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OSMAN**



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# ELITE

*FEPS, where elites are made..*

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Designed by Ramy Magdy Ahmed in October 2018



Students and  
Exams : Special  
Report



# Students & Exams

*Special Report*

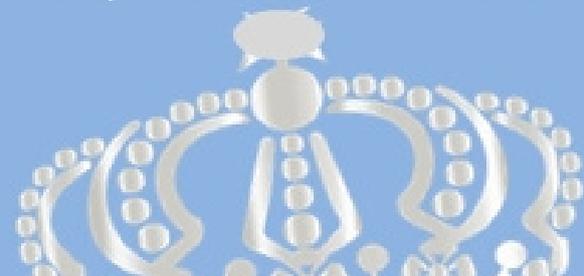
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# (WE) CHAIRMAN PROF.DR. MAGUED OSMAN TO ELITE EQUAL ACCESS TO EDUCATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE ARE THE FIRST STEPS TO REAL SOCIAL JUSTICE

Cairo : Ramy Magdy, Carolin Sherief, Rana Doss, Nermin Tawfik and Sherry Asaad

• **How did your relationship with the Faculty of Economic and Political Science begin and why did you choose to study in it?**

- During my high school, I was in the science section and wanted to join the faculty of Engineering, however, my dad's friend advised me to join the department of Statistics in the faculty of Economics and Political Science because it is a new and unique major, so it had a bright future. When the results came out, I got a very high score that qualified me for the top faculties like Medicine and Engineering but I preferred to join Faculty of Economics and Political Science to enroll in the department of Statistics because I really loved Mathematics.

• **Few people major in Statistics, and even fewer of the graduates of this major are interested in pursuing a career in public service, tell us what did studying Statistics add to your character and how does it affect any person?**

- Upon my graduation, I wasn't hired as a teaching assistant right away, I first worked in the Arab League of States, in the Statistics management of the organization, and because I am fluent in French I was transferred to work in the Arabic-European dialogue department in the Arab League, in which I kept working for 5 years, during this period I got my Master's degree and was hired as a teaching assistant in the faculty, in addition to that, I was the head of the demographic center for a year. I think that the years I spent in the Arab League, broadened my horizons and ignited my interest in the public affairs not just being a Statistician.

The turning point for me, was when I started working in the information center for the Council of Ministers, that is when I became very interested in the public affairs and how to connect Statistics with the decision making process, where the decisions should be supported with data, this is clear in the name of the unit itself which is the "The Council Of Minister's Information and Decision Support Centre," where I found that many decisions weren't supported by the required data either because of the lack of the data itself or from the lack of analysts for these data, and that is what I opted to achieve, because I believe that without depending on data, the decisions will never be accurate, so during my time in the center, I established a unit for conducting surveys through the telephone.

I worked as a Minister for a while, then returned to teaching and used my experience to connect between Statistics and the real world.

The importance of Statistical indicators stems from how their display of Public Opinion specially when they're conducted professionally and neutrally, which is admittedly a very big obstacle ahead of Survey centers in the Arab World that are under the auspices of governments, in which negative results are not welcomed, and as a result,



I see that it is better for these centers to be independent from the government and it is important that the information gathered should be disseminated as the monopoly of these information is an obstacle to development.

• **Lately, your name has been linked to Baseera (The Egyptian Public Opinion Research Center) talk to us more about Baseera and what you aim to achieve through this institution?**

The idea behind Baseera has been on my mind since my time in - the Information Center, I thought that upon my retirement, I would establish an independent survey center, and so, I followed up with many survey centers in the West before I started up Baseera with 11 of my colleagues from the Academia and other businessmen. We established the center as a corporate and not as an organization, in April 2012, and the time of the first presidential elections after the revolution, and so we started conducting surveys through the telephone about the presidential candidates, at the time, Ahram Newspaper was our only competitor in conducting surveys to the people, but then Al-Masry Al-Youm Newspaper asked for the results exclusively and so they posted the results in the paper where Ahmed Shafik got 20% of the favor of the population, after him AbdelMoneimAboelFotoh with 19%, HamdeinSabahy got 15% of the favor of the population, and the remaining 33% answered that they didn't settle on which candidate to vote for, and so Al-Masry Al-Youm announced that Ahmed Shafik was the most favored candidate to win the presidential election, not taking into consideration the majority of the population who haven't decided



• our editors (from left) Rana Doss, Ramy Magdy and Carolin Sherief

• **JAN#25** was surely revolutionary but taught us that change has diverse ways

who to vote for, this miscalculation affected the view of the people about the survey center, when Mohamed Morsi got the most votes and was in the second round of election against Ahmed Shafik especially that the Muslim Brotherhood played a smart strategy with the spread of supporters for their candidate all over the country.

If we look into the cases of countries with a history in survey centers like the United States of America, more recently in the 2016 elections between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, we see that Clinton's campaign used the media to influence pollsters and shamed Trump voters to announce their intentions to vote for him, which made the final election win completely different from that predicted by pollsters that favored the win of Hillary Clinton.

At the same time, the results of surveys are eye opening to the government, as they are different from the view of the public, for that, I contacted Prime Minister Ahmed Nazif with the survey results and he presented them in front of the Council of Ministers, that is why at the time when Ahmed Shafik was the Minister of Aviation he used the survey results that I gathered to help him in his work, and he nominated me to be the Minister of Communication after the 2011 revolution.

