

Impact of the Socio-Economic Situation Post the Egyptian Revolution (2011)

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Abstract

Egypt's socio-economic and political condition is becoming a controversial matter after seven years following the 2011 revolution. The authors are intending to shed the light on the Egyptian socio-economic and political condition after six years since the 2011 revolution; trying to analyze the whole situation from the local and international perspective. How does the world see us? And how do we see ourselves? What is the current socio-economic and political situation in respect to data and information gathered from domestic and international institutions? And how do Egyptian people perceive the economic and political situation in their country now? These are questions which the authors will try to answer in this paper in order to come up with a real picture of Egypt after seven years since the 2011 revolution internally and externally. Researchers will conduct a field study in order to come up with Egyptian citizens' perspectives and opinions from diverse demographic background regarding the entire political and socio-economic condition in the country through a quantitative research. Finally, we'll state conclusions and recommendations hoping to come up with adequate answers and solutions for many economic and political problematic issues.

Keywords

Socio-economic and Political Condition, Domestic and International Institutions, 2011 Revolution, Egyptian People Perception, Diverse Demographic Background, Quantitative Research

1. Introduction

The Tunisian up-rise might be the starting point of the Egyptian revolution in 2011, but there were many other important political and economic reasons behind the January revolution. Clarke, K. (2018) showed that social media played some role in the protests, both through tweeting activity related to "Tahrir" Square and retweeting of opposition leaders' tweets, which we interpret as a measure of general discontent about the government in power. Egypt had seen many rallies and protests led by textile, health and transportation workers. Doctors, pharmacists and judges had their own demands and needs and protested, too. All wanted better salaries and working conditions. By contrast, the rich became richer and the poor suffered more from poverty and lacking essentials. People fell into a miserable situation where there were no hopes left for a better future for their

children. Elsayed, A., & Wahba, J. (2017) explained that the informal employment has increased for both high- and low-educated workers. The high educated were more likely to be trapped in informality, whilst low-educated formal workers were more likely to lose their contracts after the revolution.

Additionally, Egyptians desired at that point democracy and legal elections which were the main motives for the revolution. Also, bribery and corruption in the government were the most important reasons behind the revolution. Inequality of distribution of resources between citizens and rulers, high unemployment, increasing poverty, social and economic inequality, high budget deficit, and net public debt encouraged and motivated Egyptians to revolt. What really facilitated the revolution issue and helped to make it succeed was that young people had important access to information and communication networks, Such as social media and mobile phone services (Akcesme, Gokhan, 2014).

Nivin Abdel Meguid *et al.* (2011) stated that in most

countries of the world, inequality is considered as a lead cause for revolutions and unrest. Karl Marx predicted that an economic revolution would occur, due to the unequal distribution of wealth. According to Marx, the upper class has the wealth and power in its hand and they are the one who exploit the lower class. This eventually leads to certain problems, foremost among them poverty and income equality. Between the 1980s and mid-2000s, income inequality rose significantly in countries as diverse as China, India, Russia, Sweden, and the United States.

The situation was no different in the emerging market economies; it rose in India, China, Indonesia, South Africa, and all the post-Communist countries. In much of the world, the economy has been shrinking, and accordingly the poor's 'share has been getting smaller. Living standards in Egypt are low by international standards, and have declined consistently since 1990. A significant number of poor Egyptians live in squalor, with poor and overcrowded housing, limited food supply, and inadequate access to clean water, good quality health care, or education. In the wake of the global financial crisis, the stages of democratic transformation and the revolutions of the Arab Spring, the Egyptian economy was negatively affected, which affected the performance of the state and its ability to meet its needs and thus increase the volume of expenditures necessary to meet the needs of the state in return for limited and modest revenues, resulting in a rise in the budget deficit, which the countries resorted to finance by borrowing. Ebaye, S. E. et al. (2017) urge leaders across the globe to learn from the Arab spring experiences and promote democratic institutions in

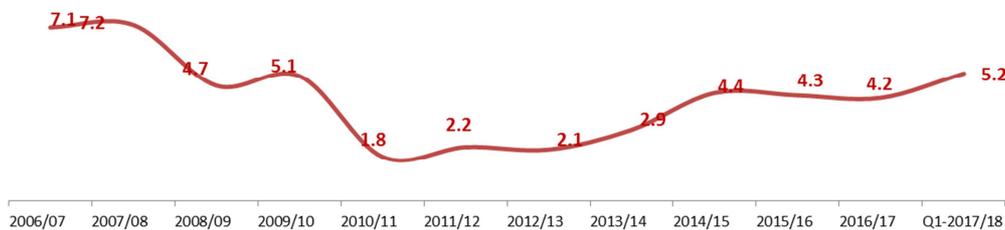
order to prevent the occurrence of similar revolutionary experiences in their home countries

In this framework, the paper aims to shed light on the impact of fiscal reform programs on both the budget deficit and the public debt, which have directly affected the competitiveness of countries comparing international reports.

