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Operational Code And Al-Ikhwan: An Assessment Of The Evolution Of The Muslim Brotherhood's Operational Code And Possible Public Diplomacy Options For The United States

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OPERATIONAL CODE AND AL-IKHWAN: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE
EVOLUTION OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD'S OPERATIONAL
CODE AND POSSIBLE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OPTIONS FOR THE
UNITED STATES

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Dedication

For Mom and Dad. Thank you for the motivation and encouragement.

For my sister. Thanks for believing in me.

For my grandparents. You are my inspiration.

And for April. Thank you for being my partner in crime.

I love you all immeasurably.

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ROBERT KEVIN THOMSON

THESIS

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Abstract

The primary aim of this thesis is to provide the reader with a firm understanding of the evolution of the Muslim Brotherhood's operational code from the early 2000s to 2013. Specifically, this research will address and analyze the evolution of the Brotherhood's political rhetoric from its historical context to the present. The Brotherhood's political rhetoric will be analyzed utilizing Operational Code Analysis. The secondary aim of this research is to provide a potential framework for policymakers and diplomats to utilize public diplomacy and strategic communication strategies to engage and constrain the influence of the Brotherhood in a globalized society. This research discusses three equally important topics in depth: the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, Operational Code Analysis, and Public Diplomacy. Correspondingly, this thesis has a robust literature review section to provide the reader with substantial understanding of the topics discussed. The Muslim Brotherhood's sentiments on three topics (Israel, the Establishment and the United States) are measured across three separate temporal variables. This thesis argues that the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's operational code has become more conflictual through each time period observed. There also remains opportunities, particularly for the United States, to engage the Brotherhood through public diplomacy means.

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1. Introduction

There are very few Islamist movements which can rival the magnitude, reach, and success of the *al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin*, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. Since its founding in 1928, the Brotherhood has spread to every state in the Islamic world.¹ The Muslim Brotherhood has become the ideological father of several militant Islamic organizations, including: Jamaat Islamiyah, Islamic Jihad (not to be confused with Islamic Jihad Organization, the predecessor of Hezbollah), and Hamas. Throughout the twentieth-century, the organization has often been the major opposition group in many Arab states, establishing several semi-autonomous Brotherhood organizations in several different countries, including: Syria, Jordan, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, and Libya. The Muslim Brotherhood has been an illegal organization throughout much of Egypt's modern history. More than seven decades after its creation, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood emerged as the ruling party, however briefly, after the Egyptian Revolution of 2011 and subsequent 2012 national elections.

For much of its existence the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood has been viewed as a destabilizing force in Egypt and throughout the Middle East region. With its recent victory in the 2012 Egyptian presidential and parliamentary elections after the Arab Spring, the organization now represents a legitimate and potentially destabilizing force within the Egyptian political system. While there has been much research on the history of the Brotherhood and its founding ideologists, there is little substantive research concerning the Brotherhood's operational code during the latter twentieth century and the early twenty-first century. The aim of this thesis is to examine the Muslim Brotherhood's operational code through parts of the Mubarak-era to

¹ Ziad Munson, "Islamic Mobilization: Social Movement Theory and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood," *The Sociological Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (Autumn 2001): 487.

the present. Specifically, this research will methodically evaluate the philosophical and instrumental beliefs (operational code) of the Muslim Brotherhood. Subsequently, this research will empirically evaluate the evolution of the organization's operational code since the Parliament Era. In addition to expanding on the research which was originally conducted by Nathan Leites in 1951 and Alexander George in 1969, the ultimate aim of this project is to provide a framework for US decision-makers in the realm of public diplomacy by accurately identifying, describing, and understanding the operational code of the Muslim Brotherhood to better engage with the organization.²

1.1 RESEARCH QUESTION AND HYPOTHESIS

The ultimate research question this thesis intends to answer is: how has the operational code of the Muslim Brotherhood evolved over the last decade? This will be accomplished by examining the digital formats that the Brotherhood utilizes to communicate its political rhetoric with respect to three different entities: Israel, the Egyptian security establishment and the United States. This leads to a secondary research question: how can public diplomacy and strategic communication strategies assist the United States Government in future diplomatic and non-diplomatic engagements with the Muslim Brotherhood. This thesis posits that because of the historical context of the Muslim Brotherhood—specifically that the organization has historically been a pro-Palestinian and anti-Egyptian establishment group—the organization will have the most cooperative tendencies towards the United States. As such, United States will serve as the best possibility to act as the intermediary to engage with the organization through modern public diplomacy strategies.

² Mark Schafer and Stephen G. Walker, eds., *Beliefs and Leadership in World Politics: Methods and Applications of Operational Code Analysis* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 5-10.

1.2 STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE AND SIGNIFICANCE

In 1951, Nathan Leites authored a series of monographs for the RAND Corporation which examined the political conduct of the Soviet Politburo. Recognizing that the Soviet Union was a major political actor and a potential threat to international security, Leites set out to examine the plethora of data provided by Bolshevik literature. Leites' ultimate aim was to examine the Bolshevik Politburo's relations with the outside world, rather than internal relations.³ He was able to evaluate this relationship by creating "systematic formulations" based on Bolshevik literature, and then creating a meaningful frame of reference—this would form the basis for operational code theory. Since 1951, most operational code analysis conducted by academics has focused on traditional and well established state actors. This is natural since operational code theory was originally established to evaluate the relations *between* states and not *within* them. As such, non-state actors have been traditionally overlooked from this course of examination of operational code analysis which conventionally analyzed the role of established state actors. While much research has been conducted on the Muslim Brotherhood's ideology, there is no substantive research on the Brotherhood's operational code. After the Egyptian 2012 election, the Muslim Brotherhood became a *de jure* political party, and thus a legitimate state actor. Operational code analysis allows researchers to quantify the political rhetoric of an entity. This quantified data provides a powerful frame of reference regarding a political entity's propensity for conflict or cooperative resolution, and ideas about "self" and "others." This frame of reference, in turn, can help decision makers to formulate a cogent diplomatic strategy for engaging with the political entity.

³ Nathan Leites, *The Operational Code of the Politburo* (New York: The Rand Corporation, 1951), 1-5.

In addition to the lack of substantive research on the proposed subject matter, Egypt and the Middle East are of great strategic importance to the United States Government. The Camp David Accords and the subsequent 1979 Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty solidified the United States commitment and interest in the region. These treaties helped normalize relations between Egypt and Israel. But the Muslim Brotherhood has always been vehemently opposed to both of these treaties.⁴ In addition to a myriad of other stipulations, the United States is contractually obligated to provide military aid and economic support to both Israel and Egypt because of the treaties.⁵ For the continuation of aid, President Mubarak limited Egyptian political, ideological and financial support to the Palestinian cause. As a historical supporter of the Palestinian cause, the Muslim Brotherhood always took umbrage with this lack of support. The Muslim Brotherhood began sending even more financial support to Palestine which eventually led to the Brotherhood becoming the ideological father and financier of Hamas in 1987.⁶ When the Muslim Brotherhood solidified itself as a legitimate political entity in Egypt in 2011 after the Arab Spring, it became a timely academic issue to question the future of regional stability and evaluate the organization's use of digital and social media.

Egypt is of vital strategic importance to the regional stability in the Middle East. It is the most populous Arab nation in the Middle East with the largest conventional army. The two peace treaties, which normalized diplomatic and economic relations between Israel and Egypt, also greatly contributed to the stability of the region. However, several key members within the Muslim Brotherhood and the new administration have threatened to re-evaluate Egypt's position

⁴ Ehud Eilam, "Egypt: New Government, Old Challenges," *Defense & Security Analysis* 28, no. 2 (June, 2012): 190.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Alison Praeger, *The Muslim Brotherhood: From Opposition to Power* (London: Saqi Books, 2013), 199.

on the peace treaties and bring them to referendum within the new parliament.⁷ Is the Brotherhood serious about engaging in this type of brinkmanship diplomacy? Is the Brotherhood truly resolved to disavow the peace treaties? Despite the recent 2013 coup, the Muslim Brotherhood still remains a legitimate and powerful state-level actor. An examination of the Muslim Brotherhood's operational code analysis can glean potentially valuable information on the political psychology of the organization and its decision making process by exposing how conflictual or cooperative the organization views a particular topic or entity.

⁷ David Kirkpatrick, "Egyptian Party Threatens to Review Treaty with Israel," *New York Times*, February 17, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/12/world/middleeast/muslim-brotherhood-threatens-to-review-peace-treaty-with-israel.html?_r=1& (accessed April 10, 2013)

2. Literature Review

2.1 THE MAKINGS OF A BROTHERHOOD

Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimim, the Muslim Brotherhood, was created in post-colonial Egypt by Hasan al-Banna in March 1928.⁸ Al-Banna, a school teacher, originally founded the organization with six laborers in Isma'iliya, a Suez Canal city. Al-Banna was the leader of several other Islamic groups. Furthermore, the founding of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood did not distinguish itself from other similar Islamic groups in Egypt during this time period. Initially, al-Banna was concerned with recruiting and retaining a membership base in Isma'iliya during the organization's formative years. Discontent with the organization's growth rate in Isma'iliya, al-Banna moved the Brotherhood to Cairo in 1932.⁹ By subsuming another Islamic organization which was headed by his brother, al-Banna was able to accomplish a smooth transition and integrated the former organization's infrastructure. Within a year, the Brotherhood was publishing a weekly newsletter, *al-Ikhwān*.¹⁰

Originally the Muslim Brotherhood was strictly an apolitical, religious reformist, and charitable organization. Al-Banna's goal for the Brotherhood during this period was to continue to grow membership while holding private organizational meetings on religious and moral reform.¹¹ The Brotherhood's apolitical stance ceased in the latter portion of the 1930s with the general strike by Arabs in the British Mandate for Palestine. The Brotherhood's newsletter, *al-Ikhwān*, became remarkably more political. The "Palestinian issue" featured prominently in newsletter themes and issues. More importantly, the general strike would signify the Brotherhood's transfer into the religious-political realm. The Brotherhood began financially

⁸ Munson, "Islamic Mobilization," 487.

⁹ Richard Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brotherhood* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 9.

¹⁰ Munson, "Islamic Mobilization," 490.

¹¹ Eilam, "Egypt: New Government," 191-193.

supporting the Palestinian cause by fundraising domestically. In addition to their fundraising efforts, Brotherhood members engaged in demonstrations to garner sympathy and draw attention to the strike effort. The tone of the Brotherhood's newsletter also became highly critical of the current political regime. While Egypt officially established a monarchy and received its independence from the United Kingdom in 1922, it had hitherto remained under quasi-British control.¹² Thirteen years after its creation, the Muslim Brotherhood solidified its national political ambitions by announcing a Brotherhood candidate for parliamentary elections in 1941.

According to Ziad Munson, the increasingly critical and argumentative tone of the Muslim Brotherhood's literature manifested itself in increasingly large Brotherhood-led rallies and demonstrations which called for the immediate withdrawal of British forces from Egypt.¹³ Unwilling to acquiesce, British authorities in Egypt responded by ordering the disbandment of the Brotherhood and the expulsion of al-Banna from Cairo. In October 1941, British authorities arrested al-Banna and several other Brotherhood leaders. The British, however, were much more preoccupied with the growing severity of World War II. Shortly after their arrest, the Brotherhood leaders were released from prison. Immediately after the leadership's arrests, the Brotherhood experienced massive membership growth. The organization had more than 400,000 members and two-thousand district offices by 1949.¹⁴

In addition to the organization's massive membership growth after the arrests, the Brotherhood began increasing the frequency of its rallies and demonstrations, and began several other publications. Immediately after his arrest al-Banna established the Nizam al-Khas, or the "secret apparatus," a clandestine paramilitary arm of the Brotherhood which was responsible for

¹² Munson, "Islamic Mobilization," 488.

¹³ Ibid., 489.

¹⁴ Ibid.

protecting senior leadership and implementing the organization's agenda through political violence. The Nizam al-Khas was also responsible for paramilitary operations. The formation of the Nizam al-Khas as the military wing of the Brotherhood is extremely important to note because while the literature that the Brotherhood published during the 1930s was highly critical of the Egyptian government, hitherto al-Banna had the reputation of being a political moderate.¹⁵ Despite this image of moderation, according one of the original members of Nizam al-Khas:

The image [al-Banna] had in his mind since he started his *dawa* in Isma'iliya about the [military] aspect of *dawa* was...of a military group that would encapsulate the idea of jihad in Islam...He was so keen to emphasize military activity in order to demonstrate the idea of jihad. But he was frightened that these kinds of things might be used against him.¹⁶

Praeger states that while al-Banna may have always imagined that the conservative Muslim Brotherhood would manage a military wing, this goal was never part of the original operating code of the organization.¹⁷ Further, she states that the evolution to militancy is evident in the change of tone in the published literature of the Brotherhood during the 1930s.

