

Canadian
Forces
College

Collège
des
Forces
Canadiennes



INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE RISE AND FALL OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

Cdr S. Sader

JCSP 41

Exercise Solo Flight

Disclaimer

Opinions expressed remain those of the author and do not represent Department of National Defence or Canadian Forces policy. This paper may not be used without written permission.

© Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada, as represented by the Minister of National Defence, 2015.

PCEMI 41

Exercice Solo Flight

Avertissement

Les opinions exprimées n'engagent que leurs auteurs et ne reflètent aucunement des politiques du Ministère de la Défense nationale ou des Forces canadiennes. Ce papier ne peut être reproduit sans autorisation écrite.

© Sa Majesté la Reine du Chef du Canada, représentée par le ministre de la Défense nationale, 2015.

CANADIAN FORCES COLLEGE – COLLÈGE DES FORCES CANADIENNES
JCSP 41 – PCEMI 41
2014 – 2015

EXERCISE *SOLO FLIGHT* – EXERCICE *SOLO FLIGHT*

**INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE RISE AND FALL OF THE
MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD**

Cdr S. Sader

“This paper was written by a student attending the Canadian Forces College in fulfilment of one of the requirements of the Course of Studies. The paper is a scholastic document, and thus contains facts and opinions, which the author alone considered appropriate and correct for the subject. It does not necessarily reflect the policy or the opinion of any agency, including the Government of Canada and the Canadian Department of National Defence. This paper may not be released, quoted or copied, except with the express permission of the Canadian Department of National Defence.”

Word Count: 5519

“La présente étude a été rédigée par un stagiaire du Collège des Forces canadiennes pour satisfaire à l'une des exigences du cours. L'étude est un document qui se rapporte au cours et contient donc des faits et des opinions que seul l'auteur considère appropriés et convenables au sujet. Elle ne reflète pas nécessairement la politique ou l'opinion d'un organisme quelconque, y compris le gouvernement du Canada et le ministère de la Défense nationale du Canada. Il est défendu de diffuser, de citer ou de reproduire cette étude sans la permission expresse du ministère de la Défense nationale.”

Compte de mots : 5519

INTRODUCTION

In 1938, Hasan al-Banna, founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, enunciated the organizational mandate during the movement's fifth conference: "The idea of the Muslim Brothers includes in it all categories of reform...a Salafiyah message, a Sunni way, a Sufi truth, a political organization, a cultural-educational union, an economic company and a social idea". (Weber, 517) For over 80 years, the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) gained prominence in Egypt and across the Middle East by opposing authoritarian regimes and promoting a simple ideology under the banner of "Islam is the solution". Founded as a social and economic grass roots movement, the MB is an Islamist political movement that seeks the islamization of society as a whole. This obscure movement is also a powerful political force with an impressive ability to mobilize supporters to achieve its aim. The events associated with the Arab Spring in 2011 succeeded in toppling Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and paved the way for the MB's rise to power through democratic elections. Western democratic leaders branded the Egyptian MB as moderates that embraced democratic principles. However, the popular legitimacy gained through the electoral process was compromised by the MB's Islamist and illiberal agenda, resulting in a loss of governance legitimacy. The demise in July 2013 of the MB designated and democratically elected president Morsi certainly had the semblance of an opportunistic coup by the Army. However, institutional forces underlined an inability to fully reconcile the democratic aspiration of a pluralist society within the narrow framework of the MB Islamist program. Additionally, the MB's focus on religious issues and power consolidation without significant socio-economic progress was not aligned with people's post- revolutionary priorities. Teetering on totalitarian tendencies, Morsi was dubbed the new "Morsillini".

Nonetheless, what may have seemed as irrational behavior to outsiders was likely aimed at preserving the MB's institutional legitimacy. An analysis of institutional dynamics provides an understanding of the complex internal forces that ultimately contributed to the failure to maintain popular legitimacy in the face of external governance challenges. Using the Richard Scott conceptual framework for institutional analysis, this paper aims to demonstrate the impact of internal institutional forces on the MB's limited capacity to embrace liberal democratic principles and adapt to its revolutionary change of status. Despite its most recent setback, the MB remains a key stakeholder in Egyptian society and an influential force among surging Islamists in the wider region. Inherent institutional forces that shape its governance are presented in three sections. First, the Scott institutional analysis framework is described along with its sociological relevance. Second, an institutional analysis is conducted based on three main pillars, that are the cognitive (ideas, world views, shared patterns of thought), regulative (rules, regulations, policies) and normative (values, norms). Finally, an integrated analysis is conducted with a view to understanding the combined effect of the three institutional dimensions on the MB's capacity to govern effectively and gain foresight for the future of *Ikhwani*-style political Islamism.

