



# Administrative Governance in Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood



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**Political Stimulus Groups:**  
A Research Project to Stimulate Dialogue  
on Assessment of Effectiveness of Political  
and Social Movements in Egypt: The Case of  
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## Abstract

This research paper tackled the administrative governance system as a significant administrative concept, not only in relation to corporations, business enterprises, states, or financial markets, but also to civil society organizations and social and political movements – the Case of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood– so that such movements would benefit from the concept; and consequently the whole society would benefit from consolidation of these movements, ensuring their performance quality, and facing problems such as: corruption, lack of transparency, authoritarianism, mismanagement, loss of the rights of members, beneficiaries and stakeholders, as well as other problems that the concept of governance seeks to help avoid; with the aim of protecting society and its institutions. This paper comes within the framework of the research project launched by the 'Political Stimulus Groups', titled: Assessment of Effectiveness of Political and Social Movements in Egypt: the Case of Muslim Brotherhood.

Within its theoretical framework, the paper was keen to present a brief introduction to administrative governance, as well as its related concepts and 'rooting' pursuits, including the philosophy and rationale of governance, as well as its origins, objectives, significance, rules, standards, and others; that have been adopted globally, as well as in the Arab world and Egypt.

The paper also sought to monitor and explore application and role of administrative governance within the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, through access to the group's documents related to regulations and statutes, as registered in some references or the group's official and semi-official websites, as well as reliance on questionnaires and interviews with some MB leaders and cadres.

The paper found a problematic related to existence of some regulations and bylaws in the group, which might be related to governance concepts and rules, but they do not actually manifest any of the models of modern administrative governance, based on the academically recognized principles and standards, such as those developed and approved by: the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the International Settlement Bank (BIS) - The Basel Committee on Banking Supervision (BCBS); the International Finance Organization (IFC), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and other Arab and Egyptian organizations. The Brotherhood does not have an administration or a committee in charge of governance within the group, either at the lower or higher administration levels. There is also no written system of governance, except for the group's reliance on some regulations such as:

the first Muslim Brotherhood Society Statute in Ismailia, issued in 1930; a set of internal statutes and administrative regulations, issued in 1944; the Statute and General Regulations, approved on 8 September 1945 - with the first amendment on 21 May 1948, after regularization of the MB status, based on Law No. 49 of 1945 on Charitable Societies and Social Institutions - and the regulations of 1951, 1978, 1982, 1990, 1994, 2009, and 2010, in addition to some other regulations relating to some formations affiliated with the MB, such as that of the Rabita (association operating as liaison office) of Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Overseas, the latest version of which was issued in 2018; as well as regulations of some sections and operation committees within the group, such as the *Tarbiya* (Education) Section, the *Nashr Al-Da'wa* (Call Propagation) Section, the *Al-Akhawat Al-Moslimat* (Muslim Sisters) Section, and others. There are also some implicit common values that may represent an internal custom; but it is not written down and not clearly agreed upon by everyone, as was clearly demonstrated by the recurring organizational differences within the group.

The MB has conducted several amendments to its statute and general regulations, amounting to approximately 15 amendments, where some of these amendments coincided with the academic administrative development, and emergence of the concept of governance and its applications in the 1990s and the early 2000s. However, these amendments were not commensurate with the academic development of these administrative concepts. The Muslim Brotherhood has not codified a written system for structuring governance, nor developed an integrated application of the concept of governance, which led to shortcomings in the ability of these bylaws and internal systems to respond to many significant questions and problematics about: accuracy of administrative organizational promotion; equality among all members; and quality of the system of 'granting regulatory power' and its ability to achieve conviction in administrative positions and their occupants, whether they were elected or appointed; in addition to the inability of applicable systems to resolve many organizational disputes; as, given the fact that they were not subject to governance, they were unable to find solutions to these disputes or ensure that they would not occur once again in the future.

The research paper's interviews and related questionnaire also revealed absence of dissemination of the administrative governance culture within the group's corridors, in terms of its public order, concerned committees and departments, or in tackling it within the group's training and educational programs; as well as absence of control, review, and audit systems at various administrative levels, except for what is related to reliance on the culture of organizational trust; which necessarily leads to poor or absent transparency and disclosure with respect to financial sources, which have been used as a tool to fuel conflicts in some of the MB

internal disputes; problematics in circulation of information between different administrative levels, up and down; poor mechanisms for determination of the group's priorities and available opportunities, being one of the pillars of administrative governance systems related to strategic planning; and others – which proved that absence or weakness of administrative governance has been correlated to reducing opportunities of stability and sustainability in social and political movements, especially the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt; and that there is clear relationship between highly intense organizational disputes, particularly those related to granting power, and absence of governance applications that reflect good governance.

**Keywords:**

Governance, administration, social movements, civil society, institutional stability, sustainability, Muslim Brotherhood

## 1. Research framework

### 1.1 Foreword

This research paper seeks to explore presence or absence of an integrated administrative governance system within Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, based on the organizing modern administrative systems in this regard, with focus on governance in institutions and social movements as a theoretical framework for the research paper that would highlight the philosophy of the governance system and its role in achievement of stability and sustainability in various institutions, be it political, social or economic institutions; governmental or non-governmental organizations; profit-making or non-profit organizations; endowment or religious institutions; or others. The paper's theoretical framework would also highlight the impact of absence of a governance system on the organization's ability to determine its future expectations (orientation and strategic vision), ways of granting power, performance assessment, setting control systems, as well as all systems relevant to these topics.

This research can be defined, in terms of its nature, as an applied research; in terms of method, as a field research in the first place, and a documentary research in the second place. However, this research paper belongs to social sciences, in terms of academic classification; while it is considered an exploratory and descriptive research, in terms of functional classification.

The research focuses on conducting interviews with leaders and cadres of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood to explore the presence or absence of an integrated governance system in the group, and whether there is broad awareness of the concepts of governance among the MB leaders and cadres; and in case of existence of such a system, the paper seeks to monitor when such administrative concept entered the corridors of systems within the group; and explore whether the culture of governance is prevalent among the group's leaders and cadres, and members. In addition, the research attempts to explore the impact of governance on the disputes and differences that erupted within the Brotherhood, especially at the leadership level, during the period following the military coup that took place in Egypt in 2013 against the late President Dr. Mohamed Morsi, who belonged to the Muslim Brotherhood. The research paper also attempts to draw conclusions related to the likely role of the governance system towards such disputes, as well as the role of this administrative system in ensuring stability and sustainability in the group had it been applied in accordance with the necessary professional systems.

## 1.2 Research problem and questions:

- Does the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt have an integrated system of governance based on the modern administrative concepts organizing this significant administrative criterion?
- Is the culture of governance system common in the MB? Is there a mechanism to consolidate and empower governance within the group's various corridors?
- Could the governance system have had an impact on the disputes that erupted among the Brotherhood leaders, particularly during the post-2013 coup period?
- Can governance constitute an effective factor together with other factors in achievement of better stability and sustainability for the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt?

## 1.3 Research Objectives:

This research aims to:

- Explore how far there is an integrated system of governance within Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood.
- Identify how far the culture of governance has been common in the corridors of the MB in Egypt, especially at the level of leaders and cadres.
- Find out whether there is correlation between the presence or absence of a governance system within the group, on the one hand; and the escalating disputes between the MB leaders, on the other, particularly during the period that followed the 2013 military coup in Egypt, which overthrew the elected civilian president Dr. Mohamed Morsi who belonged to Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood.
- Ensure that the system of governance can provide stability and sustainability to the Egyptian MB, provided that it is applied on the basis of the professional frameworks regulating it.

## 1.4 Research tools:

- Academic sources and references and MB documents.
- Reliance on the Case Study Method
- Using personal interviews and questionnaires.

It is noteworthy that the research time duration was from early July 2021 up to early January 2022, where the interviews and questionnaires took place between August 2021 and November

2021, noting that all the questionnaires were conducted electronically through the *Google* application, while the interviews were conducted face-to-face, in person, and closed, in Istanbul, Turkey; and Doha, Qatar; except for one interview that was conducted electronically.

### **1.5 Research Scope:**

- The research paper studies the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt exclusively, not in other countries.
- The research focuses on exploring the frameworks related to the governance system in general, with focus on the period from the MB inception up to the 1990s – in attempt to comprehend the beginnings and their sequence; and the early 1990s, during which the administrative governance emerged globally, with tracking its development positively or negatively, as well as development of this administrative standard in Egypt from the 1990s and the early years of the third millennium on.

### **1.6 Research Obstacles:**

- The researcher faced an obstacle, namely, the lack of a specific legal status for the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, and consequently, there were some problematics in the way of defining the organizational framework under which the group in Egypt has been operating. However, the researcher chose to view the MB partly as a civil association, especially that this is the last official framework the group had been within before an administrative decision was issued to dissolve it in 1948 and once again recently in 2013; and partly as a social, political movement, with its broader framework, based on the group's declared objectives, which are customary from its literature and practices.
- With exacerbation of crises among the leaders of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, there were some difficulties in convincing some leaders and cadres to participate in the research questionnaire or to accept the idea of conducting interviews with them, given the 'sensitivities of the stage' as they put it.
- The researcher encountered a sample of MB leaders and cadres that failed to respond, whether to interviews or to participation in the questionnaire, under the pretext of avoiding harming the group's image, from their own point of view, in case the research findings were negative, as they expressly stated. However, others expressed their embarrassment to participate in a questionnaire or an interview for a research paper addressing a topic that seems to be basically weak in the group - as they put it. Even with the researcher's assertion that academic research

would be in the interest of everyone, yet participation reservations by some have remained; therefore, it has been necessary to state this here.

### **1.7 Research hypotheses:**

The research is based on the premise that there is absence of an administrative governance system, in its modern professional administrative notion, within the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, based on the organizing foundations of this administrative approach, its standards, and its rules. Accordingly, this absence has been a significant factor for the outbreak of disputes between the MB leaders, especially after the military coup that took place in Egypt in 2013, due to absence of a firm control system, as well as evaluation, review and audit systems, most prominently the systems and mechanisms for granting power in the group, and the inaccuracy of the system for setting expectations within the group.

### **1.8 Research methodology:**

- The descriptive approach
- Reliance on the governance theory in accordance with the governance principles issued by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).
- The researcher also relied on tackling topics such as description of the group's statutes and regulations, as well as questionnaires, and interviews, in full detail within the framework of the research, with the aim of helping readers explore and comprehend reality in a precise, broad and detailed way, being among the objectives of the research, as explained above in the scope of this research paper.

### **1.9 Research Method:**

- The inductive approach

## 2. First topic:

### Theoretical Framework

#### Emergence of the governance concept:

The need for governance has emerged in many developed and emerging economies over the past few decades, particularly in the wake of economic collapses and financial crises that hit a number of East Asian countries, Latin America, and Russia in the 1990s, as well as the financial crises that the global economy witnessed, specifically in the United States and Europe in the past two decades. However, the primary of these crises afflicted Southeast Asian countries, including Malaysia, Korea, and Japan in 1997.

Due to this crisis, many giant corporates and institutions were subjected to financial crises that almost took them down, which made it necessary to set rules for governance, with the aim of controlling the performance of all stakeholders in institutions. The significance of governance has increased as a result of tendency of many world countries to shift to capitalist economic systems in which a great deal of dependence is placed on private corporates and community institutions to achieve high and continued economic growth rates. The expansion of the size of these enterprises led to separating ownership from management, where these enterprises started to look for sources of funding that would be less costly than borrowing; therefore, they turned to financial markets. This was supported by the liberalization of the financial markets witnessed by the world at the time, as capital movement across borders unprecedentedly increased. The expansion of the size of enterprises and separation of ownership from management consequently led to weakening the control mechanisms over actions of managers, exposing many corporations to financial crises, similarly to the scandal of the American public company 'Enron', which resulted from leniency by external auditors with the board of directors, and inaccuracy of the financial reports issued by the company, which ultimately led to the collapse of 'Enron'. This pushed the US legislators to enact the Sarbanes-Oxley Act (SOX) in 2002, in attempt to control the work of public joint stock companies<sup>1</sup>.

There has been a remarkable interest in administrative governance to combat administrative imbalance and corruption within organizations and corporates, as it has proven effective in this regard. Administrative governance has since become the focus of attention of academics, practitioners, professional organizations and relevant official bodies, whether in developed or developing countries, in attempt to disseminate and consolidate this concept, given that the

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<sup>1</sup> Governance Fundamentals: Terminology and Concepts - Abu Dhabi Center for Governance - pp 5-6

governance system defines the relationship between owners, founders, higher bodies, senior managers and executives, as well as stakeholders and all concerned parties; and the fact that application of governance procedures leads to instilling transparency within the decision-making process. Administrative governance is one of the main factors that may contribute to development of regimes around the world in general, the Egyptian regime in particular, in various public, private and international areas. It is also expected that there will be more interest in the investment of the administrative governance approach in Egypt in the coming years, in light of the country's limited financial resources, knowledge, and skills, and the poor application of administrative governance standards in Egyptian organizations and institutions in general.

### **Rationale of the need for governance:**

The word 'reassurance' (or trust) may express the most important rationale for administrative governance in any organization: What can motivate a member of an organization or a political party, or an investor in a company, to be reassured that this organization, party or company will meet his ambition and requirements for joining in or for investment? What makes everyone confident that these organizations, parties or companies will be able to achieve their objectives? What may reassure them that the financial or administrative reports, or otherwise -issued by these institutions - reflect their true situation? What may reassure everybody that these institutions enjoy institutional stability and sustainability, which instills confidence towards them? What may reassure the community that these institutions are going in the right direction, sustaining their work, moving in the right direction for achieving their targets, and that they are able to generate added value politically, economically, socially, and morally; as well as in areas of culture, sports, media, ...etc., to support the state and consolidate its position? How can all stakeholders obtain their rights and perform their duties? It is 'governance', that provides answers to all these questions; as without governance, the relationship between stakeholders goes into the unknown, without guarantees or control procedures.

### **The concept of administrative governance**

The International Finance Corporation (IFC) defines governance as: "the structures and processes by which companies are directed and controlled". The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) defines it as: "a set of relationships between a company's management, its board, its shareholders and other stakeholders".

However, there is another definition of governance, which revolves around the way institutions are managed in general, and the mechanism of dealing with all stakeholders, starting from the

institution's customers and public, members, shareholders and employees (including executive management, members of the board of directors and higher bodies in various organizations); up to the mechanism of the institution's interaction with the community as a whole.

According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 1997, p. 2), governance is defined as “the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a nation's affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes, relationships and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences”. Administrative governance is defined as a set of laws, regulations, and decisions that aim at achievement of quality and excellence in administrative performance by the choice of appropriate and effective methods, to fulfill the plans and objectives of any organized work, whether in the private sector units or in the public sector units of the state (Al-Ghatrifi, Al-Khamisi, Al-Basel, & Gomaa., 2021). In general, governance means existence of systems that govern relationships among stakeholders of institutions in general (members of the board of directors, higher bodies, executive management, shareholders, members, etc.) with the aim of achievement of transparency, justice, combating corruption and granting the right to hold the company's administration accountable, to protect shareholders and ensure that the company is working to achieve its long-term goals and strategies.

#### **Approach to the concept of administrative governance in social and political movements:**

Just as administrative governance aims to protect societies from corruption and mismanagement in general, the concept of governance has expanded to include states, public and private institutions, civil society organizations, political and social movements, civil organizations, non-governmental organizations and other organizations. The good application of governance, starting from conviction of higher bodies in various institutions and organizations of the significance of governance - in reality and practice, not just a theoretical framework - protects institutions from corruption, mismanagement, disputes over power, loss of property, poor strategic perceptions, loss of human and financial resources as well as intellectual capital, loss of the power of influence and action, deterioration of stability and sustainability, and other risks that organizations may be exposed to during the course of their operation.

