

BRATISLAVA INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS

**Adaptability of a Social Movement:
The Muslim Brotherhood and its Impact on Egypt**

BACHELOR THESIS

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Declaration of Originality

I hereby declare that the bachelor thesis was entirely my own work, with the help of my bachelor advisor and I have identified sources and citations that have been used in the text properly. All the sources that have been used can be found in Bibliography, which is attached, at the end of this work.

Bratislava, 30.4. 2013

Signature

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Adaptability of a Social Movement: The Muslim Brotherhood and Its Impact on Egypt

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Abstract

The bachelor thesis *Adaptability of a Social Movement: The Muslim Brotherhood and its Impact on Egypt* studies the Muslim Brotherhood as a social movement and evaluates its influence on Egypt. The topic is placed within the context of the political development of the country and considers the role the Muslim Brotherhood played and plays in it. The thesis attempts to answer the question whether the Muslim Brotherhood can survive into the future and explains the factors that helped its longevity. The methodology of this dissertation relies on application of the social movement theory. It examines the Muslim Brotherhood as an Islamic movement within the framework of social movements.

The first part of the bachelor thesis offers a general introduction to this topic and to social movements, why are social movements founded, why this topic had been chosen, what this bachelor thesis aims to provide, and what are its expected results.

Hrozeková: Adaptability of a Social Movement

The second part of this bachelor thesis lays out the key aspects of social movement theory, particular factors, which this theory consists of and describes the methodology used in this thesis. The third part explains the historical background of the development of modern Egypt, external factors (modernisation and colonialism) that influenced the rise of the movement. It also takes a look at the character of the three despotic political regimes and the Brotherhood's relation with them, and considers the role of ideology and political opportunity structure. The fourth part of the bachelor thesis deals with the particular internal factors relevant to social movement theory - leader and leadership, internal structure, and financing - that helped shape the Muslim Brotherhood. The final part summarizes the findings in chapters three and four and formulates implications and conclusions based on my research about why the movement has been able to survive for eighty-six years and counting.

The preliminary result of this dissertation is that the Muslim Brotherhood could and likely will survive into the future because of its deep roots in the Egyptian history, movement's experiences over the past decades under different governments and rulers. Another reason why the Muslim Brotherhood will survive can be accounted to its internal structure – division of responsibilities; its ideological appeal, adaptability, and financial resources. If these factors continue to go hand in hand, there is a great possibility that this movement will last for many more years even though the political climate after the Arab Spring has radically changed in Egypt once again.

Adaptabilita sociálneho hnutia: Moslimské Bratstvo a jeho dopad na Egypt

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Abstrakt

Bakalárska práca *Adaptabilita sociálneho hnutia: Moslimské Bratstvo a jeho vplyv na Egypt*, študuje Moslimské Bratstvo ako sociálne hnutie a jeho vplyv, ktorý má na Egypt. Táto téma bude skúmať súvislosti s politickým vývojom v krajine a akú úlohu Moslimské Bratstvo hralo a hrá v súčasnosti. Bakalárska práca sa snaží o zodpovedanie otázky, či Moslimské bratstvo môže prežiť v budúcnosti a na základe akých faktorov, ktoré dopomohli k tejto dlhotrvácnosti. Metodológia tejto práce sa opiera o aplikáciu teórie sociálnych hnutí. Skúma Moslimské Bratstvo ako Islamské hnutie v rámci sociálnych hnutí.

Prvá časť bakalárskej práce bude ponúkať všeobecný úvod k tejto téme, k sociálnym hnutiam, prečo sa zakladajú sociálne hnutia, prečo práve táto téma bola zvolená, čo si táto bakalárska práca kladie za ciele a aké sú predbežné výsledky. Druhá časť bakalárskej práce stanovuje kľúčové aspekty teórie sociálnych hnutí, konkrétne

faktory, s ktorých pozostáva a Metodológiu práce. Tretia časť sa zameria na historické pozadie moderného Egypta, vonkajšie faktory (modernizácia a kolonializmus), ktoré ovplyvnili založenie hnutia. Bude mať taktiež za úlohu pozrieť sa na tri despotické režimy, ideológiu a štruktúru politických príležitostí. Štvrtá časť bakalárskej práce bude pozostávať z vnútorných faktorov, týkajúcich sa teórie sociálnych hnutí – vodcovstvo a vodcu, vnútorná štruktúra a financovanie - ktoré pomohli vyformovať Moslimské Bratstvo. Záverečná časť zhŕňa poznatky v kapitolách tri a štyri a záver, ktorý bude pozostávať z môjho výskumu prečo tu Moslimské Bratstvo zotrvalo po osemdesiatšesť rokov.

Predbežné výsledky tejto práce sú, že Moslimské bratstvo by mohlo a pravdepodobne aj prežije do budúcnosti práve kvôli jeho hlbokým koreňom v Egyptskej histórii; skúsenostiam, ktoré toto hnutie nadobudlo v posledných dekádach a počas rôznych vlád a vládcov. Ďalším dôvodom prečo Moslimské bratstvo pravdepodobne prežije je vďaka jeho vnútornej štruktúre – rozdeleným zodpovednostiam; ideológii, prispôsobivosti a bohatým finančným zdrojom. Ak tieto faktory pôjdu ruka v ruke, je dosť veľká pravdepodobnosť, že toto hnutie vydrží aj v nasledujúcich rokoch, i keď sa politické prostredie zmenilo po Arabskej jari v Egypte znova.

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Chapter I: Introduction of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt to the World

“The Muslim Brotherhood became one of the most powerful political movements in Egypt to a point that some commentators even said that it might be the only real popular movement there. It was exposed to conflict with political forces and the state, which twice led to its dissolution, in 1948 and 1955. After years of repression and the state’s refusal to officially recognize it, it is still one of the stronger, if not the strongest, political movements in Egypt“ (The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2003, p. 22).

The Muslim Brotherhood is a movement that has since long played an important role in the shaping of the modern Egyptian state. It has been a part of Egypt for nearly nine decades and has also been among the crucial actors of the Arab Spring and in the new division of power that followed it. How can we explain that one social movement has been able to shape political and social structure of one country for so long?

The topic of this bachelor thesis is current and is attractive from the point of view of someone who does not know or did not know anything about the Muslim Brotherhood and its effect on Egypt. This bachelor thesis will help to understand why, how, and what was necessary for the foundation of the movement and maybe, through careful analysis of the movement’s origins, structure, and role, it could help change common perceptions about it. At the beginning, social movements do not cause harm. The situation that a particular country is in affects the lives of the people, their thoughts, beliefs, views, and forces them to change their views or orientation, and mobilize socially or politically even if they have not meant to be so engaged.

This bachelor thesis aims to provide explanations for the most frequently asked questions about the Muslim Brotherhood - What is the Muslim Brotherhood? Why was it founded? What are the movement’s aims? And to what extent does this movement have impact on Egypt and its people? However, the main question that this bachelor thesis is concerned about is the longevity of the Muslim Brotherhood and the

factors that help this movement to survive until nowadays through several changes of regimes and leaders.

This thesis concerns itself primarily with the study of social movements and takes a look at the Muslim Brotherhood as a case study of a movement of particular success and longevity. Social movements are a part of every country and every political culture and structure, especially in times of change. There is no state where social movements are not forming an important part of social life. Through social movements, people express their thoughts, visions or dissatisfactions. They are established because a group of people perceives that there is something wrong with the system or they want to point out where the problem is. An interesting fact is that most of the social movements are not politically active at the beginning, but later many become a direct part of politics, since that is the most powerful weapon for change.

Why study the Muslim Brotherhood? It is the one of the oldest existing social movements that has resisted all the obstacles that appeared during its existence. Another reason is that the Muslim Brotherhood is not like every other social movement. It is a movement that incites a lot of interest because it is also an Islamic movement. That means something different that evokes in people assumptions about why the people behave as they behave because they are Muslims and it makes prejudices.

This thesis opts to consider Egypt's institutional history from a different perspective as we usually do. Most of the widely read literature is about the ancient history of Egypt. Naturally, there are tons of literatures about the political development of Egypt, but these are not books that most of the common people would resort to in the first place. This approach is not based on historiographical account of the ancient history about Egypt, detailing the chronology of the pharaohs and the pyramids, but rather a study of the political development of Egypt through the perspective of the social movement literature. It explains why the Egyptian nation was struggling during the British occupation with Egyptian politics and government and how they were dealing with it, how the movement was born out of this struggle and how it was and still is influential in Egypt's political life, how the movement is seen nowadays, and to

what extent the government and its relation with the movement has changed over the decades.

The Muslim Brotherhood is a movement that can continue its reign into the future. The movement is strong and durable enough to resist obstacles that might appear in the future because of its survival until nowadays. It could be due to the movement's robust and flexible internal structure and successful leadership at its top, resources (funding), ideology, and religion.

The social movement theory explains the significant factors (collective action, internal structure, resources, religion, leaders and leadership, political regime) to this thesis that explain why the Muslim Brotherhood has lasted for all these years. To support this thesis and explain the longevity of the movement, it is important to set it into the political, social, and cultural milieu that have shaped it. The political context within which the movement operates is also important. The Islamic movement can be analysed as any other social movement in the world, even though it is Islamic, as religion or ideology often play a key role in their foundation. Political regime was one of the main reasons why the movement was established. It is meant in a sense that people who lived in the country were not satisfied with the leadership of the country, that the regime was misused by the stronger one (British used them as puppet). Egypt had a few despotic regimes – Nasser's, Sadat's and Mubarak's regime, until the Arab Spring, where people decided to change it. The question here is where this change will lead? Will Egypt have a democracy one day? Will the Muslim Brotherhood continue to play a key role in it? We do not know yet where this transition ends up. It is too soon to come up with the right answer.