I wanted Baseera to introduce information to the public and not just to be contained to investigations, so we started to work on a project called: "A number in our lives," where a number that is related to a

fact in the political, economic, or even sports realm, to be sent via the mail where we reached 40,000 subscribers on the email free service and also via the SMS as a paid service, reaching 50,000 subscribers, we have currently expanded the reach of "A number in our lives," to 8 Arab countries.

In addition to this project we also launched a smart phone application called: "Nes'allak," where citizens can access the results of some surveys and at the same time they can answer some questions. I hope that we can expand our reach to all the Arab World as I thought we should train academics to conduct surveys in Arab States specially in the case of the latest protests in Algeria and Sudan, where I established a survey center in Sudan called "Idrak," that succeeded there and is considered an important step to strengthen the communication and the diplomatic relations between Egypt and Sudan.

• **Egypt Telecommunications or "We," is the biggest communication company in Egypt, how do you evaluate its entrance into the mobile networks market and what can this company add to its information technology?**

- Egypt Telecommunications is a state-run company and it is the first company that introduced the land line in Egypt, and in the 90s during the economic reformation it turned from being a public company to offering 20% of its bonds in the stock exchange market, with 80% of its bonds to the state, and from my point of view, the company is achieving a very good job as it is the second public company in achieving revenues after the Suez Canal Bank, and on getting a mobile networks license, this opened the path for the other networks to offer land line services, which led to a complete competition between the communication companies which benefits the country.

From my point of view, Egypt telecommunications is a successful experience, where it is filled with important cadres, with a board that consists of very important figures of the society, and so it is a very crucial experience in the communication field, especially when it is the only Egyptian mobile network in the market where the other three companies are foreign.

As a matter of fact, Communication industry is essential to national security, where it would be more convenient that a national network company that runs the important government information instead of a foreign company, in addition to that, the national communication companies play an important role in the developmental processes primarily through the internet, like in the education field, the industrial and investment fields and so, the mobile network company has an added value through its development of the infrastructure by spreading internet services to all the country, opposed to foreign companies that leave if they don't get profit.



## Without opinion polls no adequate decision making can occur

• **You always call for the importance of Freedom of Information Access, how can this freedom be maintained with a governmental company in the landline market, the internet market and a strong competitor in the mobile network market?**

- If we look at the constitution, we will find that it guarantees the right to citizen ownership of information, so we must view the ownership of information as a principal more than it is a tool.

• **We are celebrating the ninth anniversary of the revolution this month, how do you evaluate the January revolution and its outcomes?**

- At the beginning, the revolution was very inspirational and fascinating both inside and outside of Egypt, but after a while other agendas started to override the revolution and so we can learn from this experience, is that any revolution should have a solid thought to abide by so that other factions wouldn't take over it.

Nevertheless, the revolution had many positive outcomes, where it proved that there is no one who can get through his wrongful deeds regardless of his history like what happened to former president Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, it also encouraged the freedom of expression for individuals and also was a reason to our current constitution, but it is also important to note that people should understand that there are other ways to reach change other than protests, as revolutions have high costs.

• **What is your evaluation for the population crisis after the recent decrease in the degree of population growth?**

- The Egyptian Population increased by 40% from 2006 to 2012, and to state that the population growth had decreased should could be valid when on growth rate returns to be equal to the rate before 2006, other than the that, the decrease in the population growth rate is small, because the growth in the population this year reached 2 and a half million people and this rate can be managed to be only 2 million people, then it would be considered to be a breakthrough in itself, I've written many articles in this regard titled, "Collective Suicide," as I think that the issue is not dealt with seriously where each ministry blames the other for the proliferation of the problem.

• **Building on the previous point, there has been talks about the negative social side effects of the reform program regarding the middle class and poverty rates, what is your opinion about this?**

- The economic reform program is an important step, and it should've been pursued many years ago, that is why the costs are this high, which we see in the short term, but its benefits will be visible in the long and medium terms, the costs of the economic reform program was faced in the whole world, with the lower class suffering the most of these costs, especially with policies of lifting subsidies from the petrol prices, that mostly benefited the rich, where the government had benefited a lot of money that was spent on the rich class, and tries to reallocate the subsidies in order to benefit the poor, but this process needs more focus on treating other aspects, and so although poverty rates are expected to rise in the short term but it will have fruits in the medium and long terms.

• **You have developed a new social justice index in which Egypt has scored 2.28 out of 10; tell us more about this index.**

- The social justice index measures to what extent are their equal opportunities available for all citizens especially those with disabilities, the ratios also show that most of the beneficiaries of the free university education system are from the top class, and so there should be other systems that are targeted to support the poorer families in order to achieve real social justice these systems will be most effective in the education field, and also in the internet infrastructure, where providing fast internet access to Egyptian villages will make it possible for the locals to better advertise for their products online, which will raise their status, also we should work more on the health sector that is mainly used by higher classes in the society.





