The Road to Success

– A Study of the Muslim Brotherhood’s Revolution

Kerstin Eneflo

Supervisor: Anders Sjögren

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1. Introduction

During the Arab Spring, which began in the winter of 2010 and progressed in the spring of 2011, protesters were aiming at political change and democratization around the Arab world⁴. The events also furthered the discourse on civil society and social movements’ impact and influence on political change⁵. With religion being highly present in the Arab world the discourse contains the much-disputed debate of the impact of religion and religious social movements on political change⁶. Therefore, to get a bigger understanding of the impact of civil society on political change during the Arab Spring, I find it necessary to study such movements. One of those movements is the Muslim Brotherhood. They have been an important actor in the Arab world for a long time and have played an important role in Egypt ever since it was founded in the country in 1928 by Hassan al-Banna. In its first years the movement was involved in charitable and social activities and it was mainly a charity organisation with little interest in politics⁷. The movement have had its ups and downs being outlawed and facing repression from the regime. Attempts to enter into politics were first made in the 1940’s, however, due to pressure from the government they withdrew their participation. In the following decades, during the 50’s and 60’s, they faced repression from the regime and were outlawed in 1954. During the time of president Anwar Sadat, 1970-1980, the movement got back some of its freedom and influence over social life in Egypt and they managed to expand their social network. However, when president Hosni Mubarak came to power in the 1980’s, the Muslim Brotherhood again became a target of regime repression⁸. It was not until after the uprising in 2011 that the movement regained its influence and even reached success when they won the first democratic election being held in modern times. The fact that the Muslim Brotherhood have long been important in the Egyptian society and is one of the biggest movements in the country, makes it essential to study them specifically, in order to understand the impact of social movements during the Arab Spring.

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¹ Haas L.M & Lesch W.D. 2013, p.1
² See Rougier B. Lacroix S., Egypt’s Revolution: Politics, Religion and Social Movements, 2016
³ See Ranko, A. The Muslim Brotherhood and its Quest for Hegemony in Egypt: State Discourse, and Islamist-Counter Discourse, 2016, and Esposito, J. L., Islam and Democracy after the Arab Spring, 2016,
⁴ Al-Anani K. 2016, p.6f
⁵ Ibid, p.6f
1.1 Purpose and Research question

The purpose of this thesis is to contribute to the above-mentioned discourse on the role of social movements for political change, and I do so by studying the case of the Muslim Brotherhood in the time of the uprising. My aim is to, through the lens of social movement theories, present a way to understand the role of the Brotherhood on political change in the time of the uprising and I seek to do that with the help of the following research question; *How did the Muslim Brotherhood work towards political change between 2010-2012 in Egypt?*

To study the work of the movement during this specific time and by using social movement theories provides an understanding of the role of the Brotherhood on political change. The contemporary political situation in Egypt is the direct consequence of the 2011 revolution. That was a crucial time for Egyptian politics, and for the people hoping for a change and the outcome of the demonstrations to be a step towards a more democratic political climate. The study has its beginning at the end of 2010, when the protests broke out in Tunisia. The Brotherhood was active on their website with statements and comments on the protests, and it is the Tunisian uprising that sparked the Arab spring, I therefore consider the outbreak in Tunisia as a valid beginning for my research. I study the movement up until 2012, and the time when the member of the Brotherhood, Mohammad Morsi, won the election with the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP), the political branch of the Muslim Brotherhood. After that, a new era began and those events I have to leave for another study. I am interested in studying the role of the movement in the time of the uprising. Thus, my choice of this time span.
2. Previous studies

In studies on the Arab Spring and its outcomes, scholars have put the focus on the impact of religion, specifically the impact of Islam on politics. With religious social movements being highly present, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, scholars have tried to answer questions about Islam and democratization – are they really compatible?\(^6\) And, what role can religious groups have on democratization? This discourse takes more of a normative approach and often turns into anti- or pro-Islam conclusions, for example Huntington who says that the success of the liberal west on democracy is the separation with the church, and that the nature of Islam is the impediment to regime change and democracy transitioning\(^7\). In recent years, scholars have instead turned to social movement theories in trying to explain the outcomes of the uprising, and to understand movements roles on political change, however, the focus is still on Islamist movements and the Islam–state relation and often with the aim of studying the ideology of movements and political Islam\(^8\).

In order to understand the role of social movements on political change in the time of the uprising it is necessary to separate the religious aspect from the aspect of social movements. I argue that by only focusing on religion as the main factor we might lose evident findings. Religion is, as mentioned above, a big part of the society in the Arab world, and such movements are therefore necessary to study. However, to get a more nuanced understanding of impacts on political change, in the context of the Arab Spring, I believe it necessary to add to the discourse a study, which separates the part of religion and examines important actors in civil society exclusively through the lens of social movement theories.

Previous studies that are considering social movement theories when studying the Muslim Brotherhood takes on different aspects and perspectives. Noha Mellor in *Da’wa, Discourse, and Political Communication*, takes the perspective of social movement theory when giving a brief overview of the media strategies of the Brotherhood. His work on the Brotherhood is focused on the communication strategy of the movement and he looks at the Brotherhood

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\(^6\) See Esposito, J. L., Islam and Democracy after the Arab Spring. 2016
\(^7\) Huntington P. S., 1996, p.114
from a longer historical perspective and more closely at the general core mission of the movement and how it is communicated with help from the media⁹.

Anette Ranko, in her work *The Muslim Brotherhood and its Quest for Hegemony in Egypt*, takes on the religious aspect and is focusing on the Islam – state relation. She uses different aspects of social movement theories, however, not as the primary theory, together with other theories to look at the relation between Islamic movements and the state¹⁰.