Another important factor considered in this thesis is the social network of the Islamic movement that helped the movement to withstand the external and internal pressures over time. Additional reasons identified were that Egypt after the World War I was occupied by the British and was influenced morally, intellectually, culturally and behaviourally. Egyptian nation was losing its identity and was slowly adapting to the ideals or ideas of Western society, which was difficult to bear for the movement's founders.

As the introductory quote suggests, the movement should be examined more thoroughly. Through the study of the Muslim Brotherhood, we can learn more about Egypt's history, culture, people and behaviour. Hardly any movement could resist all the repression, refusals of legitimisation of the movement, attempted dissolution of the movement and political attacks and conflicts with the state as the Muslim Brotherhood did. Ruling governments tried all this repeatedly. Nowadays, it is marked as one of the strongest movements in the world. Many social movements came and went, but not the Muslim Brotherhood. What characteristics are needed for the survival of social movements? Does the Muslim Brotherhood have it or was this movement simply lucky? These questions are important to keep in mind while this bachelor thesis will try to find answers on them.

It must be emphasised that this thesis is mainly focused on the core of the Muslim Brotherhood and not at the radical offshoots of this movement. The Muslim Brotherhood has many offshoots in many different countries. Each of these offshoots has different ideologies, values and visions in politics or culture, where it is leading. All of these offshoots of the Muslim Brotherhood express themselves differently, including, for example terrorist attacks or assassinations. One of the most known radical groups that split from the Muslim Brotherhood is Jihad and Jamma'al al Muslimin. The split of these offshoots happened in late 1970's (Zubaida, 2009). While these are important forces to consider in the present world, they represent a material for other studies.

In the next chapters, the social movement theory will be introduced as the theoretical explanation of the movement, and methodology that is used in this bachelor thesis will be explained. The third part of the bachelor thesis is concerned with the historical background of the Muslim Brotherhood and of Egypt for better understanding of its foundation. The penultimate chapter will apply the social movement theory on the Muslim Brotherhood and the last chapter of this bachelor thesis is concerned with conclusion, presenting results that can be drawn about which factors contributed to the Muslim Brotherhood's long survival. It must be emphasised that this study of the Muslim Brotherhood take into the consideration literature about the movement from its foundations until the Arab Spring had happened. The Arab Spring is not a part of this bachelor thesis, it is only marginally mentioned.

Chapter II: Internal Factors Influencing the Rise of a Social Movement

The second part of this thesis will introduce the social movement theory and describe the utilized methodology. All this will help us to devise analytical tools for understanding the social movement, the factors that shaped it and the conditions that work towards maintaining the movement's existence through generations and into the future. At the beginning, this chapter will introduce two types of explanation of a movement. The first one is a movement that is based on the social movement theory. The second one is a closer look at Islamic movement due to the use of religion in theoretical explanation of the Muslim Brotherhood. I found it adequate to use both terms because in most of the read literature, the Muslim Brotherhood was considered as an Islamic movement. It is understood as a subspecies of a social movement.

Social Movement Theory

The bachelor thesis is based on the social movement theory that will help to explain the movement's long lasting existence and the movement as a social structure. The first order of business is to explain what an Islamic movement is, how the movement is formed, what are its main characteristics, what characteristics are needed for the foundation and survival of a social movement. Here, the question why to study an Islamic movement as a social movement might be raised. It is due to the fact that the Muslim Brotherhood is also based on religion - Islam and this might take it also to the category of Islamic movements. The sources that are used in this bachelor thesis consider Muslim Brotherhood as an Islamic movement and I decided to involve it to this thesis as important fact. It is primarily because this movement was founded in an Islamic country that fights for Islamic values and traditions.

There are a few specific features that characterize a movement. Social movement theory is based on concepts such as collective action, resources, leadership, political opportunity structure, urban or rural character, and religion. All of these characteristics are needed for the explanation of the Muslim Brotherhood. First, a movement must be defined. Since this thesis is about the Muslim Brotherhood,

Islamic movement as a sub-type of a social movement and religion must be taken into the consideration as well.

According to Ján Sopóci, the reason why social movements arise is that the social pressure causes changes in psychological statuses and people are trying to solve it through participation in social movements. Psychological statuses include anger, pressure, frustration, or insecurity that might arise in particular country between people (Sopóci, 1996). Through participation in social movements, people try to make a change in the system. This is one of the best opportunities how to achieve something when other means failed. Of course, this is not enough for establishment of a movement, but it is important as one of the triggering criteria. There are other factors that will be discussed later in this chapter.

Firstly, it should be said where the Muslim Brotherhood belongs and what characterizes it, in theoretical terms of analysis. The Muslim Brotherhood belongs among Islamic movements. According to The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research (2003), Islamic movement: "... is used to refer to those groups that are active in the political arena and call for the application of Islamic values and laws in the private and public sphere" (The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2003, p. 7). The Muslim Brotherhood was established as an answer to the political situation in 1928 in Egypt, because, at that time, the West (mainly the British) was influencing Egypt and its politics, culture, economy. Egyptian people perceived the situation as a weakening of their values and of their religion that have been respected for centuries. Some people could not bear this situation and had come up with the answer through establishing a movement. The Muslim Brotherhood has been and is active in the public and political spheres as well. This movement is on the scene for nearly eighty-six years. What are the reasons that kept this movement active until nowadays?

Defining a social movement according to Tilly

Secondly, the word movement must be defined. This thesis builds on the social movement theory and borrows a definition of the movement from there. According to Charles Tilly, a social movement is described as: "... a deliberate collective endeavour to promote change in any direction and by any scene, not excluding

violence illegality, revolution or withdrawal into “utopian community”... A social movement's commitment to change and the *raison d'etre* of its organisation are found upon the conscious volition, normative commitment to movement's aims or beliefs and active participation on the part of the followers or members” (Tilly, 1979, p. 7). Movement is an organisation that has an aim to change something. It does not matter how this change will take place, the important fact here is the determination towards this goal on the side of its members. It consists of the people who will take part in everything that the movement wants. Every member of the movement has to participate in the movement's activities in some way and membership in it is based on the free will of the followers. Charles Tilly also suggests that since people are bound together to achieve common ends, and are bound together voluntarily, they share collective identity. All of them fight together different obstacles that might appear during the formation, united by different ideas, ideology, or program (Tilly, 1979). Obviously, not all of them are fighting in the same intensity. It must be distinguished that there are different types of followers – some of them fight as if it was a matter of life and death, some just follow because they want to be a part of the movement, and there are also followers that will come whenever it suits them and/or simply pay some dues. It can be said that not all struggle equally, but when it comes to the decision on some important issues, such as change of regime and action, for example revolution, they fight together as one person.

In considering a social movement, there is also a distinction to be made according to the priorities that the movements have. According to The Emirates Centre for Strategic Studies and Research (The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2003), the Muslim Brotherhood was founded because people were moving away from Islam, Islamic values, and due to the massive influence of the West. The reasons why the movements are established play a crucial role in their development. Different movements have different priorities - some movements are concerned with human rights, environment or women's rights. It is how these reasons can attract their future followers within particular situations that particular countries are in that determine the attractiveness of these movements. If the reasons are important enough, it will help the movement to resist the obstacles that might appear in and challenge its existence. There is also another reason that the movement can slightly change its

priorities during the development. For example, at the beginning movement is founded as a social movement and later it becomes more politically oriented. We will pay more attention to this in the fourth chapter of this bachelor thesis.

Religion

Thirdly, religion is an important factor when considering Islamic movements. “Religion is depicted as the source of a mobilizing ideology and organizational resources that are used to combat perceived cultural imperialism” (Wiktorowicz, 2004, p. 5). Religion is as glue that helps the movement to unite and mobilize itself. It is up to the leaders how well they can mobilize the movement and to what extent they can use religion for this purpose. In Islamic countries, religion is important for their citizens and for the followers of the movement. It is something that people are not willing to give up because they were raised in accordance with it. Important fact here is that the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood knew and know that and can use it to their advantage to attract followers. For the Muslim Brotherhood, religion is a pillar that helps to support their ideology and they can build everything on it.

Political regime

Is the political context influential in the formation of a movement? Of course it is. “However, what is specific to Islamic movements is the political context within which they operate” (Wiktorowicz, 2004, p. 143). According to the author, Islamic movements are the same as any other movements, they do have the same characteristics, and the only thing that distinguishes them is the political context in which they operate. This is an important characteristic because it forces masses of people to stand up against the political regime to create a collective identity. This dissertation will use this thought and attempt to prove that the same is true in the case of Egypt and of the Muslim Brotherhood. Egyptian people were not satisfied with the regime there, under which they had to live, while the movement was established. The Muslim Brotherhood experienced several regimes. In the historical background section, we will pay more attention to these political regimes under which the Muslim Brotherhood had to exist.

Political opportunity structure

Social movement theory often approaches social movements through the concept of political opportunity structure. The political opportunity structure is aimed at the particular political opportunities present in the society that the social movement can utilise, for example political institutions, access to political resources and offices, allies, state repression, and elites. “Existing political opportunity structure arguments have concentrated on four central dimensions of the political opportunity structure – declining state repression, increasing political access, division among elites, and influential allies” (Munson, 2001, p. 494). According to Ziad Munson, the political opportunity structure plays a significant role when considering social movements. In his work, he takes it from a different perspective as it is in case of social movements. Of course it is a part of the social movement theory, but he did take different approach in studying. This will be more explained and discussed in the historical background that is a part of the third chapter.

Internal structure of the movement

Internal structure of the movement is also considered to be an important factor dictating its life span. Federated structure of the movement can assist the movement to become long lasting and successful in getting to their aims. “In the case of Egypt, the role of the federated structure was even more important because of the way in which this structure was linked to the ideas of the organization” (Munson, 2001, p. 497). Every level of the movement has divided their responsibilities and duties, so that it would not come to the clash. If the movement would not be structured it might cause its destruction. Every single piece of the movement has to have its own place in the hierarchical pyramid. The structure of the movement can be compared to the structure of a company. If the company wants to be successful, it must have a structure – different levels that differentiate all kinds of responsibilities and duties from each of the employees and also each level has to have its own team leaders. If all of the levels operate effectively and autonomously, the company survives. The same happens with a movement. Both of them are identical in the sense of the division of the responsibilities and duties. We will come up to this later in this bachelor thesis,

especially in the fourth chapter, where we take a close look at the Muslim Brotherhood's internal structure and its flexibility in dealing with obstacles.

