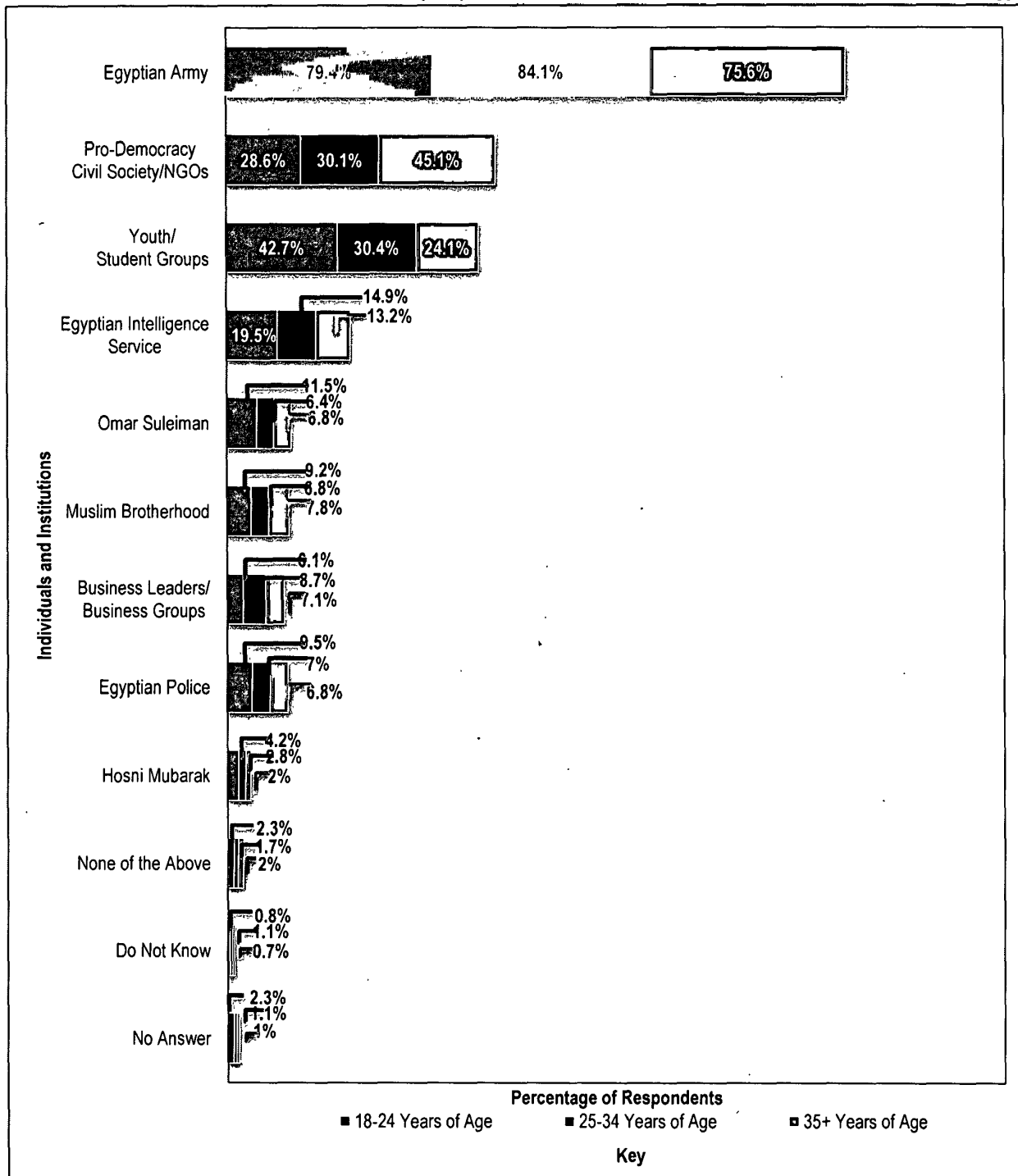


SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)



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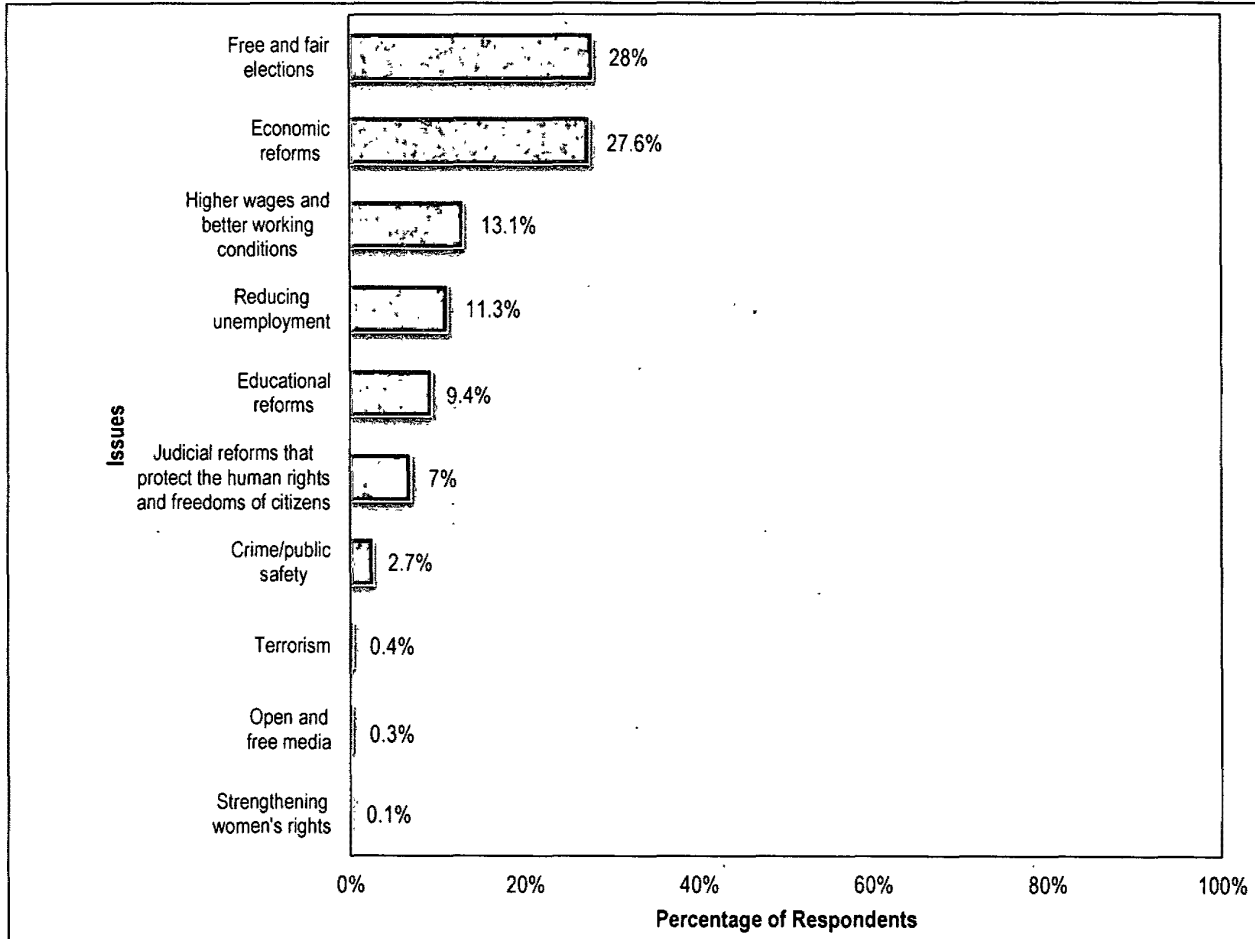
Survey Question 7: Which of the following do you most trust to steer Egypt's future in a positive direction? (By Age Group)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

Egypt Snap Poll: Perspectives of Educated and Online Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution

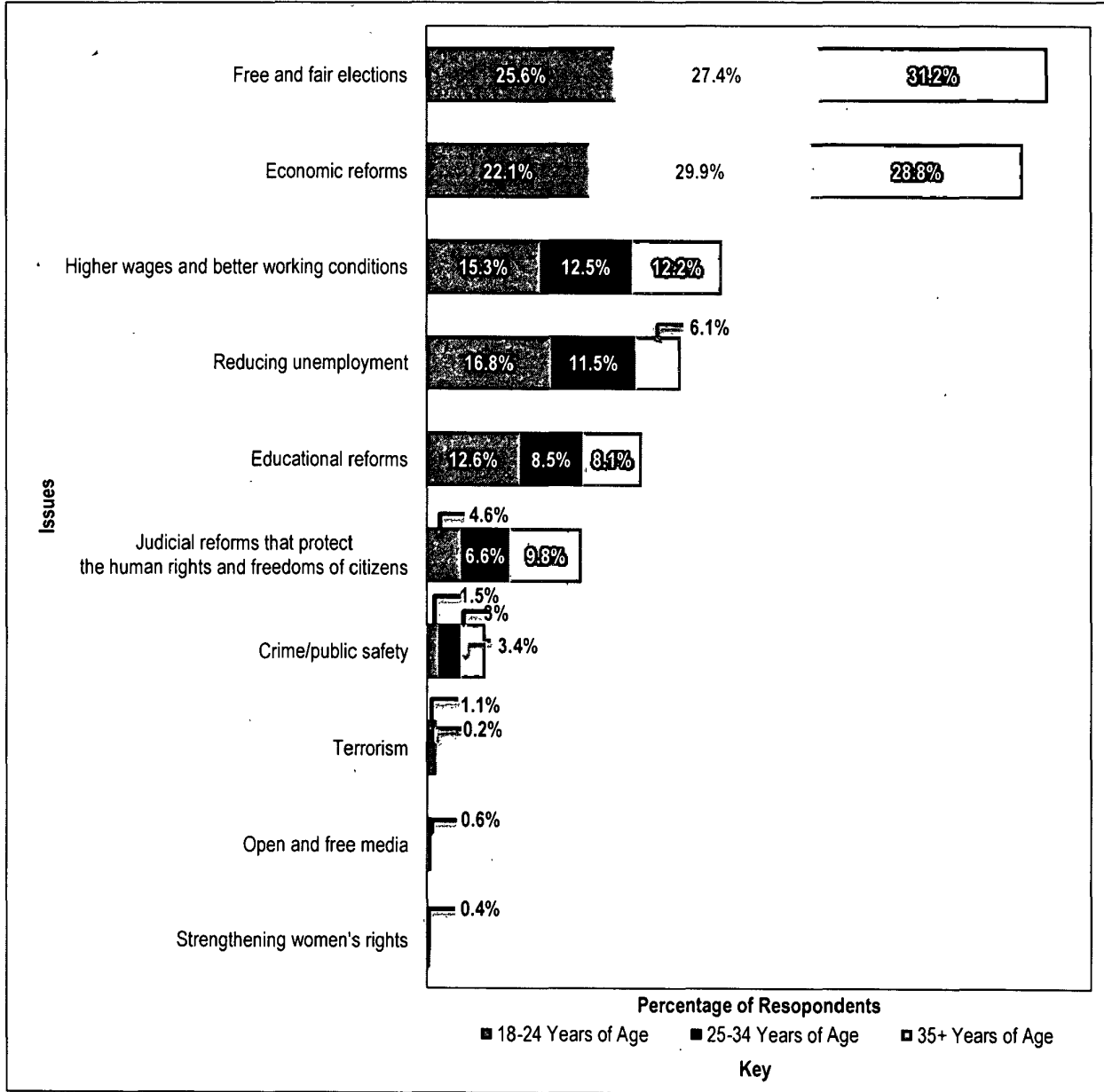
Survey Question 8: Which one of the following issues do you think is most important for Egypt to address in the next 6-12 months?  
(Overall)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