Richard Scott's theoretical framework

Long standing organizations such as the Muslim Brotherhood offer a compelling study of the concept of the "institution" defined as a:

"...relatively enduring collection of rules and organized practices, embedded in structures of meaning and resources that are relatively invariant in the face of turnover of individuals and

relatively resilient to the idiosyncratic preferences and expectations of individuals and changing external circumstances.” (March, Ouellet)

Over the course of the MB’s history, many important scholarly works were produced to highlight the far-reaching role of the Ikhwani movement at key junctures of Egyptian politics. Post-Arab spring works by Allison Pargeter’s *The Muslim Brotherhood: From Opposition to Power* (2013) and Carrie Wickham’s *The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist movement* (2013) provide excellent summaries of the MB’s transition from a historical opposition group to a governing party. However, none of these political science perspectives provide in-depth analysis of how internal institutional forces reacted to the radical change in status. Richard Scott, a widely published Stanford sociologist, writes assertively that “attention to institutions by sociologists has been more constant than that exhibited by either economists or political scientists. (Scott, 10). To best understand the MB’s capacity to adapt to external change, both the political context as well as the internal institutional factors must be fully considered. It is also important to refer to the institutionalization process which is defined by Philip Selznick as “something that happens to an organization over time, reflecting the organization’s own distinctive history, the people who have been in it, the groups it embodies and the vested interests and the way it has adapted to its environment. (Scott, 24).

The Richard Scott analytical framework is one approach that draws on many schools of thought to explore the durable social structures that represent the institutional foundation. Scott’s approach is reflected in his definition of institutions which comprise “regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life.” (Scott, 56) The three distinct pillars (regulative, normative, cultural-cognitive) included in Scott’s framework enable a sociological analysis of the MB and

assessment of its sustained legitimacy in the face of internal and external challenges. As such, Scott writes that “organizations require more than material resources and technical information if they are to survive and thrive in their social environments. They also need social acceptability and credibility – in short they require legitimacy.” (Scott, 71). Indeed, the MB’s survival as a political and societal force depended on maintaining legitimacy, both in the eyes of its own supporters as well as the wider Egyptian society. Once in power, the carefully maintained internal forces are exposed to the external environment.

The regulative pillar refers to the institution’s ability to “constrain and regularize behavior through rule-setting, monitoring and sanctioning activities”. These rules and regulations, which may be formal or informal, serve as a powerful control mechanism through coercion and sanctions, resulting in institutionalized authority.(Scott, 61) The normative pillar is focused on established values and norms that form the basis for collective expectations and social order. Norms may apply differently based on roles in the organization and serve as a constraint in defining appropriate social behavior. There are significant pressures, both internalized and imposed, to conform to “the way things should be done”. (Scott, 66) The cognitive-cultural pillar emphasizes the importance of shared conceptions, world views and ideologies. It is the lens through which the collectivity sees itself and those around it and frames a common understanding of the world. Organizational actors embrace internal cognitive beliefs to increase their sense of belonging and status. Those that do not are dismissed for their confused perceptions or pushed out altogether.

Institutional Analysis – Normative Pillar:

The normative pillar is seen by many social theorists as the most important institutional pillar as it reflects binding expectations (Scott 60). Richard Scott's normative pillar includes values and norms, with emphasis on the latter significance as "they define legitimate means to pursue valued ends". (Scott 64). Values reveal what is most desirable for institutional actors. The combined effect of MB values and norms is demonstrated in the analysis of the following keys normative systems: Principle of "Listen and obey"; Principle of *Da'wah*; Principle of "*Tarbiyya*" and; Indoctrination This analysis will serve to connect the MB strategic objective of islamization from the bottom up with the justified means to achieve the goal.