Leadership

The type of leadership and the character of the leader or leaders are other factors in need of consideration. For a successful movement, it must have a strong leader that has charisma and strong personality that is able to attract as many followers as possible. Why great personality? Because no one would follow someone who is shy, does not know how to give a great speech, but someone who is perceived as merciful, a great speaker, able to think about the bliss of everybody. The leader must know the aims of the movement and follow them (and at times create them), be strict and not change his mind whenever it suits him. In the formation of the movement, the leader plays a crucial role. At the beginning, it is really difficult to resist all the obstacles or problems that might appear for the movement, but with the right leader it could be much easier to last much longer. In that case, the leader would be one of the pillars that would hold the movement together in difficult times.

Max Weber discussed leadership in his work *Politics as a Vocation* (Weber, 2002). This chapter will take inspiration from Weber's typology and apply it on the Muslim Brotherhood's leader Hassan al-Banna. More will be said about this in the fourth chapter of this bachelor thesis.

The place where the social movement is established – urban or rural – also plays a significant role in determining its character. Social movements tend to be situated or established in big cities rather than in the countryside. Why? It is due to the potential followers, business, and all the opportunities that capital cities offer. The small city does not offer as many possibilities as a big one. Why was not this movement established in the capital city? Did a small town offer enough opportunities for establishing a movement? This is the question that might not be answered, but at least has to be considered briefly. Personally, I do not think that only main cities are offering the best opportunities for founding a movement. Maybe it could be because of the fact that the Muslim Brotherhood was illegal for three quarters of its existence and it would be very difficult to operate in the capital city at the beginning. Since the beginning of the existence of the movement, the small city well offered the

opportunities that were needed and with the small steps they conquered the capital city.

Collective action

The social movement theory rests on the concept of collective action. What is collective action? How might it aid us in explaining the Muslim Brotherhood as a social movement? Collective action is an “action taken by a group (directly or on its behalf through an organisation) in pursuit of members shared interests” (Scott & Marshall, 2009, p. 96). Shared interest is based on common action that helps the movement to resist the pressure that is exerted against them and to act together “as one person”. There are different types of collective action, for example strikes, demonstrations, protests, meetings, rallies, revolutions, election and others. Different social movements use different collective action to achieve their aims. More specifically, people in social movements use collective action as a mean in achieving their aims. “..it is spontaneous, non-institutionalised behaviour of bigger group of people that react on unusual, ambiguous, vaguely defined, unforeseen and unknown situation” (Palčáková - Zimmermann, 2010, p. 68).

On the other hand, people are human beings and they will not do something “for free”. There must be something in return for the people who are a part of the movement. According to Olson, “the view that groups act to serve their interests presumably is based upon the assumption that the individuals in groups act out of self-interest” (Olson, 2002, p. 1). Olson thought that people that are a part of a movement do not act in the sake of the group interest, but in the sake of their self-interest. It is because every single person wants to gain something from being a part of the movement and they try to work it out as much as it is possible. People are too selfish and they would follow their own interests rather than interests of the group. Olson also states – “...rational, self-interested individuals will not act to achieve their common or group interests” (Olson, 2002, p. 2). What Olson tries to say is that even if the people would be forced to act in the sake of the group interests, it would be involuntary. Self-interest still wins over the interest of the group. We live in consumer society where each of us expects something in return. We will come back to this point

later in this bachelor thesis in connection with the aims of the Muslim Brotherhood and what this movement can offer to their individual members and future followers.

Financing of the Muslim Brotherhood

Lastly, each social movement is to a large extent dictated by the resources it has at its disposal. How well are they used? What is being funded and how equitably? Where are these funds coming from? How much do followers have to pay for being a part of the Muslim Brotherhood? These funds are also an important factor in the growth of the movement, mainly in establishing new branches, but also in other the development that movement provides to their followers. Donors can also influence a movement ideologically. Funding goes hand in hand with the priorities of the movement, attracting new members and what exactly they can offer them. It is very important to know where the movement takes money from that we can make a picture about them. All the questions that have been raised up here will be answered in the fourth chapter.

The key concepts of the social movement theories, which are defined above, will serve as the backbone for the analysis of the historical evolution of the Muslim Brotherhood, for examination of its current structure and status in the society and for considering its prospects into the future.

Methodology

This thesis is based on the concepts central to the social movement theory approach, through which it attempts to explain the rise of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and the movement's exceptionally long existence. In this endeavour, the thesis considers the ideology on which the movement was established, and the main reasons for the foundation of the movement. History of the Muslim Brotherhood is examined analytically, tracing the factors identified in the social movements theory in this chapter back in time. Historical portrait of the movement will be related to the examination of the behaviour of the Egyptian people during this period. What were the reasons that contributed to the political mobilization of the movement? All the factors that were mentioned above are internal to the movement, but there are also external factors that have influence on the movement itself, such as the process of modernisation, impact of colonialism, ideology or the media. The third part of the

thesis will draw the picture of the historical background, plus explanation of these external factors that contribute to the foundation of the movement. The last part of the bachelor thesis will apply the social movement theory on the Muslim Brotherhood in present time and based on this will try to come up with conclusions on what were the main important factors that contributed to the longevity of the Muslim Brotherhood until nowadays.

The thesis works with various sources that are concerned with the historical development of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and also with the sources that are concerned with the political development of Egypt before the Arab Spring. Secondary sources used in this thesis include books; articles taken from different journals and policy reports and sources that are freely available and could be taken from the Internet.

Chapter III: Historical Background and External Factors that Influenced Raise of the Muslim Brotherhood

This section is aimed at the historical background, which helps us understand a bit more about the Muslim Brotherhood as a social movement and, by proxy, it helps us understand the Egyptian state and society and the factors that shaped it in its modern history. It is important to describe some of the situations that are a part of the history of Egypt and of the Muslim Brotherhood. It is similar to building a puzzle; puzzle consists of many pieces and every single piece adds something and has its place in the whole. All of the pieces create one picture that gives a unified view. It is very easy to judge without knowing at least something about every single piece.

In this chapter, we will have a closer look at the external factors – especially modernisation and colonialism - that influenced the rise of the movement. Later in the chapter, we will discuss the political regime, especially the three despotic regimes – Nasser's, Sadat's and Mubarak's regimes. The last part of this chapter will take into consideration the political opportunity structure.

The Muslim Brotherhood was founded in 1928 by Hassan al-Banna in Egypt. The movement started as a small movement and was slowly getting bigger and more influential. Within ten years, the movement had around three hundred branches. Movement was spreading very quickly across whole Egypt and to other countries as well. It was established as an answer to the political and social situation that was in Egypt in the late 1930'. Egypt was occupied by the British because of their interests there, the most important, of which was the Suez Canal. At the beginning, the Muslim Brotherhood was established as an apolitical movement that aimed to help the Egyptian people. Later on, the movement stepped into the political realm. People tend to think that the Muslim Brotherhood was established as a political movement from the beginning, but that is a mistaken precept. This is very essential. At the beginning, the Muslim Brotherhood was mainly focused on Islam, moral reforms and building of a social services organisation to help the Egyptian nation (The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2003).

The British occupied Egypt until 1953, when it finally became an independent republic. It was a remarkable day for the Egyptian nation, held in national memory as the emancipation from the British occupation. The movement was banned a few times by the different succeeding governments and later on permitted to exist again. After that, the movement had even more followers. The Muslim Brotherhood had to fight with its ban and had to find different ways of how to survive and how to pass all kinds of obstacles. The movement has resisted and survived under the different governments that were trying to abolish it. It has lasted throughout the Nasser, Sadat or Mubarak's regimes. The most difficult trial for the Muslim Brotherhood was perhaps in the very beginning - when the British themselves were trying to suppress them. In 1948, the founder of the organisation Hassan al-Banna was killed by the Egyptian police as a response to the murder of the Egyptian Prime Minister – Mahmud Fahmi al-Nuqrashi. The successor of Hassan al-Banna, Hasan Isma'il al-Hudaybi, was not as charismatic as a leader as him (Munson, 2001). On the other hand, the movement survived even with a less charismatic leader until nowadays. We will talk more about these three political regimes in the section on political regimes in this chapter. Now, we will consider the impact of modernisation and colonialism on Egypt as external factors that influenced the rise of the Muslim Brotherhood.

The Impact of Modernization and Colonialism on Egypt

Modernisation and colonialism were something new for the Egyptian nation that they have not experienced before. Egyptians have not been ready for modernisation that the British brought at the beginning of the twentieth century. It posed a challenge to their old habits and values and Egypt became unwillingly a part of western superpowers. At the beginning, French occupied Egypt (in the late 19th century) and few years later, the British took over the baton (The Burning One, 2011). Some perceived the status of Egypt as declining to that of a puppet that someone else can control. “During the revolt against Egypt's ruler in 1881, the British intervened, set up a puppet regime and took full control over the canal” (The Burning One, 2011). Their self-confidence of the nation was crushed due to these factors. Colonialism, along with bad social and economic situation, only helped to inspire the foundation of the movement, to stand up against it in order to maintain Egyptian traditions, values,

religion, and habits, which have been worshipped for centuries. Hassan al-Banna was not willing to give it up easily and was ready to fight it. With the birth of the modernity and colonialism, all the systems (economical, cultural, social or political) were destroyed and had been set up a new. “The British role in Egypt, which was both inept and avaricious, began with the building of the Suez Canal by France, to which the British objected because it compromised its naval superiority and was built by slave labor” (The Burning One, 2011). For the British, the Suez Canal was as winning a lottery because British had their intentions and the biggest one was the Suez Canal as the heart of their business trade outside Britain. If the British wanted to keep control over the Egyptian Suez Canal, they had to protect it somehow. Egyptians were forced to sign the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936. Egypt was occupied for a few decades until they fought it with the accession to Nasser regime (The Burning One, 2011).

