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The potential rise of an Islamist youth within 25 January revolts: a case study of the Muslim Brotherhood youth

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The American University in Cairo
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THE POTENTIAL RISE OF AN ISLAMIST YOUTH WITHIN 25 JANUARY REVOLTS: A CASE STUDY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD YOUTH

A Thesis Submitted to

Political Science Department

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

by

Dina Hosni

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The thesis endeavors to offer a fresh perspective on the potential rise of Islamist youth, focusing on the pro-change ex-current MB youth as a potential subculture within 25 January and the assumption of the Egyptian MB to power. To validate this hypothesis, Gramsci's theory on hegemony and counter-hegemony has been deployed to study the rise of pro-change MB youth against Mubarak's authoritarian regime on the state level in tandem with counter-hegemony against the strict *al-samū' w-al-tā'ā* principle (i.e. blind obedience) on the organizational level. Elements of social movement theory have been used to substantiate the relevance of counter-hegemony, namely, Gamson's three components of collective action frames; *injustice, agency* and *identity*. Mannheim's generational model has also been employed in the study as a unit of analysis to distinguish between pro-change ex-current MB youth representing the focus of the study and supportive MB youth. With concern to analytical orientation, the study has deployed mostly qualitative research methods based on primary sources in the form of 30 semi-structured interviews, in addition to content analysis of scholarly articles and books, web logs, in addition to journalistic material, drawing on the concepts of counter-hegemony and collective action frames.

The analysis has demonstrated that the 2005 MB parliamentary victory which has heralded the success of the MB hegemonizing project, has generated the first traces of the rise of a youth subculture which has grown to pinnacle with the 25 January Revolution and its after effects. Based on the analysis, the cohort of MB youth could be categorized into two groups: those supportive of the MB, and those critical of the MB performance. The latter group which is the focus of the present study could be further branched into two orientations: those who still believe in reform from within
keeping a vigilant eye on the Organization's performance, and those who could no longer tolerate MB's performance and thus have drifted away from the organization in order to establish or join other parties or groups, or have possibly remained independent. Content analysis has also shown that the pro-change ex-current MB youth have developed their own worldview as differing from that of the parent culture where they have opted accordingly for their own sphere of activity regardless of the Organization while staying committed to the general ideas of al-Banna. In line with Gamson’s three collective action frames, those youth have experienced feelings of ‘injustice’ directed toward the MB Organization which has excluded them from the decision-making process. Within the ‘agency’ frame, a number of those youth have sought the Cyber sphere as a type of liberating educational experience. Through their interaction with other youths whether in the cyber or public sphere, they have found common grounds with other Egyptian youths as could be translated in Revolution Youth Coalition (I’tilaf Shabāb al-Thawra), al-Tayyar al-Misriy (The Egyptian Current) Party under construction and Misr al-Qawiyya (Strong Egypt) established by splintering MB youth groups. The ‘identity’ frame within Gamson’s classification has emerged within the 25 January revolution and within its after effects as a form of resistance to the MB's excessive restrictions on the organizational level conspicuously in the dismissal of Aboul Fotouh and the establishment of the FJP to be the only MB party. The analysis has further shown that though no war of movement has materialized within those youth counter-hegemonic activities against the MB, they could still pose some challenges for the Organization, which merit further research in the topic.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Background

“The glow of the Egyptian revolution did not merely overthrow the regime, but was conducive to the existence of a general phenomenon of rebellion against the leaders and symbols, and the desire to depart from the crucible of blind obedience in the entities and political and religious groups”

(ʾana Salafi Website)

It was January 25, 2011 in Tahrir Square when a group of young bloggers has informally mobilized a mass demonstration against the Egyptian regime. They were inspired by the Jasmine revolution in Tunisia and the fleeing of the former long-serving President Zine al-ʿAbidine bin Ṭaʿāli following a far-reaching social movement which has unprecedentedly toppled an Arab ruler by his own people. Those very youth have been incited by the confluence of a stagnant economy, widespread corruption, political repression and electoral fraud. For the latest years, young bloggers have been documenting on the internet incidents of human rights violations and police brutality, on top of which lies the fomenting story of Khaled Said - a flagrant example symbolizing utter repression and spurring activists to launch the “We Are All Khaled Said” Facebook page. It was from such page that the initial call for a march on January 25th in protest of the regime policies was given sparked by an assortment of young opposition groups including Islamist youth. Such groups have comprised a considerable number of Muslim Brothers youth
who decided to participate in the revolution\(^1\) in their personal capacities when the leadership has
decided to abstain from participation as a group based on the preliminary anticipation that the
protests would just fail like previous ones. The leadership subsequently toned down its stance
allowing those young members to participate on an individual basis rather than as representatives
of the MB. In the same vein, a number of Salafi youth have decided to take part in the
Revolution in spite of the general Salafi eschewing of political participation and their anti-
revolution stances as sinful, as demonstrated in the vocal Salafist preacher Muhammad Hassan's
words of caution against the demonstrations describing the protests as ‘subversive and leading to
bloodshed.’\(^2\)

The thesis attempts to offer a fresh perspective on the potential rise of Islamist youth, focusing
on the pro-change MB youth as a potential subculture (of Islamists), which has pinnacled within
the 25 January Revolution in Egypt. To this end, Gramsci's theory on hegemony and counter-
hegemony has been used to study the rise of pro-change MB youth against the authoritarian
Mubarak regime on the state level in tandem with counter-hegemony against the strict *al-sam\(^i\) w-
al-\(f\u00e1\)\(\u00e6\)a* principle (i.e. blind obedience) on the organizational level. In their resistance to the two
afore-mentioned protective hegemonic overarching structures, MB youth have found common
grounds with other Egyptian youths as could be translated for instance in al-Tayyar al-Misriy

\(^1\) Researchers have demonstrated variations in the way they would refer to the 25 January events in Egypt,
wheresome regard it as a ‘coup’ since the Military Council has taken control, and some believe it was too early at
this stage to call it a ‘revolution’ and thus would prefer to refer to the events as ‘uprisings’. I believe the term
‘revolution’ could be applicable to 25 January events since it represents a sudden change in the location of
sovereignty where Egyptian people have put an end to Mubarak's regime, and since it has had a goal as shown from
its motto 'bread, freedom and social justice'.

\(^2\) See Salafist preacher Muhammad Hassan’s speech on *al-Rahma Islamic Satellite Channel*, Cairo, Egypt, uploaded
on January 22nd, 2011 at:

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ULi2nNiUXo
(The Egyptian Current) Party under construction and Misr al-Qawiyya (Strong Egypt) established by splintering MB youth groups.

**Significance of the Study**

The importance of the proposed study is manifold. Recently, the study of youth in Egypt and the Arab world at large has gained momentum in view of the ‘youth bulge’ that the region is experiencing, and which has given rise to a number of challenges regarding the social, economic and political inclusion of youth within the region (Shehata, 2012, 107). A new subculture could be envisaged as a protagonist of change and a harbinger of a revolution (Said, 1971, 11), which is pivotal to the study of Social Sciences. The literature has thus burgeoned with studies on youth subcultures but they have mostly dealt with youth lifestyles, deviant behavior or minority groups. Even the few studies that have explored the notion based on religious ideologies have largely investigated youth as religious minorities (See Zine 2010). The current study constitutes one of the first attempts to focus on the notion of an ‘Islamist youth subculture’ within a Muslim society as an endeavor to provide an epistemological understanding of it. To account for this notion, the deployment of Gramsci’s theory on hegemony and counter-hegemony lends the proposed study further significance since Gramsci’s theory will unprecedently - to my knowledge - be applied on two (though at some point not distinguishable) levels: state level and organizational level. The timeliness of the topic could be deemed as an asset within the Arab Spring and the conspicuous rise of political Islam, resonating with the marked voice of Islamist youth at this critical conjuncture. Quoting Jacques Derrida, “the surge <deferlement> of “Islam” will be neither understood nor answered as long as the exterior of this borderline place has not been called into question” (Derrida, 2002, 58). The focus on the MB emanates from its substantial presence as a social force on the current Egyptian political scene currently
contextualized in the assumption of Muhammad Morsi, head of the Freedom and Justice party, the political wing of the MB, as president. The impact of the transmutation of the MB organization from a banned organization to one in power on its hegemonic nature cannot go without notice. Though a few studies have applied Gramsci’s theory of hegemony and counter-hegemony on the Muslim Brotherhood as an Islamist group (see Kandil 2011; Simms 2002), no study to my knowledge has deployed the theory toward a study of the Muslim Brotherhood youth as a potential Islamist subculture, which I reckon could be a valuable contribution to the literature. The signs of breakage of *al-sam*c w-*al-tā*c principle (i.e. blind obedience) demonstrated by some MB youth in this respect merits scholarly consideration. It is my contention that the MB youth support of the dismissed Abdel Moneim Aboul Fetouh; then their position in the second round between General Ahmed Shafik and the MB backup candidate Muhammad Morsi; and after Morsi has assumed power; and recently the internal divisions within the MB leadership and a considerable number of its youth in the June 30 demonstrations well manifest this phenomenon. The study thus endeavors to draw a comparison between the ex/current pro-change MB youth attitudes toward the MB as a banned group and after the group has come into power epitomized by its high representation in the 2011 parliament followed by the assumption of Muhammad Morsi as president until before June 30 demonstrations.

**Literature Review**

**Subcultures and Hegemony**

The concept of political culture has been around since antediluvian times, and the categories deployed in its analysis including ‘subculture’ are entailed from ancient writings (Almond, 1980, 1). Previous literature has shown that groups living within the same society who share some of
the same material and historical circumstances undoubtedly grasp and essentially share each other’s culture (Clarke et al, 1972, 5). But just as groups and classes are differently positioned against one another pertaining their productive relations, wealth and power, ‘cultures’ are accordingly differently positioned in relations of domination and subordination along the gamut of ‘cultural power’. Dick Hebdige’s book, *Subculture: Meaning of Style*, first published in 1979, is envisaged as amongst the milestones in the study of the notion of subcultures where he has argued that the conflicts between dominant and subordinate groups could be mirrored in the surfaces of subculture (Hebdige, 1979, 3). For elaboration, Hebdige has referred to power distribution within societies, stating that certain groups in a society (meaning ‘dominant’ groups) are endowed with more opportunity to set the rules and to organize meaning compared to others who lack the power to enforce their designation of the world on the world (Hebdige, 1979, 14). Such understanding, in fact, reiterates Marxist view that “the class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it” (Marx & Engels, 1970, 64). But groups or classes which are not ranked at the zenith of power resort to ways of voicing and attaining in their culture their subordinate ranks and experiences (Clarke et al, 1972, 5). Subcultures thereby materialize as those subordinate to this dominant order which get engaged into struggle with it, work on modifying, negotiating, resisting or even toppling its reign, precisely its *hegemony* (Clarke et al, 1972, 6). That very relation of dominance and subordination in advanced capitalist societies constitutes the crux of Gramsci’s theory of hegemony.

In the 1880s, the term ‘hegemony’ was first deployed by Plekhanov and several Russian Marxists to refer to the importance of a working class to head an alliance with the peasantry in
the bourgeois-democratic revolution toward the deposition of Tsarism (Simon, 2001, 24-26). In this sense, the working class, which constitutes a small minority of the population, could have the capability of winning the support of the great majority of the people. The concept of hegemony has been developed by Lenin as a strategy toward revolution to be adopted by the working class in order to win the support of the great majority. Gramsci has coined up a new concept of 'ideological hegemony' resulting in novel ways of deliberating about politics and the role played by the party (Boggs, 1984, 20). The launching point for Gramsci’s concept of hegemony is thus that a class and its representatives hold power over subordinate classes using a combination of coercion and persuasion (Simon, 2001, 24). The dominant class accordingly formulates a generally accepted philosophy of life in order to persuade the subordinated masses that their exploitation is the natural, universal and perpetual way of life, and thus should not be altered or resisted (Simms, 2002, 564, 565). Upon this understanding, hegemony functions as a consensus regarding the naturalness of power relations bolstered by the coercion of the state apparatus and strewn through the institutions of civil society (Pratt, 2010, 318).

Civil society is thus pivotal to Gramsci’s formulation and to his conceptualization of revolutionary transformation, since civil society offers a linkage between his concept of hegemony and that of the state (Fontana, 2006, 52-53). Gramsci has deployed the concept to refer to social institutions which are separate from the state, under the control of the dominant class, and which could comprise religious groups and political parties that generate hegemonic culture (Simms, 2002, 565). Though there exists some distinction between state and society, they, within Gramscian formulation, do not lie in opposition in a static and mechanical relation, but they mutually presuppose and boost one another. Within such complex state-society relationship, the state in some occurrences refers to ‘political society + civil society’; in other, it
denotes the balance between the two; and in further occurrences, Gramsci posits that in actual reality, “civil society and the state are one and the same” (Gramsci, 2001, 447). The difference in this relation would explicate the different political results in the East and the West, where “(in the East) the state was everything, civil society was primordial and gelatinous; in the West there was a proper relation between the state and civil society, and when the state trembled a sturdy structure of civil society was once revealed” (Gramsci, 1971, 238).

Gramsci has also added a vital dimension by introducing the concept of ‘national-popular’ which posits that for a class to become hegemonic it should consider the popular and democratic demands of those who do not have a purely class character, in Marxist terminology, of those who do not evolve directly from the relations of production. Upon this understanding, hegemony coalesces a national-popular facet as well as a class facet. Such hegemony thus necessitates the unification of various social forces toward building a broad bloc united by a common perception of the world which Gramsci has hailed as ‘the war of position’ (Simon, 2001, 27). Cox has pithily described ‘the war of position’ as the process which “slowly builds up the strength of the social foundations of a new state” through “creating alternative institutions and alternative intellectual resources within existing society” (Cox, 1983, 165). Within Gramscian theorization, civil society represents the channel through which social forces would launch their ‘war of position’ against capitalism (Gramsci, 1971, 229-238). Civil society is thus not solely portrayed as the terrain in which hegemony is dispersed, but also stands as the arena where resistance to hegemony; namely, counter-hegemony, could be formulated (Pratt, 2010, 318). Gramsci has posited that since a ruling class legitimizes its domination using cultural hegemony, its downfall should start by countering this hegemony (Kandil, 2011, 38). A counterhegemonic strategy thus aims to prompt contradictions between the system of belief of the rulers and that of the ruled so
as to agitate large masses and mobilize them into forwarding demands conducive to a revolution. In Gramscian problematic, intellectuals such as teachers, politicians and theologians who generate and propagate cultural values, engender both hegemony and counter-hegemony (Simms, 2002, 565). Traditional intellectuals initiate and advocate dominant ideology, in Gramsci’s terminology, “the traditional popular conception of the world” (Hoare & Smith, 1971, 199) where they work on disseminating throughout society a set of ruling ideas with the aim of controlling the thinking and life experiences of the masses and in order to render their exploitation more feasible (Simms, 2002, 565). From another side, organic intellectuals from among the masses work on developing counter-hegemonic institutions and ideologies of their own so as to launch a coup not through violence but using cultural subversion.

Social Movements

Social movements could be deemed as agencies of counter-hegemony through mobilizing resources and operating outside the established political order of the state toward promoting alternatives (Carroll & Ratner, 1994, 6). The notion of ‘social movements’ could be defined as conscious, collaborative and continuous efforts by ordinary people to challenge authorities, power holders or cultural norms by means of deploying extra-institutional vehicles (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009, 3-4). Conceptually, it has been delineated by Snow, Soule & Kriesi (2007, 11) as collectivities acting within some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture, or world order of which they are part.
During the 1960s and 1970s, a number of researchers have discerned that social movements usually comprised formal organizations, which necessitates some level of resources for its sustainability (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009, 11). The focus has thus moved to the infrastructure prerequisite to sustain a movement. Moreover, the issues of the movement need to be presented or 'framed' in a way that corresponds to and resonates with the feelings, beliefs and desires of potential recruits (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009, 55). The notion of ‘framing’ is thereby deployed to conceptualize the political significance that social movements use (Snow & Benford, 1988, 198) as a form of collective action involving joint action toward attaining a common objective (Snow, Soule & Kriesi, 2007, 9). Within more than two decades, there has been a tremendous proliferation of scholarly work on collective action frames and framing processes with respect to social movements, such that framing processes have become deemed alongside political opportunity processes “as a central dynamic in understanding the character and course of social movements” (Snow & Benford, 2000, 612). Sydney Tarrow has hypothesized that leaders could create social movements when they utilize more entrenched feelings of solidarity or identity, which could mostly elucidate why nationalism, ethnicity or religion have shown to be unswerving roots of movement organization (Tarrow, 1998, 6). In the Middle East, 'political Islam' has been synonymous to 'nationalism' and has further appeared as more credible than the old stained nationalisms rising in failed authoritarian regimes (Zubaida, 1993, xix).

Recently, an emerging trend of scholars has sought to apply social movement theories on the rise of Islamic activism in the Middle East (Wickham, 2002, 4). Within this tendency, Islamist movements could broadly speaking exist as social formations resulting from a response to an array of social constrictions unleashing local forces that work on changing the status quo (Hroub, 2012, 16). The collapse of postcolonial states in the majority of Arab and Muslim countries, the
unfair and degenerating distribution of wealth, the distancing of ruling elites and concurrent marginalization of the masses along with declining economic systems and authoritarian political regimes have rendered movements holding to appealing ideologies successful in mobilizing masses and challenging the dominant regimes. The attractiveness of Islamist movements has gained more footing by their taking advantage of the collapse of two other ideologies; namely, socialism and nationalism. A proliferating literature on the ideology, organizational structure, membership of Islamic groups, and their relationship with elites could be witnessed as largely drawn implicitly or explicitly on one of two major explanatory models; namely, ‘cultural identity’ and ‘political economy’. Though the two models have a different focus, they both trace the origins of Islamic activism in the grievances experienced among possible recruits. From a ‘cultural identity’ perspective, the rise of Islamic activism emblematizes a collective protest against the Western domination of Muslim societies from the European colonial expansion up to Western infiltration into the economic, political and the underlying cultural domain of Muslim societies (Wickham, 2002, 7). Other studies have ascribed the ascendance of Islamic activism to the unfavorable economic conditions and the lack of political freedom in the MENA region, where Islamic activism constitutes more the vote of the youth against the status quo rather than for a particular alternative as an Islamic one.

The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt

Focusing on Islamic activism in Egypt could be quite revealing, since the resurgence of popular Islamic reform movement in Egypt has not only transmuted the nature of opposition politics within, but has influenced political movements beyond Egypt’s borders (Wickham, 2002, 4). The Muslim Brotherhood, the focus of the current study, which was founded in Egypt in 1928 has now branches in many other Arab states, where Egyptians have impacted their evolution
through the propagation of ideas, resources and workforce. The importance of the Muslim Brotherhood springs not only from its stature as the founding branch but also since its murshid (Supreme Guide) is deemed as the spiritual guide to the MBs worldwide (Pargeter, 2010, 15). Al-Banna’s goal was to establish an Islamic state founded on gradual reform initiating with popular education and extended social programs.

Al-Banna thus worked on teaching the children in the daytime and their parents at night (Zubaida, 1983, 47). During the first three years of the MB, the Organization has primarily worked on enlarging its membership (Mitchell, 1969, 9). To this end, al-Banna and selected deputies have established direct contacts where they have preached not only in mosques but in homes, clubs and other meeting places of the people. The mosques have endowed the speakers with the needed legitimacy and respectability, and the direct communication in people’s homes, workplace and places of leisure have imbued to that legitimacy an element of sincerity and personal touch. Though al-Banna at times announced that that the goals of the movement were principally educational, some of its activities denoted a preparation to seize state power, by force if required, albeit denied by al-Banna (Zahid & Medley, 2006, 694). The organization seemed to be deploying many of the same organizational vehicles that had been embraced by communist and fascist revolutionary movements in the early twentieth century; including, focus on propaganda, programmes of physical and ideological training, asserting discipline and obedience, secret cells, and maintaining a large youth corps. The MB soon grew and infiltrated into many parts of the country and it seemed to espouse a political dimension advocating for the Islamic reform of society and government (Zubaida, 1993, 47-48). The movement has established close connections with the Free Officers movement which staged the 1952 coup d'etat, and relished official support of the new regime until Nasser turned against them in 1954.
The MB leadership maintained its efforts to operate within the restrictions of the political system geared toward Islamizing the state and society through evolutionary channels (Mitchell, 1993, xi). The later permeation of the MB into the Egyptian society could be ascribed to two key developments; Sadat’s assumption of power using his own Islamic legitimacy, and the regional oil boom beyond state control (Wickham, 2002, 95-96). Wickham explicates that compared to Nasser who adopted a secular nationalist rhetoric in spite of being a Muslim, Sadat espoused Islam as a central claim to political authority. Within such image, he has rehabilitated the Muslim Brotherhood who had long been repressed under Nasser, and he fostered the establishment of Islamic student associations or jamaʿat on university campuses to counterbalance the leftist groups dominating student politics then. The second development relates to the regional oil boom then and the ensuing remittances of Egyptian migrants who sought outlets beyond state control whether in Islamic banks or Islamic investment companies. The MB’s financial capabilities to offer social services particularly to the disenfranchised strata of society have accordingly bestowed social influence to the group (Ali, 1988, 205). Along Wickham’s delineation and in line with the Gramscian problematic, the MB’s leading role did not remain restricted to the limited defense of its corporative interests but has extended to “take up those of other sectors” (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985, 66). A good example could be demonstrated during the 1992 devastating Cairo earthquake, where in response to the MBs’ competent collection of donations to earthquake victims, Military Decree 4/1992 was issued necessitating government approval for donation collection (El-Ghobashy, 2005, 384). During the 1990s, the group has become the major force in many professional associations, dominating the syndicates of engineers, doctors, dentists, pharmacists and lawyers (Mitchell, 1993, xiv), followed by its members' later considerable infiltration into the parliament, until the recent landslide victory of
the Freedom and Justice party, the political wing of the MB in the 2011 Egyptian parliamentary elections, and finally the assumption of Muhammad Morsi as President of Egypt.

Wickham contends that a lucid grasp of the development from political opportunities to outcomes requires the acknowledgement of the pivotal role of human agency (Wickham, 2002, 205-206). In other words, there is a need to pinpoint the strategies deployed by movement organizers for mobilizing citizens into politics, as well as, to account for the reasons that have led to the success or failure of their strategies. To this end, Wickham impressively expounds that lower-middle class graduates have been converted in her words “from targets of recruitment into agents of Islamic reform” (p. 206) not merely through the benefits they have accrued from joining the Islamic movement (as visa, jobs .. etc.), but more importantly, through ‘a massive project of ideological outreach’ that would guarantee graduates’ ‘normative commitment’ to the movement. Such commitment would be enforced in the MB’s Bay’a or ‘pledge of allegiance’ where the new member makes a vow to God that s/he will comply with the call of the MB, will perform jihad for the sake of the organization, will have full confidence in its leadership, and will abide by the al-sam’ w-al-ta’ca principle (i.e. blind obedience).3 The MB membership itself is not quite easy to gain, but interested youth need to go through five stages in order to become MB members. Examining the MB membership conditions, especially items four to seven affirms the duties to be performed by a member toward the organization and the punishment expected in case of not fulfilling those duties, but does not touch on the member’s rights (Ali, 1988, 295).

From a political standpoint, the MB is highly influenced by the surrounding environment, where

its organization expands during periods of political openness, and contracts on its own during times of repression conjuring the pyramid-type relationship and the principle of leadership obedience to keep the organization intact (Tammam, 2012, 34). Such organizational prioritization has become pivotal for the survival of the MB since its confrontation with the Nasserite regime in the 50s through clamping down and dissenting up to the 60s through executions such that the Organization was on the verge of extermination. Within the MB’s focus on the Organization, its base has thus lost its sense of rights via the leadership (Ali, 1988, 295). Such wear and tear of the awareness of rights within the organization has produced an unwholesome environment within the leadership institutions.

Within the last few years, the MB base has somewhat voiced its grievances particularly on the Internet, which in itself has been deemed as a device sustaining counterhegemonic discourses and contesting established systems of domination (Warf & Grimes, 2012, 261). Lynch has aptly explicated that the clear proliferation of bloggers within the MB could represent a further sequence of “a recurrent pattern of generational challenges to the Brotherhood’s hierarchy” (Lynch, 2007, 27) where with their highly visibility “they clearly represent an elite among the youth” (Lynch, 2007, 32). With this mindset, MB youth have forged linkages with other Egyptian youth and have shared their grievances toward the existing conditions in the country, which have sparked the 25 January Revolution and the subsequent events.

**Research Problem**

This poses the question as to how could those MB youths long governed by the strict *al-samᶜ w-al-tāᶜᵃ* principle take such ‘revolutionary’ stance toward their leaders? Quoting Mahmoud Gozlan, MB spokesman, *al-samᶜ w-al-tāᶜᵃ* principle are amongst the most defining elements of
the group and any member who violates any decision by the group is expelled. In the Rasa’il al-Ta’lim (The Message of the Teachings), al-Banna calls for ‘obedience’ as among the ten commandments of the MB pledge. He elaborates that ‘obedience’ means full compliance with the commands of the leadership and prompt execution of these commands in hardship and in ease, whether pleasant or unpleasant (Al-Banna, 1940, 364). Al-Banna further stipulates that the leader is part of the call; and there is no call without leadership. The degree of mutual trust between the leader and the soldier gauges the degree of power of the group’s system, the coherence of its planning, its success in attaining its goal and in overcoming obstacles and difficulties.

The MB leadership seemed to have managed, at least until the leadership of the former Supreme leader Mahdi Akef, to maintain its two trends; namely, the ‘open’ or ‘reformist’ trend that has emerged within the open university, syndicate and political activity represented by the likes of Aboul Fotouh on one side; and the ‘organizational’ or ‘conservative’ trend that runs the organizational structure of the MB and holds the responsibility of recruiting and ranking membership within the Group on the other, without a real conflict between the two in spite of their differences (Tammam, 2012, 23-27). However, within the internal developments in the Organization and its relationship with the regime particularly during the last few years as has been clearly manifested in the Organization’s internal elections, the MB exhibits a clear lack of ability to sustain the co-existence of those two trends, revealing supremacy of the ‘organizational’ trend at the expense of the ‘reformist’ one. For the first, now leading trend,

4 See Al-Anbaa’ Online newspaper, March 17th, 2012, accessed at:
obedience is not simply an institutional component, but more an ideological matter to the extent that religion could be deployed as a vehicle to protect the organization (Ali, 1988, 294). In his analysis of the MB nomination of Muhammad Morsi as a presidential candidate after the ousting of Khayrat al-Shater, Muhammad Habib, former Deputy of MB Murshid, has confirmed the importance of the education methodology that institutes the principle of blind obedience and utter confidence in the leadership. Accordingly, Khayrat al-Shater’s *al-Nahda* (Renaissance) project was expected to move directly to Muhammad Morsi, as only a change in the person has taken place, but this would not change anything since it is the MB leadership that decides everything.\(^5\)

The recent growing primacy of the organizational trend has triggered an MB youth subculture who have started to voice their grievances via cyberspace as a starting safe zone until they have established contacts with other Egyptian youths and participated in the 25 January Revolution before the Organization has decided to. Following 25 January, some of those youths have further left the MB while others have remained while keeping a more vigilant attitude toward the Organization.

Such form of resistance shown by MB youth could reflect a more global stance toward the Muslim youth population whether in the Muslim majority countries where youth have assumed a pivotal role which has remarkably changed the social composition of these societies, or in Muslim-minority countries (Herrera & Bayat, 2010, 3). Amid an amalgamation of different factors including the changing moral politics at home, the unremitting process of neo-liberal globalization, the geopolitics of neo-imperialism, the ascendance of a civilizational discourse

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\(^5\) Based on an interview with Muhammad Habib, *Masa’ al-Sabt (Saturday Night)*, April 14\(^{th}\), 2012 at 11:00, On TV channel.
locating Islam in a hostile position toward the West, permeated with the problems of unemployment among others, youth cultures are developing in new fashions resulting in historically significant consequences. Their interests, hopes and socioeconomic capabilities are conspicuously constructing a new cultural politics. Upon this understanding, the cultural behavior of Muslim youths could be grasped as positioned in the political arena and emblemizing a new sphere of competition for power.

**Research Hypothesis**

As the MB upheld a culture of organizational interest and not revolutionary orientations, its youth has developed a subcultural trend that advocated full-scale democracy suffused with youth empowerment. Within the MB youth direct involvement with other youths of the revolution, their subculture has noticeably converged with other youths’.

To this end, a line of inquiry follows:

- Drawing on a Gramscian framework, how is the MB organizational structure envisaged on both the state and organizational levels both before/after 25 January, and after MB has assumed power?
- What type of relationship governs MB youth and Egyptian youth in general during 25 January revolution/and after MB has assumed power?
- To what extent does the MB youth actions represent a counter-hegemonic activity against the state and the Organization?
- Would the actions of Islamist youth categorize them as ‘subcultures’ (or 'contraculture' for instance)?
- What type of commonalities exist between MB youth and other Islamist youth groups?
Conceptual Framework

Gramscian Theory of Hegemony and Counter-hegemony

A variety of approaches have been deployed to explore contemporary Islamist movements, including the historical master-narratives, the sociological models inspired by Durkheim, and the statist/political economy standpoints, none of which in my belief could sufficiently account for the analysis of the rise of Islamist youth as a subculture in the proposed study. The historical master-narratives approach is premised on fitting Islamist movements into an accepted chronological narrative (Ismail, 2003, 4-5). In her analysis of this approach, Ismail has cited John Esposito as amongst scholars following this school of thought. She has pinpointed that Esposito bases his study of Islamist movements on a unitary grasp of the religion. In spite of his acknowledgement of the particularity of the socio-political contexts in which these movements come into existence, he premises his underlying argument on the notion of a totality known as Islam explicated as the principal beliefs and ideas common among Muslims. Upon this understanding, Esposito does not consider the interaction of beliefs with the social nature of everyday life in various locales. The substantial substance of the beliefs that are deemed as significantly shaping Muslims’ lives is not taken into account either. Upon this understanding, all contexts are expected to induce similar responses however different the conjunctures are (Ismail, 2003, 7).

As an alternative to the essentialist views of Islam as represented by the historical-master narrative approaches, the sociological analyses have developed at large within a Durkheimian-inspired view of social change (Ismail, 2003, 11-13). Such analyses construe the social reality of Islamist movements in light of the actors’ backgrounds and socio-psychological conditions.
Within this analysis, Islamic activism is grasped as the expression of frustration and actions molded by the opportunities and constrictions of the city. Suggestions about frustration among youth and middle class within that approach could found explanation in political economic factors as related to Islamist movements. In this context, Islamism grows as a counter-ideology appealing to disenfranchised social groups and allowing voicing political and economic demands. Though the change in the redistributive policies of the state could help understand other structural changes in the economic and political domains, it cannot alone explain the development and actions of Islamist movements. Upon this understanding, political economy and statist approaches could underscore the macro transformations in society and economy as components of the broader setting in which Islamist movements function, but they overlook the symbolic and cultural issues which I reckon as integral to the understanding of the development of Islamist movements.