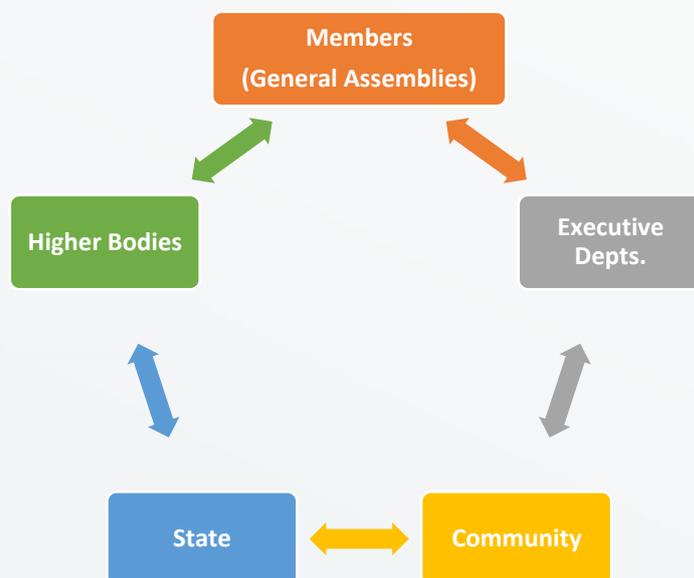
There are two ideas or problematics about organizations and institutions, that may support the significance of existence of governance controls:

1- The fact and reality that modern organizations seek to separate between foundation, symbols and management.

2- The influence enjoyed by the founders and symbols (influential figures) among senior members, at the expense of the smaller members, or the influence of offices of the capital and major cities at the expense of the peripheral units and smaller towns.

These two perceptions have prompted states to expand application of the governance system to include organizations in general, not just the public state institutions or the private sector, especially that all these organizations are in touch with the community and certainly affect it positively and negatively. Therefore, it is necessary to develop an integrated system to achieve necessary oversight for protection of the interests of everyone in these organizations, especially the need for allowing the administration to carry out its tasks to the fullest. This system shall also prevent the infringement of powerful and influential figures on other shareholders in organizations.

- It is significant to take into account the stakeholders in political and social organizations' governance, as follows: **Higher Bodies**



*Figure 1: Prepared by the researcher*

### Objectives of Administrative Governance:

Administrative governance aims to achieve a set of objectives (Okasha, 2019), including:

- Harmony and justice in all administrative processes within the institution.
- Protection of the material and moral rights of individuals.
- Provision of necessary information about the institution's activities accurately and quickly, which boosts trust in the institution.
- Ensuring that there is a good organizational administration structure within the institution, and defining its powers and responsibilities.
- Achievement of the corporate's social responsibility by development of administrative and procedural policies.

### Significance of Administrative Governance:

Administrative governance is of great significance in institutions and organizations, which can be summarized as follows (Al-Asmar, 2020):

- Provision of an organizational structure to enable institutions and organizations to achieve their objectives in the best possible way.
- Ensuring availability of renewable financial resources for institutions and organizations to achieve optimal investment, which contributes to their financial and administrative independence.
- Provision of a system of self-control and oversight that shall lead to proper legal application of legislation, to avoid administrative and financial corruption.
- Ensuring effectiveness of the administration of institutions and organizations, and detection of shortcomings in performance and poor outputs, with the aim of upgrading their administrative systems to better levels.
- Ensuring achievement of balance between long-term strategic responsibilities and short-term operational liabilities.
- Ensuring protection of the rights and interests of personnel and employees without discrimination, which would achieve general job satisfaction about the level of performance of institutions and organizations.

## Relationship between governance and sustainable development

Governance is one of the most significant preconditions that should be met in order to achieve sustainable development, where sustainability here does not mean mere continuity, but rather the outcomes of developed continuity. A study prepared by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 1997, defined sustainability as one of the advantages of governance and perpetuation of comprehensive development, or in other words, that governance is the way to achieve sustainable development. The relationship of governance to development can be viewed through three dimensions: the national dimension, which includes urban and rural areas and all social classes and categories, including women and men; the global dimension, which means the equitable distribution of wealth between rich and poor countries, and international relations that are characterized by some degree of human respect and legal rules; and the temporal dimension that takes into account the interests of future generations. It is unlikely to talk about sustainable development in light of mismanagement of human and material resources available for launching the process of development and economic progress. (Fadila & Guettouche, 2018).

Administrative governance is concerned with overall execution of the personnel's skills and expertise, the material resources needed for execution, and the appropriate institutional structure for undertaking these duties. Although the effectiveness and efficiency factor are significant, yet it is not the only factor to consider. Well-managed administrative governance has a well-defined objective that guides its action and provides criteria for assessment of performance and finding areas for development. Given the fact that setting objectives is a relatively simple task, public administration needs certain criteria so that it can assess its achievements, identify flaws, and improve its behavior over time. If this is properly implemented, it can also include a mechanism to continuously improve performance within the public administration system. Coordination, the staff's spirit of service, and congruence of duties and tasks should all be pursued consistently if effectiveness and efficiency are to be ensured in any system of public administration. In addition to moral leadership, the public sector should be administered by a leadership that would create and disseminate a culture that allows and inspires mission accomplishment. It is inevitable that this would be achieved with little, if any, political participation (Heywood, 2007).

Governance standards are powerful tools through which many significant aspects of organizations and institutions can be developed. Therefore, governance plays a key role in the development process within the various institutions that adopt governance to reach institutional stability. Indicators of governance standards are manifested in the clarity of monitoring

expectations (strategic orientation); the controls for granting institutional power; activation of the required level of oversight, review and audit; ensuring speedy and accurate administrative decision-making, ensuring swift completion of transactions, reduction of effort and time, and development of systems to facilitate administrative operations. Governance also regulates the relationship between superiors and subordinates, and between the beneficiary and the service provider. All these significant factors stated above would maintain the sustainable development of the enterprise.

Studies varied in the way of presenting the issue of administrative governance, being an extremely significant issue at all levels. The study of (Daow & Misrati, 2020) is one of the studies that addressed this topic, as it aimed to provide a theoretical framework on the concept of governance and its components, and to highlight the positive aspects of corporate governance, and how to benefit from them for the improvement of institutions' quality, in addition to highlighting the significance of governance and its role in achieving administrative reform in Libyan institutions. A key finding of the study stressed that administrative reform should be the responsibility and objective of all, where dissemination of awareness of this issue is one of the requirements for preparing for launching this process, as it leads to awareness of shareholders and institutions of the principles of governance. The study recommended the need for defining requirements of governance and seeking to implement them and operate according to them in all institutions, in a way that should be consistent with the surrounding environment. In the same context, there is also the study of (Hassan, 2017), which aimed to determine mechanisms of governance at the local community development associations so that they could achieve their goals. The study found that there are obstacles in the activation of the mechanisms of governance at the local community development associations, manifested in the difficulty of reaching a strategy to achieve the objectives of governance in these associations, the lack of development in the associations' human and institutional potentials, the lack of citizens' participation in decision-making, with respect to the activity of the local community development associations, and the poor expertise and technical skills of their personnel. The study recommended the need for adoption of strategies based on transparency and accountability within associations, and adherence to the regulations and laws organizing the work of local community development associations within the community, as well as establishment of networks to link associations with each other within the community and enable them to exchange experiences.

Other studies also confirmed that the good application of administrative governance correlates directly with achievement of stability and sustainability in institutions (Abdelaziz, 2021). Some

other studies added that governance provides different institutions with a framework that underlines the need to provide checks and balances that would support organizational processes and procedures; and reduce mismanagement, poor performance, and financial fraud – that is considered elements of bad governance – not the desired good governance, and would consequently push organizations towards dissolution and exiting the environment of their operation (Eccles & Youmans, 2016). Likewise, the lack of checks and balances provided by governance would set the stage for poor performance, given that managers are neither accountable nor transparent in financial reporting (Villiers & Dimes, 2020). The study of (Abdelaziz, 2021) on governance and its role in achieving stability and sustainability, particularly in the second and third generation of organizations, concluded that the current environments are dynamic, which means that organizations have to constantly adopt new strategies to retain their competitive advantage and increase sustainability. It is noteworthy, here, that most organizations do not usually survive until they reach the second, third and subsequent generations, due to internal conflict and mismanagement. There is also consensus that the failure to comprehend the initial goal set by the founder (s) at the establishment of a particular institution, ultimately contributes to its collapse. Likewise, some individuals (founders or their close circles) who do not enjoy due powers, believe that there is no need for a formal structure to ensure business sustainability, where such views create significant gaps, which, if not addressed, may increase the likelihood of a lack of mechanisms of internal control and ultimate failure. However, these organizations can still tackle these challenges if senior managers - who should not be members of founders - adhere to the principles of governance.

### Inception of 'governance' in the Arab Republic of Egypt

Governance started in Egypt in the early 1990s, as part of the efforts of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) within the framework of supporting the rule of law and civil society. The need for governance emerged in Egypt, as a result of the bad performance of the local government apparatuses that were poorly designed, trained, and implemented, which created a gap between the needs of the citizens and the responsiveness of the state. Due to this gap, international organizations played an unprecedented role in implementing structural democracy in Egypt, and thus Egypt was no longer the only source of power both locally and globally. In 2006, USAID launched the Egyptian Decentralization Initiative (EDI) to formally encourage decentralization within Egypt, and accordingly increase the effectiveness and transparency of local revenue generation, support greater public participation in state decision-making, and develop legal, regulatory, and institutional

structures to enhanced local government capacity. In 2013, Egypt was one of only four USAID-funded countries to receive more than 50% direct funding – with a total 65% of aid delivered locally. Despite the implementation of governance and the emergence of structural reforms in Egypt, human rights violations, economic inequality, and religious and cultural extremism continue to flourish in Egyptian society despite structural reforms, human rights violations, economic inequality, and religious and cultural extremism remain rampant in society. Some view it as "Low Intensity Democracy", by encouraging limited democratic engagement and welfare promotion only to the extent needed for neoliberal policies to flourish, failing to encourage popular political participation in a meaningful way. Based on the revolutions, military rule, change in constitutions and succession of different governments that Egypt has gone through, governance has failed to respond to citizen needs, public levels of dissatisfaction with the direction of the country seem higher than they were before the 2011 revolution, at 72%. The approach to good governance in Egypt has resulted in impotent strategy aimed more towards enhancing the state's efficiency and coherence than in challenging the status quo. However, what has happened in Egypt over the last 25 years, since the start of the EDI program, failed to go in the direction of the development of good governance and democracy through decentralization. The result has been a highly influential international donor community, a state that has elite political control and no accountability, and a marginalized majority population (Cox, 2015).

In this context, the Egyptian Council of Ministers, on 12 August 2020, issued a decree to change the name of the National Institute of Administration into the National Institute for Governance and Sustainable Development (NIGSD), a public economic organization with a legal personality and a training, consultative and research nature, that is reporting to the Minister of Planning and Economic Development<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> The official website of the National Institute for Governance and Sustainable Development - [Link](#)

### Theories related to evolution of the concept of governance:

The following table presents the development of public governance theories and administrative practices throughout history (Katsamunski, 2016):

Model/Elements	Weberian Public Administration	New Public Management and Post-NPM	Neo-Weberian State	Governance
Main Period	19 <sup>th</sup> . and the beginning of 20 <sup>th</sup> . century	From 1980s on	Late 1990s to present	From 2000s and on
Main Principles	Legality, equity, responsibility, rationalization	Efficiency and effectiveness, economy, users' orientation	Efficiency and effectiveness, state governed by law and social welfare	Participation, transparency, legal certainty, responsiveness, accountability, efficiency
Role of the State	All powerful: state solving all societal problems	Minimal: state ensures, but does not provide public services and products	Stronger: state removes market deficiencies, coordinating societal subsystems	Collaborative: state through government strategically develops partnerships for co-decision-making
Scope of the state and public administration in the society	Rather large, state as an authority and public services provider	Small, focused on privatization and delegation of powers	Stronger, delegating but under preserved coordination and control	Small, but coordinating networks in public interest

Conduct and organization of public administration	Efficient bureaucracy, hierarchy for clear responsibility	Privatization, deregulation, decentralization	Back to effective public polices implementation	State governed by law through delegation, coordination and participation
Role of an official	Expert/legalist	Service provider	Expert and at the same time manager	Public interest protector but mediator of private interests, too
Scope and orientation of administrative law and procedures	Protection of human rights, strictly regulated procedures, focused on individual decision-making, judicial method (inquisitorial)	Efficient implementation of public polices, deregulated procedures, removal of administrative barriers, business methods	Balanced protection of public and private interests, regulation initiatives, regulative methods	Administrative procedures as a dialogue between authority and citizens, balancing interests by administrative method within the discretion of law

#### Principles and Criteria of Administrative Governance:

Due to the growing interest in the concept of governance, many institutions have been keen to study and analyze this concept, and set specific criteria for its application, most prominently: the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Bank for

International Settlements (BIS) through the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision (BCBS), and the International Finance Corporation (IFC), a member of the World Bank Group<sup>3</sup>.

This research paper uses the OECD principles, based on the governance theory, in attempt to analyze research tools, given that the OECD criteria or principles are most widely used around the world. The following principles are based on experiences derived from national initiatives of OECD member states, as well as on previous OECD efforts, including the efforts of the OECD Business Sector Advisory Group on Corporate Governance. A number of the organization's committees have also participated in the preparation of these principles and standards, including: the Committee on Financial Markets, the Committee on International Investment and Multinational Enterprises, and the Environment Policy Committee (EPOC). Also, the contributions of several OECD non-member states, as well as the contributions of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the business sector, investors, professional associations, and other parties concerned with the issue have been useful in this regard.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has been consistently interested in administrative governance, and has set a host of principles or general standards that may help policy makers evaluate and improve the legal, regulatory, and institutional framework for administrative governance, as follows (Gisselquist, 2012):

### 1- **Accountability:**

Accountability refers to the ability to call public officials, private employers, or service providers to account, requiring that they be answerable for their policies, actions, and use of funds. The poor are the most hurt by widespread corruption, defined as the abuse of public office for private gain. Elections consolidate the political accountability of political parties and politicians. Administrative accountability of government agencies is through internal accountability mechanisms, both horizontal and vertical within and between agencies. Public or social accountability mechanisms hold government agencies accountable to citizens (Narayan, 2002). (Rashida, 2006) proposes several principles that have to be adopted at establishment of accountability, including clarity of the system rules and the violations consequences, fair application of penalty, and gradation in severity of the penalty. These principles would achieve several goals including making accountability a significant control means, that would ensure the managers' proper administration of their employees, whether the

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<sup>3</sup> Governance Fundamentals: Terminology and Concepts - Abu Dhabi Center for Governance – p. 14

accountability was horizontal or vertical within the organization. It is also considered a tool to reduce negative performance and continue to improve it and achieve positive results that would benefit the organization.