This progression to more politically hostile rhetoric and militancy can be directly attributed to the increasing amount of militant elements within the Brotherhood during the 1930s. Many Brothers were unhappy with al-Banna's non-confrontational negotiating style. Al-Banna, however, realized that the size Brotherhood directly corresponded to its political power, thus he was extremely hesitant to excommunicate any of the militant factions from the organization. Instead, al-Banna adopted an appeasement leadership style within the organization while continuing his non-confrontational negotiating style outside of the organization. However, in

¹⁵ Praeger, *The Muslim Brotherhood*, 27-29.

¹⁶ Ibid., 30.

¹⁷ Ibid., 31.

1938 al-Banna officially abandoned his conciliatory style for more militant and provocative rhetoric, declaring that if the Egyptian government did not acquiesce to the Brotherhood demands, then the Brotherhood would be “at war with every leader, every party and every organization that does not work for the victory of Islam!”¹⁸ Brotherhood members with a propensity for violence seized upon this rhetoric.

In a trend which continued until the Arab Spring of 2011, the Muslim Brotherhood was at the center of popular Egyptian political unrest immediately preceding the culmination of World War II. Just outside of Cairo in 1947, Egyptian police found a large cache of weapons belonging to the Brotherhood. In 1948 Egyptian police stopped a vehicle, which belonged to the Brotherhood, carrying explosives. By the latter portion of the 1940s the Brotherhood had evolved from an apolitical Islamic organization to the largest opposition force in Egypt—which was stockpiling weapons. After the seizure of the small-arms and explosives, the Egyptian government ordered the Brotherhood dissolved. In response, the Brotherhood assassinated Prime Minister Mahmud Fahmi al-Nuqrashi—who was responsible for authoring and issuing the dissolution order in July 1948.¹⁹ Two months later in a surreptitious police stop, al-Banna was assassinated by Egyptian authorities. After leading the Muslim Brotherhood for two decades, the death of Hassan al-Banna signified the end of the Brotherhood’s developmental years and the beginning of a new era.

The Muslim Brotherhood’s political aspirations did not die with Hassan al-Banna. Hassan al-Hudaybi became the second “Supreme Guide,” or leader, of the organization. Under al-Hudaybi the Brotherhood became no less critical of the then monarchical Egyptian government,

¹⁸ Praeger, *The Muslim Brotherhood*, 27-29.

¹⁹ Munson, “Islamic Mobilization,” 489-491.

which the Brotherhood viewed as an extension of British colonial power and influence. Al-Hudaybi strategically aligned the Brotherhood with the Egyptian Free Officers Movement, a group of young military officers who would eventually stage a coup and overthrow the Egyptian Monarchy in 1952. The Free Officers were founded and led by Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser. When leaders of the Free Officers and the new government broke promises to the Brotherhood, the Brotherhood attempted to assassinate President Nasser in 1954. President Nasser responded by arresting thousands of Brotherhood members, including its top leadership.²⁰ Moreover, President Nasser ordered the dissolution of the organization declaring it an illegal institution—it always remained in existence as an opposition party, although not always a legal institution.

According to Crane, since the 1970s the Muslim Brotherhood has disavowed violence in its attempt to legitimize itself and participate in Egyptian politics.²¹ Despite this declaration, successive Egyptian presidents Anwar Sadat and Hosni Mubarak never fully recognized the organization. Albeit, both presidents allowed the organization to continue to publish its newsletters. In 2005, Mubarak allowed Brotherhood candidates to run as independents in the parliamentary elections. The Brotherhood candidates won 20% of the total parliamentary seats.²² The Muslim Brotherhood's pledge of nonviolence is perplexing. The Brotherhood has expanded and spawned branches of the organization throughout the Muslim world. The Brotherhood has become the ideological father and the financial patron to militant organizations and terrorist groups, such as: Hamas, Jamaat Islamiya, Egyptian Islamic Jihad, and al-Qaeda. The Muslim

²⁰ Munson, "Islamic Mobilization," 489-491

²¹ Mary Crane, "Does the Muslim Brotherhood have ties to Terrorism?," *The Council on Foreign Relations*, (April 5, 2005). Accessed on 5 May 2013. Available from <http://www.cfr.org/egypt/does-the-muslim-brotherhood-have-ties-terrorism/p9248>.

²² Sharon Otterman, "Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt's Parliamentary Elections." *Council on Foreign Relations*, December 1, 2005. Available from <http://www.cfr.org/egypt/muslim-brotherhood-egypts-parliamentary-elections/p9319>. Accessed on 20 November 2014.

Brotherhood's close links to extremist organization and its role as the *de jure* government in Egypt requires that its operational code and belief system undergo a close examination.

2.2 THE BROTHERHOOD'S IDEOLOGY

The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood is well known for being an extremely conservative Islamist organization.²³ The Muslim Brotherhood's paradigm is based on the Hanbali School of Islamic jurisprudence. The Hanbali School is one of the four major schools of thought regarding Islamic jurisprudence within Sunni Islam—it is also the most conservative in its interpretation of Sharia law. Adherents to the Hanbali interpretation of Sharia law reference the 1,000 year old doctrines of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal. Importantly, most Salafists follow the Hanbali school of thought. The Muslim Brotherhood and Salafists believe that Egypt, and the rest of the Muslim world, has become polluted by Western ideas and influence.²⁴ As such, the Brotherhood and Salafist ardently believe that Egyptian society and the Muslim world need religious reform. Importantly, this leads to the belief in a symbiotic relationship between religious and political spheres. According to Ghosh and others, the Brotherhood and Salafist feel that the best way to accomplish this religious reformation is to model public and private life after the piety of the Prophet and his original followers (*Salafi* literally translates to “my predecessor”).²⁵

During the early 20th century ridding Egypt of Western and colonial powers was a primary goal of the Muslim Brotherhood. The Brotherhood, especially in its formative years, was often vague when applying their ideology to specific policy issues. Presumably, this ambiguity was a deliberate strategy to ensure that the Brotherhood did not provoke the Egyptian government, which, in turn, ensured the longevity of the Brotherhood. The Brotherhood did call

²³ Crane, “Does the Muslim Brotherhood have ties to Terrorism?”.

²⁴ Munson, “Islamic Mobilization,” 488.

²⁵ Bobby Ghosh, et al. “Revolution, Delayed.” *Time* 177, no. 7 (02/21, 2011): 30-36

on the government to address social issues, such as, strengthening military and diplomatic relations with other Arab and Muslim countries, ending usury, improving working conditions, and reducing unemployment.²⁶ Ultra-conservative elements within the Brotherhood felt that the Egyptian society had fallen so far away from the “Salafi” Islamic path that government intervention was needed to implement religious teachings in school, and censor print, radio and television media.

Aside from Hassan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb (b.1906) was arguably the most influential Muslim Brotherhood member. Qutb—a novelist, critic, and education administrator by trade—officially joined the Egyptian Ikhwan 25 years after its founding in 1953.²⁷ While Qutb may have joined the Brotherhood late in life, his ideological impact on the organization is significant. Qutb’s writings have been used by various Islamist organizations and terrorist groups for more than six decades. Qutb is considered by many scholars to be the founding father of modern radical political Islam, he was not always the fervent religious scholar.²⁸ As a young man Qutb criticized madrasas that solely taught a religious curriculum. Qutb’s conversion to religiously motivated and inspired texts can be observed after his sojourn to the United States in the late 1940s. In *The America that I Saw*, Qutb describes the disgust that he was overwhelmed with when he was immersed in American culture.²⁹ Qutb had particular disdain for the mingling of sexes, the sensuality that women consciously exude, and America’s fascination with brutality and boxing.

²⁶ Praeger, *The Muslim Brotherhood*, 50.

²⁷ John Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islam* [Ebook] (Columbia University Press: New York, 2010), 35.

²⁸ Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb*, 38-42.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 159-164.

After returning from the United States, Qutb ideologically aligned himself with the Free Officers. Subsequently, he was offered and declined the Minister of Education position by President Nasser. Qutb discovered that despite having utilized the support of the Muslim Brotherhood during the 1952 revolution, President Nasser had established a secret group, “Tahreer,” to counter the Brotherhood’s influence in post-monarchist Egypt. He was also among the Brotherhood leaders who were arrested after the failed assassination attempt of President Nasser in 1954. Before his arrest, and after, he made a great deal of contribution to the Brotherhood’s ideology. Shortly after joining the Brotherhood in 1953, he became the editor of the Brotherhood’s newsletter, *al-Ikhwān*. Concomitantly, Qutb also became the head of the Brotherhood’s propaganda wing. Qutb’s greatest contribution to the Brotherhood’s ideology would come during his time in prison where he wrote his seminal work, *Ma’am fi al-Tariq*, or as it is commonly referred to in English, *Milestones*. In *Milestones*, Qutb declares that Islam is the blueprint for a utopian society. He states that Islam is not merely a religion, but a way of life. Qutb argues that Muslims are duty bound to throw off the confines of *Jahiliyyah*, the pre-Islamic ignorance that existed throughout the world before the revelation to the Prophet. *Milestones* has been considered “one of the most influential works in Arabic of the last half-century” and is a call to arms to re-create the world under Quranic law.³⁰

2.3 LITERATURE REVIEW OF OPERATIONAL CODE ANALYSIS

The operational code approach to evaluating the belief systems and rhetoric of a political entity is a well-established field.³¹ At its essence operational code analysis seeks to quantify political-psychological characteristics and evaluate their impact on foreign policy behaviors.

³⁰ Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon. *The of Sacred Terror* (Random House: New York, 2002), 63.

³¹ Peter Michael Picucci, *Dissertation: Terrorism’s Operational Code: An Examination of the Belief Systems of Al-Qaeda and Hamas* (Department of Political Science: University of Kansas, 2008), 117.

Motivational beliefs are essential to establishing the “who” and “why” of a group’s identity.³² Operational code analysis seeks to identify how this identity is captured in terms of political belief, which, in turn, leads to political decisions.

Operational code analysis was first formulated by Nathan Leites in 1951 to examine the political psychology of the Politburo. Leites created a psycho-cultural model to evaluate the Bolshevik’s operational code.³³ He emphasized the role of personality and “cultural milieu” in the decision making process of the Bolsheviks. These psychological and cultural foundations create an “operational code.” Leites concluded that the decision making process of the Bolsheviks was highly influenced by Lenin’s desire for power and fear of annihilation which stemmed from cultural, environmental, and political factors.

Alexander George expanded and refined Leites’ research on the Bolshevik’s operational code 16 years later in 1969. Instead of trying to explain the motivational influences, George systematically arranged the philosophical and instrumental beliefs of the Bolsheviks.³⁴ This new research argued that philosophical and instrumental beliefs should be considered a composite belief system which filters incoming information, which, in turn, influences political entities decision making preference. George created this “heuristic” model by creating ten research questions (five philosophical and five instrumental) which explain the decision making process of a subject. Operational code analysis utilizes a bounded rationality model, which assumes an actor’s rationality during decision making is heavily influenced by the cognitive beliefs, time constraints, and information available. Researchers who employ operational code analysis have typically overlooked non-state actors. Recent operational code research has utilized formal

³² Ibid, 130.

³³ Nathan Leites, *The Operational Code Analysis of the Politburo* (The RAND Corporation: New York, 1951), 1-7.

³⁴ Ibid, 8-10.

modeling methods and combined it with a game-theory approach to simulate scenarios between Margaret Thatcher and her key advisors, Ronald Reagan and Gorbachev, and Jimmy Carter and Anwar Sadat.³⁵ Only recently has research been conducted utilizing operational code analysis which has evaluated the political psychology and rhetoric of Al-Qaeda and Hamas.³⁶

2.4 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: WHAT THE LITERATURE SAYS

Public diplomacy is generally accepted as the process in which “international actors seek to accomplish the goals of their foreign policy by engaging with foreign publics.”³⁷ While the term public diplomacy is a relatively new term in the realm of international politics, the act itself is as old as diplomacy and politics. Through its targeted audience, public diplomacy is a form of political and strategic communication. Traditional public diplomacy has several distinct elements: *listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange, and broadcasting agencies*. Each of these elements can operate independently of the others and attend to its own respective audiences, and can therefore be researched autonomously.³⁸ Importantly, as a form of communication, successful public diplomacy hinges on successful dialogue. Accordingly, the foundation for fruitful and successful public diplomacy is listening. During political communication and the public diplomacy dialogue, listening refers to the actor’s attempt to collect and collate data about public opinion in the international environment, and, thereby, form and redirect its specific and general public diplomacy strategies.³⁹

³⁵ Leites, *The Operational Code Analysis of the Politburo*, 11.

³⁶ Piccucci, *Terrorism’s Operational Code*.

³⁷ Nicholas J. Cull. “Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. (Vol. 616, March 2008), 31.

³⁸ Ibid, 32-33.

³⁹ Cull, “Public Diplomacy,” 32.

