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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD AND JUSTICE AND
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MÜSLÜMAN KARDEŞLER VE AK PARTİ GELENEĞİNİN KARŞILAŞTIRMALI ANALİZİ

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ABBREVIATIONS

AKP: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi

FJP: Freedom and Justice Party

JDP: Justice and Development Party

MENA: Middle East and North Africa

MB: Muslim Brotherhood

MK: Müslüman Kardeşler

PPT: Political Process Theory

RTE: Recep Tayyip Erdoğan

RM: Theory: Resource Mobilization Theory

SMS: Social Movements

WP: Welfare Party

RPP: Republican People Party

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

YCR: Youth Revolution Coalition

SCAF: Supreme Council of Armed Forces

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ABSTRACT

In this study, the resources of the Muslim Brotherhood and Justice and Development Party, one of the social movement organizations that support political Islam, are compared while having the power in their countries and environmental conditions that cause them to use the resources they mobilize in line with their goals are tried to be determined. Although MK and AKP are accepted as social movements that advocate political Islam in this study, the concept of political Islam is controversial as well as other social science concepts.

The definitions of social movement introduced also lead to the emergence of models used to classify social movements according to their types. They are seen as new social movements according to MK and AKP types. There are different theories that examine the emergence and development of new social movements. One of these theories is the Resource Mobilization Theory and in this study, MKve AKP's development and gaining power is evaluated through the Resource Mobilatation Theory. The Open System Approach, which is also used by Resource Mobilization Theory, explains the ability to mobilize the resources owned by social movements. According to the Open System Approach, the mobilization of the resources owned by the social movements depends on the environmental conditions. Unlike the Resource Mobilization Theory, social movements can also be examined with the Political Process Theory. This theory tries to make sense of the impact of political developments on the formation and development of social movements.

Field study was carried out in Egypt in order to reach the findings related to the social movements examined. As a result of observations and interviews, women and young people are identified as the main sources mobilized by political Islam. In the literature, the effects of women's and youth movements on political Islamist social movements can be seen. Newspapers collected during field work in Egypt are considered primary sources and are used to determine both resources and environmental conditions.

Key Words: Political Islam, Social Movements, Muslim Borotherhood, Justice and Development Party. Resource Mobilization Theory, Open System Approach, Political Process

ÖZET

Bu çalışmada siyasal İslam'ı savunan toplumsal hareket organizasyonlarından olan Müslüman Kardeşler ve Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisinin'nin ülkelerindeki iktidarlara sahip olurken harekete geçirdikleri kaynaklar karşılaştırılmaktadır ve hedefleri doğrultusunda harekete geçirdikleri kaynakları kullanmalarına yol açan çevresel koşullar belirlenmeye çalışılmaktadır. Her ne kadar bu çalışmada MK ve AKP siyasal İslam'ı savunan toplumsal hareketler olarak kabul edilseler de diğer sosyal bilimler kavramlarının da olduğu gibi siyasal İslam kavramı da tartışmalıdır.

Ortaya koyulan toplumsal hareket tanımları aynı zamanda toplumsal hareketleri türlerine göre sınıflandırmada kullanılan modellerin ortaya çıkmasına neden olur. MK ve AKP türlerine göre yeni toplumsal hareketler olarak görülürler. Yeni toplumsal hareketlerin ortaya çıkışlarını ve gelişmelerini inceleyen farklı teoriler vardır. Bu teorilerden birisi Kaynak Mobilizasyonu Teorisi'dir ve çalışmada MK ve AKP'nin gelişerek iktidarı kazanmaları Kaynak Mobilizasyonu Teorisi üzerinden değerlendirilir. Kaynak Mobilizasyonu Teorisi tarafından da kullanılan Açık Sistem Yaklaşımı, Teorisi, ise toplumsal hareketlerin sahip oldukları kaynakların harekete geçirilebilmesini açıklar. Açık Sistem Yaklaşımına göre toplumsal hareketler tarafından sahip olunan kaynakların harekete geçirilmesi çevresel koşullara bağlıdır Kaynak Mobilizasyonu Teorisinden farklı olarak toplumsal hareketler Siyasal Süreç Teorisi ile de incelenebilir. Bu teori, yaşanan siyasal gelişmelerin toplumsal hareketlerin oluşumunda ve gelişmesindeki etkisini anlamlandırmaya çalışır.

İncelenen toplumsal hareketlerle ilgili bulgulara ulaşmak için Mısır'da saha çalışması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Gözlemler ve röportajlar sonucunda kadınlar ve gençler siyasal İslam tarafından harekete geçirilen ana kaynaklar olarak belirlenmektedir. Litaretürde de kadın ve gençlik hareketlerin siyasal İslamcı toplumsal hareketlere etkisi görülmektedir. Mısır'daki saha çalışması sırasında toplanan gazeteler birincil kaynaklar olarak değerlendirilir ve hem kaynakların hem de çevresel koşulların belirlenmesinde kullanılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Siyasal İslam, Toplumsal Hareketler, Müslüman Kardeşler, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, Kaynak Mobilizasyonu Teorisi, Açık Sistem Yaklaşımı, Siyasal Süreç

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The reign of Yavuz Sultan Selim, the 9th sultan of the Ottomans and first caliphate of Turks, had dawned a new period between Egyptians and Turks. After the conquest of Egypt, Ottomans started to rule an Arab society firstly and it had lasted until the 19th century. Although there were some cultural similarities due to common religious belief, the people of both regions approached themselves more along with togetherness. Ottomans were on the peak when they took Egypt, but the state lost his power through the following centuries and the lands of the empire were under the relevancy of colonists. Egypt was also the valuable land on the eye of superpowers of the era, which was wanted to control because of the geopolitical position, and it was seen as a bridge between Europe and the far east.