## 2- Transparency

Transparency, which is closely related to accountability, refers to the public's right to know all about regulations. It implies that organizations and institutions can justify their actions if they follow the appropriate process. Transparency also indicates that necessary procedures have been taken to ensure that employees can adequately express their opinions within the decision-making process. Therefore, information about the organization or institution must be publicly available to individuals affected by the institution's choices and their implementation. Furthermore, the information provided should be abundant, comprehensible and easily accessible through comprehensible means. Also, availability of information available to the public, as well as clarity of laws, regulations and regulatory decisions, are referred to as manifestations of transparency. Transparency in organizational decision-making and policy implementation reduces uncertainty, and may add value to reduction of corruption among the personnel. Simple rules and processes that are easy to apply are much better than rules that restrict the discretion of personnel or be subject to various interpretations. (Cloete & Auriacombe, 2013, pp. 16-18). However, (Eltoukhy, 2009) proposes a set of principles and foundations that govern transparency, including administrative clarity, living sufficiency wages, the right to information and accountability for all personnel, enabling personnel to share decision making, as well as keenness on oversight from everyone to everyone, and the right of the public to know what is going on in public organizations. This rule of 'the right to know and express views' as discussed above, applies to various institutions and organizations, and also to members of general assemblies of organizations, social and civil movements, civil society organizations, and institutions in general.

## 3- Efficiency and effectiveness:

Administrative governance requires administrative procedures that would produce results that meet the goals of the community, while making utmost use of the available resources. Accordingly, the government and its community organizations should make the best use of the few resources for the benefit of all, where everyone must contribute to transforming resources into services by carrying out their work successfully and efficiently. The concepts of efficiency and effectiveness also include sustainable use of natural resources and environmental

protection, based on standards of administrative governance (Madihlaba, 2011). The effectiveness of organizations and institutions is measured by their success in achievement of their objectives. On the other hand, efficiency is measured as the ratio of outputs to inputs. Accordingly, when organizations' outputs exceed their inputs, in this case, they may be described as effective. Efficiency and effectiveness are intricately linked and mutually reinforcing in many ways (Pollitt, 2003). Through participatory procedures and disciplined and efficient financial management, highly qualified staff can develop and implement essential programs and deliver effective services. Transparent, decentralized and politically neutral systems provide high levels of responsiveness to changing public demands. Decentralized organizations and authorized powers tend to expedite decision-making and implementation. Responsiveness heavily relies on public participation and openness, allowing citizens to communicate their requirements and hold elected officials to account, particularly when it comes to managing resources and outcomes (Andrews, 2008).

#### **4- Responsiveness:**

Organizations and institutions are more able to understand and respond to citizens' demands because of public participation, and the fact that their activities are in line with the demands of community. Accordingly, responsiveness and service provision are equivalent in this context. The significance of responsiveness appears in the question of whether the programs of organizations and institutions are developed in cooperation with local communities and respond to the community's demands (OECD O, 2013). Responsiveness means that organizations would seek and direct processes to serve all stakeholders. Some call it 'service', as it is one of the features of most public service organizations. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has considered it as a significant feature of public organization management, because the one thing that distinguishes public organizations, such as in areas of education, health and transportation, is their continuous quest to meet the general needs and requirements of the community, through provision of services that respond to the highest needs and requirements of society. But the real challenge is the difficulty of defining 'service', where definitions of service may be vague at best, and misleading at worst, despite being (service) a common concept to many and very well known in our daily lives. However, current implications show that the concept of public service is no longer feasible in most countries. This is due to the expansion of private sector activities to include all related fields such as health, education and social care. Meanwhile, the public sector institutions started to invade several areas that had been monopolized by the private sector, such as management, telephone companies and service providers (Sampson, 2001).

## 5- Strategic vision

Strategic planning is a tool for organizing the present based on expectations for the future; where a strategic plan is a road map for leading an organization from the present moment to where it wants to be in five or ten years. Therefore, a strategic plan has to include an executive plan divided over the comprehensive plan span, with the need for existence of motives for organizations in general to carry out the strategic planning process, including emphasizing the concept of organization, the better knowledge, thinking more clearly in the future, and transforming ideas into achievable actions (CEDPA, 2006). Strategic planning provides an excellent opportunity to gather the views and wishes of the organization's beneficiaries, staff, managers, donors, other organizations and other stakeholders of the organization. Indeed, acknowledging the views of different stakeholders during the process of strategy development, even if they are not accommodated, can lend some legitimacy to such an exercise. A participatory approach to strategy development can also have significant 'spin-offs' such as team building, improved organizational communication, and can even signal a commitment to changing the organizational culture. Any strategy development process should involve the organization's partners, beneficiaries or clients in some way. Administrative governance requires a strategic goal to help unify the views of leaders and the public on government and human development, so that they would be consistent with the complicated historical, cultural and social context of this perspective and define such a developmental vision. Community and government institutions should accept this with a broad view of societal development, governance and human development, and with required clarity in drawing up options and choosing the best from amongst them, with the need of leaders, the public and the policy makers to take into account current and future domestic and international elements, as all of them need a long-term vision for effective governance and development as well as understanding of requirements (James, 2016).

## 6- Rule of Law and Respect for Human Rights:

The existence of a legal and legislative framework and policies that are equally, fairly and consistently applied to local individuals, institutions or the community, is known as the rule of law. Fair regulations that are applied uniformly are essential to administrative governance. It also entails full preservation of human rights, especially the rights of minorities. The rule of law entails clearly defined responsibilities, means of law enforcement, and a framework for impartial dispute resolution. Accordingly, the state is bound by the legal system exactly as it is the case with individuals and private companies that operating there. Ensuring freedom of

human rights, freedom of movement, political participation, labor rights, freedom of expression and freedom of religion are other significant factors for the success of administration (Cloete & Auriacombe, 2013, p. 18) and (Hussein, 2005, p. 10). While the concepts of justice and equality between people in Islam are significant, in some ancient civilizations such as the Egyptian, the Persian, and the Roman civilizations, people were divided into social categories based on their advantages and disadvantages, an idea which was irrelevant. Gender, language, race, wealth, poverty, strength, weakness, freedom, and slavery were all used to practice discrimination between people in ancient cultures. On the other hand, the Islamic faith, for example, eliminated discrimination between people by enacting rules that impose acceptance of the principles of justice and equality for all people. The concept of justice and equality can be defined as the equitable treatment of persons without favoring one person over others. Justice and equality are among the most significant characteristics of a good organization; and the idea implementation and promotion of such principles in an organization without bias, is appreciated and cherished, and enhances the feeling of satisfaction among employees (Sharif & Dhiaa-aldeen, 2021, p. 5)

#### **7- Inclusion and Public Participation:**

Participation is a process by which a person can take an active position through engaging in the political, social and economic life of his community, with an opportunity to participate in setting general goals and choosing the most effective way to proceed with achieving them. Individual participation in making critical choices in an organization is extremely significant for increasing internal organizational interdependence through open and free communication across different levels within the organization. All this contributes to achievement of a higher quality of performance and competitiveness. Accordingly, participation is defined as the freedom of thought and expression exercised through institutional channels that allow individuals to express their views in the development and implementation of public policy, so that they could play a significant role in decision-making, which boosts legitimacy of the work of government, and accordingly ensures its stability and ability to survive on the long term (Sharif & Dhiaa-aldeen, 2021, p. 5). Administrative governance is basically based on citizen's participation. Therefore, governments must find different ways for encouraging citizen participation in the decision-making process. Participation may be direct or indirect, through elected representatives. Citizens can participate in decision-making via groups or associations such as trade unions, chambers of commerce, NGOs and political parties, or as individuals, such as sending comments to newspaper editors, participating in talk shows, whether on radio or television, as well as voting (Mavee, 2010, p. 55).

### 3. Second Topic

#### **Depiction of the Reality of Muslim Brotherhood in Relation to Administrative Governance Systems**

The Muslim Brotherhood was founded in Ismailia Governorate, Egypt, in 1928 by its founder and first General Guide (spiritual leader), Hassan al-Banna, along with six other people who had believed in his idea. But the group's headquarters later moved to Cairo Governorate.

In its infancy, the group was established in accordance with the Egyptian Constitution of 1923, where in Article 30 recognized the Egyptians' right to assemble and form associations, which encouraged Egyptians at the time to launch several civil social institutions that played a major role in political, cultural and social upbringing. It is noteworthy that the law regulating the establishment of associations at the time was a civil code issued in 1885, which did not contain articles restrictive of declaration of associations, as they were not subject to the executive power, but only to the authority of law through judicial rulings. At this stage, the authorities in Egypt attempted to take advantage of freezing the 1923 Constitution and issued a law in 1925 to impose restrictions on the notification of inception of political societies, but the political parties at the time faced that, by rejecting the law and forcing the government not to publish it in the Official Gazette, and accordingly it was not put into force.

Then, the Egyptian situation in this regard went through a series of amendments to laws, such as Law No. 17 of 1938, Decree/Law No. 39 of 1939 establishing the Ministry of Social Affairs, and Law No. 49 of 1945, which intensified the role of the executive authorities towards associations - but the group then regularized its legal status according to that law - as well as other laws regulating civil work in Egypt over decades until today. The Muslim Brotherhood also engaged in numerous legal disputes with the Egyptian authorities, and was disbanded more than once: whether by a military decree in 1948, during the royal era; Or by an administrative decree in 1954 by the Revolutionary Command Council in Egypt; Or by a judicial ruling by the Court of Administrative Justice most recently in 2013, where it was recurrently banned by the Egyptian authorities, and viewed as operating in violation of the law in several periods since its inception so far. Such situation exposed MB members to being targeted and persecuted by authorities, and led to eruption of disputes and splits at some stations of the MB course.

### **Brotherhood's bylaws and statutes:**

"And they started work for dissemination of the idea based on legitimacy and laws; therefore, after the group applied to the Interior Ministry in April 1929, for official registration, the group found it necessary to have a statute and a general regulation. In 1930, the first statute of the Muslim Brotherhood was issued, and then was approved by the group's general assembly during its third session on 1 Jumada al-Ula 1349 AH / 24 September 1930 AD. This was the first regulation issued by the Muslim Brotherhood, but it was later amended, based on the emerging circumstances and developments on the internal or the external arenas," stated Abdou Mustafa Desouky in his book "The Muslim Brotherhood Regulations and Bylaws from Inception to Expansion (1930-2009). This bylaw regulating the work of the group consisted of an introduction, nine chapters and a conclusion.

It is noteworthy that Article 43 of the aforementioned regulation stated that: "Under no circumstances may anything of this statute be amended without the approval of three-fourths of the board of directors convened for this purpose, and the consent of the assembly by a majority of two-thirds of its present members; and it is not permissible in any way to amend the second, third, and sixth articles. For us Allah suffices, and He is the best disposer of affairs, the excellent protector, and the excellent supporter."

Following are the three articles that the regulation banned the possibility of amending them in any way, namely:

Article 2 - This association is not involved in political affairs whatsoever, nor in religious differences; and it has no connection ever to a particular party, as it is (established) for the sake of Islam and Muslims in every place and time.

Article 3 - The objectives of the association are restricted to seeking to improve the conditions of Muslims in all aspects of their social and moral life, as detailed hereunder:

- a) Strengthening the bond of "acquaintance" between Muslims, and formation of a pure community out of them everywhere, provided that its motto would be "obedience to God, self-discipline, and learning the Islamic religion"; where these communities shall be connected to each other, around the central office.
- b) Dissemination of Islamic teachings, combating illiteracy by teaching whoever wants from the Brotherhood how to read and write, and preserving the Holy Qur'an.
- c) Defending Islam within limits of the law.

- d) Dissemination of health awareness among all classes of the nation, especially villagers.
- e) Addressing economic crises from the point of view of exhortation and guidance.
- f) Working to cure the social ills rampant in the nation, such as drunkenness, drug abuse, gambling, prostitution, and so on.
- g) Encouraging charitable works, such as supporting the poor, preparing the dead for burial, and aiding beneficial charitable projects; and undertaking such works whenever it is possible for the association.

Article 6 - A member of the association must be a Muslim of good conduct, not known for an anti-Islamic tendency or orientation, of no less than fifteen years old, and must be recommended by three of the MB members, and finally to pledge to preserve the principles of the association and be committed to obedience in whatever leads to its progress.

With the move of one of the founders of the Muslim Brotherhood, Sheikh Hamed Askariah, from Ismailia to Shubrakhit, Behira Governorate, he set up a new MB division in Shubrakhit, which was inaugurated in Muharram 1349 AH / June 1930, in the presence of the group's founder, Hassan al-Banna, and a host of the Brotherhood members. It is noteworthy that Sheikh Askariah used the same Brotherhood regulation that was in force in Ismailia, in the establishment of a branch of the MB society in Shubrakhit, with some modifications in the introduction and a slight modification in some internal clauses, while fully complying with the central office regulation.

"Some amendments were made to the Muslim Brotherhood's statute and regulations in January 1932 / 1351 AH, most significantly a provision committing the MB General Guide, Hassan al-Banna, to appoint a deputy for him, to be in charge of the branch in Ismailia. However, it was the first time to state the title of the 'General Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood' in the amendment (Desouky, 2012).

The Muslim Brotherhood used to print their publications at the Salafi Printing Press, owned by Sheikh Moheb al-Din al-Khatib; but in order to rationalize expenditures, the group's General Shura Council decided on 2 Shawwal 1352 AH / 18 January 1934 AH, to establish a printing company to be assigned the task of printing all the Brotherhood's newspapers, books and

publications, noting that the group's Shura Council agreed that this company shall be a joint stock company, and issued a special regulation for this purpose in 1934<sup>4</sup>.

### **Regulations Layout:**

These regulations and others, as we will see, were characterized by containing articles related to the form and name, membership, promotion or reduction of level, subscriptions, powers of the General Guide and deputies in branches, some rights related to each of the Brotherhood positions or ranks approved by these regulations, as well as shares in institutions affiliated with the group, such as the joint-stock printing and publishing company that was established by the group and was affiliated with the Brotherhood's Guidance Office.

In 1935, the group's Shura Council convened during the Eid al-Adha holiday in Cairo to approve some regulations, where the Council held its sessions from Saturday 11 Dhul-Hijjah 1353 AH / 16 March 1935 AD; to Monday, 13 Dhul-Hijjah 1353 AH / 18 March 1935 AD. The regulations that were adopted during the meeting included:

- The Hajj Regulation
- Zakat and Sadaqah Regulation
- The Journeys Team Regulations

### **The odd view of administrative formations:**

In the spring of 1354 AH / May 1935 AD, the group made an amendment to its 'statute', as well as its 'executive regulation', the 'sisters regulation', and the 'dispute resolution regulation'. The statute included articles reminiscent of the MB inception, the general objectives and some general values and morals of members of the group. Then the statute addressed what it called "the value of administrative formations".

In a remarkable indication, highlighting the oddity of the administrative outlook, Article 4 of the statute stated that: "Administrative formations are the last thing the Muslim Brotherhood might think about, as they are considered a secondary priority to the group; taking into mind that administrative titles do not produce correct faith, but virtuous spiritual orientation produces all good. (Neither their meat nor their blood reaches Allah, but it is your piety that reaches Him.)" (Surat Al-Hajj: Verse 37) (Desouky, 2012).

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<sup>4</sup> Muslim Brotherhood Newspaper, 1st. Year, Issue 30, on 15 Dhul-Qadah 1352 AH / 1 March 1934 AD.

This amendment also included some significant articles, including, for example, that redundant funds should be kept in a safe place provided that it would not be affected by usury, while the old statute, before amendment, had stated that they (funds) be kept in a bank, without allowing usury to affect it. The amendment also stipulated that any Islamic association that accepts what is stated in this statute shall be considered a Muslim Brotherhood constituency, and its head shall be invited to attend the meetings of the Brotherhood's General Shura Council, as long as the purpose for which all Islamic groups operate is the same, with respect to foundation and essence, as stated in Article 18 of the amendment.

Article 20 of this amendment also states that each Brotherhood constituency has the right to set its own internal regulation itself, provided that it be internally approved by the MB constituency members, and it shall be considered valid and put into force as soon as it is ratified.