In concur with Ismail’s analysis, a lucid understanding of Islamist movements would encompass both the strategies followed by actors on the micro-social front, and the contextualized norms guiding Islamists’ actions entailing relations of power and contestation for hegemony. A Gramscian framework will be of conceptual value, since his theory offers a linkage back to the Marxist arguments about culture and how social relations are reproduced, while his idealist roots could avoid falling into vulgar materialism and economic determinism which could be an object of culturalists’ critique (Pilkington, 2005, 18). Gramsci has widened the scope of political recomposition and hegemony while hypothesizing on the hegemonic link which conspicuously surpasses the Leninist notion of ‘class alliance’ (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985, 66). The significance of Gramsci’s theory of hegemony and counter-hegemony could be ascribed to its study of power relations not merely within the coercive state apparatuses as government, but also within
consensual civil institutions as the church, cultural institutions (or in our case the MB) (Bodroghkozy, 1991, 217). Though Gramsci has distinguished between political society and civil society since their apparatuses are different (Buttigieg, 1995, 28), he has posited that they do not lie in opposition in a static and mechanical relation, but they mutually presuppose and boost one another. (Gramsci, 2001, 447). The proposed study thus attempts to offer an examination of the Gramscian formulation on both the Egyptian state and the MB organization. With the ascendance of the MB to power commencing with the group's landslide victory in the parliamentary elections and cresting with the assumption of their candidate Muhammad Morsi to presidency, the state and the group have become clearly intertwined.

Mannheim’s Generational Model

Within youth cultural studies, especially in discussing the modern crisis of hegemony, Gramsci has been among the few modern Marxists who have ventured a theoretical explanation of the problem of younger generation (Bates, 1975, 361 & Plington, 2005, 18) which he has envisaged as the product of the incapacity of the older generation to lead, and the preclusion of the materialization of new hegemonic forces to fill in their position (Gramsci, 1971, 275-276). Gramsci however has not adduced any tangible evidence in support of his argument on the generational divide (Bates, 1975, 361). I will accordingly deploy Mannheim’s generational model as a unit of analysis. Within Mannheim’s formulation, generations are conceptualized as “nothing more than a particular kind of identity or location, embracing related ‘age groups’ embedded in a historical-social process (Manneheim, 1952, 292). In view of this conception, generations are envisaged as producing a marked awareness reminiscent of Marx’s theory of class consciousness (Levine, 1970, 33). The notion of generation has been caught between the two major schools of thought: Positivism, and Historical Romanticism, where the former’s
perception is anchored on a biological perspective to the history of humanity; and the latter’s is premised on the view of generations as a social historical product (Jaegaer, 1977, 255). Within Historical Romanticism, Dilthey has introduced the concept of ‘interior time’ based on the contention that the chronological succession of generations does not have the same significance of the experience each generation lives (Mannheim, 1952, 282). Mannheim has developed Dilthey’s concept of ‘interior time’ in what has been hailed as ‘the contemporaneity of the contemporaneous’, more elaborately as the coexistence of different generational units at the same actual time with each living a distinct experience. He has further posited that the unity of generation does not merely depend on the social bond that would result in the establishment of a concrete group, though the sense of unity of a generation might heedfully develop into the basis for the establishment of concrete groups (Mannheim, 1998, 165) (as in the case of the Egyptian Revolution Youth Coalition (I’tilaf Shabāb al-Thawra) or the al-Tayyar al-Misriy party (The Egyptian Current Party) under construction. Mannheim further posits that during times of rapid social change, generations are expected to develop substantially distinct positions and goals which could clash with those of older generations, and accordingly result in political youth movements constituting groups that emphasize “their character as generational units” (Mannheim, 1952, 309).

**Generational Divisions within the Muslim Brotherhood**

Within the Muslim Brotherhood, Khalil al-Anani has identified four generations; the 1960s generation, the 1970s generation, the 1980s and 1990s generation, and the blogger generation, respectively (Al-Anani, 2007, 112-115). The distinctive traits of those who joined the MB in the 1960s are their political cautiousness and conservative understanding of Islamic beliefs. Such generation was largely shaped by experiencing mihna (ordeal) where most of their leaders have
spent a long period in prison and have suffered repression under the regime then, which has been reflected in the prioritization of security and organizational security. Those who joined the Group in the 1970s could be distinguished as having a direct political leaning and more liberal views. The third generation of the 1980s and 1990s, known as ‘neo-traditionalists’ are highly influenced by the conservative old guard and thus could be deemed as essentially an extension of it. Finally, the blogger generation which gained prominence in the mid-2000s through their access to social media and who have played a comparatively significant role in 25 January.

Al-Shobaky, in comparison, has delineated three generations based on the surrounding political context (Al-Shobaky, 2009, 68-79). The first period which extends from 1928 till the Palestine War in 1948, is characterized by the dominance of a proselytizing activity of a social and religious nature and the backseatedness of the political dimension from the MB discourse. That could be attributed to the priorities set by the Group during that period, in addition to the lack of political space that was filled by the liberal Wafd project. The second period or the Qutbist generation, according to Al-Shobaky, was a period of isolation and freezing where the social and proselytizing aspects of the MB discourse have deteriorated and the active elements within the Group have turned into a ‘religious ṭalīfa (forefront) that works on the downfall of Nasser’s regime or the Jahili (Pre-Islamic) regime as they deemed. After two decades governed by a Qutbist orientation, the third orientation known as the Neo-MB has come into being when a massive number of MB members were released from prisons in the 70s to decide to avoid violence completely and get into peaceful political work. Those included the MBs of the 70s who wanted to act as a pressure group that works on the ratification of Islamic Shari'a. The 70s period was followed by another group of MB members who after playing a pivotal role in university student unions in the 70s have sought direct political participation through taking part
in parliamentary elections as well as in syndicates. Such period which would extend till the third millennium has thus witnessed the rise of an MB generation whose political discourse significantly differs from the MBs during the monarchy or those in the Nasserite or Sadat period.

A lucid grasp of the generational factor necessitates an understanding of the vital economic, political and cultural conditions where they have lived, which are conducive to molding a generational consciousness (Herrera & Bayat, 2010, 8). An illustration of the Egyptian context thus follows.

**Muslim Brotherhood’s Hegemonic Project within Egyptian Society**

Tracing the modern history of Egypt from a Gramscian standpoint could demonstrate how the MB was founded in 1928 by Hassan Al-Banna as an Anti-British movement in order to create and popularize a hegemonic ideology established to emancipate their people and to generate an economically productive and politically stable Islamic society (Simms, 2002, 570). Al-Banna explicates as saying:

> The Brethren went to the book of God and sought inspiration and guidance therefrom so that they knew for certain that Islam is this full, comprehensive meaning and that it must have supervision over all matters of life, that it gives its tone to all things, that all things must come under its rule, conform to its rule and teachings, and draw upon it (Al-Husaini, 1981, 62)

Al-Banna has thus called for changing *al-rūḥ al-ẓām alladhi uhayminu* (the hegemonic public spirit) in Muslim countries before Islamists could aim for power (Al-Banna, 1948, 113). The strategy espoused by the Muslim Brotherhood in confinement with Islamist politics was not to create a centralized state that would monopolize rights over politics and culture, but to establish
an ‘equipped civil society’ that could counterbalance the power of the state and foster a public
culture of social justice, pluralism and participation (Hefner, 2001, 504). Before his
assassination, al-Banna has established relations with the army until 1952 which has allowed the
MB to play a pivotal role in the army’s coup led by Gamal Abdel Nasser who has seized power
and forced the reigning Monarch, King Farouk, into exile (Simms, 2002, 572). Following the
Egyptian monarchy, the Nasserist regime has established some form of an unwritten contract
between the state and Egyptians which postulates the provision of services to Egyptian citizens
in return for total domination by the regime, total submission to state policies, and the
relinquishment of political rights and political participation (Soliman, 2011). Although Nasser
was initially hailed as a charismatic hero, the debacle of his pan-Arabist project, along with the
deceleration of development toward the end of his rule, has led to the discrediting of Nasser and
his project. After Nasser, both Sadat and Mubarak have experienced a shrinking role as a
presenter of a ruling national ideology, as contrary to their predecessor (Polijarevic, 2012, 92).
Sadat and later Mubarak have suffused Infitāḥ (neoliberalism) with a hovering absorption of
Islamic activism (at different degrees) in order to cope with the evolving organic crisis. The MB
has utilized the crisis to develop a politics of absorption, where they continued their diligent
electioneering whether in municipal councils or on professional associations’ boards (El-
Ghobashy, 2005, 381) In Gramscian terms, a feasible hegemony has pulled together subaltern
social forces toward an alternative ethico-political conceptualization of the world (Carroll, 2006,
21). As a reactionary policy, the 1990s have witnessed a paradigm shift in the regime’s approach
toward MBs moving from feeble tolerance to legal followed by physical suppression. Mubarak’s
government has thus inherited the “more than five millennia tradition of centralized power”
where the Egyptian state has been “reluctant to permit uncontrolled associational life” (Al-

Robert Fatton’s (1988, 253) portrayal of the state as “a bureaucratic apparatus of domination”
could perfectly apply to the case of Egypt, which could easily qualify as a ‘dominant’ society.
Non-hegemony thus signifies the way large sectors of society feel politically and economically
left out, and as a result have started to get engrossed in manifest social struggles to divulge their
exclusion (Ruckert, 2008, 103). Such could be argued as the case in Egypt where owing to the
constrictions on political life and civil society, Egyptian youths including MB youth who have
been excluded from political and civic participation, started to voice their grievances through a
new generation of protest movements encompassing members of all ideological backgrounds
which has peaked with the 25 January Revolution (Shehata, 2011, 3).

**Youth Activism toward 25 January**

Shehata has delineated four stages of youth activism in Egypt starting from the new millennium
that have pinnacled with 25 January (Shehata, 2012, 109-119).6

**From 2000 till 2003:** External issues; precisely, the Palestinian *Intifadeh* and the invasion of Iraq
has propelled a new generation of youth activists who have joined then the newly established
Egyptian popular committee for the Support of the Palestinian *Intifadeh* (EPCSPI). The
movement was able to attract a large number of youth activists, many of whom were students or

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6 Youth activism within the current youth cohort in Egypt could be traced back to the 1990s starting from the Gulf
War in 1991 to the 1992 earthquake and the Bosnian children aid efforts, followed by the first organized
complaint against military trials in 1995, where MB youth have played a pivotal role then. Based on the researcher’s
interview with Sameh Al-Barqi, ex-MB member and current member of Al-tayyar al-Misriy (39 years), April 21st,
2013, Cairo.
graduates who were taking part in a political activity for the first time. Such activism sustained its momentum with the invasion of Iraq in 2003 conducive to the establishment of new movements, as the 20 March movement and the Cairo campaigns geared toward mobilizing opposition to the war on Iraq.

**From 2004 till 2006:** With the tendency of Western powers and domestic opposition movements to pressure on Arab regimes to espouse democratic political reforms, youth activists steered away from external issues to domestic political and constitutional change. Youth, accordingly, started to organize themselves independently of older activists by establishing youth-led movements, as Youth for Change, a subgroup of Kefaya movement, which played a pivotal role during the protests of 2005-2006. Youth for change encompassed activists from different orientations, many of whom had been active participants in EPCSPI and in the anti-war movement, but it also comprised many independent activists. In 2005, Youth for Change helped Kefaya set into action many peaceful protests, which in spite of its relatively small size, have attracted considerable national and international attention. In 2006, with the clampdown on political parties and movements following the 2005 elections, political activism started to become weaker. This, *en plus de* repression by regime, have forced many youth activists to express their dissatisfaction with the social and political conditions. By 2008, around 160,000 blogs have been created by Egyptians, 20 percent of which had a political outlook.

**From 2006 till 2009:** As activism pertaining to political democratization has weakened following 2005 elections, activism around economic and social conditions have come to rise. The labor protests, notably the Mahalla workers’ strike in 2006, have resulted in a major change in the structure of many youth activists who worked on bridging the gap between political and social issues and between movements toward democratization and labor movements. In 2007, some
activists formerly belonging to Youth for Change created the Tadamon (solidarity) movement geared toward supporting labor activism and other forms of mobilization on grassroots' level. Tadamon comprised activists from the Leftist Revolutionary Socialist movement, Liberals from al-Ghad party and Islamists from the Labor party. Youth activists have called for a general strike in solidarity with Al-Mahalla's organized strike scheduled for 6 April 2008. Following the 6 April protests, youth activists decided to transform the group into a complete political movement.

From 2010 till 2011: As part of the expectation of the 2010 parliamentary elections, which many has envisaged as leading to the transfer of power from Mubarak to his son, the April 6 Movement in collaboration with other political movements launched the El-Baradei for President campaign. From another side, the summer of 2010 has witnessed the launching of ‘We Are All Khaled Said’ Facebook campaign in protest of the beating to death of Khaled Said by policemen. By the end of 2010, a clearly broad-based youth movement encompassing a wide assortment of youth led groups such as April 6, al-Baradei campaign, and We Are All Khaled Said, essentially occurring outside the existent parties and movements, including the MB youth.

MB Youth Counter-Hegemony on the Organizational Level

Ironically enough and in a parallel fashion, the internal structure of the MB organization could be envisaged as largely a microcosm of the ‘dominance’ practiced by the Egyptian elite functioning as a pyramid-shaped hierarchy with its members dutifully executing the aims of the leaders (Trager, 2011, 4). This hierarchy is topped by the Guidance Office (Maktab al-Irshad) which includes around 15 longtime Muslim Brothers headed by the Supreme Guide (Murshid). Guidance office members are elected by the Shura council which includes around 100 MBs (See
Figure 1). Important decisions are voted on inside the Shura Council to be executed by the Guidance office. Orders are passed down via a chain of command starting from the Guidance office to be finally transmitted to the MB members. Such institutional hierarchy has plagued the MB with administrative maladies, notably the concentration of authority and decision-making in the hands of a few members, which have become further incompatible with the technological revolution (Ali, 1988, 294).

![The Muslim Brotherhood Hierarchy](image-url)

**The Guidance Office**: elected by Al Shura members.

**Al Shura Council**: The legislative body of MB. It is elected for four years.

**The Administrative Office**: The administrative body that is responsible for following MB activities in each governorate. It supervises activities of the region. Each governorate has Shura Council who elects members of the administrative office.

**The Region**: It consists of 3-4 sections. It coordinates activities within each geographical region.

**The Section**: Each section consists of 5-7 families (cells). The section is in charge of da'wa and socioeconomic activities within certain geographical areas.

**The Family (cell)**: The smallest unit in the movement’s structure. MB members must be affiliated to one of those cells. The family has a head (Naqib) who is not elected by its members. Each cell consists of 5-7 persons.

Figure 1: The Muslim Brotherhood Hierarchy
Successive chains of counter-hegemonic activities against the MB domination have been led by the MB youth who in their resistance have found common grounds with Egyptian youths. For this, leaders of the MB youth as Islam Lotfi, Muhammad Al-Kasaas and Muhammad Abbas who have founded al-Tayyar Al-Misriy party are also members of the Revolution Youth Coalition.\(^7\)

On a vertical level, and harking back to the question of ‘subculture’, we would need to epistemologically question whether we would call Islamist youth, notably MB youth, a subculture in the first place. Yinger (1960) has argued that if we refer to a conscious antagonism of that group of people to what the body of people in their wider society think or believe, then we might deploy the term ‘contraculture’, but the purpose of subcultural work is to demonstrate “inconsistencies between a particular group’s practices and that of the mainstream and to reveal further the systematic strategies that they employ to guarantee a reproduction of those inconsistencies” (how different when MB was an opposition and now when MB has come to power).

Unprecedentedly and concurrently with the 25 January protests, the Guidance Office Bureau has succumbed to the demands of its younger members regarding participation on 25 January – which begs our attention. The Tahrir square has thus been the meeting point of two inter-related counter-hegemonic activities – Egyptian youth masses against the regime (elite) and MB youth masses against the Guidance Office Bureau (Sub-elite). Within Gramscian philosophy, the focus on the ‘war of position’ reverberates with the attempts of social movements to institute new

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\(^7\) Sherif Tarek, ”News Analysis: MB Youth Seek Independence after Disagreements with Leaders”, *Ahram Online*, June 22\(^{nd}\), 2011, accessed at: [http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/14847/Egypt/Politics-/News-analysis-MB-youth-seek-independence-after-dis.aspx](http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/14847/Egypt/Politics-/News-analysis-MB-youth-seek-independence-after-dis.aspx)
political spaces within civil society and change the substance of hegemony (Carroll & Ratner, 1994, 21-22). To this end, elements of social movement theory will be deployed to substantiate the relevance of counter-hegemony since a central aspect of a social movement is the degree to which its actions challenge or rupture the limits of a system of social relations (Carroll & Ratner, 1994, 6). On a horizontal level, we would need to explore how MB youth could find common grounds with other youths during/after the Revolution. ‘Collective action frames’ could offer a particularly relevant explanation in this domain. Snow and Benford have defined collective action frames as “action-oriented sets of beliefs and meaning that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization” (Snow & Benford, 2000, 614). Collective action frames could thus offer a means of systematizing our comparative analysis of social movement discourses. Frame analysis will thus be deployed in the study, since social movement research has underscored the role of frames as enunciating vehicles that either accentuate and elaborate the gravity and injustice of a social state, or re-identify as unfair what has been formerly deemed as unfavorable but has been tolerated (Vincent & Shriver, 2009, 166-167). In line with this definition, I have adopted Gamson’s identification of the three components of collective action frames; namely, injustice, agency and identity (Gamson, 1992, 7-8). The ‘injustice’ component refers to some grievance articulated in a form of political consciousness. It necessitates that some actors whether individuals, corporations, or government bodies are held responsible for causing the harm or suffering (Gamson, 1992, 32). Injustice frames, in this sense, will be gauged using explicit condemnation (Gamson, 1992, 37) whether voiced in conversations or statements. The ‘agency’ component denotes the consciousness of the possibility to change conditions or policies via collective action. Culture and social make-up dovetail to generate collective helplessness
(Gamson, 1992, 59). Only individual escape might occur normally through some form of emancipatory educational experience that paves the way for opportunities. Thence comes the ‘identity’ component which refers to the process of identifying a ‘we’ in opposition to a ‘they’ as a promise to foster change. Those streams of thought pertaining to framing processes could forge linkages with the notion of ‘youth subculture’. Movement members are engrossed in framing activities not solely to create a collective identity, but also to formulate an image they want to present (Aldikacti, 2001, 8). The proposed study endeavors to delineate this double articulation of MB youth subculture through engaging in framing activities.

**Delimitations of the Study**

Due to the variety of groups in Egypt, including Muslim Brotherhood, Salafists, Sufis, al-Jamaʿa al-Islamiyya, or Shiʿa, the thesis has researched the pro-change Muslim Brotherhood youth as a unit of study, whether those who are still in the Organization or those who have left it. The inclusion of supportive MB youth in the analysis could spring from a number of reasons: First, it would be important to show the big picture of MB youth and to include all various stances for the sake of comparison; second, those supportive MB youth members did not seem to have developed such strong supportive attitude toward the Organization and the FJP during the first phase of the interviews either because they were still affected by the spirit of the 25 January Revolution which has created collective action frames, or have not then been polarized by the MB’s coming to power; Third, their presence could support Mannheim’s notion of ‘contemporaneity of the contemporaneous’ and the existence of different generations within the same period. A few participants from other Islamist groups however might be interviewed but for the purpose of focusing on elections or toward exploring the generalizability of the phenomenon of an Islamist youth subculture.
Methodology

The study has employed mostly qualitative research methods based on primary sources in the form of semi-structured interviews, and content analysis of scholarly articles and books, web logs, in addition to journalistic material, drawing on the concepts of counter-hegemony and collection action frames. The 30-participant interview sample includes nine MB members, four of whom are members of Freedom and Justice party (FJP), and one has decided to freeze her position toward the MB until she figures out whether she would want to stay there irrespective of the presidential results; six ex-MB members, one of whom was one of the FJP founders; eight members from al-Tayyar Al-Misriy, seven of whom are ex-MB members, one ex-Salafist and one liberal, and three of whom are members of the Revolution Youth Coalition; two members from Misr Al-Qawiyya (Strong Egypt) who are ex-MB members; and four Salafists, one of whom is a member of the Salafist al-Nour party, and the other three are independent Salafists, one of whom belongs to Salafiyo Costa. The interviews have been conducted on two phases; the first of which has covered the period prior parliamentary elections specifically between April and mid November 2011; and the second has comprised the period since the MB has come into power precisely since end of November 2011 when the FJP has become the majority party in the 2011 parliamentary elections followed by the assumption of Muhammad Morsi as President of State until before June 30 Revolution in 2013. The interviews ranged between 20 and 80 minutes. Each participant could be interviewed between one and three times on different intervals. In addition to the interviews, two non-participant observations have been carried out; the first of which is Aboul Fotouh’s presidential final campaign festival held in Al-Gezira Youth

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8 The purpose of including Salafists in the study is to explore the linkages between MB youths and other Islamist youths.
hostel, Cairo on May 18th, 2012; and the second is the first meeting held for members of al-
Tayyar al-Misriy following the qualification of Muhammad Morsi and Ahmed Shafik for the
second round of presidential elections in both Cairo and Alexandria governorates on May 27th,
2012 in the party’s headquarters, Cairo.

First phase questions include:

How different is the Egyptian Current Party from FJP?

Would you call yourself Muslims or Islamists?

How different are you from Islamist youth in 1970s?

What is the effect of social media on you?

How do you see liberal revolutionary?

How do they differ in their orientations from the main group?

What are the indications of their choice of the al-Tayyar al-Misriy as the name of their new
party?

How do they view the extent of a generation gap within the MB?

How do they relate to main demands of the Revolution? Do they see the MB to be close or far
from these demands?

How does the MB think of the issue of adaptability in your view?

How does the MB deal with new ideas?

What is your view of the socialization process within the group?

Was Aboul Fotouh the reason for why you have created the party?

Some second phase questions:

How do you assess the performance of the MB since it has come to power?
What do you think of the relationship between the FJP and the MB Organization?

(For ex-MB members): How has your relationship with MB members being affected by leaving the Organization?

(For ex-MB members): What type of relationship do you have with non-Islamist youths? And has this been affected by the revolution?

(For MB members): Do you feel you have been given more chance for political participation or taking decisions after the revolution?

Which president are you backing? Why?

**Structure of the Study**

As indicated, the study is designed to explore the Muslim Brotherhood progress from a banned organization to one in power, in Gramscian’s formulation from a hegemonic group to a non-hegemonic one, and to investigate its impact on its youth. The first chapter offers an overall introduction and analysis including the conceptual framework and its applicability to the movement's development within and following 25 January. The second chapter attempts to compare between the worldview of the Muslim Brotherhood as the parent organization to that of the MB youth as a subcultural milieu. The third chapter is designed to explore the culmination of the Muslim Brotherhood’s hegemonizing project until its assumption to power, specifically during the period from 2006 until the 2011 parliamentary elections; and the emergence of a distinctive MB youth subculture that has managed to step on long-held hierarchical norms within the Organization. The fourth chapter analyzes the performance of the MB since it has come to power with the FJP’s 2011 landslide parliamentary victory followed by the assumption of Muhammad Morsi as President of State until before June 30, and traces the development of such
subculture where some have fused with other youths in newly established parties and groups, while others have stayed attached to the parent organization while becoming more watchful. The final chapter or conclusion is devoted to pulling the threads together by linking the progress of the MB organization and its youth subculture into the theoretical framework; and offering scenarios pertaining the relationship between the MB and its youth.
CHAPTER TWO
CULTURE AND SUBCULTURE:
THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD AND ITS YOUTH

The Notion of Culture and Subculture

Though the relationship between culture and revolution has been previously studied in the works of previous Western Marxists including Lukacs, Adorno, Horkheimer, among others, Gramsci's depiction of the organic link between culture and revolution could be deemed as the most lucid (Kandil, 2011, 38). Gramsci like other Marxists has never formulized a sufficient theorization of the notion of culture on intellectuals and on folk knowledge, still he has developed an understanding that any society always includes remnants from earlier periods (Worsley, 1984, 42-44). Culture is thus always plural as not merely classes but professions and intellectual schools impact how their members think and behave. In this sense, culture offers us a 'cognitive map', an intellectual, logical representation of the world and of its components, introducing both an ontology and cosmology. It also imparts a model of the social world and its constituents which informs us of who we are and how and why we are different from others, and which assigns us into social categories created based on different factors including age, gender, descent, occupation, among others. The categories underscored differ with respect to the worldview in question where some lay emphasis on personality types, others on classes, ethnic groups or religious affiliation. More importantly, culture entails both social and intellectual hierarchy where an array of superior values is dominated by a socially superior minority. Ruling classes upon this understanding have always displayed their culture not merely as if it were the foundation of the natural order of things but as the culture of the whole society (Worsley, 1984, 51). The working classes, in return, support such culture; in Gramsci's terminology, they consent
to be dominated by such rules in a combination of agreement or coercion, not force (Widdicombe & Woofitt, 1995, 16). In the meantime, the subordinate classes negotiate space for the coexistence of their own culture.

Such analysis has necessitated the use not solely of the notion of culture but also that of 'subculture', a notion utilized not in the anthropological study of comparatively undifferentiated societies, but in sociological studies where modern capitalism resides. Subculture first came into use by Albert Cohen (1955) who studied how groups of working-class young people experiencing 'status frustration' refuse and counter the dominant values of society by establishing their own subcultures.9 The study of 'subculture' has first focused on ethnic minorities and then moved to deviant subcultures (Worsley, 1984, 52). Deviant subcultures were both structured and principled like 'straight' ones leading to two logical extensions to this line of thought: the relativist one, which has posited that no group could argue that its value would be superior; and the more radical claim that superiority and inferiority were but products of power, of the ability of a group to impose its ideas and practices on others. The pertinent but more scarcely developed notion of 'counter-culture' has also emerged in orthodox social science, where it started to be used in the USA during the Vietnam war when the radicalization of a then apolitical youth culture has brought into existence a wider criticism of the values of US society and broader forms of resistance and rejection (Worsley, 1984, 55).

Cultural Marxists have postulated that classes are not the only related units of culture (Worsley, 1984, 58-59). Class, in this sense, could be envisaged as a category such as women or youth. The MB youth, the focus of the present study, could stand as a worthwhile category whose

9 Based on the definition of the notion of 'Subculture' as stated in the Dictionary of Youth Justice.
participation is channeled by the MB through various channels catering to specific age cohorts (Martini, Kaye & York, 2012, x). Those members are incorporated into the Organization's student section to become full-fledged members. Quantitatively speaking, members under the age of 35 constitute a significant share of the MB. They are also pivotal to the MB's outreach efforts, whether through missionary, charitable or political activities. The centrality of their role in the Organization could be manifest in al-Banna's message to them.¹⁰ Their standing as a substantial category has been clearly emphasized since 25 January in the way the stances and actions of those youths have been depicted as independent or often in contrast to the Organization.

In line with studies on youth, those young people have been born and socialized in a certain class culture, but as social circumstances differ over time, they have also been exposed to different experiences and influences from the parent culture (Widdicombe & Woofitt, 1995, 17), notably their exposure to other cultures through the Internet or other Media. Those young people have thus started to negotiate space for their own culture (more precisely, subculture) within the parent culture, whether through voicing their grievances or differences, or even breaking away from the Organization. They thus represent acts of resistance to the dominant social order, which is the crux of the study of subculture (Smith & Riley, 2011, 308-310). Such necessitates a lucid understanding of the worldview of the MB as the dominant culture in contradistinction to that of the MB youth as a subculture. Generally speaking, a worldview refers to the way an individual or a group contemplates and perceives the world; in other words, his/her view or philosophy of life (Berghout, 2007, 24). More specifically, an Islamic worldview refers to the

¹⁰ See Al-Banna’s message to MB youth, posted on May 15th, 2013, available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=97k_voYyfY0 (accessed on August 30th, 2013)
collective Ummatic vision of existence by means of which Muslims could find answers to the ultimate questions about the Creator, the concrete and metaphysical realities, the universe, vicegerency, society, history and the afterlife.

The Muslim Brotherhood Worldview

Inspired by some Islamic thinkers, notably Muhammad Rashid Rida, al-Banna has introduced the Muslim Brotherhood Worldview in his books and *rasa'il* (messages) which has been further elaborated in the writings of a number MB thinkers including Muhammad Said Hawwa, Ibrahim Qa'ud, Farid Abdel Khalek, Fahmi Huwaydi, Tariq Al-Bishri, among others. Such worldview was further influenced by the writings of Sayyid Qutb who has envisaged the Islamic concept as enjoying unique features that distinguish it from all other concepts, endowing it with an independent personality and a distinctive character of its own (Qutb, 2006, 41). All those features are integrated into a single property, the property of Divinity, where the source that has constructed the concept is the same that has created Man; namely, God.

Reality

Accordingly, to prove any reality whether concrete as seeing the burning of a fire or metaphysical as witnessing the death of a kingdom would be by the power of God (Hawwa, 1977a, 227-229). Only God is the doer and thus a Muslim shares a disbeliever in taking actions to reach a certain goal, but differs in his depending on God alone; thereby lies his sense of belief. The Muslim is accordingly endowed with a limitless sense of tranquility before any event since he trusts that God will be with him, whether in life or in the after-life. In fact, the after-life is the most important issue in our existence after that of deity and is thus inseparable of belief in God (Hawwa, 1977a, 230-231). Such issue is thus pivotal to a Muslim's actions and beliefs, and
accordingly people could be categorized into: disbelievers who want life and have no other goal, and Muslims who want the after-life and have no other goal. This does not entail that a Muslim does not care at all about life, but that life itself is like a passage to another goal.

Some people claim that life is the one where we are living and that the universe where we exist is eternal (Hawwa, 1977, 110-111). Those have depended on their senses since they have not seen what is after death. Not because we do not touch or sense something means that it does not exist. In fact, most thinkers and philosophers believe that the universe will perish at some point. But the universe cannot be created only to perish (Hawwa, 1977, 128). God cannot have created this world particularly Man without a purpose. Man has been endowed with mind, understanding, will and choice, so he would not have been created just to live for some years then to perish. All the world evidences show that this world is changing following a theory of development, and that every move or cycle indicates some type of progress from deficiency to perfection.