Khalil al-Anani takes social movement theories into consideration in his book *Inside the Muslim Brotherhood: Religion, Identity, and Politics* where he studies the Muslim Brotherhood as an example of an Islamist group. He uses social movement theory, together with other approaches, to study the Muslim Brotherhood in relation to Islamist movements in general. In his study he focuses on the internal behaviour and the individual members, in order to understand what it means to be a member.¹¹

The common element in previous studies on the Muslim Brotherhood and social movement theories is that they use a long historical perspective with a focus on the growth and development of the movement, which can be assumed as having to do with the time resources and the different aims of the studies. However, they generally use a timespan that ends in 2010 or 2011. Previous studies give us a more general understanding or an understanding of either the individual members (al-Anani), the movement’s use of media (Mellor) or the Islamist – state relation (Ranko). Therefore, I see the need to exclusively use social movement theories to detailed map out their work during this time (2010-2012) in order to understand their work and role on political change.

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⁹ See Mellor, N, Da’wa, Discourse, and Political Communication, 2018
¹¹ Al-Anani K, 2016, p.9
3. Theoretical framework

As the primary theory for this thesis I am using Sidney Tarrow’s political opportunity approach on contentious politics. He presents in his book *Power in Movement* a framework on political opportunity approach that can be used to understand and to conceptualize the role and importance of social movements on political change. The fundamental argument of this theory Tarrow says is that:

[…], people engage in contentious politics when patterns of political opportunities and constraints change, and then by strategically employing a repertoire of collective action, creating new opportunities, which are used by others in widening cycles of contention. When their struggles revolve around broad cleavages in society; when they bring people together around inherited cultural symbols; and when they can build on - or construct - dense social networks and connective structures, these episodes of contention result in sustained interactions with opponents in social movement.

He built the approach on the following dimensions:

*The repertoire of contention*

The form of collective action that movements turn to is their repertoire of contention. Movements evolve and develop through communication and their actions depend on the public culture. “The conventions of contention” is the way leaders decide on forms of action, invented, adapted and combined to gain support from the people. These conventions of contention can be inspired by events abroad or might be based on history or collective memory.

*Networks and mobilizing structures*

The more rooted in a social network the more willing people are to collective action. Social networks can be within or through family structures, work and neighbourhoods.

Although individuals are the ones deciding on participating in collective action, the social networks often have an impact and ideas are often furthered by these social networks.

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12 Grugel J, 2002, p. 97
13 Tarrow S, 2011, p.29
14 Ibid, p.20
15 Grugel J, 2002, p.97
16 Ibid, p.97f
17 Tarrow S, 1998, p.22
**Political opportunities and constraints**

This dimension contains the aspect of the opportunity to engage in contentious politics. Constraints and repression comes from regimes and leaders that will hinder the people to engage in contentious politics. The structure of the state and political cleavages creates opportunities for engagement in changing the political climate, for both resource-poor actors and strong actors\(^ {18} \).

**Consensus mobilization and identities**

The way in which movements form a collective way of understanding the world can create a feeling of commitment, passion and trust among the members and that in turn will be determinant of coordination of collective action\(^ {19} \).

According to Tarrow, these dimensions combined are what makes social movements crucial in political and social change and they are the key factors for movements in their establishment and in order to sustain and grow\(^ {20} \). Thus, the framework with its dimensions is used to understand the creation and sustention of social networks and to understand the power in movements in contentious politics. I use this framework and its key dimensions to map out the work of the Muslim Brotherhood. By analysing their work through the eyes of this framework I seek to find a greater understanding of the role of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt during the specific time span. A clarification of the operationalization of his framework is provided in the following section.

\(^{18}\) Grugel J, 2002, p.19f

\(^{19}\) Tarrow S, 1998, p.21

\(^{20}\) Grugel J, 2002, p.97
3.2 Analytical framework

<table>
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<td>What type of collective action did the Brotherhood turn to? Do they use a violent or non-violent approach? Did it change over time?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Networks and mobilizing structures</td>
<td>How did the Brotherhood mobilize for political change? And, in what way did their established networks and organization benefit them in their work? Did they work alone or on cooperation with others?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Political opportunities and constraints</td>
<td>What opportunities did the Brotherhood seize during this time span? And, how did these opportunities, and the constraints, affect them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consensus mobilization and identities</td>
<td>How did the Brotherhood form the understanding of the political situation in Egypt during this time? And in what way did that help them in mobilization?</td>
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My aim is to map out the work of the Brotherhood and my focus is on the different actions and strategies from the Brotherhood and which Tarrow points out are crucial. Thus, for the first dimension of repertoire of contention, the focus is to look at the collective action that the Brotherhood promoted for the people. Therefore, my question on the violent or non-violent approach, and how this took its form throughout the time span. Regarding networks and mobilizing structures I find the cooperation with other parts of the society as an interesting factor to look at, and how they interact with different actors. I find this important in order to find factors that potentially were beneficial to them in their work towards political change. As the opportunities and constraints are crucial for movements in order to establish, sustain and grow, this dimension is vital and therefore it matters to understand how they dealt with opportunities and constraints and how they took its form. I will therefore look at the material
with the focus on what opportunities they seized and how these were beneficial to them. The fourth and final dimension; consensus mobilization and identities, is based on the notion that a feeling of commitment can further collective action\(^{21}\) and I therefore use the question of how they formed the understanding of the political situation and how this might have helped them in mobilizing for collective action and to form collective identities. Finally, I analyse how these dimensions, in relation to their work, are interrelated.

4. Material, Method and Design

For this study I use secondary literature on the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. The literature gives me an overview of the time of the revolution and an overview of the strategy and on what arenas the group was present. Khalil al-Anani’s *Inside the Muslim Brotherhood*, gives me a comprehensive overview of the structure of the movement and their ways of recruiting. He also touches briefly on strategies on mobilizing in the post-Mubarak era. Alison Pargeter’s work *The Muslim Brotherhood - from Opposition to Power* gives me a good overview of the Muslim Brotherhood and provides a thorough report on the Brotherhood in general, not only in Egypt. In addition to Pargeter, Hesham al-Awadi’s *The Muslim Brothers in Pursuit of Legitimacy* provides a more detailed report on the Brotherhood in Egypt during the Mubarak era as well as post-Mubarak era. The secondary literature is chosen to give a broad background and with the authors having their focus on different aspects of the movement I seek to get a broad range of different authors with different aims and focus areas. My intention is to avoid any bias that could possibly occur, and to get as nuanced view of the events as possible.