At the time, the group was also keen to issue more regulations related to its internal sections and committees, including:

- The Regulation of Muslim Sisters Teams (provided that the Guidance Office would appoint the head of these teams)
- The Regulation of the 'Arbitration and Reconciliation' Committee
- The internal regulation of the MB Guidance Office and General Shura Council, which stated, for example, that the Guidance Office shall be presided over by the General Guide, who shall select the rest of members, provided that they shall not be less than twelve members and not more than twenty-four. After selection of these members and notifying them through the Shura Council, this number of members shall not be amended nor shall any of them be exempted except by a decision of the same office until expiry of their term of membership. Among conditions for membership of this office, it was stated that a member's age must not be less than twenty-five Hijri years, and that he should have been a MB active member for at least five years, as well as some other conditions. With the commencement of the Guidance Office meetings, one or more deputies for the general guide shall be selected, as well as an observer-general to follow up on the implementation of decisions, as well as a secretary, and a treasurer.
- The Regulation of Cooperative System Section (known as 'families', the MB smallest units)
- The General Regulation of MB Ranger Companies.
- The General Regulation of the Students Section
- The Regulation of the 'Bureaus and Services' Section

- The Regulation of Staff and Personnel of the MB Central Office
- The Regulation of the Sharia (Legal) Section
- The Regulation of the 'Al-Azhar University and Religious Institutes' Section
- The Regulation of 'Islamic Call Dissemination' Section
- The Regulation of the 'Liaison Section with Islamic World and Arab Countries'
- The Regulation of the 'Labor Section'
- The Regulation of the MB Cultural Curriculum Section
- The internal regulation of the 'Social Service Section'
- The Regulation of the Muslim Sisters Section, which was primarily established with the aim of educating women about religion teachings, where an Article of the regulation stated that it is strictly forbidden to form independent administrative bodies for women, so that they would not preoccupy themselves with useless formations and titles, as stated in Article 3 (g) of the regulation.
- The Regulation of the 'Investigations Committee'.

The group was subjected to several splits, due to difference of views among members, where the so-called "Shabab Mohamad Strife" was the strongest, as a large number of MB members defected from the group, where the reasons behind the strife was stated as their intense enthusiasm, fanaticism for their views, and urgency. Ultimately, they defected from the group and established the "Shabab Mohamad Group" on the 9th. of Dhul-Hijjah 1358 AH / 20 January 1940 AD. (Desouky, 2012).

The formation of this committee, the 'Investigations Committee', was one of the consequences of the "Shabab Mohamad Strife", as there had been no committee to investigate such matters; therefore, the MB Central Office decided to form a committee to draw up its related regulation, where the Central Office decision stated that: "In its session held on 20 Muharram 1359 AH / 28 February 1940 AD, the Muslim Brotherhood's General Guidance Office decided to form the 'Investigations Committee' at the MB Central Office located in Cairo, from Messrs: Abdel Moneim Farag Al-Sadda, Omar Al-Telmisani, Hussein Badr, and Saleh Ashmawy. The committee submitted this regulation, and the Office approved it in its session on 29 Muharram 1359 AH / 8 March 1940." (Desouky, 2012).

According to the same reference above, fundamental amendments were made to the MB statute and regulations in 1944, which was followed by issuance of the amendment to the group regulations on organization of subsidiary administrative offices in 1945, where (Desouky, 2012) stated:

"Mr. Goma Amin Abdel Aziz says: The Muslim Brotherhood amended its statute which was issued in 1935, so that the new statute would fit and keep pace with the group's new organizations and sections. It is to be mentioned that the Brotherhood kept the executive regulations issued under the 1935 statute in force under the new 1944 statute, regulating the work of the Guidance Office and Districts, despite the existence of a new regulation for Districts. The introduction of that regulation stated that it came in implementation of Article 20 of the MB statute, issued in 1935, despite the fact that with the amendment of the old statute, that article was no longer in effect.

Perhaps the issuance of the new statute before the issuance of the regulation of districts and divisions was behind the Brotherhood's decision to maintain the old executive regulation. However, when the new executive regulation was issued, the old one became null, as the rule of "the latter cancels the former" was applied to statutes and regulations, particularly in case the latter was as strong as the former, albeit not stipulated.

It is to be mentioned that these regulations were issued as one package by the General Guidance Office in 1363 AH/1944 AD, except for the last regulation, organizing the subsidiary administrative offices, which was issued within the first bulletin issued by the General Guidance Office in 1945. These regulations were varied and numerous, as they included the MB statute and general regulation, as well as the regulations of all sections."

It is also noteworthy, in this regard, that amendment softened the previous wording of the article related to the administrative formations, that had stated that "the last thing the Muslim Brotherhood might think about was administrative formations, as they are considered a secondary priority to the group"; with preservation of the general spirit of the article, but showing more attention to benefitting from management, at least more than it had been in the previous stage. The amended article (Article 4) stated that: "Administrative formations, in themselves, are not intended by the Muslim Brotherhood, but rather intended to be a means of organizing and directing the Brotherhood's efforts. The most significant thing that must be taken care of is the spiritual formation, comprehension of the idea, and devoting it in the soul; where administrative titles do not produce correct faith, but the virtuous spiritual orientation

produces all good: (Neither their meat nor their blood reaches Allah, but it is your piety that reaches Him.)" (Surat Al-Hajj: Verse 37) (Desouky, 2012).

In 1945, the Muslim Brotherhood's General Assembly approved significant amendments to the group statute, notably the use of the word "Haya'ah" (body/ /organization) instead of "Gameyah" (Society/Association) to define the MB entity, specifically on 2 Shawwal 1364 AH/ 9 September 1945 AD. This was due to issuance of a new law regulating charitable societies and social institutions in July 1945, that is Law No. 49 of 1945. Accordingly, the Brotherhood developed a broader definition of the group's activity and objectives, allowing engagement in internal and external politics, contrary to its primary orientations in the first founding statute, where Article 2 of Part Two of the statute, under the title, The End and the Means, stipulated: "The Muslim Brotherhood is an all-encompassing Islamic body that works to achieve the purposes that true Islam came to achieve, including:

- Scientific (academic) Purpose: That is to precisely explain the Holy Qur'an call, with the aim of clarifying it, restoring its nature and comprehensiveness, presenting it in a way that conforms to the spirit of the age, and defending it against falsehoods and suspicions;
- Practical Purpose: That is to unite the Egyptian nation and other Islamic nations on these Qur'anic principles and to renew their significant impact in the hearts of their children so that it will be a truly Qur'anic nation, with the convergence of points of view between the various Islamic sects;
- Economic Purpose: That is to develop, protect and liberate the national wealth, work to raise people's standard of living, achieve social justice among individuals and classes, secure social insurance for every citizen, and ensure equal opportunities for all;
- Social/Charitable Purpose: That is to contribute to the popular social service; combat ignorance, disease, poverty and vice; and to encourage good and beneficial deeds;
- Patriotic/National Purpose: That is to seek the liberation of the Nile Valley, all Arab countries, and all parts of the Islamic homeland from any foreign power; to support Muslim minorities everywhere to access their rights; to provide full support to Arab unity; to vigorously move forward towards establishment of Islamic League; and to sincerely advocate global cooperation, based on virtuous ideals that would preserve freedoms and rights, where the strong would help the weak until they rise again, in addition to establishment of a righteous state that would practically implement Islamic provisions and teachings, guard them at home and disseminate them abroad.

- Universal Human Purpose: That is to contribute to building global peace and human civilization, on a new basis of collaboration of material and spirit together, via presentation of universal Islamic principles that proclaim brotherhood and chart a practical path to reach them, for a world thirsting for a struggling spiritual life.” (Desouky, 2012).

On 12 Rajab 1367 AH / 21 May 1948 AD, the Muslim Brotherhood General Assembly made an amendment to the group's statute, maintaining the same spirit contained in the previous amendment of 1945, but explicitly stating in the “purposes” located in Part 2, Article 2: “...the establishment of a righteous state that would practically implement Islamic provisions and teachings, guard them at home and disseminate them abroad (Desouky, 2012).

Then, this amendment addressed again the Constituent Assembly, but this time defining it as the General Shura Council. The amendment also maintained the provisions stating that the General Guide is the supreme head of the group, presiding over its guidance office and its constituent body together. This amendment, like the previous one, limited the number of members of the Guidance Office to 12, but provided that nine of them should be from the Cairo "brothers", and the remaining three from the "brothers" of other "districts".

#### **A military order to dissolve MB in in 1948:**

Then, the amendments and regulations followed successively, especially after issuance of Military Order No. 63 of 1948, on Wednesday, 7 Safar 1368 AH / 8 December 1948 AD, by Egyptian authorities at the time, dissolving the Muslim Brotherhood group. The authorities announced that the decision was issued based on a decree declaring martial law on 31 May 1948 and Law No. 15 of 1923 regarding the system of martial law and the laws amending it. Then, early in the following year, specifically on 12 February 1949, the group’s founder and first General Guide, Hassan al-Banna, was assassinated in front of the Muslim Youth Association in Cairo. Al-Banna had filed a lawsuit before his assassination, demanding annulling the military order to dissolve the group. After his assassination, some MB leaders followed up on the lawsuit until a court ruling was issued in October 1951 annulling the order to dissolve the group, which allowed the return of the Muslim Brotherhood to operation again (Desouky, 2012).

After the Muslim Brotherhood society returned to operation once again, based on a court ruling, there appeared problematics in the mechanism of granting power and selecting a new general guide for the group, but ultimately Chancellor Hassan Al-Hudheibi was chosen to fill the vacant position. After that, the following amendments conducted in the MB statute and bylaws focused on further defining the General Guide’s tenure, setting it at four years; and the same was true

for the General Shura Council, provincial Shura councils, and administrative offices. The amendments to the group's statute and regulations, which the Guidance Office decided on 2 November 1951, also specified the number of members of councils and offices and distribution of these numbers to governorates, with giving the largest proportion of them to Cairo.

The MB had been targeted even before the death of its founder, Hassan al-Banna, given the issuance of a military order to dissolve the society, its branches and smaller units. Following Al-Banna's assassination there were amendments in the group's statute and internal regulations. However, these amendments appeared to be tending to reservation, putting many assumptions about possibilities of absence of the General Guide, or members of the Guidance Office or the Shura councils, in a clear sign that there were problematics in the administrative system, related to the process of granting power, one of the pillars of modern governance systems. On this basis, there was tendency to develop 'reservative' regulatory articles, which might fit the stage that the group was going through, being targeted by the state, amid expectations that meetings of the group members were likely to be impeded, or its ability to contact and communicate be weakened, which would obstruct continuation of its bodies to act in a stable manner, as they used to do in previous periods.

### **The Post-Nasser Regulations:**

The group suffered major problems in its relation with the Free Officers Movement and the Revolutionary Command Council, where the latter on 9 Jumada I 1373 AH / 14 January 1954 AD issued an administrative decree to dissolve the Brotherhood, considering that the decree to dissolve political parties applied to the MB group, after which the group (prominent figures) were arrested; and its headquarters, funds, and members were targeted throughout the reign of the late Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Therefore, the group's statute and regulations remained as they had been before, without any development until a provisional regulation was issued on 3 Jumada II 1398 AH / 10 May 1978 AD - noting that the Brotherhood had worked on preparation of that regulation in prison - and the General Guide approved it shortly after the group (leaders and members) were released from prison during the era of the late Egyptian president Anwar Sadat.

However, many articles of the MB bylaws did not change and remained as they had been before, especially the objectives, principles, the end, and operation of sections, as the amendment only affected the changing affairs, such as the nature of the Guidance Office, the Shura Council, and others, like the Brotherhood relationship in different countries (Desouky, 2012).

Then, a Brotherhood bylaw and statute were drawn up on 9 Shawwal 1402 AH / 29 July 1982, and approved in a meeting of the Brotherhood's Global Shura Council that was held in the same year, based on the provisional regulation that had been approved by the General Guide earlier (in 1978). The new regulation tackled some amendments, especially new provisions addressing the Brotherhood in different countries of the world and its relationship with the parent group: considering that the group is one unit in all countries, and that the General Guide has the right to summon the Brotherhood general observers in other countries to meet with whenever needed. The regulation also stipulated that the minimum age for a candidate for the position of the general guide is 40 years, and that the Brotherhood in other countries must be consulted on nomination of the group's general guide, given that the General Guide is in charge of the MB globally. The regulation also set more precise conditions for the meeting of the majority of the Shura Council, especially during the process of choosing the General Guide, stipulating that it is a global Shura Council formed from different countries and has higher powers. The regulation also laid the foundations for the relation between what it called the "General Leadership" at this time and different "Leaderships of Countries".

With the advent of the 1990s, and the early emergence of concepts of governance, at the global, Arab and Egyptian levels, specifically on 16 Shawwal 1414 AH / 28 March 1994 AD, the Global MB Shura Council discussed the proposals submitted to it in this regard, and approved new amendments included in the MB Statute (Global Brotherhood Regulation), which was divided into six parts, with fifty-four articles. It is to be mentioned that this regulation raised the tenure of the General Guide from four years to six years, adding that: After the expiry of the General Guide's term, he retains his membership in the Global Shura Council for life, while the same regulation limited the term of the General Guidance Office to four years.

As it appears from tracking the development of the general regulation of Egypt's Brotherhood, it was developed and approved in 1990, then amended in 2009, adding an article related to the situation when the Guidance Office becomes unable to operate and the possibility of delegating its tasks to the Shura Council, with a need to specify the mechanism for such procedure. According to the book "The Muslim Brotherhood Regulations and Bylaws from Inception to Expansion (1930-2009)", the General Guide is the head of the Guidance Office and the Shura Council in Egypt, who chairs their meetings, as he does in presiding over the Global General Guidance Office and the Global Shura Council, which involves overlapping of powers. The regulation also imposes an overlap between the executive and legislative powers in the group by giving the Guidance Office in Egypt the right to merge (administrative offices) of governorates or divide a single governorate into more than one administrative office. The

regulation also gives the Guidance Office the right to determine the number of members of the Shura Council in each governorate. It also gives it the right to appoint one-fifth of the members of the Shura Council in each governorate, after consulting with its administrative office, that also represents the executive power, which highlights the lack of separation of powers and signals a problematic in mechanisms of granting power, as well as the conflict of interests and powers. Moreover, the current amended regulation lacks any concern for financial or administrative oversight.