**Society**

On a narrower scale lies the notion of society. For the MB, the society they aspire for is the one where Man feels at comfort; namely, that of Islam and Islamic justice (Hawwa, 1980, 39). A Muslim only feels secured within this society and a non-Muslim does as well otherwise he would have changed his religion or have escaped. The Islamic rules governing such society could be categorized into unquestionable rules and those that could be negotiated among Islamic Imams through *ijtihād* (judgment) where they seek what works best for the people and within the existing time. Within the MB *weltanschauung*, those who think that Islamic application could denote retardation or falling short of the spirit of the time are totally mistaken.
From a locational standpoint, a person lives in circles: a family circle, a neighborhood circle, a syndicate circle, the state circle, the Islamic umma circle and the human circle, where the Qur'an is the entire approach for all circles of human life (Hawwa, 1977a, 271-272). In this sense the Qur'an organizes the relationship between the Islamic umma and the outside world and with non-Muslims inside. It also controls all forms of relations among states syndicates, the neighborhood till the family level. That entire and comprehensive approach could only be followed by: knowing it, submitting to its regulations, and by the men who shoulder the responsibility of implementing it at any level or any circle; hence the rule of God prevails and every person is endowed with piety, as there is no Islam without men, no Islam without submitting to God's will, and no Islam without knowledge. Hawwa has referred to the notion of hizb Allah (party of God) and has indentified jihad as the main moral featuring hizb Allah in order to raise the word of God whether such jihad is political, financial, military, educational or verbal (Hawwa, 1977a, 23-27). He has stated that al-Banna has assembled the meanings of Hizb Allah in his portrayal of the MB as "God is our Goal, the Prophet is our model, the Qur'an is before our eyes, the jihad is our means, and death for the sake of God is our hope" (Hawwa, 1977a, 28). Hawwa has further identified two revolutions, the first of which was an already finished national revolution fueled by Muslims against Western Imperialism; whereas the second revolution which should be more violent needs to materialize through the establishment of Hizb Allah by Islamists with the goal of struggling against apostates and all forms of economic, political and intellectual subordination to imperialism (Hawwa, 1977a, 46). The importance of jihad thereby is manifest so that God's will prevails and the individual finds himself in a position conducive to piety. Seven types of jihad have been stated in the Qur'an or the Prophet's Sunna: lingual jihad, educational jihad, jihad by action or by self, political jihad, or jihad by money (Hawwa, 1977a, 28). By lingual jihad, we
mean verbal jihad against aberration so that a person could go back to Islam, whereas educational jihad refers to making an effort with whoever complies with Islam so as to be educated and cultured in an Islamic manner (Hawwa, 1977a, 374). As to the jihad by action or self, it could be categorized into two types: an external jihad against disbelievers who we have to attack or defend in order to help the word of God have the upper hand; and a less obvious internal jihad in Dar al-Islam against all forms of apostasy and immorality which have spread within Islamic states (Hawwa, 1977a, 380). Moving to political jihad, we could find that it depends on the type of government where the Muslim lives which could be classified into three types (Hawwa, 1977a, 389-391). Within a just Islamic state, jihad denotes all forms of obedience, loyalty and protection of such government against its enemies. But in a deviant Islamic state, the only separator between Muslims and the ruling body is prayer. So if they are committed to praying, they are not fought; but if they are not, they are fought until they are deposed. In case of being ruled by disbelievers or apostates or imperialists, Muslims can't but fight them in order to uproot such disbelieving rule (Hawwa, 1977a, 393). And if they cannot fight them, they need to prepare themselves otherwise they will be considered sinners. A Muslim who raises the slogan of not participating in political issues, either does not understand Islam, or is a coward who does not support strongly the rule of Islam (Hawwa, 1977a, 398-399). Those who commit themselves and their followers to not participating in political action are thus double-sinners. Finally, though jihad by money is different from zakat (almmsgiving), the zakat money can be spent on means of jihad like playing a salary to a poor man who is struggling for the sake of God (Hawwa, 1977a, 414).
The Islamic Umma

Focusing on the Islamic Umma circle, the MB seeks a nation where prayers and *zakat* are performed, the good is freely called for and the bad is freely inhibited; all of which is not existent (Hawwa, 1980, 34). It also aspires to attain the goals of Islam in politics, economics, peace, war, society, education and media, which is also nonexistent. At bottom, the MB aspires to establish the state of God in each and every country, to support the Shari'ā of God and to revitalize the *Sunna* of His Prophet, to unite God's nation and to strive for God until the entire world submits to the word of God (Hawwa, 1980, 45). Hawwa has expounded that the Islamic Umma is confronting a massive cultural challenge emblemized in the Western culture with its two sides; namely, capitalism and communism (Hawwa, 1977a, 151-152). According to Hawwa, the real danger lies in the superiority of those powers both militarily and materialistically, and that weak nations often tend to imitate strong nations from one side and the strong ones attempt to dissolve the personalities of weak nations from another. He has added that strong nations also tend to ascribe their power to their beliefs, culture and behavior in life and in most cases weak nations believe so, and thus try to believe in other people's beliefs, which is actually what the Islamic Umma is suffering from. Hawwa has further enumerated those enemies to Islamic Umma as the Masonic, Rotary and Lions clubs; intelligence circles who act as the spies of the US, UK and France; all existing parties with their different orientations whether capitalist, democratic, communist, socialist or nationalist; schools running under the auspices of foreign institutions whether missionary or secular; publishing houses following those institutions, as well as journals and magazines calling for their ideas; all those calling for pornography and anarchism; and finally preachers calling for blasphemy whether following foreign or local schools of thought (Hawwa, 1977a, 150-151).
The type or form of government does not matter however as long as it abides by the general rules of Islamic government premised on *khilāfa* or *Imāma*, the existence of consultative institutions, and the conformity to the *Hakimiyya* (governmentality) of God by adhering to the Qur'an and the Sunna (Hawwa, 1980, 32-33). Al-Banna has specified certain traits to be found in the Islamic government including having pity on citizens, enforcing justice, maintaining security, guarding money, developing education, improving morals, and spreading *da‘wa*. If the Islamic government performs its duties, people should be loyal and obedient to it and should assist it by all means. But if that government falls short of its duties, people should offer advice and guidance, then oust it as a final resort.

Within the MB's endeavors to establish united Islamic states, each of those states will follow its own rules and institutions in accordance with the jurisprudential doctrine as ratified by the state citizens, language, and habits (Hawwa, 1980, 18). All the Islamic states would however submit somehow to the authority of *‘amīr al-mu‘minīn* (Commander of Believers) and the central state apparatuses within a constitution and institutions that serve all.

**Morals and Resolution**

Al-Banna has stipulated seven goals, starting from the individual Muslim, then the Muslim house, moving to the Muslim people, then the Islamic government, and afterwards the nucleus Muslim state, and finally the global Islamic state. To fashion an individual Muslim as the first goal, three elements should be present; namely, a breeder, an appropriate method and a righteous environment, where a deficiency in any of the three would result in a deficiency in producing the Muslim personality unless he is compensated somehow by God (Hawwa, 1980, 47). For an individual brother to mature, whether man, woman or child, s/he should go through a number of
psychic and scientific training sessions (Hawwa, 1980, 48). The *šu'ba* (branch) in this case should also include a branch for women's work and another for children. While bringing up children, it would be important to work on preparing them for the post-puberty period physically, mentally and psychically, and to train them on chivalry and its morals in addition to athletics. It should also be noted that children have a strong memory and thus should be encouraged to recite a great deal of the Qur'an and Sunna. As for women, issues related to them should be added to common issues, and some issues need to be stressed including stories of good women and preaching, in addition to women's books. Moving to the Muslim house, the second goal, every brother should pay much care to his home; women's activity should also be given some attention through holding public and private women's sessions and through the worldwide formation of the Muslim sisters; early marriage and marrying widows should be encouraged; brothers and sisters should also marry each other rather than marry from outside the Group and they should be assisted to do so; a brother should connect his children and brothers to the MB. The aforementioned conditions should be enforced before and after the MB comes to power, but after power, the ministry of *awqāf* (religious endowments), *zakat* funds and the public treasury should all collaborate to facilitate the establishment of a Muslim house (Hawwa, 1980, 49). As for the third goal, the Muslim people, al-Banna has seen it as prerequisite to create an Islamic government though he would reckon the MB as too prudent to attempt to become in power (Hawwa, 1980, 50-51). For the Muslim people to materialize, al-Banna has stated that this requires defining Islam and the MB and the formation stage based on the morals of Islam by means of holding public and private sessions, *'usar* (families) and *katā'ib* (battalions), calling for the good and inhibiting the bad. The discourse addressed to the people thereby needs to include defining Islam and building up people's confidence that the Group could guarantee their basic
needs, and raising the MB members on showing the highest degree of self-sacrifice. Coming to the fourth goal, the Islamic government in each state, al-Banna explicated that coming to power is not the MB goal for its own sake, but the real goal is to establish an Islamic rule (Hawwa, 1980, 55). Thus, if the MB finds someone who could take up this responsibility in accordance with a Qur'anic Islamic method, the Group will be his soldiers and supporters; otherwise they will work on extracting the rule from any government that does not follow God's commands. Al-Banna has further asserted that the MB could only resort to force when there is no alternative in order to come to power (Hawwa, 1980, 58). Interestingly enough, the MB does not consider revolution, depend on it, or believe in its worth, still the Group holds that if no reform happens, a revolution must take place but not through the MB. The fifth goal is to create the nucleus Muslim state, citing al-Banna, the state which leads Islamic states, unite Muslims, restore their glory and their lost land (Hawwa, 1980, 63). Attaining this goal necessitates coordinated and united work from start under one leadership, precisely working within one call, one organization, one planning and one education. Then the sixth goal, the establishment of a one Islamic state, in other words, the establishment of a state of united Islamic states which enfolds all Islamic states in one state under one central leadership represented by the Prophet's Khalīfa (successor), until we finally reach the seventh goal; namely, the establishment of the global Islamic state, which extends to all peoples in the world (Hawwa, 1980, 63-64).

To attain its goals, Al-Banna has identified three stages for the MB da'wa (call); namely, al-ta'rīf (introduction), al-takwīn (formation), and al-tanfidh (implementation) (Hawwa, 1980, 65-66). Al-ta'rīf refers to the stage of spreading the general idea among people through advice and guidance from one side and establishing serviceable institutions from another, where utter obedience is not required in such stage as long as the general MB principles are respected, so
anyone is welcome to join. By *al-takwīn* stage, al-Banna means such phase of extracting the good elements for jihad. Such stage of *daʿwa* could be characterized as both Sufi and military-oriented in the sense that it is premised on utter obedience, and thus it targets specific people. *al-tanfīdḥ*, as the last stage, necessitates a high level of jihad and persevering work toward attaining the MB goals.

Hawwa has characterized the *daʿwa* process as both broad and arduous in the modern age as no one place exists where a Muslim can call for all aspects of Islam (Hawwa, 1977a, 156-157). *Al-daʿwa* has thus become applied in a partial fashion where one group calls for part of Islam, another specializes in another aspect of it and so on. As a result, each of those groups would acquire a specific experience and *fiqh* and undoubtedly performs a service to God and his religion but in its own way, and accordingly all aspects of Islam would be covered. This however necessitates some form of coordination among those groups.

On the individual level, Hawwa has pointed out three morals as cited from the Qur'an; namely, *al-taqwa* (piety), *ibtighā' al-wasīla* (seeking the means) and jihad, noting that jihad has not been as well observed by Muslims as *al-taqwa*, and that the latter also has not been grasped in a right and comprehensive manner as stated in the Qur'an (Hawwa, 1977a, 168). He has expounded that there lies a difference between the personality of the first Muslims in the old ages who have acquired all aspects of Islamic morals, and the Muslims in the ensuing ages who have revealed some magnified aspects of Islam at the expense of others. Evidently, all the afore-mentioned morals typify Hizb Allah, and bringing back those morals is the only means to conquer apostasy or the current pseudo-apostasy spreading in the Islamic world (Hawwa, 1977a, 169-171). Al-Banna has stipulated ten morals to be undertaken by an MB brother in his *bayfā* (pledge):
understanding, loyalty, work, jihad, sacrifice, obedience, steadiness, impartiality, brotherhood
and trust (Hawwa, 1980, 84-85).

From an organizational standpoint, al-Banna has classified MB membership into six levels that
could be summarized into four; namely, 'ansār (supporters), mujāhidīn (jihadists), nuqabā'
(captains) and (nuwwāb) deputies, where each has its own scientific and cultural approach and its
features and obligations, and the move to a higher level of membership or staying at the same
level is based on the scientific gains, conformity to those features, and level of commitment
(Hawwa, 1980, 72-74). If a Brother, for instance, wants to move from the level of supporter to
the level of mujahid, he needs to study the aspects of Hizb Allah as mentioned in the Qur'an, and
to conform to the features of the divine soldier which necessitates obedience to the divine
leadership. The key to attain tarbiyya (education) throughout the levels of membership is the
public and private scientific circles, seminars and training as organized and insured by the MB
organization.

Non-Muslims

Though the Islamic government should depend on Muslim members who abide by Islamic
commandments, it might assign non-Muslims if necessary to assume positions except for the
position of the general ruler (Hawwa, 1980, 32). In such case, a contractual treaty could be
concluded with non-Muslim through which they are dealt with once in power. In personal status
issues, non-Muslims could be governed by their laws and courts under the auspices of the
ministry of justice, but if they would opt for our judgment or if the case under scrutiny lies
between them and between Muslims, Islamic Shari'a should be the arbiter.
The issue of Copts' rights has stood amongst the most debatable issues in the MB literature, where there has always been an attempt to reconcile between the two ideas of 'citizenship' and 'Dhimmis' (Fawzi, 2009, 192-193). Within the current state system, the MB regards the Copts as full citizens; and based on a historical formulation, the state is Islamic, and so are the Government and the society, which categorizes citizens based on their religion, and thus non-Muslims are treated as 'People of the Scripture' in accordance with Islamic rules and historical experience.

Regarding the MB relations with non-Muslims beyond the Islamic Umma, the MB foreign policy is based on interests for interests, but if some state violates such rule by opting for instance for exchanging interests for values, that would not be acceptable (Hawwa, 1980, 18). The Organization could however be extremely tolerant with the goal of spreading Islam. If it accepts general rules, it applies within itself an Islamic interpretation of such rules. As an example, if MB participates in the UN, it commits itself to interpreting the UN treaties based on Islamic principles only.

Before it came into power, the Organization has always resorted to anti-Westernism as a vehicle to sustain popular support (Pargeter, 2013, 254-255). This does not entail that the MB was reluctant to engage with US government at different instances even before 25 January revolution, where some Brotherhood MPs have shown willingness to meet with US diplomats. After 25 January, the MB has demonstrated equal keenness to meet with US officials, since it has calculated that the regional and international legitimacy it would amass from US recognition would outweigh the populist praise it has gained from its former clash with the US. The Organization has thus taken a middle course showing that it is not inimical to the US, but to demonstrate clearly meanwhile that the MB is working on establishing a more balanced and
equal relationship with the West particularly the US than Mubarak's regime. A pertinent example is President Morsi's vowing in his first public speech following his presidency to free Omar Abdel Rahman who was convicted of helping plan an attack on the WTC in New York back in 1993.

**MB Worldview from Theory to Practice**

Toward the goal of implementing the comprehensive Islamic project in all various aspects whether on the religious, social, cultural, economic and finally political spheres, the MB has faced another challenge; precisely speaking, it has realized that the prevailing democratic political pattern necessitates that the MB perform certain activities in a specific institution as distinct from the organizational structure of the MB (Habib, 2009, 17-18). The keyword was to establish a political party, represented by the Freedom and Justice party (FJP).

As stated in the party's 2011 election program, the FJP goals stand on the state level as the party works on "building a free, stable, strong, leading and advanced country"\(^{11}\) and on establishing a comprehensive system toward attaining development, social justice and national security, based on the priorities of Egyptian citizens. The issue of citizenship, touching on the status of non-Muslims, is thus pinpointed as amongst the most important characteristics of the state within the FJP program, where all citizens should have equal rights and equal opportunities without any form of religious or race discrimination (p.11). It is worthy to note that the issue of citizenship has constituted one of the major tricky points for the MB partly due to the broad spectrum of moderate Islam within the MB from left centrist to right centrist (Fawzi, 2009, 182), and since

\(^{11}\) For further information see the election program of the Freedom and Justice Party, p. 1, available at:  
Copts have generally been treated by the MB as "one political bloc" representing the religious minority regardless of their political, cultural and social differences (Fawzi, 2009, 185-188). The notion of citizenship for the FJP as shown in its program thus seems to differ from that of the MB which places the 'belief' connection as superior to 'geographic boundaries'. Even the MB program in the 2007 Shura council elections which has remarkably made great strides in acknowledging the equality between Muslims and Copts in terms of rights and duties, did not address the issue of assuming general rule (Fawzi, 2009, 196). Still, like the MB, the FJP program did not clearly elucidate how those rights will be ascertained and did not touch on the issue of assuming general rule.

With its coming to power, the MB has fallen into a serious conundrum, where the Organization is excruciatingly cognizant that the more it foregoes core religious principles and the more it is pushed by the demands of realpolitik to concede on controversial issues as foreign policy, the role of Copts and women, the more it ventures losing some of its more conservative support base to the Salafist camp (Pargeter, 2013, 254-255). The MB has thus opted for playing it hardly on issues of public morality for the purpose of satisfying its support base in order to be granted flexibility in other domains, as the economy or foreign policy. In many instances, it has conjured the issue of Shari‘a to satisfy its more conservative followers.

**The MB Youth Subcultural Worldview**

In comparison, the worldview of the MB youth could be elicited from their writings in their blogs, the statements of those who have joined parties or the mission statement of the parties
they have established.\textsuperscript{12} It is important however to distinguish between the writings of the MB youth bloggers who generally to my knowledge have followed a political track through joining or establishing a political parity, and those who have not,\textsuperscript{13} in terms of their vision of the ultimate goal. Still such difference does not conflict with their standing as a subculture since the literature on subcultures reveal that those groups could lie on a subcultural continuum in terms of their resistance or assimilation to the dominant culture (Williams, 2013, 12).

\textbf{The Islamic Project}

The launching point of comparison between the MB culture and its youth subculture is the level of 'sacredness' attached to the applicability of the Islamic project, where the MB youth tend to be more 'critical' of it in different degrees. Those who have not followed any political track whether through establishing or joining political parties look at the application of the Islamic project with a critical eye. In his article, "\textit{cafwan .. 'ana lastu Islamiyyan!}" (Excuse me .. I am not an Islamist!), Ahmed Al-Ga'ali invites those who hold the banner of the Islamic project to understand that the project is open to research and investigation.\textsuperscript{14} It could accordingly apply valuable elements from Secularism, Liberalism, Democracy, Socialism, Capitalism or Nationalism as long as it does not conflict with the Godly principles. In a similar way and in response to Alaa Al-Aswani's article on Islamists, Abdel Rahman Rashwan admits that Islamists

\textsuperscript{12} The blogs and articles selected are mainly written by the participants in the study or are referred to by them. The content after 25 January has tended more to address issues related to Egypt compared to earlier postings and writings that have focused more on internal issues within the MB Organization.

\textsuperscript{13} Most of those who have not joined any parties would prefer to get involved in some intellectual activity rather than political at this stage since they feel that that was not the right time for parties.

\textsuperscript{14} Ahmed al-Ga'ali, "\textit{cafwan .. 'ana lastu Islamiyyan!}" (Excuse me .. I am not an Islamist!), Alamat online, September 15\textsuperscript{th}, 2011, available at: http://www.alamatonline.net/l3.php?id=11394 (accessed on September 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2013)
treat the Islamic history as sacred though it was made by humans, and thus could be subject to mistakes.\textsuperscript{15} The Islamic project is also not as ubiquitous as stipulated by al-Banna. In this sense, it retains its importance as a means rather than a goal, as manifested in Al-Ga'ali's depiction of the Islamic project as delicate frills that should keep things on track toward attaining human happiness and spreading tolerance and justice.\textsuperscript{16}

The comparison is more evident for those who have joined or established political parties, who seem to have no dominant vision of the Islamic project in comparison to the MB parent culture. They further demonstrate a relatively less emphasized Islamic identity compared to those who have not joined parties, which could partly be ascribed to the political dimension they represent. \textit{Al-Tayyar al-Misriy} party under construction for instance introduces itself not as an Islamist party but as a civil one that works on bolstering the main stream in Egypt encompassing the majority of Egyptians.\textsuperscript{17} The party thus devotes considerable attention to the basic needs of citizens away from ideological calculations, but it certainly respects its cultural, Arab, Islamic and African heritage. The party under construction adopts the values of freedom and democratic circulation, underscores the role of civil society and the importance of applying social justice standards in all aspects of life. Unlike the FJP which has explicitly linked Shari'\textsuperscript{a} to morals,\textsuperscript{18}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{15} For further information see \url{http://ikhwanyouth.blogspot.com/2007/01/blog-post_05.html} (translated by the researcher).
\item \textsuperscript{16} Ahmed al-Ga'ali, "\textit{afwan .. 'ana lastu Islamiyyan!}" (Excuse me .. I am not an Islamist!), \textit{Alamat online}, September 15\textsuperscript{th}, 2011, available at: \url{http://www.alamatonline.net/l3.php?id=11394} (accessed on September 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2013)
\item \textsuperscript{17} For more information see the \textit{at-tayyar al-misri} Facebook page, available at: \url{https://www.facebook.com/TMParty/info} (accessed on August 2\textsuperscript{nd}, 2013)
\item \textsuperscript{18} For further information see the election program of the Freedom and Justice Party, p. 10-11, available at:
\end{itemize}
the *al-Tayyar al-Misriy* has mentioned morals as amongst its foundations but without furnishing it with an Islamic reference.\(^1\)

*Misr al-Qawiyya* party, in comparison, though envisages Islam as a superior reference, reckons that Islam should not be a domain of political conflict, and rejects the mixing between the proselytizing and charitable activity on one side and the political one.\(^2\) Maged El-Gendy, Acting Party Head has deemed the definition of the party as Islamist Centrist incorrect, confirming that the party ideology could be represented in its disposition toward social justice and independence of national decision.\(^3\)

**Umma versus Nation State**

Similarly, the two MB youth groups lie on a continuum regarding the MB Original Ummatic vision. If al-Banna has deemed the nucleus Muslim state as the fifth goal toward establishing the global Islamic state, the writings of those who have not joined parties demonstrate that the notion of the Umma and the nation state affiliation are complementary. In his blog, Ibrahim al-Houdaiby praised the Turkish project which could merge between the Ummatic affiliation and

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the nation state one. In the same vein, Muhammad al-Mohandes hailed the experience of both Erdogan in Turkey who has succeeded in rendering Turkey a big regional power by embracing an un-khomeini approach away from selling revolutions or raising slogans, and that of Lula da Silva in Brazil who was more preoccupied in defending the rights of the poor rather than defending ideologies as liberalism or socialism.

In line with al-Banna's vision, those MB bloggers and writers who have not joined parties still reckon that religion should not be separated from politics since religion represents more a weltanschauung or worldview for Egyptians with its value system and legislative guidelines, rather than a set of rituals. In his famous Ikhwanyouth blog, Abdel Rahman Rashwan describes the ideal state according to Islamists (which he represents) as modern, civil, democratic, just, and respectful of religion, and that Islam should be the state's pivot such that its social, educational, cultural, legislative and military systems should abide by the vision of Islam. They thus want Islam to prevail in the public sphere and not just in the private sphere.

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23 For further detail see Muhammad al-Mohandes' blog Ikhwani Akhwati (My brothers and Sisters), posted on October 9th, 2011, available at: http://ikhwany.blogspot.com/ (accessed on August 13th, 2013)


For those who have established or joined a political party, the state is (or at least is claimed to be) the ultimate goal. According to Islam Lotfy, ex-MB member and founding member of the al-Tayyar al-Misriy, their goals are different from the Organization since they hold the state's best interest as their priority. The al-Tayyar al-Misriy party aims to restore and boost the leading role of Egypt in the region, and deems the Egyptian citizen as the real capital for the Egyptian state. The party operates with a vision that aims to place the income of the Egyptian citizen among the 10 highest rates all over the world by 2030 and to grant him all basic rights and freedoms for a full human dignity, and to classify the Egyptian state among the 10 highest states on the political, economic, scientific and military spheres.

In the same vein, Misr al-Qawiyya party deems the state as its main goal, where the party's mission is to contribute to building up a strong independent country such that Egypt could be one of the 20 strongest countries on the economic, political, scientific and military spheres. The party thus works on raising the value of Egyptian citizens and places higher values as superior to the party's interests. The Misr al-Qawiyya party thereby lists a number of values including moral practice, commitment, sharing, transparency, responsibility, accountability and professionalism, without giving them an Islamic reference as the case of Al-Tayyar al-Misriy. Though Misr al-Qawiyya has referred to the moderate Islamic constituent as a defining characteristic of the


27 For more information see the at-tayyar al-misri Facebook page, available at: https://www.facebook.com/TMParty/info (accessed on August 2nd, 2013)

28 For more detail, see Strong Egypt Party regulation on its Facebook page, available at: https://www.facebook.com/MisrAlQawia/app_208195102528120 (accessed on August 11th, 2013)
Egyptian identity, it has stressed that such identity does not belong to the religion of certain group rather than another but relates to the common values and history among its citizens.

Apparently, the two breakaway parties, notably Al-Tayyar al-Misriy, are attempting to depart from being defined as Islamist parties by stating so on their homepages or Facebook pages or in the founding members' statements and interviews. Still, the two parties do not seem to divorce themselves completely from their Islamic-proneness, which could be elicited from the two model parties of the Tunisian al-Nahda and the Turkish Justice and Development party (AKP) invoked by Muhammad al-Qassas, one of the Al-Tayyar al-Misriy party founders, as two success stories party models.29 The case is more obvious in Misr al-Qawiyya party as demonstrated from the statements given by Ahmed Imam, member of the party political office, that the party reference is Islamic like others that respect the Shari'a but its implementation is through action rather than slogans.30

Organizational Unity

Organizationally speaking, those youths have been critical of the way the MB leadership has limited al-Banna's comprehensive worldview in building up a strong iron-like organization with

29 For further information see interview conducted by Mahmoud Shaaban Bayoumi with Muhammad al-Qassas, On Islam, November 13th, 2011, available at:


30 For further information see the article published by Mahmoud Osman & Hani Al-Houti, Al-Youm 7, June 2nd, 2013, available at:

the goal of implementing the Islamic project for change (Tammam, 2012, 34-35). As shown from the Ikhwanyouth blog, those youth strongly believe in al-Banna's definition of the MB as not simply a political party, nor a charitable society or a sports body but a comprehensive entity encompassing all aspects of life. They even believe that the MB leadership has deviated from al-Banna's ideas by restricting the MB comprehensive worldview to the Organization, as exhibited from the guiding quote of Muhammad Hamza in his blog "Wahid min al-Ikhwan" (One of the Ikhwan), stating that the MB is an intellectual entity and not an organization, and thus parts of such intellect could possibly develop. Most of their writings thus seem to be on a narrower scope focusing on organizational issues such as the MB internal elections, or Egyptian events. As a reaction to an article written by one of the MB figures who has justified the philosophy of docility and subordination within the MB Organization, Abdel Moneim Mahmoud has criticized the way the MB leadership and their literature have confused the organizational bay'a (pledge) to the MB with the shahada or pledge to God, such that those who would disagree or dissent against the Organization are described as deprived from the blessing of God. At bottom, those youth represent a reaction to a culture of loyalty and obedience, which

31 With 25 January and the MB's subsequent coming to power, the MB has further turned to the state in lieu of the Organization as the means toward achieving its goals, and has thus appointed the MB cadres as state cadres, which might result in merging the Organization into the state. For more detail see Rafik Habib's post on Facebook, August 12th, 2012, available at: https://www.facebook.com/rafeeq.habeeb/posts/336539013099811 (accessed on August 11th, 2013)

32 For further information see Abdel Rahman Rashwan's posting on Ikhwanyouth blog, October 24th, 2006, available at: http://ikhwanyouth.blogspot.com/2006/10/2.html

33 see Muhammad Hamza's blog "wahid min al-Ikhwan" (One of the Ikhwan), March 28th, 2009, available at: http://mohamza80.blogspot.com/

34 For further information see Abdel Moneim Mahmoud's blog "afkaarii" (My Thoughts), posted on November 1st, 2012, available at:
could be clearly shown from Magdi Saad’s article entitled ‘teach yourselves rebellion, wonder and throwing stones’ in his famous blog *Yalla Mesh Mohem* (Whatever, It Doesn't Matter)*\(^{35}\)* where he states that no human group could achieve progress if its members surrender to the existing common patterns whether intellectual or organizational.

Those youth could thus emblemize some form of resistance against the parent organization that deems old age with high respect and worthiness of assuming leadership positions and decision-taking (which could reflect the trend within the broader Egyptian society). As stated in the *al-Tayyar al-Misriy* mission statement, the party introduces itself as a youth party established by a group of young people who have participated in 25 January, attended the first constitutive meeting for the party*\(^{36}\)* and drafted the party proposal and its vision, as potential decision makers in the near future.*\(^{37}\)* In this respect, the party works on presenting a different pattern of political participation which depends on the youth not the old unlike what has been previously practiced.

The *Misr al-Qawiyya* Party could also be categorized as a youth-dominated party (Abdalla, 2013, 8), perhaps in a relatively less emphatic tone. The founding members of the *Misr al-

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\(^{35}\) For further detail see Magdi Saad’s blog *Yalla Mesh Mohem*, available at:


\(^{36}\) For more information see the *at-tayyar al-misri* Facebook page, available at:


\(^{37}\) For further information see interview conducted by Mahmoud Shaaban Bayoumi with Muhammad El-Qassas, *On Islam*, November 13th, 2011, available at:

Qawiyya Party include a significant number of ex-MB members who dissented against the Organization due to its lack of internal democracy and lack of potentials for participation, in addition to revolutionary youth who took part in Aboul Fotouh's presidential campaign and deem him as representing the goals of 25 January revolution (Abdalla, 2013, 4). The absence of old age political figures other than Aboul Fotouh has also allowed the presentation of youth in leadership positions and in all decision-making bodies including the party's political bureau (Abdalla, 2013, 7).

Impact of MB Tarbiyya (Education)

Still as a subculture, those MB youth share the same universals where they strongly believe in the importance of the knowledge imparted on them from the *tarbiyya* (education) they have acquired through their MB affiliation. In his well-known blog *Ikhwani Akhwati* (My MB Brothers and Sisters), Muhammad al-Mohandes praises the process of *tarbiyya* as what clearly distinguishes the MB from other groups or parties.38 More elaborately, the MB Group is premised on educating Muslim individuals in a proper Islamic way on three main tracks: worshipping faith, behavioral morals, and proselytizing activity. Al-Mohandes yet could notice some deficiency in the MB *tarbiyya* product these days that would need to be reconsidered in order to assure that it would correspond to the individual Muslim as posited by al-Banna.

Same Universals but More Open to Western Ideology

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38 For further detail see Muhammad al-Mohandes' blog *Ikhwani Akhwati* (My brothers and Sisters), posted on October 9th, 2011, available at:

Since those youths share the same universals with the parent culture, their writings are particularly scant on issues related to ultimate reality which could appear on certain religious occasions. In the blog *nujum al-Hira* (Stars of Confusion), the writer has referred to the belief in the unseen as the first characteristic of pious people on the occasion of Ramadan.\(^{39}\) He states that what lies behind legislation could be grasped by the mind through *ijtihād*, but there remains certain dimensions related to the unseen that lie beyond the scope of the mind. The unseen in this respect could relate to place, time, existence or universe. In his blog "wahid min al-Ikhwan" (One of the Ikhwan), Muhammad Hamza has referred to the general *maqāsid* of Shari'a (purposes of Shari'a) as the key to reconcile theory and practice offering a framework for Islamic reference.\(^{40}\) He has explicated that the Islamic Shari'a framework is premised on four legislative levels, the first of which is the level of choosing a reference by the Umma; the second level is that of Qur'anic verses and frequent Prophet sayings; the third deals with the interpretations of texts in the second level; and finally the fourth has to do with the practical side known as *fiqh*. Hamza has expounded that if the Umma rejected the Islamic reference and opted for another as Liberalism, for instance, it would not be obliged to apply the Shari'a texts. For elaboration purposes, Hamza has shed some light on some Western ideologies by juxtaposing Islam and Liberalism in the way both for instance have rendered the nation a sort of authority, or comparing Islam with Capitalism in the way Islam, unlike Capitalism, has emancipated the supply and demand forces and established a social system to repair such deficiency; namely,

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\(^{39}\) For further detail see blog "Nujum al-Hira" (stars of confusion), posted on September 26\(^{th}\), 2008, available at: [http://www.nojoomol7era.blogspot.com/](http://www.nojoomol7era.blogspot.com/) (accessed on August 13\(^{th}\), 2013)

\(^{40}\) For more information see Muhammad Hamza's blog "Wahid min al-Ikhwan" (One of the Ikhwan), March 28\(^{th}\), 2009, available at: [http://mohamza80.blogspot.com/](http://mohamza80.blogspot.com/)
zakat. Muhammad Hamza thus like other MB youth members have tended to draw comparisons between Islam and Western ideologies, thus highlighting some difference between the MB parent culture which would only focus on the Islamic worldview, and its youth members who have been more open to other cultures and thus their worldview would enfold both an Islamic and a Western vision. In another blog, Ahmed Al-Ga'ali has written about the notion of 'affiliation' in the Western thought, and has then moved to explicating the notion within Islam.\textsuperscript{41} He writes that the philosophy of Islam is based on emancipating Man from all forms of restrictions such that his first affiliation would be to God and the values of justice, truth and humanity, expounding that through such values it would be easy for Man to deal with any of the circles of affiliation whether nation, nationalism, espousers of his religion, his political party, intellectual methodology, sports club, race, and job.