The appearance of the birth of political Islam materialized under similar conditions in Egypt and Turkey. First of all, executives of states tried to modernize due to got rid of their weak positions although the process had not been accepted by conservatives which see the period as westernization and loosing of cultural values. The challenges between reformists and conservatives converted unexpectedly after the colonial politics of imperial powers. Sides of defiance came together and fought against colonialists. Nationalists who were close to the Western culture and requested to govern the states by absorbing western political and judicial tradition were the supporters of independency and conservatives were sharing the same thoughts too. This vital reason approached grouped and became the mean reason of why they are together as old enemies. Turkey and Egypt were under the intense campaign of Westerns from the 19th century to the mid-20th century and the friendship between modernist and conservatives went on until the foundation of sovereign states. With the setback of colonialists, the leader of the states become soldiers for instance Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and Gamal Abdal Nasser. When the leaders and their political parties, Republican People's Party and Arab Socialist Union, initiated to govern the states; secularism was an essential principle even it causes highly potential crisis. With the implementation of secularist laws on the social fields after the political area, conservatives moved against enforcements and religiously rooted revolts showed up. By the

reason of precaution of states were intolerant people who gang up against executives constituted Islamic groups and the thought of political Islam made them feel itself deeply. These organisations increased their power through decades and peaked by capturing the administrations. While they were gaining power, they benefitted from organisations which were established due to social, economic, religious goals. Besides, environmental conditions were appropriate for improvement of Islamists.

Political Islam and social movements are disputable concepts, and as seen in Egyptian and Turkish examples, both concepts have been effective in the fates of both countries. The disputes about political Islam stem from different interpretations of the concept especially in the West and the East. In the West, political Islam is defined through generalizations which often focus on anti-modernity; sharia, caliphate, jihad, humiliation of women, homophobia and xenophobia are in the foreground, and political Islam definitions are shaped through these assumptions (Esposito, 2020, p. 49-55). Studies about political Islam in Egypt and Turkey and determination of characteristics of political Islam, should be carried out based on certain groups. These groups have been effective in the historical process, especially in the 20th century and after, in Egypt and Turkey. Even more, signs indicate that these groups are influential organizations within the society. MB is the first organization that comes to mind when it comes to political Islam in Egypt. The MB was established in 1928 by Hasan Al-Banna, and since then the organization has been effective in Egypt. In Turkey, the National Vision emerged as a philosophy that advocates political Islam, or, in other words, an Islamic ideology was revived. Various organizations such as National Order Party, National Salvation Party, Welfare Party have established, in line with this philosophy. Some of these organizations, perhaps the most important ones, are structures institutionalized as political parties. These organizations emerged as of 1970; however, they have kept being closed due to their Islamic views over and over again in the course of time. Necmettin Erbakan is the chairman of these political parties, and for the last time, he served as the chairman of the WP Party, which was established in 1983, at the beginning of the 1990s. Along with local administrations of Turkey's most important cities, the seat of the prime minister passed onto the WP Party as a consequence of general elections. WP Party did not stay long in power either on the local or on the general level and the party was closed by the supreme court. Many leading figures of the WP Party, including Necmettin Erbakan, were politically banned. As a consequence, some circles that advocate political Islam in Turkey deviated from the National Vision ideology. These pro-modernity circles created the most effective organization that advocates political Islam in Turkey. This organization was

named, the Justice and Development Party. JDP participated in the general elections, only a year after its establishment and came to power, winning 2/3 of the seats, 365 out of 550, and became the sole party to rule the country. Innovations have been made in organizations advocating political Islam in Egypt, as well as Turkey; and the MB has been affected by these innovations, as well. MB has declared its political candidacies several times since its establishment in 1928; however, it wasn't until 2011 that the Brotherhood established its own political organization. The MB had to go through a reformation in order to establish a political party.

Assumptions especially accepted in the West about political Islam do not take changes experienced by the ideology of political Islam into consideration and this causes political Islam to still be described with sub-concepts put forward a century ago. When studying developments experienced by the MB and the JDP, it is seen that these developments do not fully conform to the sub-concepts used by the West. This situation causes the disputes about the concept of political Islam. Another issue that should be pointed out is that despite the similarities between the MB and the JDP, there is a significant number of differences between them. For this reason, it will never be sufficient enough to study political Islam in the light of a single definition. In the third section of this study, the concept of political Islam will be assessed. The concept will be explained with broader perspective rather than limitations. In order to achieve this, the general political Islam definition, put forward by the West will be studied, and the sub-concepts that constitute the notion of political Islam will be explained through MB and the JDP. At the end of the section, it will be pointed out that political Islam cannot be defined by a single definition and that each definition of political Islam should comprise of local constituents of political Islam due to environmental conditions. MB and the JDP are clearly the advocates of political Islam but as it will be seen in the third chapter of this study, both of them are advocates of political Islam in their own regions. This shows that political Islam cannot be explained under a single, pre-determined sub-heading as attempted by the West.