**The organizational structure of Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood and its related “Overseas ‘Rabita’ (association)’, mainly comprises:**

Legislative Body	N.B.	Executive Body	N.B.
Shura Council of Egypt	It is known as the General Shura Council, in overlap with the global council	Guidance Office	The supreme administrative body of the group in Egypt; and it is logical to call it the "Executive Office of Egypt"
Shura Councils of Governorates	The legislative body of each administrative office	Administrative Office	There are administrative offices in all governorates of Egypt, with more offices added to them, as there are governorates that have more than one administrative office, such as Cairo and Daqahlia
Shura Councils of Districts	The legislative body of each district within an administrative office	District Council	The administrative body affiliated to the administrative office in a governorate, which includes a group of divisions.
Shura Council of Divisions	The legislative body within the smallest	Division Council	It is the council that administers the smallest administrative unit in the

	administrative unit in the group		group that comes after a district
		Sections and technical committees	There is a group of technical sections affiliated with the Guidance Office; and a group of technical committees under these sections, affiliated with each administrative office, where such technical sections include: sisters, education, students, cubs (boys aged about 8 to 11), workers, professionals, politics, media, dissemination of the call, and others.
Shura Council of 'Overseas Association'	It is the Shura Council of the 'Overseas Association' of Egyptian Brothers abroad, which enjoys a quota of 3 seats in membership of the Shura Council of Egypt	'Overseas Association' Office	It is the highest administrative body for the Egyptian Muslim Brothers outside Egypt. It runs an organizational entity affiliated with the Guidance Office in Egypt under the name: "The Association of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Abroad". It includes a group of specific countries, not including all Egyptian Brothers around the world.
The Country Shura Council	It is the legislative body of the Egyptian Brotherhood in a country outside Egypt	Country Executive Office	It is the supreme administrative body of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in a country outside Egypt

		<p>Sections and Technical Committees</p>	<p>There is a group of technical sections affiliated with the Overseas Association's Office; and a group of technical committees under these sections, affiliated with each country, where such technical sections include: sisters, education, students, cubs (boys aged about 8 to 11), workers, professionals, politics, media, dissemination of the call, and others</p>
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With regard to the membership ranks, the Brotherhood's current reality refers to two types of membership:

- 1- Pre-affiliation membership (i.e. before official affiliation), which is divided into two stages (i.e. ranks): Moheb (who likes the group) / Mu'ayyed (who supports the group)
- 2- Post-affiliation membership (i.e. official affiliation), which is divided into three stages (i.e. ranks): Affiliate / Regular / Active

## 4. The Third Topic

### Analysis of Tools Used

#### 4.1 Reference Documents:

Reviewing the regulations discussed above, it is apparent that the Muslim Brotherhood has been keen to have a statute and a set of regulations since its inception, through which it could organize its action, whether in its Central Office or in branches, for all its administrative and Shura formations or even for its sections and committees.

The regulations used to define names, objectives of formation, values, moral system, financial system, administrative formations, and other regulatory matters. However, the wording of most regulations was rather simple, in terms of being preachy in the nature of formulation rather than legal and administrative formulation.

These regulations and bylaws have not included oversight systems, especially over financial affairs. And even with respect to the functions of the General Shura Council, which is the highest legislative and oversight power in the Brotherhood, it was stated in regulations that its legislative role derives from the fact that it assumed this task on behalf of the Guidance Office. There are several articles that confirmed the independence of the Guidance Office much more than those dedicated to the independence of the General Shura Council, to the extent that the Guidance Office may undertake the task of the General Shura Council, as well.

There is also overlap between various bodies, especially those related to the executive and the legislative powers. For example, the General Guide combines the position of head of the Guidance Office - the group's highest executive power - and the position of head of the General Shura Council - the group's highest legislative power - at the same time; and accordingly, he presides over the meetings of both the Guidance Office and the General Shura Council, which highlights overlap between the executive and legislative powers. Certainly, this would weaken the values and principles of accountability and transparency, and may cause many problematics, including the conflict of interests and overlap between various powers and the lack of separation between them.

The regulations also reflected lack of interest in administrative systems in the Brotherhood, in terms of priorities, where it was stated in one of the articles of the 1935 regulations -before

being amended in 1944- that administrative formations were the last thing the Muslim Brotherhood might think about, stressing that it was considered a secondary priority to them. However, the 1944 amendments attempted to alleviate the tone a little, but it kept the general spirit of the Article untouched. With the passing of time and practice, this might consolidate in the minds of members that management in general, and its various systems in particular, are of secondary priority in the thought of the Brotherhood, under the pretext that “the most significant thing is focus on spiritual aspects, given that administrative titles do not produce the correct faith”, as the Article stated. Also, this would implicitly instill fear in the subconscious of members that administration is not only a secondary matter, but it may also harm their faith. This may explain the reasons behind absence of development of administrative systems in the group in general. It is also to be mentioned that the same thing happened in the wording of the Sisters Section regulation, which confirmed in Article 3 (g) that it is strictly forbidden to form independent administrative bodies for women, considering that this might lead to preoccupying them with useless titles and formations, which indicates how the Brotherhood leadership at the time thought about administration, and highlights their concepts and negative perceptions about it.

There is another remark related to age, as the old regulations that were existing in the early days of the group under the group's first guide and founder, Hassan al-Banna, were characterized by empowering young people and giving them real opportunities, where the regulations at that time stated that an active MB member should be at least 18 years old, which is, in fact, a very early age, compared to the present reality in the group, as it is quite difficult for anyone to become an active member at the age of 18. Also, the minimum age required for becoming a member of the board of directors of a division was 21, which is also an early age. The regulations at the time also stated that the age of a member of the Guidance Office - the group's highest executive power - should not be less than 25 years old, which cannot be monitored in the group over the past 50 years until today.

It is to be noted also that Article 16 of the regulation of staff and personnel at the Muslim Brotherhood Central Office violates one of the human rights, that is the right to litigation, as Article 16 states: “This regulation is the one that regulates the financial and judicial relationship between the Muslim Brotherhood, as a legal person, and the personnel who work in the service of this legal person, where signature of an employee or worker on a copy of this regulation replaces the contract between the two parties, and that the regulation provisions and those of the Guidance Office are not subject to review or litigation, but are rather binding and prohibitive (of litigation) (Desouky, 2012).

Moving to the decision to amend the MB Statute in 1945, which seems to have coincided with an amendment conducted by the Egyptian government at the time to the Civil Work Law, that is Law No. 49 of 1945, on organization of charitable societies and social institutions and the donation to charitable causes, which was issued by King Farouk I, King of Egypt at the time. The group's general assembly then approved amendments to the statute, including defining the society as a body, "an inclusive Islamic body", and enumerating the purposes of its activity, which were clearly consistent with political action, where it stated that the MB seeks to liberate the countries of the Nile Valley and all Arab countries as well as all parts of the Islamic homeland from every foreign power - contrary to the group's assertion upon inception that it would not be engaged in political work. The MB 1945 statute also touched upon the economic aspects in one of the stated economic purposes, that is, "developing, protecting and liberating national wealth, working to raise people's standard of living, achieving social justice among individuals and classes, ensuring social insurance for every citizen, and ensuring equality of opportunity for all," which seems to be one of the purposes of political parties.

This amendment also re-asserted that the term of office of the General Guide was "for life", and that he must be one of the members of the Constituent Body, which has recurrently been stated in that amendment, where there was an entire Article devoted to the Constituent Body and its definition, determining the number of its members at 100. According to this amendment, it was stated that the CB was authorized to choose the general guide, without talk about the fact that this authority was of the General Shura Council before the amendment. The constituent body was also defined as the General Assembly of the Guidance Office, which had been the definition of the General Shura Council in previous regulations before amendment. The amended regulation also indicated the possibility of adding new members to the CB based on a proposal from the General Guide and the CB approval, where the amendment set specifications for acceptance of the proposal submitted by the General Guide, as well as specifications for those who might lose their CB membership.

This amendment to the Muslim Brotherhood statute also tackled the position of the auditor, indicating that the position was affiliated with the constituent body, which would appoint a specialist from amongst them, not from members of the Guidance Office, where he would deliver an annual financial report to the CB at its meeting in Muharram (the first month of the Hijri calendar) every year. During that meeting, the new auditor for the following year would be determined. It is to be mentioned that this was a requirement by the new law enacted by the Egyptian government, within definition of the system of financial control of social institutions.

The 1948 amendment continued to emphasize the idea that the MB was expanded and its members and districts increased. However, the philosophy of making these amendments later appeared that was an attempt to keep the reins of affairs and higher management in the hands of a certain group that was named in the amendment as the Constituent Body, which was exactly the task of the General Shura Council itself. The number of CB members was determined by the general guide as 100 members. The CB was the one that was authorized to choose the general guide and select and approve members of the guidance office from amongst its members, as well as selecting an auditor from among its members, provided that the auditor would not be a member of the guidance office. Then the amendment stated that the number of members of the guidance office would be 12 members, nine of whom were from Cairo, and the remaining three were from other governorates, in a clear sign of desire to give priority to Cairo MB leaders in the management of the group at the time, while raising the minimum age for a member of the Guidance Office to 30. However, this phase with all its amendments ended with the issuance of the 1951 Regulation that was drawn up a few years after the founder's assassination and the group's return to operation again after a court ruling was issued in its favor, rescinding the military decree that had been issued to dissolve it.

Reviewing the regulations issued later, there was focus on the global dimension after MB leaders and members were released from prison during the era of the late President Anwar Sadat, where a provisional regulation was issued in 1978, which was amended in 1982, and re-amended once again in 1994, where all amendments addressed the global aspect of the Muslim Brotherhood, the General Guide, the Global Shura Council, and the Global Guidance Office. The problematic highlighted by these regulations was the role of the General Guide as a global Brotherhood figure, not limited to Egypt. In fact, it was logical for the Brotherhood in Egypt to be defined as one of the MB member countries, with its own executive office on top of other administrative structures, where the global guidance office would bring together all MB member countries. However, Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood did not develop regulations to tackle this situation, thus, leaving a great overlap and confusion of powers and responsibilities between what MB global and local aspects in Egypt. In fact, it seemed to me that this problematic was related to the Egyptian Brotherhood's unwillingness to lose the advantage of the fact that the group was founded in Egypt and accordingly its dominance over the Brotherhood's momentum, not only locally but also globally, which highlights a clear administrative and organizational problematic.

It was also clear that there was confusion between some of the provisions of the Egyptian Brotherhood Regulation that was adopted in 1990, as well as its amendments in 2009 and 2010,

in addition to a clear imbalance between powers. Also, the regulation and its amendments allowed the Guidance Office to infringe on various Shura councils and even intervene in determining the number of members and appointing one-fifth of them. The regulation also granted members of the Guidance Office the right to retain their membership even if they were arrested, without specifying the period of membership retention, based on Article 36 of the 2009 amendment. The regulation did not determine the procedures that might be taken in the event of occurrence of problems, but left matters open for various explanations and interpretations in many uncontrolled ways, due to the loosely-worded regulation articles. For example, Article 32 of the 2009 Amendment states that the Guidance Office shall assume all the powers of the Shura Council in the event that the latter is not be able to convene due to compelling reasons. However, the article did not specify what the nature of these compelling reasons were, nor the period during which this would be applied. This was just an example of the generalized wording of the regulation provisions, in matters that basically should be precise.

There is a very strange article in the same 2009 regulation, that is, Article 30, which gives the Guidance Office the right to suspend all or some members of an elected administrative office directly, just under the excuse, as stated by the article, of: “if necessary!” How can absolute power be given in this way to an elected office (the Guidance Office) against another elected office (all administrative offices), so that this article would remain a sword over necks of everyone, that could be used at any time. The article did not even state reference to investigative committees or others, as inalienable rights for any accused party before issuance of a sentence and putting it into force.

The recent regulations have also been void of any oversight provisions, such as the role of auditor, for example; and they did not even address any financial or administrative control system; while ignoring mention of any oversight roles for the various Shura councils, except for their legislative role and the fact that they receive periodic reports, which seemed to be a mere protocol process, amid lack of any strict control systems, which manifests a major administrative and institutional shortcoming, in contradiction with modern administrative governance systems.

With regard to the articles addressing granting authority, Article 9 which tackles the term of the Guidance Office membership, states: "... c) In all cases, membership of the Guidance Office shall continue, even in case of expiry of the membership term, based on the above rules, until the Shura Council convenes and elects a new office." This means that even if the term of office of the Guidance Office expires, membership will continue until the Shura Council convenes

for election of a new office, without determination of a specific maximum time for that. What if the Shura Council did not convene at all?

In his assessment of the Brotherhood's organizational structure, (Al-Anani, 2018) says, "There is lack of separation of powers within the group's institutions, particularly between the Guidance Office and the Shura Council. Rather, the relationship between these two institutions in particular is marred by ambiguity and imbalance. For example, the Guidance Office, in theory, is accountable to the Shura Council, but in reality the powers of the Guidance Office over the group are much broader than those of the Shura Council, where the Guidance Office, along with the General Guide, have exceptional powers in management of the Brotherhood affairs, and dominating the decision-making process, especially in strategic matters, such as decisions related to political participation, negotiation with the regime, and budget management. In fact, several members of the Shura Council expressed dissatisfaction with the increasing powers of their comrades in the Guidance Office and the merits and roles that they enjoy."

More significantly, disagreements between the Brotherhood movement's conservatives and reformists have cast a shadow over the organizational structure over the past two decades. Despite the Brotherhood's ability to contain and manage these disagreements in the short term, the group has proven incapable of avoiding their long-term effects. Also, there are many generational differences, which have undermined the organizational structure of the MB movement recently, where the difference between the old guard and the youth over strategy, political and ideological positions, and the relationship with the regime have become common." (Al-Anani, 2018).

"There is stagnation and shortcomings in the MB organization, as the group's disciplined hierarchical structure was formed at the expense of its internal vitality. The group's desire to ensure unity and organization cohesion contributed to affecting its internal dynamics and reduced the possibilities of creating a healthy organizational environment. In addition, transparency is absent from the internal movement procedures within the Brotherhood, due to the fact that it adopts a system based on loyalty and obedience of individuals rather than on competence, and accordingly, the organizational culture within the group has produced obedient and submissive grassroots and members that avoid the risk of losing their membership or being marginalized if they dared to defy leadership. In addition, stagnation of the movement's structure and systems has left its impact on the decision-making process in recent years, where the movement has slackened and slowed down, and sometimes appeared as irrelevant to reality. In fact, several researchers criticized the group's tackling of organization

as a target in itself. However, other researchers, such as the late researcher Hossam Tamam - one of the most prominent experts in the MB affairs - believed that the Brotherhood succeeded in building an organization similar to that of the state and even sought to replace it (Al-Anani, 2018).

#### 4.2 Questionnaire:

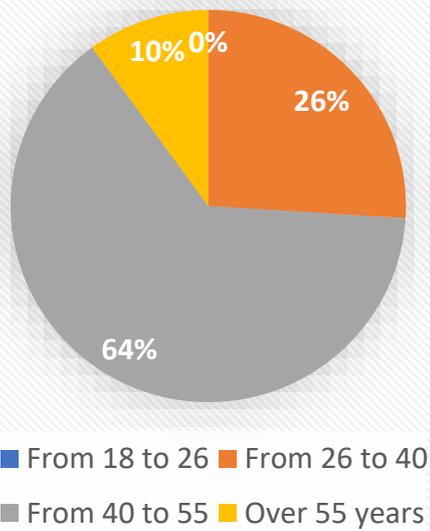
The questionnaire was developed as an attempt to explore the reality of administrative governance within the group, in terms of its various values, rules, and standards, such as transparency, circulation of information, oversight - especially in relation to financial control - accountability of higher authorities, authority and mechanisms for granting it, and how far the concept and culture of governance is common within the corridors of the Brotherhood. The researcher was keen to include leaders, cadres, and members of the group in the research sample, including men and women, both from inside and outside Egypt<sup>5</sup>, and also including various age groups, while leaving the name field non-binding in the questionnaire, based on a preliminary survey that the researcher had conducted before the launch of the basic questionnaire<sup>6</sup>. A little more than 50 people participated in the questionnaire, but the results were limited to only 50 participants, with the exclusion of those who had resigned from the MB organization, even if recently, as well as those who stated that they voluntarily froze their membership. The questions and outcomes were as follows:

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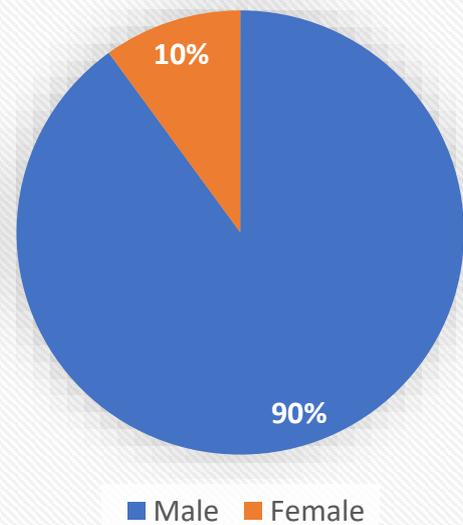
<sup>5</sup> N.B.: Due to the current security conditions faced by MB members in Egypt, many of them found it difficult to communicate and participate in the questionnaire.