Non-Muslims

The idea of 'Dhimmis' does not seem to exist among MB youth who tend to emphasize Copts' citizenship rights. In this sense, Ibrahim al-Houdaiby, an ex-MB youth, has called for the need to dismantle some of the MB ideas especially after importing the Wahabi ideas since the 1970s such that the Salafi ideas have started to shape the MB discourse.\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{41} For further detail see Ahmed El-Ga’ali’s article, “Tartib Dawa’ir al-Intima’ .. Nasiha li-kul al-Shabab” (Ordering Affiliation Circles .. Advice to All Youth), \textit{Ikhwan Online}, April 3\textsuperscript{rd}, 2012, available at: \url{http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/v3/Article.aspx?ArtID=102735&SecID=303} (accessed on June 6\textsuperscript{th}, 2013)

Likewise, the *al-Tayyar al-Misriy* which represents those youth denounces all forms of suppression of the Copts by the State and raises the slogan of "Egypt for all Egyptians".\(^{43}\) In this respect, the party believes in the importance of issuing a law for common worship place. From another side, Muhammad al-Shehawi, who was in charge of Aboul Fotouh's campaign has asserted that *Misr al-Qawiyya* works on confirming the value of citizenship so that Copts could participate earnestly in managing the country.\(^{44}\)

**Democracy**

The understanding and application of the notion of democracy could constitute one of the pivotal points of disagreement between the MB culture and its youth subculture. According to Ibrahim al-Houdaiby, though accepting democracy and political pluralism constitute two principles (out of four) that have sustained the unity of the MB as an organization in spite of the ideological differences inside it, those principles are interpreted differently by MB members, bearing in mind that those following a Salafist or Qutbist vision within the Organization have a very limited understanding of the notion of democracy and pluralism since they believe in the existence of a central robust state that would play an important role in boosting good morals and values.\(^{45}\)

\(^{43}\) For further information see interview conducted by Mahmoud Shaaban Bayoumi with Muhammad El-Qassas, *On Islam*, November 13\(^{th}\), 2011, available at:  

\(^{44}\) Based on a telephone interview with Muhammad El-Shehawy, "Safhat al-Ra'y" (Opinion Page) program, *CBC*, uploaded on July 5\(^{th}\), 2012, available at:  
[http://www.bilakoyod.net/details14872.htm](http://www.bilakoyod.net/details14872.htm)

\(^{45}\) Ibrahim al-Houdaiby, "al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun wa Tajrubat al-taʻaddudiyya" (Muslim Brotherhood and the Experience of Pluralism), *Midan Masr*, available at:  
the organizational level, the MB has resisted regime suppression through the centralization in decision making from one side and the decentralization in implementation while facing sudden security attacks, in order to keep the unity of the Organization. Al-Houdaiby has asserted that the political openness within 25 January has shown to be more challenging to the MB than the former history of suppression, since such openness would weaken the dominant organizational discourse that calls for unity at the expense of plurality. Accordingly, the stance of the MB leadership and its Supreme Guide against joining any party other than the FJP has led to a considerable number of dissents, particularly among youth members who started to join or establish other parties, notably al-Tayyar and Misr al-Qawiyya.

Not only does the existence of the FJP as the only party representing the MB reflect the MB's opting for unity at the expense of democracy and pluralism, but we could also note some difference between the MB's FJP on one side and the al-Tayyar al-Misriy and Misr al-Qawiyya on the other side; where for the former the principle of Shura is deemed as tantamount to democracy, and the role of civil society is to serve interests of the country. In comparison, al-Tayyar al-Misriy envisages Egyptian citizens and their requirements as the pivot to a real democratic life, where individuals and civil society are encouraged to manage the public affairs of the state. Likewise, the Misr al-Qawiyya party grants Egyptian citizens the real sovereignty, where the relationship between citizens and the state, and the society and the state are


48 For more information see the al-Tayyar al-Misriy Facebook page, available at: https://www.facebook.com/TMParty/info (accessed on August 2nd, 2013)
reformulated such that the state become the 'service' and citizens become the 'served' and
decision-makers. The positioning of citizens versus the state, and civil society versus the state
could thus be juxtaposed between the FJP on one side, and the *Al-Tayyar al-Misriy* and *Misr al-
Qawiyya* on the other, in terms of centralization.

**Worldviews of MB Youth versus MB Leadership**

As noted, a 'worldview' could broadly refer to the way a person perceives his/her relationship to
the world (Sue, 1978), where such relationship is governed by the person's values as a result of a
particular socialization process (Sarason, 1984, 477). Especially as of 2007, the online
discussions of MB bloggers have exhibited a new trend among MB youth (Lynch, 2007, 26-27)
who have developed different worldviews as a result of their interaction with other cultures.
Those differences have emerged prior to 25 January but the political openness following the
revolution has accelerated more resistance on the part of the MB youth (Martini, Kaye & York,
2012, xi-xii). The disagreements between the MB and its dissenting youth have mainly revolved
about four key issues, the first and most central of which is the Organization's mixing between its
religious and political activities, which has been more manifest with the establishment of the
FJP. Pertinent to this issue, is the way the application of Islamic project is viewed and
consequently how the nation state and Umma affiliation are related. As noted earlier, those MB
youth members tend to lie on a continuum in their views depending on whether they have
followed a political track by joining or establishing a political party or not, but both in a way
have developed some critical attitudes toward the 'sacredness' of the Islamic history in the MB

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49 For more detail, see Misr Al-Qawiyya party regulation on its Facebook page, available at:
https://www.facebook.com/MisrAlQawia/app_208195102528120 (accessed on August 11th, 2013)
original worldview. The second source of generational division is the MB's stances on issues related to citizenship rights, on which MB youth generally and dissenting youth particularly show to be more progressive than senior leadership. The third issue is the slow pace of change adopted by the senior leadership in comparison to the more revolutionary aspirations of the MB youth. Finally, the fourth issue of generational divide pertains to the strict organizational hierarchy that marginalizes youth. As a result, we could witness the emergence of MB youth dissents who have detached themselves from the "involuntary or unconscious commitments" (Williams, 2013, 88) of the parent culture worldview toward working out their conception of the world consciously and critically. Those youth, however, follow al-Banna's ideas and believe that his ideas are not applied in the Organization. One of them has stated that what she wants is al-Banna's ideas under any Organization or Group.
CHAPTER THREE
THE MB NOT IN POWER: BETWEEN 2006 AND 2011 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Background

Egyptian youth have suffered from deteriorating educational and economic conditions, exacerbated by a sense of alienation and exclusion within Mubarak’s regime which have given rise to the Egyptian youth activism to peak with the 25 January Revolution (Shehata, 2012, 10). Since 2000, the MB youth was part of this activism particularly because of the Palestinian issue which has created a distinct generation for Egyptian youths including the leading MB youth at that juncture as Magdi Saad and Ahmed Abdel Gawad.50 The problem of the MB at that time was to seek “acceptance” from others as moderate Islamists. In 2004, MB youth used to coordinate a youth movement organized by two MB members entitled “bi’aydīnā nakān ‘āhrār, dawla ḥurra waṭan Hurr” (With our hands we can be free, a free country and a free nation) as part of a large reform movement in Egypt. With the parliamentary elections of 2005, the MB organization discovered that it has no real political knowledge and there started to be a focus outside the Guidance Bureau as a first step toward democratization. They have thus established relations with other youths from outside the group through some movements, notably Kefaya.51

50 Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB member and researcher (28 years), April 10th, 2013, Cairo.

51 Sameh Al-Barqi, MB member then, narrates how he got to know Wael Khalil, a Socialist Revolutionary, through kefaya in 2004, and was invited afterwards to deliver a lecture organized by the Socialist Studies center during 2005 elections. A day-to-day type of communication has been established between the two young men such that when Sameh got detained following the Judges events in 2005, Wael Khalil in addition to other Leftists, have
Some MB youths have also started to call for the focus on internal reform rather than on the issue of Palestine. With the detentions of many MB figures including Khayrat al-Shater and Essam al-Eryan during the end of 2006, the MB blogging activity has come to a rise. MB members launched then a remarkably coordinated web-based campaign calling for the release of MB imprisoned leaders (Lynch, 2007, 30). With the help of Internet-savvy members, these campaign blogs, on top of which lies the Ensaa website (ensaa.blogspot.com) have depicted the human side of MB members by posting family pictures and videos, as well as poignant anecdotes, geared toward softening the Group's hard-faced image among journalists and abroad. When the labor movement started afterwards, MB members were not part of it, though of course they would sympathize with it on a humanistic level. Such stance could be attributed to the making of the MB members, in general, as professional middle-class people. The labor movement would however be instrumentally utilized as a way to protest against the regime. Just like other Egyptian youths, the MB youth was concerned about Gamal Mubarak’s raised presidency issue and some of them became part of the 2010 Baradei campaign.

Social Media

On the organizational level, the MB has ceased to totally represent the aspirations of MB youth who have become much more open to the world and fervent to engender internal reform (Ramadan, 2011, 21-22). Behind the cohesive, hierarchal façade, a number of factors seem at play, on top of which lies the element of social media. Until 2005, young MBs who have been launched a media campaign on the Internet calling for Sameh’s release. Based on the researcher’s interview with Sameh Al-Barqi, ex-MB member and current member of at-Tayyar al-Misriy (39 years), April 21st, 2013, Cairo.

52 Based on the researcher’s interview with Islam Lotfy (34 years), former MB member and founding member of al-Tayyar al-Misriy, January 21st, 2013, Cairo.

53 Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB member and a researcher (28 years), April 10th, 2013, Cairo.
early adopters of the Internet have stayed aloof from blogging which has till then been largely
dominated by the liberal youth. In a blog entitled “MB Bloggers: Where are you?” on the
Ikhwanyouth blogspot as recently as January 2007, Abdel Rahman Rashwan has raised a furious
question regarding the impoverishment of MB young bloggers compared to their Leftist
counterparts, which he could attribute to the style of education that MB members undergo which
runs counter the independent and open nature of blogs, and the nature of leadership-controlled
media within the group which has been reflected on the individuals. Rashwan has envisaged
the soon-to-evolve heated issue as to whether MB members should discuss the internal affairs of
the group on blogs, pinpointing that as society has become more open to discussing views, and as
the MB group is part of that society, MB members should ‘educate’ themselves to raise their
views freely and to establish an internal milieu to convey those ideas to the leadership. In a
similar fashion, Magdi Saad, MB youth blogger, has called on his MB fellows to teach
themselves ‘rebellion, wonder and throwing stones’ in his famous blog Yalla Mesh Mohem
(Whatever, It Doesn't Matter). Saad has urged them to rebel on all forms of exaggeration of
the practical application for the principle of al-samū’ w-al-tā’ir a while keeping the group united and
intact, to rebel while complying with the regulations of collective and organizational action that
follow the Fiqh of priorities and the traditional of gradual reform.

Al-Anani has depicted blogging as a phenomenon utilized by a new Brotherhood generation to
break taboos that have been existing for more than 80 years, where he has outlined three basic
stages of blogging; namely, exploration, civil resistance and self-criticism (Al-Anani, 2007, 30-

54 For further information see http://ikhwanyouth.blogspot.com/2007/01/blog-post_05.html (translated by the
researcher).

55 For further detail see Magdi Saad’s blog Yalla Mesh Mohem, available at:
The first stage could be depicted as an experiment aiming to challenge the leftist and nationalist domination of the Egyptian Blogosphere with the goal of importing the experience of various secular ideologies into the Islamist domain and to utilize it to serve the Islamist movement. Such exploratory stage has started with the two well-known blogs of Magdi Saad entitled Yalla Mesh Mohem (Whatever, It Doesn't Matter) and of Abdel-Moneim Mahmoud entitled Ana Ikhwan (I am Brotherhood). The second stage or civil resistance stage began when more than 40 MB leaders, including, Khayrat al-Shater, the Deputy Supreme Guide, were sent to a military tribunal in February 2007. The goal at that time was to direct attention to the military tribunals and to report on their news, while also exposing their deficiencies to local and international audiences. Such phase has started with the blogs posted by family members and relatives of the detainees, as Ensaa (Forget). The final stage known as Self-Criticism, has recently widely spread among MB youth aims at questioning aspects of the MB organization and ideology.

Apparently, the transmutative influence of new media technologies, the enthusiasm springing from 2004-2005 political protests, together with the increasing repression of Mubarak's authoritarian regime have impacted the MB youth along with the rest of Egyptian political society (Lynch, 2007, 26-27). The Spring of 2007 has yielded as many as 150 bloggers in the organization, which brings to the surface a new trend among young MBs and a dynamic new force within the organization. The rise of young bloggers could manifest a recurrent pattern of generational challenge to the MB's hierarchy, and also respond to the surrounding environment where the MB functions. Iman (25 years), an ex-MB and current member of Al-Tayyar party, believes that social media has had a strong impact on youth of all ideologies and has been used as a vehicle for those youth to get together on a different sphere and to communicate. She asserts
that the old guard has not been aware of the strength of social media which has helped youth whether Islamists or not to break the barrier. The MB bloggers mostly under the age of 30 have been able to open up to new ideas and to the ascending new technology, which has endowed them with a sense of confidence and strength (Mayton, 2009, 34-35). Generally speaking, those young bloggers have been seeking the development of social and political discourse among the elder generations of MB leaders so that the group could become more democratic and modernized. Their advocacy has in some cases been reprimanded by the leaders, and in some cases, not. Ahmed al-Ga’ali, an MB member, who has a famous blog known as ‘Wamadat’ (Flashes) since 2006 states that he has been writing criticism on the MB much earlier before 25 January revolution where he has had discussions with the MB administrative circles post publishing his ideas, but no procedure has been taken not to mention warning.

The MB group itself has resorted to social media during the last decade as a vehicle to get their views across. An important distinction needs to be pinpointed between two types of social media discourse represented by ‘Ikhwan online’ and ‘Ikhwan web’ whether in form, content or vision though both are run under the Media committee which works under the Policies committee within the MB. ‘Ikhwan online’ is the official website for the group in Egypt which emblemizes the MB’s containment and anti-revolutionary policies where members are assigned to write toward preventing any attempt to attack the institution, and thus it largely resembles national newspapers that tend to defend one line of thought. ‘Ikhwan web’ in contrast represents

56 Based on the researcher’s interview with a female ex-MB and current Tayyar member (25 years), May 30th, 2012, Cairo.

57 Based on the researcher’ interview with Ahmed al-Ga’ali (31 years), MB blogger, May 23rd, 2012, Cairo.

58 For further information see the blogspot of Abdel Rahman Rashwan at:

members’ free contribution which might include elements of self-criticism. Abdel Rahman Ayyash (23 years), a former MB member who used to write in ‘Ikhwan web’ states that ‘Ikhwan web’ writers have been tolerated by the institution in spite of their self-criticism because it was not tactful for the MB to punish its members harshly at that critical stage within Mubarak’s regime nor was it possible then for the youth to find an alternative society to join before the Revolution as the only other option to work in public was the National Democratic Party (NDP).  

Abdel Rahman has already started his own blog earlier back in 2006 which was part of an ‘internal mobility’ within the MB especially among youth members. ‘Excitement’, as stated by Abdel Rahman, has been a dominant feeling that has urged a small number of MB bloggers including himself to criticize the MB for the sake of bettering it, though an element of worry existed such that he used a pseudonym. At that early time, those bloggers have called for the separation between the da’awi (proselytizing) leadership and political leadership – an issue which recurrently resurfaces with the MB’s assumption of power.

**Collective action with more Liberal youth**

Among the well-known earlier attempts of a blogging movement among young Brothers is Abdel Moneim Mahmoud’s famous blog *Ana Ikhwan* (I am a Muslim Brother) launched in the Fall of 2006 where Mahmoud manifested the new face of the group’s youth as politically oriented and contented with non-Islamist activists (Lynch, 2007, 29). To many people’s surprise, Mahmoud has expressed his solidarity with the vociferously anti-Islamist Sulayman who was jailed for posting comments on his blog that were considered insulting to Islam. The two young men who differ ideologically seem to share the same feeling of denunciation against

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59 Based on the researcher’s interview with Abdel Rahman Ayyash (23 years), former MB member, June 30th, 2012.
Mubarak’s autocratic regime and the recurrent violations against human rights in Egypt.\textsuperscript{60} When Mahmoud himself was arrested two months later for membership in an ‘illegitimate’ organization, a campaign calling for his freedom attracted substantial cross-ideological support led by Leftists as Abdel Fattah and Gharbiyya (Lynch, 2007, 29). Through Cyberspace, those MB bloggers seem to have found more commonalities with other young Egyptian activists, Leftist and Nationalist than they could share with other MB peers (Lynch, 2007, 26). With this mindset, the MB youth have forged linkages with other Egyptian youth and have shared their grievances toward the existing conditions in the country, which have sparked the 25 January Revolution. Those youth have participated in the Revolution as individuals rather than as MB members (Tadros, 2012, 32). They have shared with the 6 April movement, the National Committee for Change, as well as with other youth movements in their demands for absolving the people’s assembly and the Shura council, establishing a transitional government, among others.

The Revolution Youth Coalition could clearly demonstrate how Islamist youth could find common grounds with other youth during the Revolution. According to Muhammad al-Qassas, member of executive board of the Youth Coalition, ex-MB member and one of the founding members of Al-Tayyar al-Misriy, the creation of the Revolution Youth Coalition has not come as a surprise or coincidence.\textsuperscript{61} He explicates that they are a group of politicized independent young people who have been cooperating with each other for 10 to 12 years starting from student groups at Cairo University. Al-Qassas has added that they have worked with Kefaya in 2005 and

\textsuperscript{60} For further information see afkarmonem blogspot post on April 17\textsuperscript{th}, 2007, available at: http://afkarmonem.blogspot.com/2007/04/blog-post_17.html

\textsuperscript{61} Based on the researcher’s interview with Muhammad al-Qassas, ex-MB member and founding member of Al-Tayyar al-Misriy (38 years), May 15\textsuperscript{th}, 2012, Cairo.
2006, and with April 6 group since 2008, and when it was 25 January, they have resumed this cooperation and thus have shown to be the first organized group inside Tahrir before Mubarak’s resignation. Quoting Abdel Rahman Fares, a liberal member of the Revolution Youth Affiliation and Speaker of the al-Tayyar party (31 years), “while preparing for the Revolution, two of the MB youth called me and wanted to join with 200 MB members as individuals, and that was the first string of MB youth members who have joined the Revolution.” They even shared from January 23rd and participated in Khaled Said and al-Kedissin Church demonstrations. Probably irrespective of the group’s stance, 200 young men from the MB joined the Youth Coalition for Change on January 24th which has been founded two weeks before the Revolution.

**The MB Youth Participates in the Revolution**

The MB youth participation in 25 January was yet not an easy step as they were obliged to send an appeal to the Guidance Bureau in order to be allowed to take part in the 25 January protests. The Head of Division, Mahmoud Abou Zeid, opposed to their participation based on the premise that MB had already taken a decision not to take part (Tadros, 2012, 38). Affronted, the MB youth made a direct appeal to the Guidance Bureau through meeting with Essam al-Eryan. During the meeting, they have reached a middle ground where the youth were permitted to participate as individuals and not as representatives of the MB group. On January 23 and 24, Muaz Abdel Karim, MB youth representative in the Revolution Youth coalition, met with other youth forces including MB youth members and other civil youth groups in the Socialist Renewal

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62 Based on the researcher’s interview with Abdel Rahman Fares, member of the Revolution’s Youth Affiliation and Speaker of the at-Tayyar party (31 years), June 13th, 2012.

63 Based on an interview with Ahmed Duma, member of the Revolution’s Youth Coalition by Atef, Tahrir On Line, March 23rd, 2011, accessed at:

Trend office where they have agreed to make a revolution and not merely a protest demonstration.\textsuperscript{64} They then met on January 24\textsuperscript{th} night to coordinate and have identified 11 spots as protest exit points. The youth group also created a Facebook page called “\textit{Kalimat Haqq}” (word of truth) and invited others to take part in 25 January and notified them of all the logistical arrangements for that day (Tadros, 2012, 38). In the meantime, the MB leadership and security apparatus have reached an agreement that the MB youth would be allowed to participate in the protests but would be required to end their protests by sunset. The security accordingly attacked the protestors in the evening.

On 26 and 27 January, the MB youth joined forces with other youth movements in organizing several protests in highly populated regions so as to mobilize support for 28 January or the so-called ‘Friday of Anger’. Three MB youth groups could be identified by El-Ezzabawy among the MB youth during the uprisings. The first is the leftist leaning flank which included the youth who have joined Abdel Moneim Aboul Fetouh’s presidential campaign, as Mohammad El-Gabah, Mohammad El-Shaway, Mohammad Heikal, Ga’afar Za’frany, Ahmed Osama, and Mahmoud Farouk, among others. The second group representing the center group comprise Islam Lotfy, Ahmed El-Nazary, and Mohammad El-Kassas; and finally the right-leaning flank

\textsuperscript{64} Muhammad Shaaban, "Min Waqi’ al-Tasjilat al-Musarraba .. Hal Kanat Thawrat 25 Yanayir Sina’a ‘ikhwaniiyya" (From the Fact of the Infiltrated Records .. Was 25 January Revolution an Ikhwani Making), \textit{Al-Ahram Shabab}, April 29\textsuperscript{th}, 2013, available at:

\url{http://shabab.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/7/147/%D8%B5%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%AD%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%B1-%D8%AF%D9%81%D8%AA%D8%B1-%D8%A3%D8%AD%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B4%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%B9/%D9%85%D9%86-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%82%D8%B9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%B3%D8%AC%D9%8A%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%A8%D8%A9-%D9%87%D9%84-%D9%83%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AA-%D8%AB%D9%88%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D9%8A%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%8A%D8%B1-%D8%B5%D9%86%D8%A7/11177.aspx} (accessed on May 4th, 2013)
including Hassan Ezz El-Din, Ahmed Moustapha, Khaled Fouad, Amar Abdel Rahman, Moustapha El-Wahsh and Hossam Badawy. According to El-Ezzabawy, the left-leaning wing represents the most significant leaders within the MB who have instigated 25 January with other youths (reviewed in Tadros, 2012, 38). The center group joined in entirety starting from January 24th after the meeting that took place with the MB leadership on January 27th, while the right-leaning group joined for the first time on January 28th.

The MB youth continued to orchestrate efforts with other youth movements during the first day of the protests till February 1st when the revolution youth coalition, as the first youth coalition, was created and the first millioniya (Million Man March) was called for.

**The MB Leadership Participates in the Revolution**

Though the MB youth did not assume political powerful positions within the central decision making echelon, they were still pushing the leadership to acknowledge the collective disposition of the uprisings as youth-led and they emblemized to the leadership then an essential linkage to the forces mobilizing the mass movement (Tadros, 2012, 34). At that conjuncture, they would have made a tangible political loss if they were to distance their youth. The group has thus been vigilantly following the developing of events without participating until the Guidance Bureau held a meeting on January 26th and announced that they would take part in the 28 January planned protest, known as the Friday of Rage (Tadros, 2012, 33). After the MB leadership has commanded their followers to participate in the uprisings and with the trailing of other Islamist groups including the Salafists, the MB agency was not solely pertaining to participation, but was much more one of leadership (Tadros, 2012, 35). Such ‘hegemonic’ role of the MB could be evidenced in the broadcasting service managed by the group and the platform set up in Tahrir
square. Though various youth groups have established their own broadcasting services in the Square, the first to be actually set to use was the MB’s. Also, from among the several makeshift stages set up by different political parties in Tahrir Square, the grandest one was that established by the MB. The group thus had the largest speakers, the largest stage and frequently was able to attract a majority of audiences and they largely had control over who was allowed or denied access. The regime’s overthrow was first not on the MB’s agenda but they only issued a statement to the government calling for the implementation of immediate reforms and for the release of all the political detainees. The MB’s organizational experience and their massive experience in coping with the security apparatus has materialized during the uprisings, especially when thugs on camels attacked protestors on the well-known ‘Battle of the Camel’ on February 2nd (Tadros, 2012, 35). The group’s youth in coordination with the Ahly and Zamalek Ultras have organized the defense strategies to protect the protestors. In a similar fashion, MB youth worked in the field hospitals set for treating the injured and helped hold the Tahrir Square during the days that have witnessed declining participation when protestors were on the brink of giving up their base to security forces (Martini, Kaye & York, 2012, xi). The MB’s defense of the protestors and the square has thus bestowed on the group the visibility and legitimacy requisite to claim after Mubarak's downfall ownership of the success of the revolution.

**Internal Wrangling between the MB Leadership and its Youth and the Establishment of the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP)**

Until then, no substantial wrangling between the MB leadership and its youth has emerged at the surface since both have been struggling against the domination of Mubarak’s regime. Islam Lotfy, ex-MB member and founding member of at-Tayyar al-Misriy has even denied on Facebook the media's publication (quoting him) that the MB Guidance Bureau has given
instructions to its members to withdraw on both the Friday of Anger and the Battle of the Camel. Lotfy has expounded that that issue was a matter of discussion (not an order) and that it did not take more than ten minutes and not two hours as has been claimed in the media. He added that the final decision was to persist in the Square until martyrdom. Lotfy has also asserted that those very two days have witnessed the prowess of the MB protecting the Square till the last moment such that no MB member has forsaken his/her position.

But following Mubarak's demise, the Egyptian society seemed to witness some form of generational conflict. More elaborately, the society has detected the existence of a generation of youth who possesses a distinct thought and vision and who aspire to alter the existing status in a way that differs from the elders who assume more leading positions. That idea has soon proliferated among different societal strata, including the MB group which has demonstrated a chasm between the youth generation and that of the elders spawning from the string of conflicts between the two groups. A week following Mubarak’s demise precisely on February 21st, 2011, the MB declared its intention to form a political party, and the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) was subsequently established (El-Houdaiby, 2012, 139-140). Such decision could shed more light on a potential problem as related to the ambivalent relationship between the group and the party, which further digs more profoundly into the issue of mixing of da’wa and politics, among

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66 For more information read Muhammad Bassiouney Abdel Halim’s article entitled “Fajwa jiliyya: ‘Ab’ad al-‘Azma bayna Shabab al-Ikhwan wa Qiyyadat al-Jamā‘a ba‘da al-Thawra” (Generational Gap: The Dimensions of the Crisis between the Ikhwani Youth and the Leaders of the Group after the Revolution), Al-Ahram Center for Strategic Studies, posted in April 7th, 2012, accessed on January 7th, 2013, available at: http://www.siyassa.org.eg/NewsContent/2/107/2289/%D8%AA%D8%AD%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%AA/%D9%85%D8%B5%D8%B1/-%D9%81%D8%AC%D9%88%D8%A9-%D8%AC%D9%8A%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%A9.aspx
the main disagreements between the MB leadership and many of those MB youths, notably members of the *al-Tayyar al-Misri* and *Misr al-Qawiyya*. With the creation of the FJP, the MB was theoretically separating its political activities from the socio-religious traits of the organization (Martini, Kaye & York, 2012, 40). Such step has been evidenced by the resignation of al-Eryan (Deputy Leader of the FJP), al-Katani (Secretary General of the FJP), and Morsi (then Head of the FJP) from their posts on the Guidance Bureau upon assuming the FJP leadership positions. The importance of distinguishing between the proselytizing activity, represented by the MB movement on one side; and the competitive political activity, represented by the party has been heralded earlier in the literature on the movement as a potential challenge for the MB (see Habib, 2009, 56-57). The MB's own rhetoric however abates the level of separation between the two entities. The General Guide has affirmed that "the party is the child of the MB and the MB will not abandon political action with the emergence of the party". The creation of the party itself was a natural political development for the MB following the Revolution, since it was established under a feeble and temporary military authority and in a conjuncture in which the MB was groomed to assume a frontline in the Egyptian political scene (Shokr, 2012, 28). It was however met with dismay by a number of MB youth who have explicated that they do not oppose the establishment of one party or more by the MB. The problem, according to an ex-MB (26 years), is that the FJP does not actually exist as an independent political party, but is run just like a Department inside the MB which is a da‘awi (proselytizing) movement. Some have been against the term ‘the political arm of the MB’

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68 Based on the researcher's interview with a resigning member of the MB (26 years), June 9th, 2012, Cairo.
because of its ‘Militia’ nature. A female MB member has discontentedly expressed that the Organization should not force the MB people to be members of the party which might entail that the Group and the party are not separate. She has thus decided to stay independent stating that if she would join a party, it would either be al-Tayyar or Misr al-Qawiyyya but not the FJP. The leaders nominated who were all members of the MB Executive Council have evoked serious concerns pertaining to the party’s autonomy (El-Houdaiby, 2012, 139-140). The announcement of the FJP new leadership by the Shura council was received with dismay by the MB youth who were frustrated by the fact that the party leadership was not elected by its founding members.