Tasking requirements regarding information on foreign public opinion has regularly been collected as a function of conventional diplomacy and intelligence work. Systematic assessments of foreign opinion may be a modern invention; however, attempts to understand a neighboring population's thought process is as old as there have been spies. Through listening, a public diplomacy actor is able to more wholly understand the foreign target. This directly leads to a more complete and substantive understanding of the thought process of the foreign entity and the issue at hand.⁴⁰

While *listening* is the paramount element of the public diplomacy process, the other elements are also important components to the public diplomacy process. Unlike *listening*, however, which was listed first because of its importance, they are listed in no particular order.⁴¹ *Advocacy* refers to an actor's attempt to influence and manage the international environment through proactive measures. Elements of *advocacy* can be seen throughout the other dimensions of the public diplomacy process because of utility. *Advocacy* can be seen in action as an element of the public diplomacy process through the press office of an American embassy or the informational work produced by various government agencies.⁴²

Cultural diplomacy refers to an actor's attempt to manipulate and manage the international environment by publicizing and making its cultural resources and achievements known overseas. This form of cultural transmission can be seen through cultural institutes, such as the British Council, the American Schools, or the Italian Cultural Institute. Many cultural diplomacy organizations find a negative connotation with public and cultural diplomacy, and

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ In "Public Diplomacy," Cull does not make any distinction between the level of importance of the public diplomacy elements except for listening.

⁴² Cull, "Public Diplomacy," 32-33.

prefer to classify themselves as cultural relations agencies.⁴³ *Exchange diplomacy* refers to an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by sending its own citizens overseas and reciprocally accepting citizens from overseas for a period time for the purpose of study or acculturation.⁴⁴ This type of diplomacy lends to and supports the idea of mutuality and reciprocity with another country. The seminal example of exchange diplomacy is the Fulbright Program administered by the US Department of State. The dimensions of advocacy can be used in conjunction with cultural diplomacy and exchange diplomacy.

Traditionally *international news broadcasting* (IB) is the attempt by an actor to manipulate and manage the international environment by leveraging the various technologies of print, radio, and television.⁴⁵ Increasingly, IB, as practiced by states, is leveraging the Internet as a function of public diplomacy. The most powerful element of IB, historically, has been its ability to manipulate the news. Like advocacy, IB can affect, and is affected by, all the other dimensions of public diplomacy—particularly, advocacy and information work can augment the IB dimension. In regards to listening, IB materializes in the monitoring of audience/reader research functions; with advocacy, IB manifests itself through information work in editorials or policy broadcasts; with cultural diplomacy, IB appears with the cultural content of various IB elements and mediums; and with exchange diplomacy, it appears in the programming and acculturation of participating students and personnel.⁴⁶ An effective public diplomacy strategy balances the resources between the various public diplomacy dimensions. To engage the Muslim Brotherhood in the 21st century the United States will need to have a codified plan which utilizes

⁴³ Ibid, 33.

⁴⁴ Nicholas J. Cull. "Public Diplomacy," 33-44.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 34.

⁴⁶ Nicholas J. Cull. "Public Diplomacy," 34.

all the elements of public diplomacy while leveraging 21st century technology. This means dialoguing with the Brotherhood and its audience through various social media platforms.

According to Robert D. Deutsch — a senior associate for International Communications in the Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress—many of the current models of persuasion utilized by the United States in both the public and private sectors are outdated and based on theories created from the 1950s.⁴⁷ Deutsch states that the traditional “push-down” theories of communication and persuasion—including the infamous “winning hearts and minds” theory—are obsolete and ineffective in the current global communications environment. He further argues that people tend to view the world in contradictory and paradoxical terms. Various populations tend to respond more positively when their identities—rather than their interests—are understood and appreciated.

With regards to implementing public diplomacy strategies, a detrimental assumption for the originator of a public diplomacy message is that all audience will be receptive to the foreign policy message and that they are pragmatic and rational actors. Essentially, the assumption is that a foreign audience is a mirror image of an American audience and would be as receptive as an American audience to public diplomacy messages. In actuality, people are highly susceptible and influenced by symbolic association, images, narratives, metaphors, and mythologies. As such, rational thought and logic barely influence the decision making process.⁴⁸ While strategies from strategic communication and public diplomacy may range from the rudimentary to the highly complex, modern strategies must include the following implicit messages: 1. I am like you (something about you is familiar); 2. I like you (I understand you, you can trust me, you can

⁴⁷ Robert D. Deutsch. “Ambassador to the World: A New Paradigm for Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communication.” *JQF: Joint Force Quarterly*. (1 January 2010), 3.

⁴⁸ Deutsch, “Ambassador to the World,” 2-3.

participate “in” me); and, 3. I am not you, but our difference can help us expand ourselves.⁴⁹ Effectively expressing, asking and answering these messages is an extremely cathartic experience for both the sender and receiver of the public diplomacy message. All of the messages mentioned above center around creating the impression of a shared experience. The creation of this shared experience directly leads to a relationship building experience between the two entities to construct a more effective public diplomacy strategy.

In the new digital environment, globalization and the Information Age have redefined the modes and means of communication. New communication and information technologies have amplified, accentuated, and accelerated the global interconnectedness between countries, corporations, and organizations.⁵⁰ There have been two major events in the last two decades that greatly shaped the nature of 21st century public diplomacy: the culmination of the Cold War and the September 11th terror attacks.⁵¹ In the wake of collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States became the lone global superpower. The lack of a tangible and readily identifiable adversary led American decision and policymakers to consolidate and reprioritize funding; the United States Information Agency (USIA), which was the main government apparatus for public diplomacy during the Cold War, merged with the US Department of State in 1999.⁵² Also, the behemoth in United States public diplomacy, the International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB) subsumed Voice of America (VOA), the public diplomacy medium which arguably greatly contributed to winning the “hearts and minds” of foreign public across the globe. Naturally,

⁴⁹ Ibid, 3.

⁵⁰ Xin Zhong and Jiayi Lu. “Public diplomacy meets social media: A study of the U.S. Embassy’s blogs and micro-blogs.” *Public Relations Review*. (3 July 2013), 542

⁵¹ Ibid, 543.

⁵² Joseph S. Nye, Jr. “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Vol. 616 (March 2008), 99-100

because of the lack of attention and funding, public diplomacy was underutilized during the latter portion of the 1990s.⁵³

According to Xin Zhong and Jiayi Lu, after the September 11th terror attacks the question, “Why do they hate us?” arose as a mantra.⁵⁴ At the time, the United States was using its full range of diplomatic, information, military, and economic capabilities. Various public diplomacy measures and strategies arose during this period. Most notably, the George W. Bush administration spearheaded the “Shared Values Campaign” in 2001 and the “Middle East Listening Tour” in 2005. Both of these public diplomacy projects targeted the Muslim world and sought to repair the U.S. image in the Middle East. The ultimate aim of these public diplomacy projects was to mold foreign popular opinion, defend American positions and rebut any misinformation. During the beginning of the Iraq war, for example, American diplomats were forced to refute and rebut erroneous Turkish press reports about vast number of rapes of Iraqi women by American servicemen.⁵⁵ While the various diplomatic delegations for the respective public diplomacy programs traveled throughout the world, particularly the Middle East, they were widely criticized for not engaging the public enough in controversial issues.

In 2008, U.S. Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy James Glassman coined the term “Public Diplomacy 2.0.” This moniker, typically found in the high-tech industry, was a clear indication of a wider policy shift within the Department of State signifying the future use of

⁵³ Cynthia P. Schneider. “Culture Communicates: US Diplomacy That Works.” *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relation* (Palgrave-Macmillan: Chippenham, 2005) 149-164.

⁵⁴ Xin Zhong, “Public diplomacy meets social media,” 543.

⁵⁵ Charles A. Radin. “Rumors of rape fan anti-American flames.” *The Boston Globe*. (4 January 2004). Accessed on 15 December 2013. Available from:
http://www.boston.com/news/nation/articles/2004/01/04/rumors_of_rape_fan_anti_american_flames/

new information technologies during public diplomacy engagements.⁵⁶ Specifically, it signified the future and expanded use of social media technologies when engaging in public diplomacy. In a globalized world, interconnectedness and interdependence have become a common theme on which social networking has the capacity to capitalize on. The defining aspect of social media is its interconnectivity between users and its ability to transform the public diplomacy arena into an individual and proactive experience for all participants.

The ability of internet users to easily comment and thereby post feedback on various issues on the internet has been described as “Web 2.0.” In regards to Public Diplomacy 2.0, the internet has transformed into a medium allowing various actors to engage in actual dialogue on various issues. Recognizing this, the Department of State has created the Digital Outreach Team (DOT), which is a part of the Center for Strategic Counterterrorism Communications. The stated mission of the DOT is to “counter terrorist propaganda and misinformation about the United States across a wide variety of interactive digital environments that had previously been ceded to extremists.”⁵⁷ The DOT is a small group of ten civil servants who only cover the Middle East region. Six of the members monitor and post on Arabic websites; while the other four members are divided amongst Farsi and Urdu websites.⁵⁸ The DOT members do not comment on benign message boards or topics, but reserve their efforts for contentious topics. The aim of the DOT is not necessarily to change the opinions of foreign publics; it is, instead, to counter misinformation and expose Web 2.0 users to the United States’ viewpoint.

⁵⁶ James Glassman, *Briefing on the U.S. Public Diplomacy and the War of Ideas*, Washington D.C., 28 October 2008. Accessed 12 December 2013. Available from: <http://2001-2009.state.gov/r/us/2008/111372.htm>

⁵⁷ Lina Khatib, William Dutton, Michael Thelwall. “Public Diplomacy 2.0: A Case Study of the US Digital Outreach Team.” *The Middle East Journal*. (Vo. 6 (3), Summer 2012), 453.

⁵⁸ Khatib, “Public Diplomacy 2.0,” 456.

One stipulation that the DOT must abide by, however, is that all posts from its members must be attributed to the DOT and the Department of State. It is not uncommon for DOT members to list their full names in message board postings. This fits the team's agenda as an "outreach" team as opposed to an indoctrination team. Interestingly, some scholars disagree with this approach to transparent authorship. Mark Leonard and Evgeny Morozov both argue that governments should remain covert and silent about their activities to ensure message credibility.⁵⁹ While this argument is debatable, the choice for authorship transparency by the DOT was a "strategic choice to maintain credibility."⁶⁰

In the twenty-first century, internet users have access to seemingly infinite amounts of information. Access to potential foreign publics is not a pertinent issue for public diplomacy strategies in the twenty-first century. Instead, with so much information available via the internet the issue of establishing and maintaining relevance is far more critical.⁶¹ The absolute worst thing to potentially befall a public diplomacy strategy is for it to become irrelevant. The proper leveraging of social media as a public diplomacy tool can be a difficult and precarious endeavor. Successfully leveraging social media as a public diplomacy tool requires much skill; if not done correctly, social media usage for public diplomacy will drift into the internet ether—where it will quickly be overlooked and forgotten. This can be seen by, presumably, junior public diplomacy officers with the Department of State unfamiliar with social media not using hashtags when tweeting about particular events.⁶² While seemingly a simple oversight, using hashtags in various social media platforms allows users to target trending topics and interested

⁵⁹ Khatib, "Public Diplomacy 2.0," 455-457

⁶⁰ Ibid, 456.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Juyan Zhang. "A Strategic Issue Management (SIM) Approach to Social Media Use in Public Diplomacy." *American Behavioral Scientist*. Vol. 57, no. 9. (September 2013), 1311-1312.

individuals. To maintain relevancy and exposure it is important to employ an effective strategy and processes when using social media as public diplomacy tool.