2. Evaluating the Impact of Financial and Economic Reform Programs on the Budget Deficit in Egypt

2.1. Overview of the Economic and the Financial Status

During the last decade, the Egyptian economy witnessed a number of exceptional events that were directly reflected in the performance of the macro economy and the direction of the country's fiscal policy. Following the repercussions of the global financial crisis, the real growth rate declined to 4.7% in 2008/2009 after high growth rates of 7.2% in 2007 / 2008. Then the growth rate collapsed further in the wake of the political and economic instability that followed the January 25, 2011 revolution, reaching a low of 1.8% in 2010/2011 and 2.2% in 2011/2012. The economic growth faced years of stumbling and slow recovery in the years following the revolution as a result of the decline in investments until 2014/2015 and the growth rate is back to rise above 4% beginning in the year and two years following it, see figure 1.



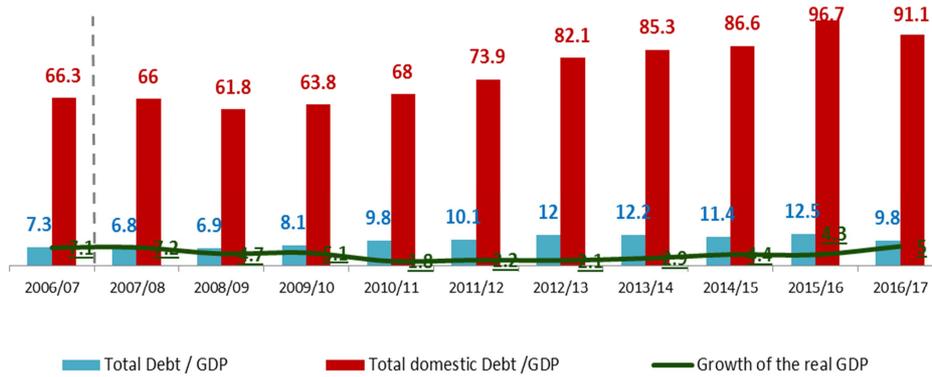
Source: Central Bank of Egypt - Ministry of Finance

Figure 1. The real growth rate during the period 2007- 2017.

Given the evolution of the budget deficit and public debt to GDP, the following are illustrated: The increase in the budget deficit coincided with the slowdown in economic activity during the period of the global crisis, where the budget deficit increased to 8.1% of the GDP in 2009/2010. However, the acceleration of growth in that deficit has clearly emerged from 2010/2011 (9.8% Of the gross domestic product (GDP) of the government's attempt to control dissatisfaction through the expansion of spending and inconsistency in public spending policies, until the gross domestic product (GDP) deficit reached 12.5% in 2015/2016. The public debt during the years following the revolution of January 2011 to 2015/2016 has increased significantly - growth by 52% compared to 2009/2010 to reach the highest

ratio (96.7% of GDP) in 2015/2016.

Egypt is facing major challenges threaten the economic stability, such as the external debt which reached \$60 billion in the first quarter of 2016/2017. The devaluation of the pound increased the prices of food, fuel and raw material causing the public loss of confidence in the government and protests over government's inability to control inflation. This deficit led to a large increase in government expenses in terms of salaries, support and debt service, while the revenues did not rise to cover the increase in expenditures and the successive governments resorted to local borrowing to overcome this major financial problem. Additionally, the central bank had to expand printing money to fill the worsening budget deficit (Cecile Guerin, 2017).



Source: Egyptian Ministry of finance- different issues

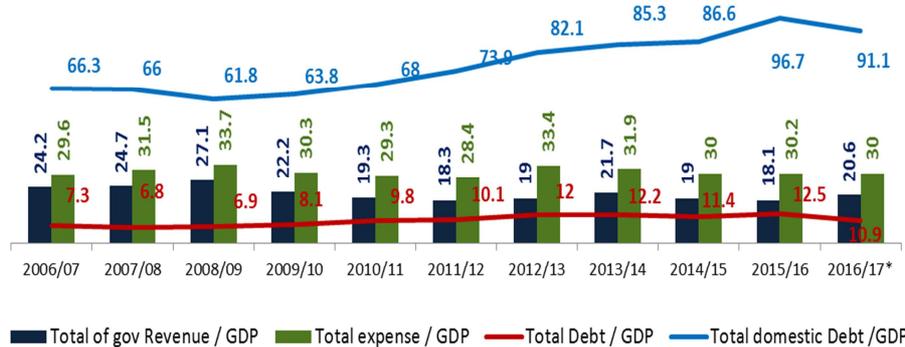
Figure 2. Evolution of the growth rate, the budget deficit and the total public debt of the GDP during the period (2006 / 2007-2016 / 2017).