According to Ahmed Abo Zekry, MB member, the Shura council does not represent what people want, adding that division is splitting the MB into leaders and youth and that the MB could end up soon with only aging leaders. The makeup and leadership of the FJP was also not well received by some reformist figures within the MB, three of whom; namely, Ibrahim Al-Za’farani, Khaled Dawood, and Hamid Al-Dafrawy who decided to split with the MB and to establish their own political party (El-Houdaiby, 2012, 139-140). Young MB members have decided to operate within revolutionary inclusiveness. The first wave of protest has emanated

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69 For further information read Aziza Abu Bakr’s article, “Al-Hadidy Zawj Bint Khayrat al-Shater: Kathir min Qiyadat al-Jama’a la Yutabbiquun Bay’at al-Imam Hassan al-Banna” (Al-Hadidy, Khayrat al-Shater’s son-in-law: Many MB Leaders Do not Apply Al-Imam Hassan al-Banna’s Pledge), Shabab.ahram.org, August 10th, 2012, accessed on January 12th, 2013, available at: http://shabab.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/7/97/%D8%B5%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%AD%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%AA/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D8%AF%D9%8A%D8%AF%D9%8A-%D8%B2%D9%88%D8%AC-%D8%A8%D9%86%D8%AA-%D8%AE%D9%8A%D8%B1%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B4%D8%A7%D8%B7%D8%B1-%D9%83%D8%AB%D9%8A%D8%B1-%D9%85%D9%86-%D9%82%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%B9/4724.aspx

70 Based on the researcher’s interview with a female MB member (19 years), June 2012, Cairo.

71 Ibid
from a group of Cairene youth who called for organizing a nationwide conference for MB youth
with workshops geared to discussing two main issues: transforming the MB from an organization
into an official Islamic society, and deliberating over different scenarios regarding the
relationship between socio-religious and political activities. Their request to the Guidance
Bureau have been met though with refusal simply because they have decided to invite both
Abdel Moneim Aboul Fotouh and Muhammad Habib.72 Muhammad Morsi has strongly
criticized them and has insisted that they post an announcement on the Group's website of
cancelling or postponing the conference. Instead, Morsi has announced on their behalf that the
conference is cancelled. Undaunted, they insisted on holding this first-ever conference in
defiance of the higher echelons, denoting generational rebellion within the group and posing
questions pertaining to its unity. 73 The conference, entitled “With Our Hands We Build
Tomorrow”, was anchored on two pillars: an ‘administrative’ pillar, discussing the
administrative structure and the decision making process inside the organization; and a ‘societal’
pillar focusing on the relationship between the MB and the whole society and the way the
organization could become an integral part of society.74. The political part discussed the
movement’s political role and its relationship with post revolutionary party politics in Egypt. The

72 For further information see Abdel Moneim Mahmoud’s blog “ ‘Afkari ” (My Thoughts), posted on May, 21st,
2012, available at:

http://afkarmonem.blogspot.com/search?updated-min=2012-01-01T00:00:00:00:00:00:00&updated-max=2013-01-
01T00:00:00:08:00&max-results=21 (accessed on August 14th, 2013)

73 El-Hennawy, N., “Brotherhood Divided over Friday’s Protests”, Egypt Independent, May 26th, 2011, accessed on
January 19th, 2013, available at:


74 For further comments from some MB youth members see video posted on Youtube, uploaded on April 17th,
2011, available at:

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yA-kLE7aTdA (accessed on April 5th, 2013)
second part focused on the internal structure and organization of the movement. The recommendations put forward at the conference were as follows: 1) discussing the papers and recommendations in the conference and presenting them to all the MB administrative offices; 2) discussing the ideas and recommendations presented at the conference before the final decisions related to the new MB party; 3) consulting specialists and experts both inside and outside the MB in order to reach a clear vision regarding the party; 4) revising the statements issued about not allowing MB members to join other parties, and keeping it open to join other parties that would not conflict with Islamic principles; 5) electing all members of the constituent assembly keeping a considerable number from outside the MB who would in turn issue the party principles and its program and would elect its president; 6) the party deputy founders should include two members from outside the Guidance Bureau in order to ascertain the independence of the party, one of whom should be less than 35 years; 7) the independence of the party activities from all other proselytizing, social and political activities in both will and management; 8) working on establishing a legal status for the MB movement whether as an institution or as a jam'iiyya (association) at the Ministry of Social Solidarity; 9) opening a direct and open dialogue among MB members at all levels and in all areas and governorates through holding seminars and open discussions; 10) establishing a youth department that would focus on youth issues after graduation from college to provide information and studies geared toward supporting decision making centers in the MB; 11) holding specialized conferences in different fields; whether informational, educational, proselytizing from inside and outside the MB; 12) establishing a follow-up committee for all governorates and allowing MB youth to follow-up on the results of the conference.75 None of the youth demands were however considered heralding further splits

75 See the Conference’s recommendations as posted on the Conference facebook page, available at:
within the MB youth. The conference held on March 26th, 2011 was further ensued by the dismissal of key MB figures both young and old, who refused to join the FJP and established their own parties (El-Houdaiby, 2012, 140). The MB youth who supported Abdel Moneim Aboul Fotouh’s presidential candidacy faced a similar retort. Abdel Moneim Aboul Fotouh, a member of the MB’s executive council, announced in May 2011 that he would run for presidency though the MB group announced that it would not field a presidential candidate, thereby ostensibly challenging the group’s leadership. Aboul Fotouh’s announcement stirred up strong speculation both within the group and in political circles, concluding with his dismissal from the MB council in June for breaching the leadership’s decision in not running for presidency. Apparently, the MB leadership was attempting to convey a message of reassurance to other political forces and to the masses that it was firmly conforming to its commitment not to nominate a candidate. From another side, the leadership was noticeably sending an implied message of warning to the rest of the members, notably its youth. When the MB held its 2011 annual student conference entitled "A Generation Builds … A Nation Rises", one of the youth participants asked the leadership to explicate their stance regarding Aboul Fotouh's candidacy. To this, Rashid Bayoumi, the eldest member of the Guidance Bureau has responded that the most important quality of a Brother is commitment to the \( \text{al-sam}^{c}\ \text{w-al-\text{-t\text{"a}}\text{a}} \) principle. He has further stated that those who support Aboul Fotouh are committing a clear violation of the Group's decision.\textsuperscript{76} Obviously undaunted, a number of MB youth disregarded the warning and continued to support Aboul Fotouh and accordingly were dismissed from the Group. Intolerantly, the

\textsuperscript{76} For more detail see "Tullab al-Ikhwan Yas'alun wa-l-Murshid al-\text{"a}am Yujibu" (MB Students Ask and the General Guide Answers", \textit{Ikhwan Online}, Sept. 26th, 2011, available at:

\texttt{http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/print.aspx?ArtID=91780&SeclD=210}
leadership even proscribed MB youth from being among the 30,000 signatories required by Aboul Fotouh to enter the presidential race (Martini, Kaye & York, 2012, 38). Kamal Habib has described those MB youth as being characterized by some level of rebellion against top-down organizational orders coming from the leadership.\textsuperscript{77}

Such tension between the MB youth and the MB leadership could be lucidly expressed in the words of Muhammad Osman, ex-MB and Revolution Youth Coalition member:

Reform within the Muslim Brotherhood proved impossible. Organizationally it is very difficult to go against the leadership’s views. This problem was not only faced by [the youth], but also by those who are more supportive of the views of Dr. Abdel Moneim Aboul Fotouh. It is also the case that the critical youth group is more in line with Aboul Fotouh’s vision … The Brotherhood does not believe in revolutionary change only reform and to them the revolution so far has given them all they needed which is legal recognition. We want complete change from below … from the roots.\textsuperscript{78}

**Internal Disparity within the MB youth and the Establishment of the al-Tayyar al-Misriy (Egyptian Current) (under establishment) Party**

It is worthy to note that 25 January events have exposed variation within the youth generation itself where some youth tend to follow the trails of the older generation whereas many others

\textsuperscript{77} For further information, see Hammam Abdel Ma’boud’s article, “Islamiyyu Misr .. wa “Siyasat al-Hurub ila-I-‘Amam” fi Da’m Murashihi al-Ri’asa” (Egypt’s Islamists .. and “The Politics of Running away to the Front in Supporting Presidential Candidates), *Islam Online*, March 12\textsuperscript{th}, 2012, accessed on January 12\textsuperscript{th}, 2013 at:

http://islamonline.net/ar/961

\textsuperscript{78} Salma Shukrallah, “Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood Struggles to Contain Tracks”, *English Ahram.org*, July 19\textsuperscript{th}, 2011, 2013, available at:

http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/13148.aspx (accessed on January 26\textsuperscript{th})
have started to question the hierarchical restrictions as incomprehensible obstacles. The latter group has expected to be allowed a larger role in the decision making process after the revolution, and has thus started to envisage the principle of \( \textit{al-sam}^{c} \ w-al-\textit{ṭā}a \) as unacceptable in many issues of difference.

Within the second group which is the particular focus of the study, two orientations seem to have emerged, the first of which has espoused a ‘reform’ strategy from within and internal advice as a means to brace the organization. Such orientation has thus made some initiatives post 25 January, including the \( \textit{fa-qawwimūnī} \) (Correct me!)\(^79\) initiative which voices the rejection of some to the MB practices in the Media, and calls for reform. On the \( \textit{fa-qawwimūnī} \) Facebook account, this group praises the efforts of the MB group since its establishment, stating that based on their love for the MB group, their belief in its principles and their loyalty to their leaders who have well educated them, this very group has adopted such initiative to guide their leaders into what they might miss as a result of their cumbersome burdens as presented in a more youthful outlook.

The second orientation believes that reform could only materialize by stepping out of the shadow of the MB, and thus has joined other political parties or established new ones. Those MB youths have taken such step after making so many failed endeavors to convince the MB leadership to

\(^79\) This utterance is borrowed from the first words of Abo Bakr al-Siddiq, the first Guided Caliphate when he succeeded Prophet Muhammad as saying on the pulpit: “You people! I have been selected to be your ruler but I am no better than you. So if I do well, support me and if I make a mistake, correct me” (translated by the researcher).

For more detail, see the \( \textit{Faqawwimunī} \) Facebook account (accessed on January 12\(^\text{th}\), 2013.

\(\text{https://www.facebook.com/fQawemony}\)
revert its method in establishing and selecting leaders of the FJP.\textsuperscript{80} They have confirmed that they were hoping their leaders could deal with them as their proselytizingly and educationally devoted followers who could differ with them on the political level. Those youth have further stated that with the establishment of the FJP, the MB group has separated between the proselytizing work and the political work, which could give MB members the right to join any party as long as they conform to the Group's principles. According to Mu’az Abdul Karim – one of the ex-MB youth and founders of \textit{Al-Tayyar al-Misriy}, their party project was an obligation after they have lost hope to attain reform from within the MB group. Abdul Karim has added that the current stage has certain demands that cannot be fulfilled by the MB’s FJP, and that they have suggested establishing more than one party to represent the MB group but their suggestion has been refused. The party’s name is inspired by Tariq al-Bishri’s book, \textit{The Basic Egyptian Current}, in which he portrays Egyptian society as religious but not doctrinal (Martini, Kaye & York, 2012, 35). The party’s facebook page states that the party is a product of the 25 January Revolution and that its distinctive feature is its civil and democratic nature. Within the array of the MB splinter groups, the Egyptian Current stands as the only youth-led party (Martini, Kaye & York, 2012, 19). The Egyptian Current introduces itself as a youth party which presents a new pattern and understanding of the Egyptian political life depending on youth, and that it is open to the other.\textsuperscript{81} An overlap could be demonstrated between the viewpoints of the Egyptian Current

\textsuperscript{80} Shaaban Hadiyya & Nora Fakhry, "Shabab al-Ikhwan yu’assisun Hizb al-Tayyar al-Misriy w-al-Jamaca Taruddu bi-faslihim" (MB Youth Establish the Current Trend party and the Group Responds by Expelling them", \textit{Al-Youm 7}, June 11\textsuperscript{th}, 2011 (accessed on Feb. 14\textsuperscript{th}, 2013), available at:


\textsuperscript{81} For further information see al-Tayyar al-Misriy facebook page available at:

http://www.facebook.com/TMParty#!/TMParty/info (accessed on February 8th, 2013)
and Aboul Fotouh, where both are against the MB’s mixing of proselytizing work with political action, and both oppose the Group’s stern hierarchy (Martini, Kaye & York, 2012, 21).

Such orientation has envisioned that political disagreements with the MB group have peaked up such that continuity within the group has become impossible, particularly since the establishment of the FJP which they have regarded as a means deployed by the MB Guidance Bureau to impose its orientations. As a result, the MB organization has dismissed many of those youth members attributing their expulsion to the formation of the new Current Party, which has not been approved by the organization, but those youth members ascribe their expulsions to deeper roots. Such dismissals denote that differences between youth members and MB organization can no longer be tolerated. According to Muhammad Osman, MB and Revolutionary Youth Coalition member, many youth members have thought that change could come from within the group and thus have worked on achieving reform that would represent the MB youth vision. The organization has shown however its inflexibility.

**Further resignations within the MB and the Establishment of Other Breakaway Parties**

It was not only the MB youth that have reached strong disagreements with the MB leadership, but a number of prominent senior MB members, including Ibrahim Al-Za'frani and Mohammad Habib. From his side, Al-Za'frani opposes the propensity of the MB organization toward the unity of the group at this juncture in order to face the hazards of seculars and other groups on Islam, and believes that a number of MB figures could start various parties or assemblies outside

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82 Salma Shukrallah, "Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood Struggles to Contain Cracks", *English Ahram Online*, July 19th, 2011, accessed on February 8th, 2012, available at:

[http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/16782/Egypt/Politics-/Egypts-Muslim-Brotherhood-struggles-to-contain-cra.aspx](http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/16782/Egypt/Politics-/Egypts-Muslim-Brotherhood-struggles-to-contain-cra.aspx)
the constraints of the MB organization. He, along with a number of colleagues, have decided to establish *al-Nahda* (The Renaissance) party on the true moderate Islamic thought so that the arena would not be monopolized by the MB and to allow religious youth to join the party, adding that the majority of whom are from outside the MB. Mohammad Habib, former deputy supreme guide, has also resigned from the Movement after 35 years and has joined *al-Nahda* party. Habib has stressed however on his attachment to al-Banna’s ideas.

A Salafi youth (28 years) who joined al-Nahda to later join *al-Tayyar al-Misriy*, has said that after 25January, he has decided to join a party and thought that the closest to his background would be an Islamist one. He was encouraged to join *al-Nahda* first from the good things he has heard about al-Za'frani during the revolution and since his party showed to have a clearer vision compared to *al-Tayyar* which started relatively later. But his experience in *al-Nahda* was not fruitful as there have been problems because of the ‘old’ and the leadership in the party who do not want to include the youth, reflecting that it is a country of the ‘old’, a whole generational crisis. So, after four months of membership in *al-Nahda*, he has moved to *al-Tayyar*.

Ehab Abo Ali (36 years), currently Secretary of the Organizing Committee of Aboul Fotouh's *Misr Al-Qawiyya* (The Powerful Egypt) party, has stated that he has joined *al-Nahda* party

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83 For further information, see interview with Ibrahim Al-Za'frani, *al-Diktatuur* program (The Dictator), *Al-Tahrir*, Uploaded on May 25th, 2011, available at:  
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RNZlfY00YnU (accessed on April 2nd, 2013)

84 Shaaban Hadiyya, “Istiqalat Muhammad Habib min Jama‘at al-Ikhwan wa Indimamuhu li-Hizb al-Nahda” (The Resignation of Muhammad Habib from the MB Group and his Joining the Nahda party), *Youm 7*, July 13th, 2011, available at:  

85 Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-Salafi member and current member of *al-Tayyar al-Misriy* (26 years), March 31st, 2013.
immediately after he has resigned from the MB and talked with Ibrahim Al-Za'frani, expounding that his choice has been largely based on his trust in the character of Al-Za'frani, particularly as al-Tayyar party did not show to have clear landmarks at that period. Abo Ali has added that there have been efforts afterwards to merge al-Nahda and al-Tayyar into one party but their disagreement in managing a party has hampered such endeavors. Later, precisely, in January 2012, there have been further attempts to merge the four parties: Amr Khaled's Misr al-Mustaqbal (Egypt the Future) including the Sunna al-Haya (Life Makers) group, al-Tayyar, al-Nahda, and al-Riyada (Leadership), another MB breakaway party, but al-Tayyar did not join. Muhammad Habib, has thus submitted the new Nahda party papers to the Parties Affairs Committee, after receiving the approval of Misr al-Mustaqbal and al-Riyada to merge. Khaled Dawood, al-Riyada founder, has asserted that the new party enfolds all political orientations and ideologies, in addition to a number of MB dissidents who disagree with the MB orientations. Dawood has furthered that the fact that the new party founders include MB dissidents does not entail they follow suit. On the contrary, the party comprises various ideologies that tend to conflict with that of the MB. Ehab Abo Ali (36 years) has elaborated that he has worked on the merge of the three parties for around two months into the new Nahda, stating that part of the old Nahda group joined and another did not. But due to some disagreement in running the party and the involvement of some of its members in the presidential elections, the party was not robust enough, and Abo Ali himself got engrossed in Aboul Fotouh's presidential campaign. During the

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86 Based on the researcher’s interview with Ehab Abo Ali (36 years), ex-MB member and current member of Misr al-Qawiiyya, March 30th, 2013.

campaign, the idea of establishing a party that would represent Egyptians has been entertained whether Aboul Fotouh would win or not. After the presidential elections, Aboul Fotouh has submitted the necessary registration documents in order to recognize his new political party *Misr al-Qawiiyya* (Strong Egypt) while hundreds of his members and supporters, mostly youth, rallied in front of the Supreme Court awaiting his arrival. The party is expected to be a good addition to the Islamic political life because of the personality of Aboul Fotouh and its broad base of youth. According to Abo Ali, *Misr Al-Qawiiyya*, compared to the MB’s performance, seems to have a strategic political vision and has a shadow government that will be announced soon.

**MB Leadership and the Youth under SCAF’s Rule**

Within the transitional stage since February 11th, 2011 under the rule of SCAF (The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces), the MB leadership has understood that the army has become the new master on the Egyptian political scene, and that to maximize its gains at this juncture necessitates the development of a working relationship with the new ruling force (Shokr, 2012, 26-27). With this mindset, the MB has supported the referendum on the constitutional amendments held on March 19th, 2011 as opposed to many other political forces. The Revolution Youth Coalition has held a meeting where its members have decided to reject the amendments and to organize campaigns in order to encourage people to vote “no”. Most MB youth

[http://www.worldbulletin.net/?aType=haber&ArticleID=97952](http://www.worldbulletin.net/?aType=haber&ArticleID=97952) (accessed on April 2nd, 2013)


members, however, though part of the coalition, have decided to follow the MB’s official stance to support the referendum. Following the constitutional amendments, the Coalition has issued a statement announcing its acceptance of the outcome of the amendments of the 77.2% “Yes” vote, since it represents the opinions of the people.  

The severance of the MB youth from the Organization has grown with the MB’s lenient stance toward the slow approach exhibited by SCAF in running the transitional period. Mohammad Morsi, FJP head then, has announced the FJP’s respect of the timeline set forth by the SCAF for power transfer. The MB has also demonstrated leniency toward the human rights violations committed under SCAF rule, such that when around 30 protestors, mostly Copts, were murdered by the military and security forces within the Maspero events on November 11th, 2011, the MB leadership did not take strong actions against the violent attacks on the Copts. Instead, it has pleaded the Copts as broadcasted on *Ikhwantube*, the MB official tube, to act wisely and has urged Egyptians to run the parliamentary elections as scheduled. In contradistinction, MB


91 “Youth Coalition Condemns Religious Polarization during Egypt’s Constitutional Referendum”, *Ahram Online*, March 22nd, 2011, available at: 

http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/8343/Egypt/Politics-/Youth-Coalition-condemns-religious-polarisation-du.aspx (accessed on May 20th, 2013)


93 For further information see MB’s broadcasting on *Ikhwantube* entitled "A Call from the Muslim Brotherhood to the Wise People Regarding Maspero events, uploaded on October 10th, 2011, available at:

http://www.ikhwantube.com/video/1664969/%D9%86%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%A1-%D9%85%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D8%AE%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%86-
youth have posted a statement on the FJP facebook page where they have held the SCAF and the military leadership accountable for the events and thus believe that the SCAF has completely failed to manage the transitional period. Mahmoud Hussein, MB Secretariat has responded that the MB group has nothing to do with that statement and that what has been said reflects the viewpoints of its posters only. One MB critical member has commented that such period was for them a post-revolution period which was totally outside the context of the MB. He as well as others has thus decided to participate in those events as what has happened in the Muhammad Mahmoud in November against the MB leadership decision. Another ex-MB youth member has expressed his resentment at the Organization due to its passive stances toward many events following the revolution, which have been clearly shown during the events of Muhammad Mahmoud and the Interior Ministry when the MB was preoccupied with the parliamentary elections.

94 For further detail, see the post of the MB youth published on the FJP facebook page, December 18th, 2011, available at: https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=295472863829820&set=a.181015468608894.37065.180319962011778&type=1&ref=nf (accessed on April 5th, 2013)


95 Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (23 years), June 1st, 2013, Cairo.

96 For further information see Abdel Moneim Mahmoud's blog "afkari" (My Thoughts), posted on November 1st, 2012, available at:

http://afkarmonem.blogspot.com/search?updated-min=2011-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&updated-max=2012-01-01T00:00:08:00&max-results=11 (accessed on August 14th, 2013)
When the MB’s self-interest was at stake as evident in the proposition of the supra-constitutional document which threatens the MB’s prospect of ultimately writing the constitution themselves if they become a majority in the parliamentary elections, the MB has called for a million man march in protest against the supra-constitutional document, and has thus instructed its youth members to participate; meanwhile, many youth groups have boycotted such march on the grounds that they are calling for a civil state where Islamists are seeking an Islamist one. This does not deny that Al-Tayyar Al-Misriy which enfolds a significant number of ex-MB youth members has opposed the document altogether but for different reasons, as demonstrated in its statement on its Facebook account, which was also the case of Revolutionary Youth Coalitions.

### Millionniyyas (Million Man March)

Apparently, some of the millionniyyas (million man marches) have stood as among the factors that have galvanized the conflicts between the MB leadership and the youth, including MB youth. Those protests have yoked the MB with an internal burden since the leadership decision has frequently been unfavorable to the MB youth who have participated in the Revolution from day

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98 For further information see al-Tayyar al-Misriy statement on its Facebook account posted on November 2nd, 2011, available at: [https://www.facebook.com/notes/tm-party](https://www.facebook.com/notes/tm-party)

and wanted to carry on. The picture has thus been saturated with contradictions, where the leadership would officially absent itself from some millioniyyas in which the youth would participate, as what has happened on the 27 May 2011 Millioniyya, or what is known as the 'Second Friday of Anger'. The internal wrangling between the MB leadership and its youth resurfaced on that day when the MB youth decided not to comply with the organization’s statement against participating on the Second Rage Friday (or the Political Corruption Friday as dubbed by the Youth Revolution Coalition). Islam Lotfy, MB former member and member of the Revolution Youth Coalition, has announced that they would participate in the Friday protests based on their firm belief that the revolution should be completed. The MB posted a statement on its official website stating that it would not participate in the Friday protests. The group has rejected calls for a second revolution as a revolution against the people and an endeavor to create disagreements between the military and the people. Mahmoud Ghezlan, member of the MB Guidance Bureau has confidently asserted that the MB youths would not engage in the protests, implying that the MB group had convinced that MB youth leaders not to participate. Muhammad al-Kassas, one of the members of the coalition, has stated that he did not think the MB would issue a statement that would condemn the protests and accuse protestors of treason. To the apprehension of the Revolution Youth Coalition, the MB leadership announced that it was dragging its youth from the coalition, where a statement was posted on Ikhwan Online quoting the words of the MB Secretary General Mahmoud Hussein as saying that “there are no

representatives currently of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Youth Revolution Coalition”.\textsuperscript{101} Later, al-Kassas has affirmed that he has made the right decision when he took part in the May 27 Friday but still he would still understand the sensitivity of the MB leadership against participation in a demonstration calling for establishing a new constitution before parliamentary elections, in contrast to the constitutional amendments that the MB was involved in drafting and promoting in March 2011. Al-Kassas has clarified that that was not the principal call for May 27 Friday but that the main goal was to complete the objectives of the January 25 revolution, including the eradication of the deposed President Mubarak and the prompt trial of all figures of Mubarak’s regime.

Such contradiction has exacerbated with the Muhammad Mahmoud events in November 2011 when the MB group has been officially absent from the sit-ins attended by the MB youth who have found themselves in a real conundrum between complying with the obedience discipline and leadership seniority where disobedience entails facing severe decisions which could reach dismissal on one side; and being obliged to continue on the revolution's path and at some instances to defend the MB group’s decision in not participating in front of other trends in Tahrir Square. In response to the accusations against the MB within the Muhammad Mahmoud anniversary, Ali Khafagi, FJP Secretary in Giza has defended the MB action then stating that the MB political stance during Muhammad Mahmoud events was geared to protecting the revolution, adding that a considerable number of MB members including himself have even

\textsuperscript{101} Dina Ezzat, “Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood Battles against its Youth”, \textit{English Ahram.org}, published on May 28\textsuperscript{th}, 2011 at: \hfill

participated on an individual basis. In concur, a female MB and FJP member (23 years) has stated that the MB’s actions could be understood by her as they function in a ‘proactive reaction’ fashion. Based on her analysis, the MB did not participate in Muhammad Mahmoud at the beginning as they were aware of the expected scenario which includes bloodshed and postponing the parliamentary elections. She along with many of her fellows has however participated from Day 1 as individuals until they got the official MB assignment to get to the streets.

Ikhwan online, the Official MB Website was thus exposed to recent criticism particularly regarding its coverage of mass demonstrations and protests, which were boycotted by the MB. As a form of constructive criticism, a group of MB youth have begun a campaign on Facebook and Youtube to promote their new website "Ikhwan Offline", which has been established as an alternative to the MB's official website Ikhwanonline.com. The founders have stressed on their website which remains under construction that they believe that if the Ikhwan Online website continues in its current form it will bring about great harm, and for that reason they have embraced the initiative. The editor-in-chief of Ikhwan Online, Abdel Galili El-Sharnouby, has resigned as a sign of protest against the MB leadership for the way the website covered the 27 May Second Friday of Anger. Ikhwan Online reported that only 5000 protestors participated on

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103 Based on the researcher’s interview with a female MB and FJP member (23 years), April 26th, 2013, Cairo.

that day in contrast to news outlets and eyewitnesses estimating the number of participants as
tens of thousands. The founders have emphasized that they have complained more than once,
but no significant change has materialized, furthering that they have contacted the MB media
committees but received no response to satisfy them. Apparently, the attention of the MB
leadership was directed to the parliamentary elections soon to take place.

Parliamentary Elections 2011

For the MB’s FJP, the slogan to use in the parliamentary elections has emerged as one of the
controversial issues since the Supreme Electoral Committee has considered the slogan "al-Islam
huwa al-ḥall" (Islam Is the Solution) as unconstitutional (Abdel Gawad, 2012, 87). The FJP
thus avoided using the slogan in favor of "min 'ajl míṣr" (For the Good of Egypt). Young
Brothers have found fault with the "al-Islam huwa al-Hall" during the 2005 parliamentary
elections. For them, the slogan was compatible in the 1980s when MB needed to underscore its
ideological background. The MB student section then innovated "min 'ajl míṣr" and it was
deployed by some parliamentary candidates on the 'reformers' side. After 25 January, the MB
has unresistingly adopted the new slogan in order to foster a wider coalition among other forces
rather than be locked up in religious slogans. The selection of such slogan could manifest on one
side the inclination of young MB members toward cooperation and coexistence with other
political discourses, and on another the flexibility of the MB leadership for pragmatic purposes.

Regarding the youth including those of the ex-MB who have been the spark of 25 January, the
placing of many parties, masses, businessman and elections' professionals on the list heads has
come at the expense of the revolution's youth, which has pushed a number of the Revolution
Youth Coalition members to run for parliamentary elections. The Revolution Youth Coalition which comprises a significant number of ex-MB members was not able to run for the parliamentary elections as one entity due to the disagreement of its members as to whether to participate or not. As a result, some members have opted for participating as Egyptian bloc lists, others have gone for the Revolution Continues list, or have participated as independent candidates. Such splitting up has negatively impacted the results which could have been avoided had the Coalition participated as one entity. Those youths have also refused to be polarized whether by a civil bloc or a religious bloc, which has further weakened its status. From another side, they have lacked the financial resources as well as the propagation and electoral powers of access to grassroots as those available to the MB and the Salafi groups. The youth who have won either have a strong media activity as ex-MB member Mostafa al-Naggar or belong to a strong bloc as Zeyad al-Eleimy, who has been on the Egyptian bloc list.

Participation among MB critical members have largely depended on their stance toward the establishment of a party, where some have abstained from joining in the parliamentary campaigns since they have been against the general idea of establishing a party. Others have participated through awareness-raising rather than organizationally. One of them has stated that

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106 For further information see the Revolution Youth Coalition Facebook page available at: http://www.facebook.com/Revolution.coalition (accessed on April 27th, 2013)

107 Based on the researcher’s interview with Sameh Al-Barqi, ex-MB member and current member of al-Tayyar al-Misriy (39 years), April 21st, 2013, Cairo.

108 Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (21 years), June 1st, 2013, Cairo.
he did not join the FJP as he has decided to abstain from political participation but used to give advice to people whether in the party or outside it.  

Before the results of the 2011 parliamentary elections have been announced, the MB consultative council has unanimously agreed to delegate its guidance bureau with the consultation of the FJP to decide on what would be suitable during the transitional period for the people's assembly and government – an action which has been received with cynicism by young members since FJP leaders have already held influential positions in the MB Consultative council.

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109 Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (31 years), June 1st, 2013, Cairo.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MB IN POWER: FROM PARLIAMENT TO PRESIDENCY

UNTIL BEFORE JUNE 30

Background

Parliamentary results have shown that the FJP has claimed 43.4% of parliamentary seats, as part of the Democratic Alliance including al-Karama, al-Hadara & Labor parties which has in total reaped 45.2%.\textsuperscript{111} Within the newly elected parliament dominated by the MB's FJP, Saad Al-Katatni, a long-term MB official has been nominated as the assembly's speaker. The least representative parties in the parliament was the 'Revolution Continues Coalition', the largest representative of the revolution's youth, which has only assured 9 seats, i.e. 1.5% of the total.\textsuperscript{112} The coalition was only able to reap nine parliamentary seats owing to limited financial resources, insufficiency of man power, low profile for revolutionaries among Egyptian grassroots and temporary suspension for electoral campaigns during some events (Abdel Gawad, 2012, 76). More importantly, the sense of collective action among youth revolutionaries has been somewhat lost following 25 January where, according to one of the ex-MB members, everyone seemed to

\textsuperscript{111}“Guide to Egypt's Transition: Results of Egypt’s People’s Assembly Election”, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, January 25\textsuperscript{th}, 2012, available at:  
http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2012/01/25/results-of-egypt%E2%80%99s-people%E2%80%99s-assembly-elections (accessed on May 20\textsuperscript{th}, 2013)

\textsuperscript{112}Ramy Nawwar, "Al-Khasirun wa-l-Rabihun fi Barlaman al-Thawra", Al-Youm 7, January 14\textsuperscript{th}, 2012, available at:  
want to start a new party and be on top of the parliamentary list.\textsuperscript{113} From another side, the Media managed to let people turn against the revolutionary youth which includes MB youth. Within the post-Revolution period and the rise of the MB to power, the political performance of the MB has manifested very significant traits, notably the transmutation of the MB's policy from political caution and anticipation to political expansion where it was working on expanding and filling political gaps on all possible occasions (Shokr, 2012, 28). But coming to power has placed the Organization in the difficult position of functioning in the open and even of governing, which should put it in a serious trial (Pargeter, 2013, 245-246). Following Saad Al-Katatni's, MB figure, nomination as the Assembly's speaker, an MB youth member and son of a prominent MB and FJP figure has anticipated that the MB's existence is coming to an end where the Group will turn into a party and the party will turn into an authority, and thus the organizational coherence will disappear.\textsuperscript{114} The social relationship within the MB will however remain such that even Aboul Fotouh is still in contact with the Group. From another side, the relationship between the now powerful FJP and other political trends will be negatively affected which could be demonstrated in the tension created between Essam al-Eryan and other political trends in the media.

With this, the cohort of MB youth could be forked into three groups: a) those who have left the Organization to join other parties or to stay independent; b) those who have stayed in the Organization but are critical of some issues within the MB; c) those who are supportive of the Organization whether as members of the MB only or as members of both the MB and its FJP party.

\textsuperscript{113} Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB member (26 years), April 30\textsuperscript{th}, 2013, Cairo.

\textsuperscript{114} Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (21 years), October 10\textsuperscript{th}, 2012, Cairo.
Presidential Elections

MB Youth Attitudes toward Aboul Fotouh’s Candidacy

A significant number of MB youth members who have developed critical attitudes toward the MB have found an alternative in Aboul Fotouh after 25 January. Two weeks following 25 January Revolution, 18 MB youth members then have assembled in order to discuss three main issues; namely, generating a third trend that is neither Rightist nor Leftist, creating a party, and starting presidential campaigns.\(^{115}\) After the 2011 constitutional referendum the idea has become clearer to them, so they have visited Aboul Fotouh in order to raise the idea of creating a party or of his nomination as a presidential candidate or both, to which Aboul Fotouh has decided to think about it since he was obviously worried as to whether they could really support him in those decisions. When they met with him the second time, Aboul Fotouh has announced to them that he would nominate himself as a presidential candidate, which was followed by the decision of his dismissal from the MB since the Guidance Bureau has earlier decided not to field a presidential candidate from inside the MB and not to lead the political scene. A critical MB member could share a number of MB members who could understand the action of the MB leadership against Aboul Fotouh as necessary since he has not abided by the regulations of the Organization and thus might open the door for others to follow suit.\(^{116}\) In contrast, a number of MB youth members who admire Aboul Fotouh's revolutionary nature have joined his presidential campaign in spite of the MB threats of dismissing those who would since they would

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\(^{115}\) Based on the researcher’s interview with Ali, ex-MB member (26 years), April 30\(^{th}\), 2013.