In order to try to come closer to the primary source I use the media to analyse the work of the Brotherhood to get the official statements and announcements from the movement. For a closer look and broader understanding of their work I examine both their Arabic website and the English version. In addition, the reason for choosing only their official websites is the time aspect and for limitation. Choosing social media as a source leaves you with an amount of material that is impossible to examine on this short amount of time, and I therefore choose to focus on the Brotherhood’s official websites as they provide the statements that officially

\(^{21}\) Tarrow S, 1998, p.21
are coming from the movement. Their Facebook-page is mainly based out of links to their official websites, and I consider their Twitter-page not providing enough information to be able to draw on any conclusions. Their official website is the platform were the more detailed statements can be found.

Other material chosen for this research comes from reports and articles online. Such as the Ground Project who did an on-site report on the revolution in Egypt which was presented in two parts. I also use Human Rights Watch which I consider being reliable and takes on, when going through the literature, an objective view of the specific issue. Using both secondary literature, online sources and the official websites gives me a broader understanding and helps me to keep a critical eye on the material. I am aware that statements to the public from a movement or actor wanting to be influential always needs to be taken with a grain of salt. Therefore, after looking at their statements, I turn to the secondary literature to be certain that what they said they will do is according to what they actually did. All the sources are being used in the same way, to control for and confirm the findings from the material. I am able to consider the dependability of my sources by weighing them against each other. In this way I become aware of potential bias and I eliminate the risks of tendency to portrait an event in a subjective way.

I intend to present a way to understand the work of the Brotherhood. In order to do so the dimensions from the theory, and my operational questions works as a guide. I go through the dimensions step by step and they are used as subheadings throughout my paper to clearly present the parallels I draw to the material and my findings. Throughout the paper the dimensions are being explained more detailed and when describing them accordingly to Tarrow I clearly connect them to the specific event in question and to the actions taken by the Brotherhood. I am aware that the interpretations of the analytical framework can differ from person to person and researcher to researcher. Therefore, I find it important to clearly and thoroughly describe the parallels I draw between the theory and the analysis of the material and I find my operational questions helpful in order to improve the reliability of the study.

Under each subheading I go through the material and the work of the movement in chronological order starting at the time of the uprising in Tunisia end ending in the electoral success in 2012. To keep my study on the social movement part of the Brotherhood I leave

22 Esaiasson P., et al., 2012, p.286
out studying the political party – branch, such as their party program. On the official website the movement separates their statements and announcements with the announcements from their newly found Freedom and Justice Party\textsuperscript{23}, thus I focus on the statements from the social movement-part of the group. First, an overview of the events of the Arab Spring in Egypt is provided, together with a brief background on the Brotherhood in 2010. I find it important to have some background knowledge on the events in Egypt and on the state of the movement in 2010 in order to get a better understanding, and to ease the understanding throughout the research.

5. Background

When the Tunisian protests broke out, in the winter of 2010, the Muslim Brotherhood was in the state of trying not to sink. Due to the banning of the movement and the sudden and, according to Human Rights Watch, the illegitimate attacks and arrests on its members they had have a tough year\textsuperscript{24}. On the Brotherhoods official website, they call the arrests and attacks on their members as forgery on the will of the people. They accused the government of silencing the people and they call for the free and intellectual people to stand up for the citizens’ rights\textsuperscript{25}. A parliamentary election was planned to be carried out in November/December of 2010, and the Brotherhood announced their interest to participate\textsuperscript{26}. Despite attacks and arrests of their members, the chairman at that time Dr Mohamed Badie, made it clear that the Brotherhood are not in any way giving up on their goals to continue being an important player in the Egyptian society and to influence Egyptian politics as well\textsuperscript{27}. However, due to lack of transparency by not letting external observers in to the polling

\textsuperscript{23} The Muslim Brotherhood Official website (English) http://www.ikhwanweb.com/
stations\textsuperscript{28}, silencing of the media and arrests of members, the Brotherhood accused the regime of rigging the election and decided to withdraw in protest\textsuperscript{29}. A few months later, the uprising had spread from Tunisia to Egypt and began with the protests on January 25, 2011. The following weeks the streets of Cairo and several of the governorates around the country were filled with demonstrators from all parts of the society. The sitting president at that time, Hosni Mubarak, held several speeches between January and February offering some, according to the protesters, trivial changes in the politics. He formed a new government, appointed a new vice-president and promised to not participate in the elections scheduled for September 2012\textsuperscript{30}. This was not enough for the people, they demanded greater changes and Mubarak finally had to resign. The ousting of president Mubarak was followed by the SCAF – Supreme Council for Armed Forces taking control until the next election\textsuperscript{31}. The Muslim Brotherhood had now become more involved in the demonstrations and an important force for the protestors, and for the SCAF. They both needed each other equally- the Brotherhood in order to get access to the decision-making chambers, and the SCAF in order to get the masses on its side as the Brotherhood at this time was the largest and strongest force in the country\textsuperscript{32}. After the fall of president Mubarak, the Brotherhood had taken the chance to set up the Freedom and Justice party (FJP) and in March 2011, the party was officially registered. A parliament election for the People’s assembly was planned to be carried out in November 2011, however, the SCAF tried to delay the transfer of the power to the people and new demonstrations broke out. The movement got closer to power and to reach political change first with the parliament election that finally was carried out, and later with the presidential election.


\textsuperscript{30} Al-Awadi H., 2014, p.230f

\textsuperscript{31} Pargeter A., 2013, p.222

\textsuperscript{32} Pargeter A., 2013, p.225f
6. Analysis

In this section the different analytical dimensions from the framework is being presented with its own subheading. Under each dimension, the work of the movement, in chronological order, is being defined. The sections contain a more detailed outline of the above-mentioned events. The events and the work of the movement is being identified and connected with each dimension. Not all of the above-mentioned events are being treated under each subheading, as the focus for each subheading is the specific dimensions in relation to the Brotherhood’s work during this time. Therefore, some events will occur more than once throughout the research, and not every event will be treated under each subheading as the analytical dimensions are primarily a tool in order to describe the work of the movement. Each subheading ends with a short summary.