## • A CRITICAL REGIONAL SITUATION PARALLEL WITH DOMESTIC ECONOMIC REFORM IS A VERY CHALLENGING COMBINATION FOR EGYPT

**• You are known for your support of women, whether it is by your membership in the National Council for Women or by the focus of Baseera in women related issues, how do you describe the status of the Women in Egypt in the current time?**

- In the current time, there is no education gap between the genders in Egypt, which is great, nevertheless, the bigger problem is related to employment opportunities ahead of Women where men are preferred over women in getting jobs because of Women's conditions of related to housework especially that all the statistics show that the working woman gives the same amount of attention to her house as any other housewife, and so the working woman needs more facilities to help her balance between her career and her house, like the availability of nurseries near her house. There is a study by the World Bank that calculates the negative effects of gender inequality in employment, and Egypt ranks at 29 in gender inequality which is a sign of the cultural aspect of this inequality.

In the political realm, however, Women has gained more privileges as the number of women ministers increased and are holding very important cases at hand, we can say that the state is walking in the right path but is walking slowly, and should walk faster.

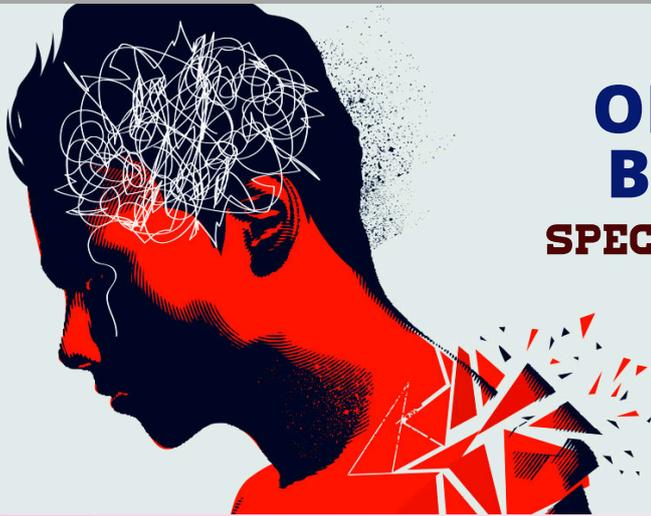
**• How do you evaluate the domestic political situation especially in the midst of the growing tensions in the region?**

- The political situation is enhancing but in a slow pace, and for that we should walk with better performance to reverse the past corruptions, where the situation in the past few years has been better than the past 5 years. Looking at the regional situation, it can be described as being very complicated, and it poses a direct threat to Egypt especially in the middle of opting for an economic reformation.

**• Finally, what is your advice for the students of the Faculty of Economics and Political Sciences?**

- The Faculty provides a lot of various experiences to students and I encourage college students to read in subjects other than that of their major, as this would broaden their minds, and should keep in their minds that many of the currently available occupations will soon disappear, and so they should develop their skills to cope up with the age of technology and "smart" jobs that are growing in a very fast pace, with the inability of the older generations to cope with, and so it is up to the younger generations to unchain themselves from the ideological control of the older generation and cope with the changes of the era.

ELITE team thanked Prof. Osman for his hospitality and took photos commemorating such a unique occasion together and in turn Prof. Osman offered ELITE team samples for Baseera research



# ON MENTAL DISORDERS, BULLYING AND SUICIDE

## SPECIAL INTERVIEW WITH PSYCHIATRIST DR. HEBA FATHY

**Cairo : Dina Ehab and Mariam Hefny**

Bullying can be a very painful experience for young people, and because bullying and suicide are both issues affecting the public health of not only children, but also teenagers, the Elite team decided to highlight them by visiting the student's hospital, specifically on Wednesday, December 25th, 2019, to conduct an interview with Dr "Heba Fathy", which is one of hospital's psychologists.

The interview started by asking the doctor about the reason behind choosing the field of psychiatry, and she responded that she was very influenced by her uncle who works in the same field. And with the passage of time and age, people were consulting her permanently, which helped her in settling on choosing psychiatry. Then we moved to the various psychiatric departments - which is diverse contrary to what most people think - where there is a section for the difficulties of adapting to life, as well as a department for minor diseases such as stress and mild depression, in addition to a section for severe mental illness such as schizophrenia, and a section for addiction. As to how to identify the psychological patient, the doctor replied that identifying him is not difficult at all. As by noticing his actions that different from the usual, where usually the patient refrains from studying, work, etc., we can know that. She also supported her talk with an example of a patient with depression and the appearance of symptoms as lack of sleep, tendency to isolation, loss of the taste of life and the desire to live, and all of this is accompanied by suicidal thoughts. Another example is a patient with severe stress which is usually accompanied by fear, panic and a constant feeling that he will die, which may even make him refuse to leave the house.

If we imagine feeling stressed, we will inevitably understand the suffering of such a psychopath. Furthermore, she talked about those who have obsessions, that cause them to do everything in a longer time. Due to the constant repetition of the same act, there are those whose lives have stopped due to such a disease. She added that we all have some of these symptoms, but in varying proportions, because no one can control his mood or his life circumstances, but when you cannot cope with your condition, that's when the matter turns into mental illness.

As for bullying, she said that it is a behavioral disorder -usually accompanied by various symptoms-. Bullying is like a pest fed by poor absence of family and school supervision, and it's usually accompanied by annoying, harming, and disrespecting others. The reason for this behavior is disturbances in the chemistry of the brain, which causes an imbalance that leads to the appearance of its symptoms. Also, genes of violence and hereditary aggression, as well as the surrounding environment and the daily way of life are also reasons for such behavior.