Another discussion point is what the MB and the JDP -advocates of political Islam- will be defined as, and the reason for this discussion is the lack of consensus on the concept of SMs. Definition of SMs is a disputable topic and there are many different views on the topic. Whether institutionalized movements can be accepted as SMs is another problem in defining SMs. Most of the SMs definitions accept SMs as non-institutionalized movements and these definitions argue that institutionalized movements lose their social aspect. Studies conducted on SMs change after the 1960s and since then SMs are often classified as old and new SMs. Though SMs

are not just classified as old and new, it is accepted that the SMs, to be classified, can be politicized and institutionalized. Therefore, the MB and the JDP can be defined as SMs and they are accepted as SMs in this study as well. The second chapter of this study is fully reserved for SMs. Primarily, what SMs are tried to be revealed and it is explained that the MB and the JDP are accepted as social movement organizations. Different definitions of SMs affect the classification of SMs according to their types and this causes different models to be put forward when classifying SMs. After studying definitions of SMs, models that classify SMs according to their types will be discussed as a continuation to the second chapter and as stated above, the model that classifies SMs as old and new will be used when studying MB and the JDP. Defining SMs concept isn't the only issue of dispute about SMs. Questions such as how SMs emerge and develop are also answered with different views, along with various theories.

In this thesis, Muslim Brotherhood and the JDP are accepted as new social movements, their process of emergence and development will be studied based on a theory that studies new SMs. SMs theories that study new SMs are distinguished into two theories: Resource Mobilization Theory and the New Social Movements Theory. These theories explain the emergence and development of SMs in different ways. Explanations made by experts who side with the RM Theory fully correspond with the historical processes of the MB and the JDP. The RM Theory argues that the emergence and development of a social movement depend on the correct mobilization of resources and social movements can establish political institutions in order to generate new resources. The ability to generate new resources from the already existing ones indicates that the social movement has developed; however, if there are no resources to mobilize, then it means the destruction of the social movement. As stated by the founding fathers of the RM Theory: The RM approach emphasizes both societal support and constraint of social movement phenomena. It examines the variety of resources that must be mobilized the linkages of SMs to other groups, the dependence of movements upon external support for success and the tactics used authorities to control or incorporate movements. (McCarthy and Zald, 1977, p. 1213).

Power acquisition processes of the MB and the JDP are discussed in this study. The JDP came to power in 2002, whereas the MB's political party FJP came to power in 2012, both won the elections and became the only party in power. According to the RM Theory, development of SMs and their organizations depend on mobilized resources and the mobilization of existing resources is the key to power. These movements, in similar ideologies, emerged in historically

connected societies, after gradually gaining strength, they came to rule these countries. This situation brings the idea, mobilization of similar resources, to mind and data collected via different techniques prove that these movements mobilized similar resources to come to power. The obtained data indicate that a wide range of resources have been mobilized to come to power, but this study focuses more on intangible resources. Intangible resources are not materials and they are constituted of talents and skills of individuals. Intangible resources of the MB and the JDP are mobilized to come to power are distinguished into two as internal and external intangible resources. Collected data indicate that women's and youth movements can be classified as internal intangible resources, while the USA and other SMs that advocate political Islam in other countries can be classified as external intangible resources that are assumed to have carried the afore-mentioned movements to power. This statement is based on the RM Theory, however, the principal question to be answered in this study is discussed after determining resources. Although the RM Theory explains SMs' development with the mobilization of existing resources, the theory does not explain the reason why MB and the JDP go through different historical processes although they mobilize same resources. The RM Theory uses the Open System Approach (Theory), in order to explain mobilization of resources are linked to environmental factors. Changes in environmental conditions affect the resources mobilized by SMs. Due to changing environmental factor, social movements which once mobilized similar resources then separate from each other. Following the determination of resources mobilized by the MB and the JDP, environmental conditions that cause differences in RM are determined by using various techniques. In addition, it is necessary to add: Political Process Theory accepts that environmental conditions must be suitable for a social movement to develop. While explaining this, it uses the concept of political opportunity. For this reason, the findings which are had through this study will be examined also on the light of PPT.

This study will follow the comparative method. The use of this methodology originates that social researches are complex and to compose generalities through complexities are stringent. As a branch of comparative method comparative historical method will be opted to exceed these difficulties. Comparative historical analysis in a very broad sense, such that the tradition encompasses any and all studies that juxtapose historical patterns across the cases (Mahoney and Reuschmeyer 2013, p. 10). According to Webber, one of the prominent supporters of historical method, case-base strategy of comparison produces explanation and generalization. Explanation is genetic and generalizations are historically concrete. Weber's preference for genetic rather than functional explanation stems from his interests in the causes

and consequences of this (historical) diversity. His method concerns concrete cases. (Ragin and Zaret 1983, p. 741). MB and the JDP are two social movements compared to each other, in accordance with Webber's view. MB and the JDP along with other organizations established under the light of the National Vision in Turkey, have been effective for a long time. Thus, this study tries to determine resources, mobilized by the MB and the JDP, and environmental factors that determine the mobilization of resources. The data to be obtained through comparison are important in order to determine the resources jointly mobilized by SMs that advocate political Islam and aim to seize power. Despite the importance of the determination of these resources, assessment of environmental conditions that allow the mobilization of resources, in the light of the obtained data, creates general judgements. Even though Resource Mobilization Theory was chosen as main theory while remark features of social movements in this thesis, Political Process Theory could be used as another theory to specify how MB and JDP developed. For this reason, features of PPT and assumptions of theoreticians who have link to PPT will be held.