Figure 2 shows the continuous growth of the domestic debt during the period after revolution till 2016. It reflects that the domestic debt increase from 68% to 91.1 of GDP during 2011 till 2016, the growth in debt reached 120%. The reasons behind this are due to the drop in economic growth combined with drop in foreign investment. The budget deficit is due to the growth of public expenditure at rates that exceed the rates of growth in public revenues during the period. The general budget is characterized by structural imbalances related to the non-diversification of sovereign revenues of the state and relying mainly on taxes and grants and insufficient funds to finance miscellaneous and increasing expenditure items (wages and subsidies). Increased borrowing from the domestic market to finance the budget deficit and insufficient tax revenues. In addition, there are other reasons related to meeting the demands of citizens after the revolution (January 25) of raising wages, increasing food support allocations, and other items resulting from the political instability witnessed by the country during that period. Moreover the external debt increase from 12.4% to 79% from the GDP during the same period, see figure 2.

The gap between the total expenditure and revenues as a percentage of GDP during the period 2010/2011 to 2012/2013 widened as a result of the adoption of expansionary fiscal policies to respond to the class demands through: the increase in interest payments as a result of the increase in interest on public treasury bills and bonds (the

rate of growth of interest paid was 40.7% in 2012/2013 and the rise in interest payments. As well the increases subsidies and social benefits to meet the demands of the people increase the support of petroleum products in addition to increasing the social security pension and increase contributions to pension funds, with the relative importance of capital expenditures, see figure 3.

On the revenue side, while the ratio of revenues to gross domestic product (to 19% on average) declined due to the decline in investments, the decline in exceptional resources from grants, the decrease in property revenues and the sale of goods and services. This covered the relative increase in taxes on individuals' Leading to a rise in the relative importance of borrowing to finance the deficit and hence the rising public debt burden. Starting from 2013/2014, the government has embarked on a reform program aimed at boosting economic activity and achieving financial sustainability in the medium and long term by taking a number of measures to rationalize public expenditure (mainly in reducing the rate of wage increase, rationalization of energy subsidies, price reforms for oil and electricity, liberalization of the electricity sector to private sector participation and payment of foreign partner's debts). In return the government adopts expansionary spending on investment projects such as expansion in roads and bridges and new state projects to attract investment.

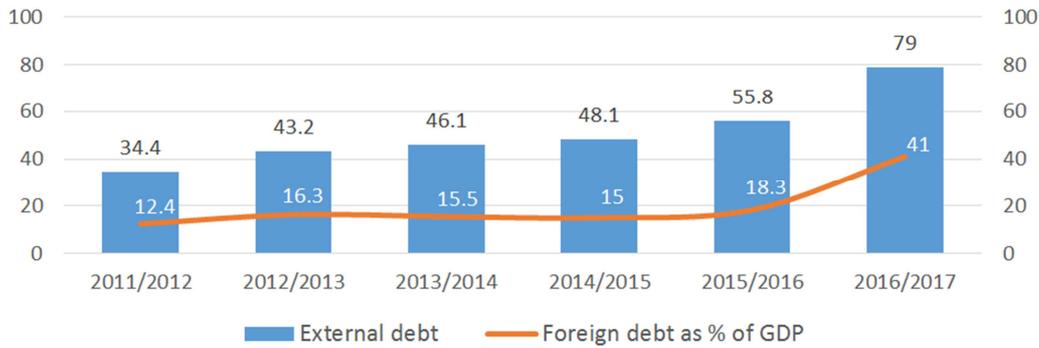


Source: Ministry of Finance.

Figure 3. Evolution of Egyptian government expenditures, revenues, budget deficit and the general debt of the GDP during the period (2006/2007 - 2016/2017).

Moreover, Public and external debt service payments increased to LE 463.8 billion in 2015/2016 compared to only 140.6 billion in 2011/2012, an increase of 230% over five years, increasing to 60.4% Which reduces the resources available to spend on other important items of expenditure such as education and health, which is a serious indicator,

which necessitates reconsidering the borrowing policy to finance the budget deficit and adopting policies to develop public revenues tax and non-tax to meet the increasing items of expenditure, On major items like support food through improved targeting mechanisms.