Recent research suggests that the best means of using social media as a public diplomacy tool is to consider social media as a Strategic Issue Management (SIM) process which allows “being vigilant for threats and opportunities that can affect how the organization achieved its mission and vision.”⁶³ This process enables public diplomacy users to view the fluid structure of social media in a methodical and logical manner. This method also allows public diplomacy users to codify various aspects of social media, thereby creating a solidified strategy process for their respective public diplomacy message. The SIM process is broken up into four distinct components: issue fermenting and going viral; the proactive phase; the reactive phase; and the issue receding and new issue emerging.⁶⁴

In stage one, the “issue fermenting phase,” a particular political or social issue goes “viral” on the internet. There are usually signs of a potential issue emerging and triggering event.⁶⁵ This stage is characterized by increased social media mentions on blogs, microblogs, etc. After the issue goes viral on the internet, depending on the size and scope of the issue, traditional media will join in. It is at this point that a public diplomacy outreach team must decide to act or not. It is in the next two stages where treating social media as a SIM process becomes a strategic tool for public diplomacy. If a public diplomacy outreach team decides to act then the SIM process moves to the second stage. In the second stage, the “proactive phase,” research is conducted on the issue, the concerned parties, and the targeted audience. During the proactive phase the public diplomacy outreach team leverages social media to reinforce a certain

⁶³ Ibid, 1328.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 1321.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 1322.

message or agenda.⁶⁶ This can be done through a myriad of ways, including: staging events with certain political actors, countering disinformation or emphasizing certain issues with various forms of media. The most important portion of this stage is for the public diplomacy outreach team to “reinforce favorable viral trends.” In the third stage, the “reactive phase,” is characterized by conflict emerging with the distributed public diplomacy message. In this stage the most important role of the public diplomacy outreach team is to respond to negative messages and counter misinformation propagated by opponents. In the final stage, the initial issue recedes from the viral phase. However, simply because the issues has receded does not mean that the public diplomacy outreach team forgets about the issue. If the issue is important enough in size and scope, the public diplomacy outreach team will and should establish long term and strategic relationships with key actors regarding the issue. Additionally, while the issue is receding the public diplomacy team is monitoring emerging trends for a new issue.⁶⁷

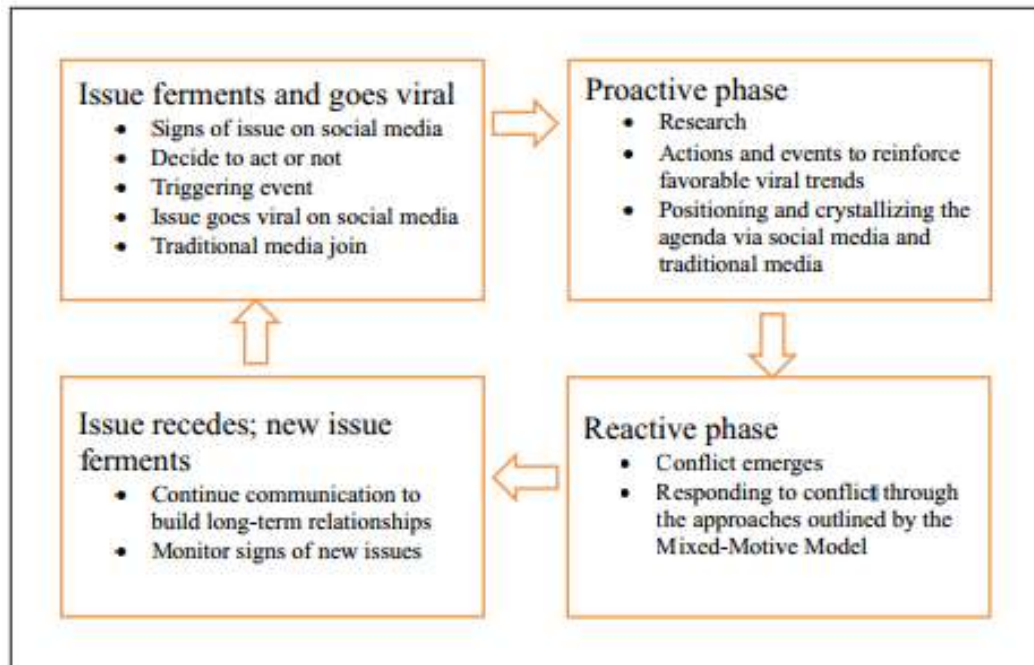
As can be seen from the SIM process, it is a large feedback loop. As one issue recedes, another issue should, or will, emerge. In addition to being a large feedback loop, there can be various feedback loops throughout various stages of the SIM process. For example, during the proactive phase, the public diplomacy outreach team’s actions could spark a new issue which goes viral; thereby sending the SIM process back to stage one of the process. **Table 1** illustrates the circularity of the SIM process.

Table 1 – The Strategic Issue Management Process ⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Juyan Zhang. “A Strategic Issue Management,” 1324.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 1324-1325.

⁶⁸ Juyan Zhang. “A Strategic Issue Management,” 1330.



Recent cases studies show that the SIM process can be an effective strategy for utilizing social media tool for public diplomacy.⁶⁹ These case studies focus on the roll which microblogs (i.e. Twitter and Weibo) could play in public diplomacy strategies. The SIM process gives public diplomacy outreach teams a methodology to utilize social media. Recently the SIM process was used to analyze the newly appointed U.S. Ambassador to China's arrival in Beijing. The research evaluated social media mentions of a visit to Starbucks the ambassador made when he first arrived in China.⁷⁰ As this methodology was applied to China and its social media programs, so it too can be applied to Egypt in regards to the Muslim Brotherhood.

This literature review shows that there are gaps within the academic literature concerning the Muslim Brotherhood and its operational code, and between the Muslim Brotherhood and public diplomacy. Conventionally operational code analysis has been conducted only on state-

⁶⁹ Ibid, 1326.

⁷⁰ Juyan Zhang. "A Strategic Issue Management," 1330.

level actors, which has left organizations like the Muslim Brotherhood critically under examined. Public diplomacy has been woefully neglected and underutilized in twenty-first century and during the period of War on Terror. Correspondingly, there is little research on public diplomacy and its use alongside fundamentalist organizations—specifically the Muslim Brotherhood. Finally, the relatively new idea of applying the SIM process to public diplomacy has only been applied to issues which are arguably immaterial and irrelevant.

3. Research Design and Methodology

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

This research proposes to evaluate the political rhetoric and psychology of the Muslim Brotherhood through operational code analysis. To address the research question of how has the political rhetoric of the Muslim Brotherhood evolved over the last decade, three distinct periods of the modern Muslim Brotherhood history are examined: 1. The Parliament Era (2005-2011); 2. The *De Jure* Era (2011-2013); and 3. Operation Protective Edge (July 2014 to September 2014). Within the first two periods three crucially important issues which transcend the temporal scope of each period will be evaluated, these are: 1. the Brotherhood's view on the Israeli-Palestinian Issue; 2. the Brotherhood's view of the United States and Americans; and, 3. the Brotherhood's view of the security establishment in Egypt. The last period, which is represented by Operation Protective Edge, will only evaluate the role of Israel since this time period evaluates an issue where Israel was a primary belligerent. Each issue was chosen for a specific reason. The Brotherhood originally began as a pro-Palestinian movement, therefore, the Brotherhood's current view on the Israel will be evaluated. Since the Brotherhood is the largest opposition party in Egypt its views on the Egyptian government and military will also be evaluated. For potential; public diplomacy strategies the Brotherhood's view on the United States will also be evaluated. Operation Protective Edge was chosen as the final temporal variable since it represents a timely issue concerning the entities being evaluated for this thesis. Additionally, it also represents a well-timed and relevant geo-political issue to evaluate the role of public diplomacy and the strategic issue management process with respect to the Muslim Brotherhood.

Documents authored by the Brotherhood concerning each issue from each time period will be analyzed using *Profiler Plus* – an operational code analysis software. Evaluating the

political rhetoric from each era will allow for the assessment of the evolution of the Brotherhood's operational code, if any. The operational code analysis approach offers a distinct advantage, both theoretically and methodically, for examining the ideological and belief systems of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. This approach can be applied systematically to an organization since motivational beliefs appear at the structural, group, and individual levels.⁷¹

To quantify the political rhetoric of the Muslim Brotherhood, this research will use the modern Verbs In Context System (VICS) coding system which was originally set forth by George, and further codified by Schaefer and Walker.⁷² The premise for the VICS system is that an individual's cognitive beliefs can be discerned from the way that individual speaks "about power systems in the political universe."⁷³ VICS is a logical, yet subjective classification system. By monitoring the cooperative and conflictual utterances, coding the direction, scaling the intensity of transitive verbs within the Muslim Brotherhood's rhetoric and then indexing the results, a broad picture emerges of how the Muslim Brotherhood views the political universe and the use power within it.

Coding using VICS has traditionally been done by hand. However, Social Science Automation, Inc. has created a program, *Profiler Plus*, which is specifically designed for VICS coding and operational code analysis. *Profiler Plus* was distinctively designed to conduct at-a-distance psychological assessments, including leadership trait analysis, operational code analysis, etc. *Profiler Plus* is a restricted open-source program which is continually updated. The software is available free of charge to academics conducting unfunded research at the graduate level. *Profiler Plus* can be utilized in a variety of languages, including English and Arabic.

⁷¹ Picucci, *Terrorism's Operational Code*, 97.

⁷² Schaefer and Walker, *Beliefs in World Politics*, 55.

⁷³ Ibid.

However, since the researcher only has rudimentary Arabic language skills, this research will rely on English versions of Brotherhood documents. Furthermore, it has been determined that it would be too cumbersome and financially intensive to rely on an exclusive translator and/or translation service for this research. Since most speeches and literature is available in digital format, *Profiler Plus* will be used for coding purposes. The *Profiler Plus* software is “entirely rule-based” providing fine grained control and complete process transparency.⁷⁴ The raw quantitative data is then imported into a data analysis program such as Microsoft Excel or SPSS for interpretation, assessment and analysis by the researcher. Using *Profiler Plus* will allow for the examination of more documents than the slower method of manually coding each document. Traditional operational code analysis evaluated only the verbal rhetoric of actors, such as speeches or impromptu interviews; printed sources, however, are no less valuable. Additionally, and importantly, formats for communicating during the globalization era have expanded greatly. Since the internet has become a primary node of communications, this research will primarily evaluate digital communications published by the Muslim Brotherhood.

Listed below are the specific philosophical and instrumental beliefs which operational code analysis evaluates. The philosophical indices refer to an entity’s beliefs regarding the essence of political life and the entity views on other actors within the political universe. When indexed, instrumental beliefs provide information on an entity’s internal attributions regarding his or her methodology and approach to political action.⁷⁵ Each respective belief is referred to by its number, for example P-1, P-2, and P-3.

⁷⁴ Schaefer and Walker, *Beliefs in World Politics*, 56.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 31.

Philosophical Beliefs in an Operational Code

P-1 – What is the “essential” nature of political life?

P-2 – What are the prospects for the eventual realization of one’s fundamental aspirations?

P-3 – Is the political future predictable?

P-4 – How much “control” or “master” can one have over historical development?

P-5 – What is the role of “chance” in the human affairs and in historical development?

Instrumental Beliefs in an Operational Code

I-1 – What is the best approach for selecting goal or objectives for political action?

I-2 – How are the goals of action pursued most effectively?

I-3 – How are the risks of political action calculated, controlled and accepted?

I-4 – What is the best “timing” of action to advance one’s interests?

I-5 – What is the utility and role of different means for advancing one’s interests?

Schafer and Walker consider and conceptualize the first Philosophical and Instrumental beliefs (P-1 and I-1) as the “master beliefs.” Based upon the theories of “cognitive consistency,” the other beliefs within each category (Philosophical and Instrumental) should “flow from and be theoretically and empirically linked to the master beliefs.”⁷⁶ This research will not analyze all of

⁷⁶ Schafer and Walker, *Beliefs in World Politics*, 31.

the philosophical and instrumental belief indices. Firstly, the thesis' aim is to provide researchers with a broad framework of the Muslim Brotherhood's operational code. Secondly, not all of the philosophical and instrumental indices are relevant because the issues transcend several decades and cover different subtopics within each issue. The philosophical and instrumental beliefs to be analyzed are: P-1, P-2, I-1, and I-2. The process for determining the quantitative score for each respective philosophical and instrumental beliefs and a more expanded definition is listed below.

P-1: The Nature of the Political Universe: Friendly, Mixed, Hostile

This index is computed by a "ratio of the frequency of positive to negative utterance the leader makes when talking about other in the political universe. The index varies between -1 to +1 with low scores, indicating, on average, the [entity] see others as more hostile in the political universe while high score indicates that the [entity] see other as more friendly. The specific formula [for this index] is the percentage of positive utterances about others minus the percentage of negative utterance about others."⁷⁷ The score of this index is based upon the assumption that a political entity's view of another corresponds to the political entity's view on politics, political nature, and the general view of the other.

P-2: Prospects for Realizing Fundamental Values: Optimism versus Pessimism

⁷⁷ Ibid. 33.

This index is computed by “weighting each verb according to the intensity value of its coding category (-3 to + 3) and divide the result by the total number of coded verbs. This index varies from -1 at the pessimistic end of the continuum to +1 at the optimistic end. The formula for P-2 index is the mean intensity of utterances about others divided by three.”⁷⁸ By weighting this index, the *intensity* with which a political entity views another’s actions can be evaluated. While in P-1 a researcher can deduce whether or not a political entity views the political universe as “good or evil,” the P-2 index evaluates the intensity of that belief; and thereby the optimism or pessimism of the political entity.

I-1: Direction of Strategy: Cooperative, Mixed, Conflictual

The formula for this index is the “percentage of cooperative (+) utterances made when talking about self minus the percentage of Conflictual (--) utterances regarding about self.”⁷⁹ This index ranges from -1 to +1. Lower scores suggest that the political entity finds more utility in conflictual actions; whereas higher scores indicates a tendency for more cooperative strategy. This index directly corresponds to P-1. This index evaluates political entity’s general conflictual and cooperative tendencies by aggregating all utterance about “self.” The theory is the more utterance about “self” and conflictual action, the more conflictual the political entity is going to define its potential strategy, and vice versa.

⁷⁸ Schafer and Walker, *Beliefs in World Politics*, 35

⁷⁹ Ibid.

