

## Introduction

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‘Is there a problem with your car?’ I asked. A member of the Muslim Brotherhood in Amman, whom I had just interviewed, insisted on driving me home, but we were moving so slowly that I could not help but think that his car was not in mint condition anymore. We were certainly not going any faster than 40 kilometres per hour and other cars were passing us left and – this being Amman – right, often loudly sounding their horns. Moreover, the car was producing such an amount of noise that suggested it was being powered by a jet engine, which – given our lack of speed – was clearly not the case. Despite all this, my host answered my question by saying: ‘Oh, the car is fine. I am just driving slowly because Islam teaches us not to break the speed limit.’

At first glance, such a response may look odd. My sense was, however, that this was merely the umpteenth example of a member of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan trying to reassure this non-Muslim researcher that Islam – despite what I might possibly think – was really a force for good and that the Brotherhood itself was a law-abiding organisation. Although I do not believe that I had given the group’s members the impression that I thought anything to the contrary, this reassurance, that the Muslim Brotherhood and Islam in general were not evil, was an almost constant refrain in my meetings with them, which should not come as a surprise. Despite its being repressed in much of the Arab world, the Brotherhood has a reputation of being a powerful and conspiratorial group, working behind the scenes to infiltrate Western governments such as the administration of former American president Barack Obama.<sup>1</sup> As several scholars have pointed out, such a tendency to ascribe secret agendas and hidden conspiracies to the Brotherhood is by no means exceptional.<sup>2</sup> This impression

<sup>1</sup> Examples include ‘Muslim Brotherhood Infiltrates Obama Administration’, *Investor’s Business Daily* ([www.investors.com/politics/editorials/radical-islamist-officials-find-home-in-white-house/](http://www.investors.com/politics/editorials/radical-islamist-officials-find-home-in-white-house/), accessed 3 September 2018), 5 December 2013; Frank Gaffney, *The Muslim Brotherhood in the Obama Administration* (Sherman Oaks, CA: The David Horowitz Freedom Center, 2012).

<sup>2</sup> Roel Meijer and Edwin Bakker, ‘Introduction’, in *The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe*, ed. Roel Meijer and Edwin Bakker (London: Hurst & Co., 2012), 4–11; Frank Peter, ‘Muslim

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has probably only grown since 2012, when the Egyptian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood rose to power through presidential and parliamentary elections, only to be overthrown in a military coup a year later.<sup>3</sup>

Such conspiratorial ideas about the Muslim Brotherhood being a unified international plot striving for world domination are belied by the far more complex reality on the ground, as many studies have shown. This book seeks to contribute to this growing body of analysis on the Muslim Brotherhood by concentrating on one context in which the organisation operates: the Kingdom of Jordan. As I will explain in greater detail later in this introduction, this study focusses on how and why the Jordanian Islamist movement (encompassing the Muslim Brotherhood and its political party, the Islamic Action Front (IAF)) has moderated its views and positions on the topics of the state, political participation and societal rights and freedoms in the period 1946–2016. Before delving into this, however, I will first give an overview of the academic literature on the Muslim Brotherhood and how this book contributes to these publications. I then explain the theoretical framework, methodology and sources used for this study and conclude with an overview of the rest of the book.

### The Study of the Muslim Brotherhood

Founded in 1928 by an Egyptian school teacher called Hasan al-Banna (1906–1949), the Muslim Brotherhood (Jamā‘at al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn) quickly grew into a political force to be reckoned with in the 1930s and 1940s and, from then on, also spread to other countries in the Arab world and even beyond. At a time of colonial occupation and the dictatorial Arab regimes that followed British and French rule in the Middle East, the Brotherhood’s simple but activist slogan that ‘Islam is the solution (*al-Islām huwa l-hall*)’ motivated and mobilised many for the cause of Islamisation through missionary work (*da‘wa*), party politics (*hizbiyya*) and sometimes even jihad.

The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt has been dealt with extensively in the literature with regard to the organisation’s origins and early development,<sup>4</sup> its conflictual relationship with the military rulers during the reign of Egyptian President Jamal ‘Abd al-Nasir (Nasser;

“Double Talk” and the Ways of the Shari‘a in France’, in *The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe*, ed. Roel Meijer and Edwin Bakker (London: Hurst & Co., 2012), 127–48.

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Iskander Monier and Annette Ranko, ‘The Fall of the Muslim Brotherhood: Implications for Egypt’, *Middle East Policy* 20, no. 4 (2013): 117.