The seminal work by Richard Mitchell, titled "The Society of the Muslim Brothers" provides great insight into the organization's ideological genesis and structure. For al-Banna, Islam is an integral part of private and public life, an all-encompassing social and political order. (Vidino, 19). For Islamist movements such as the MB, the longstanding objective remains the establishment of a *sharia*-based *nizam islami* (political order) (Tibi, 4). Al-Banna was inspired by 19th century early Islamist ideologues such as Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Rashid Rida who attributed the Muslim world's decline to foreign influence and loss of *Salafi* ways of life which had made Islam glorious in the past. (Vidino, 17) In order to restore the rightful place of the *umma* (Muslim community) and curb the wayward Western "military-political-social invasion", al-Banna founded in 1928 the *Jama'at al Iqwan al Muslimeen* (The Society of Muslim Brothers), in the Egyptian town of Ismailiya. (Mitchell, 232) Not surprisingly, the MB's motto is *al-Islam huwa al-hal* or "Islam is the solution".

Al-Banna's innovation was in his approach. As an educator by profession, he developed a comprehensive rehabilitation system through re-education and indoctrination into a tightly controlled all-inclusive organizational structure. At the core of the rehabilitation process was the

principle of *da'wah*, which is an invitation to rediscover the teachings of Islam and also a duty to spread the faith. The *da'wah* principle was instrumental in the expansion of the MB movement and is considered a fundamental social obligation of every member. Al-Banna's superb organizational skills further capitalized on the effectiveness of *da'wah* by broadening the concept beyond faith and into all other social realms. This was accomplished through "an extensive network of *da'wah* organizations, reaching all strata of society". (Vidino, 21) Through the *da'wah*, the MB developed outstanding social and charitable programs with schools, medical clinics and employment programs that often surpassed anything the Egyptian state offered. The *da'wah* at once motivated individuals within the organization to grow spiritually and contribute to social growth. Most importantly, the *da'wah* was the means of choice to pursue the islamization of the society from the bottom and as such, it was the most established norm. It also sets the standard by which every MB member is assessed and held accountable to, even if the member happens to be Mohamed Morsi, the post-revolution elected President of Egypt.

In conjunction with the *da'wah*, the MB has maintained a robust indoctrination process that ensures common social beliefs are thoroughly internalized by its members. Scott writes that for normative theorists such as Parsons, "shared norms and values were regarded as the basis of a stable social order." (Scott, 66). It is with that in mind that al-Banna asserted the following on being a member of the MB: "Leave aside appearances and formalities. Let the principle and priority of our union be thought, morality, action. We are brothers in the service of Islam, we are the Muslim Brotherhood." (Vidino, 41). Members are carefully recruited for their potential skills and based on their demonstrated commitment to the movement. The recruitment follows a formalized process described in the regulative analysis section.

Members who are accepted in the movement are immediately assigned to an *usra* (MB family). The system of MB families or *nizam al-usar* is the bedrock of the MB organizational structure of effectiveness. Al-Banna instituted the *usra* concept in 1943 and it remains unchanged to this date. It is the smallest unit in the MB hierarchical chain of command and serves to execute organizational directives as well as social and political work, especially during elections. Each *usra* is composed of up to six individuals from a similar local area with a designated leader to maintain oversight over the other's performance towards their respective *da'wah*. From an institutional normative significance, Richard Mitchell determined that the *nizam al-usar* served as control mechanism for the MB where actions of individuals are monitored (Esposito 478). Furthermore, a sense of duty develops towards one's MB family for fear of letting others down or perceived to be lacking in piety or expected level of social endeavor. As members of a an *usra* become personally involved in each other's lives, there is also a social and financial cost that keeps that acts to bind members together and deters breakaways.

The *usra* also provides the hierarchical setting in which members are inculcated with the principle of "listen and obey", which is prevalent and highly valued by the MB. Absolute loyalty towards the organization is of primordial importance and cadres are often rewarded with promotion based on loyalty over competence (Rand, 43). The institutionalized "listen and obey" principle has benefited the MB in the execution of directives with military-like precision. However, it has also created an atmosphere of inflexibility on the part of the leadership and that it's the MB way or the highway. Consequently, divergence of views between younger MB generations and more senior leadership often leads to a loss of talent as there is no room for internal dissent. This same attitude was manifested towards leftist and secular groups with little

regard for views that were not consistent with the MB priorities, resulting in a growing fear that the MB wanted to impose their will on others.

Another integral part of the indoctrination process is the the concept of *Tarbiya* (education).

Vidino writes that “systemic training in Islamic texts and the methodologies of political activism is is a cornerstone of al-Banna’s strategic thinking”. (Vidino, 44). In fact, *tarbiya* is of such institutional significance for the MB that President Morsi was willing to concede important portfolios such as defence, internal security and foreign affairs in order to gain full control over the Education and Religious affairs.