<sup>6</sup> However, half of the respondents mentioned their names

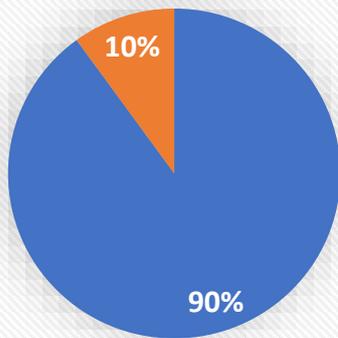
### Age of Participants



### Gender

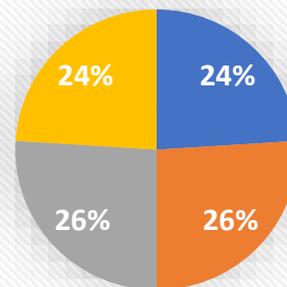


### Residence



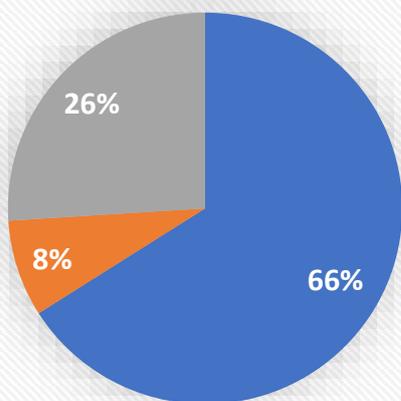
■ Outside Egypt ■ Inside Egypt

### Organizational Position



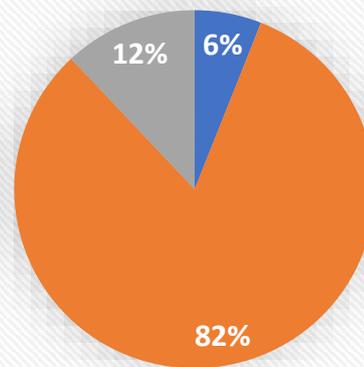
■ Leader ■ Cadre  
■ Leader/Cadre ■ Member

### Do you know about the principle of administrative governance?



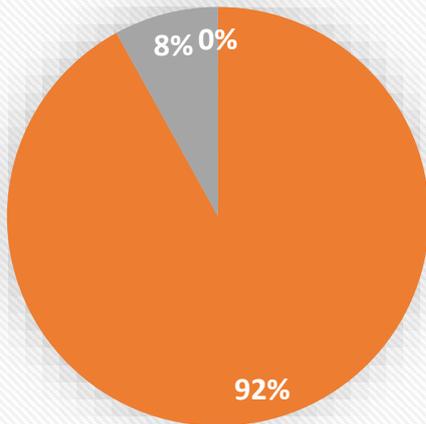
■ Yes ■ No ■ Maybe

### Is there a system of governance (institutional constitution) to Egypt's Brotherhood, not just regulations?



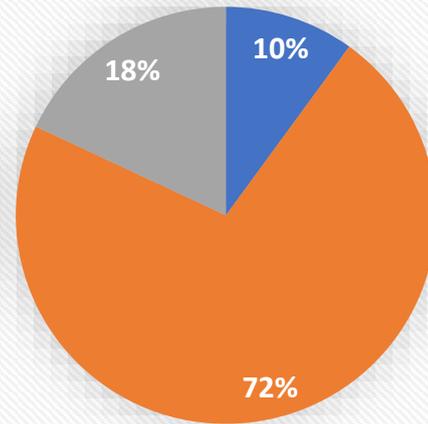
■ Yes ■ No ■ Maybe

Do you think the concept of administrative governance is common within MB in Egypt?



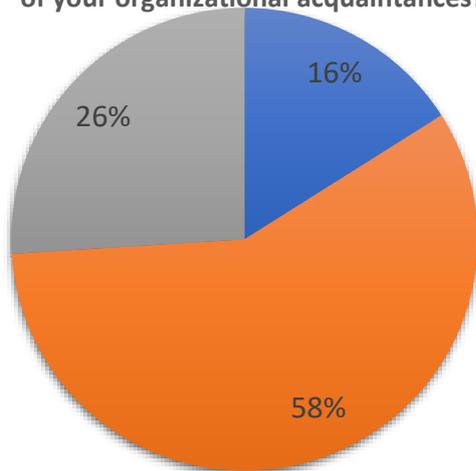
■ Yes ■ No ■ Maybe

Do you think the culture of administrative governance is common within MB in Egypt?



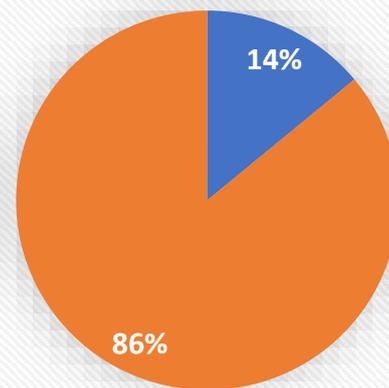
■ Yes ■ No ■ Maybe

Has the group organized internal training courses on governance systems, whether for you or for one of your organizational acquaintances?



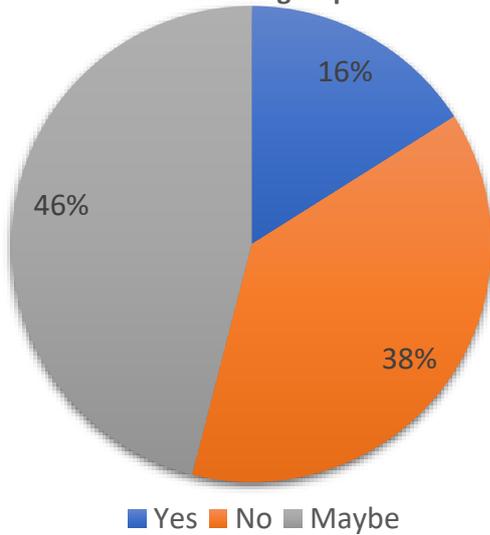
■ Yes ■ No ■ Maybe

Have you ever received or witnessed MB recommendation for obtaining external training on the concept of governance?

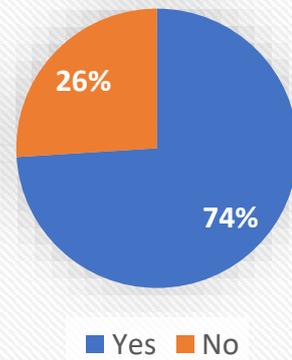


■ Yes ■ No

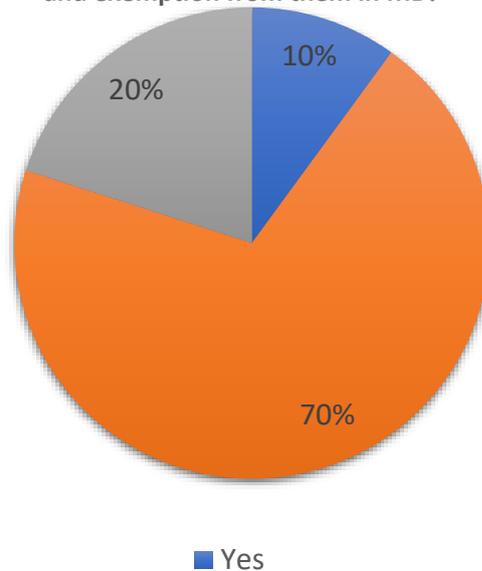
Are there depts. for audit, review, and control of resources and assets within the group?



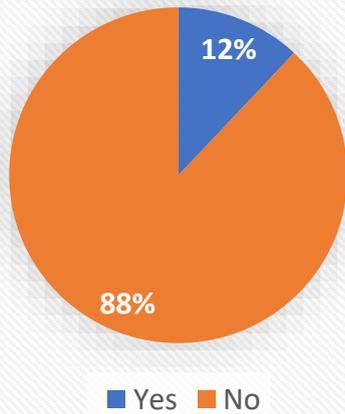
Do you think that senior administrative positions are restricted to certain segments, whether based on age or category?



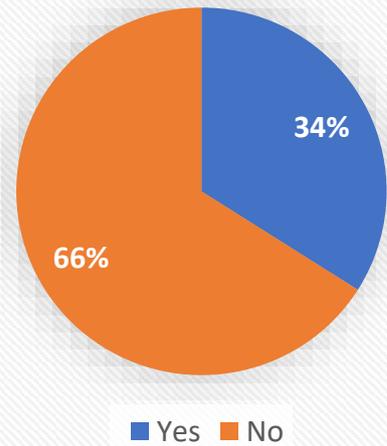
Is there full clarity on assuming administrative or consultative positions and exemption from them in MB?



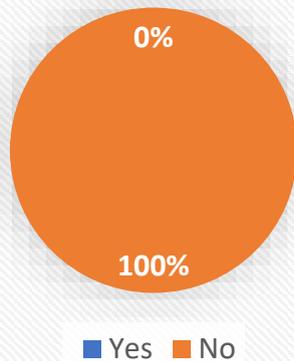
Is there a system for circulation and flow of information within the group?



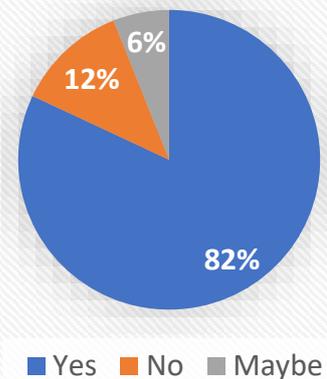
Do you know how much money is collected from subscriptions and monthly and annual donations across your division?



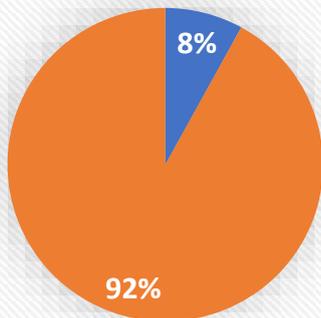
Do you know how much money is collected from subscriptions and monthly and annual donations at the group level in Egypt?



Do you think it is a good idea to give the right to run for the group's various elections to whoever wishes, not through lists that include all at once, regardless of desire or functional specifications?

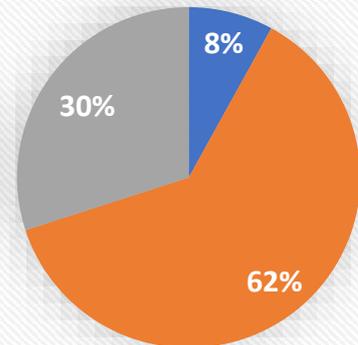


Have you ever been informed about the full-time system applied for some of the group's personnel, and their financial entitlements, within the framework of disclosure and transparency?



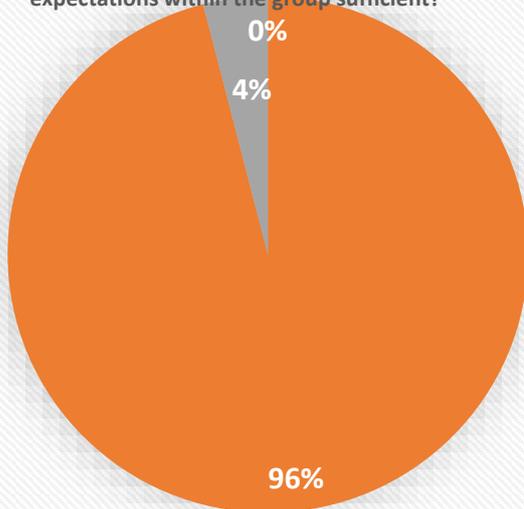
■ Yes ■ No

Within your own information, is there an external auditing and review office that audits the group's financial and administrative affairs at all organizational levels?



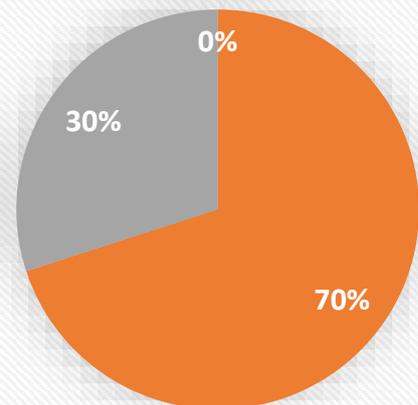
■ Yes ■ No ■ Maybe

In light of your own information, is the mechanism for monitoring future expectations within the group sufficient?



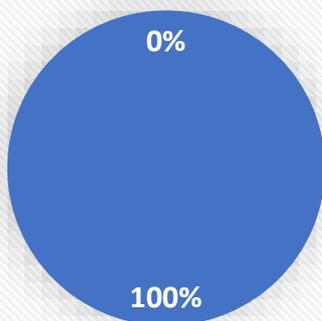
■ Yes ■ No ■ Maybe

Within your information, is there a written regulatory system for investing the group's funds?



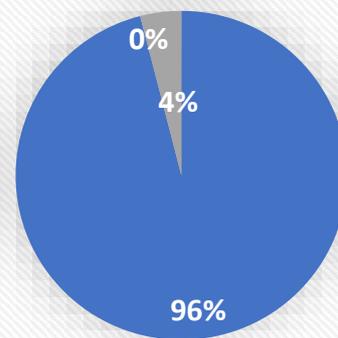
■ Yes ■ No ■ Maybe

Do you think that MB needs a system higher than regulations, to regulate meta-standards and overall rules and standards for regulations to revolve around, and organize elements of authority, transparency, control, monitoring expectations, and others?



■ Yes ■ No

Finally, do you think that MB needs to adopt a new administrative system to ensure facing disputes and avoiding their re-occurrence, in light of the frequent disputes, particularly at the level of leadership?



■ Yes ■ No ■ Maybe

ويلاحظ

**Given the above questionnaire, it is apparent that:**

- 1- The largest segment that participated in the questionnaire, amounting to 90%, ranged between age groups from 26 to 55, with 10% of participations coming from the age group above 55.
- 2- 90% of respondents were male, and 10% female.
- 3- 90% of respondents were from outside Egypt, and 10% from inside, due to the difficulty of communicating with the Brotherhood members inside Egypt at present due to prosecutions and widespread security targeting. However, all participants were from the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood.
- 4- It is to be noted that 50% of participants in the questionnaire were leaders (after combining the respondents in the field "leaders" with those of "leaders/cadres" field.). Also note that

"leaders" was defined by the researcher as the elected members of any of the group's Shura councils or administrative bodies; the "cadres" as members of technical sections or committees; and "members" as those who are officially affiliated with the group with ranks not less than "regular" – the ones who actually participated in the questionnaire. However, response of some participations was cancelled, for being identified as former members of the group, noting that there were leaders and cadres among them.

5- It is remarkable that more than 65% of respondents confirmed awareness of the concept of administrative governance; and 26% stated that they might have known the concept, which indicates that the higher percentage of participants had adequate awareness of the questions included in the questionnaire in general.