6.1 Repertoire of contention

The mass protests in Tunisia, which was the start of the Arab uprising, occurred in December 2010 until January 2011. In an official statement, the chairman of the Brotherhood expresses his support for the Tunisian people and stresses that their situation mirrors the situation for all the people living in the region and in the Islamic world, including Egypt. The movement was highly critical of the arbitrary attacks on their members, the corruption, and how the previous parliamentary election was being handled. The movement gave the Tunisian people their support on the matter, but condemned all violence being carried out during the protests. The Brotherhood called for the people of Egypt to stand up for their rights, and for a peaceful turn of the political situation. The Brotherhood was being very clear in their statements that the solution lays in reforms and a peaceful change. They asked for cooperation between every part of the society and they called for open talks between the regime and the civil society, from majorities to minorities. Due to the approach of not encouraging any demonstrations that could turn into violent riots, the movement calls for a change in reforms. Thus, in order for the regime to avoid anger from the people, as what happened in Tunisia, the movement

presented for the government a list of demands to fulfil, such as ending the state of emergency that had been ongoing in the country for decades, to release political prisoners, and ease the restrictions on media and the press.

The Brotherhood have had, throughout their history of being banned and attacked, a strategy of “seeking refuge in society” by not being too outspoken and in charge of any protests. During the protests in February the Brotherhood took on the task of being the charitable organization caring for the people. They provided blankets, food, and other necessities to the protesters, they even set up medical clinics to help the wounded during the uprising.

Their repertoire of contention was to work for change peacefully, they portrayed themselves as being a peaceful movement wanting to solve societal problems by reforms and negotiations. The history of a particular group, and its relation to the government has an impact on how the movement will act and create its contention. Repertoire of contention, Tarrow says, has to do not only with “what people do when they are engaged in conflict with others but what they know how to do”. The Brotherhood knew due to history and their relationship with the regime, that promoting or encouraging protests would be too risky for them due to previous attacks from the government. They took on the strategy of peaceful negotiations and emphasized the importance of not creating riots. The movement was therefore not in the front edge on mobilizing the protests that took place on January 25. They did not promote the mass protests but encouraged the people to stand up for their rights.

Tarrow makes a distinction between traditional repertoire and modern repertoire. He defines the traditional repertoire as the actions that usually are direct and violent, while the modern repertoire aims at presenting a claim and does not have the direct aim at achieving immediate change or get an immediate reaction. In the modern repertoire we can find three types of collective action; disruption, violence, and contained behaviour. Violence is the direct violence and is the most noticeable collective action that takes its form in, for example,
repression and violence on demonstrators, in civil war or guerrilla fighting\textsuperscript{40}. Disruption is the form of action that will break routines and come as surprises to the elite and leave them disoriented. It can work as a threat of violence and can in some cases disrupt the public order\textsuperscript{41}. The third type, the contained collective action “offer the advantage of building on routines that people understand and that elites will accept or even facilitate”\textsuperscript{42}. This is not the most violent form of collective action, instead it is the type of behaviour when people uses strikes, demonstrations and marches, it is the type of collective action that the people are familiar with and know how to use. Demonstrations, in contrast to strikes, does not need to be connected to labour, a product or to attract supporters. Demonstrations can instead take place, and participants can join to show support and solidarity with another group or against an opponent\textsuperscript{43}. This repertoire of contained collective action and the repertoire of disruption is what the Brotherhood used at this time. They condemn any violence and chose a more controlled way of expressing its demands on political change by using their website and putting together a list of demands for reform change.

After deciding to participate in the demonstrations, they kept their repertoire of contained collective action, and the chairman of the movement called it “the peaceful uprising”. In the statement he stressed the importance of working towards ending the corruption and the violent regime, and the continuing of the protests. He also stressed the importance of peaceful demonstrations and condemned any damages on property, public or private\textsuperscript{44}.

The disruptive action the movement took is by using its demands on the regime as a condition to avoid anger, such as riots and violent demonstrations. The demands they presented can be seen as a threat, as an ultimatum for the regime. As Tarrow points out, disruption can have an indirect purpose of threat\textsuperscript{45}, and by making these demands official, they were at the same time able to show their own agenda and their determination to work towards political change.

As time went by and the SCAF kept the control of the country, the Brotherhoods repertoire of contention took a new turn. Though they kept their repertoire of contained collective action they also decided to set up the Freedom and Justice party (FJP). In repertoires of contention

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid, p.105
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid, p.99ff
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid, p.99
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid, p.112
\textsuperscript{45} Tarrow S., 2011, p.101
Tarrow includes what he calls “the institutionalization of contention”\textsuperscript{46}. In this term he refers to those movements that institutionalize their tactics by transforming the movement into a party\textsuperscript{47}. This way of trying to remain or to become an important actor was the new repertoire of the Brotherhood, although they did not transform completely, since they kept the social movement part of the organization. In order to work for political change this was possibly their best option at this point.

The repertoire of collective action that the Brotherhood had was to focus on being the peaceful force in an unstable political situation, they urged the people to stand up for their rights by peaceful means. They built their repertoire on the history of their relationship with the regime by being the peace promoter in the demonstrations, however, not completely condemning the demonstrations. This repertoire was kept throughout this time, in addition to their new repertoire of institutionalization.

6.2 Networks and mobilizing structures

The way the Brotherhood have been organizing the movement throughout history has given them a stable network and structure. They have a long history of successful networking and mobilizing of members. Early in its beginning they were able to build mosques with funds from members, they later continued to build schools, clinics and hospitals and they organized sports programs. They were highly involved in the social services and had an important role in the civil society. Many Egyptians relied on their services and the government have had to continue funding the projects in fear of unrest among the people\textsuperscript{48}. The Brotherhood was built with a strong hierarchal structure with a well-controlled administration. On top is their Guidance Bureau, and next comes committees and different sections and units that handle the finances and different services and projects such as the sports programs\textsuperscript{49}.