The MB developed a robust institutional base through its highly represented network in professional unions, businesses, universities, social and charitable organizations. (Rubin, 34)

Many members of the MB were regularly elected to lead their respective professional associations in the fields of medicine, law, engineering and banking. This also extended to universities where student unions and various clubs were dominated by well-organized MB youth. These affiliations provided the MB with gravitas as well as financial status among lower to middle-income Egyptians. Successful MB members were expected to strive in attaining highly regarded positions which increased their social status. Of course, the achievement of these loyal MB members also reflected positively on the wider organization and contributed in an increase in credibility and wealth. Most importantly, it supported the MB’s strategic objectives of societal islamization from the bottom up.

The MB was extremely effective at making inroads in all social and economic fields with potential to maximize its influence and standing in the eyes of the wider Egyptian society. The professional credentials of the MB membership and leadership role in powerful interconnected

social and economic networks also contributed to the highly prized goal of legitimacy. Likewise, the benefits gained from its preferential social standing in professional milieus meant that the MB had much to lose, which is likely why it was also tolerated by the regime forces. As such, political opposition was adopted as the most viable means of attaining its objectives while preserving institutional legitimacy. Violence and extremist militancy came to be regarded as counterproductive and prohibitive for institutional survivability given the high cost of retribution from regime forces.

Institutional Analysis – Regulative Pillar:

A widely recognized aspect of rapidly expanding organizations such as the MB is the need to explicitly regulate the behavior of its membership. Richard Scott affirms that “regulatory processes involve the capacity to establish rules, inspect others’ conformity to them, and, as necessary, manipulate sanctions, rewards or punishment- in an attempt to influence future behavior.” (60) Al-Banna strategic mission to transform society from the bottom required that those who are indoctrinated remain under the complete control and influence of the MB. In order to achieve this, al-Banna sought to institutionalize his power and authority through formalized organizational structure and laws.

To this date, decision-making authority rests exclusively with the Supreme Guide (*al-Murshid al-‘aam*) with the council of a 16-member Guidance Bureau (Philips, 12). Furthermore, the cornerstone principle to “listen and obey” has been formalized in the allegiance oath taken by every new MB member. Senior cadres and members of the Guidance Bureau are required to take the following oath of loyalty (*bay’a*) in front of the Supreme Guide: “I contract with God to adhere firmly to the message of the Muslim Brothers, to strive on its behalf, to live up to the

conditions of its membership, to have complete confidence in its leadership and to obey absolutely, under all circumstances.” (Mitchell, 165). The importance of the “obey and listen” principle was still very much in effect post-Arab spring revolution and was a constant reminder that the institution does not tolerate dissent or alternate views, even from within. The most significant recent example of this was the opposition by the Guidance bureau of the nomination of MB moderate Dr. Moneim Abu al-Futuh to the Egyptian presidency (EL-Awadi). Guidance Bureau member, Rashad Bayoumi, reminded al-Futuh’s supporters, especially the MB youth, that “the most important quality of a Brother in the MB is commitment to the principle and obey... Those who support al-Futuh are committing a clear violation of the MB decision and the decisions of the Guidance Bureau must be carried out.” (Rand 38). Richard Mitchell (295) writes that the MB’s “organizational regulations, however potentially democratic, were in practice superseded by authoritarian direction. Organizational regulations in the form of by-laws were initially conceived by Hasan al-Banna himself in 1931 and later ratified in 1945 to be formally recognized as the “Basic Regulations of Muslim Brotherhood organization.” (Ikhwanweb).

The centralization of power within the Guidance Bureau with the Supreme Guide at its heads has shaped the organizational decision making process. As such, it can be argued that the MB selectively employs a democratic process without however embracing comprehensive democratic principles. These persistent illiberal tendencies greatly constrained the MB’s ability to govern once in power. This was none more obvious than when President Morsi granted himself sweeping legal powers by decree on 12 November 2012, triggering a popular uprising against what was perceived as early signs of a totalitarian regime. Furthermore, the drafting process of the new post-revolution Constitution, heavily influenced by an Islamist agenda,

alienated liberal, secularist groups and minority groups with Hamid noting: : “They [MB] failed. With most non-Islamists members eventually walking out of the assembly, undermining the legitimacy of both the process and the substance [of the Constitution].” (185)