6- 82% of respondents confirmed that the group has not got a written codified system for administrative governance; and 12% were hesitant that they did not know, although they answered that there might have been such a system. Only 6% responded stating that there is a written system for administrative governance, *(which indicates absence of codified governance in the Brotherhood).*

7- 92% of participants believed that the concept of administrative governance was not common within the group, and 8% responded with: "Maybe", which indicates that the concept of governance was not common in the corridors of the group and its systems, *(which indicates the poor dissemination of the concept of governance within the group).*

8- 72% of respondents said that the culture of governance was not common within the Muslim Brotherhood, while 18% said that it might have been common, as they were not sure of that, while only 10% stated that the concept of the administrative governance was common in the group. However, even this small percentage indicated that dissemination of the governance concept was not common within the group due to group's orientation, but rather due to the fact that some individuals knew about governance from their professional career, *(which indicates poor dissemination of the culture of governance within the group).*

9- 58% of participants believed that the group did not organize training courses on the administrative concept; and 26% seemed skeptical about this although they answered "yes", while 16% believed that this actually happened in the group, *(which indicates the MB poor guidance of members towards governance systems).*

10- 86% of participants said that they did not witness the group's guidance of members towards seeking external training on this topic because of its significance; while only 14% said they

actually received such directives, *(which indicates poor guidance towards professional work on this concept).*

11- 38% of respondents believed that there were no departments for audit, review and control of resources and assets in the group; while 46% were skeptical about existence of such departments, where their answer was “Maybe”. However, 16% of respondents replied that these departments existed in the group, making it possible that there are actually such departments in the group, albeit relative or limited to certain levels, *(which indicates uncertainty about the existence of audit departments).*

12- 74% believed that senior administrative positions were limited to certain segments, whether based on age or category; and 26% believed otherwise, which indicates objection to occurrence of such approach, highlighting significance of amending the systems towards expanding participation and ensuring much more fair representation within the organization, *(which indicates the need to develop and modify the systems of granting authority internally).*

13- Regarding existence of clarity in the issue of assuming consultative and administrative positions in the group, 70% of respondents stated that this issue was not fully clear; 20% seemed hesitant about it although they replied with: "yes"; and 10% directly replied "yes", to full clarity of the issue. This highlights existence of confusion among MB members towards the relevant systems and the higher-values that govern them, *(which indicates poor understanding of the philosophy of power).*

14- Regarding circulation and flow of information, 88% stated that it did not exist; while 12% said that it did exist. In my view, this refers to poor possibility of existence of a system for circulation and flow of information, or presence of tension towards such system or its currently existing mechanism, *(which indicates poor transparency and disclosure).*

15- 66% of participants stated that they did not know how much money was collected monthly and annually at the level of the division they belonged to organizationally; while 34% stated that they had clear knowledge of this, which highlights the poor circulation of financial information and poor disclosure, *(indicating presence of reservation or discrimination in circulation of some information).*

16- In response to a question about the money that is collected monthly and annually at the group level, the result was 100% that they did not know about it at all, which indicates that the higher the level is, the more scarce the possibility of circulation of related information, or even

altogether absent, an evidence of poor disclosure and transparency to the lowest levels, *(which highlights absence of disclosure at the highest levels).*

17- In response to a question related to the election mechanism, with a suggestion that it be through personal individual candidacy, not through lists that include all members at once, regardless of desire or competence, as in the method currently adopted by the group, 82% stated that it is a good idea to amend the current election mechanism; 6% believed that perhaps it would be a good idea to undertake such change; and only 12% thought that they did not think it was a good idea to modify the current election system. This is a clear indication of the need to develop the current electoral system in the group, *(indicating the need to develop and amend internal systems).*

18- In attempt to further explore transparency and disclosure, there was a question about awareness of the full-time system, in relation to some leaders or personnel in the group and their financial entitlements, where the response of 92% stated that they did not know about this; while only 8% said they were aware of such system, *(which indicates poor disclosure and transparency).*

19- In response to a question about existence or absence of an external auditing office that undertakes financial and administrative reviews at all levels of the group, 62% of participants stated that there was none of that; 30% seemed skeptical about that, replying that such office might have been present; and 8% stated that they were well aware of existence of one, *(which indicates poor disclosure and transparency, and ambiguity with respect to control systems and the accountability criteria).*

20- In response to a question that sought to explore the quality and adequacy of the mechanism for monitoring the future expectations of the group, to assess the criterion of strategic orientation, 96% said they did not believe the current situation was sufficient; only 4% responded skeptically that perhaps it was sufficient; and no answer came with: "yes" on the adequacy of the current system for monitoring expectations, *(which is a sign of the poor strategic orientation and vision).*

21- With respect to the existence or absence of a codified system -written on paper- for investment of the group's funds, to further explore the transparency and disclosure, as well as the rights of the group members, 70% of the respondents replied that there was no existence of such written system; 30% believed that there might have been such system; while the answer was 0% for the choice: "yes", *(which indicates existence of a problem in disclosure and members' rights).*

22- In response to a question about whether the group needs a system higher than regulations and bylaws to organize all organizational matters, the oversight, and others, the answer was 100% "yes", *(which clearly indicates the need to meta-systems, such as administrative governance).*

23- In response to a question seeking exploration of the need to develop the current systems or acquire a new administrative system, and the relation of this to the frequent disputes between the group leaders, especially in recent years, the answer was 96% "yes", in favor of such need; while the reply of 4% of respondents was "maybe" there is such need, but 0% of respondents chose, "no", *(which indicates the link between systems and disputes, with a need to amend those systems).*

The outcome of the questionnaire strongly indicates the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's need for a meticulously and carefully drafted administrative governance system, provided that it be empowered and consolidated to turn into a reality within the group, for the purpose of development. There is also a need to develop the current regulations and bylaws, based on administrative governance, which is required to be soon organized and put into force.

#### 4.3 Interviews:

The researcher conducted twelve interviews with leaders and cadres from the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, defining "leader" as the elected member of one of the group's Shura or executive bodies; and "cadre" as member of one of the group's technical sections or committees.

The sample interviewed have unanimously agreed that the group has not got a written system of "Administrative Governance", with absence of an administration or a committee in the MB under this title. They also agreed that there is not even a department or committee that undertakes the task of financial and administrative control over various bodies of the group, starting from the Guidance Office up to the smallest division in the group.

In attempt to reach a more understanding of this case, the researcher included in the research paper some situations narrated by some individuals within the Brotherhood, so that we could reach a deeper understanding of some related issues. At the end of each situation, the researcher added his own comment in red italics:

1- One of the MB leaders told me that he once attended an organizational meeting in Giza governorate, approximately during the period from 2000 to 2005, where the guest of the meeting was a well-known member of the MB Guidance Office, Dr. Rashad El-Bayoumi. At

the end of the meeting, it was time for the audience to ask the guest about anything of concern to them; as one of the young brothers, who happened to be a journalist, came forward and asked the guest, member of the Guidance Office, with all politeness and respect - as the narrator put it: "Why isn't there a supervisory body in the group to oversee funds, and conduct general oversight on the incoming and outgoing sums, which would give a comfortable impression about the group and its administrative formations and sources of funding, both internally (within the group) and outside? According to the narrator, Member of the Guidance Office Dr. Rashad El-Bayoumi was agitated by the question and almost lost his temper in a way that seemed exaggerated to a great extent; he addressed the young brother who asked the question in a high tone and almost reprimanded him, under the pretext that he could not ask such a question that appears to be questioning the MB leadership, and indicates a lack of trust in them. The narrator continued, saying that this young brother was greatly affected by this reaction, and ultimately quitted the group shortly after the situation.

*(This situation signals existence of a problematic in the group manifested in great overlap of concepts, as the presence of oversight, review and auditing bodies - as tools of governance - does not at all mean challenging trust in anyone, but rather ensures existence of principles such as transparency and accountability. This may explain reasons behind the obstacles put in the way of administration, its avenues and its tools, amid lack of understanding of such concepts; or rather there are intellectual obstacles that impede access to them, and empowering and consolidating them within the group, not only the security dimension, as it is sometimes claimed).*

2- One of the cadres narrated another story that happened with him in 2012: he said that he once debated with one of the MB eastern Cairo leaders about the issue of the lack of actual separation between the party (the Freedom and Justice Party) and the Muslim Brotherhood, explaining that if this was allowed, it would have a significant positive impact on consolidating the party, boosting its self-reliance, and giving it greater credibility in the political milieu. However, the MB leader responded to this, saying, "The group gave the party members and money; so let's see what could they do if the group withdrew its members and money?", according to the narrator, who commented that this reaction was shocking to him, because he felt that there was some kind of competition concerns in the issue, on the one hand, and pursuit of control and hegemony, on the other. He added that such language was not logical towards a party that manifested the ideas of the same group, and that its independence was a gain, not a loss, to the group; given that there was no rivalry nor competition between the group and the party on the ground.

*(This incident indicates that there is a problem in understanding the criterion of responsibilities of different bodies, as well as the concept of relations between different institutions, whether partners or affiliates, where there should be no concepts of domination or hindrance. This also confirms that the MB is in need of a meta-system to control such matters, that is the system of administrative governance.)*

3- One of the MB cadres also told me that he was in prison after the arrest campaign that followed the demonstrations that the MB had organized in support of the independence of judiciary during the reign of the late Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak; and that in prison, he met with a senior leader from the Guidance Office who happened to be imprisoned with him in the same prison. Continuing his story, this cadre said that he asked the Guidance Office member: "If the Brotherhood reached the stage of assuming power, would they be ready for such step? where he was given a decisive response from the member of the Guidance Office, that it was a hypothetical question, and that such thing was completely and absolutely impossible to happen. (It is noteworthy that this leader played a prominent political role in the post-January revolution period).

*(This situation shows how far there is a problematic in the organization's monitoring of future expectations and group's strategic orientation, as well as weakness of the (concept of) readiness for the future, especially that the group has had declared public goals, which even go beyond assuming power of the state. This also underlines a need for a system of governance based on monitoring future expectations and determining the group's strategic orientations and their requirements, while adjusting the movement of the MB objectives to cope with reality and potentials.)*

4- Also, one of the MB cadres, who was a member of one of the Brotherhood's Shura councils overseas (in one of the countries affiliated with the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Overseas Rabita), narrated what happened to him during a meeting that was primarily held to discuss a report presented by the MB Executive Office at that country to the Shura Council (the highest legislative body). Because the financial figures were generally presented in the report with no details at all to explain them, the narrator, who was then a member of the Shura Council, demanded provision of details about one of the items related to the travel fees of members of the Executive Office, and asked about the importance of such travels, and the organizational roles that required them? But the response that he received from the member of the Executive Office was that he had no right to ask such questions or extend such demands, which would never be met.

*(This incident indicates existence of a problematic related to the lack of clarity in the supervisory role of the MB Shura councils, especially with respect to transparency and disclosure, which are among the key standards of governance; where absence of these concepts would throw doubts about possibility of corruption and mismanagement in the institution.)*

5- One of the MB leaders has recently told me that there is currently an administrative and organizational crisis in the group, between two fronts: the first is headed by Ibrahim Munir, the deputy general guide and acting guide; and the second is headed by Mahmoud Hussein, member of the Guidance Office and former Secretary-General of the group. The crisis is primarily a dispute over the organizational authority, especially when Munir announced his intention to hold general elections in the group up to the Shura Council and the Guidance Office, to complete the MB institutions that have been crippled since Egypt's coup in 2013; and he actually started to carry this out. In response, Hussein sought to disrupt the step, using his relations with some of the Brotherhood, both inside or outside Egypt, in attempt to legitimize his decisions and his front organizationally, which is not the case. Hussein also used the authority of money, in terms of his ability to communicate with some supporting sources as well as executive offices of the MB overseas Rabita, existing in some countries, amid his full control over the financial funds of the group and abstention from disclosure of any information about them or handing the files in his possession over to the declared leadership of the group. Hussein even questions the current MB leadership, an approach that he himself had previously rejected, or at least demonstrated that at the time.

6- On the other hand, another MB leader told me that he accuses Ibrahim Munir's front of bypassing the group's values and literature, and that he (Munir) seeks to reach understandings within and outside the group individually and un-institutionally, without consulting the Shura Council. He added that Munir had some Western tendencies in his way of thinking, given that he has lived for long decades in Britain, which may not be in line with what the Muslim Brotherhood is accustomed to in management and decision-making, concluding that Mahmoud Hussein's front has documents that prove that its decisions are correct.

*(To comment on the two previous narratives, which I preferred to put them together in two successive clauses, with one comment, due to their organic connectedness. In fact, they clearly indicate existence of problems in the issue of granting authority and defining responsibilities and powers, and the idea of overbroad governing values that are not officially codified. This crisis strongly signals that applicable regulations and systems are not sufficient to answer the authority's institutional questions and help complete institutions without disrupting an organization the size of the Muslim Brotherhood, in terms of history, spread, number of*

*members representing a huge administrative structure, and other criteria. This crisis also strongly indicates absence of transparency, disclosure and accuracy amid multiplicity of narratives and evidence presented by the each party, as well as the lack of attention to the rights of members and relevant authorities and stakeholders, especially in the issue of financing, whether internal or external, and the oversight, review and control of financial affairs, in addition to mechanisms of institutional preservation of information, without reliance on one or more persons, to protect the rights of institutions and individuals, and ward off financial corruption and mismanagement as well; as administrative governance provides an accurate system to address all these matters and more.)*

7- One of the MB leaders participating in the interviews conducted by the researcher, said that he feels extremely afraid about the future of the group and even its present; and that he feels unhappy about the splits that have occurred in 2016 and re-occurred once again in 2021, especially that he heard from some current leaders that there is no problem at all if only a few members remained in the group; adding that he is also worried to hear from other leaders that ‘there is no problem with the Brotherhood in prisons, as this had happened before, in the 1950s and 1960s, and the Muslim Brotherhood, members and leaders, later completed the group's path after release from prison’. During the interview, this leader emphasized that he is extremely afraid of such trend, for not taking into account the organization's human resources and failure to evaluate their importance, through addressing them as just figures, nothing more. He also admitted that there was a problem in controlling financial matters within the group, which made everyone that wanted to control the decision-making process, to use the money under his hands, whether coming from internal subscriptions or from external donations and grants. He added that there have been institutions established and some MB members were appointed in positions there, with the aim of securing their votes, loyalty and support, or to weaken another party within the group. In addition, there is no disclosure regarding these funds, property, projects and other assets related to the group. The same person added that he had information that some of these violations had been committed before, in the previous crisis (of 2016), known as the “Overseas Office Crisis,” during which the Overseas Office, which was headed by Brotherhood leader Ahmed Abdel Rahman, was dissolved. He said that he was close to the 2016 crisis, and was aware of absence of information about the amount of money that was present at the time of dissolution of the office and the sources of funding, where MB officials, whether at home or abroad, were not handed over donor data, nor enough information on some other files either.