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid, 2011, p.115
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid, p.115
\textsuperscript{48} Munson Z., 2011, p.501
\textsuperscript{49} Al-Anani H., 2016, p.105
Tarrow points to three different meanings of organization, the third and most relevant meaning for this case is “the connective structures or interpersonal networks within a movement”\textsuperscript{50}. These structures and networks link the leaders with followers and other parts of the movement. The interpersonal structure is what build the movement from the inside by socializing and building identities. A stable structure like this is what makes a movement persistent and able to survive even in times of repression and in lack of a more formal organization or strong leader\textsuperscript{51}. Studies have shown that groups that have a stable and well outlined organizational structure is the most successful ones\textsuperscript{52}.

In addition to the connective structures and a well-organized group, the success of movements lies in the informal network operating within and between the formal organization. The Brotherhoods interpersonal networks lays in the hierarchical structure that is upholding the movement, building it from the inside, keeping it organized and stable. The hierarchal structure of the Brotherhood, and its connections with other parts of the society, such as mosques and sports programs, which engage people from the whole Egyptian society, makes them a hybrid-movement. Tarrow defines a hybrid movement as having a strong hierarchical organization and being involved in different activities, such as protests, which will involve other activists and non-members\textsuperscript{53}, and he points out that “…coalitions [are] formed almost always when weak actors challenge stronger ones or elites or authorities”\textsuperscript{54}. Their engagement and involvement in different arenas and parts of the society, through their mosques, sports programs, and clinics, and being open to cooperation’s with the whole society, was highly beneficial to them. Tarrow describes networking as not only dependent on the organization but also on collective action, and these actions can in turn create networks. He points out that “situations of risk, excitement, or repression create trust among people who may not have known each other beforehand or understood that they had claims in common”\textsuperscript{55}. We can see this type of networking in the time following the ousting of president Mubarak, and during the time the country was under the control of SCAF. The Brotherhood took the decision of

\textsuperscript{50} Tarrow S., 2011, p.124  
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid, p.124  
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid, p.123  
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid, p.138f  
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid, p.191  
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid, p.133
engaging in talks with the military and opened up for cooperation. They understood that they both had common claims - to change the political situation in the country\textsuperscript{56}.

This networking, and seeking allies from different sides, got the Brotherhood a chance to be a part of amending the constitution. A senior member of the Brotherhood was selected to participate and be a part of the committee that was appointed to draw up a working constitution in order for the country to move forward to elections as soon as possible. The head of this committee, and the one appointing the participating member was himself a known Brotherhood sympathizer\textsuperscript{57}. Their networking skills, by building and creating institutions in different parts of the society was clearly beneficial, though they got the chance to be a part of an important mission in the Egyptian politics, and again be an influential actor in the Egyptian society.

Another aspect of networking and mobilizing comes from the digitalized society. All the many social media and networking technologies, has become a new tool for movements to organize and spread their words. Although the access to internet and social media differs around the world, it has opened new doors for movements creating new opportunities in organizing\textsuperscript{58}. This new networking technology with social media, can explain a part of the success of the Brotherhood in regard to their networking and mobilization system. On their English Facebook-page they have 19 000 followers and over 300 000 followers on the Arabic page, which creates a large platform to spread their messages. They mainly use their Facebook-pages to link new statements from their official website, where they are very active. Creating an English website and English Facebook-page for non-Arabic speakers, shows that they take advantage of the modern way of mobilizing. Throughout the uprising and the timespan chosen for this study, and up until today, they have regularly been posting statements and announcements on the website and Facebook-page. They also give their thoughts and opinions on news and events from around the world. The website and the Facebook-page are, I will argue, their main tool to spread their words, especially to supporters outside Egypt.


\textsuperscript{57} Pargetter A., 2013, p.222

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid, p.137
Their old well-established hierarchical structure, and high activity on their website is what have kept them alive. By having a stable structure, strong interpersonal networks within the movement, and being engaged in different areas of the society created them to be a hybrid-movement. Being the hybrid movement, did in turn foster opportunities, such as the involvement in drafting the working constitution.

6.3 Political opportunities and constraints

Tarrow defines political opportunities as a set of signs or indications that will give the civil society a chance to get involved and participate in contentious politics⁵⁹. When these signs appear, opportunity is “the perceived probability that social protest actions will lead to success in achieving a desired outcome”⁶⁰. The Brotherhood took advantage and turned the constraints and repression into opportunities by pointing out that what the regime does and wants is what the movement doesn’t want. The time when the majority of the people were standing up against the corrupt regime, was a good moment for the Brotherhood to speak out and clarify their agenda as being the opposite of the regime’s. As al-Anani points out, repression can be a tool for movements to strengthen them and to bind together its members⁶¹. I argue that, the repression the movement faced throughout history did not just strengthen them from inside, as al-Anani argues, it also enabled them to form their agenda and speak out on what they stand for to the public.

The crucial opportunity for the Brotherhood came when they saw how the protests that was planned for the 25th of January was taking form. As we now know, the Brotherhood was not officially participating in the January 25 protests, also called “the day of rage”. As we learned from the first dimension of repertoire of collective action, the Brotherhood was decisive on being the peaceful force using a contained collective action by not promoting violence, nor the demonstrations at the beginning, but urging the people to stand up for their rights. However, on their English website, they announced on the 23 of January that they will participate in what they call the march on the day of rage. That announcement was not posted on their Arabic website until after the 25th, when they saw the proportions of the

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⁵⁹ Tarrow S., 2011, p.32
⁶⁰ Tarrow S., 2011, p.160
⁶¹ al-Anani K., 2016, p.135
demonstrations. My take on these double-face statements is that, in participating in the march on the day of rage, they simply meant that they support the people and the demonstrators, however opening up for a possible participation, as they, in the same statement also stressed that the threat from the government will not deter them from participating. I therefore see this statement on the English website as a clarification of their support and their will to take down the regime. When they realized, after the demonstrations on January 25, that the people will not step down, and that the people are determined on having Mubarak ousted, the Brotherhood could not let this opportunity slip away and not be a part of the ousting of president Mubarak and the regime. This was one of the most crucial opportunities for the Brotherhood, after identifying the potential outcomes of the events, they took advantage of the situation to be a prominent actor, however, not the actor promoting violence and revolutionary actions.