The MB’s ideological rigidity and absolute loyalty to organization directives is also enabled by a formalized recruitment process. New recruits are specifically sought out, especially in universities, and subjected to an extensive multi-stage process that could take up to nine years. (Tragger, 117) More precisely, there are five distinct stages before a recruit becomes a full-fledged brother. Each stage serves to inculcate the member further into the organization with increasing levels of spiritual, financial and social commitments. The first stage is that of a follower or “*muhib*” which can last up to four years with the member being affiliated to an *usra* to begin his re-education and improve the spiritual *tarbiyya*. Only after a *muhib* has proven his religious knowledge to the *usra* leader through regular prayer and written exam that he is considered for the second stage as a supporter or “*muayyad*”. A *muayyad* is called to increased scope of *da’wah* obligations and rigorous religious and ideological studies, including memorizing the Koran and al-Banna’s writings. The third stage is that of an affiliated member or “*muntasib*” who is able to formally work in MB network organizations and must make financial contributions in the form of a “*zakat*”. The next stage is that of an organizer or “*muntazim*”, which opens up the possibility of lower leadership positions. Finally, the full membership with voting rights of a working Brother or “*akh ‘aamal*” is only attained if superiors feel that total commitment and obedience is beyond doubt. Equally important, the stages act as a screening process against potential infiltrators from the regime agents. This lengthy formal process also ensures that members are fully indoctrinated and ideologically imbued to sustain the MB mission.

Coupled with the “listen and obey” principle, the recruiting and indoctrination process provides the MB with a unparalleled ability to mobilize huge numbers of organized followers in a quasi-military fashion and impressive effectiveness as shown during the Tahrir Square uprising and post-Mubarak elections. Unfortunately, the MB institution is also a closed membership that does not compromise for attracting new members. The formal regulations are in place to constrain its own member’s behavior but also act as a social and psychological barrier to accepting a *rapprochement* or meaningful strategic alliance with non-MB affiliated groups such as the liberal secularists or Christian Copts. More broadly, the inherent complexity and formalized rigidity of recruiting has in effect kept the MB from being receptive to other societal groups which in turn had decreased its popular legitimacy and increased suspicions towards its ultimate objectives.

Institutional Analysis – Cultural-Cognitive:

In an effort to explain the MB’s post-revolution behavior, it is important to understand the collective world views of the movement and common points of reference. Scott writes that a “cultural-cognitive conception of institutions stresses the central role played by the socially mediated construction of a common framework. Of course, the MB is an 85 year old organization with over 5 million supporters and various ideological interpretations. Nonetheless, the institution has enduring symbols and meanings that have shaped the group’s common reaction towards changes in the external environment. The organization’s enduring slogan and symbol of “Islam is the solution” depicted by a crossed swords over a Koran is one such element. (Philips, 10). Likewise, “Quran is our Constitution” was a popular slogan of MB during years of transition from a militant organization to a political opposition movement. (Rubin, 34) While embracing the democratic approach to achieve its goals, the MB was founded on an illiberal ideology still espoused by conservative decision-makers in the movement, including

elected President Mohamed Morsi. The three most influential ideologues for the MB remain al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb and Hasan al-Hudaybi. Although their respective stances differ on the use of reform, violence or democracy as the means, the common objective for all three is nonetheless the ultimate establishment of the sharia-based *nizam islami*. Bassam Tibi writes that the “Islamist worldview includes a belief in *siyadat-al-Islam* (Supremacy of Islam)... that stands in sharp contrast to a pluralist democracy and to power sharing. The At the heart of the debate in post-Revolution Egypt was whether the MB has truly embraced democratic principles or continued to employ democratic elections as a mere mechanism to gain power and further advance the movement’s mission to Islamize all aspects of society. In a controversial move, the MB founded the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) in 2011 in an effort to demonstrate a separation between the movement’s religious and political aim (el-Awadi). However, the cognitive-cultural forces at play meant that the MB Islamist ideology still permeated the political party’s policies (refer to Prohar CFC vagueness of policies). Evidence of this is found in the official party program as well in the crafting process of the new post-revolution Constitution. Furthermore, the MB views on the rights of women, non-Muslims and other ideological groups are incompatible with the requirements of governance in a pluralist democracy. These illiberal views were clearly communicated in a 2007 campaign program which explicitly stated that women and Copts should be banned from the presidency (Dalacoura, 134). The challenge of compatibility with democratic principles beyond the ballot box emanated from the rigid ideological superiority that is ingrained in the MB. This was none more evident than in the initial MB reaction to the Arab-Spring.