In order to determine resources mobilized by the MB and the JDP and the environmental conditions that allows the mobilization of resources, the collection of various data is required. Therefore, various data collecting techniques are used. These techniques are literature review, observation and interview. Literature review is based on both primary and secondary sources. It is easier to have access to primary sources about the JDP, since it has been ruling Turkey since 2002 and the historical process of the social movement is closely studied by experts. On the other hand, MB's political organization, FJP, was closed in 2013 and many of the social movement's members were arrested, and the state seized documents belonging to the Brotherhood and the FJP. Similar problems were encountered while collecting data via observation and interview techniques. The reason for using different observation and interview techniques is to obtain the required data with different strategies despite the encountered problems. In order to access primary sources, observe and interview, a field research was conducted in Cairo, the capital of Egypt in February 2020.

In order to collect data using observation and interview techniques in the field research conducted in Egypt, studies start prior to the arrival in Cairo. Places to make observations and people to be interviewed were determined after the literature review. Besides, observations made during interviews have been benefited to obtain data. In order to obtain information about MB's process of coming to power, weekly newspapers published in English between 2011 and 2013 were collected. These newspapers aren't available online because, according to the statements,

these archives are closed to access. Predetermined centres and squares are visited in Cairo, these avenues were determined according to their historical importance. Interviews are also held in places previously determined places, which can be considered safe. The uneasiness of the interviewees before starting the interview also draws attention. Data obtained from the interviews are valuable for the study since these interviews are held with individuals who had organic bonds with the MB. Besides, interviewees being of different gender and age groups provided the assessment of a variety of ideas.

Different techniques were used in the study in order to provide a scientific answer in the light of the data obtained from the research to the main question determined as follows: What are the resources mobilized by the SMs that advocate political Islam, the MB in Egypt and the JDP in Turkey, and the environmental factors that affect the RM? The study was divided into different chapters in order to answer the question. In the second chapter, SMs, SMs theories and Political Process Theory are clarified and differences among them are indicated. RM theory is also evaluated widely in this chapter and causes of using this theory while comparing MB and JDP are remarked. Another chapter is that the third part is mentioned about Political Islam of Turkey and Egypt and contrast with each other. Data obtained to answer the main question and how the researcher obtained the data are explained in the fourth section and the environmental conditions that affect RM are determined. In the fifth section, the obtained data are evaluated, and the study is ended.

This study carried out in order to answer the main question frequently synthesizes different issues of the study. Political Islam, Middle East, SMs and the RM Theory are among the concepts frequently evaluated in the study. In addition, MB and the JDP are compared due to their similarities and various results are obtained. In this study, especially the processes of coming to power of the MB and the JDP are evaluated, and this is interpreted as the contribution of this study to literature. Another quality that separates this study from others is that this is a study conducted in Cairo, about the MB after 2013. Unfortunately, those who have previously attempted to research the issue were prevented with various reasons and the determination of especially the resources mobilized by SMs that advocate political Islam when marching towards power wasn't possible. Another point emphasized in the study is the effect of the environmental factors on the mobilization of resources. The effect of environmental factors shows that similar resources cannot be mobilized by different SMs to fulfill their purposes such as seizing power. Therefore, the necessity to determine the strategies and resources of SMs according to their

regions of influence occurs. Explaining the effect of environmental factors on RM through MB and the JDP is important in terms of explaining both the factors which they emerged into and their different historical processes. Explaining these environmental factors and the differences between the MB and the JDP according to the Open System Approach can be considered as another contribution of this study.

CHAPTER 2:

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS THEORIES

Concept of social movements and social movement theories are in close connection. The different problems and different questions that researchers deal with cause them to be assessed separately. In this chapter, SMs as a concept and SMs theories will be studied in two different sections. The first section will focus on the concept of SMs and views on what SMs are. The fact that views explaining the concept of SMs lack consensus is a frequently seen phenomenon in social sciences disciplines. Conflicts are caused by different approaches of different experts and concepts being studied in different periods and according to different periods.

Following the explanations, different types of SMs will be assessed with the model created by American anthropologist David F. Aberle in 1966 and other approaches that classify SMs under different sections from Aberle used. In his research, Aberle gathered social groups under four sections and, whether they are national or universal, he put all SMs under one of these four sections. Although some movements that Aberle acknowledged as SMs according to his criteria are not acknowledged as SMs by some researchers; Aberle classified those movements he acknowledged as alternative, redemptive, reformative and revolutionary. Alternative and redemptive SMs aim to provide change for specific individuals; while alternative SMs target a limited change, redemptive SMs target radical changes. On the other hand, reformative and revolutionary SMs aspire to create a different setting for everyone. Along with Aberle's classification, SMs can be classified as innovative, conservative, peaceful, violent, old and new according to their characteristics. After discussing the characteristics of these sections, important universal representatives of political Islam: MB in Egypt and its political branch FJP and Turkey-based JDP will be classified under those sections. Similarities and differences between those groups will be theoretically assessed, as well.

