

17.1 INTRODUCTION

Domestic violence against women has been acknowledged worldwide as a violation of basic human rights, and an increasing amount of research highlights the health burdens, intergenerational effects, and demographic consequences of such violence (United Nations General Assembly, 1991; Heise et al., 1994, 1998; Jejeebhoy, 1998).

The 2005 EDHS included a special module designed to obtain information on the extent to which women in Egypt experience domestic violence. The domestic violence module was administered in interviews conducted with eligible women in the households included in the subsample selected for the anemia-testing component of the survey. To ensure confidentiality, only one woman in each household in the subsample was selected to be asked questions about domestic violence.

The module included a series of questions to collect information on various forms of marital violence including physical and emotional violence. Although the module focused on the extent of marital violence, information also was obtained on any physical violence involving perpetrators other than the current (last) husband that the woman experienced since her fifteenth birthday. Women who reported recent marital violence were asked about assistance they may have sought at the time the most recent episode of violence occurred.

The chapter also considers information collected from EDHS respondents about their attitudes toward marital violence.

17.2 PHYSICAL VIOLENCE

Prevalence of Physical Violence

Nearly half of ever-married women age 15-49 reported that they had been hit, slapped, kicked, or subjected to some other form of physical violence at some point after their fifteenth birthday (Table 17.1). About one-fifth of the women reported that they had been subjected to some form of physical violence within the 12-month period before the survey interview, including seven percent who reported that they had often experienced some form of physical violence during the period.

Women age 20 and older were somewhat more likely than women age 15-19 to report ever experiencing physical violence. Women age 45-49 were the least likely to have been subject to violence in the year preceding the survey. A woman's marital status was strongly related to the likelihood that she had ever experienced physical violence; 75 percent of divorced or separated women reported at least one episode of physical violence after age 15 compared to 43 percent of women who were widowed and 47 percent of currently married women. Currently married women were more likely to have been subjected to acts of violence within the 12-month period before the survey than other women.

Although urban and rural women were equally likely to have ever experienced physical violence, rural women were somewhat more likely than urban women to report a recent episode, i.e., within the 12-month period before the survey (25 percent and 19 percent, respectively). Women living in the Frontier Governorates were less likely than women living in the Urban Governorates or in the governorates in Lower and Upper Egypt to report having ever or recently experienced physical violence.

Table 17.1 Experience of physical violence since age 15 by background characteristics

Percentage of ever-married women who have ever experienced physical violence since age 15 and percentage who experienced physical violence during the 12 months preceding the survey, by background characteristics, Egypt 2005

Background characteristic	Percentage who have experienced physical violence since age 15			Number of women
	Ever	In past 12 months		
		Often	Sometimes	
Age				
15-19	40.0	7.4	14.1	251
20-29	47.1	7.4	19.2	1,871
30-39	49.3	7.7	16.2	1,876
40-49	46.7	5.4	11.5	1,614
Marital status				
Married	46.8	7.2	16.5	5,240
Divorced/separated	75.0	6.7	10.0	158
Widowed	42.9	0.0	1.5	215
Urban-rural residence				
Urban	47.4	6.0	13.2	2,339
Rural	47.4	7.5	17.6	3,274
Place of residence				
Urban Governorates	49.9	6.5	14.5	931
Lower Egypt	49.9	6.8	17.0	2,456
Urban	47.6	4.4	12.9	666
Rural	50.7	7.8	18.5	1,789
Upper Egypt	43.8	7.2	15.0	2,161
Urban	44.2	7.0	11.8	703
Rural	43.6	7.3	16.5	1,458
Frontier Governorates	38.8	4.7	11.9	66
Education				
No education	51.6	9.4	19.0	1,923
Some primary	58.6	8.9	17.1	649
Primary complete/some secondary	52.3	8.0	19.0	780
Secondary complete/higher	39.0	3.8	11.5	2,262
Work status				
Working for cash	44.3	6.1	11.3	973
Not working for cash	48.1	7.1	16.7	4,640
Wealth quintile				
Lowest	51.0	9.2	19.9	1,048
Second	52.8	8.1	20.7	1,018
Middle	47.5	7.8	16.2	1,129
Fourth	48.7	6.2	13.6	1,226
Highest	38.4	3.8	9.6	1,192
Total	47.4	6.9	15.7	5,613

The prevalence of physical violence was just under 40 percent among women with a secondary or higher education compared to more than 50 percent among less-educated women. Women who worked for cash were slightly less likely than other women to report physical violence. The prevalence of physical violence decreased with the wealth quintile.