\(^{116}\) Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (31 years), June 30\(^{th}\), 2013, Cairo.
go against the Organization’s decision. In response to the issue of the MB youth dissenting against the MB’s decision not to field a presidential candidate, Mulhim Rageh, campaign coordinator in Cairo, has pleaded the MB leadership to reconsider its stance toward Aboul Fotouh elaborating that his support for Aboul Fotouh is not against the MB’s decision since the MB has announced that it does not have a candidate and Aboul Fotouh is not an MB candidate. It is worthy to note that not all members who have participated in the campaign have been dismissed from the Organization. A female MB and FJP youth member (23 years) who still retains her MB membership though she has joined the campaign has stated that things are not as systematic within the MB as they look. She believes that she has not broken the MB regulations since she has not announced the name of the person she would vote for until the last minute, and since she did not call on other MB members to nominate Aboul Fotouh. Another MB member has voted for him based on his conviction that voting is an individual decision rather than a collective one to be taken by the Organization.

In response to a number of MB youth posting on Facebook where they announce their refusal of Aboul Fotouh, one critical MB youth has commented that though he did not support Aboul

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117 Shaaban Hadiya, “Bid’ Hamlat Da’m Aboul Fotouh li-l-Ri’asa Wasat Tahdidat bi-Fasl Shabab al-Ikhwan” (The Start of Aboul Fotouh’s Presidential Campaign amid Threats to Dismiss MB Youth), Al-Youm 7, May 14th, 2011, available at: 

http://www.masress.com/youm7/411801 (accessed on April 28th, 2013)

118 Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB and FJP female member (23 years), April 26th, 2013, Cairo

119 Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (31 years), June 30th, 2012, Cairo.

120 For further information see the Facebook page entitled “Shabab al-Ikhwan Yarfudun Tarshih al-Duktur 'Aboul Fotouh Ra’isan li-Misr” (MB Youth Oppose the Nomination of Dr. Aboul Fotouh as President of Egypt), available at: 

https://www.facebook.com/pages/%D8%B4%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%A8-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D8%AE%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%8A%D8%B1%D9%81%D8%B6%D9%88%D9%86-%D8%AA%D8%B1%D8%B4%D9%8A%D8%AD-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AF%D9%83%D8%AA%D9%88%D8%B1-
Fotouh in the presidential campaigns, he was against the campaign launched against him describing it as an 'exaggerated' means taken by the Organization to protect its unity.121

MB Youth Stance toward Fielding Khayrat al-Shater as Presidential Candidate

The internal wrangling between the MB leadership and its youth has further exacerbated when some members of the MB Consultative Council has called for the nomination of Khayrat al-Shater as the MB presidential candidate.122 With the official announcement of al-Shater during the presidential elections, the relationship between the MB leadership and its youth has arrived at a turning point marked by lack of trust from the side of the MB youth in its leadership for two main reasons: First, the ethical mistake that the leadership has made by first deciding not to field a presidential candidate, then by retracting its former decision, which entails that the group has renounced its antediluvian slogan of mushāraka lā mughālaba (sharing not domination); second, its decision to dismiss Aboul Fotouh and other members who have supported him was not objectively and solidly grounded.

MB youth stances toward the decision seem to significantly correspond to the aforementioned classification of orientations. Many of the ex-MB youth members have tended to sympathize more with Aboul Fotouh. One ex-MB member has stated that he has sensed that the institution

121 Based on the researcher's interview with an MB member (21 years), June 1st, 2013, Cairo.

122 Since 25 January Revolution, al-Shater has been deemed as the most influential strategist where he was mainly behind the MB's decision to establish a political party and stood as the chief force leading to the drafting of al-nahda (Renaissance project), which was the MB's electoral platform. For more information see, available at:

has rather fallen into a somewhat ethical mistake of not admitting its poor vision but not forego a “regulatory” mistake related to its sacred *al-samt w-al-tāʾa* (blind obedience) principle by backing down on its decision to expel Aboul Fotouh. One critical MB member has stated that he sees no big issue in the MB’s retracing of its decision, but for him, it confirms that the situation calls for an Islamist centrist leader and affirms that Aboul Fotouh has a progressive vision.

Such action has further encouraged a group of youth known in the media as *ṣayha ikhwāniyya* (Ikhwani Call), who believe in the internal reform of the Organization and thus belong to the second orientation, to organize the first protest in the history of the MB group against its leaders in front of the MB main office. Mohammad al-Hadidy, the Founder of the *ṣayha ikhwāniyya* movement who is also Khayrat al-Shater’s son-in-law has stated that he always believed and still believes in the MB group, but with its announcement that it would nominate al-Shater as a presidential candidate, al-Hadidy as well as many other MB youth has started to reconsider matters. He has stated that such group has noticed the change of the image of the MB group in Egyptians’ eyes who have started to see the MB group as vacillating between one idea and another and to see its members as drifting blindly behind their leaders. Al-Hadidy refers to

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123 Based on the researcher’s interview with a resigning member of the MB (23 years), June 30th, 2012, Cairo.

124 Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (31 years), June 30th, 2012, Cairo.


http://shabab.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/7/97/ The Statement issued by *Sayha Ikhwaniyya* could be accessed on their facebook account, available at:

ṣayḥa ikhwāniyya as a group of the MB youth who have decided to establish this movement in an attempt to change such negative image of the MB youth and to demonstrate that the MB group comprises a large number of mature and sensible youth who are not liars or fickle. He adds that they are not against Khayrat al-Shater as a person whom they highly respect but they oppose the MB’s retraction of its former decision not to nominate a presidential candidate. Al-Hadidy has expounded that ṣayḥa ikhwāniyya is not premised on supporting Aboul Fotouh as a presidential candidate but on the right of any member to opt for who s/he wants, which does not contradict the idea of al-samī w-al-ṭā‘a. As a result, most of its members have been called for investigation.

For the third orientation of MB youth members who are supportive of the Group, quoting one of them, al-samī w-al-ṭā‘a within the Organization is an institutional matter, thus if the Organization has selected a candidate, they have to abide by its decision. He accordingly decided to vote for Khayrat al-Shater and had there been time to participate in his presidential campaign he would have taken part, in spite of a personal conviction that al-Shater did not have the capability to finish any project he has started. He could also understand the MB’s decision to field someone like al-Shater with the goal of creating the so-called 'MB crescent' of North African countries. Before the revolution, the MB believed that one state by itself cannot accomplish the aspired for Ikhwani Islamic project, but a number of states which have financial resources as Libya or an extrovert model as Tunisia could integrate toward attaining that model. The Arab Spring with its pertinent rise of some MB groups (in Egypt, Tunisia, Syria) has rendered that project possible, and al-Shater as a person seemed to have some type of project parallel to some extent that of al-Banna’s and considerable networks with countries he has

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126 Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (37 years), April 27th, 2013, Cairo.
travelled to as Malaysia and South Africa. A female MB and FJP member (23 years) has even regarded the MB’s decision to field a presidential candidate as necessary, since the only opposition to the military ‘deep state’ would be a ‘deep’ institution as the MB; in other words, an institution that could uproot but not get uprooted completely like what happened in 1954 during Nasser and in the 1980s during Sadat. She herself has joined the FJP two months ago to protect this institution against the ‘police’ state.

MB Youth Stance toward Fielding Muhammad Morsi as a Backup Presidential Candidate

When Khayrat al-Shater was disqualified because of a recent criminal record and Muhammad Morsi ran for presidency, few thought the latter had a chance. Those include some MB members particularly those who have taken part in Morsi’s presidential elections. According to one of them, leaders do not differ on the ground but what really matters are the organizational

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127 In 1954, after the MB have supported the Revolutionary Council against the Egyptian Monarchy and the British in the 1952 revolution, relations have soured between the Organization and the Revolutionary Council especially after an assassination attempt on Nasser that was widely attributed to the MB, and Nasser had the opportunity to dissolve the Organization and arrest its members. When Sadat became president following Nasser he gradually released imprisoned MB prisoners but in 1980 Sadat ordered massive arrests of the MB.

128 Based on the researcher’s interview with a female MB and FJP member (23 years), October 18th, 2012, Cairo.


According to some sources, Morsi has risen in the MB starting from 2000 when he joined the People’s assembly and assumed the role of the MB bloc leader between 2000 and 2005. He then became the leader of the MB’s political division after losing his parliamentary seat in 2005. From 2007, he became the main contact person between the MB and the regime's State Security apparatus. For further information see Eric Trager, Katie Kiraly, Cooper Close & Eliot Calhoun (September 2012), "Who's Who in Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood, The Washington Institute, available at:

and executive powers.\textsuperscript{130} He has elaborated by drawing a comparison between Aboul Fotouh and Morsi, stating that as much as he admires the former’s vision and discourse, he thinks Aboul Fotouh lacks the executive powers and that he was remote from executive decisions within the MB. In contradistinction, he has envisaged in Morsi a major executive personality during the 2010 collecting signatures for al-Baradei’s campaign in which he has participated. So, when Khayrat al-Shater was out of the picture, he needed a replacement, and Morsi was the next option due to those very powers. This, of course, in addition to the organizational powers of the MB as manifest in Morsi’s presidential campaign. As one of the MB members who have participated in the campaign, he could brag about the fact that the MB has come into power using its own weight and not the weight of the people in the street. To illustrate his point, he has recalled the 1200 Kilometer 'human chain' extending from Aswan to Alexandria during President Morsi's presidential campaign, stating that such march was a message sent to the Egyptian street about the powers of the MB. Ahmed Abdel Aaty, the campaign general coordinator, has confirmed that the campaign has aimed to include the human chain in Guinness world record as the longest human chain supporting a presidential candidate.\textsuperscript{131}

This could be evident when comparing Morsi’s campaign to Aboul Fotouh's, the first runner-up in terms of organizational powers. According to an MB Female and FJP member (23 years) who has participated in Aboul Fotouh then in Morsi’s campaign when the former was not qualified,

\textsuperscript{130} Based on the researcher’s interview with a male MB member (37 years), April 27\textsuperscript{th}, 2013, Cairo.

\textsuperscript{131} Gazia Khaled, "Ghadan .. Hamlat Mursi TunaZZimu Silsila Bashariyya min al-Iskindriyya li-Aswan bi-Tul 1200 Kilumitr" (Tomorrow .. Morsi’s Campaign Organizes a Human Chain from Alexandria to Aswan of1200 Kms), Al-Badil, May 16\textsuperscript{th}, 2012, available at: http://elbadil.com/egypt-news/2012/05/16/46019
Aboul Fotouh’s campaign could be described as highly organizational but resting on one organizational level; whereas Morsi’s campaign could be depicted as an integrated building where everyone works just like in a honey bee.\textsuperscript{132}

Many critical MB members did not vote for Morsi in the first round of presidential elections. One has stated that he has announced to his superiors that he would not vote for Morsi and thus would not participate in the presidential elections.\textsuperscript{133} He has outlined to them his procedural reasons for that decision, which include the lack of space for interaction with different opinions inside the Organization which heralds the impossibility to rule a country and deal with different opinions on a state level, in addition to the lack of space given to youth within the Organization.

For critical members outside the Organization, the stance was even stronger as for most of them, “Morsi represents the conservativeness and centralization in the MB”.\textsuperscript{134} Surprisingly enough, Morsi and former Prime Minister Ahmed Shafik qualified for the second round of presidential elections thanks to their well-organized electoral campaigns.\textsuperscript{135} With the positioning of the MB youth between the ‘MB state’ represented by Morsi and the ‘police state’ by Shafik, those youth have been put into a real test where they have to choose between Morsi, who quoting one of the

\textsuperscript{132} Based on the researcher’s interview with a female MB and FJP member (23 years), April 26\textsuperscript{th}, 2013, Cairo.

\textsuperscript{133} Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (31 years), June 2\textsuperscript{nd}, 2013, Cairo.

\textsuperscript{134} Based on the researcher’s interview with a former MB member and a founding member of al-Tayyar, June 29\textsuperscript{th}, 2012.

\textsuperscript{135} Muhammad Mahmoud, “Morsi, Shafik Set to Square Off in Egypt’s Presidential Runoff”, \textit{Al-Shorfa}, May 29\textsuperscript{th}, 2012, available at: \url{http://al-shorfa.com/en_GB/articles/meii/features/main/2012/05/29/feature-02} (accessed on April 6th, 2013)
youth, “has the catalog of the jama’a”\textsuperscript{136} and the old-regime figure General Shafik. According to Abdel Rahman Fares, a liberal-oriented Speaker of al-Tayyar, "it was more difficult for former MB members to vote for Morsi than us as figures like Morsi were responsible for dismissing most of those MB youth.”\textsuperscript{137} The first meeting held for members of al-Tayyar Al-Misriy in both Cairo and Giza governorates following the announcement of events could reveal such predicament.\textsuperscript{138} Still some slanting toward Morsi could not escape notice. One member has expressed that the phobia of MB is haunting them but they need to understand that it could be changed unlike that of the military\textsuperscript{139}. After considerable negotiations, the party has agreed to object to the voting of any of Mubarak’s figures and to support Morsi “as the most suitable option … while confirming our agreement with him and with the faction he represents in his program and political agenda.”\textsuperscript{140} For those ex-current MB youths, Morsi or the ‘MB’ state seems to be a necessity so as not to vote for Shafik or the ‘police’ state. Though they have voted for Morsi, they were not quite optimistic not out of anger at the group but rather out of concern

\textsuperscript{136} Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB member and a current member of al-Tayyar al-Misriy, June 29\textsuperscript{th}, 2012, Cairo.

\textsuperscript{137} Based on the researcher’s interview with Abdel Rahman Fares, member of the Revolution’s Youth Affiliation and Speaker of the al-Tayyar party (31 years), June 13\textsuperscript{th}, 2012.

\textsuperscript{138} I am grateful for being allowed to attend the first meeting held for members of al-Tayyar Al-Misriy in both Cairo and Alexandria governorates on May 27\textsuperscript{th}, 2012 in the party’s headquarters, Cairo. One of the main organizers has started the meeting by stating that he was not expecting a large turnout of members as there was a high level of frustration among them because of the results. A female member has stated that she accepts neither Shafik nor Morsi explicating that they have been dismissed as MB members because they were against a group. What would they expect then if they turn against a president now?

\textsuperscript{139} Another member has commented jokingly that if they revolt under the MB’s rule, the MB Sports committee would confront them, but under Shafik’s rule, the military would.

\textsuperscript{140} For further details, see the al-Tayyar’s announcement on the party’s facebook account, published on June 13\textsuperscript{th}, 2012, accessed at:

http://www.facebook.com/TMParty#!/notes/tm-party
about it. Quoting Iman, an ex-MB and current Tayyar member, if MB wins, that would destroy the group since it will be even more involved in politics which will deteriorate the intellect of the group.141

For the MB critical youth members the decision to vote for Morsi against Shafik was generally easier. An MB member and a son of a prominent MB figure has stated that for him there exists no big difference between Aboul Fotouh, whom he still cannot deem as separate from the MB, and Morsi, since both have the same political and ideological thought as nurtured by the MB.142

Cleavages among Youth under Morsi's Rule

On occasion of the passing of 100 days following Morsi’s presidency, the Revolution Youth Coalition which comprises a substantial number of ex-MB youth members has called various political orientations for a millionyyia on October 12th, 2012, entitled 'Judgment Friday' against President Morsi who has so far shown to espouse by and large the same policies adopted by President Mubarak in managing the state and crises, his orientation to the West and to foreign investment, and the absence of an independent national project.143 The Coalition has confirmed that such policies for which 25 January has taken place are still running under the rule of Morsi whose MB group tends to control most positions within the state and to adopt the same old policies but with new faces. Prior the march, the MB has surprisingly instructed its youth

141 Based on the researcher’s interview with Iman, ex-MB and current al-Tayyar member, June 5th, 2012, Cairo.

142 Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (21 years), June 8th, 2012, Cairo.

members to demonstrate on the same day and in Tahrir Square as well for the purifcation of the judiciary and against the ruling of the Battle of the Camel perpetrators as innocent. Such decision has raised the concerns of many, including the al-Tayyar al-Misriy party members who have discussed the issue and eventually contacted their ‘brothers’ in the FJP in order to heed their attention to the hazards of taking such step and that if they think they would cover up for the call for the ‘Judgment Friday’ millioniyya by calling for another, they might actually sacrifice the main cause they are all fighting for.\(^{144}\) Unheeded, buses of the MB have arrived at Tahrir Square where its passengers have been accused of setting one of the secularists’ platforms on ablaze.\(^ {145}\) Those men were witnessed as throwing stones at their opponents while shouting “We love you, oh Morsi.” More than 150 men were thus injured. Al-Kassas, former MB member and founding member of the Egyptian Trend party has contacted several youths including Ali Khafagi FJP youth secretary and Ahmed Okeil MB youth secretary in Cairo about the withdrawal of the MB members from Tahrir Square to the court house.\(^ {146}\) The MB members found difficulty in withdrawing which has been exacerbated by the absence of any MB leading figure MB youth could listen to. According to Hani Mahmoud, the MB’s decision to demonstrate in Tahrir Square, to think of the Judgment Friday as a threat to its power, its delayed decision to withdraw

\(^{144}\) For more detail see Hani Mahmoud's post on the al-Tayyar al-Misriy facebook page, October 15\(^{th}\), 2012, available at:  

\(^{145}\) Daniel Steinvorth & Volkhard Windfuhr, “Nervous on the Nile: Minorities Fear End of Secularism in Egypt”,  
Spiegel Online International, October 31\(^{st}\), 2012, available at:  

\(^{146}\) For more detail see Hani Mahmoud’s post on the at-tayyar al-misri facebook page, October 15\(^{th}\), 2012, available at:  
.. were such a big mistake. Amid all this, critical MB youth, as one of them has explained, did not have high expectations of Morsi's promises during his presidential campaign as they could understand that what would usually happen during campaigns. They accordingly did not take part in those events. They could realize however then that a clear chasm has materialized between them who now represent the 'regime' and other youth members.

The events of November and December 2012 have clearly exacerbated the rift within the MB as a result of the leadership’s endeavors to institutionalize its political hegemony. MB youths, could accordingly be clearly envisaged as categorized into two groups: those supportive of the MB, and those critical of the MB performance. The latter group could be further branched into two orientations: those who still believe in reform from within keeping a vigilant eye on the Organization's performance, and those who could no longer tolerate MB's performance and thus have left the organization in order to join other parties or groups, or stay as independent.

a) **Supportive MB Youth**

*Supportive MB youth stance toward a Party*

The question of establishing a party has particularly taken a front seat after the MB’s landslide victory in 2005 parliamentary elections, which has entailed the choice between keeping the proselytizing comprehensive image of the Group, or becoming a political party with all its sequential interaction with other political trends (Tammam, 2012, 20). For the FJP youth, citing Ahmed Okeil, an MB member and FJP media speaker, the FJP represents the political component of the MB which represents a more holistic idea. Okeil has opted for that political component.
part owing to his political experience since he was a student. Upon this understanding, he is educationally speaking an MB member who has chosen part of the nature of the MB work, i.e. the political. Had there not been an MB party, he would have worked in the MB political department. But how would be the case if the party ceases to stand for the MB views? a question posed by an MB and FJP female member? To which an MB leading figure responds that the MB would then issue a statement that the party no longer represents the MB and the Group would thus establish another one that would.\textsuperscript{149} To her, the FJP represents a societal experience rather than a political one, except for the general secretariat, where it stands as an upright societal basis from inside the MB and outside. She has added that some FJP members could even be against the MB ideas, and that half the members of the General Secretariat are from outside the MB. To her, such sudden openness for the MB, beneficial as it might be, has harmed the Organization, since shares of the ‘pollution’ within society has, quoting her, infiltrated into the MB society. Her words would in fact shed light on the ‘blue blood’\textsuperscript{150} nature of the MB as nurtured among the MB members including its youth.

In response to the attack launched against the FJP regarding using its societal role in order to recruit more FJP members for the forthcoming 2013 parliamentary elections, Okeil has stated that the FJP is not working on monopolizing the service-role of the state. He has further explicated that to join the FJP one needs to join first as an affiliate member and then needs to take training courses in order to become a full member.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{149} Based on the researcher’s interview with a female MB & FJP member (23 years), April 26\textsuperscript{th}, 2013.

\textsuperscript{150} In the ‘\textit{aqidatuna}’ (Our Belief) message, al-Banna, addressing MB members, describes their da’wa as "the most sublime da’wa known to human nature" and that they are "the inheritors of Prophet Muhammad PBU and his caliphs of God’s Qur’an". From the Memoirs of \textit{al-da’wa - al-da’iya} but are not part of Al-Banna’s messages. Those are seven items which have been put by the Guidance office and published on the cover-page of the Ikhwan magazine.
\end{flushright}
Though the FJP’s hierarchy could largely resemble that of the MB as demonstrated in Figure 2, Okeil has asserted that youth members within the FJP are increasingly given more space such that the FJP media speakers are virtually youth members. He has added that such tendency does not emanate from youth pressures but rather from the development of events, elaborating that

For further information see FJP hierarchy as posted on its Facebook page, June 2th, 2011, available at:

repression before the revolution used to prevent the MB Organization from acting freely, which include granting youth more participatory opportunities; but after 25 January opportunities, things are changing and everyone has realized the importance of youth. Okeil has further stated that other political parties such as al-Dostor are having such problems pertaining to youth involvement such that some youth members there have left the party.

In November, 2012 the FJP announced that it would qualify a number of FJP youth members for the 2013 forthcoming elections where the intended youth proportion was 9%.\textsuperscript{152} Ali Khafagi, FJP Youth Secretariat in Giza has stated that the party has set a 9 month project to enhance political expertise among the FJP youth specifically toward this goal, such that trainees would be equipped with various political strategies tools and strategies to interact with society. Such percentage has remarkably increased over the last few months such that Dr. Khaled Hanafi, FJP Secretary in Cairo, has affirmed in March 2013 that the party will increase the percentage to 30%.\textsuperscript{153}

\textit{Supportive MB Youth Stance toward the MB}

Okeil has furthered that the space allotted to youth in the FJP would naturally reflect on the MB youth within the Organization. The selection of parliamentary candidates shared between the party and the Organization could provide tangible evidence. According to him, the media campaigns launched against the MB has failed to tarnish the image of the MB especially those

\textsuperscript{152} Ahmed Darwish, "Shabab al-Huriyya wa-l-\textsuperscript{5}adala Yunafisun \textsuperscript{3}ala Thulth Maqa\textsuperscript{3}id al-Barlaman" (FJP Youth Contest for Third of the Parliamentary Seats", \textit{Al-Mesryoon}, November 2\textsuperscript{nd}, 2012, available at: \url{http://almesryoon.com/permalink/44329.html} (accessed on April 26th, 2013)

who have attacked institutions. He has cited the survey conducted by *Al-youm 7* (Seventh Day) online newspaper announcing that 55.21% of the newspaper readers believe that the popularity of President Morsi is increasing.\(^{154}\) Okeil has however alluded to the fact that though there lies a distinction between the performance of the President and that of the MB, the popularity of President Morsi could stand as an indicator. He could deem the election results as the measure of the image of the MB among Egyptians. His comments, in fact, could reveal the overlap between the Organization, the party, and the executive powers represented by President Morsi, of which a number of ex-Members have found fault with. He reckons that his attachment to the party is part of his attachment to the MB and that there is no utter administrative separation between the two entities. Still, the MB represents for him a broader and more comprehensive idea than the party. Okeil might concur with Muhammad Habib, Former Deputy MB Guide, who has criticized the MB for focusing on the political side at the expense of the da'awi one,\(^{155}\) but attributes such orientation to the political circumstances, expounding that societal work is currently witnessing a growing development within the MB. This does not entail, however, that all youth members supportive of the MB have to become members of the FJP. One MB youth member who has played an active role in President Morsi's parliamentary campaign has asserted that he is not an FJP member and has always considered the disadvantages of creating an MB party based on the experiences of Jordan and Algeria.\(^{156}\) He

\(^{154}\) “55.21% min al-Qurra’ Yu’akkidun Tazayud Sha’biyyat al-ra’is Mursi bi-l-Sharic” (55.21% of the Readers Confirm the Rise of the Popularity of President Morsi in the Street), *Al-Youm 7*, April 21\(^{st}\), 2013, available at:  

\(^{155}\) Based on an interview with Muhammad Habib, *Mumkin*, CBC, March 22\(^{nd}\), 2013 at 9:00 p.m.

\(^{156}\) Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (37 years), April 27\(^{th}\), 2013, Cairo.
has however supported the idea of creating more than one party inside the MB for pragmatic purposes.

More importantly, those youth seem to believe in the leading role played by the MB not solely as an Islamic project but as a national one. According to a female MB and FJP member (23 years), without the MB, the 25 January revolution would not have succeeded owing to their political and social power.\(^{157}\) They could further associate themselves with the 'state' power which could be denoted from her words as saying that “I now have the power of authority, so I cannot for instance demonstrate against Israel since we are bound by international agreements”.

Apparently though, the MB supportive youth seem to be witnessing some level of instability hovering between their attachment to the MB leadership and their hope to be understood by others, which could be manifest in the wide range of groups on Facebook such as “\emph{Ihna Shabab al-Ikhwan Id Wahda ma'a Qiyadatina}”\(^{158}\) (We the Muslim Brotherhood Youth Are One Hand with our Leadership), or “\emph{Ihna Shabab al-Ikwan Frafka Sah}”\(^{159}\) (We the Muslim Brotherhood Youth Know us Properly). In defense of the MB leadership stance toward involving youth in the decision-making process, many would understand that decisions should be taken within a close circle and that the strategic plan should not involve youth compared to the executive plan which is progressively open to youth.\(^{160}\) They could offer as pertinent evidence the presidential team working with President Morsi which comprises people whose ages range between 35 and 45.

\(^{157}\) Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB and FJP female member (23 years), April 26\(^{th}\), 2013, Cairo.

\(^{158}\) For further information see Facebook Page available at:


\(^{159}\) For further information see Facebook Page available at:


\(^{160}\) Based on the researcher’s interview with a male MB member (37 years), April 27\(^{th}\), 2013, Cairo.
The two MB members Osama Yassin, Minister of Youth and Bassem Ouda, Minister of Supply have been cited as an example of executive figures who encourage youth. In response to the appointment of the FJP member Yehia Hamed (35 years) as the Minister of Investment, Yassin has sent a message of optimism to the youth stating that if we now have a 35 year old minister, we might have in the future an 18 year old.\textsuperscript{161}

b) Ex-Current MB Youth Critical of the MB

Critical Ex-Current MB Youth Stance toward Parties

Before 25 January Revolution, \textit{al-Wasat} (Centrist) party was the only available example of a party and it was an 'unsuccessful' model to them.\textsuperscript{162} A significant number of them are however not against the principle of establishing a party, but rather against the lack of separation between the party and the Organization. That alarming issue has been earlier raised in the writings of Rafik Habib who has anticipated that the main challenge that would confront the MB would not lie in establishing a party but rather in creating a political discourse that could be set as distinct from religious discourse (Habib, 2009, 21). Many of those MB youth who have left the Organization have joined \textit{al-Tayyar al-Misriy} or later \textit{Misr al-Qawiyya} parties while others have not. An ex-MB member and founding member of \textit{al-Tayyar al-Misriy} has criticized the FJP which for him is operating based on the reputation that many generations starting from al-Banna,

\textsuperscript{161} Mahmoud al-Barghouti, " 'usama Yasin: Nahdifu li-'an Yakuna al-Wazir 'umuruhu 18 sana" (Osama Yassin: We Target that a Minister’s Age Become 18), \textit{al-Mesryoon}, available at: 


\textsuperscript{162} Based on the researcher's interview with Abdel Rahman Ayyash, ex-MB member (23 years), May 27\textsuperscript{th}, 2013, Cairo.
the founder, has built up. He has even attended a number of the FJP meetings and has informed Muhammad Morsi, FJP head then, that the establishment of the FJP represents the publication of a journal that would not be read by individuals, stressing that the party should be popular and republic in nature. He has thus been one of the founding members of al-Tayyar al-Misriy party, which according to Muhammad al-Qassas, another founding member, is a not an Islamist party, but a moderate one, and is a combination of ideologies, which is the party’s strength.

An ex-MB member and current member of Misr al-Qawiyya has stated that he opposed the idea that the MB Group could have a political party. He was not among those MB youth members who supported Aboul Fotouh at that early stage or to participate in his presidential campaign in spite of his confidence in Aboul Fotouh; still, he did not think that that trajectory was the right one then. But he started to sense that criticism was not enough and that the presidential elections could be a way to prevent any collusion between the military and the MB. He accordingly decided to take part in the campaign and thus to leave the MB. He has added that though he has been one of the active participants of Aboul Fotouh’s campaign, he felt then that the revolutionary dimension should not enfold parties then, and accordingly did not join al-Tayyar al-Misriy since he had a firm belief that they should completely free themselves from the regime before they work on party establishment. Following the campaign, they have been frustrated by

163 Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB member and one of the founders of al-Tayyar al-Misriy (34 years), January 21st, 2013.

164 Based on the researcher’s interview with Muhammad al-Qassas, ex-MB member and one of the founders of al-Tayyar al-Misriy (38 years), May 15th, 2012.

165 Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB member and current member of Misr al-Qawiyya (38 years), April 27th, 2013.
the results and have started to realize the importance of establishing a political party and make use of the political momentum then.

Most of those who have not joined any parties feel that that was not the right time for parties and many would rather get engrossed into some intellectual activity rather than a political activity through a party so as to get themselves prepared for political participation later on. One of them has commented that he has no objection to working with Aboul Fotouh for instance but not his party. He further believes that al-Tayyar al-Misriy would not have come into existence hadn't the MB taken such harsh stance toward it which has given the party some momentum. To him, al-Tayyar is more a protest movement rather than a political party. It seems to him as a mix of al-Ikhwan discourse which reiterates the same MB ideas but without qualifying to have a party program. The case of Aboul Fotouh's Misr al-Qawiyya is different since it is built on the personality of Aboul Fotouh himself, which could be supported by an ex-MB member and current member of Misr al-Qawiyya who has admitted that the party is still limited to the personality of Aboul Fotouh. At bottom, this is the time to create think-tanks and learn more about politics before establishing parties.

For critical MB youth members who have essentially not joined the FJP, they would rather stay as independent activists rather than join any party. One MB member has explained that he has developed some sense of political reluctance within the events and thus would not be inclined to get involved organizationally in any form of political participation. In concur with critical

166 Based on the researcher's interview with an ex-MB member (23 years), May 27th, 2013, Cairo.

167 Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB member and current member of Misr al-Qawiyya (38 years), April 27th, 2013.