*(This poses problematics related to accountability standards, efficiency and effectiveness, disclosure and transparency, as well as other concepts that take into account members' rights, possessions and equality among members without discrimination, and the disclosure and circulation of information between members and stakeholders, to ward off corruption and mismanagement. All these raised problems emphasize that the Muslim Brotherhood is in strong need for a highly professional administrative governance system, which must be fully respected by all the group bodies, so that it could be empowered and consolidated, otherwise the group is unlikely to enjoy institutional stability and sustainability.)*

8- One of the MB cadres also told me about a problem that he believed it was dangerous, which he called the "infringement" by some bodies within the group. After asking him to explain what he exactly meant by this, he started to narrate that he once complained to a member of the Guidance Office, in 2005, that there was a kind of 'infringement' by some bodies within the group on other bodies or individuals. For example, a technical committee such as the Education Committee surpassed its assigned role, as one of the group's technical committees, up to becoming a major authority that determines the fate and path of members, in terms of promotion in organizational ranks; and determines the course of their organizational work, by approval or disapproval, based on reasons that are often subject to personalization, amid absence of clear criteria, which caused disruption of the path of many of the Brotherhood members within the organization. He added that he viewed this as a kind of 'infringement' from a technical committee, on the elected administrative track, which is authorized to decide on such matters. According to the narrator, the MB senior official did not object to his words; rather, he said, "we are currently receiving many such problems". Then the 'cadre' moved to talk about other topics, confirming that there was absence of a clear philosophy for making several amendments to the regulation, adding, "Most of us do not know why the regulations were amended successively, changing proportions of participation in favor of central governorates, such as Cairo, at the expense of other governorates, which is even contrary to the literature of the group since its inception. Then, he cited a proposition raised by late researcher Hossam Tammam regarding what he called the "ruralization of the Brotherhood", that is, pulling the group towards the countryside, in both in representation and culture, at the expense of the urban culture, as the narrator put it in the interview. He elaborated, saying that the majority of rural governorates became represented in the Shura Council, and also in the Guidance Office. He added that sometimes some of the group's prominent figures are summoned from regional governorates to reside in Cairo, and then a process of promotion is organized for them, starting from "polishing" them, as he put it, to later becoming officials of administrative offices and members of the country's Shura Council; that even some of them

became members of the Guidance Office, in this way, as if they had been from Cairo, despite the fact that they were brought from regional governorates for this purpose. In fact, this remarkably affected representation of Central governorates in the Shura Council and the Guidance Office. He said he believed that this was also a kind of ‘infringement’ from some MB figures on various authorities of the group, amid absence of the general assembly that mostly adopt absolute trust in the leadership, which is exploited for achievement of private objectives, not for the public interest, that it is not even known exactly what it is, as the interviewee put it. He added that even the group regulations are not completely clear, amid absence of a culture supportive of regulations and recurrently reminding of them. In fact, he stated, most of the Brotherhood see or hear about them (regulations) only before any internal electoral entitlement, and perhaps by only reciting some provisions at a meeting organized to elect new members, then the regulations go absent once again, to be summoned for a necessity decided by a certain leader at a time that shall serve his narrative.

*(This narration poses many problematics that contradict the principles of transparency, disclosure and the identification of responsibilities and powers, as well as the principle of rights of members and relevant stakeholders. It also raises many problematics about the absence of an appropriate statute to regulate these matters in a major group the size of the Brotherhood. This also highlights how far the group in urgent need to establish such statute based on foundations that shall serve the organization and its members alike, not in favor of one category away from the other, to secure creation of organizational balance within the organization. Therefore, all regulations and systems must be amended in the light of a well-organized governing order that shall achieve principle of good management, that is administrative governance.)*

**The interviews also tackled some disputes that erupted within the group over the past three decades. Based on the narratives of MB leaders and cadres interviewed by the researcher, these disputes, which are against principles of administrative governance, included the following:**

1- The administrative dispute in mid 1990s between some MB leaders responsible for student activity at Al-Azhar University and MB officials affiliated with the administrative office in eastern Cairo, who were in charge of the university activity from outside, where the dispute led to defection of a large part of MB students from the group, albeit for a short period before they later returned to the group again at intervals.

2- The problem of the controversy around late Muslim Brotherhood leader Dr. Essam El-Erian's membership of the Brotherhood's Guidance Office, which had been the focus of internal debate for years, amid lack of transparency toward such ambiguous files, and monopoly of senior positions for a certain group.

3- The disputes experienced by the Guidance Office during the reign of the late General Guide Mohamed Mahdi Akef, between then First Deputy General Guide Dr. Mohamed Habib and MB leader and then member of the Guidance Office Dr. Abdel Moneim Aboul Fotouh on the topic of "developing the regulations first" before holding the Guidance Office elections and then electing a new general guide, or "carrying on elections first" and then developing the regulations later. The dispute resulted in both leaders' failure to win elections in the subsequent term of the Guidance Office.

4- The problem of the MB reaction towards the position of some Brotherhood youth after the 2011 January Revolution, when some of them organized a youth conference with consulting the group, leading to outbreak of administrative and organizational disputes within the group, particularly with the Guidance Office, which ultimately ended with defection of a number of these youths from the group.

5- The dialectic of independence of the political party (Freedom and Justice Party) that the group had founded after the January Revolution as a tool for the practice of politics amid an atmosphere of freedom during that time; and the emergence of the debate of the "da'wa" (religious preaching) and "politics" and proposals on the need to separate them. At the time, there were demands for real independence of the party from the group on the ground, not only theoretically, amid evidence on the group's interference in all the party's reins, which continued up to its dissolution after Egypt's military coup in July 2013. Even after the coup, the party was exploited in internal disputes: for example, the group issued decisions for appointing official spokespersons for the party in 2016 (despite its dissolution), amid the Brotherhood's crisis over the "Crisis Management Committee" that temporarily replaced the Guidance Office in Egypt, and the "Overseas Office" established by that committee as well.

6- The problem of obstructing completion of the group's institutions after the arrest campaign and persecution that affected the group following the military coup in Egypt in 2013, and issuance of a ruling by the Egyptian Administrative Court on 2 September 2013 to dissolve the MB society founded by the group in the name of "Muslim Brotherhood Society" declared on 19 March 2013 under No. 644 of 2013. However, with the expiry of the terms of the Guidance Office and the Shura Council in 2014, the group has since remained without exerting any effort

to complete election procedures for these two supreme bodies, under many claims and justifications.

7- The dispute that arose between the group leadership in 2016 and caused a split of the so-called “General Office” from the MB main body amid circulation of administrative and intellectual differences, which strongly indicated the absence of governance meta-systems that can basically solve such matters.

8- Absence of significant information related to the public and international relations system, as well as the financial donors and mechanisms of distributing funds to those who deserve them within the group. This accompanied the crisis between the Brotherhood’s two parties of Mahmoud Hussein Front and the Mohamed Kamal Front in 2016, leading to dissolution of the Overseas Office, which was one of the group’s bodies created through elections organized abroad to follow up on the Brotherhood’s crisis externally.

9- The outbreak of a major administrative crisis in 2021, where the organizational authority was one of its most significant aspects between the organizational body that maintained survival of the group after the 2016 crisis, led by Mahmoud Hussein, the former Secretary-General and member of the Guidance Office, and Ibrahim Munir, the Brotherhood leader, Deputy General Guide, who was declared the MB acting General Guide after the arrest of Dr. Mahmoud Ezzat. This dispute resulted in a new split in the group’s body, with the Mahmoud Hussein Front on one side, and the Ibrahim Munir Front on the other; a crisis that is still existing and even inflaming in absence of a meta-system that can settle these issues, being respected by everyone in the first place.

10- With the current crisis, other problems have arisen related to the lack of transparency and circulation of correct information between the conflicting parties, amid disputes over handing over power to elected authorities, and refraining from handing over financial, administrative and technical files to the elected bodies, in light of different narratives told by each side to attract segments of the Brotherhood in their favor. The key signal that immediately emerges from this situation is the absence of a clear written system of administrative governance that would strictly regulate all processes of transparency, information circulation, oversight, auditing, particularly financial and administrative affairs, as well as the process of granting authority. Most of these problems highlighted the absence of clear and professional mechanisms for monitoring future expectations over years, and consequently causing problems in the orientation and strategic vision of the group. All these elements are included within the standards of administrative governance adopted by this research paper, with the aim of

exploring whether the administrative governance principles are existing in the group, and to what extent. These internal differences highlight absence of governance, its culture and its applications from the group.

## ◦. Discussions and Recommendations

### 5.1 First: Discussions

The theoretical framework of this research paper and the research tools used and analyzed in light of the governance theory and the principles and standards of governance as set by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) emphasize that there is a major gap between administrative governance systems - good management - and their standards adopted globally, regionally and locally in Egypt, on the one hand; and administrative applications within the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, on the other.

It has been evident that there are problematics in the MB regulations and bylaws, starting from wording, through the fact that many clauses seemed to be pre-oriented, up to the inability to face the so many problems and disputes that the group has experienced, which highlights the group's need for a meta-system that would serve as an institutional constitution, directing all regulations and systems towards good management -not pre-oriented to serve specific people- taking into account the major development that has occurred in management science over nearly a century, which requires benefiting from its concepts and approaches in developing the group and addressing its organizational problems without imposing any kind of guardianship or dominating the organization or its members under any pretext or hypothetical entitlements, against the rules of governance systems.

It has become clear from the questionnaire and the interviews that members of the group are longing for real development undertaken by specialists and professionals, especially the organizational and administrative aspects of the group. It also seemed clear to me that the MB regulations and bylaws contradicted the group's overall declared objectives, besides the fact that they appear poor compared to the objectives of the group, which indicates the need to bring about change to MB at the level of Egypt, the Arab and Islamic world, and even the whole world.

There is lack of clarity in the mechanisms of monitoring future expectations in the group, besides apparently being extremely poor, if any at all. In this regard, there is much evidence available, notably the group's way of handling the July 1952 events, through the 2011 January revolution events, up to its way of addressing the events of July 2013 and their consequences until today.

I also believe that without adoption of a firm and accurate administrative governance system, amending the philosophies of regulations and systems, it will be difficult for the group to achieve development and change. To be more explicit, I think that the group is already in this situation now, as the group's internal regulations and bylaws have appeared to be struggling with reality and rejecting it, using some regulatory formulations that are apparently incoherent and unconnected, where the wording of regulations reflect hidden rejection of their provisions, but had only been adopted out of necessity, against their will.

In the absence of a legal framework for the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood at present, there is dire need of a system of administrative governance based on disciplined and effective standards, even much more than in case of existence of a sound legal framework.

Given the fact that the MB General Guide presides over the Brotherhood around the world, not just the Brotherhood of Egypt, it is necessary to address the Brotherhood in Egypt as a country that has an Executive Office, a Shura Council, administrative offices, districts, divisions and technical committees like any other country that follow the MB Global Guidance Office, to achieve consistency between provisions of the global statute and the Egyptian regulations, which may give the impression that it represents the global office, against the truth. Such overlaps must be dismantled, with keenness on not allowing some to use administrative formations to claim authorities they basically do not have.

It is also clear that the financial aspect in particular requires great discipline and control in Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, which has been evident from the questionnaire and the interviews conducted by the researcher.

The interviews revealed that there is a widespread feeling among the Brotherhood members that security persecutions have harmed the process of seeking oversight and control over major issues, including financial and human aspects, whereby, for fear of security strikes, disclosure is halted. However, this has led to lack of control and resulted in poor discipline, which has been evident to the MB members within the group, as well as to people outside it.

The research paper also monitored a problematic in the MB reliance on regulations alone, as these regulations did not help the group address the disputes that used to occur between leaders over the past 20 years. Therefore, the group needs a meta-system that can separate powers, and decide on other various authorities within the group, with ensuring the existence of high values and standards that can be invoked, especially by the General Assembly, to counter calls for discord and disputes that have been recurrent recently.

If the group and all its institutions, particularly its senior leadership represented by the Guidance Office and the Shura Council, adopted the concepts of administrative governance systems along with good application of them, the group would gain institutional stability and accordingly sustainability in its operation and resources. In case of insistence on the absence of administrative governance systems, I expect the group will be exposed to more regression and complete absence of action and influence, and consequently permanent absence and disappearance, as institutions that fail to achieve their entrusted objectives which they had set themselves, certainly become useless.

At the end of the discussions, here are answers to the research questions, as follows:

- 1- The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt does not have an integrated system of governance based on modern administrative concepts organizing this significant administrative criterion, which means that there is basically absence of an effective framework for governance.
- 2- The group does not have common culture of the governance system nor a mechanism for consolidating and empowering it within its various corridors.
- 3- Absence of a governance system has left its impact on the disputes that erupted among the group leaders between now and then, particularly after Egypt's 2013 coup.
- 4- Governance can be an effective factor for achievement of stability and sustainability for the group in Egypt, in the case of professional establishment, sound adoption, and good application of governance, where the organization would commit to respecting the governance system without any attempt to harass, bypass or ignore it.

## 5.2 Second: Recommendations

In light of the research paper's data, information, analysis and discussions, stated above, here are some recommendations dedicated to the community in general, and to the research-related stakeholders in particular, as follows:

### **Recommendations to States:**

1- There is need for states to establish and found institutes or centers for administrative governance, and to develop the existing ones, whether governmental or semi-governmental, where their main role would be to develop standards of administrative governance related to various sectors (public, private, civil, civil society ... etc.), as well as in various areas. These institutes or centers have to develop local governance standards, in light of the approved international standards; and they should also be concerned with development of the environment and the general culture, pushing the community to adopt administrative governance, its rules and standards, for the benefit of the state, society, institutions themselves and various sectors as well, thus protecting everyone from corruption and mismanagement.

2- Authorities in various countries should not besiege or restrict the work of political and social movements and others, as this may sometimes give justifications to these movements for bypassing the standards and rules regulating public work, especially those related to transparency and internal control, whether financial or administrative, under the pretext of security problems, tyranny and so on. Rather, states should encourage movements and institutions to move on towards legalization, which will consequently have a significant impact on institutions and the society as a whole, in terms of preventing potential corruption or mismanagement.

### **Recommendations related to culture of governance and training on its application:**

3- Various countries and institutions should be encouraged to disseminate the culture of administrative governance so that it could ultimately become a general societal culture; with a need to raise awareness of the significance of administrative governance, including organization of conferences and various events tackling topics of governance and their impact on achievement of stability and sustainability in states and institutions. Countries and institutions should also encourage training on the concept of governance, its principles and standards; as well as mechanisms for establishment and development of administrative governance systems, publication of specialized periodicals, using easy language, and others.

### **Recommendations to political and social movements:**

4- Various institutions, including political and social movements, need to rely on administrative governance systems in development of their institutional constitution, provided that it should be formal and written down, through which the institution's philosophies, general rules and governing values are determined, with systems for monitoring future expectations, developing strategic orientation, as well as development of systems of granting authority and enabling control, review and audit systems, in a way that would enhance achievement of governance standards, particularly disclosure, transparency, accountability, rights and treatment of members and stakeholders on equal basis, and responsibilities of boards of directors and higher bodies.

5- All institutions and movements are recommended to respect systems in general, as showing respect to governance and administrative systems, and dissemination of such culture is a powerful tool to enable such systems to successfully undertake institutional action. On the contrary, showing disrespect to these systems, and dissemination of such culture is, in fact, the fastest way towards collapse of systems and loss of their ability to act and influence.

### **Recommendations to the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt:**

6- The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt should establish a meta-administrative governance system derived from laws regulating the work of similar institutions, and the best practices globally, through specialized and professional bodies, taking into account the privacy of the group, with keenness not to surpass the agreed global standards in setting up governance systems. Such system should also clearly explain the interrelationships between the group and the institutions that may arise from it, whether economic, political, social or others, with keenness to cover everything related to financial and administrative control, ensuring full clarification of the standards of transparency and disclosure, members' rights and avoiding discrimination among them, and significantly the systems for granting authority and determination of all kinds of responsibilities.

7- The regulations and bylaws of Muslim Brotherhood have to be developed in light of the new system of administrative governance after adopting it, where these regulations would be approved by relevant authorities, taking into account development of formulations to cope with non-constrained, and non-loose statutory formulations, especially as the research paper has highlighted that -based on some applications- the current regulations and bylaws contain articles that seem to be worded in a way that makes them perfectly applicable to a particular situation or need, with the aim of focusing institutional power in a particular direction or certain

generation. Also, there is an overlap between the powers of the General Guide as stated by the MB global statute, and the practice on the ground based on the Egyptian regulations; in addition to other problematics that require reorganization of regulations and bylaws by experts, specialists and professionals in the legal, administrative, social, and other areas.

**Recommendations to researchers and research communities in general:**

8- Specialized researchers are recommended to further delve into provision of more scientific research on administrative governance systems and concepts, especially the governance of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Community-Based Organizations (CBOs), as this will be of great benefit to these organizations themselves, and to societies at large.

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