Contrary to the fact that what SMs are studied conceptually, social movement theories are products of more comprehensive and systematic studies. While defining the SMs concept, "what" and questions derived from it are useful tools; however, explaining the meaning behind

the concept is only possible with asking different questions and deriving new ones from them. SMs Theories are currently employed by social scientists to explain how, why, where and when individuals come together and conditions prompting and sustaining their mobilization. (Moss and Snow, 2006, p. 549). The conflict and difference between social movement theories emerge from the different answers they give to those acknowledged questions, and again because of those answers social movement theories are studied under different titles. Although there is no consensus about the titles under which the social movement theories are studied, this study will use “old SMs” and “new SMs”. While the Marxist Theory and the Classical Theory will be studied under Old SMs; the RM Theory and the New SMs Theory will be studied under New SMs. RM Theory will be used to detect and explain similarity between methods that both JDP and the MB used while ascending to power after characteristics of theories and the answers to “How, Why, Where and When” questions are covered under the light of topics related to the theories. Similar to the new SMs theory, the RM Theory is developed as a response to the classical approach and acknowledges the emergence of SMs as rational. The RM Theory explains the reason behind the success or failure of a social movement that has gone through a range of processes with its resources. Along with the fact that those resources may be used or not, resources may be used in different manners. According to the RM Theory, different manners of resource utilization have profound effects of SMs.

2.1 Social Movements

When studying SMs, it is important to know what they are and in order to provide a full approach, views that define the concept differently must be consulted. Different approaches and different time periods in which the SMs concept was defined are the reason behind different definitions of the concept. The reason why the definitions that were made at different times differ from each other is the changes seen in both SMs and the circles of the people who define SMs.

Alain Touraine, both defines SMs and conveys definitions used when explaining SMs according to periods by explaining why definitions differ from period to period. According to him; the notion of SMs, like most notions in social sciences, does not describe part of “reality” and show such changes according to periods as the following: SMs in the postwar period were mainly considered as disruptive forces; even “liberals” like L. Coser were ready at best to grant that conflicts can be functional for social integration. After the sixties, SMs, on the contrary, were identified with the counterculture, the search for “alternative” forms of social and cultural

life. In the early eighties, the subject matter loses ground. In the eighties, despite the emergence of new SMs, the reason why the researches about what SMs were losing blood were the accepted prejudices about what SMs are that caused controversy. (Touraine, 1985, p.749)

Touraine's ideas on SMs will be continued to be discussed after Sidney Tarrow's definition because, just like Touraine's definition, Tarrow acknowledges political groups' movements as SMs. The question whether the groups that have political aims or not is the source of problems encountered when defining SMs. In his book, *Power in Movement (1994)*, Sydney Tarrow defines SMs. According to Tarrow, SMs are large, often informal groupings of people who come together against power-holders around a common cause, in response to situations of perceived inequality, oppression and/or unmet social, political, economic or cultural demands. (Tarrow, 1994).

Touraine and Tarrow's ideas about what SMs aren't are as remarkable as their ideas about what SMs are. For Tarrow, SMs are not about "polite debate" or "invited spaces" of interaction between the state and the society. (Tarrow, 1994) On the other hand, Touraine argues that there is an almost general agreement that SMs should be conceived as a special type of social conflict. Many types of collective behavior are not social conflicts: panics, crazes, fashions, currents of opinion, cultural innovations are not conflicts, even if they define in a precise way what they react to. (Touraine, 1985, p.750) In Touraine's view, crowds that emerge with such reasons, cannot be defined as SMs since they lack social conflict. Besides, Touraine does not consider movements that have a place in official politics as SMs under any circumstances as it will be discussed below.

James Jasper, studies politics, culture and moral issues and he is accepted one of the prominent name who combines culture and social movements. (Amosava, 2016, p.93-95). Jasper defines SMs as follows: In general, protestors organize in groups and all of these groups create SMs. SMs are mutual and conscious efforts directed by organized groups of ordinary people that try to make changes in some aspects of the society via non-institutional ways (in contrast with political parties, military institutions and industrial occupational groups) with relative continuity (Jasper, 2002, p. 29). As seen, James Jasper emphasizes the fact that SMs are initiated by ordinary people however there are definitions that conflict with Jasper's idea. Although both Tarrow and Jasper do not accept politically institutionalized movements as social ones, Jasper does not accept movements that were institutionalized but not politically and by doing so,

Jasper's view draws apart from those of Touraine's and Tarrow's. Touraine and Tarrow, approve the classification of movements that continue their work by institutionalization as SMs.

In his definition of SMs, Jasper also touches on the following characteristics of SMs: Some of these movements act on positive agendas and strive to bring new alternatives to existing solutions from large communities to neighbourhood communities and freedom schools. However, most of these movements choose to protest which is a way of open criticism against other movements, organizations, actions and beliefs. They articulate their discontent and anger about present implementations to change those implementations via the shortest way or directly, which may not happen. Given Jasper's explanation, protest actions and SMs are equal, but he also conveys the movements that don't fit this equation to the reader. In Jasper's view, most SMs are protest movements at the same time. Certain types of movements that aim to convert their members rather than protesting more comprehensive issues, similar to many other religious movements, are exceptions. (Jasper, 2002, p. 29)

Again, similar to Touraine's view, Jasper argues that SMs show changes in time and, for this reason, SMs definitions should change accordingly with periods. From the Medieval Ages until the 19th century, peasants reacted to arbitrary implementations of the elite upper class such as seed shortages, high bread prices, public land retention and other attempts that limit traditional rights or organized religious movements. (Jasper, 2002, p. 31) Under the light of Jasper's definition about SMs, groups related to public institutions such as the military cannot be classified under SMs section. Therefore, Jasper focused on only peasants' movements rather than the military that had often united and organized movements during this period of fifteen hundred years. Accordingly, SMs of this period cannot be classified as ideological movements since they don't aim to actualize a new idea and thus, they cannot be classified under idealist movements. These movements' common aim is to conserve the status quo and for this reason they can be defined as conservative.