Perpetrators of Physical Violence

Table 17.2 shows the proportions of women who ever experienced violence according to the persons identified as perpetrators of the violence. Husbands were named most frequently; more than seven in ten women identified their current or a previous husband as the perpetrator in at least one episode of physical violence. More than four in ten women had been hit, slapped, kicked, or subjected to some other form of physical violence by male perpetrators other than a husband. The woman's father and brother(s) were most frequently mentioned as the perpetrators, with fathers named twice as often as brothers by the women reporting the violence (53 percent and 23 percent, respectively) (not shown in table). Thirty-six percent indicated that a female—most often the woman's mother—was responsible for at least one episode of physical violence.

Marital status	Current/ previous husband	Male perpetrator other than husband	Female perpetrator	Number of women ever experiencing violence
Currently married	71.2	45.8	37.1	2,452
Divorced/separated	91.2	29.2	18.8	118
Widowed	71.1	30.7	25.1	92
Total	72.1	44.6	35.9	2,662

Violence during Pregnancy

Violence during pregnancy may threaten not only a woman's well-being but that of her unborn child. Table 17.3 presents information on the proportion of Egyptian women who have experienced some form of physical violence during pregnancy. Among women who had ever been pregnant, the table shows that six percent were hit, slapped, kicked, or subjected to some other form of physical violence at least once during a pregnancy. Women who were divorced were most likely to report violence during pregnancy. Women with a secondary or higher education and women in the highest wealth quintile were least likely to have experienced an episode of violence when they were pregnant.

Among the women who reported violence during pregnancy, around 81 percent identified the husband (current/previous) as the perpetrator of the violent act(s) experienced during pregnancy (not shown in table). Besides the husband, in-laws were named most often as perpetrators of the violence; five percent named the mother-in-law and three percent the father-in-law as responsible for the violent acts they suffered during pregnancy.

Table 17.3 Violence during pregnancy
Among women who have ever been pregnant, percentage ever experiencing physical violence during pregnancy, by background characteristics, Egypt 2005

Background characteristic	Percentage ever experiencing physical violence during pregnancy	Number of ever-pregnant women
Age		
15-29	6.3	1,925
30-39	6.2	1,813
40-49	5.9	1,549
Marital status		
Married	5.6	4,954
Divorced	27.6	136
Separated/widowed	4.8	198
Urban-rural residence		
Urban	5.5	2,222
Rural	6.7	3,066
Place of residence		
Urban Governorates	6.0	875
Lower Egypt	5.7	2,311
Urban	4.3	639
Rural	6.2	1,672
Upper Egypt	6.8	2,041
Urban	5.9	672
Rural	7.2	1,369
Frontier Governorates	4.6	61
Education		
No education	8.2	1,831
Some primary	10.1	622
Primary complete/some secondary	5.5	724
Secondary complete/higher	3.4	2,111
Work status		
Working for cash	6.7	923
Not working for cash	6.0	4,365
Wealth quintile		
Lowest	8.8	1,003
Second	8.2	954
Middle	6.7	1,065
Fourth	4.5	1,142
Highest	3.2	1,124
Total	6.2	5,288

17.3 MARITAL VIOLENCE

Prevalence of Various Forms of Marital Violence

The domestic violence module obtained more detailed information on the forms of violence ever-married women had experienced in the relationships with their current husband or, in the case of widowed, divorced, or separated women, their most recent husband. Table 17.4 shows the proportions of women reporting they had ever and recently experienced episodes of emotional, physical, and sexual violence in their relationship with their husband.