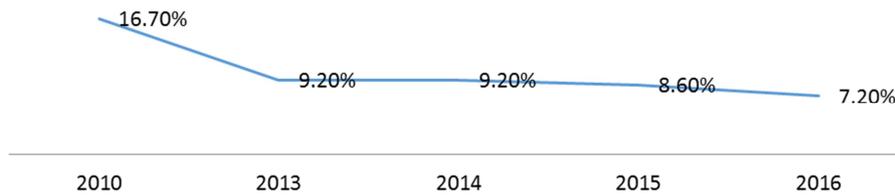


Source: Egyptian Ministry of finance- different issues

Figure 4. Egypt external debt during the period 2009/2010 till 2016/2017.

To determine the extent of the impact of the external debt problem on the economy as a whole, there is a set of indicators that can be used to analyze the external debt, including the external debt ratio of exports of goods and services, which increased from 75.2% in 2011/2012 to 206.4% in the 2016/2017 budget More than double (Egyptian

Ministry of finance, 2017). This means that the annual export earnings cover less than half of the external debt, which is a negative sign indicating economic imbalance, which calls for activating Egyptian exports and reducing the trade deficit to reduce the risks of increasing external debt in the coming years.



Source: Central Bank of Egypt annual report)

Figure 5. Percentage of participation of the tourism form GDP during the period 2008/2009 till 2015/2016.

The January 25 revolution negatively affected the tourism sector in Egypt, where workers suffered the most for eight years due to the period of security chaos experienced by Egypt following the events of the revolution and the bad impression that made tourists feel that Egypt is unstable and insecure, see figure 5. After the revenues of tourism in 2009/2010 to 11.6 billion dollars, 5.3% of GDP decreased in the year of the revolution and reached revenues in 2011/2012 to 9.4 million dollars and after the terrorist incidents and security instability, especially after the incident of the Russian plane hit the tourist revenues to The lowest revenue in the last ten years to \$ 3.8 billion in 2015/2016, (CBE, 2015).

Despite the measures taken by the government to reduce spending, weak economic performance, high rates of tax evasion, the expansion of the informal sector, and the reluctance of the private sector to inject new investments have slowed growth. The gross domestic product (GDP) deficit reached 12.5% by the end of 2015/2016. The growth rate of the outstanding debt repayment interest was 26%,

limiting the state's ability to direct spending to more effective aspects and necessitating a review of the fiscal policies.

2.2. Policies of the Financial Reform Program to Manage the Budget Deficit

According to the Government's Program of Action in 2016, fiscal policy is to complete financial and structural reforms to achieve financial sustainability. The main objectives are:

1. Reduction of budget deficit to about 9% of GDP in 2017/2018, and then to about 8-8.5% in 2019/2020
2. Adjustment of public finances to reduce public debt to 92-94% of GDP and then to 85-90% by 2019/2020. - Strengthening monetary policy and raising the level of the monetary reserve and working to increase the volume of exports and diversify its structure.
3. In order to achieve these objectives, and in light of Egypt's economic crisis, Egypt, at the end of 2016, requested IMF support for its economic and social

reform program through the Extended Facility to implement a loan of \$ 12 billion, Semi-annually in parallel with the completion of agreed goals, under a repayment period of ten years.

3. Monitoring the Impact of the Financial Reform Program on the Development of the Budget Deficit and Public Debt in Egypt (2016/2017)

3.1. On the Socioeconomic Level

Although the period of time is short and insufficient to judge objectively on the impact of policies on economic performance, the observation of the current development on both the budget deficit and public debt shows the following:

- a) Positive growth of GDP, with a real growth rate of 4.2% in 2016/2017. The growth rate for the fourth quarter (2016/2017) was 5%, then increased to 5.2% during the first quarter 2017/2018 and 5% 3% in the second quarter 2017/2018, and is expected to reach 5.3-5.5% by the end of the current fiscal year. The total budget deficit declined to 10.9% in 2016/2017 (compared to 9.8% deficit in the 2016/2017 budget) and 12.5% deficit in 2015/2016. The total budget deficit declined to 4.4% in the first half of the fiscal year 2017/2018, compared with a deficit of 5% during the same period of the previous year.
- b) As a result of the liberalization of the exchange rate, the subsidy allocations in the budget of the current fiscal year 2017/2018 have been raised to an unprecedented level of 222.7 billion pounds, compared to 128.5 billion pounds in the 2016/2017 budget. Support for petroleum products alone accounted for 50% of the total government support, while the subsidized share of the commodities, for example, did not exceed 28%. The decision to float the exchange rate has swallowed any effect that could have been achieved to ease the burden of the bill of support for petroleum goods, where the volume of expenses necessary to cover the exchange rate difference and the Egyptian citizen to bear the consequences of raising subsidies without achieving the purpose of this policy in principle.
- c) The social impact of the policies of the reform programs by reviewing the development of the share of wages and compensation of workers and the door of support and grants and social benefits as a proportion of the total expenditure, the share of the two sections in government expenditure is decreasing. The percentage decreased from 18.6% to 32.1% in the first quarter 2016/2017 to 16.9% and 28.1% respectively in the first quarter 2017/2018, at rates of decline 9.1% and 12.5%
- d) The public debt of the GDP decreased by 5.8% by the end of 2016/2017 to reach 91.1% (compared to 96.7%