The Industrial Revolution of the 19th century had a profound effect on universal economic relations and community movements after the Agricultural Revolution in the Neolithic Period and the French Revolution in the 18th century; from then on, new concepts are required to define community movements emerged in that period. Jasper classifies community movements of the Industrial period as the second type of social movements. In Jasper's view, these social movemens are not institutionalized and they emerge all of a sudden. Secondary SMs affect not only the movements of their time but also the movements to come. The aforementioned

tactics, first adopted by the bourgeois and then the working class, prepared actions are defined as “citizenship movements”. (Jasper, 2002, p. 31) Political parties established by the bourgeois and syndicates established by the working class cause these movements to be defined as citizenship movements rather than SMs by James Jasper. According to Jasper, a movement quits being a social movement when it starts to institutionalize.

To return to Alain Touraine, he brings the secrets of cohabitation to the surface in addition to his explanation on how his views on SMs has changed. In this work, SMs are acknowledged as the secret to cohabit. Alain Touraine does not accept power-seeking: national, religious and classicist movements as SMs because no matter where they emerge, they either are political movements or will become political movements. On the other hand, according to the idea put forward in Touraine’s work, modern-day SMs must be related to the subject and the subject must be tied with economic instrumentation. In short, when mobilization becomes more direct and more massive, even a rebellion of the people can turn into authoritative sovereignty and attack foreigners or minorities. There isn’t any room for a solution that would bring individual freedom in any of these situations. (Touraine, 2000) Therefore, these movements cannot be acknowledged as SMs.

Touraine excludes not only revolutionary movements but also the movements based on religion and nation from being defined as SMs, since such movements seek advantage and to make other subjects adopt their ideologies. As mentioned before, Touraine does not define religion-based movements as SMs; there are political groups that use Islam to come to power and establish a fundamentalist and anti-modernist society similar to that of Iran’s; along with modernist implementations to keep the power, in Algeria and especially Egypt. Religious movements step in politics sooner or later because they seek to gain advantage through political forces. Such politicized groups that gain extra advantage through political means must support their resources, that are, old subjects who are attached to them, or in other words, those who have lost their subjectivity by connecting to a movement, because they are the resources used by those who have turned into a political group, and people who have been identified as resources are the source of a political group only when they use other resources in their advantage. Groups that have lost their subjectivity, with the acceptable division of non-human resources pie in a modern saying that makes human resources of the group happy, become against other subjects. If they manage to come to power, they utilize oppression tools, once used against them by modernists, in controlling manners against subjects and SMs organized by those subjects. The

subjects are tried to be brought to the conditions a monopolistic nation understanding or scolding economy. Thus, it is no longer possible to talk about a social movement defending the personal subject against market and communitarian-nationalist forces (Touraine, 2000) and social movement concept must include this definition.

The theory which suggests that non-politicized groups should not be studied under the social movement concept, developed by Touraine, and Jasper, isn't supported by everyone working on the subject. David S. Meyer disagrees with the theory. In *Routing the Opposition*, by David S. Meyer, Valerie Jenness and Helen Ingram, Meyer points out that the concepts suggesting that SMs can have political connections and SMs are completely independent from the state don't reflect the truth. Meyer doesn't feel the need to define SMs in such a strict way as Touraine did; because, contrary to Touraine who defines SMs and political groups as completely different concepts, Meyer brings both SMs and political groups together. Meyer's aim is to build bridges among people researching collective action and SMs and to encourage the construction of comprehensive and synthetic approaches to the study of SMs. (2002, p:3) Certainly, a broad and comprehensive definition of SMs would create some difficulties but SMs concept, as SMs are, should be unifying, not separative, and provide reconciliation. According to Meyer, students of SMs fit into two rough categories: those who begin from the inside out, starting with activists and their concerns, and those who start from the outside in, looking first at states, political alignments, and policies and then at patterns of collective action. Regardless of the starting point, however, we need to look at both efforts. (Meyer, Whitter and Robnett, 2002, p. 4) Another unifying characteristic of Meyer's social movement concept is the view that suggests the concentric identity of the social movement and the society. The process of turning physical features or social practices into "identities" is forged from the interaction between people and that state. By forcing some people to sit in the back of the bus, wear a yellow star, or hide their sexual orientations, states create the conditions in which particular identities develop. States can create identities by endorsing or prohibiting religious or sexual practices, by regulating access to social goods, and by setting rules of interaction between groups and individuals. Within these parameters, activists choose how to define themselves, by alliances, claims, and tactics. (Meyer, Whitter, Robnett, 2002, p. 22) Meyer's leaving the social movement to partnerships, claims and methods chosen by the actor, and seeing the communities that freely hold the structures as a part of the concept of social movement under all circumstances is the result of the acceptance of an expansionary and liberating theory. Meyer already tries to eliminate cross-disciplinary boundaries on SMs with other theoreticians such as Whitter and