Physical violence is the most common form of violence, with one-third of ever-married women reporting being subjected to some form of physical violence at least once by their current or most recent husband, and 20 percent reporting the most recent episodes of violence had taken place within the 12 months preceding the survey. Among six percent of the women, episodes of violence occurred often during that period.

Table 17.4 Forms of marital violence
Percentage of ever-married women reporting that they ever or recently experienced various forms of violence in their relationship with their current/most recent husband, Egypt 2005

Forms of violence	Ever	In past 12 months	
		Often	Sometimes
Physical violence			
Any ¹	33.2	5.9	14.5
Any moderately violent act(s) ¹	33.2	5.9	14.4
Pushed or shook woman or threw something at her	25.7	4.1	10.0
Slapped her or twisted her arm	28.1	4.2	10.6
Punched her with fist or other object	12.9	2.5	4.5
Kicked or dragged her	5.9	1.4	1.8
Any severely violent act(s) ¹	1.6	0.3	0.4
Tried to strangle/burn her	1.0	0.2	0.3
Threatened her with a knife, gun, or other weapon	0.9	0.2	0.1
Attacked her with a knife, gun, or other weapon	0.5	0.1	0.0
Sexual violence			
Physically forced to have sex	6.6	1.8	2.0
Emotional violence			
Any ¹	17.5	4.1	6.6
Said or did something to humiliate woman	17.1	3.9	6.1
Threatened harm to woman herself/person close to her	6.2	1.4	2.0
Any form of physical and/or sexual violence¹	33.7	6.5	15.2
Any form of emotional, physical, and/or sexual violence¹	35.9	7.7	17.0
Number of ever-married women	5,613	5,613	5,613

¹ Composite violence indicators are considered to have taken place often in the 12-month period if any of the component acts of violence occurred often. The indicators are considered to have taken place "sometimes" if all of the component acts took place only sometimes.

The results indicate that the most common forms of physical violence included being slapped or having her arm twisted (28 percent), being pushed or shaken or having objects thrown at her by the husband (26 percent); and being punched with the fist or another object (13 percent). Around two percent of the women were the subject of extremely violent acts including being burned or strangled, or threatened or attacked with some type of weapon.

Seven percent of women indicated that their spouse had ever physically forced them to have sex and four percent reported that they had recently been forced to have sex by their spouse.

Table 17.4 also indicates that 18 percent of ever-married women reported they had ever experienced emotional violence, and 11 percent had experienced a recent episode of emotional violence. Virtually all women experiencing emotional violence indicated that their husbands had said or done something intended to humiliate them; however, six percent reported the husband had threatened them or someone close to them with physical harm.

Violence by husbands against wives is not the only form of spousal violence; women may sometimes be the perpetrators of violence. To measure spousal violence by women, the 2005 EDHS asked ever-married women, “Have (did) you ever hit, slapped, kicked, or done anything else to physically hurt your (last) husband?” This line of questioning may result in some underreporting if women find it difficult to admit that they themselves initiated violence. Results show that less than one percent of ever-married women report initiating violence against their husbands (not shown in table).

Differentials in Prevalence of Marital Violence

Table 17.5 presents differences in the levels of various forms of marital violence by background characteristics, and Table 17.6 shows differences in the levels of violence by spousal characteristics.