Muslims did not reject modernisation as such, but modernisation had to be in accordance with the Islamic values and models. Anything else was not accepted (Zubaida, 2009). Egyptians were not willing to simply push aside their Islamic traditions and values. For the Egyptian people it was something unknown, un-experienced, basically something that could not be taken as easy as it would probably be taken nowadays. “Perhaps what really distinguishes this new world was the Muslims’ awareness of the existence of other worlds, dimensions, and vision that were different from those known by their predecessors” (The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2003, p. 27). Nowadays, we can see that as well because modernisation goes forward very quickly and what was new today is old tomorrow. It is very difficult to go with the fast pace of modernity and until people adapt to something new, it takes some time. What is also important is the fact that they are different societies or nations that have different approach to modernity. Some are open to everything and some are not and deny the new influences for a very long time. In the case of Egypt, modernisation mostly aimed at the military and their armaments, acquisition and training in the modern sciences, engineering and medicine (The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2003).

With all that colonialism and modernisation caused in their consequences, Hassan al-Banna came up with an ideology that would define the response to them.

Ideology

The founding ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood was related to the social and political situation and also defined itself centrally by Islam. Ideology is one of the strategic elements that attract many people if it is deemed convincing enough. Ideology is defined here as set of ideas or thoughts that unite people and serve as a platform to share those ideas or thoughts between people. Definition according to the Oxford's Political dictionary is following – “Any comprehensive and mutually consistent set of ideas by which a social group makes sense of the world may be referred to as an ideology. An ideology needs to provide some explanation of how things have come to be as they are, some indication of where they are heading (provide a guide to action), criteria for distinguishing truth from falsehood and valid arguments from invalid, and some overriding belief whether in God, Providence, or History, to which adherents may make a final appeal when challenged” (McLean & McMillan , 2009, p. 255).

In the case of the Muslim Brotherhood and Hassan al-Banna's ideology, it was mainly focused against the trends that were emerging in those times. These trends were too western not only for al-Banna, but also for the Egyptian Muslims who could not bear it. The Egyptian people, according to Hassan al-Banna, were moving away from Islam morally, intellectually, culturally and behaviourally (The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2003). Hassan al-Banna felt that Egypt is pulling away from Islam and from its values and traditions. His main goal was to go back to the bottom where everything has started – back to the religion. “The original aim of the Brotherhood was the reform of hearts and minds, to guide Muslims back to the true religion, and away from the corrupt aspirations and conduct created by European dominance” (Zubaida, 2009, p. 48). Banna's ideology was well presented and his ideas and thoughts well elaborated. The situation in Egypt at that time (occupation, crisis) helped him to his advantage. If the situation would not have been perceived as so desperate, maybe his ideology would not be convincing enough to produce mass following.

The ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood is based on two main principles: “1) The introduction of the Islamic Shari`ah as the basis controlling the affairs of state and

society, and 2) Work to achieve unification among the Islamic countries and states, mainly among the Arab states, and liberating them from foreign imperialism” (IkhwanWeb, 2010). Hassan al-Banna wanted to subordinate everything according to Shari‘ ah and then unify Arab states among themselves. By unifying, they could be able to liberate themselves from the British occupation.

He even wrote a fifty points manifesto on how the society should look like and how people should live. Here are some of the points: “An end to gambling in all its forms - games, lotteries, racing, and gambling-clubs”, “A reform of the law, so that it will conform to Islamic legislation in every branch”, “The encouragement of economic projects and an increase in their number; giving work to unemployed citizens in them; the transfer of such of these as are in the hands of foreigners to the purely national sector” (Point de Bascule, 2011).

Ideology is connected with many other factors, such as the political and social situation, political opportunities, and also luck. It is a combination of these factors that helps ideology to be successful.

The economical aspect is also an important part in the mosaic of the historical development of the Muslim Brotherhood. It was a factor that helped to establish this movement. In the beginning of the twentieth century, Egypt was living through an economic crisis. While the British occupied Egypt, they took control over their territory and economy. The British were trying to recover Egyptian economy from bankruptcy (Simms, 2002). “His (Khedive Ismail) extravagance created a large national debt that forced him to borrow heavily from European financiers or suffer bankruptcy” (Simms, 2002, p. 566). Khedive Ismail Pasha was the viceroy of Egypt under the Turkish rule in the late 19th century. “When Ismail Pasha, the ruler of Egypt, ran into serious financial difficulties, he sold the shares that France had given him to the British, who paid four million pounds for them and eventually bought up all the rest” (The Burning One, 2011). He did not realize that this was the fatal mistake that played into the hands of the British. Egyptian people were in the hands of the British, their relationship was tied very strongly and it was easy to manipulate, control and dominate them. In the late nineteenth century, Egypt was in deep financial trouble and there was no other choice than for the ruler to borrow money from foreign

investors. This was of course a good opportunity for the British to take advantage of the situation and to control the Suez Canal (Simms, 2002). This intervention was destructive for Egypt and since then, Great Britain gained a decisive say in the Egyptian internal affairs. This decision accompanied Egypt until they officially declared themselves a republic in 1953. Until 1953, Egypt was a kingdom.

Let's have a look at the despotic regimes that followed individually.

Political Regimes – Nasser, Sadat and Mubarak

In the second chapter, the political context, under which the social movement is established was mentioned as an important factor. Many people in the Middle East are forced to establish movements to express their opinions and visions and Egypt is not an exception. People in Egypt were facing repression and different kinds of rule. Why do people want to express their visions? It is mainly because people would like to be a part of the creation or shaping of a new political regime and through their visions they can express how and why people want a particular thing. For example, why would they like to have a democracy. People's answer would be that they would like to live in peace, have more freedoms of all kinds (expression, movement, press and many others), no repression, and despotism or manipulation. The author refers to the same thing as this bachelor thesis. "Citizens, under such conditions, are forced to organize through informal networks and build collective identities through these networks..." (Wiktorowicz, 2004, p. 144). Regime is a factor that helps people build collective identities and build networks to spread thoughts, visions and ideology. For a social movement as the Muslim Brotherhood, it is a powerful weapon that helps them to build a stronger organization and have even more followers.

Nasser's, Sadat's, Mubarak's regime can be considered as ones that applied despotism throughout Egypt. One of the writers describes them as follows: "The Mubarak regime, an extension of the two regimes of Abdul Nasser and Sadat, approves secularism as a base for its rule" (Al-Awadi, 2004, p. 216). Each of these regimes builds on each other, each of them are secular with elements of nationalism and socialism.

First, we will start with the Gamal Abdel Nasser's regime and its impact on the Muslim Brotherhood. Nasser came to the office in 1954. Nasser's regime is connected with the Free Officers movement that helped overthrow the king Farouk. He thought that the king is not useful and they need a much stronger leader. This revolution happened in 1952 and one year later, Egypt became a republic. Between 1952 and 1954, the Muslim Brotherhood was raised and was in favour of the officials, but everything changed when Nasser came into the office. At the beginning, the Muslim Brotherhood and Nasser did not have anything against each other, until the fatal day.

After Nasser became the president, there was an attempt to assassinate him, (from the ranks of the Muslim Brotherhood) and this led to the suppression of the Muslim Brotherhood (Zubaida, 2009). What is also important to mention is the fact that Nasser was aware of the strength of the Muslim Brotherhood and his intention was to do something about it. "Nasser had been aware of the strength of the Ikhwan on campuses even before he came to power in 1954" (Al-Awadi, 2004, p. 33). Another wave of prosecution came in 1965 when the police and government came with the accusation of the Muslim Brotherhood that they prepared an armed plot against the government. In this wave, there were many people and leaders arrested and some were executed (Zubaida, 2009). Many people were arrested, executed or basically left the country because they wanted to save their lives. This was one of the near breakdowns of the Muslim Brotherhood. This period lasted until Nasser's death in 1970. Gamal Abdel Nasser was in the presidency office until 1970, when the presidency chair was taken by Sadat. This moves us to the second despotic regime that was ruled by Anwar el-Sadat.

Sadat's era of ruling was specific in that he released many prisoners that were supporters and leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood. Even though the prisoners were released, the Muslim Brotherhood was still legally banned (Shehata, 2013). At least they could finish with the work that was started many years ago. For the Muslim Brotherhood, it was a new beginning, a new light at the end of the tunnel. The new beginning meant that they had to restructure the movement, recruit new followers instead of the ones that were executed or arrested, or those, which have not felt like they want to be a part of the movement again. It has also had a financial impact on the movement and they had to find new resources for financing all the varieties of

activities. Most of the money came from the membership dues. Muslim Brotherhood came back into politics during Sadat's and mostly during Mubarak's presidency. It was only in an alliance with Neo-Wafd party, but there was no other way how to get back. They were looking for the best tactic how to get back. "The mainstream of the organisation returned to the open scene under Sadat and resumed participation in institutionalised politics, to the point of the formation of the tactical electoral alliance with the Neo-Wafd in 1984" (Zubaida, 2009, p. 157). During Nasser's rule, it was not possible that the Muslim Brotherhood would take part in politics. Any attempt would be destroyed at the beginning and it would bring deadly consequences. Sadat lost his popularity because of the invasion of Israel and later the peace-talks that led to the peace treaty with Israel. At the end of his time, he became more authoritarian as a president, due to several crises, which also led to his assassination in 1981 (Shehata, 2013).