And through these reasons, we get either a bully who uses the behavior of imposing his control on others in knowing his identity and enhancing his self-confidence, or we get a psychopath that needs immediate help.

Dr. Heba pointed out the fact that such people lack not only their self-confidence, but also the freedom to express themselves, in addition to being subjected to constant criticism. So, as a result, they look for a way to achieve self-fulfillment, which is bullying.

We also discussed the issue of suicide, and the doctor saw that its causes are the presence of severe mental illness such as depression, drug or alcohol addiction, family and social problems, personality disorders and the impulsive nature of the person or a previous attempt to self-harm. She added that the symptoms of a person who is about to commit suicide are that he is always calm, striving to distribute his possessions, writes letters of suicide, talks constantly about death and of course has trouble in eating and sleeping. And because the suicide does not take such a step without a reason, she confirmed the existence of a treatment targeting these causes, but only on condition of regularity.

Finally, she expressed the necessity of the state taking into account the importance of conducting national awareness campaigns aimed at improving mental health, which is the ability to express oneself and how to deal with the diverse pressures of life through proper understanding of each person of his changing feelings and what he aspires to do in the future. Also, mental health awareness includes knowing how to find solutions to daily problems, deepening the religious feeling of individuals, in addition to developing social intelligence and removing shame from mental illness -such as the Anti Stigma campaign which is currently prevailing-. But bearing in mind that such campaigns are like a double-edged sword, it can educate some about mental illness, and push others to the idea of suicide. She also saw the necessity of delivering such messages to school students to develop youth awareness and to protect them from their consequences, because violence only generates violence.





## THE GAME OF PRESSURES AND TIME MANAGEMENT

# CU STUDENTS' IMPRESSIONS ON EXAMS PERIOD & PROCEDURES

*special report*

Cairo : Carolin Sherief, Habiba Atef, Salma Bayoumi, Reem Omran, Zeina Tarek and Assile Mostafa

In the morning of January 23rd, the last day of exams season, our team decided to run personal interviews on students all over campus. We've managed to reach a diversity of both men and women in the following faculties: Political Science and Economics, Commerce, Mass Communication, Arts and Law.

The survey's main idea circulated around the exams' level of difficulty, and how students prepared themselves for the season. Suggestions to ease the process were also gathered through the interviews. The responses to the following questions were collected:

- I. Desired method of learning
- II. Favorable method of studying
- III. Preferable exam style

The conclusions drawn showed that the general level of difficulty was not unified between courses; whereas some exams were straightforward and simple, others were relatively complex. Nonetheless, students from the faculty of economics and political science stated that most exams were mildly hard; a bit challenging than usual. First year students from the faculty of arts had a similar point of view, but blamed it on their inexperience rather than the topics in question or the questions structure.

When preparing for exams, students are usually cautious, focusing on all topics understudy. Memorizing certain subtopics is what students pointed out as the greatest obstacle, especially those with a short memory. Study plans were put together according to each person's exam schedule to organize and manage students' time, and better yet ease the process as a whole.

Throughout the past couple of years, external classes-classes attended by students other than lectures, unrelated to the faculty and university offices- are gaining popularity among faculties. These classes are usually more student-oriented than lectures due to the minimal amount of attendees, allowing teachers to focus on each student's weak points. To add, professors focus more on the small details of the syllabus, providing students with further explanation beyond lectures. An interviewed commerce student highlighted the importance of these points, having the luxury to experience both lectures and external classes. Despite preferring external classes, she still attends lectures, unlike most of her classmates.

Our results have also shown that most students prefer studying from the slides displayed in lectures, however, those studying arts and law aren't provided with any, thus using sheets as a reference. Books are considered a last resort to the majority, only being used in the absence of both slides and sheets.

Exams usually aim to assess students through two different approaches; bubble sheet, and essay questions. Bubble sheet exams are usually composed from multiple choice and true or false questions (without justification), whereas essay questions on the other hand require detailed explanations of the topic questioned. The greater number of students in that case voted for bubble sheet exams, demanding their use in all courses. However, conflicts on whether mathematics should be examined through bubble sheet questions rose between commerce students, where the dominant amount of students proclaimed that mathematics should be graded according to both the working out and final answer, and not the final answer only. Bubble sheet exams prevent professors from grading the steps shown, and marks are only given for the chosen answer.

Student's suggestions on how to reduce exam stress were considered, having most students complain from the surrounding environment during exams. Bothering most students are the distractions amidst the exam; invigilators might sometimes be problematic causing disturbance to some students, and decreasing their focus on the paper. Furthermore, students advocated that statistics, mathematics, accounting and other similar courses should grant students more time to solve the exam. It was also recommended by mass communication students that exams should be based on the students' ability to understand the syllabus, and not test their skills to memorise. Finally, as proposed by political science and economics students, the faculty offices should supply students with a variety of schedules, and the elected schedule is then announced and officialised.