<sup>4</sup> Olivier Carré and Michel Seurat, *Les frères musulmans (1928–1982)* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1983), 11–47; Ishak Musa Husaini, *The Moslem Brethren: The Greatest of Modern Islamic Movements* (Westpoint, CT: Hyperion Press, 1986 [1956]), 1–124; Ella Landau-Tasseron, *Leadership and Allegiance in the Society of the Muslim Brothers* (Washington,

r. 1954–1970)<sup>5</sup> and its internal make-up and workings.<sup>6</sup> The group has garnered further attention for its role in the so-called Arab Spring, the revolts against dictatorial rule in the Arab world starting in 2011, during which it moved to the forefront of the revolution against Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, a position it subsequently lost when a coup overthrew the Brotherhood-led government in 2013.<sup>7</sup>

Egypt is by no means the only country whose branch of the Muslim Brotherhood has received academic attention, however. Other countries' Brotherhoods or Brotherhood-like groups have also been dealt with in the literature, such as those in the Palestinian territories<sup>8</sup>

DC: Center on Islam, Democracy, and the Future of the Muslim World at the Hudson Institute, 2010); Brynjar Lia, 'Autobiography or Fiction? Hasan al-Bannā's Memoirs Revisited', *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 15 (2015): 119–226; Brynjar Lia, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt* (Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 1998); Beverley Milton-Edwards, *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Arab Spring and Its Future Face* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 13–27; Richard P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 1–104; Christina Phelps Harris, *Nationalism and Revolution in Egypt: The Role of the Muslim Brotherhood* (Stanford, CA: The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, 1964), 143–94.  
<sup>5</sup> Carré and Seurat, *Frères*, 49–82; Husaini, *Moslem Brethren*, 125–43; Milton-Edwards, *Muslim Brotherhood*, 27–33; Mitchell, *Society*, 105–62; Phelps Harris, *Nationalism*, 195–225; Barbara H. E. Zollner, *The Muslim Brotherhood: Hasan al-Hudaybi and Ideology* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 25–49.

<sup>6</sup> Khalil al-Anani, *Inside the Muslim Brotherhood: Religion, Identity, and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Hazem Kandil, *Inside the Brotherhood* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 5–118; Mitchell, *Society*, 163–84.

<sup>7</sup> Khalil al-Anani, 'Upended Path: The Rise and Fall of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood', *Middle East Journal* 69, no. 4 (2015): 527–43; Shadi Hamid, *Islamic Exceptionalism: How the Struggle over Islam Is Reshaping the World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2016); Stig Jarle Hansen, Mohamed Hussein Gaas and Ida Bary, eds, *The Muslim Brotherhood Movement in the Arab Winter* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Kennedy School Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, 2017); Philipp Holtmann, 'After the Fall: The Muslim Brotherhood's Post Coup Strategy', *Perspectives on Terrorism* 7, no. 5 (2013): 198–204; Ibrahim El Houdaiby, *From Prison to Palace: The Muslim Brotherhood's Challenges and Responses in Post-revolution Egypt* (N.p.: Fride/Hivos, 2015), 6–15; Milton-Edwards, *Muslim Brotherhood*, 34–60; Monier and Ranko, 'Fall', 111–23; Samuel Tadros, 'Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood after the Revolution', in *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, Vol. 12, ed. Hillel Fradkin, Husain Haqqani, Eric Brown and Hassan Mneimeh (Washington, DC: Hudson Institute, 2011), 5–20; Samuel Tadros, 'Islamist Responses to the "End of Islamism"', in *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, Vol. 16, ed. Hillel Fradkin, Husain Haqqani, Eric Brown and Hassan Mneimeh (Washington, DC: Hudson Institute, 2014), 33–64; Eric Trager, 'Egypt's Looming Competitive Theocracy', in *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, Vol. 14, ed. Hillel Fradkin, Husain Haqqani, Eric Brown and Hassan Mneimeh (Washington, DC: Hudson Institute, 2014), 27–37.