After Sadat, it was Muhammad Hosni Sayyid Mubarak's term. He ruled in his office since 1981 until 2011, when the Arab Spring occurred. He was also the president that was secular and took on several campaigns against the Islamists. As it was mentioned at the beginning, he was the one that followed the same steps as his predecessors – Nasser and Sadat. "Egypt's President Mohammad Hosni Mubarak was among the Arab leaders who had already launched coercive campaigns against Islamists, both moderates and radicals, since the early and mid- 1990s" (Al-Awadi, 2004, p. 1). As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the Muslim Brotherhood with the Neo-Wafd party ran in the election (1984), even though it was still banned. They took a few seats (eight) and later in 1987, the Muslim Brotherhood formed a coalition with Labour and Ahrar parties, where they took thirty-six seats (Shehata, 2013). This was a remarkable situation for the Muslim Brotherhood that they were able to participate in real politics – in the parliament. They could be a part of the decision-making process. Mubarak's period was well known, as the period of terrorist attacks, that were made by the radical groups that are a part of Egyptian politics. These terrorist attacks caused that the Muslim Brotherhood had to pay the price for it as well - many members were arrested. The terrorist attacks had been done by radical offshoots of the Muslim Brotherhood (Shehata, 2013). Even though the Muslim Brotherhood did not do any of these attacks directly, they had to pay for it as well.

The most interesting era comes between 2000 and 2010, where the Muslim Brotherhood was getting even more and more votes in the elections. “It won seventeen seats in the 2000 parliamentary elections despite an alleged electoral fraud. In 2005, it took an unprecedented eighty-eight seats in the People’s Assembly, the largest number any opposition group had ever won” (Shehata, 2013). Despite the fact that these elections were deceitful, they had a massive support inside of Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood was even capable of getting the highest number that has ever been achieved. On the other hand, Mubarak did not like this massive support and he made an immediate approach – “...imprisoning the deputy guide and other leaders, sentencing them in military courts, and confiscating Brotherhood businesses” (Shehata, 2013). In the next election that took place in 2010, the Muslim Brotherhood was not as successful as in the previous one. According to the official results – “The Muslim Brotherhood won only one seat, down from 88 in the previous parliament” (Ahram Online, 2010). It was due to election fraud. The Muslim Brotherhood was not satisfied with the results, not only them, but also the Wafd party and both of them pulled out from the election two days after the vote (Ahram Online, 2010). All this led to a situation that the people were not satisfied with the political regime and where the country was heading to, with the results of the elections, and with massive corruption. People felt that they have to do something about it and this contributed to the revolution that is called the Arab Spring. With the revolution came a new president that might bring a democracy after the years of despotism.

The current president of Egypt after the Arab revolution is Mohammed Morsi (since 2012). It is important to mention that he was a member of the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP), which was founded by the Muslim Brotherhood (IkhwanWeb, 2012). In the election that was held in 2012, Mohammed Morsi won over his competitor Shafiq. The difference between them was very close, only 3,7 %. “The Muslim Brotherhood's Mohammed Morsi has become Egypt's first freely elected president” (The Guardian, 2012). “Morsi secured 51.7% (13,230,131 votes) of the vote, compared to 48% for Shafiq” (The Guardian, 2012). If Morsi would not win, we do not know what would have happened, maybe the country would go in the steps of Hosni Mubarak. It is going to take years and years until every generation will accept all the changes that are happening and are going to happen during the process of transition. It is a process that is going to take years.

We do not know who is going to be the next president and what he (or less likely she) will bring. What kind of political system it will bring, whether Egypt will come back to the despotism or become a democracy. In each of these regimes, there were many people from the Muslim Brotherhood that were arrested, imprisoned or executed because regimes could not work with them. Nasser, Sadat and Mubarak did not like the idea that the Muslim Brotherhood was trying to get into the politics. They required keeping them far away from getting into the politics and making their own. Morsi's success lies to a large extent in the success of the Muslim Brotherhood as a social movement – its legitimacy, ideological appeal, its historical record... This thesis is interested in examining their contribution to the movement's survival in time and eventual success, yet does not deal with the analysis of the current post-Arab Spring political situation.

These regimes can serve as a lesson into the future decision. Each of them brought different situations that the Muslim Brotherhood can examine, apply and avoid.

The fact that the Brotherhood was able to withstand all the obstacles and grow stronger is partially dependent on the sequence of events as they occurred, partially on luck or accident. Should al-Banna be a weaker leader or die younger, should any of the despotic regimes squash the movement more fiercely, or should the movement whither in a corruption or another scandal, it could have died out. Its development was historically path dependent. And the longevity of the movement itself became an important factor contributing to its current legitimacy.

Let's therefore move from this section to the section that is concerned with the political opportunity structure and consider assets that were at the movement's disposal and helped it develop and strive.

Political opportunity structure

In the second chapter, we talked about the political opportunity structure that concerns particular political opportunities that society offers to a social movement, depending on what kind of access the movement has to the particular institutions and elites.

It must be said again, just for refreshing your minds, that political opportunity structure here, is concerned with the amount of state repression, increasing political access, division among the elites and influential allies. Based on this, it can be said that the state repression was not declining steadily, but first increasing and then declining; the Muslim Brotherhood was not supported by any ruling elite; there was no political access or support of allies from abroad or from inside of Egypt (Munson, 2001). In one of the readings that I came across I found an interesting examination of political opportunity structure in the case of Egypt and the Muslim Brotherhood. The author pointed out three key elements that had an impact on Egypt. Such as – what role did the British play in the Egyptian political life, the delegitimation of the Wafd party, and the creation of the state of Israel (Munson, 2001). In the case of the Muslim Brotherhood, these three elements were the most important factors.

The Wafd party was popular in the beginning of the 1920 because it was founded as a response to the British occupation of Egypt. Even though the party was popular in the country, it did not have much power due to election fraud. At the end, the party formed a government, but they had to cooperate with the British and this collaboration led to the delegitimation of the party. The role of the British in Egyptian political life was crucial for them. Most of the time Egyptian politics was subordinated to the British. The Egyptian lands were occupied until 1954. For many years, Egypt was under the control of someone else and they could not do their own politics, build their own parliament or have an army they could command (Munson, 2001).

Hassan al-Banna was the person that wanted to work within the political system; he did not reject the king or someone else who ruled. Banna wanted to come into politics – and into the parliament through the elections and to reform the country through the political system. “The MB’s relations with the palace were helped by the fact that Al Banna did not reject the constitutional life in Egypt; rather he aimed to reform it by working from within the political system. To this end his political strategy was to introduce MB representatives to parliament through elections” (Zahid, 2010, p. 75).

Parts of the political opportunity structure, available to the Muslim Brotherhood, were the mosques. Every one of them offered the best place where Hassan al-Banna could spread the ideology, thoughts and visions between people. Not only this, but also recruit new members and the place where they could mobilize themselves. It was

“...primary source of mobilization and recruitment throughout 1932–54” (Zahid, 2010, p. 73). How many people go to pray to the mosques every single day? There are many people, just imagine how many people go every Sunday to church. It is the same with the mosques. It is the best place where people might influence others. “Other than sporting events mosques were the only places in which the government would permit large congregations to gather. Mosques were also safe from raids or obvious government interference” (Zahid, 2010, p. 72). Mosques served as a place where they were protected from the intervention of the government, which is really important because in any other place, police could come and searched the place. If the police would find some suspicious behaviour or documents, people would be sent to the prison, tortured or even killed. These meetings must have taken place in secret and without the control of the police.

Personally, what I would also add to the political opportunity structure is newspaper through which al-Banna could spread the thoughts and influenced masses of people. Nowadays newspapers belong between one of the most influential weapons of spreading thoughts. They are well read and basically he saw an opportunity in influencing a people. He was mostly reliant on people in the mosques and he needed people from different sectors of society. “He established a daily newspaper in Cairo by the name *Al-Ikhwān Al-Muslimoon* which enabled him to address a much larger sector of the public than with lectures” (Islam Times , 2009). It did not take long, however, and the newspaper was dismissed.

All the opportunities that might have arisen during the development of the Muslim Brotherhood had been given for some reason. Even though the Muslim Brotherhood did not have much luck in accomplishing them, at least it was an experience and a lesson for them. It showed them where they should do more work on and where to slow down. At the end, the Muslim Brotherhood became a part of the parliament, but it took years of struggling, refusing, and of course strong will to resist.

Chapter IV: Application of Internal and External Factors that Influenced Shaping of the Muslim Brotherhood

In the fourth chapter, the social movement theory will be applied to the study of the development and of the persistence of the Muslim Brotherhood. The movement's social and political structure, status, and role will be studied both historically and in the present time through the concepts central to the social movements theory. This chapter considers literature that concerns Egypt and Muslim Brotherhood before the Arab Spring. The Arab Spring is not a study of this bachelor thesis.

“During its first 50 years, the Muslim Brotherhood was illegal in most countries, including Egypt, and was often harshly suppressed because of its politics and various assassination attempts” (Wiktorowicz, 2004, pp. 119-120). It is very interesting that the movement that is here for eighty - six years and for the two thirds of its existence was illegal, but still influential. In any of these countries, including Egypt, governments would not like an idea that someone else is trying to get into the politics and make changes that are beneficial for the movement. The movement presented a clash of interests and there must be a winner or a compromise.

Internal Structure of the Movement

In this section, we will focus on the composition of the movement - not only because it is an important factor in explaining the Muslim Brotherhood's longevity, but also because it is important to know what kind of social classes form it and how it works internally.

The table below shows us that the composition is not based on the old or traditional social classes, but is based primarily on the younger generation. The biggest groups that form the movement are mainly the students, civil servants, teachers, private managers, and unemployed. The table shows us that at the time of Egypt's independence, the Muslim Brotherhood was largely based on students.