Egypt Snap Poll: Perspectives of Educated and Online Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution

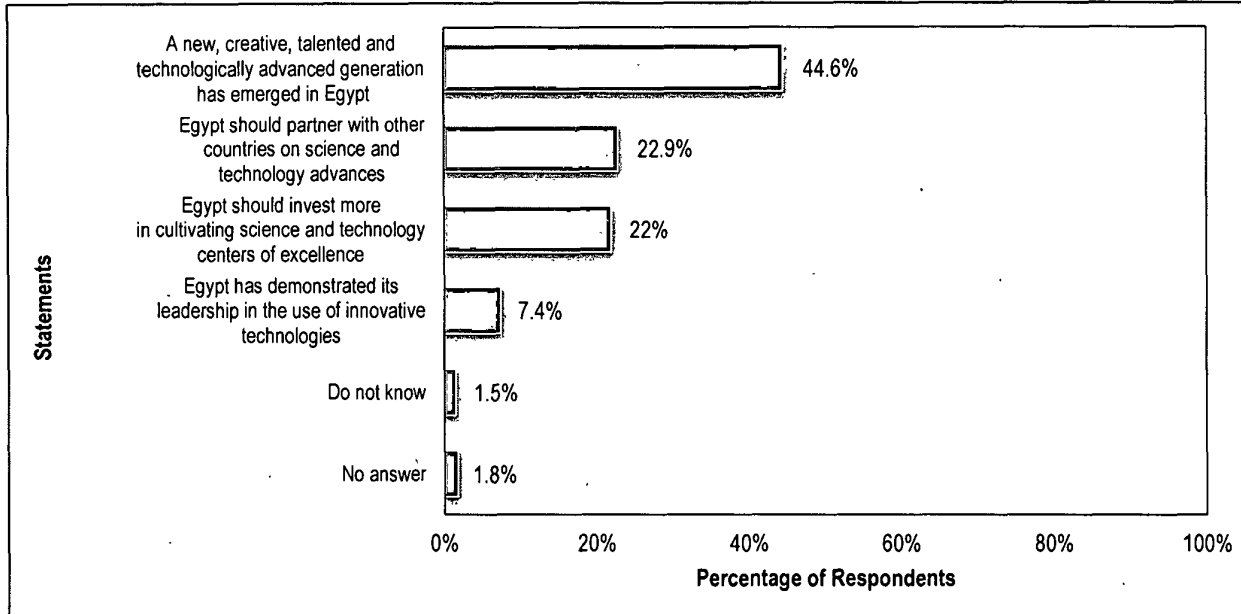
Survey Question 8: Which one of the following issues do you think is most important for Egypt to address in the next 6-12 months? (By Age Group)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

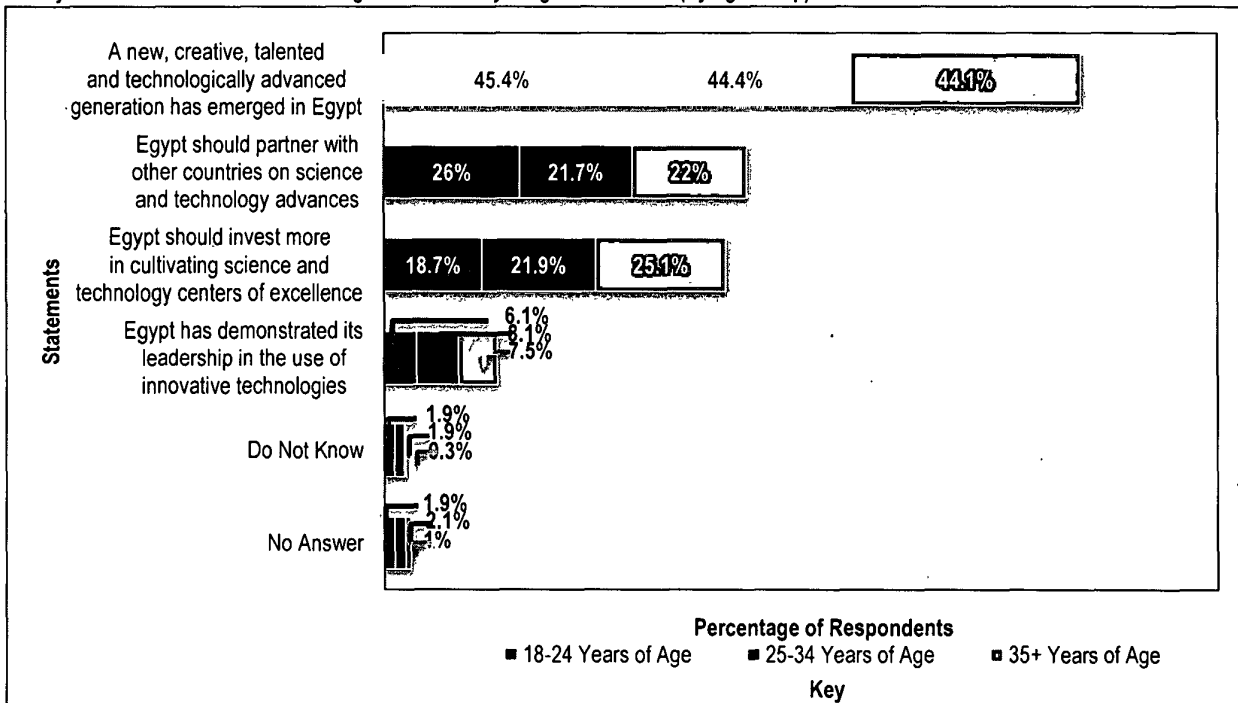
Egypt Snap Poll | Perspectives of Educated and Online Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution

Survey Question 9: Which of the following statements do you agree with most? (Overall)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

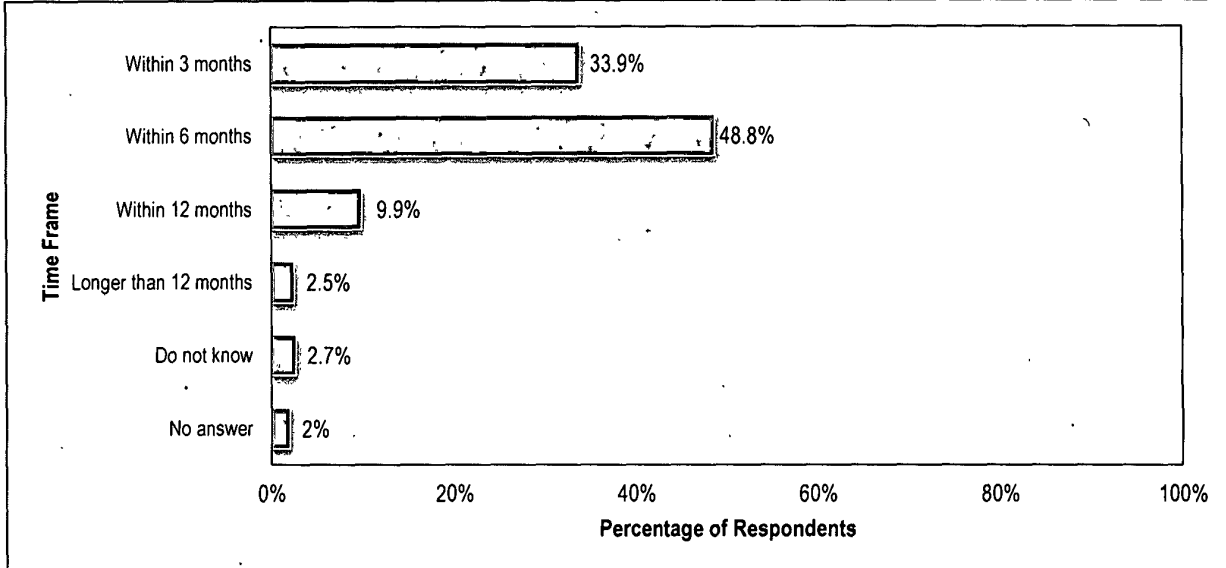
Survey Question 9: Which of the following statements do you agree with most? (By Age Group)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

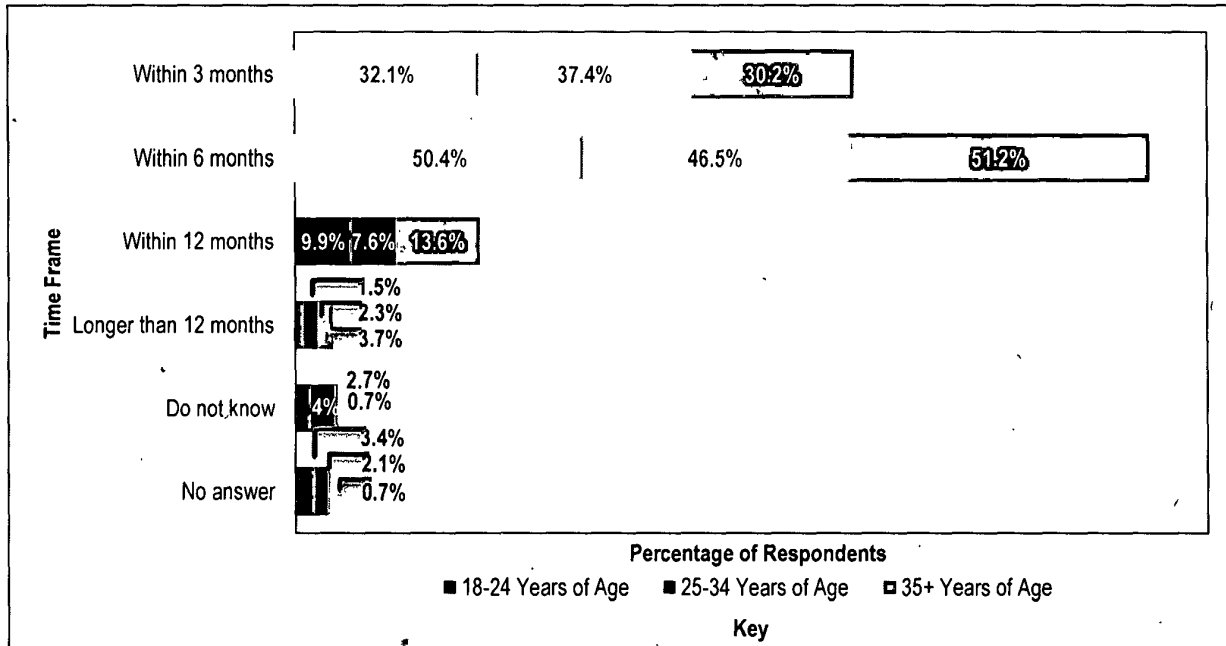
Egypt Snap Poll | Perspectives of Educated and Online Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution

Survey Question 10: In your opinion, when should national elections in Egypt take place? (Overall)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

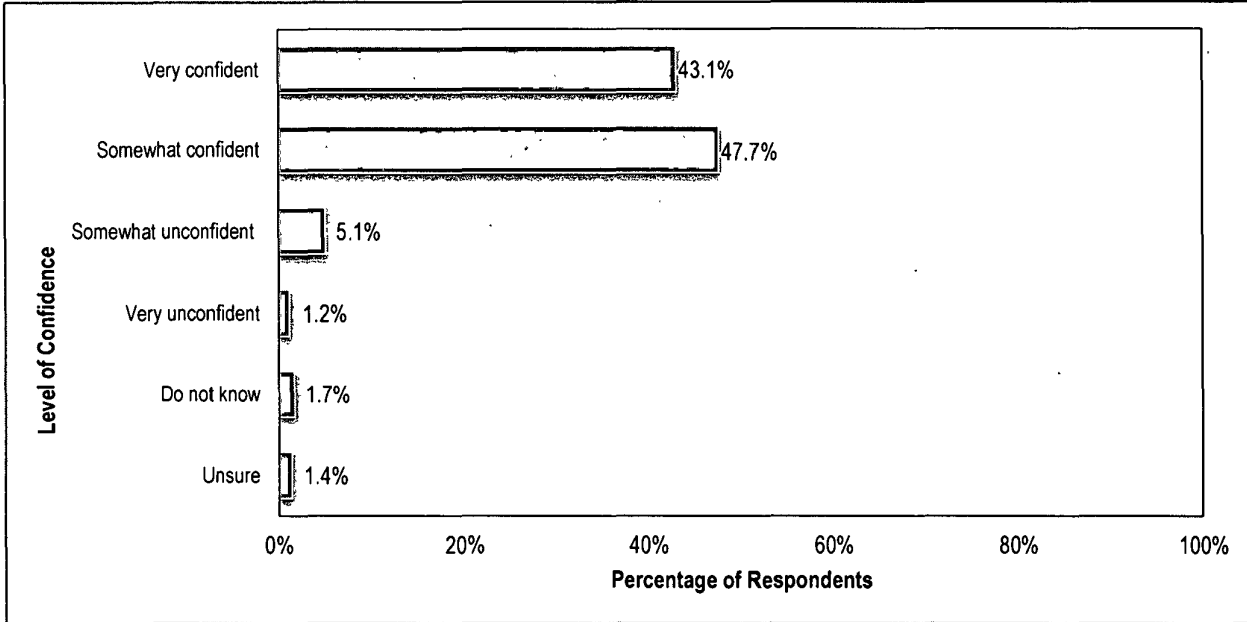
Survey Question 10: In your opinion, when should national elections in Egypt take place? (By Age Group)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

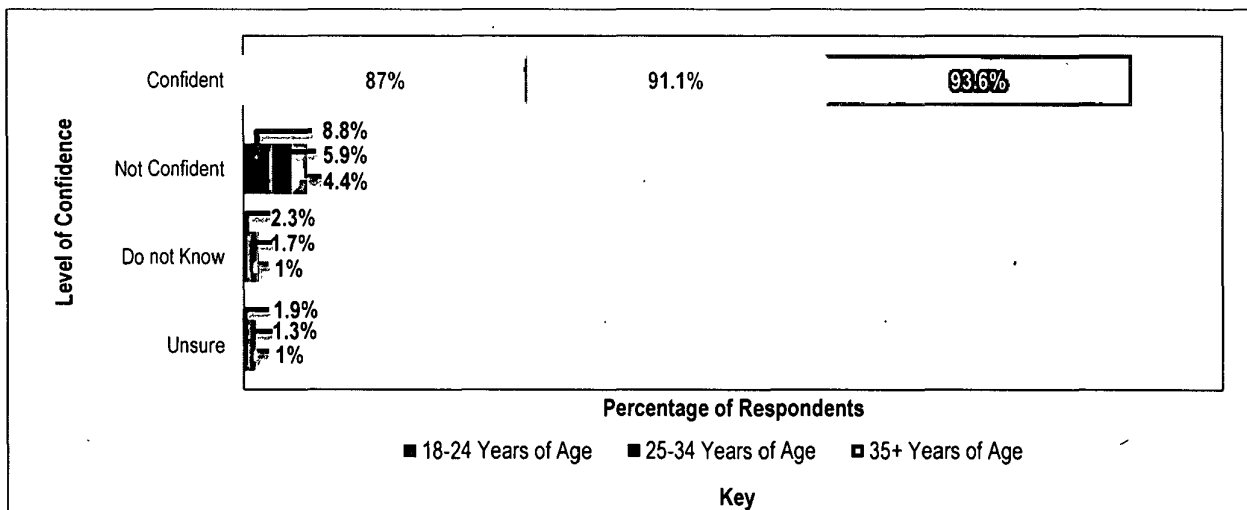
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Survey Question 11: How confident are you that elections will represent the will of the people? (Overall)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

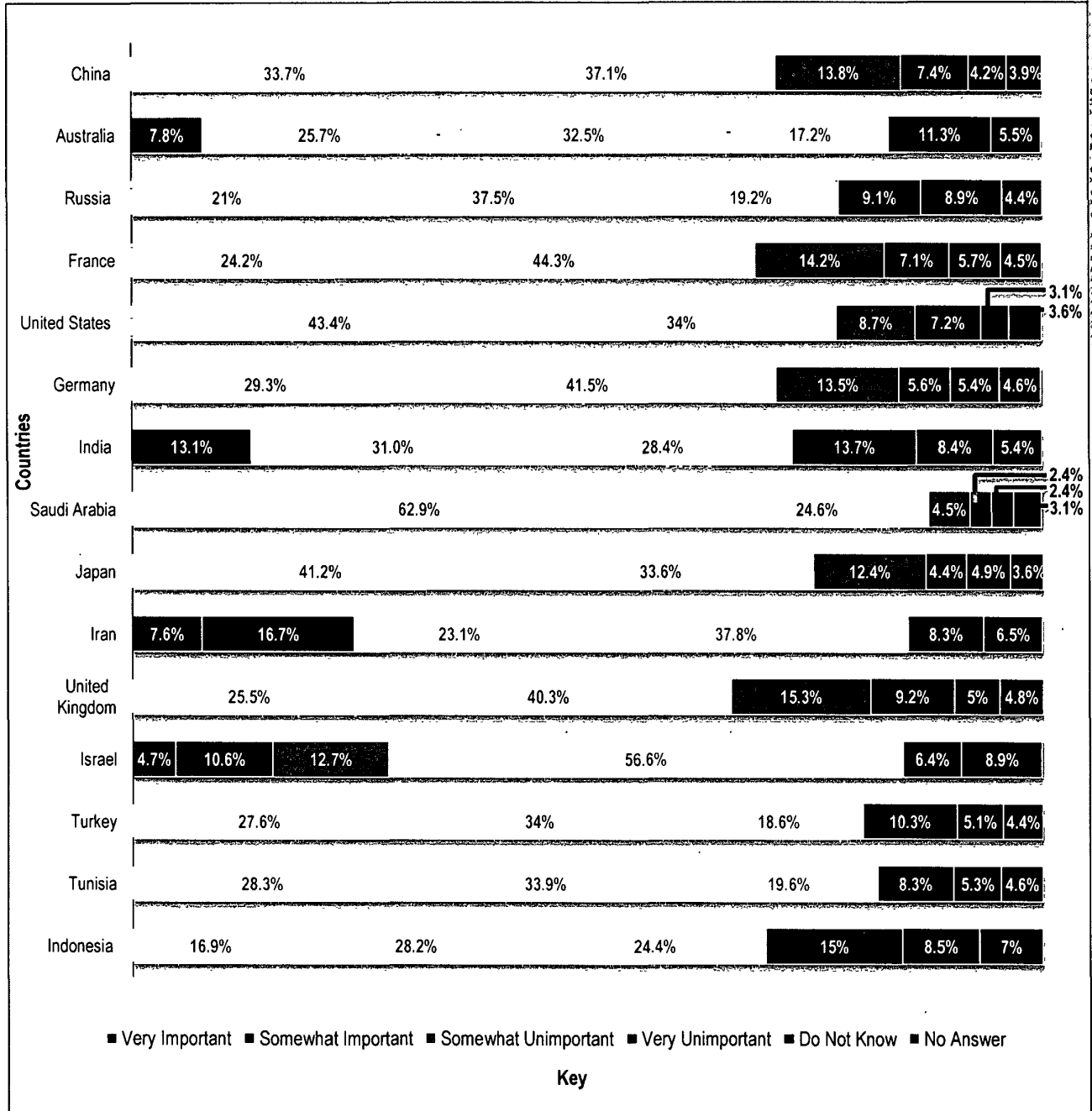
Survey Question 11: How confident are you that elections will represent the will of the people? (By Age Group)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

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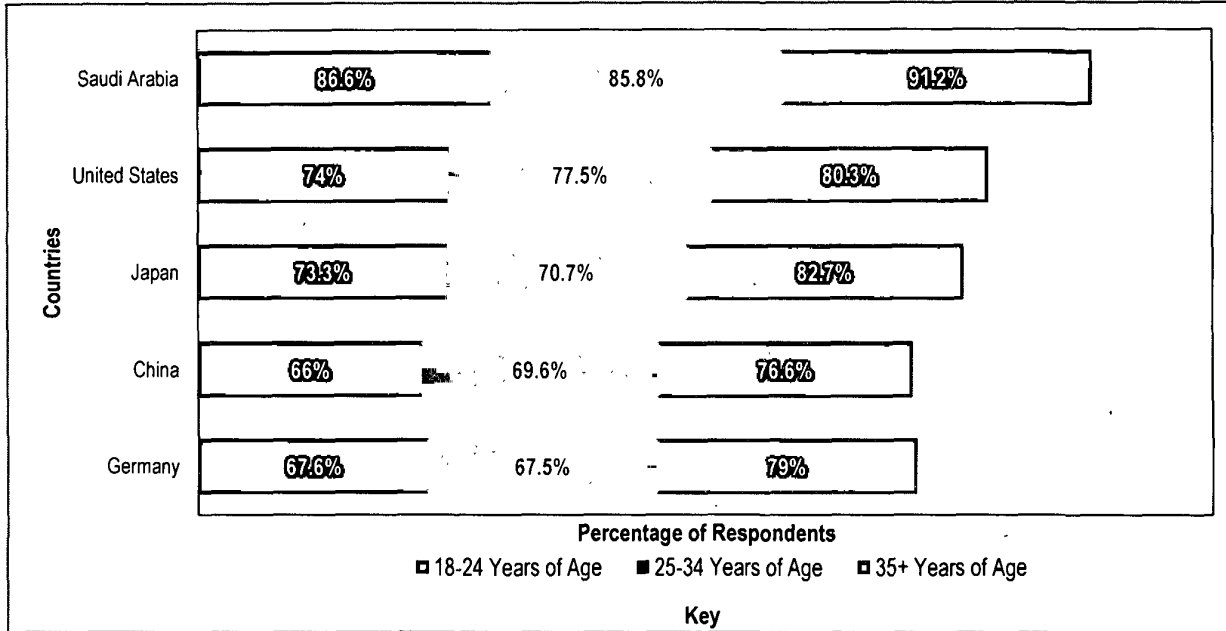
Survey Question 12: Which of the following Countries is an important partner for Egypt? (Overall)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