## LEBANON: THE REVOLUTION & NEO-LIBERALISM

ALI KASSEM

PhD Candidate and Doctoral Tutor, The School of Law, Politics and Sociology, The University of Sussex

After the end of the Lebanese civil war, Lebanon was thrown under a set of neo-liberal economic policies, tied with international donors and financial organisations, as a mass project of reconstruction and ‘development’ was launched. Like everywhere ‘international donors’ and ‘international financial institutions’ such as the World Bank and the IMF gain solid ground, the country has since then been put on the path of economic collapse. Over the past few years, it has arrived: from its currency devaluing to inflation, unemployment and public debt (currently the third highest in the world).

On October 17, 2019, a wave of mass demonstrations mobilised by these severe economic grievances was triggered by a ministry decision to impose a tax on WhatsApp calls to generate revenues for an increasingly impotent state. Indeed, following months of austerity, environmental catastrophes including fires and trash crises and rampant corruption scandals, a cross-sectarian leaderless revolution exploded objecting to a largely westernised capitalist oligarchic ruling elite.

This movement, this revolution, articulated a clear objective from its earliest of days: the downfall of the Lebanese regime. This, most importantly, pivoted around the downfall of the Lebanese neo-liberal economic regime which had drastically failed. With this, a peculiar consciousness was born: discourses scapegoating refugees and migrants, discourses of sectarianism and discourses of the impossibility of change all collapsed.

In this, not only did the Lebanese masses identify the culprit and debunk the lies hiding its crime, they felt a deep desire, and ability, to change the status quo of imperialist capital, xenophobia and mass inequality.

As protestors claimed Lebanon to have been run by corrupt politicians for long, many demanded ‘scientists’, experts and specialists to take the helm of governance and salvage the nation. On January 21st 2020, over three months after the protests began, a new government was formed. And indeed, this government was (mostly) formed of ‘experts’.

As of yet, it is not clear how this government is going to function, or where it is going to position itself. What is clear is that it is not a revolution: it is a reproduction of the neo-liberal model which had brought the country, and so many others, to their knees.

It being made of experts makes little difference: experts can be hostage to politicians and, even if they are not, are political beings and themselves hold political understandings.

Today, the Lebanese protestors continue to protest, especially those who are keenly aware of the economic model’s failure and have nothing left to lose.

The Lebanese elite, tied to the west and hostage to the global economy, is not going to provide the revolution needed. They are not, in other words, going to overturn the economic neo-liberal capitalist model. The people will have to do that. Otherwise, the country will cycle into crisis just as capitalism, and modernity of which it is a part, routinely cycles into crisis until it eventually implodes.

- ELITE Team wishes to thank Mrs. Hala Abdelgawad, FEPS Assistant Lecturer and Sussex PhD Candidate, for her efforts in coordinating between ELITE and Mr. Kassem the author of this article



**FEPS BUSINESS INCUBATOR FOUNDER & CEO DR HEBA ZAKI SHARES HER INSIGHTS WITH ELITE**

## **THE FUTURE OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP: BETWEEN DEVELOPMENTAL LEAPS AND FAKE PROJECTS**

**TRANSLATED TO ENGLISH BY : JASMINE NABIL**

With an increasing importance being put on entrepreneurship as one of the locomotives of growth and a core engine of sustainable development; increasing importance is also put on the assessment of the current entrepreneurial environment and its outputs that can stimulate innovative start-ups. However, not all projects possess the necessary features for growth and sustainability.

The experiences of numerous rising economies; in South-East Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe, has proven that supporting the entrepreneurial environment and encouraging innovative start-ups, that can come up with suitable remedies for their economic and social problems, has enabled them to overcome many of the structural problems plaguing their economies. Such problems varied between increasing unemployment rates, decelerating rates of economic growth, scarcity of resources when compared to the population growth rates, and finally increasing poverty rates.

Comprehensive plans have been adopted by these countries to support the entrepreneurial environment. Most importantly, micro financing of start-ups through a system of financial institutions specialised in small and micro enterprises. Such plans took into consideration the special nature of these projects especially when it comes to the lack of prior experiences as well as their small capital size. This nature can accordingly decrease the appeal of the projects in the eyes of large financial institutions and Commercial and investment banks. The plans also included the creation of advisory bodies to provide technical and consultative services to the enterprises to help them develop their business models and ensure their market continuity. All this went side by side with the introduction of laws that facilitate the establishment of small and micro enterprises as well as providing financial, insurance and tax incentives. In order to guarantee their sustainability, the plans tackled the development of the technological environment and the digitisation of the projects.

On the educational front, the plans gave special importance to the promotion of the entrepreneurial culture, teaching the basics of entrepreneurship, building the capacity of the youth, and development of technical and vocational education. In serving the purpose of these plans, business incubators – whether private, public or those in universities- had had pivotal role through the programs they adopted.

From what has been pre-discussed, it can be deduced that the preparation of the entrepreneurial environment requires integration between financial, technical, technological and legislative development. Additionally, it is also important to introduce intensive programs about entrepreneurship to be taught starting from pre-college education. Nonetheless, in many cases, the state exerts most efforts in developing one side, usually the financial one, while the rest end up being ignored or unequally attended to. The adverse repercussions manifest in the appearance of enterprises that lack innovation, sustainability, and ability to compete while seeking only to benefit from the financial incentives offered to start-ups. Dangers of the increasing number of such projects lie in their threat to crowd out start-ups that have elements of innovation. This results in a loss of trust towards the feasibility of start-ups as well as difficulties in assessing the impact of innovative start-ups on the economic indices.