<sup>8</sup> Ziad Abu-Amr, *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza: Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Jihad* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994); Abd Al-Fattah Muhammad El-Awaisi, *The Muslim Brothers and the Palestine Question, 1928–1947* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 1998), 150–71; Beverley Milton-Edwards, *Islamic Politics in Palestine* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 1996); Milton-Edwards, *Muslim Brotherhood*, 61–85; Emile Sahliye, 'The West Bank and Gaza Strip', in *The*

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(including Hamas),<sup>9</sup> the Gulf,<sup>10</sup> Sudan,<sup>11</sup> Tunisia<sup>12</sup> and especially Syria,<sup>13</sup> as well as the organisation's branches outside the Muslim world, such as in

- Politics of Islamic Revivalism: Diversity and Unity*, ed. Shireen Hunter (Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1988), 88–100; Mohammed K. Shadid, 'The Muslim Brotherhood Movement in the West Bank and Gaza', *Third World Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (1988): 658–82.
- <sup>9</sup> Paola Caridi, *Hamas: From Resistance to Government*, trans. Andrea Teti (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2012 [2009]); Zaki Chehab, *Inside Hamas: The Untold Story of the Militant Islamic Movement* (New York: Nation Books, 2007); Jeroen Gunning, *Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence* (London: Hurst & Co., 2007); Michael Irving Jensen, *The Political Ideology of Hamas: A Grassroots Perspective*, trans. Sally Laird (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010 [2009]); Khaled Hroub, *Hamas: A Beginner's Guide* (London and Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2006); Khaled Hroub, *Hamas: Political Thought and Practice* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2000); Matthew Levitt, *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2006); Loren D. Lybarger, *Identity & Religion in Palestine: The Struggle between Islamism & Secularism in the Occupied Territories* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007); Beverley Milton-Edwards and Stephen Farrell, *Hamas* (Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2010); Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Andrea Nüsse, *Muslim Palestine: The Ideology of Hamas* (Abingdon, UK: RoutledgeCurzon, 1998); Sara Roy, *Hamas and Civil Society in Gaza: Engaging in the Islamist Social Sector* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011); Jonathan Schanzer, *Hamas vs. Fatah: The Struggle for Palestine* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Azzam Tamimi, *Hamas: A History from Within* (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2007).
- <sup>10</sup> Courtney Freer, *The Changing Islamist Landscape of the Gulf Arab States* (Washington, DC: The Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington, 2016); Courtney Freer, *Rentier Islamism: The Influence of the Muslim Brotherhood in Gulf Monarchies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).
- <sup>11</sup> Mustafa A. Abdelwahid, *The Rise of the Islamic Movement in Sudan (1945–1989)* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008); Abdelwahab El-Affendi, *Turabi's Revolution: Islam and Power in Sudan* (London: Grey Seal Books, 1991); J. Millard Burr and Robert O. Collins, *Sudan in Turmoil: Hasan al-Turabi and the Islamist State* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2010).
- <sup>12</sup> François Burgat and William Dowell, *The Islamic Movement in North Africa* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1993), 182–246; Susan Waltz, 'Islamist Appeal in Tunisia', *Middle East Journal* 40, no. 4 (1986): 651–70. See also François Burgat, *Face to Face with Political Islam* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005 [1996]).
- <sup>13</sup> Elena Arigita and Rafael Ortega, 'From Syria to Spain: The Rise and Decline of the Muslim Brothers', in *The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe*, ed. Roel Meijer and Edwin Bakker (London: Hurst & Co., 2012), 199–202; Hanna Batatu, 'Syria's Muslim Brethren', in *State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan*, ed. Fred Halliday and Hamza Alavi (London: Macmillan, 1988), 112–32; Petra Becker, 'Die syrische Muslimbruderschaft bleibt ein wichtiger Akteur', *SWP-Aktuell* 52 (2013): 1–7; Carré and Seurat, *Frères*, 125–203; Dara Conduit, *The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Dara Conduit, 'The Syrian Muslim Brotherhood and the Spectacle of Hama', *Middle East Journal* 70, no. 2 (2016): 211–26; Raphaël Lefèvre, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Raymond A. Hinnebusch, 'Syria', in *The Politics of Islamic Revivalism: Diversity and Unity*, ed. Shireen T. Hunter (Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1988), 41–56; Aron Lund, *Struggling to Adapt: The Muslim Brotherhood in a New Syria* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2013); Alison Pargeter, *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Burden of Tradition* (London: Saqi Books, 2010), 61–95; Alison Pargeter, *The Muslim Brotherhood: From Opposition to Power*

various European countries<sup>14</sup> (France,<sup>15</sup> Germany,<sup>16</sup> Great Britain,<sup>17</sup> the Netherlands<sup>18</sup> and Spain<sup>19</sup>) and the United States.<sup>20</sup> Some studies portray the Muslim Brotherhood as a fundamentalist movement that takes the Qur'an, the Sunna (the Prophet Muhammad's example) and Islamic legal texts as its frame of reference and favours Islamic law (*shari'a*) over