168 Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (31 years), June 2nd, 2013, Cairo.
youth members now outside the Group, those MB members believe that the MB breakaway parties, notably the *al-Tayyar al-Misriy* have organizationally separated from the MB but would not separate ideologically, some might feel closer to *Misr al-Qawiyya*; but they are not certainly in favor of the MB's FJP. One member whose father is a prominent figure in the MB and FJP believes that the FJP should be separated from the Group otherwise it would harm the MB, but unfortunately, it is treated as part of the MB.\(^{169}\) Another has commented that the strong presence of youth in the FJP gives him pain as much as it might give hope since it demonstrates how it takes the MB leadership a very long time until they would listen to their youth.\(^{170}\)

*Critical Ex-Current MB Youth Stances toward the MB*

Though many critical ex-current MB youth members could be working within the same goal of the Organization; namely, the rise of Islam to power, they differ from the MB in their means.\(^{171}\) As early as the 2009 MB internal elections, some of those MB youth members under study have developed critical attitudes toward the Organization. Abdel Rahman Ayyash (23 years), an ex-MB member, has referred to a valuable dialogue exchange that has taken place between Ibrahim al-Houdabiy, an ex-MB member who was critical of the MB performance in their internal elections and Ahmed Abdel Gawad, an MB member then (currently ex-member) who was defensive of the MB performance on his blog, which could shed light on the internal debate within MB youth toward the Organization. Though most of those who have left the Organization have taken or been forced to take that step after 25 January. Some of them have distanced themselves from the MB much earlier. One has stated that though he has officially left the

\(^{169}\) Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (21 years), October 10\(^{th}\), 2012, Cairo.

\(^{170}\) Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (31 years), June 2\(^{nd}\), 2013, Cairo.

\(^{171}\) Based on the researcher’s interview with Ali, ex-MB member (26 years), April 30\(^{th}\), 2013, Cairo.
Organization at the beginning of 2012, he has actually begun to detach himself from the MB except for attending the *tarbiyya* (education) session starting from 2009.\(^{172}\) He has even started to develop such critical attitude from his student activity at the university when he sensed then some differences in management and that youth were not given enough space to act. Along time, the vision has become clearer to him and he has embarked on criticizing the involvement of the MB into politics without having a clear vision in his blog ' *Ikhwani .. 'Akhwati* ' (Brothers and Sisters). He could anticipate that the MB would gradually lose the educational part and in the meantime would not succeed politically since they lack the vision. His words could reiterate the words of Muhammad Habib, Former Vice MB Supreme Guide who has expressed his concern about the MB's embarking on political action at the expense of the educational part within the recent years which would significantly harm the movement.\(^{173}\) He has further stated that he was against the political actions of the MB during elections when they would insist on participating as electoral candidates for the purpose of propagating *daʿwa* among people, and accordingly he refused to participate in the events of the 2010 parliamentary elections.

Those MB critical members though opposing its political actions just like their ex-MB counterparts still reckon that the political component is but one dimension of the Organization which should be envisaged as higher than the idea of the party.\(^{174}\) One member has stressed that all moments of his life are inside the MB where one experiences education, repression .., adding

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\(^{172}\) Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB member and current member of *Misr al-Qawiyya* party (38 years), April 27\(^{th}\), 2013, Cairo.

\(^{173}\) Based on an interview with Muhammad Habib, *Mumkin*, CBC, March 22\(^{nd}\), 2013 at 9:00 p.m.

\(^{174}\) Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (21 years), June 8\(^{th}\), 2012, Cairo.
that as much as he would disagree with the MB on the intellectual, political and organizational levels, he would not consider leaving the Group.\textsuperscript{175}

**Al-Itihadiyya and Muqattam as Two Marked Locational Events**

The MB youth stances toward the Organization could be further grasped by means of juxtaposing two locational events; namely al-Itihadiyya in December 2012 and Muqattam in March 2013. In protest against President Morsi’s constitutional declaration, the Revolution Youth Coalition which includes a number of ex-MB members in tandem with other political forces have called for a ‘new Friday of anger’ in December 2012 in Tahrir Square and Itihadiya palace where President Morsi resides, in order to sustain the revolutionary masses.\textsuperscript{176} In a statement, the Coalition has declared that the constitutional declaration harbingers the demolition of the judicial authority and the rule of state, the establishment of the dictatorial state and the bolstering of MB’s grip on power.\textsuperscript{177} As a response to the attack on the ‘Itihadiyya’ demonstrations, Haitham Abou Khalil, MB leading figure, has advised MB youth not to let anyone fool them by claiming that there was a new conspiracy in order to push them into the ‘Itihadiyya’ milieu.\textsuperscript{178} His very last words reflect an intricate relationship connecting between

\textsuperscript{175} Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (31 years), June 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2013.

\textsuperscript{176} “Al-mu’arada Tunazzimu 6 Masirat ila al-Ittihadiyya .. wa Da’awat li-Miliyuniyya”, *Al-Arabiya*, December 11\textsuperscript{th}, 2012, available at: 

http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/12/11/254432.html

\textsuperscript{177} “Al-Mu’arada TunaZZimu 6 masirat ila al-Ittihadiyya .. wa Da’awat li-Miliyuniyya”, *Al-Arabiya*, December 11\textsuperscript{th}, 2012, available at: 

http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/12/11/254432.html

\textsuperscript{178} For more detail see Haitham Abou Khalil’s words on facebook, posted on December 6\textsuperscript{th}, 2012, accessed at: 

http://www.facebook.com/Egyptians.Louby/posts/457186337670722
the movement and its ‘subculture’ as saying: “the solution, youth, as the saying goes, is to kill ourselves rather than be killed by our enemies, precisely, to overthrow the Guidance Bureau ….”

According to an MB supportive member who has been in al-Itihadiyya, the MB was not planning to go to al-Itihadiyya but when they have seen that the people have infringed the system by trying to get into the presidential palace and were further supported by the elites, which does not go with the spirit of 25 January; in addition to the complacency shown by the ministry of interior and the presidential guards. The MB has thus seen that they should play the role of the ministry of interior in defending the palace but were instructed to avoid any clashes with the people and had to tolerate people's abusive words. This does not deny that there were individual spontaneous actions from the side of some MB youth like bringing down the people's camps which he believes has been magnified by the Media. At around 1:00 a.m. a sort of a massacre has started where a number of strange figures have appeared. To him, that could be reminiscent of the Battle of the Camel, commenting that the whole situation was fabricated and that the 16 killed were all MB youth members which according to him no one will believe. At bottom, he believes that the MB applies the policy of ‘absorption’ far more than required and that the National Democratic Party has not certainly disappeared. He has finalized as saying that he would not accuse any political party or group of using violence but of allowing the National Democratic Party to infiltrate into those parties' bodies.

An ex-MB member could understand the mentality of some MB youth participation in al-Itihadiyya as a type of Jihad for the sake of Allah since those protestors would try to get into

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179 Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (24 years), April 28th, 2013, Cairo.
Morsi’s palace and might arrest him.\textsuperscript{180} Such belief could be grasped by reviewing Item seven of \textit{aqidatuna} (Our Belief) message, where al-Banna says “I believe that the secret underlying the deterioration of Muslims is their distancing from their religion, and that the basis of reform is through a return to Islamic principles and teachings, which is possible if Muslims work on it. The mission of the MB is to attain such goal. I thereby vow to adhere to its principles and to be loyal to whoever works on it and to stay as a soldier in its service and to die for its sake.”\textsuperscript{181} He has also referred to the MB’s belief in the existence of a ‘third party’ which they believe they have to confront.

A critical MB member has stated that though there have been calls from the MB side for participation in al-Itihadiyya events, he did not take part as unlike for instance Muhammad Mahmoud events where there has been a cause against the SCAF, he did not find a real one for participating in al-Itihadiyya.\textsuperscript{182} He has afterwards felt so much pain by the death tolls on both sides and the wrong reading of the political scene which would increase the level of polarization and has raised his sense of political reluctance.

The Muqattam 22\textsuperscript{nd} of March 2013 events dubbed as the ‘Battle of Mountain’ could also be indicative of the current and ex-MB members stances toward the Organization and the sense of polarization among them, though on a weaker level. A number of protestors have blocked the road in front of the MB headquarters in al-Muqattam and have set wheels on fire to express their dissent to the attacks of the MB youth and the Guidance Bureau security on them following the

\textsuperscript{180} Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB member (26 years), April 30\textsuperscript{th}, 2013, Cairo.

\textsuperscript{181} From the memoirs of \textit{al-da’wa . al-da’iyya} but are not part of al-Banna’s messages.

\textsuperscript{182} Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (31 years), June 2\textsuperscript{nd}, 2013, Cairo.
protestors’ attempts to draw graffiti on the MB headquarters walls and floor.\textsuperscript{183} According to an MB statement, those protestors have provoked the MB youth members who were guarding the building. Thus, unlike what has been mostly stated in the media, the assault was directed from the protestors who attacked the building and MB youth and not the other way round.\textsuperscript{184} The following week after Friday prayer, a march moved toward Muqattam attended by protestors who called for the fall of the MB Supreme Guide and have tossed stones at MB youth members. Mostafa Khatib, an MB youth member stated that he has participated in a march organized by a group of MB members heading toward al-Muqattam in order to protect the MB headquarters from the attacks against it.\textsuperscript{185} In response to the events, the MB youth have organized a conference entitled \textit{Shabab Beyhibb Misr} (A Youth that Loves Egypt).\textsuperscript{186} Apparently, the MB youth have sensed the deteriorating popularity of the MB among Egyptians. Prior Al-Muqattam events, an MB female member (23 years) has expressed her fear for the MB to an MB older brother who has responded that the MB has expected such declining image and even worse from studies conducted within the MB. She has added that they are all well aware that this is a period of \textit{ibtilā’} (hard test) rather than \textit{tamkīn} (empowerment), expounding that they are even told so

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\textsuperscript{183} Muhammad Sabry, “Muhtajjun Yushī‘iluun al-Nar wa Yaqtā’un al-Tariq al-Mu’addi ila Maktab al-Irshad b-il-Muqattam .. wa-l-‘Amn YuTawwiq MuHit al-Mabna” (Protestors Set on Fire and Block the Road leading to the Guidance Bureau at Moqattam .. and the Security Surround the Building), Al-Ahram, March 16\textsuperscript{th}, 2013, available at: http://gate.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/4/28/321772/321772/ (accessed on March 18\textsuperscript{th}, 2013)
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\textsuperscript{184} http://www.ikhwanonline.com/Article.aspx?ArtID=142897&SecID=101
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\textsuperscript{186} http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u9Yxoci-CP4
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whether in private or public MB meetings. Interestingly enough, she has even commented that they have been living in a boon during the days of detention compared to now since then they have been then out of the plagued spot known as ‘power’. Her last words in addition to the comments of the other MB member on al-Itihadiyya events could actually touch on a sense of ‘victimization’ characterized by the MB as could be detected from the MB statement following the Muqattam events, and reflected on its staunch youth followers such that they feel oppressed though they have become in power. On the leadership level, Ahmed Aref, MB official speaker and MB youth member, has stated that the MB youth have shown a high level of patience in spite of the violence and injury they have incurred, not to mention, having a number of MB offices in some governorates burnt and attacked. Perhaps, one sole positive point gained by the Organization from al-Muqattam events is a prevalent banishment of the idea of the 'Ikhwan militia' spreading since the MB has come to power, which has even been affirmed by ex-MB members who have dissented against the Organization, and reiterated by Ahmed Aref, the MB official speaker, as posted on Ikhwan Online webpage.


188 Based on the researcher’s interview with Ali, ex-MB member (26 years), April 30th, 2013, Cairo.

189 Based on the researcher’s interview with Ali, ex-MB member (26 years), April 30th, 2013, Cairo.

A critical MB member has stated that he has not participated in al-Muqattam events as the political gap between him and the Organization has started to widen though he believes that the MB have the right to protect themselves unlike in the case of al-Ithadiyya.\(^{191}\) The two events demonstrate two juxtaposing positions by the MB where in al-Itihidiyya, the Organization has transcended its role by taking up the role of the state in protecting the president’s palace, but in al-Muqattam, the MB members were attacked and thus had the right to protect themselves. The two events could in fact touch on the nature of ‘exceptionalism’ of the MB where they would not consider their actions as denoting double-standards but would describe the situations themselves as exceptional and thus entailing certain actions.\(^{192}\)

**Relationship among MB Youth Groups**

Even the relationship among MB youth groups has been seen in different ways by the three groups. For supportive MB youth members, the relationship has not been negatively influenced by the changing political events, where many FJP members have stated that they are still in good contact with those who have left the Organization, who have mostly joined *al-Tayyar al-Misriy* or *Misr al-Qawiiyya*. For Ahmed Okeil, the difference between those who have left the Organization and other MB members is only political; and he reckons that those dissenting youth are still influenced by the idea of Centrist Islam on which the MB thought hinges, and thus have not abandoned its entire thought.\(^{193}\) He however blames those who have left the organization based on a conviction that they have made a hasty decision and should have waited till time permits.

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191 Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (31 years), June 2\(^{nd}\), 2013, Cairo.

192 Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB member and researcher (28 years), April 10\(^{th}\), 2013.

193 Based on the researcher’s interview with Ahmed Okeil, April 26\(^{th}\), 2013, Cairo
Critical MB youth members however see the relationship as growing tense between MB youth and other youth members. One member has stated that they have thought that they would not have the same problems within their generation but they have realized that their coming to power has created a chasm between MB youth members who represent the 'regime' and other youth members who are the opposition. He has referred to the Friday, October 12th, 2012 millioniyya, the first millioniyya against President Morsi, as a clear manifestation of the polarization between MB youth and other youths. The relationship between critical and supportive MB youth are human-based and thus should go beyond ideological differences, but unfortunately this does not materialize, which leads to self-isolation. On the other side, though critical MB members still maintain relationship with their counterparts who have left the Organization, they feel that that the social lives of those ex-MB members have been seriously affected when they left the Organization (as if those critical MB members were convinced or convincing themselves of the importance of staying in the Organization in spite of their disagreements).

Along the same lines, an ex-MB member has described the existing MB youth members as more violent, introverted and extreme than the MB leadership itself and that they tremendously differ from MB youth a few years ago who used to have relations beyond the Organization. He has attributed that growing trend to the insistence of the MB leadership on preventing diversity within the Organization and on polarizing its youth. The MB annual conference held on March

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194 Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (21 years), October 10th, 2012, Cairo.

195 Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (31 years), June 2nd, 2013, Cairo.

196 Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (21 years), June 1st, 2013, Cairo.

197 Based on the researcher's interview with an ex-MB member and current member of Misr al-Qawiyya party (38 years), Cairo.
23rd, 2013 could provide a tangible example when the MB was aiming to polarize its youth from other revolutionary forces by displaying a video which included ferocious attacks by protestors against MB members and supporters without crossing any abrasive words or brutal scenes, which has expectedly raged the youth members who started shouting for retribution.198

CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSION

The MB’s Hegemonizing Project and Youth Recruitment

The thesis has endeavored to explore the rise of a potential Islamist subculture of MB youths within 25 January. For the purpose of study, Gramsci’s theory of hegemony and counter-hegemony has been deployed to explore the interplay of power relations within the coercive state apparatuses as government and within consensual civil institutions (Bodroghkozy, 1991, 217) emblemized in the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt as a religious organization, and their impact on MB youth. In light of the Gramscian thought, the MB has emerged as a hegemonic project which works on creating a politico-religious worldview that has constructed the philosophical substructure for the emancipation of their nation by means of a cultural revolution (Simms, 2002, 573).\(^\text{199}\) The MB’s hegemonic strategies have hinged on espousing "the organizational capacity to establish a rival historic bloc" through maintaining "a long war of position" (Morton, 2000, 261). The Organization has thus followed the pattern of a social movement signifying a process of collective opposition to a specific structure of political order (See Mitchell 1969). The core leadership of the MB has mainly comprised professionals, where Islamism could be deemed as a religiously inspired mobilization framework with the goal of engendering social change by means of generating socially conscientious administrators and civil servants, and more recently

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\(^{199}\) Conspicuously, the nucleus of the MB has always mostly comprised professionals, and accordingly, it could be contended that Islamism for the MB has represented a religiously inspired mobilization framework with the goal of producing social change. Such mobilization has socially engendered responsible civil servants and administrations, and during the last years, trained politicians (see Emin Polijarevic, 2012, 196)
fully fledged politicians (Polijarevic, 2012, 196). Throughout time, the MB has been capable of creating a hegemonic power against the Egyptian government, and of recruiting a highly significant number of youth through offering a wide range of motivational incentives upon participation, and to mobilize them into politics as a moral duty or obligation (Wickham, 2004, 231-232). Lower-middle class youth have thus been converted "from targets of recruitment into agents of Islamic reform" by means of an array of benefits starting with the practical incentives (including visas, jobs, ..), moving to "a massive project of ideological outreach" (Wickham, Ch.9).200 Those youth members have accordingly developed some form of 'collective identity' which has brought with it a sense of common purpose and shared commitment to the cause of the Organization (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, 21).

2005 MB Parliamentary Victory within the MB Hegemonizing Project

Gramsci has posited that man, his way of thinking and feeling need to be revolutionized before revolutionizing class and political relations for attaining hegemony (Femia, 1987, 52); Likewise, al-Banna has called for changing man, followed by society then the political system (Habib, 2009, 33).201 Tracing the history of the MB could depict the success of the MB in the 2005

200 Youth notably university students have thus been recruited into the movement in a way that has been crucial to the survival and expansion of the MB. For instance, the acceptance of Aboul Fotouh, Prince of al-jama’a al-Islamiyya at Cairo University in the 70s regarding the joining of al-Jama’a’s into the MB Organization has been pivotal to the MB’s return again to the ground and to pump new blood into the aging organization that would not have survived without it. For further information see Hossam Tammam’s Tahawwulat al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin: Tafakkuk al-‘Aydyulijiyya wi Nihayat al-Tanzim (Transformations of the Muslim Brotherhood: Disintegration of the Ideology and the End of the Organization, 2006, 49.

201 Hassan al-Banna states in his Message to the youth that "the MB program works within clear stages ... we first want the Muslim man in his thinking and beliefs ... and we want after that the Muslim house in its thinking and beliefs ... and we want after that the entire Muslim nation, and toward that goal we are keen to let our da’wa reach every house, to let our voices be heard everywhere, and to let our idea spread and penetrate into villages, hamlets, cities, urban centers and countries. We spare no effort toward that end"
parliamentary elections reaping 20% of parliamentary seats as harbingering the success of the MB's war of position, or in MB’s terms, the first traces of the stage of tamkīn\textsuperscript{202} (empowerment) which entails propagating the idea among people in a way that would allow that idea to reach the society through political, constitutional and legal system (Habib, 2009, 33). Upon this understanding, the 'war of position' would denote the participation and competition of the apparatus of civil society and the political system by means of parliaments, governments, trade unions with the primary goal of mobilizing with the working class so as to resist their division and fragmentation (see Robaina, 2006). In tandem and within the MB’s framework, the stage of tamkīn signifies the largest portion of change in society to a level that would allow direct political work with the goal of changing political conditions according to the Group’s vision (Habib, 2009, 34-36). Al-Banna has not offered a clear conceptualization of the stages of political change, yet he had a firm belief that the parliamentary work constitutes an important stage within stages of change and that the role of the Group in attaining political change hinges on its access to parliament.\textsuperscript{203} Such stage of political presence might have traces in previous periods back to the 80s emblemizing with the 2005 victory which shows that the stage of tamkīn is not actually one stage, but a number of stages that indicate arriving at the proper level to perform some political role; NOT one stage to perform all political roles nor the appropriate

\textsuperscript{202} The tamkīn project has been the product of the work of MB leadership from the second and third lines (70s & 80s generation), which entails reorganizing the MB administrative-wise, rearranging its structures and its various institutions in a very accurate manner, and designing specific and systemic steps to control the State apparatus and come to power in a peaceful fashion. The project documents were disclosed in 1992 and thus have confirmed to the previous regime that the MB has become as powerful as a parallel state to the regime's state but without the deficiencies and limpness of the actual state (see Tammam, 2006, 9).

\textsuperscript{203} Al-Banna was initially against the MB’s participation in the parliament based on his earlier belief that the political system during the 1920s and 1930s was corrupt and only to the benefit of the elites and the British colonialists (see Simms, 2002, 569-574), but with the massive amount of newly recruited young members in the 1930s, the Organization began to adapt to the political realities of the time.
stage to come to power. The MB’s coming to power in Egypt, in fact, enfoils tremendous local, regional and international consequences that have been present in al-Banna’s mind.

**First Traces of the Rise of a Youth Subculture within the Parliamentary Victory**

At a time when the MB parliamentary victory has harbingered the success of the MB hegemonizing project, it has generated the first traces of a rise of an MB youth subculture that has developed some level of disgruntlement with the Organization's performance which has grown to pinnacle with the 25 January Revolution and its after effects. Such development within those MB youth members could conspicuously correspond to Melucci’s conceptualization of 'identity' as a dynamic concept that is largely influenced by social agents' experiences in terms of contextual opportunities and constraints (See Melucci, 1989). A number of MB youth members have sensed that the MB Organization was participating in the elections not to win, which was somewhat blurring.\(^{204}\) To them, the MB could be distinguished from many other Islamist groups in its not resorting to violence, so how could the elections not be taken advantage of? They have thus deemed their parliamentary victory just like their wins from 25 January in coming to power as an opportunity they have availed rather than a merited success they have earned.\(^{205}\) Such idea has been confirmed with the ensuing events including the judges' independence crisis that has emerged in 2006 where those MB youths have felt that the MB Organization has ignored a golden opportunity to oust Mubarak's regime. That also applied to Gaza events in 2009 when

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\(^{204}\) Based on the researcher’s interview with Islam Lotfy (34 years), an ex-MB member and founding member of al-tayyar al-Misry, May 4\(^{th}\), 2013, Cairo.

\(^{205}\) Such tendency could be envisaged from the MB’s first demonstration on March 27\(^{th}\), 2005 against the issue of the amendment of item 76 of the constitution compared to kefaya movement that has preceded the MB in demonstrating (December 12\(^{th}\), 2004), and thus might have forced the Organization to get to the streets afterwards in order not to lose its credibility (See Tammam, 2006, 10-11).
those youth members felt that the MB did not use the issue of Gaza to trigger a popular movement toward ousting Mubarak's regime.

**Framing of Collective Action by MB Youth**

The development within MB youth members could be grasped from a lucid understanding of social movements as entrenched in a field of multiple actors competing for framing hegemony, where such competition does not only take place between a movement and its opponents, but within the movement itself as well (Wiktorowicz, 2004, 17). Upon this understanding, intramovement divisions existing between the MB leadership and the youth members have generated intramovement framing disputes. Framing, thereby, signifies an active and dynamic process of interpretation of events by social movement activists in a way that would enfold the generation of not only different interpretative frames but ones that may challenge existing frames, where the ensuing products of this framing activity are ‘collective action frames’ (Snow & Benford, 2000, 614). The pro-change MB youth under study have developed earlier than 25 January some level of disagreement with the MB leadership, such that some of them have started to express their dissatisfaction with certain issues when they were in the students’ department as back as 2005, but were not listened to. In line with Gamson’s three collective action frames (Gamson, 1992, 6), those youth have experienced feelings of ‘injustice’ directed toward the MB Organization which has excluded them from the decision-making process. They could understand, meanwhile, that those responsible for such unfairness were themselves restricted by the regime (Gamson, 1992, 32). Such two-tiered levels of injustice could be manifest during the 2009 MB internal elections when many of those youth have sensed that they have been coerced
by both the MB Organization and the regime.\textsuperscript{206} The regime repression of the organization has however hindered those youth from pursuing their own desires and beliefs (Melucci, 1989, 34), since repression would strengthen "collective identity, the sense of affiliation to a group, by operating as a symbolic reminder of a group's shared circumstance vis-à-vis authorities and their agents of control" (Khawaja, 1993, 21). Within the ‘agency’ frame, a number of those youth have sought the Internet as a type of liberating educational experience which has opened up chances for them to change their existing conditions (Gamson, 1992, 59-60). As Abdel Rahman Ayyash, an ex-MB member explains, it was a unique experience for someone like him coming from Mansoura to have his own blog on the Internet.\textsuperscript{207} Abdel Rahman was among those who have posted the MB internal lāiḥa (regulations) considered then as a ‘classified’ issue on his blog, which as a result was posted afterwards on the MB website, and thus they have broken stereotypes via Cyberspace. Moreover, Cyberspace has been a meeting place between MB bloggers and liberal bloggers who have found through their exchanges that they “share common grievances and attributional orientations”, and accordingly some form of ‘frame bridging’ has materialized between the two groups toward changing the existing conditions in the country, which has eventually led to 25 January (see Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford, 1986, 467-468). The ‘identity’ frame within Gamson’s classification has emerged within 25 January when those youth have expected that the MB would alleviate some of its organizational excessive restrictions but instead the MB leadership has tightened its grip on its members for fear of

\textsuperscript{206} One MB member then has been advised by his friend not to further his rebellious activities against the MB organization since at the end of the day he would be deemed by the regime as an MB member. So if he would turn against the Organization, he would be detained and go to hell as well. Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB member (23 years), May 17\textsuperscript{th}, 2013, Cairo.

\textsuperscript{207} Based on the researcher’s interview with Abdel Rahman Ayyash, ex-MB member (23 years), May 17\textsuperscript{th}, 2013.
granting them more freedom which could eliminate the culture of repression. Those MB youth under study have accordingly developed some ‘we’ in opposition to some ‘they’ whom they have held responsible for some dissatisfactory situation (Gamson, 1992, 85), notably the dismissal of Aboul Fotouh and the establishment of the FJP without the consultation of youth regarding its top representatives and who now have the power to change it. Those youth have felt that they have acted with integrity toward the Organization when it was repressed but now they could no longer find an excuse for tolerating the MB's performance which as an Islamic project has shown to be "quitting the proselytizing activity for the sake of the pseudo-political".

**MB Youth War of Position/War of Movement within 25 January**

Gradually, those MB youth members under study have emerged, in Gramscian problematic, as ‘organic intellectuals’ who have developed some form of resistance directed not only against the regime but against the Organization, not through violence but through cultural subversion (Simms, 2002, 565). In this context, the internet has been utilized by this MB youth base as a device sustaining counterhegemonic discourses (Warf & Grimes, 2012, 261) within their war of position directed against the strict *al-sam*c *w-al-tāc*a principle (i.e. blind obedience) on the organizational level and as part of the Group's war of position against state domination. Quite interestingly, the circles of communication of those MB youth have broadened with the

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208 For further information see Abdel Moneim Mahmoud's blog "Afkari" (My Thoughts), posted on May 21st, 2012, available at:

http://afkarmonem.blogspot.com/search?updated-min=2012-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&updated-max=2013-01-01T00:00:08:00&max-results=21

209 Based on the researcher's interview with Islam Lotfy (34 years), an ex-MB member and founding member of *al-Tayyar al-Misriy*, January 21st, 2013, Cairo.
broadening of the internet facilities themselves along time from forums to blogs to Facebook. On the state level, a closed Facebook group entitled 'Kalimat Haqq' (A Word of Truth) has been founded by MB youth members who have decided to participate in 25 January with the goal of uniting their efforts and communicating with other youth activists and Khaled Said members in the preparation of the 25 January protest plans.\(^{210}\) That has taken place just before the state has cut off virtually all internet access in Egypt in order to control street protests threatening to topple the old regime,\(^{211}\) as a manifest evidence of the state's awareness of the role of the internet in mobilizing Egyptian youth, including MB youth, in their now war of movement against the state. At that juncture, in Gramscian terms, there remained the climatic attack on the state fortress, where the 'revolution of spirit' has to step back for the 'revolution in arms' (Femia, 1987, 206-207), as emblematized in the 18 days of 25 January Revolution. From another side and within their rising counterhegemonic efforts, a Facebook page entitled 'la Tujādil wa lā Tunāqish 'anta Ikhwanji' (Do not Argue or Discuss You are an MB)\(^{212}\) has been launched by a number of

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\(^{212}\) See 'lā tujādil wa lā tunāqish 'anta ‘ixwanji' Facebook page available at: https://www.facebook.com/pages/%D9%84%D8%A7-%D8%AA%D8%AC%D8%A7%D8%AF%D9%84-%D9%88%D9%84%D8%A7-%D8%AA%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%82%D8%B4-%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D8%AE%D9%88%D9%86%D8%AC%D9%89/203236909698465 (accessed on June 14th, 2013)
MB youth members in 2011 in protest against the actions taken by the MB leadership against Aboul Fotouh and his supporters, and the founding members of al-Tayyar al-Misriy.

The rise of those MB youth as a subculture within 25 January could thus represent some form of resistance against the authoritarian Mubarak regime on the state level in tandem with counter-hegemony against the strict al-samā’ w-al-tā‘a principle (i.e. blind obedience) on the organizational level. In their resistance to the two protective overarching structures, MB youth have found common grounds with other Egyptian youths as could be translated for instance in The Revolution Youth Coalition and in the two parties al-Tayyar al-Misriy and Misr al-Qawiyya established by splintering MB youth groups.

**Categorization of MB Youth within 25 January**

It would however be an oversimplification to deem MB youth as universally more progressive than their leadership as some youth members could exhibit even more conservative stances pertaining to social issues than the older leadership. This could correspond to Mannheim’s notion of ‘the contemporaneity of the contemporaneous’; namely, the coexistence of different generational units at the same actual time with each living a distinct experience (Mannheim, 1952, 282). In general, nevertheless, previous studies on the MB have demonstrated that the Organization's youth members as al-Anani has concluded "are more intellectually open than their elders, and this makes them, like other young reformists, more accepting of democratic principles such as freedom, equality, justice and citizenship" (Al-Anani, 2009, 97).

Not all the MB youth have accordingly taken the same stance toward the Organization within 25 January, where some youths have remained supportive of the MB whether as MB members or as MB and FJP members; whereas many others have started to voice their disgruntlement with the
Organization's performance. Within the second group which is the particular focus of the study, two orientations have surfaced; the first of which has espoused a ‘reform’ strategy from within and internal advice as a means to brace the organization, and the second believes that reform could only materialize by stepping out of the shadow of the MB and thus have joined other political parties or established new ones, notably *al-Tayyar al-Misriy* and *Misr al-Qawiyya*, or are still independent largely focusing on intellectual activity.

The first group which includes supportive MB youth seems to understand how the Organization has been usually operating politically on the ground before it has come to power within 25 January Revolution. One of those MB youth, who have participated in al-Baradei's campaign in 2010 under the guidance of the MB led by Muhammad Morsi and Mahmoud Ezzat, could understand how the MB would prefer to stand behind a politically acceptable figure like al-Baradei who would be at the forefront as part of their ‘calculated risk’ strategy. They could also understand that the Ikhwani education hinges on gradual progress and that’s why they see that other dissenting MB youth have acted hastily. In this sense, they seem to have adopted the 'sectarian' spirit characterizing the Group that has probably emanated from the high level of repression and clampdown the Organization has suffered throughout its history by the regime whatever powers it has amassed, which has rendered the MB a large sect rather than a general trend that could absorb the rest of society (Tammam, 2012, 63). That spirit which has generated a provocative attitude among many of its leading figures when dealing with others and their lack of ability to surpass a lot of ideological and historical sensitivities has been recurrent in many of the MB leaders' declarations who usually refer to themselves as the major victims of the regime. Such sense of 'victimization' seems to have naturally transferred to those MB youth members,

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213 Based on the researcher's interview with an MB youth member (37 years), April 27th, 2013, Cairo.
particularly those who have held some level of power as demonstrated in a number of recent media statements issued by the FJP media speakers who are mostly youth members. In response to the attacks on the MB Muqattam office and the MB youth members, Ahmed Aref, MB official speaker, has accused the opposition figures of using violence and of stirring up disorder in the streets affirming that the MB will not push the country into a civil war.\(^{214}\) From its side, the Organization seems to be playing on such sense of victimization as might be shown in the provocative video displayed at the MB conference following the Qattamiyya events, or the MB statement issued in response to Al-Moqattam events enumerating (as usual) the sacrifices made by the MB during the former regime and 25 January Revolution.\(^{215}\) Though the MB might have actually suffered a lot under the former regime, stating that continuously might have widened the chasm between the Group and the other forces including critical MB and ex-MB youths, and might have delivered, in Tammam's words, a sense of an 'Ikhwani arrogance' (Tammam, 2012, 63), especially with the Organization's coming to power.