Thus, in order to ensure an effective entrepreneurial environment, first, a clear framework should be developed for defining start-ups; one that does not depend on the capital size or the number of employees alone, but also differentiates between traditional and innovative projects. Furthermore, there should be strategic plans and steps for their execution that guarantee integration between the technical, educational, financial, legislative, and technological aspects in order to ensure an effective entrepreneurial environment capable of producing projects that are able to achieve developmental leaps and sustainable development.



# Intersectionality and Challenging the Idea of Specialization



**Dina Ibrahim**

**FEPS Assistant Lecturer of Political Science**

This article seeks to raise the question about the concept of intersectionality as an analytical strategy. This term challenges the idea of specialization and the epistemological boundaries of studying the different phenomena that have different methods and strategies in studying phenomena that fall within their scope. This comes as a result of what intersectionality offers as a strategy for analyzing the possibilities and capabilities to research the phenomenon we study considering its intertwining with other phenomena.

The concept of intersectionality emerged in the early twenty-first century to become the focus of interdisciplinary studies, women's studies, gender, cultural studies, political science, history and other traditional fields. However, we cannot say that there is an agreement on the definition of this term, and there are many debates about it. Some researchers deal with it as a concept, theory, and approach. And others use it as a paradigm, a methodological tool, and as a strategy for analysis.

This article tends to look at intersectionality as an analytical strategy, and therefore adopts the following definition: the set of ideas and practices that individuals adopt in their daily lives. These ideas and practices participate in shaping their perceptions and experiences.

This definition adopts a central belief in the importance of these ideas and practices in giving us a deep understanding of the reality and the differentiated experiences of individuals and groups that dedicate social inequality. For example, it promotes the importance of understanding gender in terms of class, age, gender, environment and location, as they are interrelated and complex phenomena.

The understanding of these phenomena in their relationship to each other is necessary for intersectionality because it does not exclude the understanding of phenomenon to only one dimension, but it includes the various dimensions in the analysis, which is consistent with the complex nature of the human phenomenon.

Intersectionality may be seen as an analytical strategy that assures the necessity of studying and understanding the human phenomenon in consideration of the multiple dimensions of the phenomenon. Nevertheless, it is treated as a kind of methodological incoherence that undermines scientific and specialized accuracy. Some scholars see that it leads to the complexity of research and the useless expansion of the study, but it remains unrealistic to consider it unscientific. Rather, it may be useful to rethinking of the matter as a challenge to the idea of specialization which was associated with the development of social sciences and scientific progress to match the state of natural sciences.

To conclude, intersectionality does not deny its need to develop a coherent and comprehensive view of the appropriate methodologies for analysis, but at the same time its users have to bear the difficulties they face when seriously studying other phenomena outside their specialization.

# ICE AND SNOW ECONOMY: CHINA'S ARCTIC STRATEGY

**\*HADEER HASSAN, FEPS POLITICAL SCIENCE TEACHING ASSISTANT**



The Arctic region has become very important, thanks to the climate changes that have made it a new international competition area between the various major powers in what is known as the policy of "Arctic Rush". The melting of the ice gives unprecedented attention to the climate change, but at the same time unleashed attention to the new road, which will be a new opening for maritime transport and mining and energy sources for all countries of the world.

China is one of the most prominent countries competing for the Arctic, as Chinese interest in the Arctic began in mid-2012, through former President Hu Jintao. That year, Wen Jiabao, the former prime minister, made a diplomatic visit to Iceland and Sweden, and after a few months, Hu Jintao followed up with a visit to Denmark, and this was the first time that a Chinese president and a prominent party member had met. The Chinese Communist with the heads of government of the aforementioned countries, despite the existence of diplomatic relations that bring China to Denmark, more than sixty years old. Since then, Beijing has aimed to consolidate its relations with the Arctic countries, considering them as pivotal players for the development of Arctic politics. Then it set out to describe itself as a "semi-polar north country", to give legitimacy to its responsible role (that is, she has interests) in the Arctic. This makes it a hub based on the idea of geographical proximity, although China is away from the region by at least 1,600 km. As the idea of China's geographical proximity was developed on this basis in exchange for other countries not in the Arctic, located very far from China, but these countries were nominated to play the role of "permanent observers" in the Arctic Council, including Japan, for example.

In this context, the most prominent impression is reflected in directing China's increased interest in the Arctic to ensure its exploitation of Arctic resources, whether in the mining and gas sector, and access to energy sources, not to mention opportunities to conduct important scientific research and experiments, which can only be done under conditions Climatic and geographical areas in which the Arctic region is blessed.

Based on this, China started to implement the polar strategy. In 2014, China planned to launch the second advanced snow sweeper with a value of 613 million dollars with the aim of "launching research and exploration capabilities" in the Arctic. It also established the "Chinese Authority for the Arctic and Antarctic", and succeeded in obtaining on the status of a permanent observer in the Arctic Council in May 2013, which enabled her to influence Arctic policies, cooperation and regional relations with the 8-member council, in addition to other countries participating in it as permanent observer members.