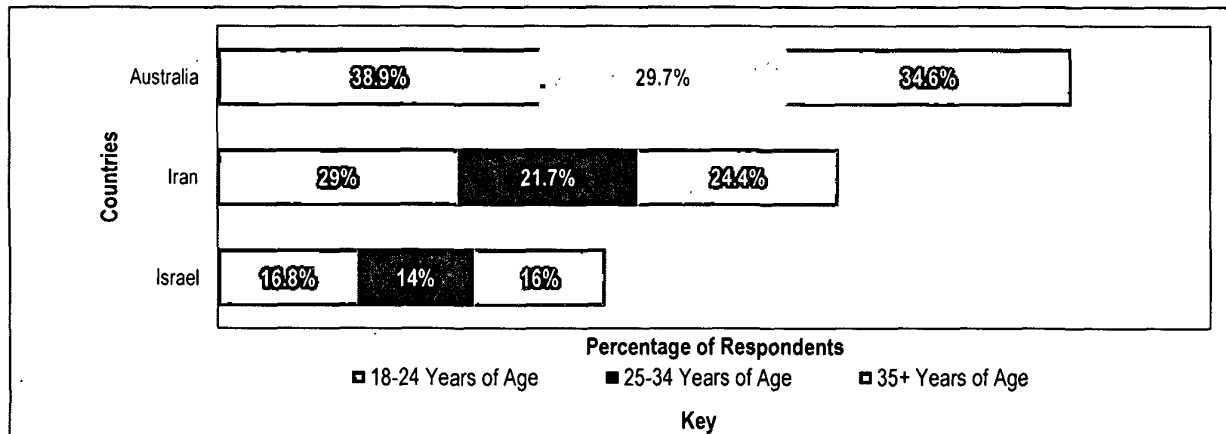
**Egypt Snap Poll | Perspectives of Educated and Online Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution**

Survey Question 12: Which of the following countries is an important partner for Egypt? (By Age Group – Top 5 Ranked Countries)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

Survey Question 12: Which of the following countries is an important partner for Egypt? (By Age Group – Bottom 3 Ranked Countries)

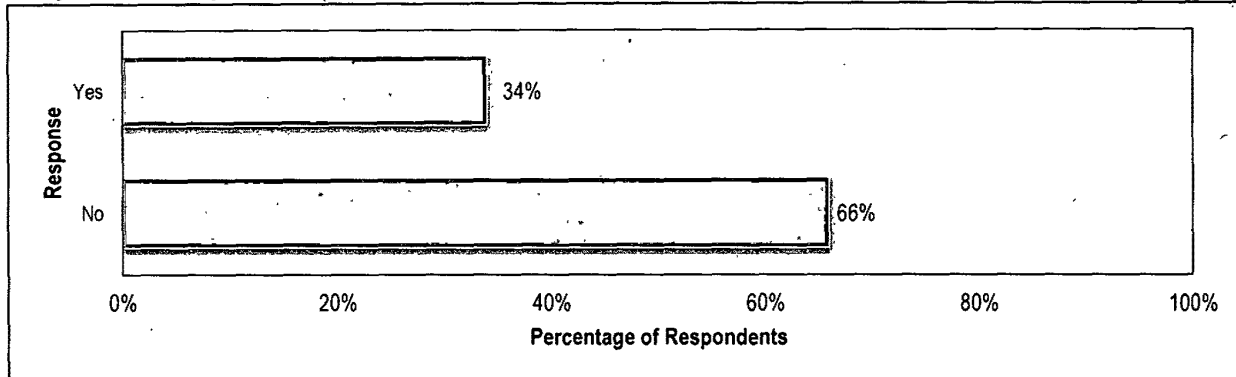


SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)



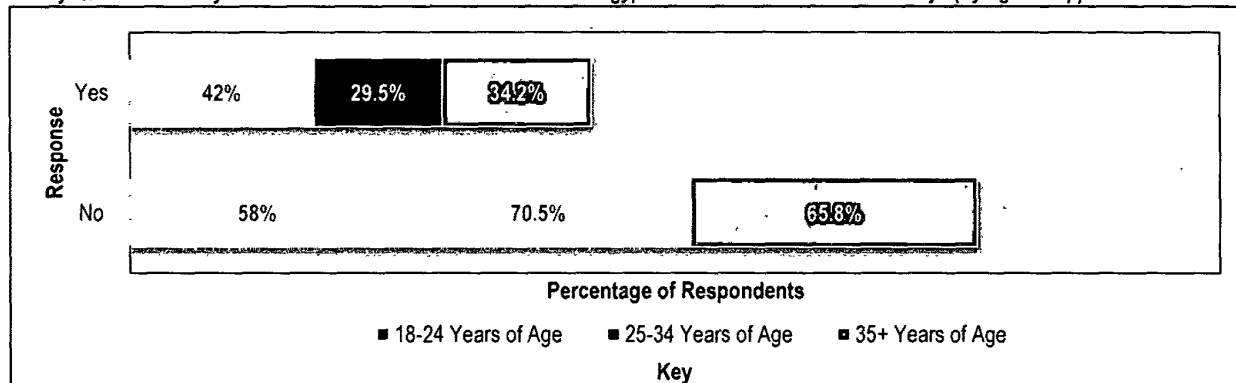
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Survey Question 13: Do you believe President Obama is committed to Egypt's credible transition to democracy? (Overall)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 - 24, 2011)

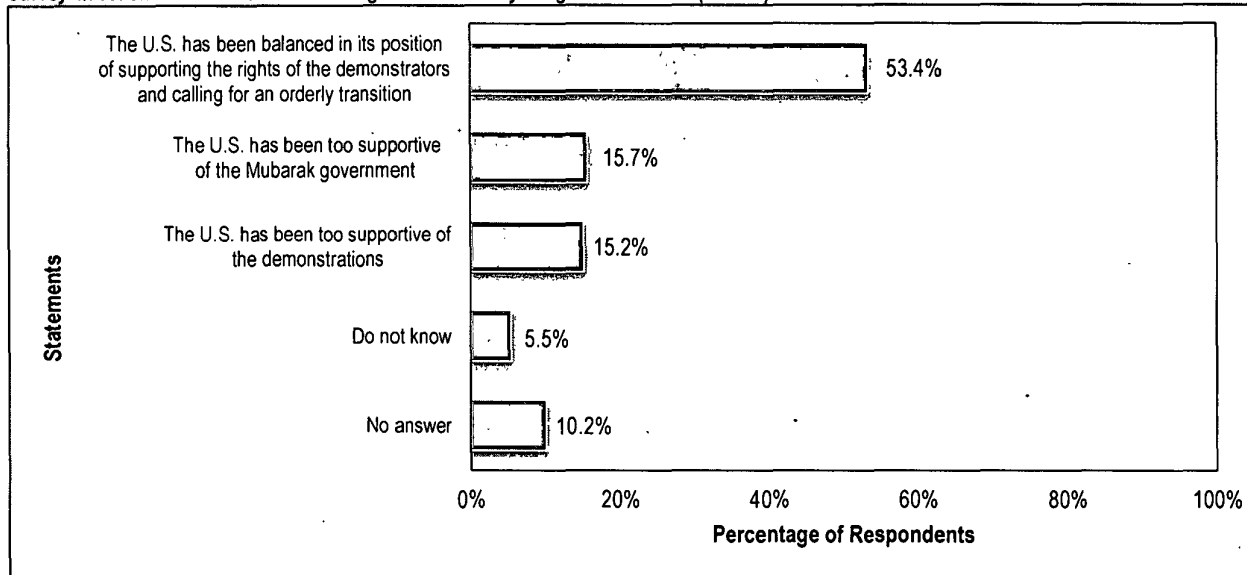
Survey Question 13: Do you believe President Obama is committed to Egypt's credible transition to democracy? (By Age Group)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 - 24, 2011)

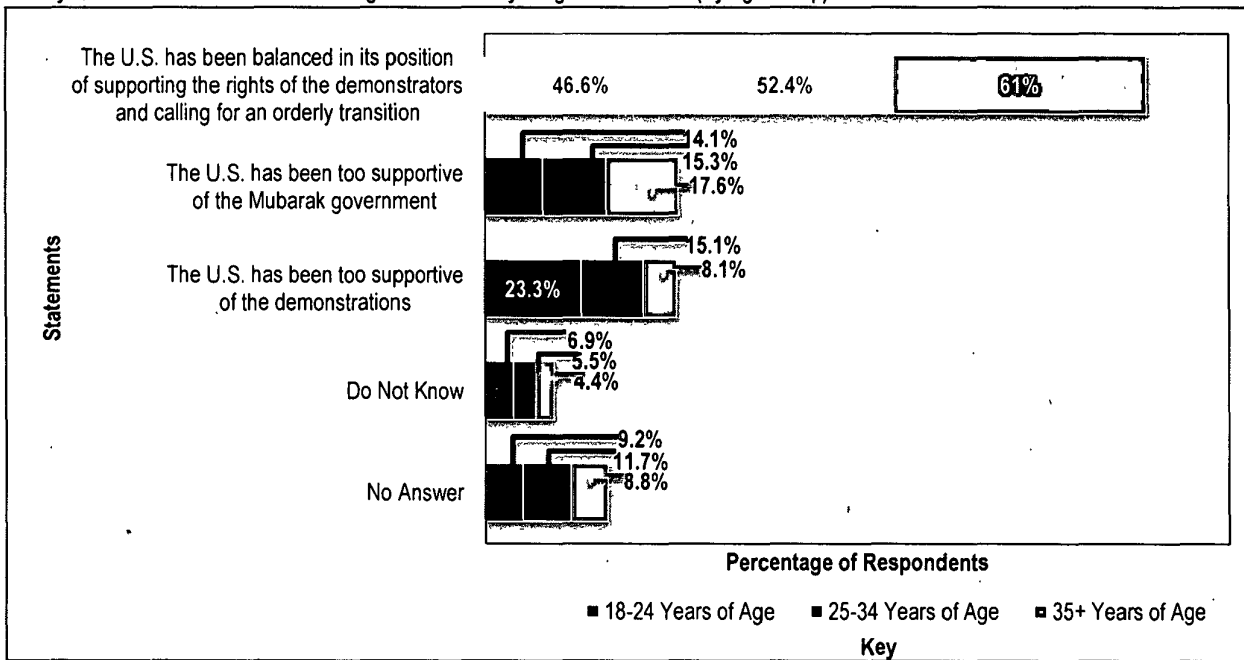
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Survey Question 14: Which of the following statements do you agree with most? (Overall)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