Background characteristic	Form of violence								Number of ever-married women
	Emotional		Physical		Sexual		Any		
	Ever	Within past 12 months	Ever	Within past 12 months	Ever	Within past 12 months	Ever	Within past 12 months	
Age									
15-19	8.7	6.5	19.7	15.8	2.8	2.8	20.9	17.2	251
20-29	16.3	10.9	31.6	21.4	6.3	4.2	34.5	23.5	1,871
30-39	18.5	11.2	35.9	19.1	7.3	4.7	38.8	22.3	1,876
40-49	19.0	8.9	34.1	13.9	6.9	2.7	36.7	15.9	1,614
Marital status									
Married	16.6	10.6	32.4	19.1	6.2	4.1	35.1	21.6	5,240
Divorced/separated	51.9	11.9	67.5	13.5	23.0	1.8	69.1	15.4	158
Widowed	14.0	0.3	28.9	0.9	5.5	0.0	31.3	0.9	215
Urban-rural residence									
Urban	15.4	8.6	31.0	15.2	5.5	2.8	33.8	17.5	2,339
Rural	19.0	11.5	34.8	20.4	7.5	4.6	37.5	22.9	3,274
Place of residence									
Urban Governorates	14.9	7.8	32.6	15.3	5.5	2.6	34.8	16.9	931
Lower Egypt	19.7	11.6	35.6	19.6	8.9	5.5	38.4	22.8	2,456
Urban	17.3	9.1	31.4	15.0	6.7	3.2	35.2	18.9	666
Rural	20.6	12.5	37.1	21.4	9.8	6.4	39.7	24.2	1,789
Upper Egypt	16.2	9.8	31.0	18.0	4.5	2.5	33.8	20.1	2,161
Urban	14.5	9.0	28.6	15.3	4.2	2.6	31.4	17.2	703
Rural	17.1	10.2	32.1	19.2	4.6	2.4	35.0	21.4	1,458
Frontier Governorates	12.5	7.5	27.8	13.8	7.0	5.2	29.1	14.9	66
Education									
No education	23.4	13.7	40.0	22.5	7.2	4.1	42.9	25.1	1,923
Some primary	24.5	13.6	42.8	20.8	9.1	4.8	45.6	24.6	649
Primary complete/some secondary	16.6	11.4	38.7	22.0	8.1	4.7	42.0	25.2	780
Secondary complete/higher	10.7	6.0	22.8	12.5	4.9	3.1	25.1	14.2	2,262
Work status									
Working for cash	16.6	8.6	28.8	13.4	6.6	2.9	31.3	15.3	973
Not working for cash	17.7	10.6	34.2	19.2	6.6	4.1	36.9	21.8	4,640
Wealth quintile									
Lowest	23.8	15.3	38.9	22.9	6.8	4.4	42.1	26.3	1,048
Second	21.3	12.7	38.5	22.3	8.9	5.0	41.2	25.8	1,018
Middle	19.4	11.4	36.1	20.3	7.3	4.9	39.6	22.7	1,129
Fourth	14.7	7.7	32.2	16.3	7.1	3.9	34.0	18.1	1,226
Highest	9.6	5.2	22.0	10.6	3.5	1.5	24.6	12.0	1,192
Total	17.5	10.2	33.2	18.2	6.6	3.9	35.9	20.7	5,613

The results in Table 17.5 indicate that women age 15-19, women with a secondary or higher education, and women in the highest wealth quintile were less likely to have ever experienced any form of marital violence than other women.

As Table 17.6 shows, violence was somewhat more common if the couple was close in age, i.e., the difference in their age was less than two years. Marital violence was somewhat less likely if the woman's husband was a first or second cousin, particularly a paternal cousin, than if the woman and her husband were more distantly related or not related by blood at all. Marital violence tended to be more likely if the husband had less than a secondary education. Marital violence was least common among couples who have achieved the same level of education and most common among couples where both the husband and the wife never attended school.

Table 17.6 Marital violence by spousal characteristics

Percentage of ever-married women who have recently experienced emotional, physical, or sexual violence at the hands of their current or most recent husband and who recently have been physically violent towards their current/most recent husband, by selected spousal characteristics, Egypt 2005