Occupation of Known Muslim Brotherhood Members, 1954

Students	61
Civil servants	30
Teachers	18
Private Managers	15
Small Business owners	12
Professionals	10
Workers	9
Army/police officers	4
Merchants/craftsmen	3
Farmers	2
Religious functionaries	1
Other (mostly unemployed)	14

Source: (Munson, 2001, p. 492)

Why were the majority of the Muslim Brotherhood students? It is because young generation and especially students have the potential to spread and be susceptible to ideology and they are open to new opportunities. It is a group that is adaptable and flexible. There is also the fact that the Muslim Brotherhood offered them something in return. We will take a closer look at it later in this chapter, in a section on financing of the Muslim Brotherhood. Other groups that have a high number of occupations in the table also contributes to the Muslim Brotherhood, by way of financing, for example. Another fact that the table shows us is that there are all kinds of varieties of groups that are an integral part of the movement; and all kinds of social classes take part in the movement.

With the development of the movement, the internal structure was gradually slightly changing. It is a normal process that occurs in every movement. We cannot expect that the composition of the movement will stay the same for years. “The most active as we have seen are the new intelligentsia, the products of the new educational systems facing grim prospects of employment and career in a society and state which cannot absorb the mass of intellectual proletariat which they produce and where the

prizes go to those who have access to wealth and patronage” (Zubaida, 2009, p. 159). We can still see that nowadays the Muslim Brotherhood is based on the new intelligentsia. They are produced by the new educational system, no wonder that the Muslim Brotherhood invests so much money to the educational system.

Let’s move further to have a look at how the Brotherhood works internally. It is not easy to become a “true” member of the Muslim Brotherhood. Everyone who wants to join it, can, but the Muslim Brotherhood is selectively choosing people who can become the “true members”. It is a protective mechanism that helps them to avoid members who do not have good intentions and waste their time and money. The Muslim Brotherhood will invest money to the one who is willing to show some abilities. “Joining the Muslim Brotherhood is not an easy task; it is a process that takes years and years. It is not a matter of filling an application or attending a couple of meetings or even donating some money...” (Akl, 2012).

There are three stages of recruiting new members into the Muslim Brotherhood. The first stage in recruiting is when the person becomes a member he or she is called “Muhib”, which means lover or follower. This stage lasts between four to six years. Mostly depends on the person how he or she is engaged and how well he or she improves during this time. Person must also become part of the family, which is called “Usra”, and must attend a meetings that take place few times a week between four or five people. During this meeting the potential member is under a close watch. He or she must behave very well if he or she wants to go to another level (Akl, 2012).

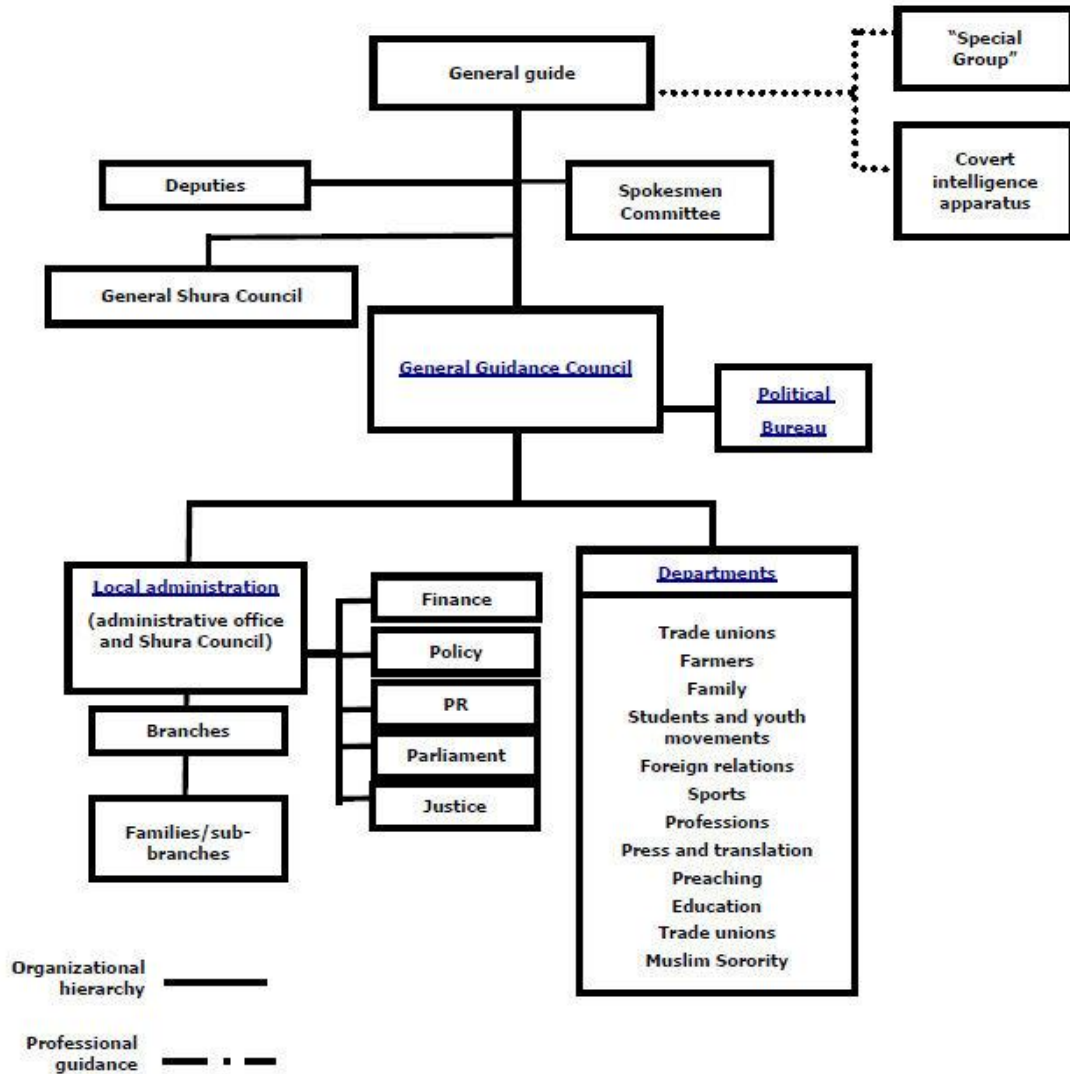
Second stage consists of approving a member. The head of the family – “Usra” will approve whether a member is prepared for the next stage. Potential member must show some sufficient knowledge about the readings of the Islamic texts. If he does, he is put to the next stage and is called the supporter – “muayyed”. In this phase, the “supporter” must fulfil all the duties that he was given towards the organization and he also must complete study. If these conditions are fulfilled, he becomes affiliated – “Muntasib” (Akl, 2012).

Now when the member became affiliated, he or she must start donating a part of his earnings to the Muslim Brotherhood. According to the article, it is five to eight per

cent of the earnings. In this stage, the loyalty and commitment are closely watched (this can last nearly a year) and if the person who oversees the member is pleased, he moves to the stage that is called the organized brother - "Muntazim". In this level, the organized brother can expect to be in a lower level of leadership. This is still not the last stage, there is the last stage that is called the working brother – "Amil" – here the member must pass all the tests that the Muslim Brotherhood gave him (Akl, 2012).

For better understanding and visualizing the structure, an organizational chart of internal structure of the Muslim Brotherhood is included here, because this dissertation is mainly focused on recruiting new members into the movement. Here we can see the whole internal structure of this movement, also depicting the various departments of the Muslim Brotherhood.

The Structure of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt



Source: (The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, 2011)

In my opinion, this is a normal mechanism of recruiting new members - the movement wants to avoid members who waste their time and money. Someone would think that maybe this mechanism is too conservative and careful in recruiting. On the other hand we must understand that no one likes throwing money out of the window and also this is a form of motivation that not many people can achieve the highest position. Many other movements have similar internal structure – political parties, army and other. For people it can be a challenge to get in and get to the highest

position, as it is possible. It can be said that the Muslim Brotherhood behaves as other movements in the world. In those days there were many people who wanted to misuse all kinds of movements and only seek advantages. When they reached a certain point, they left. Maybe this is a good way how to ensure the members to stay, because they spent years and years of studying and proving themselves.

Leader and Leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood

We begin the analysis by considering the type of leadership and the role and character of the leader because, as mentioned in the second chapter on social movement theory, the leader and his personality are important in the development of the movement, but also in the recruitment of the new members. This mainly stands and falls on the personality of the leader. Hassan al-Banna was a man that had a great personality with great charisma that helped him to achieve everything that he wanted to. He was described as follows: “His personality drew in hundreds of recruits to the Muslim Brotherhood; his magnetic personality, and his ability to inspire and lead by example, were important in the growth of the Muslim Brotherhood into a nation-wide, mass-supported movement” (Zahid, 2010, p. 73). If al-Banna would not had been so charismatic as he was, probably his movement would not have achieved as enormous size as it did. It was remarkable that in all of the read literature, Hassan al-Banna was pictured as the best leader that this movement have had. Could it be simply because he was the founder? Or was it because he was so charismatic that he has been remembered until nowadays? To this day, he is singlehandedly one of the main sources of the Muslim Brotherhood’s legitimacy – his message and teaching being invoked by current leaders and their characteristics. Hassan al-Banna can be compared to one of Weber’s ideal types of a leader. He would represent Weber’s charismatic type of a leader.