In his framework, Tarrow defines threat as the risks and costs of action. The actions taken by a movement depends on its expectations of the outcome, more specifically the gains and losses, the opportunities to succeed or the threat of not succeeding. The Brotherhood saw the risks, at the beginning, of promoting and engaging in the mass protests as too high, and as a threat to the movements survival. However, when they later realized that this instead was a good opportunity, due to the mass demands of the Egyptians, whom they claim as speaking for, and the demonstrations growing in proportion, they redefined the situation. They could with bigger confidence officially participate in the demonstrations. Tarrow argues that contentious politics occurs when opportunities emerge that “show where elites and authorities are most vulnerable and trigger social networks and collective identities into action around common themes.” The Brotherhood could see that the people would not back down and that the people power would be able to make the regime weak. The collective identity of living under a corrupt regime triggered this outcome. The Brotherhood saw that, for them, in this case the gains would be bigger than the losses, and they took on the role of the being the actor talking for the people.

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63 Pargeter, A., 2013, p. 214
64 Tarrow S., 2011, p.160ff
65 Ibid, p.33
There is a twofold understanding of the effectiveness of threats and control of protests from
governments. Some scholars argue that threats and control of protests will reduce protest
participation, while some scholars argue that it has the opposite effect, and instead creates
more radical outcomes\textsuperscript{67}. In the case of the Muslim Brotherhood in the time of the uprising, I
stand with the latter group of scholars. I see the threats, as I see the repression, from the
government as rather beneficial for the movement and by presenting the same demands of
freedom and justice as the people, the threats from the regime was not as deterring. Together
with the people they could participate with bigger confidence. Tarrow also points out that
repression can seriously harm and destroy movements, however, when the repression is
inconsistent or arbitrary, it is more likely that it instead will attract supporters to the
movements\textsuperscript{68}. The movement had real examples of the regime’s violations in forms of
arbitrary attacks and the regime silencing the people by controlling the media\textsuperscript{69}. They
therefore had an opportunity to hold the regime responsible and use the regime as an example
of what the movement does not stand for. They took advantage of that moment and the
regime’s lack of legitimacy to help them form their public agenda and to bring it out in the
light. They called for collective action by urging the Egyptian people to demand their rights,
and not to let their rights be violated, and they emphasized the importance of demanding their
rights by peaceful means\textsuperscript{70}.

During the time of the protests that was carried out in February 2011, the Brotherhood kept its
strategy of talking for the people. In one statement they expressed their gratitude towards the
people, and they thanked them for their determination on overthrowing Mubarak. However, in
this statement they also suddenly turned to the SCAF, calling them the people’s army, and
expressing their appreciation for what they have done for the people during these mass
protests\textsuperscript{71}. This is the first sign of the movement wanting to find allies.
When Mubarak finally stepped down and the military took control, the movement found a
new opportunity. Tarrow states that allies become available due to cracks within elites and

\textsuperscript{67} Tarrow S., 2011, p.174
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid, 2011, p.209
April 23, 2018)
\textsuperscript{70} The Muslim Brotherhood Official website (English) ‘MB’s Statement on Tunisia’s Uprising and the Demands
of the Egyptian People’, Jan 20, 2011.
\textsuperscript{71} The Muslim Brotherhood Official website (Arabic), Feb 11, 2011.
when opportunities to institutional access opens\textsuperscript{72}. Different dimensions of the political environment create incentives for collective actions, and these incentives, or opportunities, can be resources external to movements\textsuperscript{73}. The external resource in this case during this time, is the ousting of the president which was followed by the military controlling the country. Incentives for collective action was created through the unstable political situation in the country. Both the military and the Brotherhood saw how they would benefit from cooperating with each other\textsuperscript{74}. The movement understood that if they want to be an important player in the Egyptian society they must build allies. By expressing their gratitude to the army and their will to negotiate new reforms with them in order to convey the voice of the people\textsuperscript{75}, they found their ally. We know that this relationship continued further, as one Brotherhood member was appointed to take part in drafting the working constitution, an opportunity they did not want to miss out on\textsuperscript{76}. The working constitution was being created and set to a referendum for the people to have the final say. The outcome of this referendum was the first sign of the Brotherhood reaching political change, with the majority of the Egyptians voting to accept it. However, not everyone was satisfied with the outcome. At this point, I believe the Brotherhood had gotten a significantly larger confidence than they had before. During this time, they had already a foot in the most important chambers where they could be influential. They therefore urged the people to respect the outcome of the referendum, and to accept the new working constitution, pointing at the referendum being the first democratic scene in 60 years\textsuperscript{77}. Protestors demanded the power to be transferred to the people, in form of parliamentary election, and away from the military as soon as possible, which the Brotherhood, since the beginning of the ousting of Mubarak had been a supporter of. To not lose their ally, the Brotherhood chose this time to stay away from demonstrations, and instead to reside with SCAF. However, they soon understood that the military used this opportunity to remain in power, and the promise to transfer the power to the people was being delayed\textsuperscript{78}.