Spousal characteristics	Form of violence								Percentage who have recently been physically violent towards husband	Number of ever-married women
	Emotional		Physical		Sexual		Any			
	Ever	Within past 12 months	Ever	Within past 12 months	Ever	Within past 12 months	Ever	Within past 12 months		
Age difference										
< 2 years	20.9	13.5	38.9	23.3	8.3	5.4	42.2	28.2	0.3	537
2-4 years	17.3	10.4	32.9	19.2	6.3	3.3	35.6	21.4	0.3	1,282
5-9 years	14.7	9.6	31.1	18.5	5.8	4.4	33.6	21.1	0.5	2,087
10 years or more	17.2	11.2	31.2	18.0	5.8	3.9	34.1	20.1	0.5	1,334
Age unknown	30.1	5.3	45.2	6.2	12.9	0.7	47.3	7.0	0.2	373
Relationship to current (last) husband¹										
Paternal cousin	12.9	8.4	28.4	15.2	6.3	4.6	31.0	17.1	0.3	394
Maternal cousin	17.1	9.4	32.5	17.8	4.9	2.0	34.9	20.1	0.1	962
Other blood relative	18.9	12.4	37.6	23.3	10.4	6.1	40.4	26.3	0.7	420
Related by marriage	13.7	3.2	35.1	24.8	2.2	1.8	35.9	25.2	0.0	85
Not related	18.0	10.6	33.4	17.9	6.8	4.0	36.2	20.4	0.5	3,745
Husband's education										
No education	26.3	15.0	42.7	23.9	8.3	4.5	45.1	26.1	0.2	1,309
Some primary	20.9	12.3	35.6	16.7	7.7	4.7	39.4	21.0	0.2	727
Primary complete/some secondary	18.4	12.1	41.8	23.7	8.5	5.2	45.0	27.1	0.6	974
Secondary complete/higher	11.7	6.5	24.6	13.8	4.8	2.8	27.0	15.4	0.6	2,590
Educational differences										
Husband higher than wife	18.3	11.3	36.7	20.3	7.3	4.2	39.8	23.2	0.6	1,879
Wife higher than husband	19.6	12.0	37.7	20.6	9.2	4.8	40.3	22.9	0.2	866
Husband-wife same level	11.0	6.0	23.4	12.1	4.3	2.8	25.9	14.3	0.5	1,885
Both no education	26.6	14.9	41.8	24.1	7.4	4.6	44.2	26.1	0.2	969
Total	17.5	10.2	33.2	18.2	6.6	3.9	35.9	20.7	0.4	5,613

Note: Total includes 5 cases for which information on relationship to the husband is missing and 13 cases for which information on the husband's educational level was missing.

Adverse Physical Consequences of Marital Violence

Around one-third of women experiencing at least one episode of physical violence at the hands of their husbands reported that they suffered from bruises or aches as an outcome of the violence, and 10 percent reported they had a broken bone or suffered other injury as a result of the violence (not shown in table). Five percent of the women indicated that they sought medical assistance as a result of the violence.

Help-Seeking Behavior

The 2005 EDHS collected information to assess the extent to which women seek help to deal with domestic violence episodes. To obtain these data, women who had experienced an episode of physical or sexual violence at the hands of their husband within the 12-month period before the survey were asked whether they had sought any help at any time during the year when their husband had done something to physically hurt them and, if so, from whom they had sought help.

The results in Table 17.7 indicate that around one-third of women sought assistance to deal with the violence. Women were more likely to seek help if the violence had occurred often rather than sometimes. Most of the women who asked for help looked to relatives for assistance. Less than one percent reported seeking assistance from religious leaders, doctors or other medical personnel, the police, or a lawyer.

Women who did not seek assistance to deal with the violence were asked about the main reason they did not ask anyone for help. Nearly half said that they had not sought assistance because the violence was “not important” (Table 17.8). Around 20 percent gave responses suggesting a fatalistic attitude toward the violence, i.e., they did not seek help because it was “no use” (6 percent) or the violence was simply “part of life” (15 percent). Around 15 percent said they had not sought help because they were embarrassed or did not want to disgrace the family. Fear of divorce or desertion (4 percent), of additional beatings (4 percent), of getting the husband into trouble (5 percent), and lack of knowledge of where to get help (5 percent) were reasons cited by the other women who did not seek assistance.