Weber’s charismatic leader has a gift consisting of charisma, which means “mercy”. He defines it as a charismatic estate, where a prophet rules or – in a political sphere – a chosen army-leader, or a reputable ruler that was chosen by plebiscite, a “demagogue” and leader of political party” (Weber, 2002). “Devotion to the charisma of the prophet, or the leader in war, or to the great demagogue in the ecclesia or in parliament, means that the leader is personally recognized as the innerly 'called' leader

of men. Men do not obey him by virtue of tradition or statute, but because they believe in him. If he is more than a narrow and vain upstart of the moment, the leader lives for his cause and 'strives for his work.' The devotion of his disciples, his followers, his personal party friends are oriented to his person and to its qualities" (Weber, 2002, p. 2). Weber wrote it very nicely that the person who is charismatic is considered as someone who is a capable leader and they want to follow him because they feel that way and are not forced to follow him. Basically, people believe in him because in there is something in him that attracts them – a charisma. Something that is natural and you cannot learn it as theorem in physics. Either you have it or do not. In the quote, it is said that the person who is charismatic strives for his work. I think this is very important because if people cannot see the passion for a particular matter then he cannot expect the same from the people. What should also be added is that without that passion, there would not be victory. Thanks to charisma, the leader is followed by masses of people, people from the party, or disciples. I would use one expression here - people are somewhat brainwashed by the leader's charisma. There are not many people who are born with such charisma. This is a very good weapon that can be used when you are establishing a movement, but also not only a movement but also a political party or any other organization dependent on following. Examples that could be considered charismatic people who were followed or even are followed by many people are e.g. Adolf Hitler, John Paul II., Winston Churchill, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad or Oprah Winfrey.

Another author describes Hassan al-Banna as: "...an ideal leader who died for his activist convictions" (Zollner, 2009, p. 2). He was a person who was strongly convinced about his visions and his duty to help other people and he was willing to die for it. Nowadays, it is very difficult to find someone that is willing to die for the ideology that is convinced about. Well we can find some, but they are considered as fanatics. Most of the leaders are not as strong as Hassan al-Banna was because he faced many attacks and he resisted them until the day he was assassinated. He was that type of a person who openly criticized political party because of their sectional and egoistic interests that lead to the corruption (Zubaida, 2009). Hassan al-Banna's achievements as the leader of the movement are worshiped until nowadays. He "...is seen by his followers as an example of the combination of religious conviction with

moral courage and public engagement. Not only in the past, but even today, followers of the Brotherhood portray his leadership as charismatic and appealing to the masses of believers; they describe his ideology as exemplifying Islamic ideals” (Zollner, 2009, p. 9). He left behind something that his followers are proud of. He found a balance between religion, moral and public or at least this was his main priority at the beginning when the movement was founded. “The original aim of the Brotherhood was the reform of the hearts of and minds to guide Muslim back to the true religion and away from the corrupt aspirations and conduct created by European dominance” (Zubaida, 2009, p. 48)

It appears that Weber’s charismatic leader was tailored on Hassan al-Banna. He was that type of the person that was passionate about the founding a movement that would lift up Islamic reputation back to the top. He had many followers that followed him and were fanaticized by his speeches. Fact, which contributes to his charismatic soul is that in the first years of the movement, the branches of the Muslim Brotherhood widespread everywhere where it was possible. Hassan al-Banna’s followers were not forced to follow him. They felt that he was doing something virtuous for the society, for the bliss of society. I would say that he was born in the right time, in the right place with the right personal qualities that helped him achieve what he wanted to. Hassan al-Banna died with the joy that he has done at least something for the Egyptian people to oppose against the British occupation and that Egyptian people should go back to the Islamic values and traditions.

As always, every person has a dark side as well and Hassan al-Banna was not an exception. Al-Banna was sympathising with Hitler and Mussolini. What is also interesting, he shared some of the ideas that Hitler and Mussolini had. He also asked them for help to fight against the British and against the king Farouk. His aim was to keep close relationship with them. Another dark side is that under his reign in the Muslim Brotherhood, many people were assassinated. He also accused Jews for bringing the change and westernisation (Isseroff, 2008). Even though he did not kill anyone personally, he was a part of it. The relationship that he wanted to keep close with Germans and Mussolini is bad in itself. It is known that Hitler is considered as one of the worst persons that caused deaths of innocent people who had different

religion. It is easy to find an innocent target that have not caused anything, but what if the Egyptian themselves caused the situation that they had been in.

There are not many leaders that can do as did Hassan al-Banna. His descendants found it very challenging to replace someone who is an idol for most of the followers and thus he remained a founding icon until now. After the death of the founder, the movement had to find a new leader. “Many members and followers were dissatisfied with the weak leadership which prevailed in the organization after Banna” (Zubaida, 2009, p. 51). The new leader of the Muslim Brotherhood became Hasan Isma’il al-Hudaybi who could not challenge Hassan al-Banna and his charisma. Hudaybi was the one who came right after Banna and the movement was facing internal problems. Nowadays, the leadership is routinized.

Where Does the Money Come from?

As mentioned in the second chapter, we will have a closer look at the financial resources of the Brotherhood. Financing is one of the essential questions that the movement must deal with. The movement has lots of expenses and, on the other side; it has to have earnings as well. It is the same, as with a company, for running a good business the company must have both earning and expenses. To finance as big a movement as the Muslim Brotherhood requires quite a lot of resources. Mostly, we would think that all the money would come from the members that are a part of the movement. However, the membership dues cannot cover all the expenses that this movement has. This would largely cover small amount of the expenses. Where the rest of the money comes from? This is the main question here.

Financing belongs among one of the most essential pillars that hold the movement still alive. Why so? The obvious answer is that without the money, there is no movement (at least not one that lasts) because a successful movement has to offer something to the members in return for their time, devotion, and activities. No one would join a movement where something would not be offered back. In the chapter two we mentioned Olson and people’s interests. As Olson (2002) says in his writing that people prefer their own interest before the interest of the group and if they would be forced to prefer the interests of the group it will involuntary. In the first place people rather seek their own interests and what is beneficial for them and what is

beneficial for the society, for example. People are willing to offer small amount of their money periodically, but there must be a program that is convincing and useful for them as well in order to fully participate. What is the Muslim Brotherhood offering to their members in return?

It is logical that to finance all different kinds of institutions and services that help their members to get something in return, requires many resources. “The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood has more than 300,000 members and runs numerous institutions, including hospitals, schools, banks, businesses, foundations, day care centres, thrift shops, social clubs, and facilities for the disabled” (Johnson, 2012). We can see that this movement has all kinds of connections through Egypt. It is much easier when you have it because members’ have a feeling that it takes care of them, from cradle to grave. It can be seen that this movement is also oriented on social care for their members, despite the fact that nowadays it is also oriented on the political sphere. They emphasize education, social clubs, foundations, and all kinds of programs, which help to attract young members. Fundamentally, what they attempt to do is to raise social awareness between people, because leaders of the movement know that the Egyptian people do not have as much money to pay all the expenses that they might incur during their lifetime. For example, school fees or hospital fees or day-care facility fees.

What is very noteworthy is the statement from the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood on their financing. “Firstly and lastly we depend on God, then on ourselves and our pockets. Imam Hassan al Banna used to advise that every member allocate a portion of their salary to the MB throughout their life and part of their wealth upon their death. There is no other organization that apprehends the meaning of solidarity and unity like the MB” (GlobalMB, 2007). Basically what they are saying is that the movement depends on God, then on themselves and at the end is financed from the “pockets of their members” while they are alive and part of their wealth when members die. I think that this sounds suspicious because God cannot pay for health care or education that is needed for the Egyptian people. How much can God contribute to this? God can only contribute to this what is written in Quran, how people should behave or live. The rest...is up to the Brotherhood to finance.

Obviously there is not enough money for all the activities that this movement provides from the membership dues. There must also be financial support from other countries, but they are not willing or they do not want to admit openly who else supports them.

In a few articles that were part of my research I found interesting observations on who else supports the Muslim Brotherhood. "...the organizations and individuals comprising the global Muslim Brotherhood have in fact received substantial outside funding from Saudi Arabia and Gulf countries" (GlobalMB, 2007). "With the help of money from Saudi Arabia and other oil-rich countries, they established cells school and functioning institutions in my neighbourhood" (Fuller, Zewail, Ramadan, & Ali, 2011, p. 46). It is obvious that between one of the biggest supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood is Saudi Arabia and oil-rich countries. For the Muslim Brotherhood, money that comes from them is a gold mine. The countries such as Saudi Arabia and oil-rich countries must see a potential in Egypt, especially in the Muslim Brotherhood. There must be a reason why they support them. The question about their reason is particularly interesting, but this could be a topic for a separate thesis on its own. However, we can mention a few words. For example, Qatar is a big player in influencing of the Muslim Brotherhood. "Since Mohamed Mursi became the first Muslim Brotherhood member to lead an Arab state, Qatar has promised Egypt at least 20 billion in aid and investment. Other nations in the Persian Gulf, which holds almost half the world's oil, see the Brotherhood as a threat. Saudi Arabia has shunned it for at least two decades, and the United Arab Emirates has jailed dozens of people this year on suspicion of links to the group" (Baltaji, 2012). Some of the countries – as Qatar - can see a potential in influencing Egypt and some can see them as a threat. Even when it was said in this quote that the Saudi Arabia has shunned the Muslim Brotherhood, we can not be hundred per cent sure whether it is true or not anymore. In most of the literature they say that Saudi Arabia belongs among the current supporters. Maybe they do support them but in quiet way. As it was said, this is theme for a different topic and it would be nice to study it, but this paper is too short to mention everything. Why the Muslim Brotherhood does not want to admit that these particular countries are supporting them? The answer could be that some of this money can end up in the radical offshoots of the Muslim Brotherhood and Saudi Arabia and oil-rich countries do not want to be linked with the terrorist attacks,

assassinations or providing money for the purchase of weapons. It is better for them if they are linked with the good intentions such as funding schools, charity, foundations, hospitals and many other things rather than to be linked with the killing of people.

What I would like to add at the end of this fourth chapter is a collective action. Brief comparison Arab Spring to a collective action. Just for an illustration.

Arab Spring as an Example of Collective action

Can Arab Spring be considered as a type of collective action? Arab Spring is one of the best examples of the collective action. This revolution that happened in 2011 has had an impact on Egypt and its citizens. They have to deal with the consequences until today. The situation was an awakening for all social classes that there is time to do something about the leadership and running of the country. Egyptian people expressed their opinions and visions on the street throughout Egypt. It was remarkable to see how these people could stand together against the regime and be persistent. All this led to the fall of regime and set in new hope for becoming a democratic country.