In January 2018, it announced its ambition to establish (the Polar Silk Road), as it published the so-called white book "The Arctic Silk Road", in which it defended its right to navigation towards this ocean, in accordance with the United Nations Convention on the Law of Sailing, which guarantees freedom of navigation in that International Waters.

It aimed to create shipping lanes in the Arctic, especially as the climate changes taking place in our planet lead to the removal of ice barriers that were hindering this task earlier. The North Pole route will only reduce the time from 48 to 20 days that cargo ships spend on the journey between the cities of Shanghai and Rotterdam in the Netherlands, which is the largest port with a high density of commercial cargo ships in Europe. The southern road - which is currently used - and the Strait of Malacca, which links the Pacific and Indian Oceans - can be closed and closed during wars due to its extreme tightness, which is the real reason for the Chinese government's orientation towards finding an alternative route.

Finally, china announced a new polar strategy entitled (ice and Snow Economy), a strategy that Beijing representatives proposed to their Russian partners during the China-Russia negotiations at the East Economic Forum in September 2019.

In fact, the "ice and snow economy" does not focus on specific industries, but rather involves the integrated development of regions with a harsh climate and Arctic region. Therefore, Beijing's interest in developing cooperation with Moscow in the Arctic is due to increased global competition for influence in the North.

In a related context, some experts argued that by 2030, the Arctic Ocean will be completely ice-free in the summer months, which will greatly facilitate the transportation of Russian LNG, knowing that China is one of the largest importers of natural gas in the world, which means that the partnership between Moscow and Beijing will gain a new strategic dimension.

Therefore, the concept of "ice and snow economy" has become placing the ambitions of Beijing in the Arctic on the agenda of Russian-Chinese relations, and accordingly, the Chinese initiative could be beneficial to Russia to enhance the results of the policy of "shift to the east" in the field of infrastructure development and attract investment, as well as in terms of development Integrated and strengthened social relationships.

In conclusion, if it is difficult to assert now that China is still making pretexts for invading the Arctic, and that this region is a focal point for new geopolitical developments, where America and Russia are directly present, this cannot prompt China to announce its role in the area of control Pivotal to the new international politics. But given the Arctic as a region rich in fishing, energy and mining resources, it could be a crucible for Chinese progress. And if Beijing fulfills its promises, this ocean could become a cornerstone of the political geography of China, which seeks to be a global party responsible for peace replacing the United Nations, so China remains fully attentive to the attempts of America and other major powers to limit its capabilities in the Arctic.



**Written by: Mohamed Baghdadi**  
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## Fates of The Trade War Between Washington & Beijing



Is there a trade war between Washington and Beijing? What are the implications for global markets? And to what extent can this war be fought between the giants of the global economy? How do we evaluate the current economic situation between the two countries? The trade war between China and the United States began after Donald Trump announced in the beginning of 2018 his desire to impose fees on Chinese goods entering the country, where it exceeded 50 billion dollars to protect its markets from Chinese goods. For its part, the Chinese government imposed customs duties on more than 128 American goods in response to The American decision to impose fees on its goods. Washington has also activated its previous decision to impose fees estimated at 34 billion dollars on Chinese goods, and thus the two countries became in the midst of an economic trade war to preserve the internal markets of both countries. This leads us to another question: Will this war end what has been called the open economy? Is each country retaining its decision to impose customs duties a return?

Washington also made it clear that the direct reason for making this decision is the unfair trade practices that it had come from Beijing for several years, "including theft of intellectual property. In a related context, we find that the Chinese Ministry of Commerce imposed customs duties on several American commodities, including: beans Soy, aluminum, cars, planes, pork, steel, fruits, and Washington, on the one hand, imposed tariffs for more than 1,300 items including: batteries, medical devices, weapons, aircraft parts, flat-panel televisions, satellites, and weapons.

As part of the two countries' keenness to stop the trade war that broke out two years ago, the US President signed on January 15th with Chinese Vice Prime Minister Liu a trade agreement, which was described as "historic."

This agreement is a temporary truce after two years of lean years between the two countries. In light of this agreement, Beijing pledged to purchase additional US goods worth 200 billion dollars in the next two years, and the agreement to protect intellectual property was also requested by Washington. Observers believe that the agreement could open the way for the two parties to end the state of trade instability between them.

And the first stage of this agreement could work to reduce the conflict that has been going on for two years. Knowing that, in this context, Washington agreed not to increase the customs taxes imposed on Beijing, while China agreed to import other American products in the future at a value of 200 billion dollars. Knowing that the trade war between Beijing and Washington that broke out two years ago has already caused the slowdown in the international economy, which prompted the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to assess its growth forecasts since 2019.

After a series of recent decisions by the end of 2019 and the beginning of 2020, both countries concluded a binding agreement between the two parties, which is considered a historic pause to "suspend the unprecedented trade war between the two largest economic powers in the world. Beijing also pledged to buy additional US goods worth \$ 200 billion in the coming years, and the agreement also saw provisions for the protection of intellectual property and conditions for the transfer of knowledge in its various forms. With Beijing. Therefore, the trade war is still going on between the two giants of the global economy, and we can say that this agreement is nothing but a truce until both countries think again to evaluate the current situation.