The reasons women gave for not seeking help varied according to the frequency of the violence. Women who experienced at least one form of violence often were less likely to say that they had not sought help because the violence was “not important” and more likely to express a fatalistic attitude about the violence or concern about the consequences of reporting the violence, compared to women who only sometimes experienced violence.

Table 17.7 Help-seeking behavior by women experiencing physical or sexual violence

Percentage of ever-married women reporting that they had experienced physical or sexual violence in their relationship with their current/most recent husband within the past 12 months who reported seeking assistance to prevent or stop violence, by persons from whom assistance was sought, according to frequency of violence, Egypt 2005

Help-seeking behavior	Frequency of violence within past 12 months		
	At least once	Often	Sometimes
Sought any assistance	34.5	49.8	26.4
Sought assistance from:			
Male relative(s)	20.9	32.3	14.8
Father	8.1	9.7	7.2
Brother	6.2	12.9	2.7
Father-in-law	4.1	6.3	2.9
Other male relative	5.6	10.0	3.3
Female relative(s)	20.7	30.8	15.3
Mother	9.3	12.6	7.6
Sister	2.7	5.6	1.2
Mother-in-law	6.7	11.2	4.3
Other female relative	5.6	9.6	3.5
Friend/neighbor	5.6	11.0	2.7
Employer	0.1	0.2	0.0
Religious leader	0.7	0.4	0.9
Doctor/medical personnel	0.1	0.4	0.0
Police	0.6	1.3	0.2
Lawyer	0.2	0.6	0.0
Number of women	1,059	366	693

Table 17.8 Reason for not seeking assistance to prevent violence

Percent distribution of ever-married women reporting that they had experienced violence within past 12 months and did not seek assistance by main reason for not seeking assistance, according to frequency of violence, Egypt 2005

Main reason for not seeking assistance	Frequency of violence within past 12 months		
	At least once	Often	Sometimes
Don't know where to go	4.5	4.8	4.3
No use	6.3	10.1	4.9
Part of life	14.6	19.7	12.9
Afraid of divorce/desertion	3.5	8.3	1.8
Afraid of further beatings	3.6	7.2	2.3
Afraid of getting husband in trouble	5.2	5.8	4.9
Embarrassed	13.5	15.3	12.8
Did not want to disgrace family	1.5	3.2	0.9
Not important	46.8	25.3	54.4
Other	0.6	0.2	0.7
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of women	681	177	504

17.4 WOMEN'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS WIFE BEATING

The 2005 EDHS results indicate that many Egyptian women experience incidents of marital violence. If violence against women by husbands is tolerated and accepted in a society, its eradication is made more difficult. To gauge the acceptability of domestic violence, all ever-married women interviewed in the survey were asked whether they thought a husband would be justified in hitting or beating his wife in each of the following five situations: if she burns the food, if she argues with him, if she goes out without telling him, if she neglects the children, and if she refuses to have sexual relations with him.

Table 17.9 shows that many women find wife beating to be justified in certain circumstances. Overall, half of the women agreed that at least one of these factors is sufficient justification for wife beating. Around one in six women believed that it is justified for all of the reasons mentioned in the question. The most widely accepted reason for wife beating is going out without telling the husband (40 percent) and neglecting the children (40 percent), followed closely by arguing with the husband (37 percent) and refusing to have sex (34 percent). About one-fifth of women believed that burning the food is a justifiable reason for a husband to hit or beat his wife.

The table also shows attitudes towards wife beating by background characteristics. Acceptance of wife beating for at least one of the specified reasons was generally lower among women who were divorced or separated than those who were currently married or widowed. Women who had themselves been beaten by their husbands were more likely than other women to accept wife beating as justified in some circumstances. Acceptance of wife beating was higher among rural women than urban women. Women living in rural Upper Egypt were most likely and women in the Urban Governorates least likely to accept wife beating as justified. The likelihood that women will consider wife beating to be justified decreased with education and wealth and was lower among women working for cash than other women. The differentials by wealth quintile are especially marked; for example, women in the lowest wealth quintile were more than three times as likely to consider wife beating to be justified for at least one of the reasons as women in the highest wealth quintile (74 percent and 23 percent, respectively).