\textsuperscript{72} Tarrow S., 2011, p.160
\textsuperscript{73} Tarrow S., 1998, p.76f
\textsuperscript{74} Pargeter A., 2013, p.222
\textsuperscript{76} Pargeter A., 2013, p.222
\textsuperscript{78} Pargeter A., 2013, p.225f
I argue that the strategy of the movement was to seize any opportunity to gain success and move forward in becoming successful. To do so at this point, they had to switch their ally. The SCAF had realized that the Brotherhood actually was on their way of becoming a serious threat and opponent with its establishment of the Freedom and Justice party (FJP). The SCAF, therefore tried to add articles to the already accepted constitution, and the Brotherhood saw this as a sign of the SCAF wanting to impose control over the people. The new articles, and principles from the SCAF included rules on decreasing the seats for candidates coming from the party list system, and instead increasing the quota for individual candidates to have majority of the seats. This was a way for the SCAF to try to minimize a potential influence from the Brotherhood, however due to pressure from outside, the SCAF had to abolish the new principles. With these principles not being in action, the Brotherhood decided to take the opportunity and go all in for the parliamentary election and nominated a candidate for all available positions. They were able to do this through the new alliance they had built with the Democratic Alliance for Egypt, a coalition of parties with their FJP being the largest. The new alliance turned out to be successful, with its new coalition they won the majority of the seats in the parliamentary election, which was finally carried out between November 2011 and January 2012, representing 47.2 % of the total. With the feeling of support from the people due to the successful parliamentary election, and their new alliance, they seized the final opportunity during this journey - to run for presidency, which their candidate Mohammad Morsi won with 51.73% of the votes.

The Brotherhood played their cards well in regard to the opportunities and constraints that they faced. They saw the opportunity to become an important player in Egyptian society when they realized that the people would not stand back, and that the demonstrations that took place January 25 was only the beginning, they continued jumping in to opportunities, such as forming the constitution and participating in the parliament election which led them to the presidential election. They decided to jump into the opportunities believing in the gains instead of the losses. The constraints and repression they encountered during this time was

80 Pargeter A., 2013, p.230
81 Pargeter A., 2013, p.229
82 Ibid, p.231
83 Ibid, p.236
84 Pargeter A., 2013, p.214
rather beneficial as they used them against the regime instead, and with the same agenda as the people, of freedom and justice they could show to the people that what the regime does is what the movement is against.

6.4 Consensus mobilization

There are three mechanisms that movements construct their contentions and identities around; 1. Framing, 2. Constructing collective identities and, 3. Reflect, capture and shape emotions. These three mechanisms Tarrow says “intersect to produce the solidarities with which social movements interact with allies, opponents, and authorities.”

Framing is how movements portrait the politics and the problems they are facing in order to create collective action. Such a process is revealed in the way the Brotherhood was framing the political situation on their website. They used the attacks on the movement, and the arrests of its members to frame the political situation in the country as being dictatorial. The way they framed the situation for the people, as living under a corrupt, tyrannical regime not permitting freedom of expression, was for aiming at creating a collective identity and the feeling of having to work together towards this corrupt regime.

“Social movements are deeply involved in the work of “naming” grievances, connecting them to other grievances, and constructing larger frames of meaning that will resonate with a population’s cultural predispositions and communicate a uniform message to power holders and to others.” The Brotherhood drew these frames to a bigger picture and created a uniform message when they expressed how all the people in the Middle east, not only Egyptians and Tunisians were living under these conditions with corrupt regimes, and they constructed the uniform message of the need for reform change in order to avoid anger.

The second mechanism, the creation of collective identities, is based on the construction of a “we” and “they” discourse. The Brotherhood used the failures of the regime as an example of what they would not do. They were trying to create a border between “we” – the people, and

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85 Tarrow S., 2011, p.142f
86 Ibid, p.144
88 Tarrow S., 2011, p.144
“them” – the regime. They wanted to appear as a movement being on the Egyptian people’s side, Muslims and non-Muslims. They were opposing the corrupt regime, criticizing them for arbitrary attacks on members and they used this to emphasize that they want cooperation with the whole society. They wanted to create a “we” with the people by emphasizing how they have the people’s demands, the mass demands, as their priority and by stressing how they and their members are a part of the Egyptian society. They were not late on condemning attacks on Christians or any other minority groups, emphasizing how they care about all citizens of the country. This continued throughout this time span. In the aftermath of the January 25 uprising and the following protests in February, the movement kept hold of their new strategy of being a prominent player in these protests and emphasized how they belong to the people. They expressed their appreciation for the people for participating and stressed that these demonstrations were necessary in order to reach political change. They held on to the “we” and “them”-discourse. They kept their demands on freedom, justice and a transition to democracy, and according to Pargeter, the movement abolished (if only for the time of the uprising) their old slogan of “Islam is the solution”, and instead used the words of justice and freedom. They clearly wanted to broaden their audience even more to strengthen the collective identities of the Egyptian people.

In addition to this change of slogan they emphasized how they are the voice of the people, their demands are the movement’s mission to adhere to, and that is their only agenda, and therefore, they argue, wants to participate in talks on reform change. When joining in alliance with the SCAF, they said doing so is in order to convey the demands of the people, and not for seeking power. The relationship with the SCAF, as we know, did not turn out as

94 Pargeter A., 2013, p.216
96 Ibid
the Brotherhood hoped, as the SCAF was trying to delay the power shift, and the Brotherhood, again, had to go back to the “we” with the people. The movement posted statements calling this new situation a waste of revolution and a waste of spilled blood if the military does not hand over the power in form of a parliamentary election\(^97\), and the Brotherhood is back at talking for the people by stating that no Egyptian will accept a further delay in the transfer of power.

Their strategy was to go with the wind and if that required making a turn in their plan, for example in changing alliances, they did not hesitate. Such a turn came after the successful parliament election. The movement had posted a statement on their website saying that they have no intentions on running for presidency and that their only mission is to convey the voice of the people by engaging in talks on reforms\(^98\), however, in a statement on the upcoming presidential election they expressed how proud they are being given the trust in the parliament. They continue by saying that this trust is the reason that they finally decided to participate in the run for the presidential election, and that they view this as a responsibility to fulfil the peoples demands and the goal of the revolution\(^99\).