in 2015/2016). The improvement in the performance of the economic sectors, where the tourism sector, telecommunications and manufacturing industries witnessed positive growth rates in 2016/2017 compared to the previous year (3.9%, 12.5% and 2.1%, respectively, compared to growth of -28.5%, 10.2% and 8% in 2015/2016). - The percentage of the government's final consumption of GDP in 2016/2017 (11.5% compared to 13.6% in the previous year), compared to the increase of the private sector (85.8% compared to 78.6%). The public debt of the GDP declined by 5.8% by the end of 2016/2017 to reach 91.1% (compared to 96.7% in 2015/2016).

The improvement in the performance of the economic sectors, where the tourism sector, telecommunications and manufacturing industries witnessed positive growth rates in 2016/2017 compared to the previous year (3.9%, 12.5% and 2.1%, respectively, compared to growth of -28.5%, 10.2% and 8% in 2015/2016). - The percentage of the government's final consumption of GDP in 2016/2017 (11.5% compared to 13.6% in the previous year), compared to the increase of the private sector (85.8% compared to 78.6%). International net reserves rose significantly to jump to a record high of \$ 38.2 billion by the end of January 2018. However, the increase is not a sustainable source, mostly due to loans and grants from abroad.

3.2. On the Political Level

Egypt's security environment is now characterized by instability and acute terrorists' attacks as well as regular clashes between military forces and Islamist militants in the Sinai Peninsula, declined tourism industry dramatically, which caused economic/political crises. Unfortunately, tourists are regular targets of terrorist attacks, alongside military personnel and government officials. After the overthrow of the Mubarak regime, Egyptians practiced their political participation right in decision making through referendum constitutional amendments March 9, 2011 and the participation rate reached 41%. Afterwards, they participated in the presidential elections in 2012, the participation rate reached 46.42%. People were keen to elect the first civilian president in a fair election for the first time in the history of Egypt. In the democracy index of what it was before the revolution was ranked 138 in 2010 and then reached 109 in 2012, the lowest ranking reached in the years after the revolution until the democratic life deteriorated again and reached 130 in 2017 out of 167 countries, (World Bank 2017).

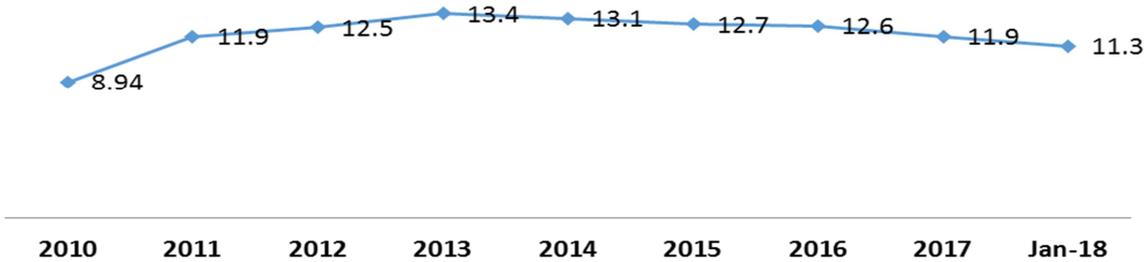
3.3. On the Social Level

During the era of Mubarak and by the end of 2010, about 25% of Egypt's population lived below the poverty line, which depends on national income of about 2%. Unfortunately, the burden increased due to the economic reform policies, especially after the floating of the pound, which led to unprecedented price increases and the amount of

people who lived below the poverty line reached 27% according to the last research in 2015. The acceptance of the conditions of the International Monetary Fund has increased fuel prices twice and is likely to rise again by June 2018 and thus will raise subsidies on fuel for a final electricity prices.