Table 17.9 Attitudes towards wife beating by background characteristics

Percentage of ever-married women who agree that a husband is justified in beating his wife, by selected background characteristics, Egypt 2005

Background characteristic	Percentage agreeing husband justified in beating his wife if she:					Percentage agreeing that husband justified in beating for at least one reason	Percentage agreeing that husband justified in beating for all five reasons	Number of ever-married women
	Goes out without telling him	Neglects the children	Argues with him	Refuses to have sex with him	Burns the food			
Age								
15-19	46.2	43.1	42.7	38.8	21.8	55.8	18.9	803
20-29	39.1	38.5	35.2	32.0	17.6	49.1	14.9	6,753
30-39	39.1	38.9	36.7	32.8	18.6	48.8	16.1	6,400
40-49	42.5	41.9	40.3	35.5	20.7	51.7	18.8	5,518
Marital status								
Married	40.7	39.9	37.7	33.7	19.0	50.4	16.6	18,187
Divorced/separated	26.1	27.1	23.8	22.8	15.4	34.4	11.2	522
Widowed	41.9	45.1	41.3	37.7	21.1	51.8	18.3	765
Experience with physical violence								
Ever experienced	43.4	43.2	41.0	36.3	18.7	55.1	15.8	2,662
Husband only	48.7	48.8	45.9	44.3	25.2	61.2	22.4	953
Husband and other persons	47.4	47.8	45.7	36.9	18.3	59.4	14.3	924
Other persons only	32.3	31.0	29.5	26.1	11.3	42.5	9.5	784
Never experienced	34.0	34.8	31.7	29.4	16.3	43.5	14.4	2,990
Not in domestic violence subsample	41.1	40.2	38.0	33.9	19.6	50.4	17.2	13,822
Urban-rural residence								
Urban	27.4	27.1	23.8	20.1	10.4	37.0	8.4	8,033
Rural	49.4	48.6	47.0	43.0	25.0	59.1	22.3	11,441
Place of residence								
Urban Governorates	24.4	23.8	19.2	16.9	7.9	33.7	6.3	3,293
Lower Egypt	39.5	41.1	37.0	33.7	20.2	48.9	18.2	8,410
Urban	25.6	26.7	23.2	20.5	11.4	34.4	10.0	2,199
Rural	44.5	46.2	41.9	38.4	23.2	54.1	21.1	6,211
Upper Egypt	48.2	45.3	46.0	40.9	22.7	58.4	19.3	7,552
Urban	32.9	32.0	30.5	24.1	12.8	43.9	9.7	2,411
Rural	55.4	51.5	53.2	48.7	27.3	65.2	23.8	5,141
Frontier Governorates	41.5	36.7	31.8	25.1	11.7	45.8	10.7	218
Education								
No education	59.0	56.6	57.0	51.2	30.8	67.7	27.9	6,740
Some primary	51.8	51.1	48.7	43.8	25.2	63.4	22.0	2,197
Primary complete/some secondary	41.4	41.3	36.3	31.7	17.9	53.4	14.6	2,719
Secondary complete/higher	20.7	21.6	17.8	16.1	7.4	29.8	5.9	7,818
Work status								
Working for cash	23.7	25.4	22.4	21.3	12.3	32.6	10.7	3,288
Not working for cash	43.7	42.7	40.5	36.0	20.3	53.5	17.7	16,186
Wealth quintile								
Lowest	65.2	63.5	62.8	55.9	34.7	74.4	30.7	3,565
Second	52.8	51.5	50.6	46.6	26.4	62.3	23.8	3,778
Middle	44.7	43.3	40.6	37.1	21.6	54.2	18.8	3,931
Fourth	28.9	29.4	25.5	22.0	10.6	40.6	8.6	4,137
Highest	14.5	15.1	11.9	10.2	4.3	22.7	3.3	4,063
Total	40.4	39.8	37.4	33.5	19.0	50.0	16.5	19,474