Chapter V: Conclusion

It is not an easy task to come up with a conclusion about why the Muslim Brotherhood had lasted for eighty - six years and is still going strong after the recent regime change. This topic is interesting to study, as it requires insight into the Egyptian politics, knowledge of the historical background and insights from the field of sociology as well. There are many fields that could be added, but this bachelor thesis is too short to include them. If we follow the news on Egypt in the mainstream media, we get very little information about the background, only implicitly passed information, hints, at times even stereotypes. Therefore, I decided to study the movement that was with Egypt during the kingdom, creation of the republic and maybe one day will be with the establishment of a consolidated democracy. Based on the research that was done on the Muslim Brotherhood with the implementation of social movement theory and its development during these years, I came up with the following results.

Firstly, let's summarize the main points discussed in this bachelor thesis very shortly. The movement has been here for eighty- six years, during which it was struggling for its own existence, recruiting new members, facing rejection and later being accepted as a proper movement and a political party. At the beginning, Egypt faced British occupation that had left impact on the Egyptian nation and in every single part that creates the system. Egypt was not struggling only with the occupation, but also with the economic and social crisis that originated in that time. One Egyptian man by name of Hassan al-Banna came with an idea to create a movement that would help people. Al-Banna had also a feeling that Egypt was becoming too western and was changing to its' picture. He did not like an idea that people were moving away from Islam – the basis of their living, values and traditions. In 1928, he established the Muslim Brotherhood. This movement was slowly getting into the awareness of the people's minds. It was a process that has lasted for years it's widespread recognition and acceptance did not happen overnight. The movement was established as an impulsive reaction to contemporary situation. At first, this movement was apolitical and in a few

years, it became political. While the grand aims of the movement and its rhetoric were ideological, but equally important are the smaller aims - to offer things that the government was not able to. They are, for example – education, food, social care, daycare, and many others. This was a crucial thing that helped to attract many followers and Hassan al-Banna could also spread Islam between people. For spreading thoughts and messages, the best places were mosques. The Muslim Brotherhood was able to stand through three regimes – Nasser's, Sadat's and Mubarak's (since 1954 to 2011). During these regimes, the Muslim Brotherhood experienced many obstacles, such as – loss of many members due to execution and imprisonment. Despite the fact that the state authorities did not recognize the movement, it could achieve things as it did. At the end, the Muslim Brotherhood established a political party called Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) that helped them get into politics without forging the election. Since 2012 the Freedom and Justice Party is a part of the parliament and their previous representative, Mohammed Morsi, is the president of the Egypt.

In this case, bachelor thesis examined factors that influenced rise of the movement based on social movement theory. These factors were divided into the external and internal factors. The most important external factors that were examined are modernisation and colonialism that Egypt had to face in the late 19th and beginning of 20th century. Between internal factors that were part of the development of the Muslim Brotherhood belongs – religion, political regime, political opportunity structure, internal structure of the movement, leadership, collective action, and financing. Each of these factors, are crucial to the development of the Muslim Brotherhood or any other movement. They form a solid base according to which we can predict the future of the movement.

Secondly, based on the research that I conducted, I can say that the Muslim Brotherhood has lasted for so long because of reasons we can find through application of social movements theories – due to its internal structure, resources, adaptability, ideology, and experiences which the movement achieved thanks to its cohabitation with different regimes. Why? Firstly, the internal structure is an important pillar that helps to distinguish particular members from each other. They have divided

responsibilities. It is very difficult to become a part of the Muslim Brotherhood because they have a protective mechanism how to avoid people who want to misuse them. In each of the phases, person is under the control and is watched whether the potential member is suitable or not. Thanks to this system, the Muslim Brotherhood wants to be hundred per cent sure that their members are devotee and faithful and they do not waste time and money. This distinction makes the Muslim Brotherhood slightly different because it consists of people who can be trusted and relied on in difficult situations. Secondly, the ideology is another pillar of the movement, serving as a glue that attracts potential members and gels the existing members together. It is very important what kind of ideology a movement uses and how it is represented. The Muslim Brotherhood, especially Hassan al-Banna, used Islam as a base for the ideology. Thanks to his great charisma and speaking skills, he was able to spread their ideology across the Egypt and to neighbouring states. His ideology and his appeal are relied upon until today, maybe with minor changes, but the important fact is that it survived and are considered as sources of legitimacy of the movement.

I would put the movement's adaptability and its experiences under the different political regimes together. They, too, belong among the factors that influenced its longevity. During these years, the movement had to adapt to different situations, so that they would not be dismissed forever. In the situations such as abolition, imprisonment of leaders and members, executions or repression from the state, the Muslim Brotherhood did not fall on its knees (also due to other studied factors), but it helped them resist the difficult times. The hardest times that the Muslim Brotherhood experienced was during Sadat's and Mubarak's regime where both of the leaders made direct actions to prevent the Brotherhood from getting into the politics and make a change form within. I think that the Muslim Brotherhood did take a lesson from it and tried to avoid situations that would cause its' destruction. The past years are as a book that they can learn from. While other factors, external and internal, directly explain the reasons for the long duration of the movement, the longevity itself is a separate source of strength and legitimacy that is important to account for. History itself and historical experiences are factors that can predict whether the movement can survive into the future. This factor is called historical path dependence.

I would also add to the adaptability of the movement one important thing and that is that the Hassan al-Banna with the Muslim Brotherhood wanted to work within the political system – wanted to get into the politics through the election. His aim was not to get into the politics by fraud election or to operate outside of the system.

In 2011, when the Arab revolutions took place, they brought an opportunity that the Muslim Brotherhood has been waiting for. Fourth and the last reason that I would add to longevity are the resources. Without money, there would not be the Muslim Brotherhood. At the beginning, the movement was receiving money from their members, and at that time it was enough. With the development of the movement there was need for more money that members could not cover. Saudi Arabia and oil-rich countries mostly finance the Muslim Brotherhood. Leaders of the movement do not want to admit where the money comes from and they rather say that they are coming from their faithful members. It is important to mention where the money ends – mostly on education, hospitals, social and day cares, addicted people, support of farmers, sports clubs, or financing their own net of banks.

All of these factors combined create a great base for the longevity of the movement. Each of these departments must work well and they have to offer people what they miss elsewhere in the political system. If it is education for their children, they will pay for it, if it is medical care, they will pay for it. It is a constant innovation of things that they have to work on, to be still alive. If this goes as well as it did so far, then there is no problem why the movement should not last for many more years. The Muslim Brotherhood realises that they have to work on themselves constantly, be still attractive if they want to survive. People's minds and thinking change often and they must go with them.

The longevity of the Muslim Brotherhood is a combination of factors and historical experiences.

Resumé

Prvá kapitola pozostáva so všeobecného úvodu do problematiky bakalárskej práce. Oboznamuje čitateľa s výberom témy, dôvodmi výberu a taktiež čo sa bude nachádzať v nasledujúcich kapitolách. V prvej časti je taktiež zdôraznený fakt, že táto práca sa zaoberá iba Moslimským Bratstvom a nie radikálnymi odvetviami tohto hnutia. Táto časť obsahuje aj hlavnú výskumnú otázku – aké faktory spôsobujú a ovplyvňujú dlhotrvanosť Moslimského Bratstva a či tieto faktory môžu ovplyvňovať dlhotrvanosť aj naďalej do budúcnosti.

V druhej časti sa práca zaoberá teóriou sociálnych hnutí, ich jednotlivými komponentmi. Ako sú náboženstvo, politický režim, štruktúra politických príležitostí, interná štruktúra hnutia, vodcovstvo, kolektívna akcia, financovanie a ich následným vysvetlením. Komponenty, ktoré sú tu spomenuté patria medzi interné faktory, ktoré ovplyvňujú vznik hnutia. Práve táto časť práce pomôže čitateľovi sa oboznámiť s analytickým chápaním hnutia. Taktiež sa zaoberá rozborom hnutia dvojakým spôsobom - ako sociálne hnutie a islamské hnutie ako poddruh hnutia. Do tejto kapitoly bola zahrnutá aj metodológia práce.

Tretia časť oboznamuje čitateľa s historickým pozadím Egypta pre jeho lepšiu orientáciu sa v danej problematike, a nielen preto, ale aj pre lepšie pochopenie prečo toto hnutie bolo založené. Historické pozadie zohráva veľmi dôležitú úlohu v bakalárskej práci, pretože hnutia do veľkej miery vznikajú ako podnet na nejakú situáciu v krajine a preto nemohlo byť nechané bokom. Taktiež podčiarkuje a vysvetľuje externé faktory, ktoré ovplyvnili zrod a vývoj hnutia, ktorými sú modernizácia a kolonializmus. Ďalej v tejto časti nájdete ideológiu Moslimského Bratstva, kľúčové politické režimy - Nasserov, Sadatov a Mubarakov - počas ktorých Moslimské Bratstvo zotrvalo a aký mali dopad na toto hnutie. Poslednú časť tretej kapitoly uzatvára štruktúra politických príležitostí.

Predposledná kapitola – štvrtá – sa zaoberá aplikáciou zvyšných vnútorných faktorov, od začiatku vzniku hnutia až po súčasnosť, ktoré ovplyvňujú vznik hnutia. Ide o internú štruktúru hnutia, vodcovstvo a vodca, a ako posledný a najdôležitejší faktor

financovanie. V časti, kde sa bakalárska práca venuje vodcovstvu a vodcovi bol použitý Max Weber, kde bol porovnaný jeho charizmatický vodca so zakladateľom hnutia Hassanom al-Bannom.

Posledná kapitola bakalárskej práce sa venuje krátkemu všeobecnému zhrnutiu tretej a štvrtej kapitoly a následne celkovému záveru práce, na základe ktorých faktorov Moslimské Bratstvo vydržalo a či tieto faktory môžu aj naďalej ovplyvňovať jeho dlhotrvácnosť.

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