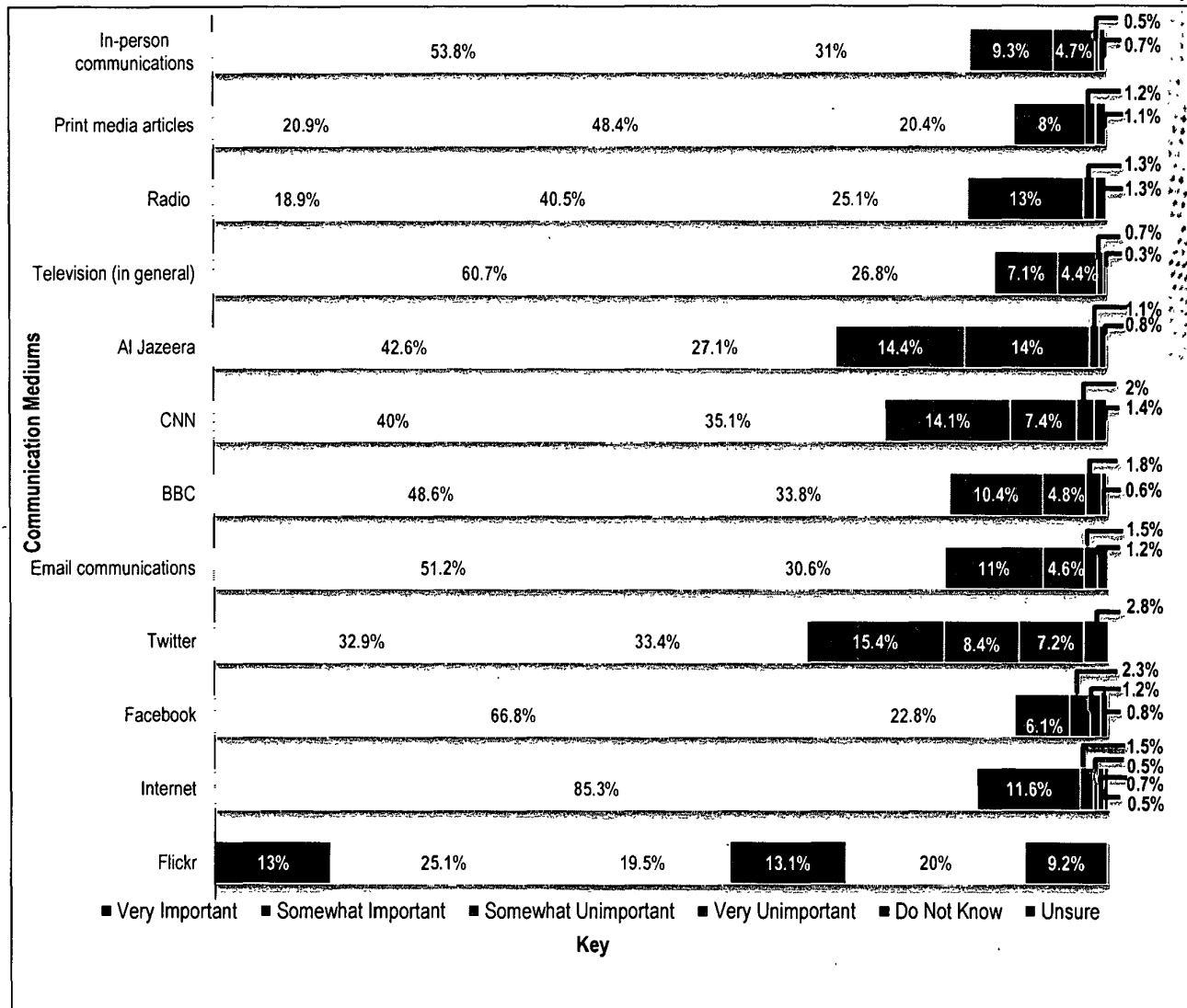
Survey Question 14: Which of the following statements do you agree with most? (By Age Group)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

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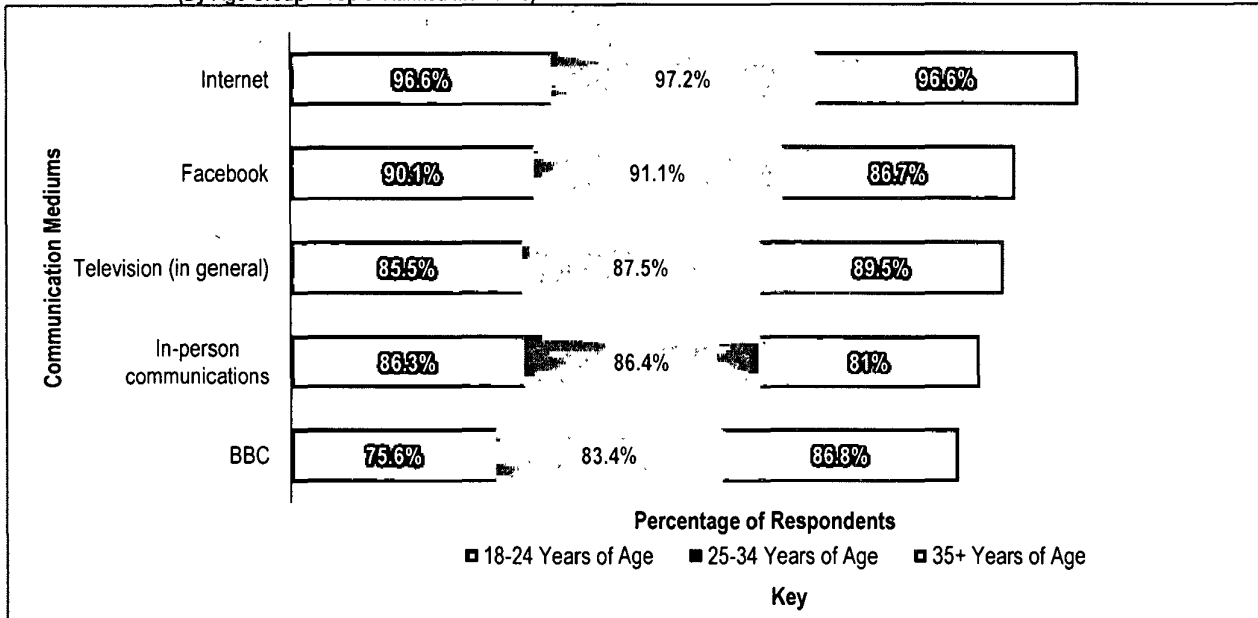
Survey Question 15: How credible are the following communication mediums to you for information about the world? (Overall)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

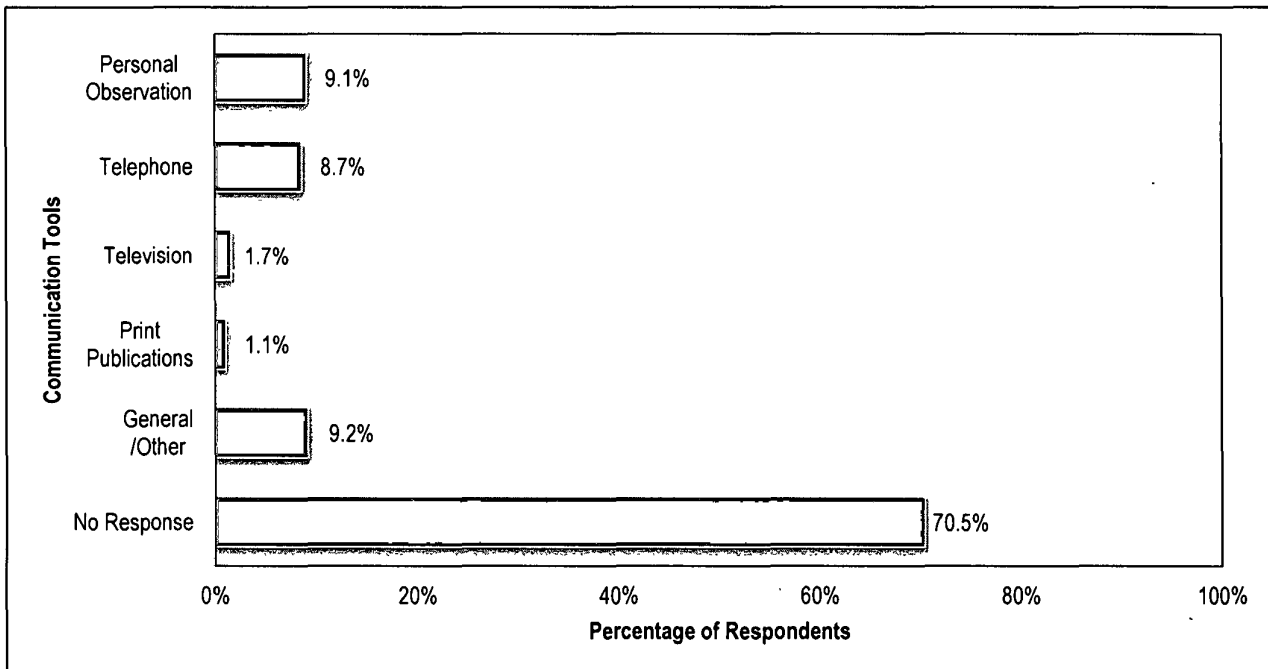
**Egypt Snap Poll | Perspectives of Educated and Online Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution**

Survey Question 15: How credible are the following communication mediums to you for information about the world?  
(By Age Group – Top 5 Ranked Mediums)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