I-2: Intensity of Tactics

The specific formula for this index is the “mean intensity of utterances made when talking about self divided by three.”⁸⁰ As with the other indexes listed, this index ranges from -1 to +1. Lower scores indicate the entity’s belief about the utility of hostile action, and, conversely, higher scores suggest the entity’s belief in the utility of cooperative action. As I-1 is concerned with the direction of the of apolitical entity’s strategy concerning others, I-2 is focused on the intensity to which the political entity will pursue those tactics. Similar to P-2, the I-2 index does this by weighting the number of utterances about self.

During the coding process, the *Profiler Plus* program evaluates each sentence from a document and evaluates the verbs within each sentence using VICS. Then the program generates a numerical value concerning the conflictual and cooperative tendencies. However, since sentences can be complex and “run-ons,” more often than not, a single sentence could have several verbs. Next the sentence is analyzed several times by *Profiler Plus* with different values for each evaluated verb. Depending on the language and style of a particular document, the document could have several direct or indirect objects. Also, confusingly, sometimes the object of the sentence is not specifically stated but implied. This requires the author to read every evaluated line from *Profiler Plus* to determine who was the object or indirect object of each verb.

It is important to note that the VICS coding results are not definitively indicative of a specific decision making process. Depending on how the research is designed, operational code analysis evaluates a particular issue, speech, etc. As such, holistic generalizations about a

⁸⁰ Schafer and Walker, *Beliefs in World Politics*, 36

political actor's operational code cannot be proclaimed utilizing only operational code analysis. A comparative analysis, however, can be conducted across issue based and temporal variables using operational code results from a particular issue or time period as a reference point. Thenceforth, a change in conflictual and cooperative tendencies can be compared to the initial reference sample.

The assumption within operational code theory is that the answers to the aforementioned questions will provide constraints during the actor's decision making process. This leads to a unique bounded rationality for the actor and his/her respective organization. From this a distinctive decision making process materializes which can be quantified and evaluated. The *Profiler Plus* software analyzes each document by coding each verb utterance and then separating them into "self" and "other" categories. *Profiler Plus* then assigns a verb category indices/score to the verbs ranging from +3 to -3. An operational code can then be calculated from either a single document or a series of aggregated documents—*Profiler Plus* has the capability to analyze a single document or a series of aggregated documents.

This project will utilize "at-a-distance" methodology. To evaluate the political psychology and operational code characteristics of the Muslim Brotherhood from a distance without having direct access to the organization's leaders. The key assumption to this methodology is that inferences can be made about the belief system of the Brotherhood by examining published literature and the verbal behavior of subjects through speeches without having direct access to the leadership.

3.2 DATA TO BE COLLECTED

Since this research project will evaluate the political rhetoric of the Muslim Brotherhood, the data for this project will be official publications of the Brotherhood (i.e. position papers, newsletters, pamphlets, etc.). Additionally, there is a requirement of 500 words for each document being evaluated. This will ensure that there are enough verbs to be coded in each document to make it statistically significant. The data for the research project will be taken from a variety of sources. As the author has only minimal Arabic language study, the vast majority of the data will be from secondary sources—the material is already translated and transcribed. The Muslim Brotherhood’s websites will be major sources of information.⁸¹

Despite using both Muslim Brotherhood websites, the English website will serve as the primary source for data collection for several reasons. Firstly, the Brotherhood’s English language is headquartered in London and written solely in English.⁸² This will facilitate the coding process because the English text is easily accessible and imported in *ProfilerPlus*. While open source translation tools and software are available, they do not substitute for the expertise of a native speaker.⁸³ As such, subtleties in the message could be lost when utilizing software such as Google Translate. Despite offering an Arabic language version of the program, the researcher would still have needed to utilize translation services.⁸⁴ While *ProfilerPlus* will code

⁸¹ The Muslim Brotherhood maintains an Arabic website at www.ikhwanonline.com and an English website at www.ikhwanweb.com.

⁸² For more information of the Muslim Brotherhood’s see the About Us page at: <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/about.php>. Accessed 27 November 2014.

⁸³ E.M. Balk, M. Chung, N. Hadar. “Accuracy of Data Extraction of Non-English Language Trials with Google Translate [Internet].” National Center for Biotechnology Information. Available from: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov>.

⁸⁴ The researcher explored the option of utilizing a native Arabic translator. However, the nature of this research changed, and new documents were added and detracted to the research quite regularly. It would be unreasonable to enlist the help, or spend funds to hire a translator.

the intensity of verbs and identify the object that it pertains to, it is the onus of the researcher to make the final determination of the object that the verb is referring to.

The last section that will evaluate the Muslim Brotherhood's political rhetoric will do so by gathering texts from the Brotherhood's English website. Additionally, utilizing the ideas of Public Diplomacy 2.0, rhetoric from the Muslim Brotherhood's social media sites (e.g. Facebook and Twitter). Since typical social media posts fall well below the 500 word threshold, the posts will not be run through *ProfilerPlus*, but will be assessed cursorily by hand. As such, the philosophical and instrumental indices will not be quantified. Instead, the frequency of posts and references to Operation Protective Edge will be measured for the social media posts.

3.3 CAVEATS

There are several potential issues that could arise during the course of this operational analysis model. Since the methodology for this research will use operational code analysis "at a distance" there could be legitimate questions about the validity of the primary and secondary data collected. The first issue of concern is the true authorship of Muslim Brotherhood speeches and literature. Often speeches and official pieces of literature are products of the key members within an administration or organization. Thus if the speechwriter, or speechwriters, truly wrote a speech which is being analyzed, is the analysis not capturing the speechwriter or speechwriters' operational code? If this research was concerned with the unconscious psychology and characteristics of a specific leader within the Muslim Brotherhood, then this certainly would be a legitimate concern. But this research is concerned with the overt characteristics and operational code of the entire Muslim brotherhood; therefore, this issue is not of great concern since the beliefs of Brotherhood leaders applies structurally to the organization.

A second concern for this research is whether to focus analysis on the rhetoric of the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood or key advisors within the organization. Again, if this research were focused on the unconscious characteristics and psychology of a specific leader this issue would be of great concern. Historically various leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood often had differing or contradictory views from prominent brotherhood members who helped shape the Brotherhood's ideology. Since the organizational and structural beliefs of the Brotherhood are the most important factors for this research, published opinion editorials and position pieces by the Brotherhood will be selected. This will ensure that the documents can be applied holistically to the organizational culture.

The final issue is the matter of deception. What if the official rhetoric of the Muslim Brotherhood is intentionally deceptive? According to Schaefer and Walker, it is extremely difficult to engage in deceptive rhetoric techniques for an entire speech or piece of literature.⁸⁵ True deceit is difficult because the VICS coding system evaluates verbs within a speech or piece of literature the small amount of deceptive verbs will prove statistically insignificant by the utterance of verbs which are actually indicative of the true operational code. This assumes that the entire piece of work is not intended to be a source of deceit.

3.4 FINAL THOUGHTS

The Muslim Brotherhood is a complex political entity. As the largest political opposition group in Egypt and their decision-making process and capacity for violence makes the organization a legitimate entity for academic research.⁸⁶ Albeit the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt

⁸⁵ Schafer and Walker, *Beliefs in World Politics*, 18-19.

⁸⁶ Unknown, "Legitimacy Lost: How the Muslim Brotherhood Undermined the Legitimacy of the Egyptian Government." Wheaton University. Accessed on 13 July 2014. Available from: <http://www.wheaton.edu/hastertcenter/~media/108CC418AF20497F9AE51C11DB44E549.pdf>

is not a state entity, and the difference between state entities and the Muslim Brotherhood are quite stark, the Muslim Brotherhood is certainly an actor within the political universe in Egypt and the greater Middle East.⁸⁷ Importantly, there is previous research regarding operational code analysis and its application to secondary and tertiary actors within the political universe. Therefore, it is apt to apply this research method to Muslim Brotherhood political rhetoric.

Not dissimilar to Picucci's research, this thesis will perform a cursory study of the Muslim Brotherhood's operational code with the ultimate intention of contributing to the field of study of strategic communication and operational code analysis. The rationale behind this examination and methodology is multidimensional.⁸⁸ The decision-making process of the Muslim Brotherhood can be evaluated utilizing the same kinds of analytical and theoretical techniques that other primary and state actors within the political universe are evaluated. Specifically, political and psychological theories can be applied to examine the organization. The decision making process of the Muslim Brotherhood is susceptible to influence from internal and external beliefs. The history, position and influence that the Muslim Brotherhood within Egypt, the Middle East, and the international community has created a "collective identity" and "communal beliefs."⁸⁹ By viewing the Muslim Brotherhood as a genuine actor within the political universe, its belief system can be evaluated utilizing operational code analysis. Analyzing the operational code of the Muslim Brotherhood across temporal and issue-based variables can provide extremely valuable insight into the behavior of the organization.

⁸⁷ Mohammad Abdel Kader. "Turkey's relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood." Al Arabiya Institute for Studies. (Monday, 14 October 2013). Accessed 24 February 2014. Available from: <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/14/Turkey-s-relationship-with-the-Muslim-Brotherhood.html>

⁸⁸ Picucci, *Terrorism's Operational Code*, 2-3.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

As valuable as operational code analysis can be in revealing the motivations and intricacies behind the decision making process for political actors, there are a myriad of other intra and external influences that affect the decision making process of any political entity.⁹⁰ This research is not meant to serve as a definitive piece on the decision making process of the Muslim Brotherhood, but is intended to glean information on the organization's operational code over the last decade. Further, absent absolute and extreme values, classifying the Muslim brotherhood's decision-making process as inherently conflictual or cooperative would be impossible. It can be said, however, that particular actor's belief system is comparatively more conflictual or more cooperative than a reference point or benchmark. As such, the *De Jure* era and Operation Protective Edge will be compared to the Parliament Era, which will serve as the benchmark era.

One issue expected to arise during the evaluation process of the Muslim Brotherhood's operational code is the issue of the divine. Picucci encountered a similar issue in his dissertation *Terrorism's Operational Code*.⁹¹ The issue is determining whether to count the divine (i.e. God or Allah) as inside or outside of the Muslim Brotherhood's "in-group". Specifically, for coding purposes, to consider divine references as "self" or "others". In his research, Picucci codes references of the divine as "others." He argues that while God, or Allah, is a legitimate actor within the political universe of Islam, it is not, however, a member of the "in-group." While Hamas and al-Qaeda may see themselves as actors implementing the will of God, or Allah, there exists a clear delineation between the "in-group" and Allah. Expressions such as "If Allah wills it" lend credence to this assumption.⁹² However, references to the divine for this research will be

⁹⁰ Picucci, *Terrorism's Operational Code*, 2-3.

⁹¹ Ibid, 167.

⁹² Ibid, 167.

viewed differently. For this research references of the divine are classified as part of the “in-group”—specifically, for coding purposes as “self.” Picucci’s research, using a variety of documents and concerning several topics, compared the political rhetoric between Hamas and al-Qaeda. This research, however, compares the Muslim Brotherhood’s operational code between three different topics within the confines of a single organization. More importantly, within each of the three different topics being evaluated, there is a clear “other.” Within the *Establishment* topic, the “other” is the Mubarak regime and the Egyptian security establishment. With regard to the Israel and United States topics, Israel and the United States are classified as “others.”

The clear distinction between “self” and “others” in this research creates an interesting dynamic that did not exist in Picucci’s research. This research views the divine as an extension of the “self.” For this particular research classifying divine references as “other” would be tantamount to referencing them with equal intensity as references to the main subjects being evaluated by this research. Clearly the Muslim Brotherhood has much different views between the divine and such topics as the Mubarak regime, Israel and the United States. While Picucci considered his subjects as actors implementing the will of God, for this research the divine is viewed as having a symbiotic relationship with Muslim Brotherhood.⁹³ As such, for the purpose of this research, the divine is considered an extension of the Muslim Brotherhood; and any utterances about the divine should, therefore, be classified as “self” during the coding process.

Another issue expected to arise during analysis is divine references which are inherently conflictual. Even without processing the data through Profiler Plus, it is clear that the Qur’anic verses and the utterances about the divine appeared more conflictual than the rest of the rhetoric

⁹³ Picucci, *Terrorism’s Operational Code*, 167.

within the texts. Again, Picucci encountered a similar issue within his research.⁹⁴ The texts relating to the divine appeared to be the most conflictual of all the texts. This research and Picucci's research differ in the sense of attribution of divine references. Since Picucci coded references of the divine as "other," the philosophical indices were coded more towards the conflictual end of the spectrum. Conversely, since this research will code divine references as part of the "in-group," it is the instrumental indices which will be affected.