The third mechanism of shaping emotions and feelings has to do with reflecting and capturing these among members and potential members\(^100\). By expressing their support to the Tunisians and later to the Egyptian people during the demonstrations, they justified the demonstrations and the feeling of anger among the people as being necessary in order to reach change. They drew on the political situation in Egypt and the whole Arab world as being dictatorial and corrupt, to shape the feeling of unity, and to create emotions among the people that, in turn, will lead to a feeling of solidarity. The strategy of creating collective identities and shaping and framing emotions continued throughout this time span. In a statement from the movements website, they point to the meeting between the chairman of the Brotherhood and the pope and patriarch of Alexandria, saying that they welcome any cooperation in order to


\(^{100}\) Tarrow S., 2011, p.143
create a stable future for Egypt with free and fair elections\textsuperscript{101}. They clearly wanted to play on different arenas trying to create the feeling of consensus and to shape the emotions of unity among all Egyptians. Tarrow points out that nationalism is a reliable source of mobilizing people due to the emotions it brings out\textsuperscript{102}. I argue that due to the condition Egypt was in at this time, the feeling of nationalism and unity with the collective will of having a stable country was the primary reason for this meeting and for cooperating across religious borders.

In their work on consensus mobilization, the Brotherhood was helped by the regime lacking legitimacy. By framing the political situation and the regime as being dictatorial and tyrannical\textsuperscript{103}, they did not have to work against a popular regime, and by pointing at the common claims of the SCAF and the Brotherhood they were able to form an alliance\textsuperscript{104}. They used the rhetoric of “we” and “them” to illuminate the common claims among the Egyptians and they were not late on condemning attacks on Christians stressing how they care about all citizens of the country\textsuperscript{105}. These mechanisms together with the nationalism they were able to form a stable consensus on collective action to cooperate with different actors against the regime.


\textsuperscript{102} Tarrow S., 1998, p.112,


7. Conclusion

“While the opportunities and constraints in their environments give challengers incentives to mobilize, it is their cultural, organizational, and practical resources that are the foundation for social movements”\textsuperscript{106}. In this way, by looking at each dimension of the framework, the work of the movement is being revealed. With their old, well-established network and skills of mobilization they had become an important player in the Egyptian society. By having established the movement and making themselves a name in the country and around the world, they were well known and did not have to start from scratch with their networking. The fact that they, through the eyes of the dimension of networking, were a hybrid-movement as they wanted to play on and be involved in different arenas was highly beneficial. Being open, following the will of the people, and having a foot in different arenas in the society, from the cooperation with SCAF to meetings with the Coptic community, helped them to move forward and to establish a legitimacy of being the peaceful force wanting a democratic society free from corruption.

Another crucial part in their work towards political change was that they took advantage of the opportunities that laid before them. By assessing the situations, they took action by seizing the opportunities at the right time. They saw the chance of Mubarak being overthrown and did not want to miss out on being a part of that event. Their ability of transforming constraints and repression into opportunities to spread their message and create a unity with the people was also a way of seizing opportunities. With the repression they faced they were able to show the people the face of the dictatorial regime\textsuperscript{107} and themselves as the peaceful force.

Regarding the repertoire of contention, they used the repertoire of non-violence, by only promoting peaceful change of the political situation and condemning any violent acts. Through sticking to the peaceful approach, they were also able to create the image of being the peaceful force in the country. In addition to this type of repertoire, their decision of setting up the FJP, going towards the institutionalization of contention, was clearly a crucial part in their work, giving them institutional access.

\textsuperscript{106} ibid p.141
Their work, with regards to the dimension of consensus mobilization, I argue, was through the repression they faced. As mentioned above, they were able to spread their message and to show the face of the regime as being the corrupt and illegitimate actor in the country, not the Muslim Brotherhood. In turn, their strategy was to focus on the “we” and “them”- discourse by opposing the actions of the regime and emphasizing being on the people’s side. This gave them the confidence to continue their work towards political change and aiming at the parliamentary - and presidential election.

The dimensions of the framework are what triggers and make social movements central and important actors for both political and social change\textsuperscript{108}. We can see that the movement had a great impact on the political situation by seizing opportunities, through their strategy in taking action, their way of networking, and mobilizing consensus.

For the work towards political change, all four dimensions are important. I argue that by using the repertoire of being the peaceful force promoting non-violent demonstrations and the mobilizing strategy of “we” and “them”, they were able to create legitimacy among the people during this time. However, the most crucial of these dimensions in accomplishing change, I argue, is the dimension of opportunities and constraints and the dimension of networking and mobilization, these were the most powerful and central.

The opportunities as Tarrow argues, creates incentives for actors\textsuperscript{109}, and without these opportunities, the possibility of movements going forward and reaching political change will be reduced. The opportunity to participate in the demonstrations and the ousting of president Mubarak, which in turn lead to the possibility to form the FJP got them in to the decision-making arena. By being able to create great and valuable networks, being a hybrid-movement open for cooperation, was leading them as well, to get access to arenas central for political change. Thus, networks create opportunities.

I therefore argue that by seizing the opportunities coming from outside, such as the beginning of the uprising in Tunisia, and the protesters taking to the streets in Egypt, and through having a large network and seizing the opportunities coming from there, the Muslim Brotherhood were able to work successfully towards political change.

\textsuperscript{108} Ibid p.33
\textsuperscript{109} Ibid, p.141
Consequently, through the eyes of social movement theories, and specifically Tarrow's approach, it is possible to understand the work of the Brotherhood during this specific timespan. As Tarrow argues “movements become focal points that transform external opportunities into resources. Repertoires of contention, social networks, and cultural frames lower the cost of bringing people into collective action, induce confidence that they are not alone, and give broader meaning to their claims”\textsuperscript{110}. All four dimensions are in this way connected and interrelated and offers a way of understanding the role of social movements on political change, and in this case, the role of the Muslim Brotherhood.

Social movement theories can help us to understand how movements work and what leads them to political change. In my study, the theory helped me describe the work of the Muslim Brotherhood towards reaching a victory in the presidential election. However, to understand what and how the FJP actually managed to get the majority of the votes and win the presidential election, an additional study is needed, and when doing this research, that subject caught my interest. A suggestion for further study on the movement is therefore to flip the coin and look at FJP in regard to party behaviour and political mobilization. Suitable research questions for such a study could be; Did the Brotherhood as a social movement help the FJP to mobilize to gain votes, and if so, in what way? Or, what impact did the movement have on the Freedom and Justice party?

\textsuperscript{110} Tarrow S., 2011, p.33
8. References


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