(London: Saqi Books, 2010), 65–102; Robert G. Rabil, 'The Syrian Muslim Brotherhood', in *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies of a Global Islamist Movement*, ed. Barry Rubin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 73–88; Johannes Reissner, *Ideologie und Politik der Muslimbrüder Syriens: Von den Wahlen 1947 bis zum Verbot unter Adīb as-Šiṣaklī 1952* (Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1980); Yvette Talhamy, 'The Syrian Muslim Brothers and the Syrian-Iranian Relationship', *Middle East Journal* 63, no. 4 (2009): 561–80; Joshua Teitelbaum, 'The Muslim Brotherhood and the "Struggle for Syria", 1947–1958: Between Accommodation and Ideology', *Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 3 (2004): 134–58; Joshua Teitelbaum, 'The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria, 1945–1958: Founding, Social Origins, Ideology', *Middle East Journal* 65, no. 2 (2011): 213–33.

<sup>14</sup> Steven Brooke, 'The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe and the Middle East: The Evolution of a Relationship', in *The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe*, ed. Roel Meijer and Edwin Bakker (London: Hurst & Co. 2012), 27–49; Brigitte Maréchal, 'The European Muslim Brothers' Quest to Become a Social (Cultural) Movement', in *The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe*, ed. Roel Meijer and Edwin Bakker (London: Hurst & Co., 2012), 89–110; Lorenzo Vidino, 'The European Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood: Myth or Reality?', in *The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe*, ed. Roel Meijer and Edwin Bakker (London: Hurst & Co., 2012), 51–69; Lorenzo Vidino, 'The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe', in *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies of a Global Islamist Movement*, ed. Barry Rubin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 105–16.

<sup>15</sup> Cédric Baylocq, 'The Autonomisation of the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe: *Da'wa*, *Mixité* and Non-Muslims', in *The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe*, ed. Roel Meijer and Edwin Bakker (London: Hurst & Co., 2012), 149–68; Farhad Khosrokhavar, 'The Muslim Brotherhood in France', in *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies of a Global Islamist Movement*, ed. Barry Rubin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 137–47; Pargeter, *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Burden of Tradition*, 136–49; Pargeter, *The Muslim Brotherhood: From Opposition to Power*, 140–52.

<sup>16</sup> Stefan Meining, 'The Islamic Community in Germany: An Organisation under Observation', in *The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe*, ed. Roel Meijer and Edwin Bakker (London: Hurst & Co., 2012), 209–33; Pargeter, *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Burden of Tradition*, 160–71; Pargeter, *The Muslim Brotherhood: From Opposition to Power*, 162–74; Guido Steinberg, 'The Muslim Brotherhood in Germany', in *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies of a Global Islamist Movement*, ed. Barry Rubin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 149–60.

<sup>17</sup> Innes Bowen, 'The Muslim Brotherhood in Britain', in *The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe*, ed. Roel Meijer and Edwin Bakker (London: Hurst & Co., 2012), 111–26; Pargeter, *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Burden of Tradition*, 150–60; Pargeter, *The Muslim Brotherhood: From Opposition to Power*, 152–62; David Rich, 'The Very Model of a British Muslim Brotherhood', in *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies of a Global Islamist Movement*, ed. Barry Rubin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 117–36.

<sup>18</sup> Edwin Bakker, 'The Public Image of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Netherlands', in *The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe*, ed. Roel Meijer and Edwin Bakker (London: Hurst & Co., 2012), 169–88.

<sup>19</sup> Arigita and Ortega, 'Syria', 202–5.

<sup>20</sup> Alyssa A. Lappen, 'The Muslim Brotherhood in North America', in *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies of a Global Islamist Movement*, ed. Barry Rubin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 161–79.



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democracy.<sup>21</sup> Others view the Brotherhood as an organisation that is essentially the same as terrorist groups like al-Qa'ida, or at least bears a strong ideological resemblance to them.<sup>22</sup> Most studies show, however, that the Brotherhood is dynamic, susceptible to societal changes, more democratic and willing to work within the systems of countries such as Egypt,<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Uriya Shavit, 'Islamotopia: The Muslim Brotherhood's Idea of Democracy', *Azure*, no. 46 (2011): 35–62; Mariz Tadros, *The Muslim Brotherhood in Contemporary Egypt: Democracy Redefined or Confined?* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012); Tadros, 'Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood', 6, 18; Trager, 'Egypt's Theocracy'.