A final matter is the issue of the word count for documents. Many of the documents that were available on Ikhwanweb.com fell below the minimum word count established as the statistically significant threshold. As such, to ensure that effective and statistically relevant analysis could be run utilizing VICS, the smaller bodies of texts were aggregated together into a single unit.⁹⁵ Methodologically, only text from the same topic would be aggregated together. Since the topics being evaluated (e.g. the Establishment, Israel, and the United States) are inherently broad, there are several sub-topics within each topic. To ensure the most relevant VICS coding possible, it was decided to combine texts with similar sub-topics.⁹⁶ Finally the scores from these texts were combined with the scores from the other analyses.

⁹⁴ Picucci, *Terrorism's Operational Code*, 167.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 180.

⁹⁶ For example: if the topic was Israel, smaller texts about a specific Israeli blockade would be aggregated together while texts about the plight of Palestinians would be analyzed separately. Appendix-I lists the specific documents used for this research and identifies which texts were aggregated together.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 PERIOD ONE: THE PARLIAMENT ERA

The operational code values during the Parliament Era ranged from moderately conflictual to moderately cooperative. For the Parliament Era, a total of 12 Muslim Brotherhood documents – all obtained from Ikhawanweb.com – were analyzed using *ProfilerPlus*. Five documents were evaluated regarding the “Establishment” topic. Regarding “Israel” four documents were analyzed. And, finally, three documents were evaluated concerning the “United States”. Individually, each document analyzed met the minimum 500 word count needed to be considered valid for *ProfilerPlus* analysis. **Table 2** lists the specific values for the philosophical and instrumental beliefs evaluated for the Muslim Brotherhood.

Table 2 – The Parliament Era’s Operational Code

Period Two: The Parliament Era						
	The Establishment	t	Israel	t	The United States	t
P-1	-0.209	-1.56	-0.375	-1.91	0.037	.812
P-2	-0.235	-2.02	-0.375	.513	-0.111	.841
I-1	0.153	.443	0.333	1.24	0.846	.945
I-2	0.087	-.678	0.144	.789	0.410	-.874
n= 12						

4.1.1 The Establishment

For the Establishment topic the P-1 index was moderately conflictual with a value of -0.209. This index is arguably the all-encompassing index, as it takes into account the evaluated political entity's view on politics, political nature, and general view of others. This index gives researchers an indication on how the Muslim Brotherhood views the political universe. The numerical values for the P-1 index during this period illustrate the Brotherhood perceiving the political universe in more hostile terms. During the Parliament Era the P-2 index had a numerical value of -0.235. This index indicates the Brotherhood viewed the political universe and the actions of the security establishment in Egypt in moderately pessimistic terms.

Unlike the philosophical indices measured for this period, the instrumental indices had slightly positive values within the measurable spectrum. The I-1 index for this period had a value of 0.153. Absent extreme values, the value for this index indicates a mixed view on the organization's strategy to be taken with the security establishment. As such, the Muslim Brotherhood's strategy with respect to the security establishment cannot be definitively classified as cooperative or conflictual. The I-2 index had a similar value near the middle of the measurable spectrum with a value of 0.087. This index measures the intensity of the belief in the utility of conflictual or cooperative strategy. The score near the middle of the spectrum for this index indicates a mixed view on the utility of cooperative and conflictual action.

4.1.2 Israel

The P-1 index regarding Israel for the Parliament Era had a value of -0.375. The value for this index had the lowest score for the philosophical indices for this period compared to all three topics. The value for this index implies that Muslim Brotherhood viewed the political universe and its relation to Israel more adversely than compared to the security establishment or

the United States. The P-2 index regarding Israel also had a numerical value of -0.375. The Muslim Brotherhood's prospects for realizing their fundamental values involving Israel are moderately pessimistic in this era. The negative P-1 score suggests that the Brotherhood anticipated that Israel's political objectives were mostly conflictual during the period. Equal to this anticipation is the Brotherhood's belief that Israel would pursue those ends with hostile action which is indicated by the moderately negative P-2 score. The documents concerning Israel during this period concerned the Muslim Brotherhood's moral obligation to protect the citizens of Gaza. Israel and her actions are specifically referenced by the Muslim Brotherhood in this period's documents which explains the sharp decrease in both the philosophical and instrumental indices for this period.

Interestingly, while the Muslim Brotherhood had moderately conflictual philosophical scores the organization simultaneously had moderately cooperative instrumental scores with respect to Israel during this period. The I-1 index for this period had a value of 0.333. This index score still lies within the cooperative end of spectrum regarding the Brotherhood's strategy with respect to Israel. The I-2 index had a value of 0.144. While not as cooperative as the score from the I-1 index, the I-2 index indicates a mixed view on the utility between cooperative antagonistic actions. With regard to the Muslim Brotherhood's decision making process concerning issues with Israel (as manifested through the instrumental beliefs), the scores for Israel fell in between the scores for the security establishment and the United States. This signifies that during the Parliament Era the Muslim Brotherhood had a more cooperative strategy regarding issues related to Israel than compared to issues regarding the Egyptian government and military. However, the instrumental scores were not as cooperative as those observed for the United States.

4.1.3 The United States

For this time period the Muslim Brotherhood had the most cooperative tendencies towards the United States with respect to both the philosophical and instrumental belief indices. The P-1 index with respect to the United States had the only positive score with a slightly cooperative value of 0.037. The I-1 index had a highly cooperative value of 0.846. The P-1 index indicates that the Muslim Brotherhood had a mixed-view view of the nature of the political universe with respect to the United States. Compared to the P-1 indices with respect to the security establishment and Israel, however, the Brotherhood had the most cooperative tendencies towards the United States. Interestingly, the I-1 index, and the direction of the Brotherhood's strategy, during this era was the most extreme of the indices and eras observed. The score of 0.846 indicates that the Brotherhood's strategy was highly cooperative with respect to current and prospective engagement with the United States.

The corresponding philosophical and instrumental indices (P-2 and I-2) were also the least conflictual—and thereby the most cooperative indices for this period. The P-2 index had a value of -0.111. The P-1 index signifies that the Muslim Brotherhood viewed the actions of the United States in mixed terms between friendly and hostile. Relatively, the Brotherhood viewed the actions of the United States in less hostile terms compared to the actions of Israel and the security establishment during the Parliament Era. The I-2 index had a value 0.410. This I-2 index was also the highest value of all the eras observed, and indicated that, compared to the other eras and topics, the Brotherhood viewed more utility in cooperative action with the United States during the Parliament era.

4.1.4 Final Thoughts

Relatively, the philosophical index scores during this period for the security establishment and Israel were moderately conflictual. This indicates that the Muslim Brotherhood viewed the political universe with respect to those two variables and the actions of those entities in hostile terms. The P-1 index with respect to the United States had the only positive score and, thereby, the Brotherhood's most cooperative philosophical score. With regard to strategy and instrumental beliefs, the organization had the least cooperative strategy (I-1) and viewed more utility in a mixed conflictual and cooperative strategy (I-2) with the security establishment and Israel. The Brotherhood's most cooperative strategy was reserved for the United States which had the highest scores with respect instrumental beliefs scores during this period.

The most conflictual philosophical scores for this period were reserved for Israel. Cursorily this can be explained by the type of texts that were analyzed with respect to Israel. The majority of the texts analyzed were inherently conflictual with respect to Israel and were often concerned Israeli advancements into the occupied territories. References to Israel by the Brotherhood were never direct; Israel was often referred to as the Zionists. Similarly, with respect to the establishment the texts often referred to specific grievances that the Brotherhood had with the government (i.e. political prisoners). With respect to the United States, several of the text referred to President Obama and the changing executive branch administration. This could partially explain the relatively cooperative scores that the United States received. The changing administration could have been viewed by the Muslim Brotherhood as an opportunity to engage with the United States. However, to definitively determine this more research would

need to be conducted on the organization's operational code during the previous administration would need to be conducted.

4.2 PERIOD THREE: THE *DE JURE* ERA

In this Period only the United States had positive scores for the philosophical indices. Further, this era solidified the Muslim Brotherhood's conflictual beliefs about the political realm with respect to the security establishment and Israel. Interestingly, the scores for the instrumental indices across the observed topics were varied from moderately conflictual to moderately cooperative. For this era seven documents were evaluated regarding the "Establishment" topic. Regarding "Israel" three documents were analyzed. And, finally, three documents were evaluated concerning the "United States". **Table 3** lists the operational code results for this era.

Table 3 – The *De Jure* Era's Operational Code

Period Three: The <i>De Jure</i> Era						
	The Establishment	t	Israel	t	The United States	t
P-1	-0.408	-2.16	-0.379	-1.26	0.119	.983
P-2	-0.323	1.89	-0.391	-1.55	0	.561
I-1	0.317	.891	0.163	.412	0.143	.745
I-2	0.17	1.46	0.054	-.347	-0.143	.951
n=13						

4.2.1 The Establishment

The P-1 index regarding the security establishment decreased between the Parliament and the *De Jure*. The P-1 index between the Parliament Era and the *De Jure* decreased by 295% from -0.209 to -0.408. Since the establishment topic directly refers to the Egyptian government and military, the decrease in this index compared to the previous reference point indicates that the Muslim Brotherhood solidified a trend of viewing the political universe and more hostile terms throughout the three periods observed. The P-2 index in this era compared to the Parliament Era decreased by 37% from -0.235 to -0.323. Noticeably, this is a significant negative shift in the Muslim Brotherhood's prospects for realizing their fundamental values concerning the Egyptian government and military. This directly refers to the Brotherhood solidifying a conflictual strategy when dealing with the establishment.

The I-1 index increased by 107% between the Parliament and the *De Jure* eras. The score for the I-1 index for this era are very interesting. Compared to the Parliament era the direction of the strategy is more cooperative when dealing with the Egyptian government and the military. The *De Jure* Era is the period that the Muslim brotherhood solidified itself as a legitimate and dominant political party in Egypt. As such, the Muslim Brotherhood's negotiating power, or rather their view of their negotiating power, could be reflected in this score. The I-2 index followed a similar trend as the I-1 index. The I-2 index increased between the Parliament and the current era by 95% from 0.087 to 0.17. Again, as with the I-1 index the scores for this index could correspond to the Muslim Brotherhood's position within the political universe after the Arab Spring. Between the Parliament Era and the *De Jure* Era the Muslim brotherhood's decision-making process regarding the first two instrumental belief indices moved towards the more cooperative and the spectrum.

4.2.2 Israel

All of the philosophical and instrumental indices measured for the Israel topic showed trends of decreasing scores throughout all of the eras reviewed. The researcher noticed only a minor decrease of 1.1% between the Parliament Era and the *De Jure* Era for the P-1 index. The views of the Muslim brotherhood regarding the political universe and Israel remained relatively stable between the Parliament and *De Jure* eras. The P-2 index for this era had the most conflictual score thus far with a value of -0.391. The difference between the P-2 indices in the Parliament and *De Jure* era was only -4.3%. Like the P-1 index this supports the claim that the Muslim Brotherhood's philosophical beliefs regarding Israel remained relatively stagnant and the same over the last two periods reviewed. Furthermore, this implies that the Muslim Brotherhood decision making process with respect to the philosophical indices remained relatively impervious to influence between the two periods.

The Muslim brotherhood's decision-making process and instrumental beliefs showed significant decreases between the Parliament Era and the *De Jure* Era. Compared to the Parliament Era the I-1 index decreased by 51% from 0.333 to 0.163. Between the Parliament and the *De Jure* era the I-2 index decreased by 63% from 0.232 to 0.054. Both the I-1 and I-2 indices showed trends of migrating towards the midpoint of the spectrum regarding the direction of strategy for the Muslim Brotherhood, and intensity that the Brotherhood will pursue those tactics. These scores suggest that the organization's thought process regarding the direction and utility of strategy began to shift away from a cooperative to approach towards a mixed-methods approach. While the organization's operational code with respect to the philosophical indices remained relatively stable, both of the measured instrumental indices became less cooperative during this time period.

4.2.3 The United States

During this time period the P-1 index increased significantly. Compared to the Parliament era, the P-1 index increased by 222% from 0.037 to 0.119. Since the P-2 index score for the final era was 0.000, the difference between the previous eras is an increase 100% since the respective P-2 indices was a negative value. Interestingly the P-1 index indicates that the Muslim brotherhood began to view the political universe and its relation to the United States in more cooperative terms within this era. Additionally, the P-2 trend indicates that the Muslim Brotherhood also viewed the actions of the United States more favorably and optimistically within this period.

Albeit the philosophical scores increased for this era compared to the preceding era, the instrumental indices did not follow the same trend. When compared between the Parliament era the *De Jure* Era's I-1 index decreased by 83% from 0.846 to 0.143. As the Muslim Brotherhood's view of the political universe and the United States became more cooperative, their direction of strategy moved away from the cooperative end of the spectrum to a more mixed methods decision-making process regarding strategy. Like the I-1 index, the I-2 index similarly decreased when compared to the preceding era. When compared to the Parliament Era the I-2 index significantly decreased by 386% from 0.410 to -0.143. In addition to moving away from cooperative strategies in the decision-making process, the trend regarding the I-2 index across these two eras also indicates that the Muslim brotherhood began to disbelieve in the utility of cooperative action with the United States. This could be the manifestation of unfruitful discussions with the United States, or because of their new political power, the belief in more hardline and conflictual strategies.