Bread, freedom and social justice are still dreams of the Egyptians after the revolution, but apparently it will take a

longer time than expected to fulfill this dream. The unemployment rates reached 11.9% in 2011, after 8.94% in 2010. Post revolution years, many companies and factories fired off workers as a result of deteriorating economic activity and rising production costs. The unemployment rate reached 13.4% in 2013, but with the government reforming the unemployment rate fell to 11.9% by the end of 2017, (CBE, 2015).



Source: Central Bank of Egypt annual report)

Figure 6. Total unemployment rate in Egypt during the period 2010 till 2018.

Despite the suffering of the Egyptians, especially the children of the middle and poor classes, of the economic reform measures, there are indications that the Egyptian economy is recovering from the crisis since the outbreak of the revolution of January 25, 2011, and began harsh economic measures taken by the Egyptian government, for a \$ 12 billion loan, is bearing fruit. According to the Central Bank of Egypt, foreign exchange reserves rose by the end of June to 31.3 billion dollars, the highest level since the January 2011 revolution. The foreign exchange reserve estimated 36 billion dollars before the revolution. The remittances of Egyptians working abroad increased by 11.1 percent to 1.7 billion pounds in May, compared to about 1.5 billion dollars in the same month last year as a result of the liberalization of the pound exchange rate.

The translation of these reforms into real growth and investment that reaches all segments of society is still unclear. As the government's adoption of the policy of borrowing to finance the deficit and new investments puts a burden on future generations and exacerbates the problem of the accumulation of debt obligations in the future compared to the return achieved, especially in light of the low exchange rate and in the inability to control inflation rates. It is therefore important to accelerate the pace of fiscal reform and economic growth to avoid unsustainable debt sustainability.

4. Research Methodology

4.1. Sample Size, Type and Demographics

The researchers conducted a total of 390 questionnaires; they used the non-probability convenient sampling technique and approached participants from different gender. As for the occupation most of the respondents are working in the private sector. Regarding the educational level, most of the respondents are university graduates, then post graduates, primary school, and finally secondary school. The income

level and category (3000 - less than 4000).

4.2 Research Objectives

- a) Studying the current socio-economic and political situation post the 2011 revolution in respect to the data and information gathered from the field study.
- b) Investigating the perception of participants from different demographics regarding the economic, social and political situation in Egypt now.
- c) Analyzing the respondents' answers and trying to come up with adequate conclusion and recommendations enriching the purpose of the study.

4.3. Statistical Analysis

The researchers used the SPSS (version 20) for data coding, verification and analyzing quantitative data. Data verification is done by making frequency tables and ensuring that the data was entered correctly. The questionnaire was designed according to the likert scale format and throughout this research; the mean, frequency, and percentage were calculated through the descriptive analysis using several types of tests. These tests included the arithmetic mean, standard deviation and coefficient of variation as well as ANOVA (F test), to find the significant differences between the more two groups represented of the Economic and social level. The statistics proved that there is a significant difference for the situation in Egypt after 7 years of the revolution of January 2011 related to the (Economic and social level).

Pearson correlation relationship was used to study the relationship between the four dimensions to find out the strength and direction of each of the dimensions: security, economic, social and political situation in Egypt after the revolution of January 2011.

We check the reliability the coefficient "Alpha cronbach, is used to test the stability of the variables for the total dimensions of "Investigating Egyptian citizens' opinions since the 2011 Revolution". The stability coefficient for the

total sample of (0.839) indicates high degree of validity for the study sample, which was reflected also by its coefficient that is equal (0.915). The researchers used the p-value as the main figure to test the relationship between the dependent and independent variables. The P value is used as alternative to rejection point to provide the smallest level of significance at which the null hypothesis will be rejected. If the p value is less than 0.05 then there is a significant relationship between the variables.

4.4. Research Questions

The researchers distributed 390 questionnaires in Likert scale format regarding the safety conditions, the political conditions, social conditions and economic conditions respectively. (see appendix)

4.5. Research Results

4.5.1. Safety Conditions in Egypt Post the 2011 Revolution

Participants agreed mostly on the following statements: (Only the elite areas in Egypt are enjoying a safety environment), (The safety laws and legislations in Egypt need adjustments and alterations), (The Police and Army cooperate together to protect the Public Entities), (The Egyptian Police is securing the main roads), coefficient of variation calculation (24.39%), (25.76%), (36.41%), (37.45%), respectively. Participants agreed least on the following statements: (The percentage of crime and assaults decreased lately), (citizens can walk in streets any time safety and freedom).