<sup>22</sup> Amira El-Azhary Sonbol, 'Egypt', in *The Politics of Islamic Revivalism: Diversity and Unity*, ed. Shireen Hunter (Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1988), 31; Burr and Collins, *Sudan*; Cynthia Farahat, 'The Muslim Brotherhood, Fountain of Islamist Violence', *Middle East Quarterly* 24, no. 2 (2017); Daniel Pipes, 'Islamism's Unity in Tunisia', [www.danielpipes.org/12103/islamism-unity](http://www.danielpipes.org/12103/islamism-unity) (accessed 6 September 2018), 30 October 2012; Barry Rubin, 'Comparing Three Muslim Brotherhoods', in *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies of a Global Islamist Movement*, ed. Barry Rubin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 7–18; Nachman Tal, *Radical Islam in Egypt and Jordan* (Brighton, UK, and Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2005).

<sup>23</sup> Sana Abed-Kotob, 'The Accommodationists Speak: Goals and Strategies of the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27, no. 3 (1995): 321–39; Khalil al-Anani, 'Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood: From Opposition to Power and Back Again. A Study in the Dynamics of Their Rise and Fall', in *The Prospects of Political Islam in a Troubled Region: Islamists and Post-Arab Spring Challenges*, ed. Mohammed Abu Rumman (Amman: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2018), 75–87; al-Anani, *Inside the Muslim Brotherhood*; Gehad Auda, 'The "Normalization" of the Islamic Movement in Egypt from the 1970s to the Early 1990s', in *Accounting for Fundamentalisms: The Dynamic Character of Movements*, ed. Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (Chicago, IL, and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 375–7, 379–81, 385–91; Hesham Al-Awadi, *In Pursuit of Legitimacy: The Muslim Brothers and Mubarak, 1982–2000* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004); Nathan J. Brown, *When Victory Is Not an Option: Islamist Movements in Arab Politics* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2012); Katerina Dalacoura, *Islamist Terrorism and Democracy in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 130–40; Olaf Farschid, 'Hizbiya: Die Neuorientierung der Muslimbruderschaft Ägyptens in den Jahren 1984 bis 1989', *Orient* 30, no. 1 (1989): 53–74; Martin Forstner, 'Auf dem legalen Weg zur Macht? Zur Politischen Entwicklung der Muslimbruderschaft Ägyptens', *Orient* 29, no. 3 (1988): 386–422; Mona El-Ghobashy, 'The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37 (2005): 373–95; Shadi Hamid, 'Arab Islamist Parties: Losing on Purpose?', *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 1 (2011): 68–80; Chris Harnisch and Quinn Meacham, 'Democratic Ideology in Islamist Opposition? The Muslim Brotherhood's "Civil State"', *Middle Eastern Studies* 45, no. 2 (2009): 189–205; Marc Lynch, *The Brotherhood's Dilemma* (Waltham, MA: Crown Center for Middle East Studies at Brandeis University, 2008); Marc Lynch, 'Young Brothers in Cyberspace', *Middle East Report* 245 (2007): 26–33; Roel Meijer, 'The Majority Strategy of the Muslim Brotherhood', *Orient*, no. 1 (2013): 22–30; Roel Meijer, 'Moslim Broederschap maakt zich op voor de democratie van morgen', *ZemZem* 1, no. 2 (2005): 56–8; Pargeter, *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Burden of Tradition*, 15–60; Pargeter, *The Muslim Brotherhood: From Opposition to Power*, 15–64; Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism, and Political Change in Egypt* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013); Bruce K. Rutherford, *Egypt after Mubarak: Liberalism, Islam, and Democracy in the Arab World* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008), 77–99; Samer S. Shehata, 'Political

Morocco,<sup>24</sup> the Palestinian territories,<sup>25</sup> Syria<sup>26</sup> and Tunisia.<sup>27</sup> Some