4.2.4 Final Thoughts

The scores for the philosophical and instrumental beliefs for the *De Jure* Era were very telling, especially when referenced against the preceding era. Holistically the Muslim Brotherhood displayed a trend of viewing the Israel and the Egyptian security establishment more conflictual terms. When referenced against the previous era the Muslim Brotherhood's operational code towards Israel remained relatively stable and conflictual. Importantly, with respect to the United States the Muslim Brotherhood viewed the political universe and the actions of the United States the most cooperatively of all the variables. Additionally, the operational code results indicated the Brotherhood also anticipated the United States would pursue its strategies through cooperative means as indicated through the philosophical indices. This could be indicative of the Muslim Brotherhood anticipating a new administration in the United States as many of the texts reference President Obama.

With respect to this thesis it is apt and extremely important that holistically the Muslim Brotherhood views the United States through a cooperative lens. Additionally, since the organization views the United States in more cooperative terms compared to Israel and the Egyptian security establishment, it is natural that the United States would be the prime intermediary between the Brotherhood and the other entities. As the entity that the Brotherhood views most cooperatively, it is apt to suggest that the United States has the best chances at leading successful public diplomacy endeavors with the organization. The next section explores the Muslim Brotherhood's operational code during a more constrained temporal period; and because the United States was viewed through the most cooperative lens by the organization, possible public diplomacy options for the United State to engage the Brotherhood.

5. Operation Protective Edge and Public Diplomacy Options for the United States

The nature of public diplomacy in the 21st century has changed. Gone are the days and prevalence of one-way communication platforms like Voice of America and Radio Free Europe. For public diplomacy endeavors to be successful in the 21st century, a dialogue is necessary between the actor and the intended audience. Future public diplomacy endeavors should incorporate the theories of the strategic issue management process and continue the work started by the Department of State's Digital Outreach Team, particularly with respect to the Muslim Brotherhood. For the purpose of this research only the DOT was evaluated as opposed to other State Department entities because the DOT's stated mission is counter terrorist propaganda and misinformation.⁹⁷ The SIM process will provide an effective framework for the United States to engage the Brotherhood, by codifying public diplomacy principals and combining them with 21st century technologies. The key to both of these approaches is engaging the Muslim Brotherhood, and theoretically any intended audience, when particularly volatile situations emerge. There are several contentious philosophical and instrumental beliefs which the Muslim Brotherhood holds toward the Establishment, Israel, and the United States. An opportunity for the United States to engage the Muslim Brotherhood exists utilizing the Department of State's Digital Outreach Team's methodology of connecting with contentious audiences. Since the Muslim Brotherhood is no longer the *de jure* ruling party in Egypt, a public diplomacy approach represents the best opportunity for engagement since it attempts to involve secondary and tertiary actors within the political universe into a dialogue.

⁹⁷ "Center for Strategic Counterterrorism Communications." The Department of State. Accessed 14 December 2014. Available from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/116709.pdf>

In summer 2014 an opportune geo-political situation manifested to utilize both operational code analysis and public diplomacy/strategic issue management. In July 2014 an escalation of tensions and belligerent actions between Israel and Hamas led the Israeli Defense Forces to engage in a full scale naval, aerial, and ground assault on Gaza. The official IDF name for the military campaign has sparked discord within the international community: Operation *Tzuk Eitan*.⁹⁸ Literally translated, Operation *Tzuk Eitan* means “Firm Cliff” or “Resolute Cliff.” Operation Protective Edge represents a unique opportunity for the United States to utilize Operational Code Analysis and the Strategic Issue Management process. Operation Protective Edge offers researchers an opportunity to analyze the political rhetoric of the Muslim Brotherhood utilizing the aforementioned techniques. Analyzing the political rhetoric of the Brotherhood in regards to Operation Protective Edge would be of particular interest to this research because the Muslim Brotherhood is Hamas’ ideological father.

The opportunity represented by Operation Protective Edge is multifaceted. Firstly, this is a highly contentious and volatile geo-political situation; as such, it meets the requirements to be assessed by the Department of State’s Digital Outreach Team and evaluated using the SIM process. Broadly, Operation Protective Edge offers an opportunity for researchers and diplomats to utilize the two major techniques discussed in this paper: Operational Code Analysis and Strategic Issue Management. While the immediate causes for Operation Protective Edge go back to April 2014, social media outlets began displaying increased references to Israel and Gaza on 8 July 2014.⁹⁹ This spike in social media references corresponded to the commencement of the

⁹⁸ Renne Ghert-Zand. “Name ‘Protective Edge’ doesn’t cut it.” *The Times of Israel* (9 July 2014) Accessed on 14 October 2014. Available from: <http://www.timesofisrael.com/name-protective-edge-doesnt-cut-it/>

⁹⁹ Orr Hirschauge, “Israel and Hamas Take Fight to Social Media,” *Wall Street Journal* (23 July 2014). Accessed on: 1 October 2014. Available from: <http://online.wsj.com/articles/israel-and-hamas-take-fight-to-social-media-1406130179>

IDF's air campaign which, as many social media users suspected, was in preparation for the IDF's ground assault into Gaza.

Little evidence could be gathered regarding the work of the more overt Digital Outreach Team with respect to this particular situation. The conflict and discussion regarding Operation Protective Edge has surpassed the "going viral phase" and is currently oscillating between the proactive and reactive phases. There is ample opportunity for groups like the Digital Outreach Team to conduct operational code research, engage in strategic issue management, and counter misinformation from both sides of the conflict.¹⁰⁰ Evaluating the political rhetoric of the Muslim Brotherhood regarding the general military operations of Operation Protective Edge would naturally and most likely yield conflictual and hostile results. More importantly, these results would have little substantive value for several reasons. Political rhetoric regarding the general military operations of Operation Protective Edge would be exceedingly broad. This would inhibit diplomats and researchers from gathering and worthwhile data on the Muslim Brotherhood political rhetoric. Furthermore, the rhetoric would also be predictably conflictual.

The political rhetoric which was analyzed concerning Operation Protective Edge was obtained from Ikhwanweb.com (the Muslim Brotherhood's official English language website). When utilizing Ikhwanweb.com's search function, keywords of "Israel," "Zionism," "Gaza," and "Hammas" were searched within the time parameter of 1 July 2014 and 31 August 2014. Since Israel and Hamas were the primary belligerents during Operation Protective Edge, only Israel was used as a variable.

¹⁰⁰ Dave Bender, "Israel Says Deaths in the UNRWA School Were Caused by IDF Fire. *The Algemeiner*. (27 July 2014). Accessed on: 26 October 2014. Available from: <<http://www.algemeiner.com/2014/07/27/israel-says-deaths-in-unrwa-school-were-not-caused-by-idf-fire/>> On 24 July 2014, the UNRWA School in Beit Hanoun was bombed. News reports from both side pointed responsibility for the attack on the other. Reports from Israeli news outlets under-reported casualties, while Palestinian source exaggerated them.

Table 4 – Operation Protective Edge’s Operational Protective Edge

Period 4 July 2014 to 31 August 2014		
	<u>Operation Protective Edge</u>	t
P-1	-0.677	1.04
P-2	-0.581	-.826
I-1	0.074	-.984
I-2	0.019	1.16
n=8		

Predictably, the P-1 index was on the hostile and conflictual end of the spectrum. In fact, it was the most conflictual index of both the philosophical and operation indices of all the eras. At -0.677, the P-1 index is particularly conflictual when compared to the previous reference points in the Parliament and *De Jure* eras. As the largest Israeli military incursion in to Gaza in recent years, it is clear that the Muslim Brotherhood would find others within the political universe particularly hostile. This partially explains why the P-1 and index was the most conflictual out of all the periods evaluated. Between the first era the P-1 index decreased by 81%. Compared to the *De Jure* Era and the present there was a decrease from -0.379 to -0.677 (a change of 79%). Compared to the VICs results from the “Israel” issue from the first two eras the Muslim Brotherhood’s view of the political universe (the P-1 index) has become increasingly more hostile through the decades. During operation protective edge the Muslim Brotherhood

viewed the political universe with respect to Israel in far more conflictual terms than in the Parliament and *De Jure* eras. This great change within the index between the eras can be explained by the very nature of the issue being inherently conflictual for all parties involved.

When compared to the similar topic in the first period the P-2 index had a difference of 55%, a decrease from -0.375 to -0.581. Between the second era there was difference of 49%, a decrease from -0.391 to -0.581. As with the P-1 index, the P-2 index showed an increasing transformation throughout the periods observed. There was relatively little change between the “Israel” variable between Periods 2 and 3; indicating that the Muslim Brotherhood’s decision making process regarding the prospects for their fundamental values remained relatively stable through the Parliament Era the *De Jure Era*. During Operation Protective Edge, the Muslim Brotherhood’s operational code regarding P-2 became significantly more pessimistic. This significantly low P-2 score indicates that that the Muslim Brotherhood viewed Israel’s actions with political realm far more pessimistically than the preceding two eras. While the first two eras’ philosophical indices appeared impervious to external influence indicated by their stability, this the philosophical indices during Operation Protective Edge became significantly more pessimistic. While many of the text from the two previous eras concerning Israel referenced or were concerned with Israeli operations within the occupied territories, the size and scope of Operation Protective edge obviously contributed to the increased conflictual tendencies of the Muslim Brotherhood with respect to the philosophical indices.

The difference between the I-1 index from the Parliament Era and Operation Protective Edge was 0.333 to 0.074, a decrease of 77%. And difference between the second era was 0.163 to 0.074, a decrease of 55%. Similar to the two philosophical indices evaluated, the I-1 index showed a consistent decrease throughout the initial evaluated periods and Operation Protective

Edge. The I-1 index from the Operation Protective Edge dataset indicates that the direction of the Muslim Brotherhood tactics became more negative. The I-2 index from this period reveals the intensity with which Brotherhood is willing to pursue those tactics became the most conflictual during this period. The I-2 index compared to the first period decreased from 0.144 to 0.019, a difference of 87%. The I-2 index decreased by 65% from the second period from 0.054 to 0.019. While this index still resides within the “cooperative” area of the spectrum, there is an observable trend the I-2 index became more conflictual throughout the observed periods.

The Muslim Brotherhood’s texts evaluated concerning Operation Protective Edge indicate that, holistically, the Brotherhood’s operational code was the most conflictual during this period. All of the philosophical and instrumental indices evaluated showed significant shifts to the more conflictual end of the spectrum during the decision making process. Further research into this subject should consider evaluating a highly specific issue regarding Operation Protective Edge (i.e. treaties). While the Muslim Brotherhood’s Ikhwanweb.com served as a valuable data source for the operational code analysis, the organization publishes far more social media posts than it publishes articles on its website. Moreover, social media platforms are the primary mediums for engagement for public diplomacy strategies and strategic issue management process in the twenty-first century. Since the Muslim Brotherhood viewed the United States, comparatively, through the most cooperative lens during the operational code analysis, social media posts from the Muslim Brotherhood, the Digital Outreach Team, and the US Embassy Cairo will be evaluated for this section.

There are likely very few topics as discursive and polarizing as the Israel-Palestine issue.¹⁰¹ Like many of the political demonstrations of the last five years, the local and global remonstrations regarding Operation Protective Edge were notable because of the leveraging of social media platforms. The *Wall Street Journal*, reported that on the first day that Israel began the military ground campaign there were 320,000 tweets referencing Gaza.¹⁰² From 1 June 2014 to 31 August 2014, the Department of State's Digital Outreach Team's official Facebook page made only one reference to Gaza or Operation Protective Edge on 22 July 2014.¹⁰³ During the same time period the US Embassy Cairo's official Facebook page similarly only made one mention to Gaza.¹⁰⁴ Under its official moniker the Digital Outreach Team only operates a Facebook page and a YouTube channel. Albeit, the Center for Strategic Counterterrorism Communications and the Digital Outreach Team do operate a twitter page under the handle @ThinkAgain_DOS. This twitter account only made two vague references to Gaza during the same time period.¹⁰⁵ The US Embassy Cairo's Twitter page also made only one reference to Gaza during the same period.¹⁰⁶

These startling low number of social media posts are particularly striking when taken into context. The Digital Outreach Team's Facebook page has approximately 120,000 followers,

¹⁰¹ Gal Ladot, "Israel, Gaza, War & Data: social networks and the art of personalizing propaganda." Betaworks. Accessed on 14 October 2014. Available from: https://medium.com/i-data/israel-gaza-war-data-a54969aeb23e?_ga=1.184034022.1944912403.1407249208

¹⁰² Orr Hirschauge, "Israel and Hamas Take Fight to Social Media," *Wall Street Journal* (23 July 2014). Accessed on: 1 October 2014. Available from: <http://online.wsj.com/articles/israel-and-hamas-take-fight-to-social-media-1406130179>

¹⁰³ The Digital Outreach Team's Official Facebook Page. Accessed on 14 December 2014. Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/DigitalOutreachTeam>

¹⁰⁴ The U.S. Embassy Cairo Official Facebook Page. Accessed on 14 December 2014. Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/USEmbassyCairo/timeline>

¹⁰⁵ The Digital Outreach Team, aka Think Again Turn Away. Accessed on 14 December 2014. Available from https://twitter.com/ThinkAgain_DOS

¹⁰⁶ The U.S. Embassy Cairo Official Twitter Page. Accessed on 14 December 2014. Available at: <https://twitter.com/USEmbassyCairo>

while the US Embassy Cairo’s Facebook page has 860,000 followers. The US Embassy Cairo’s Twitter page has 80,000 followers, while @ThinkAgain_DOS has 20,000. With such a potentially large audiences, it borders on the edge of foolishness for the Digital Outreach Team or regional embassies to, in essence, ignore an issue as large as Operation Protective Edge. For public diplomacy to be effective the political actor needs to actively listen and engage the foreign public. Quite clearly, the United States did not do that through the Department of States social media platforms.