Robnett by saying that fuller of understanding of SMs necessitates breaking out of disciplinary trenches. (Meyer, Whitter and Robnett, 2002, p. 22), and through this he accepts multiple movements as SMs as well. In addition, contrary to the analysis of sociologists, he acknowledges that movements may go against politicians and their policies. In contrast with Touraine, movements that aim to establish a new power or law may as well be SMs for Meyer. While defining SMs, Meyer mentions the need to make substantial changes, and in his definition SMs are leading, useful tools to provide social justice. In order to provide social justice, groups with different characteristics must be accepted as SMs; because accepting some movements as SMs and not accepting others makes it a more difficult task to complete. Meyer explains SMs as groups and their methods to provide social justice. For this reason, he has a more comprehensive approach towards the definition of SMs.

As mentioned above, what SMs are a disputable topic, however the dispute on that topic is on certain parts of SMs. Consensus has been reached about most sub-concepts of SMs. SMs are carried out with the unification of individuals against the rule-maker who holds the power. SMs, in general, demand equality and freedom and are conventional movements that gather around this demand. They can come out easier in democratic societies since their demands would bother the powerful; and they are under the threat of dissolution or transforming into another non-social movement in authoritarian societies. In case of a transformation, SMs may change methods including violent ones, and situation would lead both to the dissolution of the movement and decrease in external support. Being collective, conventional and against the rule-maker; demanding freedom and equality are generally accepted characteristics of SMs. However, institutionalization, politicization or resorting to violence bring conflicts about these groups being accepted as SMs or not and cause divergence between researchers working on SMs. While Touraine and Wiktorwicz do not accept politicized SMs as SMs; Tarrow suggests even if such movements only become institutionalized not politicized, that they lose their social characteristic. Whereas, Meyer sees social organizations firstly as groups that oppose oppression and persecution formed by individuals who take action, and he upholds the necessity to study the local conditions under which the movement emerged for it to be considered as a social movement. Most movements born in non-democratic countries, as primarily SMs politicize in time, need to use political methods to gain new resources and enhance existing ones. These movements try to diversify their methods and resources. Thus, they come closer to announce their demands of freedom and equality, and even make them accepted. It is necessary to mention that, Touraine argues such movements demanding freedom and equality cannot be defined as

SMs. Touraine points out the non-democratic society where such movements emerge and argues that this situation, alone, makes it harder for SMs to emerge. Besides, demands of equality are political demands by nature since these movements strive to be equals with the powerful or the administration; at least, such movements demand autonomy. Whereas for Touraine, individual actors of SMs should be similar to Sophocles' Antigone. Antigone buries her brother, who is punished by King Creon by not being buried and claims responsibility for his crimes. She declared that she demands freedom for her brother's soul, but she doesn't demand equality. What Antigone did was not only a struggle to give her brother's soul freedom but also a movement against the king's authority, successful in bringing other individuals to support her cause and doesn't have any political goals. For this reason, Touraine uses this movement as an example of SMs.

Egypt's one of the most prominent groups, MB, and the JDP, a successor of the National Vision in Turkey, abide with most of the SMs' definitions. Both movements emerged in state regimes that prevented them from articulating their demands. In other words, both movements endeavoured to declare their demands in non- or semi-democratic countries where there are obstacles before SMs. They are aware that their voice can be heard only if they are large in number, so they gradually expand. They become victims of punishments, executions and murder by unknown assailants, and tend to politicize and institutionalize in order to have advantage. Subjects of this work, MB's FJP, and JDP in Turkey are accepted as SMs, in contrast with Touraine, Jasper and Wiktorwicz, because their institutionalization and politization are results of a tactical change, which is a factor Meyer approves. Politicized and institutionalized SMs that follow political Islam in Turkey and Egypt may collectively oppose the status quo with their demands of freedom and newly acquired characteristics and may even demand equality.

These movements only lose their social characteristic completely when they become the government, as the JDP in Turkey did in 2002 and the FJP in Egypt in 2012, assessment of such cases is out of the scope of this thesis since the topic is limited to the contributions of mutual groups that both SMs became partners with when ascending to power.

Before explaining the types of SMs based on the ideas of related researchers, it is necessary to emphasize that the importance of definitions come to surface once more because researchers classify SMs based on the concept they accept as accurate. Since Touraine cannot be expected to regard a group with religious or national identity as a social movement and place it under a title of the type; titles used only by those who consider religious or national movements

as part of SMs when classifying SMs are particularly important for this thesis. MB and the JDP are just two of the social movement groups lining up with political Islam and by the virtue of this characteristic, they are classified under certain titles. These titles change accordingly with experts because different mutual characteristics of SMs are considered by experts when they classify social movement groups according to their types.

Work of cultural anthropologist David Aberle on the classification of SMs according to their types is a prestigious and frequently consulted work in the literature. In his study, Aberle classifies SMs under four titles and these are redemptive, reformatory, revolutionary and alternative. This classification is based on who a movement is trying to change and how much change is advocating.