- Da'wa: Understanding the Muslim Brotherhood's Participation in Semi-authoritarian Elections*, in *Islamist Politics in the Middle East: Movements and Change*, ed. Samer S. Shehata (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 120–45; Amr Elshobaki, 'The Muslim Brotherhood – Between Evangelizing and Politics: The Challenges of Incorporating the Brotherhood into the Political Process', in *Islamist Politics in the Middle East: Movements and Change*, ed. Samer S. Shehata (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 107–19; Ana Belén Soage and Jorge Fuentelsaz Franganillo, 'The Muslim Brothers in Egypt', in *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies of a Global Islamist Movement*, ed. Barry Rubin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 39–56; Denis J. Sullivan and Sana Abed-Kotob, *Islam in Contemporary Egypt: Civil Society vs. the State* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999), 41–70; Mohammed Zahid, *The Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt's Succession Crisis: The Politics of Liberalisation and Reform in the Middle East* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 83–103, 109–27.
- <sup>24</sup> Idriss al-Kanbouri, 'Morocco's Islamists: Action Outside Religion', in *The Prospects of Political Islam in a Troubled Region: Islamists and Post-Arab Spring Challenges*, ed. Mohammed Abu Rumman (Amman: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2018), 67–74; Vish Sakthivel, *Al-Adl wal-Ihsan: Inside Morocco's Islamist Challenge* (Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2015); Emad Eldin Shahin, *Political Ascent: Contemporary Islamic Movements in North Africa* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998), 166–201, especially 172, 178–9; Eva Wegner, *Islamist Opposition in Authoritarian Regimes: The Party of Justice and Development in Morocco* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011).
- <sup>25</sup> Gunning, *Hamas*; Khaled Hroub, 'Die Aktuelle Politik von Hamas: Überleben ohne Strategie', *Inamo* 8, no. 32 (2002): 15–17; Hroub, *Hamas: A Beginner's Guide*; Khaled Hroub, 'A "New Hamas" through Its New Documents', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 35, no. 4 (2006): 6–27; International Crisis Group (ICG), *Dealing with Hamas*, Middle East Report no. 21 (Amman and Brussels: ICG, 2004), 13–19; International Crisis Group (ICG), *Enter Hamas: The Challenge of Political Integration*, Middle East Report no. 49 (Amman and Brussels: ICG, 2006), 19–22; Menachem Klein, 'Hamas in Power', *Middle East Journal* 61, no. 3 (2007): 442–59; Jean-François Legrain, 'Hamas as a Ruling Party', in *Islamist Politics in the Middle East: Movements and Change*, ed. Samer S. Shehata (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 183–204; Shaul Mishal, 'The Pragmatic Dimension of the Palestinian Hamas: A Network Perspective', *Armed Forces and Society* 29, no. 4 (2003): 569–89; Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela, *Palestinian Hamas*; Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela, 'Participation without Presence: Hamas, the Palestinian Authority and the Politics of Negotiated Coexistence', *Middle Eastern Studies* 38, no. 3 (2002): 1–26; Muhammad Muslih, 'Hamas: Strategy and Tactics', in *Ethnic Conflict and International Politics in the Middle East*, ed. Leonard Binder (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1999), 311–26; Joas Wagemakers, 'Legitimizing Pragmatism: Hamas' Framing Efforts from Militancy to Moderation and Back?', *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22 (2010): 357–77.
- <sup>26</sup> Meijer, 'Moslim', 58–61; Itzhak Weismann, 'Democratic Fundamentalism? The Practice and Discourse of the Muslim Brothers Movement in Syria', *The Muslim World* 100 (2010): 1–16.
- <sup>27</sup> Francesco Cavatorta and Fabio Merone, 'Moderation through Exclusion? The Journey of the Tunisian *Ennahda* from Fundamentalist to Conservative Party', *Democratization* 20, no. 5 (2013): 857–75; Dalacoura, *Islamist Terrorism*, 140–5; Abdul Latif al-Hanashi, 'Tunisia: The Impact of Democratic Transition on the Ennahda Party', in *The Prospects of Political Islam in a Troubled Region: Islamists and Post-Arab Spring Challenges*, ed. Mohammed Abu Rumman (Amman: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2018), 53–65; Milton-Edwards, *Muslim Brotherhood*, 111–36; Monica Marks, 'Tunisia's Islamists and the "Turkish Model"', *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 1 (2017): 102–15; Rory McCarthy, 'Protecting the Sacred: Tunisia's Islamist Movement Ennahda and the Challenge of Free

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studies have even focussed on ‘new’ or ‘post’-Islamist movements, which emphasise flexibility, the compatibility of Islam with democracy and full citizenship for non-Muslims and a general discourse of rights (rather than duties).<sup>28</sup>

*The Study of the Muslim Brotherhood's Moderation in Jordan*

While the trajectories of the Muslim Brotherhood in these rather diverse countries are all quite different, the situation is different still in Jordan, where the Brotherhood has always enjoyed a legalised and integrated spot in Jordanian politics,<sup>29</sup> unlike in, for example, Egypt and Syria, where the organisation has suffered from military and political repression. With regard to the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood, too, many studies have shown that it has accepted the monarchy in its country, has shunned the use of violence, does not seek the revolutionary overthrow of governments and is willing to work within the system to achieve its goals.<sup>30</sup>

Speech’, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 42, no. 4 (2015): 447–64; Shahin, *Political Ascent*, 63–111.