In August alone the Muslim Brotherhood’s official Twitter page, which has more than 5,000 followers, had over 66 tweets referencing Gaza.¹⁰⁷ The Muslim Brotherhood’s official English account, which has more than 131,000 followers made approximately 50 references to Gaza during August.¹⁰⁸ While operational code analysis was not run on any of the tweets, a preliminary review of the tweets reveals that many of tweets were highly conflictual and critical of the Israeli Defense Forces, and the Egyptian military and government. This review consisted of evaluating the tweets manually and not through *ProfilerPlus*.

Realizing the importance of social media platforms, over the past four years the Israeli Defense Force has increased the size of its “new-media group” from five to 40 members.¹⁰⁹ The IDF’s new-media group also posts in five different languages. In August alone, the IDF’s twitter page, which has 327,000 followers, tweeted about Gaza more than 100 times. A possibly more relevant comparison for the Digital Outreach Team would be Israel’s Ministry of Foreign

¹⁰⁷ Using the Twitter “Advanced Search” function, the Arabic word for Gaza (غزة) within the date parameter 1 July 2014 to 31 August 2014. Searched on 15 October 2014. Available from: <https://twitter.com/search?f=realtime&q=%D8%BA%D8%B2%D8%A9%20lang%3Aar%20from%3Aikhwan%20since%3A2014-06-01%20until%3A2014-08-31&src=typd>

¹⁰⁸ Twitter, @Ikhwanweb, Accessed on 15 October 2014. Available from: <https://twitter.com/search?q=gaza%20from%3Aikhwanweb%20since%3A2014-08-01%20until%3A2014-08-31&src=typd>

¹⁰⁹ Hirschauge, “Israel and Hamas.”

Affairs' (MFA) twitter page. However, the MFA's twitter page has almost five-times fewer followers with 68,000 people.¹¹⁰ The IDF's twitter page has a much larger audience and their "new-media group" more closely resembles the DOT. Therefore the IDF's twitter page is a much more relevant data source and comparative reference point for the DOT. The United States' digital diplomacy is woefully behind that of the Israeli Defense Force. Operation Protective Edge presented several different opportunities to exercise the strategic issue management process and fulfill their mission of countering misinformation.

Ascertaining open source trending data on tweets referencing or using Gaza hashtags proved extremely difficult. Topsy, an open source trending analytics tool specifically designed to analyze the Twitter platform, provides researchers with a 30 day snapshot to compare the mentions of up to three different hashtags.¹¹¹ However, Topsy only allows users to go back 30 days from the present day—which makes retroactively reviewing trends more than 30 days old extremely difficult. A snapshot (**Table-5**) of a Topsy trend graph from 22 July 2014 to 20 August 2014 shows the transition between the proactive and reactive phases, and the move to the "issue receding phase."¹¹² The trend analysis shows several peaks and hollows during the time period coinciding with several major events in the military campaign and also support the Strategic Issue Management theory. As such, the Operation Protective Edge campaign represented a salient opportunity for the United States to leverage the Strategic Issue Management process.

¹¹⁰ The Official Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs Twitter Page. Accessed on 14 December 2014. Available from: <https://twitter.com/israelmfa>

¹¹¹ Topsy Social Analytics. Available from: <http://topsy.com/analytics>.

¹¹² This Topsy Graph was requested and used by: Belal Dabour. "In asymmetric Twitter war over Gaza, Palestinians are winning. *The Electronic Intifada*. (21 August 2014) Accessed on: 25 September 2014. Available from: <http://electronicintifada.net/blogs/belal-dabour/asymmetric-twitter-war-over-gaza-palestinians-are-winning>

Table 5 – Topsy Tweet Analytics ¹¹³



The hashtag “#GazaUnderAttack” was one of the most popular references on Twitter during the military campaign.¹¹⁴ Often accompanied with these tweets were evocative images of apparent Israeli military aftereffects in Gaza. BBC News’ social media arm, #BBCtrending, conducted an analysis of tweet referencing Gaza and discovered that many of the images that were being circulated were taken as far back as 2009, or were taken from places in Syria and Iraq.¹¹⁵ What is more, both Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood’s Twitter accounts, either

¹¹³ Belal Dabour. “In assymmetric Twitter war over Gaza, Palestinians are winning.” *The Electronic Intifada* (August 21, 2014). Accessed on 1 November 2014. Available from: <http://electronicintifada.net/blogs/belal-dabour/asymmetric-twitter-war-over-gaza-palestinians-are-winning>

¹¹⁴ Badar Salem. “The changing face of Palestinian journalism.” *The Middle East Monitor Online*. (17 November 2014). Accessed on: 17 November 2014. Available from: <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/articles/middle-east/15310-the-changing-face-of-palestinian-journalism>

¹¹⁵ Neil Meads (producer). #BBCtrending, “#BBCtrending: Are #GazaUnderAttack images accurate?” Accessed 31 October 2014. Available from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-28198622>

posted false or misleading information about the events occurring in Gaza during the military campaign.¹¹⁶

The United States has established the basic infrastructure to conduct digital diplomacy (Public Diplomacy 2.0) in the 21st century. This infrastructure, albeit, is not being fully exploited or utilized. The DOT's lack of social media posts illustrates that the Israel-Palestine issue is, ironically, a topic too controversial for the DOT to address. The DOT's social media activity did not correspond to the social media trending and viral phases with respect to Operation Protective Edge; nor did the DOT's, or other State Department affiliates', social media accounts reflect the activity of the Muslim Brotherhood or the IDF. Undoubtedly the DOT has changing and shifting priorities (the majority the group's social media posts were about the Islamic State and Syria and Iraq), but the group still had an unusually low amount of tweets concerning Operation Protective Edge during the campaign. The DOT's other primary directive is to directly counter misinformation related to U.S. national security. Operation Protective Edge presented the perfect opportunity for the DOT to directly engage in Public Diplomacy 2.0 by utilizing the SIM process—as the military campaign oscillated through the various trending stages required for the SIM process.

A more successful example of utilizing the social media platforms during the military campaign would be the Israeli Defense Force's Twitter feed.¹¹⁷ The lack of a Twitter posts drastically curtails the DOT's social media audience, thereby inhibiting the potential success of its public diplomacy and strategic communication initiatives. Furthermore, the example of

¹¹⁶ Reviewing the Muslim Brotherhood's Official English Twitter page, there were posts that were clearly false and misleading. Such as posts about how Hamas was winning and leading the fight during Operation Protective Edge or the Israel's next plan was to construct an extermination camp akin to the Nazis. Accessed on 15 October 2014 Available from page from: <https://twitter.com/ikhwanweb>

¹¹⁷ The Official Israel Defense Forces Twitter (@IDFSpokeperson). Accessed on 14 December 2014. Available from: <https://twitter.com/IDFspokesperson>.

Operation Protective Edge clearly shows that the public diplomacy apparatuses of the Department of State completely neglected the theories and foundations of successful public diplomacy. Importantly, the DOT did not display any of the elements of a successful diplomatic strategy regarding Operation Protective Edge (i.e. listening, advocacy, international broadcasting, etc.).

The Digital Outreach Team's lack of social media posts on an issue of the size and magnitude of Operation Protective Edge illustrates that the organization is clearly lacking in the public diplomacy realm. Operation Protective Edge clearly represented an unusually contentious and conflictual situation for the Muslim Brotherhood as is evident by the organization operation code. Importantly, Operation Protective Edge also displayed the necessary trends to be considered for strategic issue management. By engaging the Muslim Brotherhood (and similar organizations) via social media platforms, the Digital Outreach Team is not only engaging the Brotherhood, but also the Brotherhood's social network—which is equally important. By countering misinformation, such as that presented during Operation Protective Edge, the DOT could have potentially contributed to changing the opinions of the Muslim Brotherhood and its digital followers. As shown in the operational code analysis for the Parliament Era and the *De Jure* Era, the Muslim Brotherhood view the actions of the United States more positively and optimistically than that of Israel or the Egyptian government and military. The distinct lack of engagement with the Muslim Brotherhood by the United States is particularly disappointing.

Operational code analysis and the strategic issue management process could, and should, be used by diplomats in the future. Several of the documents that were evaluated during the Parliament and the *De Jure* eras concerned Israeli military actions in the occupied territories, albeit on a much smaller scale compare to Operation Protective Edge, and indicated the Muslim

Brotherhood's philosophical indices concerning Israel remained quite stable between the two eras. Operational code analysis further indicates Operation Protective Edge was particularly evocative and manifested more pessimistic and conflictual beliefs. Operational code analysis would quantitatively and referentially give diplomats a reference point to begin dialoging with the Brotherhood—as future analysis could be focused on specific subtopics and not a general actor. Furthermore, after identifying the decision making process and tendencies of the organization through operational code analysis, the SIM process can be used to engage on viral issues by targeting specific audiences (i.e. those within the Muslim Brotherhood's social network).

6. Conclusion

By analyzing master beliefs, this research gleans important and valuable information into the basic belief system of the Muslim Brotherhood. In regards to the Egyptian security establishment both philosophical indices saw a distinct shifts toward the conflictual ends of the spectrum during the period evaluated. The instrumental belief indices saw a decrease between the first two periods, but an increase during the last periods. With regards to Israel, both of the Muslim Brotherhood's philosophical and instrumental beliefs saw a sharp decrease in cooperativeness and more manifestations of difficultness. Between the Parliament and *De Jure* eras, however, the philosophical and instrumental indices remained relatively stable towards the hostile/conflictual end of the spectrum. The stability of the Brotherhood's operational code suggests that the organization's decision making process was imperviousness to external factors. Predictably, Operation Protective Edge manifested the lowest and most conflictual scores evaluated. Interestingly, the Muslim Brotherhood displayed a trend of viewing the political universe and the United States more cooperatively throughout the last two eras. The direction and type of strategy when dealing with the United States, however, fluctuated from highly cooperative in the Parliament Era to less cooperative during the *De Jure* Era.

Importantly, this research can now provide a basic framework for engaging with Muslim Brotherhood. Organizationally, the Brotherhood initially displayed a distinct shift to more conflictual strategies, and an increase in the belief in the utility of those strategies. The Muslim Brotherhood's social media activity during Operation Protective Edge also illustrates that the organization is an active user of social media platforms. With conflictual scores in both philosophical and instrumental indices, there are multiple opportunities to dialogue with the Brotherhood. Still being the largest opposition group in Egypt, the Digital Outreach Team failed

to actively engage with the Brotherhood or directly address the issue during Operation Protective Edge. Operational code analysis can be combined with the strategic issue management process to dialogue with the Brotherhood on contentious situations in the 21st century. With contentious views about the Egyptian establishment and Israel, yet viewing the actions of the United States as primarily cooperative, the Muslim Brotherhood is a prime target for American Public Diplomacy 2.0. Showing indications through their operational code that they view the political universe and the role of the United States with in it positively, the Brotherhood should be a prime target for agents of Public Diplomacy 2.0, like the Digital Outreach Team.

Operational code analysis and the strategic issue management process are both extremely powerful tools. Operational code analysis provided insightful information on the decision making process and the paradigm of the Muslim Brotherhood. The SIM process, although not used during Operation Protective Edge, provides Public Diplomacy 2.0 with a codified strategy to engage foreign audiences. This research shows that, comparatively, the United States is the ideal intermediary between the Brotherhood and Israel and the Egyptian security establishment. Further, the lack of social media activity suggests the United States should reprioritize it social media presence and enlarge the Digital Outreach Team (and similar groups) so that it can engage more audiences. Finally, if used, the SIM process can engage multiple audiences and counter-misinformation to timely and viral issues. To properly and effectively engage opposition groups like the Muslim Brotherhood in the future, the United States is going to need well balanced strategy, which should include operational code analysis and the strategic issue management process.

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Appendix

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