As the MB movement was founded on the principle of reform, it does not endorse revolutionary methods. Furthermore, the MB’s own history is marked by devastating consequences for the

organization's members and networks whenever violence was co-opted. Following the rehabilitation by President Sadat of the MB in the 70s, violence was mostly renounced. There remains a group of MB hardliners that did not fully renounce Sayyed Qutb's ideology on the justifiable use of violent jihad to restore Islam. However, for pragmatic reasons and survivability, the MB decision-makers do not favor violent actions as a way to achieve their aim. As such, the MB typically did not support radical groups promoting a change of regime by way of demonstrations or violence. This is also consistent with the MB views on the behavior of fundamentalist groups, notably the radical Salafists. This dynamic often lead to a competitive relationship between the MB and other radical Islamist groups. Referring to the young radical supporters of Al-Jihad group at a local university, the MB parliamentary representative and faculty president, Dr. al-Sayyid Habib criticized them as: "a small group of young zealots, there is heat and excitability and the young have limitless zeal, impatience, rashness, and energy, without reasonable, mature, balanced, leaders." (Rubin, 37) Likewise, the MB leadership perceived all revolutionaries with the same lens which explains why they were not initially involved with so called 2011 Arab spring revolt that took place in Cairo's Tahrir Square. Ironically, it is this uprising that paved the way for the MB's rise to power. Given the MB's patronizing view towards revolutionaries, the leadership was caught by surprise at the speed of change, triggered by the liberals in Egyptian society.

Eventually, it was at the behest of the MB youth that the Guidance Bureau, made up of the "old guard", realized the weakness of the regime and leveraged its superb organizational skills to gain a foothold in the revolution. It is important to again underline the role of the younger MB generation as their perception of the world is seemingly different from that of the conservative older generation and a cause for a growing rift between the two groups. As the revolt

progressed, the MB capitalized on a unified base to eclipse the multitude of disparate secular and liberal groups, unexpectedly claiming a leading role in the revolution. The young liberals, moderates and Coptic protesters of Tahrir were deceived by early signs of unity from the MB, when Islamists and others stood side by side from 25 January until President Hosni Mubarak officially stepped down on 11 February 2011. However, once transitional power was transferred to the influential Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF), the MB began sidelining the weak and disorganized liberal and secular groups. In doing so, the MB also courted the powerful Army leadership to promote itself as the only viable partner in any future power-sharing scheme. This is supported by Hamid's description of the MB's tendency to practice double discourse as part of a *siyaset al-marahel* (politics of stages): "When regime change finally came and they [MB] graduated to the next stage – one that entailed thinking seriously about power and governance – they were, slowly but insistently, pulled to the right."

The events following the Arab Spring are evidence of the strong cultural-cognitive institutional forces within the MB. These forces, informed by the MB's older generation experience with the regime, initially served to dismiss the revolutionaries in Tahrir Square as nothing more than an irrelevant annoyance that the regime will quell as it had done before. These cultural-cognitive forces are also shaped by an instinct for self-preservation and ideological supremacy. These combined elements resulted in an inability by the MB to fully embrace and capitalize on the unprecedented force of societal change taking place. Once in power, the MB's timid reformist approach was not prepared to shed its historical role as an Islamist opposition and govern a restive pluralist society with high expectations. Indeed, the regime had succeeded over decades of repression to condition the MB into a tamed organization that was instinctively self-preserving

and hence incapable of fully adapting to a sudden revolutionary change of status such as what was experienced post Arab spring.