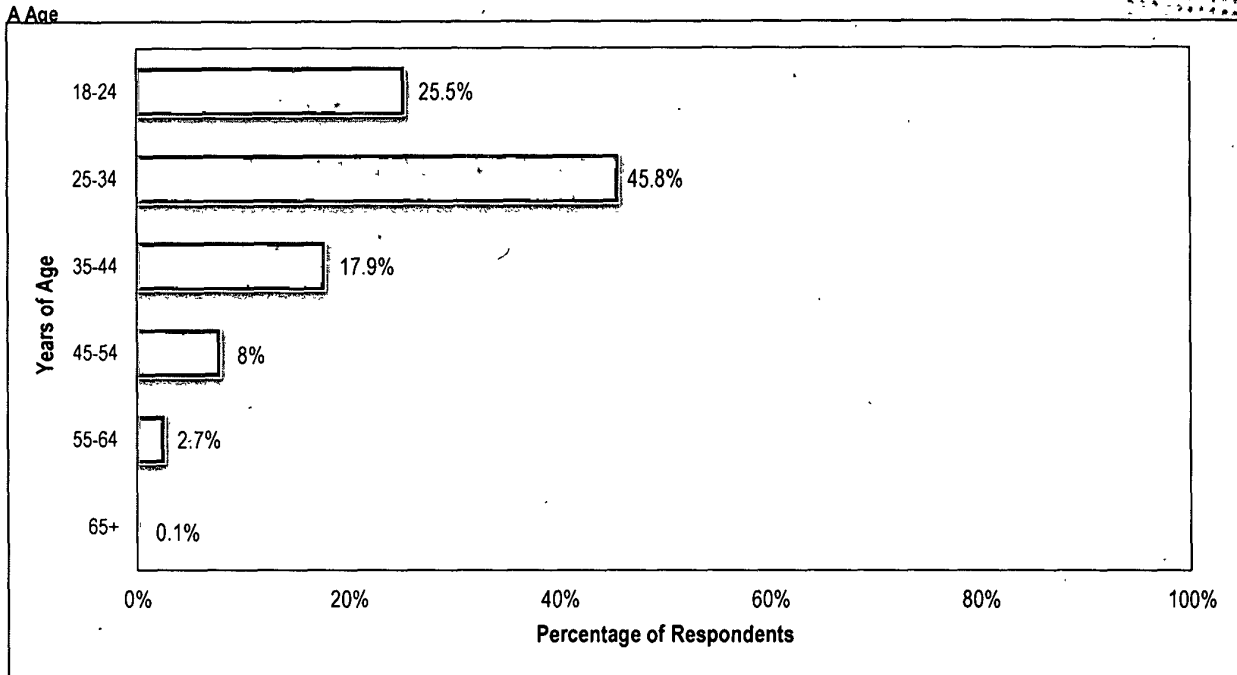
Survey Question 15: Other Communication Tools (Categorization of Open-Ended Responses)



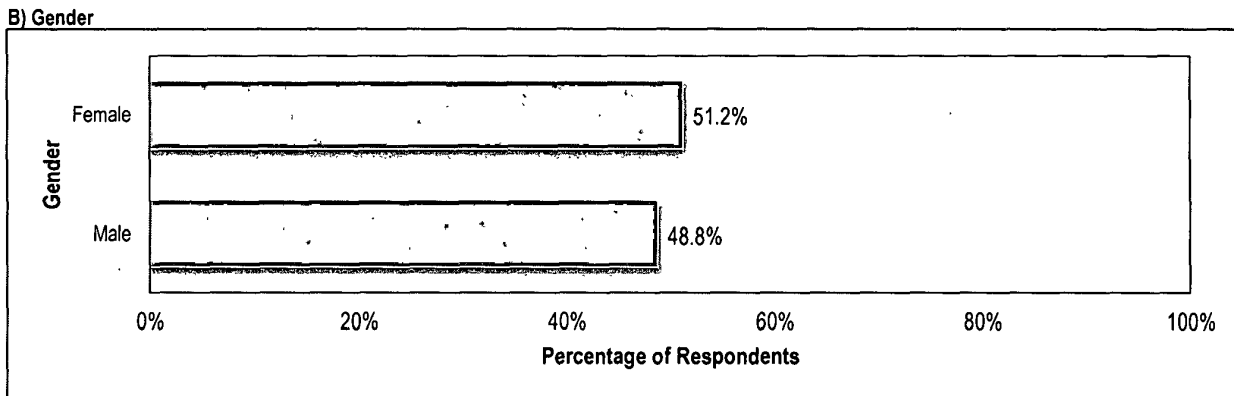
SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

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### Respondent Demographic Information



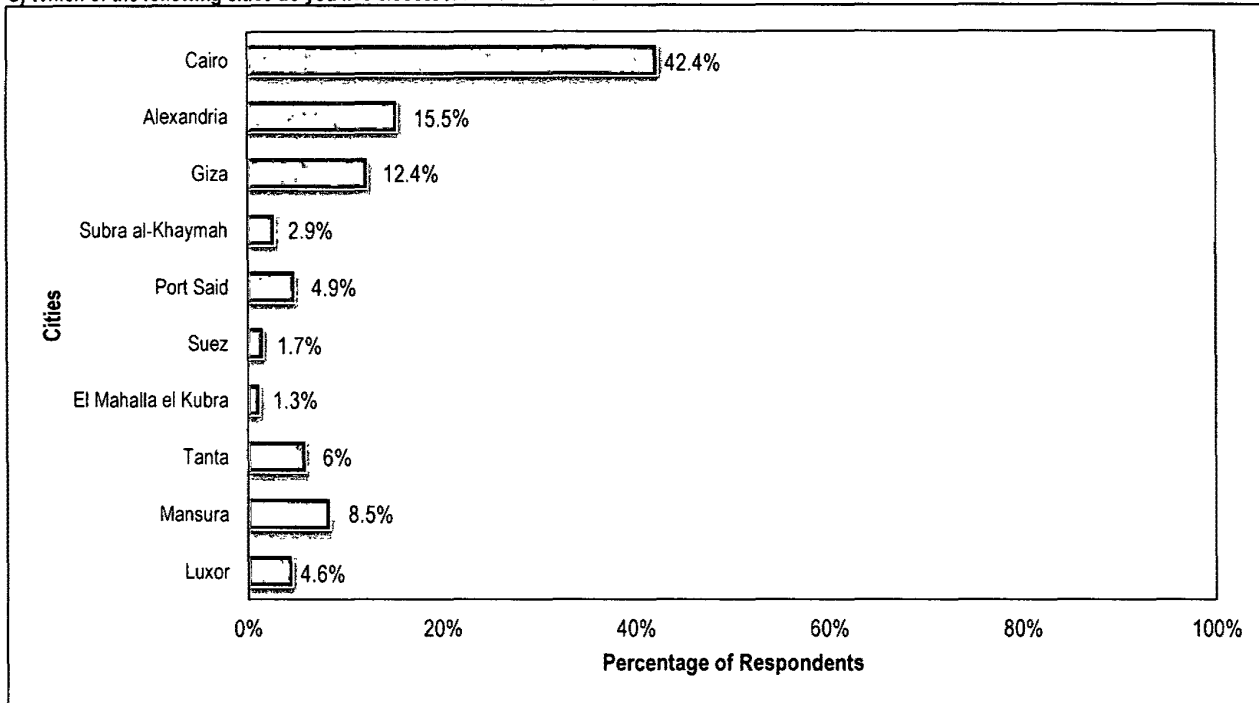
SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

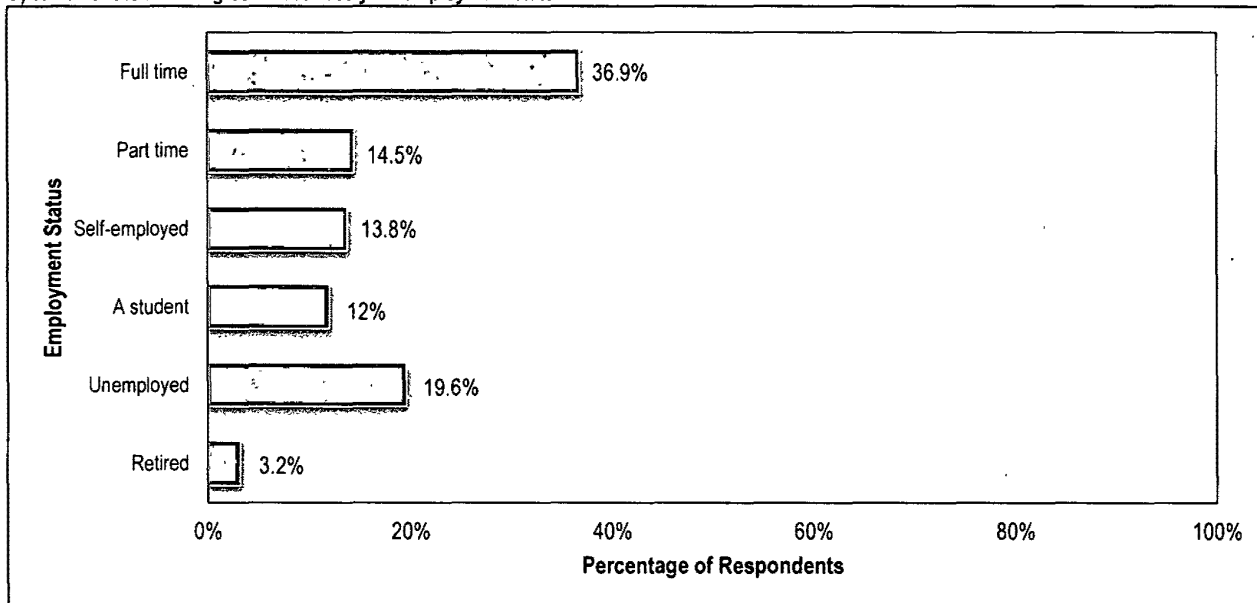
Egypt Snap Poll - Perspectives of Educated and Online Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution

C) Which of the following cities do you live closest to?



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

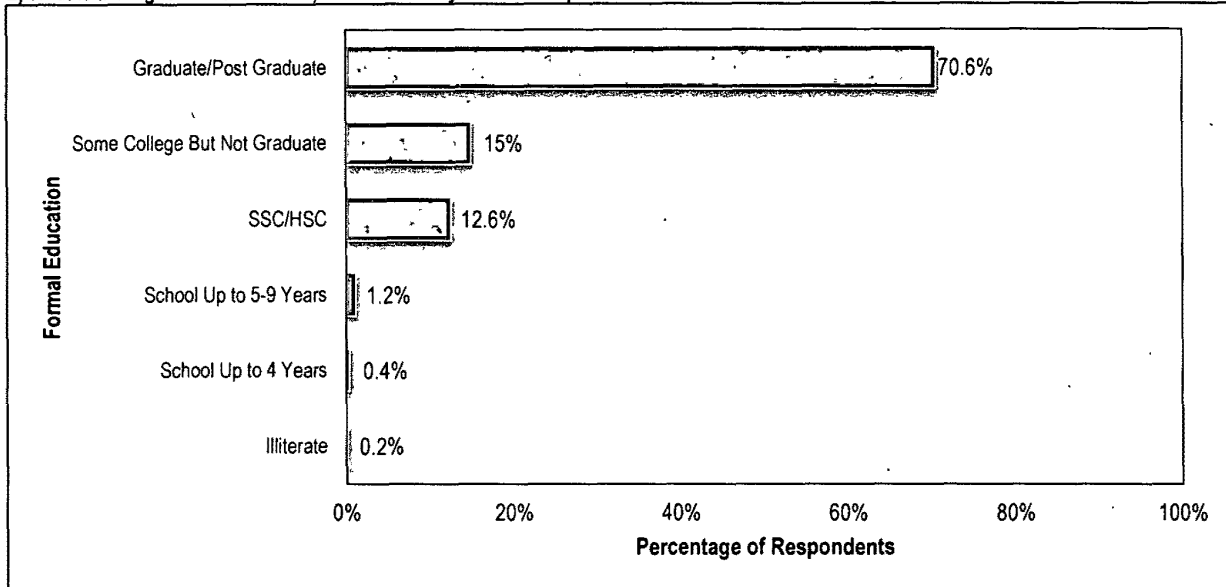
D) Which of the following best describes your employment status?