4.5.2. Social Conditions in Egypt Post the 2011 Revolution: There Was a General Agreement Among Participants That the Social Conditions in Egypt Didn't Improve

Participants disagreed mostly on the following statements: (The food is been submitted with fair prices), (I enjoy diversity and fair prices buying my cloth where I live), coefficient of variation calculation (43.44%), (43.54%), respectively. Participants disagreed least on the following statements: (The developmental and industrial projects in Egypt increased citizens' quality of life), coefficient of variation calculation, (45.85%), respectively. (The Egyptian government is developing the health care in public hospitals), coefficient of variation calculation, (44.32%), respectively. (The Egyptian army is cooperating with the government in building houses for citizens with suitable cost), coefficient of variation calculation (45.18%), respectively.

4.5.3. Economic Conditions in Egypt Post the 2011 Revolution: There Was a General Approval Among Participants that the Economic Conditions in Egypt Improved

Participants agreed mostly on the following statements: Participants agreed least on the following statements: (The discovery of 'Zuhor' gas field will support the Egyptian

economy and cause development), (One of the main goals of the fiscal policy in Egypt now-a-days is currency stability), (The Evaluation of the Egyptian currency helps the economy to revive again) coefficient of variation calculation (46.34%), (47.67%), (48.87%), respectively.

5. Research Results' Analysis

There was a general agreement among participants that the safety conditions in Egypt improved during the last seven years post the 2011 revolution, and there was a general agreement among participants that the political conditions in Egypt became more stable lately. There was an agreement among participants regarding the social conditions in Egypt that it didn't improve, since the 2011 revolution. The participants agreed that the economic conditions in Egypt improved during the last seven years.

If we have a close look at the social condition statements, we will realize that it was grouped into 3 groups: the food and cloth, the medical care, and the housing. All three groups were granted disapproval from the respondents; especially the food variety and prices following the medical care and equipments in public hospitals, then the sizes and prices of flats offered by the government to the Egyptian citizens.

One of the main causes of the increasing in *food prices* was the government's decision in November 2016 to float the pound — a condition of the IMF loan — after which the currency deteriorated against the dollar. The fund also required Cairo to cut fuel subsidies, with the reforms helping restore investor confidence in Egypt's ailing economy. But the lender stayed clear of demanding cuts to the bread programme, considered by successive Egyptian governments as crucial for political stability.

The most obvious reason behind Egypt's *urbanization problem* was the lack of low-income and social housing available across the country. The housing ministry decided that 500,000 new homes need to be built every year for five years to keep pace with the expanding population and to finalize the unfilled requests of 3 million housing units. In 2014, the country signed a \$40 billion agreement with the U.A.E.'s Arabtec to develop 1 million housing units. Although the deal broke down in mid-2015, the government has continued with its pledge to develop the number of units required to meet the current demand. There are concerns that the speed of delivery has been too slow and is not covering the shortage of housing. As a result, Egypt's government set a new timeline for the completion of public and middle-income housing units, according to a cabinet statement in April. The statement went on to say the government has committed to delivering about 300,000 housing units by the end of 2016. Cairo also plans to deliver about 750,000 housing units by the end of 2018, in addition to 135,000 units for those currently living in informal housing, (Achment Gonim and Hossam Abougabal, 2016).

6. Conclusion

Till present, Egypt is trying to recover from the revolution cost, after overcoming the political instable phase and applying economic reforms. There is a common agreement across citizen that the human rights and freedom to express has increased, as well the safety conditions in Egypt improved post the revolution and the political conditions became more stable lately. However, the cost of economic reforms was high as many citizens suffered from inflationary pressures. This transition process entailed high economical and social that reflected in continuous increase to debt rate, a challenge that requires to increase production. Moreover, the Egyptian government tried to decrease inequality gap and to overcome the social burden via compensating the poor from the negative effects of economic reforms, the Egyptian government provided a social programme This program slightly reduces the negative impacts on the economic and social level but still more is expecting as the population growth rate is increasing and the youth percentage is increasing as well, a signal that requires more plan to absorb these energies and better allocating them in productive activities.

All Arab government is working to turn the engine of economic growth; they work to increase production especially after they achieve political stability. The adoption of the economic reforms will enhance the country's competitiveness and help to attract foreign direct investments. The speed in the mapping of investment and distribution of investment opportunities geographically, giving priority to remote areas and most needed will encourage foreign investments in the country and facilitate the procedures and implementation of an integrated plan to improve the investment climate. Government in the revolutionary countries face a new risk that emerged in the financial aspects, reflecting the increasing of the debt rates internally and externally, the incidents the urge for stabilising these countries' economies and manage the associated risks.