Integrated Analysis of the three pillars:

The study of institutional pillars is further enriched by evaluating their interdependent forces and the resultant impact on the overall organization. Scott associates the stability of social systems to the alignment of the pillars whereby the “strength of their combined forces can be formidable”. (Scott 71.) Indeed, the following section will consider the complementary role of the various pillars on their effect on the MB institutional stability during the turbulent Arab Spring and when facing the challenge of governance. Scott also emphasizes the criticality of legitimacy stemming from the “generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions.” (Scott 71)

Unfortunately, legitimacy gained through the ballot box did not translate into popular legitimacy for Mohamed Morsi and the MB. The challenges of governance in a pluralist society were exacerbated by a desire to maintain the MB institutional legitimacy. The MB legitimacy with its own membership and supporters depended on maintaining the alignment of the three pillars. The longevity and success of the MB as an organization is largely due to harmonized institutional pillars that have consistently been focused on the realization of the MB mission. The MB mission is officially understood to be “achieved through building the Muslim individual, Muslim family, Muslim government and the Muslim state...regain s Islamic glory and carries the flag of the call of God, thus making the world happy via the teaching and right of Islam.” (Philips, 10) Indeed, the previous sections demonstrated that the regulative, normative

and cognitive-cultural pillars have remained largely unchanged since al-Banna's founding of the movement and continue to support the MB mission as spelled above. However, the organizational system that was conceived by al-Banna is a double edged sword and constitutes both its strengths and weakness. The normative principles of "listen and obey", "da'wah" and "tarbiyya" are enabled by robust organizational laws and a hierarchical structure with a rigorous recruiting and indoctrination process. The cultural-cognitive pillar further reinforces the validity of the normative and regulative pillar by ensuring a common Islamist worldview whereby "Islam is the solution" and that can be achieved through reforming society from the bottom up. The problem and inherent weakness is that the MB can only achieve this lofty goal by maintaining institutional legitimacy and cannot possibly aspire to govern as long as the goal of Islamize the society is incomplete. Mitchell writes that al-Banna and Hudaybi firmly believed that only "when the people have been Islamized, a truly Muslim nation will evolve" and that the "principal activity of the Brothers was not to come to power but rather to aid in the reform of society."

The Arab Spring and Tahrir Square revolution unexpectedly catapulted the MB from the familiar position of illegal opposition to the uncharted territory of post-revolution Government. The completed islamization of society was certainly not the trigger. Key issues such as the formulation process of the Constitution unravelled the MB by exposing its governance weaknesses and inability to generate consensus, mainly inhibited by institutional dynamics. Principles such as "listen and obey" and the slogan of "Quran is our Constitution" did not prove compatible with the demands and priorities of a post-revolution pluralist Egyptian society. Rather than being an inclusive document, the constitution was hastily drafted and adopted in a manner that alienated secular and liberal groups. It also contained controversial articles that

clearly promoted an Islamist agenda, including Sharia as source of legislation and giving the state full authority in safeguarding public morality, ethical values, religious values and the genuine character of the Egyptian family.”¹ These clauses contributed to re-affirming the liberals’ suspicions that the MB was still committed to an Islamist project aimed at controlling all aspects of Egyptians’ lives. Unlike MB inspired En-nahdah in Tunisia, the Egyptian MB was too constrained by its own institutional dynamics to adapt to a rapidly evolving political change of status.

CONCLUSION

The Arab Spring in Egypt ushered a period of great hope and real democratic reforms in the political landscape of the most populous Middle Eastern nation. For over 80 years, the MB was at the forefront of opposition to authoritarian regimes and was best organized group to capitalize on the post-revolution power vacuum. Egyptians from across the political spectrum were willing to give the MB a chance to govern with elected President Morsi, only to cheer on a military coup one year later. The MB-backed President was seemingly the victim of a coup but a closer look shows that institutional forces within the MB acted as a barrier to effective MB governance in a pluralist society. The perfect alignment of the normative, regulative and cultural-cognitive pillars encouraged a pursuit of an Islamist agenda without due consideration for the external environment. More specifically, the normative systems such as the principle of “Listen and Obey” along with a formalized indoctrination process and a rigid ideology with a view to

¹ Hamid, Shadi. *Temptations of Power: Islamists and Illiberal Democracy in a New Middle East*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 184.

Islamize society was not reconcilable with democratic principles. Although the institutional pillars were aligned within the MB organization, they greatly diverged when stacked against the democratic aspirations of a post-revolution pluralist society. An ensuing tug of war between preserving institutional legitimacy and popular legitimacy derailed the Morsi presidency. Faint efforts to separate religion and political through the formation of a political party as well as give a greater voice to younger MB members did not result in any significant institutional changes. Ultimately, the well-established MB organizational normative, regulative and cultural-cognitive pillars we set-up to achieve the objective of Islamization from the bottom rather than from the top down. Al-Banna's legacy is that the MB's organizational effectiveness is too powerful to ignore and yet has many inherent sociological constraints that do not allow it to govern a pluralist society.