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

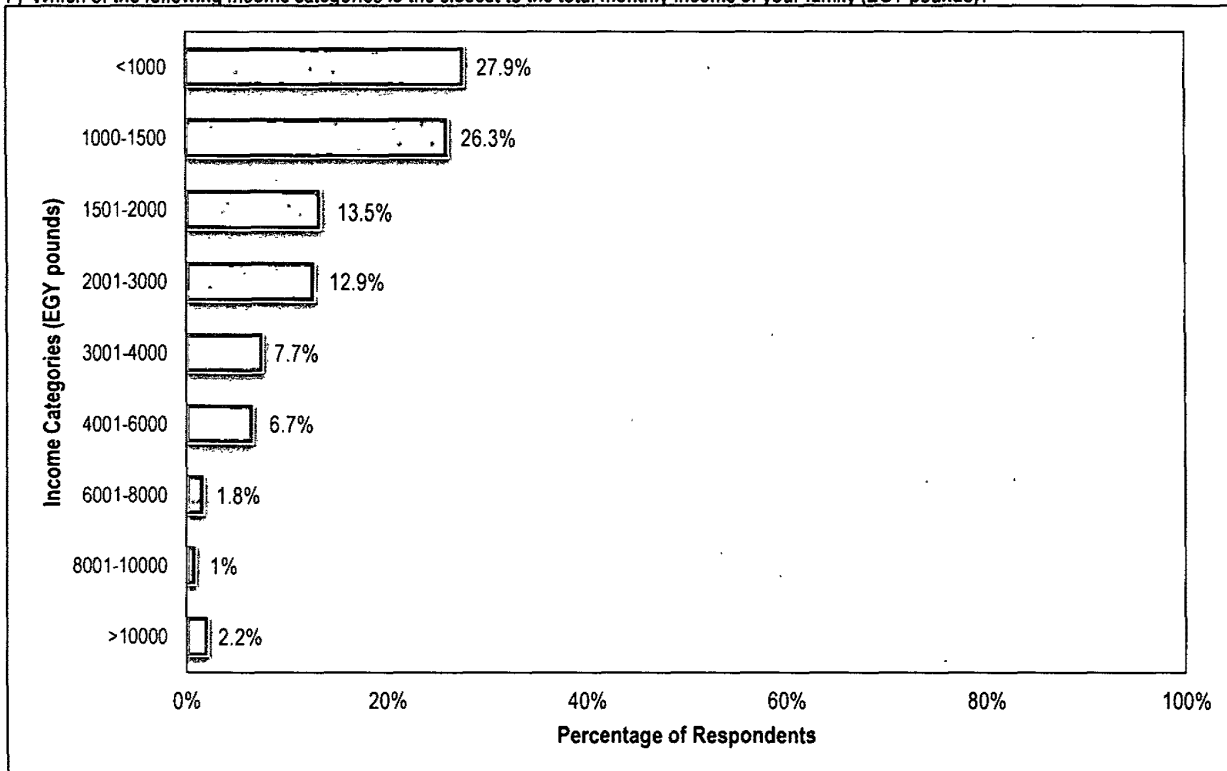
Egypt Snap Poll: Perspectives of Educated and Online Egyptians Following the Recent Revolution

E) What is the highest level of formal education that you have completed?



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

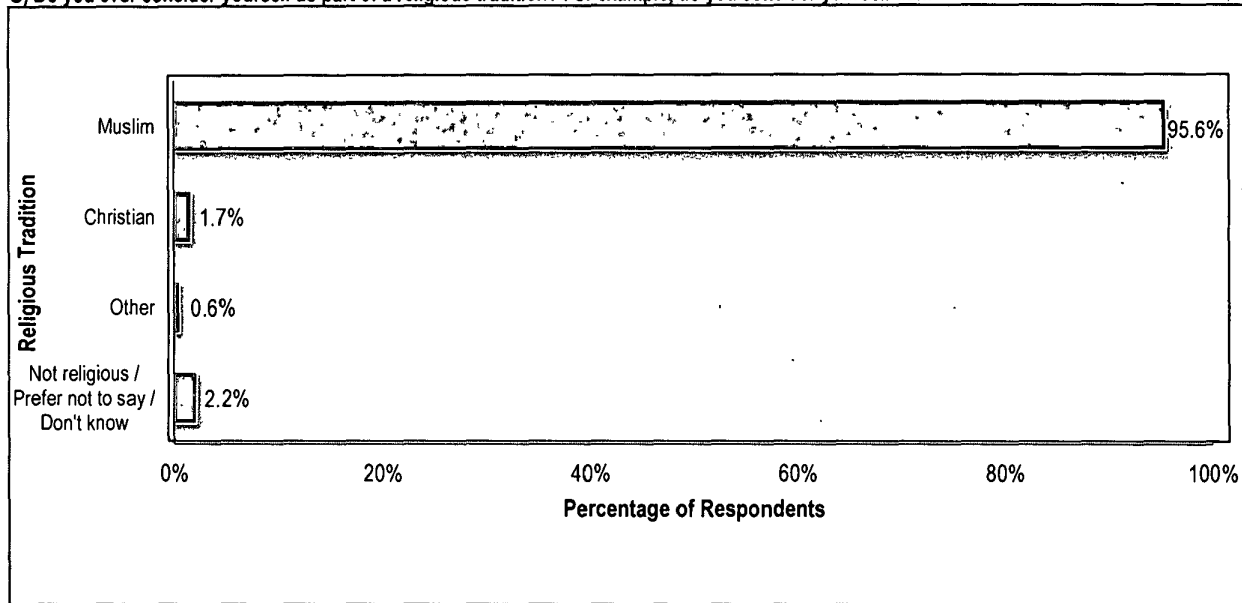
F) Which of the following income categories is the closest to the total monthly income of your family (EGY pounds)?



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 – 24, 2011)

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G) Do you ever consider yourself as part of a religious tradition? For example, do you consider yourself as...



SOURCE: R/PPR-EMU Egypt Snap Poll (February 18 - 24, 2011)



## APPENDIX C – FINAL SURVEY INSTRUMENT

**1. In which direction do you believe Egypt is heading politically?**

- a) Right direction
- b) Somewhat right direction
- c) Somewhat wrong direction
- d) Wrong direction
- e) Do not know
- f) No answer

**2. How optimistic are you about economic conditions in Egypt?**

- a) Very optimistic
- b) Somewhat optimistic
- c) Somewhat pessimistic
- d) Very pessimistic
- e) Do not know
- f) No answer

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3. The following are some issues of concern that may relate to Egypt. Please indicate how important the issues are to you using the following scale, where 1 is very important and 4 is very unimportant:

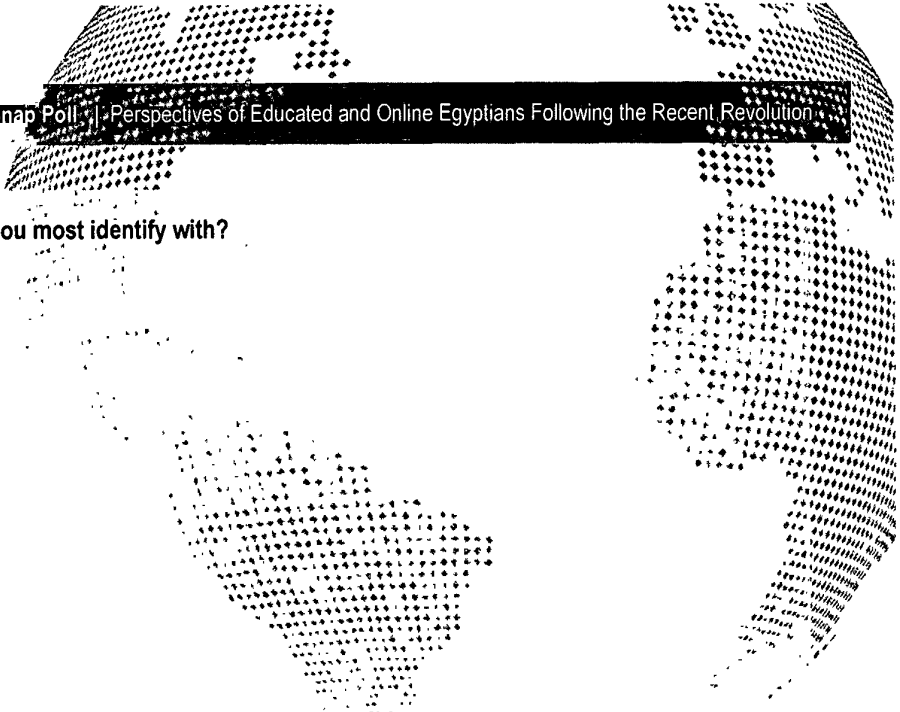
Issues	1 Very Important	2 Somewhat Important	3 Somewhat Unimportant	4 Very Unimportant	5 Do Not Know	6 No Answer
a. Access to Jobs/Employment Opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	6
b. Better Wages and Working Conditions	1	2	3	4	5	6
c. Protection of Individual Freedoms Under Law	1	2	3	4	5	6
d. Free and Fair Elections	1	2	3	4	5	6
e. Democracy and Democratic Reform	1	2	3	4	5	6
f. Human Rights	1	2	3	4	5	6
g. Security	1	2	3	4	5	6
h. Youth Rights	1	2	3	4	5	6
i. Women's Rights and Protection	1	2	3	4	5	6
j. Protection from Unlawful Arrest and Prosecution	1	2	3	4	5	6
k. Maintaining the 1979 Peace Treaty with Israel	1	2	3	4	5	6
l. Egypt Maintaining a Leadership Role in the Middle East	1	2	3	4	5	6
m. Egypt Maintaining Good Relations with the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	6

4. Did the demonstrations represent you and your interests?

a) Yes

i. If yes, whom do you credit for initiating them? \_\_\_\_\_

b) No



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**5. Which groups in Tahrir Square did you most identify with?**