<sup>28</sup> Raymond William Baker, ‘Invidious Comparisons: Realism, Postmodern Globalism and Centrist Islamic Movements in Egypt’, in *Political Islam: Revolution, Radicalism or Reform?*, ed. John L. Esposito (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997), 115–33; Raymond William Baker, *Islam without Fear: Egypt and the New Islamists* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2003); Asef Bayat, *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007); Asef Bayat, ed., *Post-Islamism: The Changing Faces of Political Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, ‘The Path to Moderation: Strategy and Learning in the Formation of Egypt’s Wasat Party’, *Comparative Politics* 36, no. 2 (2004): 205–28; Joshua Stacher, ‘Post-Islamist Rumbblings in Egypt: The Emergence of the Wasat Party’, *Middle East Journal* 56, no. 3 (2002): 415–32.

<sup>29</sup> This partly changed in 2016, as we will see later on.

<sup>30</sup> Mohammad Suliman Abu Rumman, *The Muslim Brotherhood in the 2007 Jordanian Parliamentary Elections: A Passing ‘Political Setback’ or Diminished Popularity?* (Amman: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2007), 44–55; Nathan J. Brown, *Jordan and Its Islamic Movement: The Limits of Inclusion?*, Carnegie Papers no. 74 (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006); Juan José Escobar Stemann, ‘The Crossroads of Muslim Brothers in Jordan’, in *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies of a Global Islamist Movement*, ed. Barry Rubin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 57–71, especially 64–5; Hamid, ‘Arab Parties’, 69–71; Shadi Hamid, ‘New Democrats? The Political Evolution of Jordan’s Islamists’ (paper presented at the CSIC Sixth Annual Conference ‘Democracy and Development: Challenges for the Islamic World’, Washington, DC, United States of America, 22–23 April 2005); Shadi Hamid, *Temptations of Power: Islamists & Illiberal Democracy in a New Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Mansoor Moaddel, *Jordanian Exceptionalism: A Comparative Analysis of State-Religion Relations in Egypt, Iran, Jordan, and Syria* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 33–6; Glenn E. Robinson, ‘Can Islamists be Democrats? The Case of Jordan’, *Middle East Journal* 51, no. 3 (1997): 373–87; Rosefsky Wickham, *Muslim Brotherhood*, 204–18; Jillian Schwedler, ‘A Paradox of Democracy? Islamist



Several of these studies on the Jordanian Brotherhood concentrate on the organisation's integration in the country's political system and its ideological flexibility or 'moderation'. The latter is a tricky term, however, because it is not always clear what people who moderate their views should be moderating towards: does the term refer to subservience to the powers that be and a general unwillingness to upset the apple cart, thereby playing into the hands of dictatorial rulers who want to preserve the status quo, or does it denote a tendency to strive for liberal and democratic reforms, which may be quite destabilising?<sup>31</sup> Given the fact that this book deals with Jordan, where the Muslim Brotherhood has been allowed to participate in a pluriform yet ultimately weak parliament in the framework of a dictatorial yet comparatively mildly repressive regime, it seems right to combine these different dimensions of 'moderation' for this study since the Brotherhood's trajectory contains elements of both. For the purposes of this study, 'moderation' is split up into three different dimensions that do not necessarily correlate:<sup>32</sup> a tendency towards a peaceful and non-revolutionary attitude to the state; an inclination towards a democratic view of political participation; and a move towards greater freedom on a societal level. This cluster of dimensions – as well as their 'radical' opposites: (support for) violent rebellion, less democracy and less societal freedom – will be fleshed out more specifically in the Jordanian political context later on.<sup>33</sup>