## A SEMESTER OUTSIDE FEPS

**Nouran Hossam**

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From Berlin:

Running thoughts ask us at least once why you are still there? Why not getting back to your comfort zone? Why not just leave all that in a less than a second without giving a try? And I felt like prey to that for some time. The more you keep fighting these thoughts by engaging yourself in brand new activities the more they fade away; it is either you find your real self in that battle or you just get used to it. Leaving your place, and your people for a while is not a mere decision but a challenge where you have to accept it genuinely till the end or just quit it all before it starts. But sometimes you just need signs or omens that tell you; “you are on the right track”.

Like many students at Cairo university especially FEPS, I have been thinking about how the educational systems in the developed countries work and how do they differ in terms of many aspects. Through the previous months, I have been faced with different cultures that I could not have anticipated their issues before. In the first week at the host university, I have been assigned the same amount of the readings that we are entitled to finish in a week at FEPS or a bit more which made me feel less suspicious of our educational style at FEPS. From various books, and articles the first one I picked to read is prepared in cooperation with a group of notable professors from different continents and one of them is Dr Amal Hamada and the work was wholly arranged between a foreign research Centre and the Centre for middle eastern and North African politics with the logo of FEPS on the cover page which left me astonished at the first sight but content, and proud for the rest of the day. Through the discussions, the students were not talking about outsider matters but things that we have tackled on the gradual basis for the past 4 years, they are no different as we may think at some points but students who have passion and commitment just as we do.

Also, for the part of the Academia’s environment, I have never felt the differences between the developed and the developing countries as I have expected before. In FEPS we are up to date when it comes to the researches arena and we have the same ability as any entity else and even more if we pushed ourselves to.

Expecting any less from my faculty was not a real thought throughout my whole academic years, I have always thought how our place is unique and how are the surroundings and the people different in such respectable way. But I had that feeling there could be better things even though, not all the upgrading processes happen immediately, there are a lot of things that could be modified in a positive way.

Being in new surroundings would lead you to think about your original place and compare it to others not for the sake of disaffection but for the sake of improvement. One of the issues that we need to reconsider it is the evaluation system criteria, in which it can totally change how we perceive the educational system as students and how we look at ourselves as human beings. where the grading system in other developed countries differ from ours in terms of the aim or the goal behind the evaluation which is reflected upon it on the grading mechanisms in the educational systems where the grades could not be the only genuine criterion of the students understanding and absorption degrees but the practice and experience not only exams and quizzes. That is something completely perceivable when we consider that our real scope in sciences is researching which depends mainly on the practices of academic research, especially in the political science department.

I believe that we could go on in our ways continuing in enhancing our situation, not solely by comparing ourselves to the others but by having our own unique and original vision of ourselves and what we need to be as well as the will of being committed.

# THE WEALTH OF NATIONS: ADAM SMITH IN EGYPT

Michael Youssef Helmy, Fourth Level, Political Science



At first, Adam Smith's book *The Wealth of Nations* might seem to be an argument about basic economic principles. However, later in the book, it is found that these basic concepts are numerous observations on which he builds a controversial social and political theory. Adam Smith argues that the basis of the growth of commercial society is the division of labor, which is driven by self-interest not benevolence. He emphasizes that if everyone worked only to satisfy his/her needs and interests then that would benefit the society as a whole. This theory is consistent till the middle of the text where it faces a critical problem. Smith argues that there is a specific class in the society, namely the merchants, whose interests diverge from the interest of the whole society.

This poses a serious problem to his theory because now whenever the merchants act according to their self-interest it actually harms the entire society as it opposes the collective interests of the society. Therefore, it could be argued that Smith is ultimately writing this book to advise the landlords, who run the country at that time, against the merchants and their mercantile system, which is against the interest of the society and would lead to the disruption of the economic growth of the society and its well-being in the long run. Smith instead proposes that Mercantilism should be rooted out gradually to allow for the division of labor to take over. He imagined a market that if left to its own devices; society would automatically align itself through an "Invisible Hand" to a mechanism where individual interests are adjusted to feed interests of society. Finally, it could be concluded that Adam Smith's solution against the merchant is not workable.

The reason for that is that even if we take Adam Smith at his own words, leaving all the problems that he did not tackle, free trade society would continuously cause the rise of this merchant's class who will keep dominating the society. Therefore, Smith's own solution against the problem at stake is the critical factor that emerged the problem in the first place. This argument has proved itself true in our modern era with the rise of free trade capitalist market that Smith was pursuing. Taking Adam Smith at his own words in which he has depicted the commercial market to be the best and most natural type of economies as it started since the beginning of humanity.

Moreover, he explained that through individual self-interest, the whole society could benefit. However, looking at the Middle East to name an example, particularly Egypt, we could find that the goal that Smith was pursuing of a perfect free trade was the main reason of the rise of most of the monopolies in Egypt nowadays. After the floatation of the Egyptian pound in 2016 and leaving the free market decide the prices in the market, Egypt has encountered the greatest control of the rich people on the economic, social and political issues since then. The free market has strengthened the merchants rather than destroying them.

*Therefore, the introduction of the free market in Egypt has developed the state of the rich people and made the whole market in the hands of the few whose interests, as Smith argues, is against the interest of the whole society. Therefore, even if we blindly trust the Smithian argument, time has proved that his solution do not end the power of the merchants, it rather empowers them.*