7. Recommendations

After reviewing the cost of the revolution on political, social and economic life, the revolution did not although governments are trying to implement economic, social and political reforms.

The following are some suggestions and recommendations:

1. The importance of setting a ceiling or ceiling for borrowing so that the borrowing process will be curtailed and the public debt will be reduced. With the development of controls and limits to ensure that debt management is sustainable so that borrowing does not become a convenient and preferred alternative.
2. The importance of reviewing the role of the state in the economic activity in Egypt and setting certain parameters for the intervention of the state, as this would achieve two goals; reducing the volume of government spending and then the budget deficit, and leaving the private sector to play its active role as the leader of the growth process.
3. Conduct further studies to assess the impact of the current reform program on the social dimension in terms of its impact on the level of social welfare and unemployment rates and poverty.
4. The importance of reviewing tax policies on individuals in order to reduce the tax burden on them.
5. Review the structure of public expenditure and review projects that may not be considered a priority at present, especially with the decline and decline in living standards of individuals and increase poverty rates.
6. The need to rationalize government expenditure programs or spending on projects that are not economically feasible.

Appendix

The Research Likert Scale Questionnaire

Table 1. The Safety Conditions.

Statement	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
a1-The Egyptian Police is securing the main roads			
a2- I feel safe walking in the streets			
a3- The Police and Army cooperate together to protect the Public Entities			
a4- citizens can walk in streets any time safety and freedom			
a5- The Police is defending citizens against any aggression			
a6- The percentage of crime and assaults decreased lately			
a7- The safety conditions in Egypt improved very much now-a-days			
a8- The safety laws and legislations in Egypt need adjustments and alterations			
a9- Al Azharand the religious leaders should participate in developing safety laws and legislation			
a10- Only the elite areas in Egypt are enjoying a safety environment			
Mean Average (Safety Conditions)			

Rank: (1) for form the smallest (C. V) and (10) to the largest (C. V)

Table 2. The Political Conditions.

Statement	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
b1- The Egyptian Government is running the country's external relations now perfectly			
b2- The Egyptian army succeeded in demolishing terrorists in Sainai (2018)			
b3- The Egyptian government succeeded in defeating the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt			
b4- The Egyptian government is combating terrorism and extremists very well			
b5- The political awareness of the Egyptians increased after the 2011 revolution			
b6- Egypt is still facing many challenges since the beginning of the economic and political reconstruction post the 2011 revolution			
Mean Average (Political Conditions)			

Rank: (1) for form the smallest (C. V) and (10) to the largest (C. V)

Table 3. The Social Conditions.

Statement	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
c1a-The food is been submitted with fair prices			
c2a- The quality of provided food is high			
c3a- I enjoy diversity and fair prices buying my cloth where I live			
c4a- The developmental and industrial projects in Egypt increased citizens' quality of life			
Mean Average			
c1b-The Egyptian government is developing the health care in public hospitals			
c2b- The Egyptian government is providing medicines for its citizens with reasonable prices			
c3b- The medical equipment's are adequate and good in the public hospitals			
c4b- The public hospitals' medical services are provided with reasonable prices to the citizens			
c5b- The Egyptian citizen is enjoying the medical care whenever is needed and it is provided easily			
Mean Average			
c1c-The Egyptian army is cooperating with the government in building houses for citizens with suitable cost			
c2c- The government houses are available for all citizens			
c3c- The government houses are been provided to citizens with suitable prices			
c4c- The government houses sizes are acceptable and suitable			
Mean Average			
Mean Average (Social Conditions)			

Rank: (1) for form the smallest (C. V) and (10) to the largest (C. V)

Table 4. The Economic Conditions.

Statement	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
d1-The Egyptian citizen is being negatively affected by imposing taxes on food supplies			
d2- The Egyptian citizen is being negatively affected by imposing taxes on foreign commodities			
d3- The Evaluation of the Egyptian currency helps the economy to revive again			
d4- The New Suez Canal and the New Cairo Capital caused an economic jump			
d5- 'Al Dabaa' project helped in solving the electricity disconnection problem in Egypt			
d6- The discovery of 'Zuhor' gas field will support the Egyptian economy and cause development			
d7- There are positive expectations on the local and international level for Egypt's economic development			
d8- One of the main goals of the fiscal policy in Egypt now-a-days is currency stability			
d9- The Egyptian government is exerting a big effort to subsidize bread			
d10- There has been an economic development in Egypt since 2011 revolution and			
Mean Average (Economic Conditions)			

Rank: (1) for form the smallest (C. V) and (10) to the largest (C. V)

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