The second Group involving critical MB or ex-MB youth members could be depicted as showing a more revolutionary stance which could be manifest in their attraction to Aboul Fotouh due to his revolutionary nature compared to the rest of the MB higher echelons notably Muhammad Morsi who, quoting one of them, “represents all conservativeness and centralization in the


In comparison, Aboul Fotouh has been the only leading MB figure present with protestors in Dar Al-Hikma on January 25th. But if Aboul Fotouh is comparatively revolutionary for them, the MB-Salafist Hazem Salah Abu Ismail is even more revolutionary such that some MB youth have opted for him citing his revolutionary nature among his main assets. Their stances have generally emerged out of a sense of discontent with the MB tactical adjustments to the obstacles set by the authoritarian regime largely incepting following 2005 parliamentary victory, which from one side has led to internal discord reflected mostly in generational wrangling (Polijarevic, 2012, 186); but from another, has prevented those disgruntled youths from acting further against a 'repressed' organization and since there was no alternative then. This does not prevent however the existence of some earlier individual actions of dissidence by a few members including Ibrahim al-Houdaiby and Mostafa Al-Naggar who have left the Organization. In addition, a number of MB youth members have taken critical stances toward the Organization particularly after the 2009 MB internal elections where some have even stayed aloof from all MB activities save the tarbiyya (educational) lessons. But with the 25 January, they could no longer understand the ‘stagnation’ of the organization which needs to keep abreast with the changing world since the Revolution. A female MB member has stated that she has heard the MB leading figure Khayrat al-Shater on Al-Jazeera news two times.

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216 Based on an interview with an ex-MB member and a current member of al-Tayyar al-Misriy (31 years), June 29th, 2012, Cairo.

217 Based on an interview with a female MB member (23 years), June 15th, 2012, Cairo.

218 Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB member (23 years), May 17th, 2013, Cairo.

219 Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB figure and current member of Misr al-Qawwiyya party (36 years), March 30th, 2013, Cairo.
and he was discussing how the MB is suppressed by the regime, as if he couldn’t realize that there was a revolution.220

The first orientation within the second group involves critical members who have been greatly influenced by the political openness within 25 January and the rise of the MB to power such that they have felt less obliged to support the 'powerful' Organization where most of them have decided to leave the MB when it has already started to amass gains from the Revolution rather than leave it earlier in times of distress or meḥna (suffering).221 Their disagreements with the Organization have started first on the administrative level and gradually developed to be on the ideological level. One of them has explained that you stay attached to the organization in spite of the administrative agreements the same way you are to your parents, and after you keep a distance you tend to criticize more objectively to realize that the differences have been much deeper.222 Most of those have established Al-Tayyar al-Misriy party or have joined later Aboul Fotouh’s Misr al-Qawiyya party, but some are still seeking an alternative to the MB.

The second orientation within that group has decided to stay in the organization whatever ideological, political or organizational disagreement they might have with it, since they consider the MB as more a whole society you live in and since there is no alternative. Many of them could envisage the MB as broader than merely political work and thus have perceived no contradiction between staying for instance in the MB and voting for another candidate or joining a new party. Their fear of being exposed to the same social unsettlement faced by those who

220 Based on the researcher’s interview with a female MB member (23 years), June 15th, 2012, Cairo.

221 Based on the researcher’s interview with Mohammad al-Mohandes (38 years), ex-MB member and member of Misr al-Qawiyya party, April 27th, 2013,

222 Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB figure and current member of Misr al-Qawiyya party (36 years), March 30th, 2013, Cairo.
have left the MB society could be one major impediment that would prevent them from leaving the Organization. On the political level, most of them have either kept themselves aloof from political participation or have worked on awareness-raising during elections whether in the public or cyber spheres. Ahmed Al-Ga’ali, for instance, has posted on Ikhwan Online an article on the prioritization of affiliation circles in order to urge Islamist youths, particularly MB youth, to base their voting on merit rather than affiliation. Many of them believe that the FJP has harmed the organizational coherence of the MB where the Society has diminished into a party and the party will change into authority. Social relations will however still remain such that Aboul Fotouh himself is still in contact with the MB members for the social bonds they have as created by the MB. They also reckon that the breakaway parties, notably Al-Tayyar Al-Masry have separated organizationally from the MB but not ideologically.

**Earlier Forms of MB Youth Dissent**

It is noteworthy that those MB youth members do not represent the only form of dissent against the Organization which has witnessed much earlier forms of youth rebellion. As early as 1939 *jama‘at shabab Muhammad* (Muhammad Youth Group), a group of youth members led by Mahmoud Osman Abo Zeid has announced its dissent from the Organization. The Group has identified some reasons for its disagreement with the MB including: the MB’s not abiding by the Shura principle in the decision making process which conflicts with the Islamic principles, the

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acceptance of the MB Organization to participate in political work whether in parliament or syndicates, which to them does not follow God's rules.

In 1947, another group of MB youth members have discussed the status of the Organization which has to them quite rapidly expanded without intellectually developing as fast, and that its various political, social and military activities exceed ten times its intellectual times (Tammam, 2006, 87-89). They, led by Gamal al-Din Attiyya and Abdel Azim al-Deeb have decided to take the initiative to correct the path of the Islamic movement and to establish what has come to be known as the ‘Project’ group seeking knowledge for the first time in the history of the Group from thinkers outside the MB. The project has first started surreptitiously because of its bold and novel nature and has been solely introduced to some open-minded MB leaders as Abdel Aziz Kamel. Afterwards, it has been presented to al-Banna, the founder and Supreme Guide then, who has expressed interest in the project as a vehicle to foster a spirit of renovation in order to tackle the stagnation governing the Organization with the domination of the Secret Apparatus. The development of events with the decision of dissolving the Organization and the assassination of Prime Minister al-Nuqrashi by some MB youth in the Secret Apparatus leading to the assassination of al-Banna himself by the Government and the detainment of a number of the project youth including Gamal al-Din Attiyya, have all generated a state of disorder within the Organization and prevented the project from materializing.

In the 1970s, the Wasat (Centrist) party group which belongs to the 1970s MB youth generation, led by Essam Sultan, Aboul Ela Madi, could stand as a relatively comparable example to the current MB youth subculture under study. That group of MB youth then which has gained valuable political experience by means of the Organization's political participation through syndicates in the 80s has witnessed how the decision making process within the MB
Organization operates in a way that overpowers the organization to the idea itself (Habib, 2009, 158) to realize that if the government was corrupt as the MB has taught them, the Organization where decisions were taken by a small group was not quite different from the government it opposed (Stacher, 2002, 418-419) – a clearly analogous stance to the current MB youth group. They have grown up in an open society as active members in university student unions and later have expanded networks beyond the MB membership with other professionals, which again could bear a resemblance to the MB youth under study who have established connections with other not necessarily Islamist youth groups. The syndicate's experience coupled with the Wasat leaders' exclusion from the MB decision making process and their discontent with the old guard have been expressed in the Wasat initiative to form a political party. The goal of those youth was to surpass the organization crisis which hampers the MB opening to society and triggers a type of obedience-based relationship between the MB leadership and its members (Habib, 2009, 158). They have thus pragmatically decided to become Islamist politicians rather than confine their roles to activists within the MB Organization (Stacher, 2002, 422). They have accordingly resigned from the MB and applied for a legal party under the name of al-Wasat, as a first attempt in 1996 to be denied by the Government and to reapply for legal recognition until they were finally granted official approval on February 19th, 2011, following the demise of Mubarak’s regime. As a result, the relationship between al-Wasat party and the MB has reached a deadlock, where for the MB those youths have revolted against the MB strict organizational regulations, and for al-Wasat group the domination and control of the Organization could no longer be tolerated (Habib, 2009, 160).

**Generations within this MB Youth Generation**
Within this MB youth generation, it would be possible to trace more than one generation where each has contributed at some stage, on its own or collectively, toward the development of this MB youth cohort. Starting from late 90s, MB university students then including Islam Lotfy, Muhammad al-Qassas and Mostafa al-Naggar have created linkages with Leftist youth as Hossam al-Hamalawy. Normally, MB members do not open up to others outside the Organization, but those members have broken that taboo. Then, from 2004 to 2006, we could observe a massive political movement where MB youth members have coordinated with other political youth-led movements, as Youth for Change, a subgroup of Kefaya movement, which played a pivotal role during the protests of 2005-2006, and thus those MB youth members have become an integral part of a broader political movement comprising a large number of young people. Afterwards, from 2007 onwards, which has also witnessed the birth of the 6 April movement, an evident existence of the MB youth on the cyber sphere such as Abdel Rahman Ayyash and Abdel Moneim Mahmoud, and their connection with Liberal and Leftist youth (as Abdel Fattah and Gharbiyya), cannot escape notice. Those youths have generally shared a feeling of dissatisfaction with the MB Organization but at the same time cherish the ideas of al-Banna. After 25 January Revolution, they have felt that they could no longer endure the performance of the Organization in spite of the political openness, thus most of them have been forced to leave or have chosen to leave the organization (this does not deny that some few

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225 Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB member (23 years), May 17th, Cairo.

226 The year 1996, according to Sameh Al-Barqi, could crystallize cooperation between MB youth and youth from other trends, which could be manifest in the speeches delivered by Leftist youth and Labor party under the supervision of the MB then. They needed then to open up to the Other and the type of students and youth at this epoch has helped this materialize. Based on the researcher’s interview with Sameh Al-Barqi, ex-MB member and current member of al-Tayyar al-Misriy (39 years), April 21st, 2013, Cairo.

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members have already taken that step earlier than 25 January), while some have decided to stay in the Organization and work on its internal reform.

**MB Youth War of Movement Prospects**

This poses the question pertaining to the prospects of the MB youth war of movement against the Organization which could be gauged through the impact of this youth subculture on the MB Organization; more elaborately, whether it could jeopardize the intactness of the Group or whether it could be absorbed by the Organization. The second scenario sounds more plausible for a number of factors. First, the MB leadership has been keen to absorb MB youth members dissent, as noticeable in the way it has recently been dealing with age as amongst the class-based factors within the MB hierarchy; and the Internet, the youth counter-hegemonic vehicle in their war of position. So, from one side, we could see that youth have been given more space in the FJP such that most FJP speakers are youth in their 30s, and they further reckon that such trend would naturally reflect on the MB youth within the Organization. The leadership has also demonstrated more leniency toward dissenting MB youth members who have joined Aboul Fotouh’s campaign at a later stage compared to the first group of dissenters who have been investigated and mostly dismissed, since the Organization has realized that it would need to absorb youth's anger when it has started to show on a larger scale.  

227 From another, the Organization seems to be more open to allowing MB youth to discuss various issues over the Internet even if they are against certain issues within the MB, and to work on gathering those youth into one virtual place that could be easier to monitor. ‘shabab al-Ikhwan .. li-l-'Ibda’

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227 Based on the researcher’s interview with Muhammad (31 years), an ex-MB member and current member of al-Tayyar al-Misriy, June 29th, 2013, Cairo.
'unwan' (MB Youth: Ingenuity Has a Place)\textsuperscript{228} could offer a tangible example of such efforts especially as most MB youth bloggers have joined it and some MB leadership members have too.\textsuperscript{229}

Second, the centrality of collective work within the Organization that is premised on a religious basis (Tammam, 2012, 47); more elaborately, the Organization over years has projected on itself all religious verses calling for the unity of the Muslim group and confirming the obedience principle. It has also saturated its educational curricula and literature with verses such as "Yad Allah ma' a al-jamā' a" (i.e. God is with the group) or principles that would correlate the value of a Brother however high it is to his conformance to the Group, such as "Al- jamā' a bihi wa bi-ghayrihi wa huwa bihā wa laysa bi-ghayrihā" (i.e. the Group survives through him as well as through others but he survives through it and not through others). Such verses and literature and the way they are invoked create a sense of obedience that could even render a member guilty if s/he thinks of dissenting against the Organization, as if the MB is THE Muslim Group, not A Muslim group\textsuperscript{230}. A pertinent example could be one of the writings posted by the MB youth during the MB youth conference entitled "Shabab beyhibb Misr (A Youth that Loves Egypt) as reading "Lan 'a'tadhira c an al-'amal ma' a Allah 'abadan" (I will never apologize for working with God)\textsuperscript{231} as if following the Group is tantamount to following God.

\textsuperscript{228} For further information see its Facebook page, available at: \url{https://www.facebook.com/IkhwanShabab} (accessed on June 8th, 2013)

\textsuperscript{229} Based on the researcher's interview with an MB & FJP member (35 years), June 8\textsuperscript{th}, 2013.

\textsuperscript{230} Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB member (23 years), June 13\textsuperscript{th}, 2012.

\textsuperscript{231} For further information see part of the MB youth conference entitled "Shabab beyhibb Misr, available at: \url{http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u9Yxoci-CP4}
Third, the common feeling of oppression that has emerged from the MB’s long history of conflicts with regimes and governments anti-Ikhwan who are, for the MB, essentially anti-Islam (Tammam, 2012, 49) has created a sense of victimization within the MB members including its youth as observed from some of the interviewees comments especially toward actions against the MB like al-Moqattam events. In this context, those youth members would delay any internal disagreements in order to keep the unity of the Group against its enemies.

Fourth, the prevailing ‘ruralization’ of the MB particularly during the 90s could be deemed as an important factor that would protect the Organization against youth detentions (Tammam, 2012, 82-83). Conspicuously, the MB has witnessed considerable deterioration in attracting and recruiting city youth starting from the 90s. Such phenomenon could be ascribed to the substantial crackdown of the Organization by the former regime during that period which has pushed the MB into more organizational-oriented and militarizational activity at the expense of open proselytizing. The Organization has accordingly lost part of its attraction by the city youth especially when other less organizational-oriented options have become available, notably al-\textit{du'\textasciitilde{a} al-judud} (new preachers). Those MB youth coming from the village are expected to be more accepting to the issue of absolute obedience to the leadership against which MB youth members would usually revolt (Tammam, 2012, 88). In this sense, the first MB youth dissenting group who have founded \textit{al-tayyar al-Misriy} party and have called for Aboul-Fotouh’s campaign are mainly city members coming from East Cairo and Giza governorates.\footnote{Based on the researcher’s interview with Muhammad (31 years), an ex-MB member and current member of \textit{al-Tayyar al-Misriy}, June 29\textsuperscript{th}, 2013, Cairo.} Youth groups that have joined later after the announcement of Aboul Fotouh’s campaign have included members
coming from the village but they were mostly younger members in their early twenties, which could support the idea of the generational factor.

Fifth, the way the Organization absorbs diverse ideas and visions side by side that are only linked by a simple ideological belief based on the concept of comprehensive Islam and under a strict organizational structure (Tammam, 2012, 48). Obviously, some sort of wide pluralism that could even reach the level of contradiction seems to coexist within the Organization ranging from Salafism to religious Liberalism. The MB itself has not embraced one specific jurisprudential doctrine but has permeated under its umbrella various schools of thought as long as they do not conflict with the principle of obedience to the MB leadership. Upon this understanding, the Organization has allowed considerable space to some MB youth trends who have decided to find themselves and to create an official entity whether in human resources or media away from the organizational restrictions of the MB after 25 January. The MB's flexible attitude toward them could be juxtaposed to its strict stance and dismissal of the earlier MB youth groups who got dismissed because they have joined another party other than the FJP or because they have openly supported Aboul Fotouh.

Sixth, the fate of those who have dissented against the Organization could be discouraging to those MB youth considering following suit (Tammam, 2012, 49-50). Hizb al-Wasat could provide a tangible example for a group of young MB members who have dissented against the group but had to wait for 15 whole years in order to be an official political party, and to only reap 10 places in the 2011 parliamentary elections. The *al-Tayyar al-Misriy* party could offer a more recent example of dissenting MB members who have participated as part of the

233 Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (37 years), May 1st, 2013, Cairo.
"Revolution Continues Coalition", the least representative in the parliament assuring 9 seats all in all. Those very examples might convince some revolutionary youth members that the survival of the Group under leadership that could be pressured on or negotiated with is a better option.

Seventh, many of those MB youth did not dissent from the Organization in spite of their dissatisfaction with a number of aspects because they could not find then an alternative toward promoting an Islamic project.234 Within 25 January, however, no alternative has come into being in terms of an Islamic-oriented project. And for those interested in politics, most political parties and organizations are fragmented lacking internal cohesion and vision and have thus not quite attracted many MB youth.

Eighth, respect for age could stand as a pivotal aspect of the Ikhwani nature and of the Egyptian nature at large.235 Generally speaking, the traditional Egyptian society deems older people as worthy of higher level of respect, but within the particular context of the MB, the oldest generation is often envisaged as pious essentially because of their personal sacrifices (Poljarevic, 2012, 193).236 Most MB youth could understand, for example, that those heading electoral lists need to have age seniority. They could notice on the other hand that the MB is following a new trend in allowing relatively younger members to assume high positions as most of the ministers’ consultants, but this should be applied in a gradual fashion and not suddenly, and that’s why those in their 40s or even mid 30s are taking up high administrative positions which could gradually be seen among even younger people later on.

234 Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB member (23 years), May 17th, 2013, Cairo.

235 Based on the researcher’s interview with an MB member (37 years), May 5th, 2013, Cairo.

236 All members of the MB Guidance Bureau, for instance, have served long prison instances particularly during the 1960s and the 1980s.
Ninth, but more importantly, the MB does not merely constitute for its members including its youth an institution or a proselytizing entity, but is more a whole society with its networks of relations, political and proselytizing roles, as well as economic interests (Tammam, 2012, 48-49). In this context, *al-usra* (family) as a well-known membership unit formalized by al-Banna constitutes a gateway to the MB's organizational structure and a significant entity in molding the youth members' ideological understanding uniting the group together (Poljarevic, 2012, 78). As soon as a Brother joins the *usra* (family), he is totally engrossed in organizational and social relations with other Brothers where he lives, learns, makes friends, marries, works and embarks on a political and proselytizing activity in an utter Ikhwani realm.

**Current MB Youth Cohort as a Subculture?**

Such unique nature of relationship between those MB youth and the MB could take us to the main epistemological question as to whether we should consider those ex-current MB youth a subculture in the first place. In line with subcultural theory, the pro-change MB youth represent some form of critique of the dominant social order and of their marginalization (Williams, 2013, 11). Within Gramscian formulation, they have decided to "to work out (their) own conception of the world consciously and critically, and so out of this world of (their) own brain to choose (their) own sphere of activity, to participate actively in making the history of the world, and not simply to accept passively and without care the imprint of (their) personality from outside" (Gramsci, 1971, 58). As demonstrated in Chapter 2, those MB youth have developed their own worldview as differing from that of the parent culture, where they have deemed themselves "as individuals more critically aware of what is happening in the world" (Williams, 2013, 88), and have decided to opt accordingly for their own sphere of activity regardless of the Organization, which citing Williams, "is the basis of counter-hegemony, what in subcultural theory is
commonly referred to as resistance" (Williams, 2013, 91). Already before 25 January, those youth have started to voice their individuality against the mainstream culture and through their interaction with other youths whether in the cyber or public sphere, they have realized that they have commonalities with other youths, as typical of a youth subculture (Williams, 2013, 9). One major factor is that those youth have been exposed to a greater diversity of information than any preceding generations, and have thus created what Hossam Tommam has referred to as 'virtual Ikhwan" – a world which is not subject to the traditional organizational structures governing relations within the MB and where they could discuss all issues of concern freely (Tammam, 2006, 164). Such information revolution which has granted Egyptian youth in general the opportunity for direct participation and politics and to be part of the global discussion on the issues of democratization, freedom and human rights (Al-Anani, 2009, 96), has in effect complicated those ex-current MB youth understanding of the Islamist framework since it introduces new socio-political ideas and poses a new range of questions, possibly generating friction within the MB (Poljarevic, 2012, 197).

From another side, via such virtual world, those MB youth have got in touch with other youths and have thus realized that they share common grievances, which have sparked the 25 January Revolution. Those youth have, accordingly, been part of a broader youth social movement; namely the 25 January Revolution, which has ousted the former regime and has thus endowed those youth with the political opportunity to voice their grievances and act accordingly. Thereby, we could trace one of the central shared features between social movements and subcultures as stated in the literature; namely, their concern with the disenfranchised groups who suffer from the dominant culture or system (Williams, 2013, 165-166).
Applying Yinger's (1960) distinction between ‘subculture’ and 'contraculture, we could find that those youth however differences they have with the Organization, still follow al-Banna’s ideas, which constitutes a simplified form of Islamic beliefs and a succession to Muhammad Abdu and Rashid Reda’s ideas. They accordingly demonstrate inconsistencies with their wider society and thus would be deemed as a ‘subculture’ rather than a 'contraculture'.

Conspicuously, an amazingly intricate type relationship connects those youth with the ‘parent’ organization, such that whatever disagreement they have with the MB, they would still be deemed as staunch supporters. Such affinity could be demonstrated in the expressive final words of Muhammad Abdel Moneim, ex-MB member and blogger on the famous Ana Ikhwan (I am a Muslim Brother) before leaving the blog as follows:

I have decided to stop writing in the Ana Ikhwan blog since it has fulfilled its job completely in presenting another face of the Muslim Brotherhood and has developed within time until I have decided to freeze my membership in the group in order to become more independent in presenting views about the MB organization … I might have disagreed with the MB administration and leaders but it is a disagreement of a son who loves his parents and home ..

Such type of psychological attachment to the Organization has been reiterated among many MB youth members even after they have left the organization. “Though I have left the MB, Abdel Rahman Ayyash (23 years) asserts, I strongly believe in what I call the Ikhwani-liberal ideas of al-Banna. In this sense, I could deem myself politically liberal and religiously multazim

237 Based on the researcher’s interview with Islam Lotfy (34 years), ex-MB member and founding member of al-Tayyar al-Misriy, May 30th, 2013, Cairo.

238 For further detail see Abdel Moneim Mahmoud's blog Ana Ikhwan (I am a Muslim Brother), posted on April 4th, 2011, available at: http://ana-ikhwan.blogspot.com/
We all draw our intellectual references from the Ikhwan. The MB organization does not represent the closest thought to the original Ikhwan. So our disagreement is mainly organizational-ideological but we tend to agree with the general idea.\textsuperscript{239} Such view could reiterate the Parsonian notion of cultures and subcultures, where “central values remain central” (Jenks, 2004, 7). The level of attachment of the ex/current MB youth to the organization in spite of their disagreements could be shown in the words of Muhammad, an ex-MB member:

“One obstacle you encounter when you leave the organization is the way your life style changes and that’s what has happened to me, since you do not work \textit{WITH} the MB but you live \textit{IN} the MB. The feeling I’ve had during the first three months I’ve left the organization is like a feeling of someone during the three post-divorce months.”\textsuperscript{240} More interestingly, Muhammad believes that he would really want to enroll his children in the MB educational cub scouts where they would acquire very important values, particularly, how a person has a mission in life; and they would also get the type of spiritual education which always links them with God.

This does not deny that such MB youth subculture could still pose some challenges for the Organization. Clearly, the activism of those youths has been overarched by a broader form of activism among Egyptian youths since 2004 within the political ferment the country has witnessed which has prompted them to participate in protest movements (Al-Anani, 1999, 97-98). In tandem, MB youth members have played a pivotal role in the 2005 parliamentary elections which has given the MB as the main opposition 20\% of parliamentary seats for the first time in history. Quantitatively speaking, the MB youth constitutes the largest subgroup within

\textsuperscript{239} Based on the researcher’s interview with Abdel Rahman Ay\textsuperscript{y}ash, ex-MB member, June 30\textsuperscript{th}, 2012, Cairo.

\textsuperscript{240} Based on the researcher’s interview with Muhammad (31 years), ex-MB and current al-Tay\textsuperscript{y}ar member, June 29\textsuperscript{th}, 2012, Cairo.
the MB due to the Organization’s past success in mobilizing young people through religious and educational activities. The MB student department is also the most active department within the organization and the main source for recruitment,\textsuperscript{241} where since 2005 elections, MB students have successfully endeavored to access and open up to the broader society of the university with the goal of expanding the MB's base (Al-Anani, 2009, 98). Obviously, the Organization seems to have lost a good deal of its recruitment force as might be reflected in the results of the 2013 student union elections compared to the last three years when the MB used to dominate the student union by winning most of the seats.\textsuperscript{242} That deterioration could be attributed, from one side, to a manifest feeling of discontent among youth and university students with the MB performance while in power, and from another, to the conservative leadership in the MB student department represented by Ayman Abdel Ghany, MB student department Vice Official.\textsuperscript{243} The potential hazard of this youth subculture to the Organizational unity could also be mirrored in the MB's concern about their winning in the forthcoming 2013 parliamentary elections, as demonstrated in the voting of the FJP in the Shura council against allowing a youth member who is less than 35 years to be placed on the first half of the voting list.

\textsuperscript{241} Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB member and current member of Misr al-Qawiyya party (38 years), April 27\textsuperscript{th}, 2013.

\textsuperscript{242} Muhammad Mahmoud, “Intiha’ Marathun Intikhabat Ittihad al-Tullab fi Mu’dham al-Jami’at al-Misriya” (The End of the Student Union Elections Marathon in Most Egyptian Universities), Al-Shorfa, April 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2013, available at: http://al-shorfa.com/ar/articles/meii/features/2013/04/01/feature-02 (accessed on April 19th, 2013)

\textsuperscript{243} Based on the researcher's interview with Sameh Al-Barqi (39 years), ex-MB member and current member of al-Tayyar al-misriy, April 21\textsuperscript{th}, 2013, Cairo.
Concluding Remarks

The thesis has endeavored to demonstrate the rise of Islamist youth as a subculture within the 25 January Revolution, focusing on pro-change ex/current MB youth. The Tahrir Square has thus been the meeting point of two inter-related activities – Egyptian youth masses resistance against the regime and ex/current MB youth masses counter-hegemony against the Guidance Office Bureau. Within Gramscian philosophy, the focus on the ‘war of position’ reverberates with the attempts of social movements to institute new political spaces within civil society and change the substance of hegemony (Carroll & Ratner, 1994, 21-22). The thesis has tried to shed some light on the intricate relationship between the MB organization and the pro-change ex/current MB youth who could be identified as lying on a continuum regarding the nature of disagreement with the organization, whether ‘procedural’ or ‘ideological’. In both cases, the ex/current MB youth have largely disagreed with the Organization but have stayed committed to the general ideas of al-Banna. Interestingly enough, those young Islamists have further envisaged themselves as closer to al-Banna’s ideas than the MB organization which seems to them to be deviating from the main MB course, where the MB organization has prioritized \textit{khuşûşiyat al-tanzîm \textit{\textit{c}}\textit{an shumûliyyat al-Islâm}} (the organizational privacy to the thought generality). The critical MB youth see the MB as more comprehensive than the political aspect and thus have decided to stay in the Organization, whereas the ex-MB youth envisage Egypt as more important than the narrow organization at that critical conjuncture.

Within 25 January Revolution, the issue of implementation of \textit{Sharî'â} which constitutes the raison d'être for those young Islamists has widened the severance between the MB and its youth, where those young Islamists have found a contradiction between the MB's unceasing call for the
implementation of Shari‘a and how they seem to have no clear vision of it. The MB's actions during 25 January Revolution has demonstrated to those youth that Shari‘a has been utilized by the Organization for instrumental purposes as in the shar‘iyya and Shari‘a Friday or to win other Islamist groups like Salafis by calling for it in parliament.

Successive chains of counter-hegemonic activities against the MB domination have thus been led by the MB youth who in their resistance have found common grounds with Egyptian youths. For instance, leaders of the MB youth as Islam Lotfi, Muhammad al-Kasaas and Muhammad Abbas who have founded al-Tayyar al-Misrīy party are also members of the Revolution Youth Coalition.

The MB youth counter-hegemonic activities could be reiterated among other Islamist movements in Egypt, on top of which lie the Salafists who could offer an intriguing example of counter-hegemony to a more-complicatedly entrenched system of obedience. Salafism, compared to the MB, has not been until recently “centralized” or “hierarchical” at the local or national fronts.

244 Based on the researcher’s interview with an ex-MB member and researcher (28 years), April 10th, 2013.

245 Recently a number of MB youth dissents have established 'taḥāuf Shabab al-Ikhwan' (MB Youth Coalition) with the goal of rehabilitating the MB Organization through implementing two projects. The first project is to establish the al-Shabab min 'ajl Misr (Youth for the Sake of Egypt) party instead of the FJP party to represent MB youth dissents, stating that the party should distinguish between proselytizing and party activity. The Coalition has also drafted another project entitled 'fakkar wi irja‘' (Think and Go Back) that aims to accommodate MB youth into Egyptian society by means of going through a broad revision of ideas rather than merely depending on security measures. Ahmed al-Moslimani, President’s Media Consultant, has held a meeting which included MB youth members who have dissented against the Organization both before and post the June 30 Revolution in addition to independent youth members. Based on an interview with Islam al-Katatni, ‘fakkar wi irja‘’ project coordinator, Misr al-Jadida (New Egypt), October 1st, 2013, Al-Hayah channel.

246 Sherif Tarek, “News Analysis: MB Youth Seek Independence after Disagreements with Leaders”, Ahram Online, June 22nd, 2011, accessed at:

http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/14847/Egypt/Politics-/News-analysis-MB-youth-seek-independence-after-dis.aspx
has thus witnessed a rise not as a sole organization as has been the case of the MB, but as a new social movement relying on a “multi-polar network of preachers” (El-Houdaiby, 4, 2012).

A number of Salafi youth have participated in 25 January Revolution though the Salafi movement adopted an antagonistic attitude toward the revolution, where Sheikh Mostafa al-Adawi has warned Muslims against participating in the protests since it has never occurred in the history of Prophet Muhammad or his companions and since it leads to evils. Some Salafi youth have further established with liberal and Christian youth a facebook page geared to changing the negative public view of the Salafists and changing stereotypes. The wrangling between the Salafi youth and the leaders have emblemized in their support of Hazem Salah Abu Isamil regardless of the leaders' stance. Citing Kamal Habib, the same stance as demonstrated by the MB youth could be noticed among Salafi youth whether independent or not, including the Salafi Front, the Free Islamic Trend, and the Salafi Call in al-ṣubūr region who have decided to support Abou Isamil when the Salafi group was still hesitant about who to follow. Later, leaders from the Salafi youth have held a secret meeting to discuss their quitting from the party in order to establish a new one. According to Hassan Ismail El-Zayat, the meeting organizer,

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the decision making process of El-Nour is a ‘facsimile’ of that in the MB’s FJP, which consists in posing guardianship on its members.

Like their MB counterparts, the implementation of *Sharīʿa* has been called into question by some Salafi youths. One Salafi youth has stated that his understanding of *Sharīʿa* has experienced some difference within 25 January Revolution where he could now conceptualize it when associated with freedom; but before, repression used to influence his understanding.\(^{251}\)

Such form of resistance as demonstrated by MB youth and reiterated among young Salafists could reflect a more global stance toward the Muslim youth population whether in the Muslim majority countries where youth have assumed a pivotal role which has remarkably changed the social composition of these societies, or in Muslim-minority countries (Herrera & Bayat, 2010, 3). Upon this understanding, the cultural behavior of Muslim youth could be grasped as positioned in the political arena and emblemizing a new sphere of competition for power.

\[^{251}\text{Based on the researcher's interview with an ex-Salafi and current member of } \textit{al-Tayyar al-Misriy} (28 years), March 31^\text{st}, 2013.\]

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