- a) Google's Wael Ghonim
- b) Ayman Nour
- c) El Baradei
- d) Amr Moussa
- e) April 6 Youth Movement
- f) Muslim Brotherhood
- g) Movement for Change
- h) El-Wafd party
- i) Egyptian Army
- j) Kifaya
- k) None of the above
- l) Do not know
- m) No answer

**5a. Who would make a good next president of Egypt?**

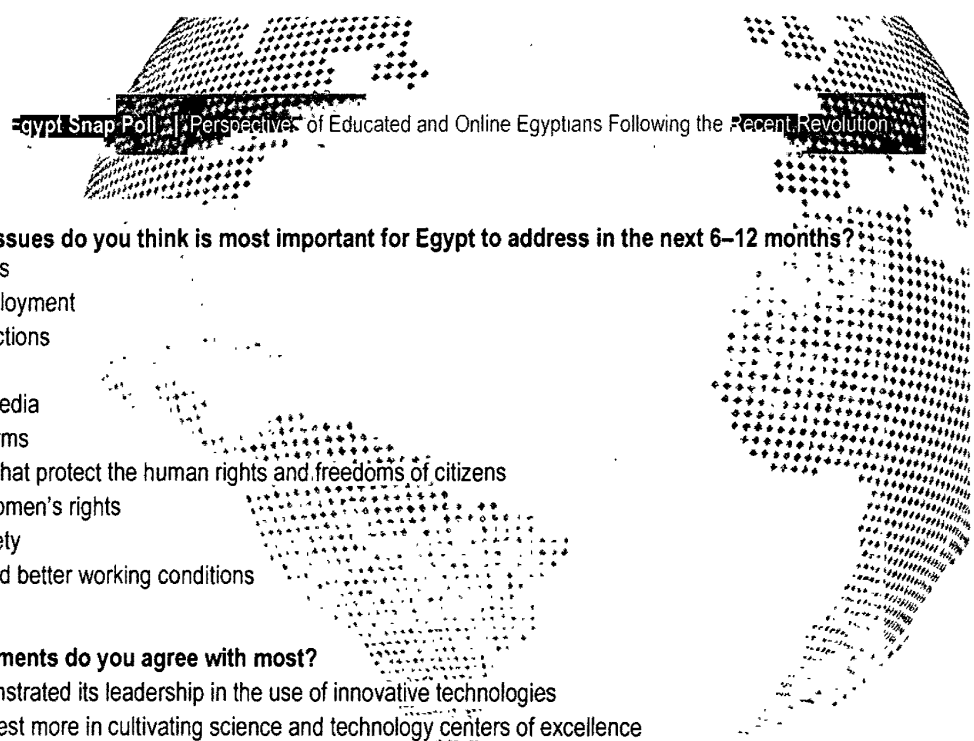
- a) Ahmed Shafik
- b) Hussein Tantawi
- c) Amr Moussa
- d) Wael Ghonim
- e) Ayman Nour
- f) Mohammed el-Baradei
- g) Ahmed Zewail
- h) None of the above

**6. What is your view on Egypt's future as a result of the demonstrations?**

- a) Very optimistic
- b) Somewhat optimistic
- c) Somewhat pessimistic
- d) Very pessimistic
- e) Do not know
- f) No answer

**7. Which of the following do you most trust to steer Egypt's future in a positive direction?**

- a) Egyptian Army
- b) Egyptian Police
- c) Egyptian Intelligence Service
- d) Muslim Brotherhood
- e) Civil Society/NGOs
- f) Youth/Student Groups
- g) Business leaders/business groups
- h) Omar Suleiman
- i) Hosni Mubarak
- j) None of the above
- k) Do not know
- l) No answer



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8. Which one of the following issues do you think is most important for Egypt to address in the next 6–12 months?

- a) Economic reforms
- b) Reducing unemployment
- c) Free and fair elections
- d) Terrorism
- e) Open and free media
- f) Educational reforms
- g) Judicial reforms that protect the human rights and freedoms of citizens
- h) Strengthening women's rights
- i) Crime/public safety
- j) Higher wages and better working conditions

9. Which of the following statements do you agree with most?

- a) Egypt has demonstrated its leadership in the use of innovative technologies
- b) Egypt should invest more in cultivating science and technology centers of excellence
- c) Egypt should partner with other countries on science and technology advances
- d) A new, creative, talented and technologically advanced generation has emerged in Egypt
- e) Do not know
- f) No answer

10. In your opinion, when should national elections in Egypt take place?

- a) Within 3 months
- b) Within 6 months
- c) Within 12 months
- d) Longer than 12 months
- e) Do not know
- f) No answer

11. How confident are you that elections will represent the will of the people?

- a) Very confident
- b) Somewhat confident
- c) Somewhat unconfident
- d) Very unconfident
- e) Do not know
- f) Unsure

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12. Which of the following countries is an important partner for Egypt? Please indicate your response using the following scale, where 1 is very important and 4 is very unimportant.

COUNTRY	1 Very Important	2 Somewhat Important	3 Somewhat Unimportant	4 Very Unimportant	5 Do Not Know	6 No Answer
a. China	1	2	3	4	5	6
b. Australia	1	2	3	4	5	6
c. Russia	1	2	3	4	5	6
d. France	1	2	3	4	5	6
e. United States	1	2	3	4	5	6
f. Germany	1	2	3	4	5	6
g. India	1	2	3	4	5	6
h. Saudi Arabia	1	2	3	4	5	6
i. Japan	1	2	3	4	5	6
j. Iran	1	2	3	4	5	6
k. United Kingdom	1	2	3	4	5	6
l. Israel	1	2	3	4	5	6
m. Turkey	1	2	3	4	5	6
n. Tunisia	1	2	3	4	5	6
o. Indonesia	1	2	3	4	5	6

13. Do you believe President Obama is committed to Egypt's credible transition to democracy?

- a) Yes
- b) No

14. Which of the following statements do you agree with most:

- a) The U.S. has been too supportive of the demonstrations
- b) The U.S. has been balanced in its position of supporting the rights of the demonstrators and calling for an orderly transition
- c) The U.S. has been too supportive of the Mubarak government
- d) Do not know
- e) No answer

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15. How credible are the following communication mediums to you for information about the world? Please indicate your response using the following scale, where 1 is very important and 4 is very unimportant:

MEDIUM	1 Very Important	2 Somewhat Important	3 Somewhat Unimportant	4 Very Unimportant	5 Do Not Know	6 Unsure
a. In-person communications	1	2	3	4	5	6
b. Print media articles	1	2	3	4	5	6
c. Radio	1	2	3	4	5	6
d. Television (in general)	1	2	3	4	5	6
e. Al Jazeera	1	2	3	4	5	6
f. CNN	1	2	3	4	5	6
g. BBC	1	2	3	4	5	6
h. Email communications	1	2	3	4	5	6
i. Twitter	1	2	3	4	5	6
j. Facebook	1	2	3	4	5	6
k. Internet	1	2	3	4	5	6
l. Flickr	1	2	3	4	5	6
m. Other communication tools:	1	2	3	4	5	6

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## Demographic Questions

### A. Age

- a) 18-24
- b) 25-34
- c) 35-44
- d) 45-54
- e) 55-64
- f) 65+

### B. Gender

- a) Female
- b) Male

C. Which of the following cities do you live closest to? By selecting a particular city you are not indicating that you necessarily live in that city or its metro area. You are simply indicating that of all of the cities on the list, this is the city you live closest to. If you live equidistant to more than one city on the list, select the one that you spend the most time in or near:

- a) Cairo
- b) Alexandria
- c) Giza
- d) Subra al-Khaymah
- e) Port Said
- f) Suez
- g) El Mahalla el Kubra
- h) Tanta
- i) Mansura
- j) Luxor

D. Which of the following best describes your employment status?

- a) Full time
- b) Part time
- c) Self-employed
- d) A student
- e) Unemployed
- f) Retired

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**E. What is the highest level of formal education that you have completed?**

- a) Illiterate
- b) School Up to 4 Years
- c) School Up to 5-9 Years
- d) SSC/HSC
- e) Some College, But Not Graduate
- f) Graduate/Post Graduate

**F. Which of the following income categories is the closest to the total monthly income of your family? By the total monthly income, I mean the total monthly salary in EGY pounds for all family members who are working and live together in the household:**

- a) <1000
- b) 1000-1500
- c) 1501-2000
- d) 2001-3000
- e) 3001-4000
- f) 4001-6000
- g) 6001-8000
- h) 8001-10000
- i) >10000

**G. Do you ever consider yourself as part of a religious tradition? For example, do you consider yourself as...**

- a) Muslim
- b) Christian
- c) Other
- d) Not religious / Prefer not to say / Don't Know

<sup>1</sup> Dubai School of Government. *Arab Social Media Report*. Dubai School of Government, Jan. 2011. Web. 14 Feb. 2011. <<http://www.dsg.ae/social.aspx?u=1&l=e&f=/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=-WvGLGPQ9G0%3d&tabid=1163>>.

<sup>2</sup> CAPMAS. "Distribution of Population by Age Group." 2006. <http://www.capmas.gov.eg/pdf/egypt/finalpop/11.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> 13,760 survey invitations and unique survey links were emailed to a sample from among the approximately 400,000 who constitute the Ipsos online panel in Egypt.

<sup>4</sup> The source for all Egyptian general population data except religion is the 2006 Egypt Census, which is the most recent Census. Source for data on religion is the CIA Factbook.

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<<http://www.mfa.gov.eg/English/EgyptianForeignPolicy/EgyptianAsianRelation/BilateralRelations/China/Pages/MutualVisits.aspx>>.

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<sup>7</sup> Kirkpatrick, David D., and David E. Sanger. "A Tunisian-Egyptian Link That Shook Arab History." *New York Times* New York Times, 13 Feb. 2011. Web. 17 Feb. 2011. <<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/13/middleeast/13egypt.html>>.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> "The Egyptian Movement for Change (Kifaya)." *The Carnegie Endowment*. Web. 17 Feb. 2011. <<http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2010/09/22/the-egyptian-movement-for-change-kifaya/>>.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Abell, John C. "Egypt Internet Restored; Cairo Protests Turn Violent | Epicenter | Wired.com." *Wired*. Wired, 2 Feb. 2011. Web. 16 Feb. 2011.

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<sup>13</sup> Liedtke, Michael. "In One Weekend, Speak2Tweet Was Born - Technology & Science - Tech and Gadgets - Msnbc.com." *MSNBC*. MSNBC, 4 Feb. 2011. Web. 21 Feb. 2011.


<[http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/41431421/ns/technology\\_and\\_science-tech\\_and\\_gadgets/](http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/41431421/ns/technology_and_science-tech_and_gadgets/)>

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*





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- <sup>17</sup> Speak2Tweet. 8 Feb. 2011. Web. 07 March 2011. <<http://www.saynow.com/playMsg.html?ak=eEgXL0o3SiZhWU93WlppqQnEva2Y5dz09>>.
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