In political science publications, the term 'moderation' is often treated in the context of the so-called inclusion-moderation thesis, which holds that strongly ideologically inspired groups are likely to moderate if they are included in the political process by allowing them to fully and fairly participate in the state's institutions, specifically parliament and government. The cooperation with other political parties, the need to compromise, the desirability of setting realistic and attainable goals and the accountability one has to voters are, this theory holds, consequences of political inclusion and constitute incentives for groups to moderate. This, in turn, allows governments and regimes to provide more space for these

Participation in Elections', *Middle East Report*, no. 209 (1998): 25–9, 41; Quintan Wiktorowicz, 'Islamists, the State and Cooperation in Jordan', *Third World Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (1999): 1–16; Quintan Wiktorowicz, *The Management of Islamic Activism: Salafis, the Muslim Brotherhood, and State Power in Jordan* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001), 93–110.

<sup>31</sup> Hamid, *Temptations*, 46–7; Jillian Schwedler, 'Can Islamists Be Moderates? Rethinking the Inclusion-Moderation Hypothesis', *World Politics* 63, no. 2 (2011): 350–1.

<sup>32</sup> Schwedler, 'Can Islamists Be Moderates?', 351.

<sup>33</sup> It should be stressed that this definition of moderate with regard to the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan was inspired by that specific context, not by what I see as desirable or undesirable.

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‘moderates’, which will then increase their number, while simultaneously decreasing the number of ‘radicals’, according to this theory. Conversely, the opposite – radicalisation – is likely to happen if groups are repressed and excluded through the arrest and/or imprisonment of their members, the closure of their buildings and media, electoral measures taken to reduce their parliamentary presence and bans on their activities.<sup>34</sup>

The inclusion-moderation thesis has been specified throughout the years, however, and scholars differ in their emphasis and approach to it. As Schwedler has pointed out, some political scientists focus on the moderation of groups’ behaviour, whereas others concentrate on the moderation of a group’s ideology, while still others direct their attention towards the ideological moderation of individual Islamists.<sup>35</sup> Another difference among scholars pertains to the outcome of their research. While some conclude that inclusion can or does lead to moderation (or that repression leads to radicalisation) in certain countries,<sup>36</sup> this same result is doubted in others,<sup>37</sup> while some believe that repression and exclusion, rather than causing radicalisation, may even lead to moderation.<sup>38</sup>

Interestingly, political scientists dealing with the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan through the prism of the inclusion-moderation thesis do not even agree on whether this theory holds up in this context. Some approach the theory as a whole in a critical way, but do not dismiss its validity altogether.<sup>39</sup> Those who have made an extensive effort to apply the thesis to the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan sometimes conclude that

<sup>34</sup> An excellent overview of research on the ‘inclusion-moderation’ thesis across movements and groups can be found in Jillian Schwedler, *Faith in Moderation: Islamist Parties in Jordan and Yemen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1–26.

<sup>35</sup> Schwedler, ‘Can Islamists Be Moderates?’, 348, 352–64.

<sup>36</sup> Khalil al-Anani, ‘Rethinking the Repression-Dissent Nexus: Assessing Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood’s Response to Repression since the Coup of 2013’, *Democratization* 26, no. 8 (2019): 1329–41; Khalil al-Anani, ‘Understanding Repression-Adaptation Nexus in Islamist Movements’, in *Adaptation Strategies of Islamist Movements*, POMEPS Studies 26 (Washington, DC: Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS), 2017), 4–7; Matt Buehler, ‘The Threat to “Un-moderate”: Moroccan Islamists and the Arab Spring’, *Middle East Law and Governance* 5 (2013): 213–57; Jillian Schwedler, ‘Why Exclusion and Repression of Moderate Islamists Will Be Counterproductive’, in *Adaptation Strategies of Islamist Movements*, POMEPS Studies 26 (Washington, DC: Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS), 2017), 8–11.

<sup>37</sup> Janine A. Clark and Jillian Schwedler, ‘Who Opened the Window? Women’s Activism in Islamist Parties’, *Comparative Politics* 35, no. 3 (2003): 293–5; Dalacoura, *Islamist Terrorism*, 130–47; Schwedler, *Faith*, 194–7.

<sup>38</sup> Cavatorta and Merone, ‘Moderation’, 857–75; Courtney Freer, ‘Exclusion-Moderation in the Gulf Context: Tracing the Development of Pragmatic Islamism in Kuwait’, *Middle Eastern Studies* 54, no. 1 (2018): 1–21.

<sup>39</sup> Brown, *Victory*, 3–5; Rosefsky Wickham, *Muslim Brotherhood*, 282–8.