Aberle studies religion based SMs under redemptive SMs title. Despite the fact that, MB and National Vision movements didn't aim for political goals when they first emerged, they politicized in accordance with their tactics and became known as social groups that aim for a political Islamic regime. SMs that ideologically adopt political Islam establish political parties to actualize their ideas and according to David Aberle's work, they should be accepted both as redemptive and revolutionary SMs. Both redemptive and revolutionary SMs aim for radical social changes. The difference is that; while redemptive SMs try to change specific individuals, revolutionary SMs aim for a radical change for everyone. MB's FJP in Egypt and National Vision's JDP in Turkey are last political parties of this movement, when they were first established they tried to change specific individuals in places where their organizations were located but before they became politicized over the years, their effects spread throughout their countries and these parties turned into SMs that could easily change everyone's positions by establishing political parties. These SMs that try to change everyone with the whole society and politicize, continue to influence the inner worlds of individuals along with their beliefs. Therefore, they should be addressed both as redemptive and revolutionary social organizations. It is not generally accepted to examine all SMs that are ideological followers of political Islam and have established a political party under both titles at the same time and this reveals that SMs can change according to their types in their historical processes.

One of the earliest scholars to study social movement processes was Herbert Blumer, who identified four stages of SMs' lifecycles. The four stages he described were: "social ferment," "popular excitement," "formalization," and "institutionalization" (De la Porta and Diani 2006, p.150). Since his early work, scholars have refined and renamed these stages but the

underlying themes have remained relatively constant. Today, the four social movement stages are known as: Emergence, coalescence, bureaucratization and decline. Although the term decline may sound negative, it should not necessarily be understood in negative terms. (Macionis, 2001; Miller, 1999 cited in De la Porta and Diani 2006). Success of a social movement is one of the reasons of why social movements decline.

Similar to the MB and National Vision's examples Islamic SMs to be politicized may be accepted as redemptive social organizations but such SMs that began to merge in the second stage, become politicized by bureaucratization at the third stage. MB and the National Vision politicized in different ways and times because of the unique conditions in which these two groups emerged. Eventually, both SMs evolved into revolutionary SMs via politization despite differences. These SMs aim for radical changes in the whole society at the root level; political parties that they have established, as the FJP in Egypt and the JDP in Turkey, now serve as tools to achieve their aims.

Donatelle Della Porta and Mario Diani, show organizational dilemmas as a reason for the differences between social movement types composed by experts (1997). These dilemmas are caused by conceptual differences of opinion. The first dilemma, discussed in the book, is about resources of SMs. In this dilemma, individuals are accepted as resources, but the problem is about whether the money or time of these resources will be mobilized. These options are not easily compatible. Emotional messages, which provide a clear-cut definition of a movement's identity and opponents, are essential to mobilize core activists (Gamson, 1992). Yet, their sharpness may alienate sectors of sympathizers and prospective supporters with less clear-cut orientations and motivations (Friedman and McAdam, 1992 cited in Polletta and Jasper). It may also discourage potential supporters among established actors, not only public agencies but also "concerned" private sponsors, whose contribution will be easier to attract the larger the size of public support for a given movement. The choice of whether to mobilize time or money has important implications for social movement organisations: the two options require different "mobilization technologies" and therefore different organizational models (Oliver and Marwell, 1992).

The second dilemma about social movement organizations is whether their structures are hierarchical or horizontal. Hierarchical SMs have supreme leaders and fate of SMs relate with them. These supreme leaders are charismatic and they shape the tactics and methods of social movements which they lead. These leaders can be named differently excluding charismatic such

as agitator, prophet, administrator, or statesman (Lang and Lang, 1961). Horizontal movements have completely become different from hierarchical movements and they are accepted as more democratic movements. Even though horizontal movements need leadership, mission of leaders of horizontal movements are not accepted as unique and possible new leader candidates can be successful. They do not have holiness and they are accepted as promoter of coalitions and reconciliation.

The last dilemma that cause SMs to be classified under different types is about the characteristics of social movement organization participants and whether they are service providers or challengers. These concepts are, of course, flexible and a participant may change from being a challenger to a service provider. This uncertainty leads to dichotomies about the characteristics of participants. Not all social movement organizations are directly concerned with external challenges, oriented on political power holders, individuals concerned with external challenges may be accepted as challengers. SMs may aim changes social and cultural and appropriate to laws of their states.

As a result of aforementioned dilemmas, social movement organizations are classified according to their types. This classification includes two main titles: Professional and Participatory Movements. Participatory movement organization are studied under two sub-branches: Mass Protest and Grassroots Organizations.

Professional SMs organisations are clarified as 1) a leadership that devotes full time to the movement, with a large proportion of resources originating outside the aggrieved group that the movement claims to represent; (2) a very small or non-existent membership base or a paper membership (membership implies little more than allowing a name to be used upon membership rolls); (3) attempts to impart the image of ‘speaking for a constituency,’ and (4) attempts to influence policy toward that same constituency”(McCarthy and Zald 1987a [1973], p. 375).

There are no specific membership relations with Participatory Movement Organizations as there aren’t any contracts that specify the connection between the social movement and the participant. This causes participatory movements to be more flexible. For the same reason, participants of such movements are in constant change and individuals that devote themselves to the movement change according to events. Some participatory organizations emerge spontaneously and are better described by the word self-organization, others are initially

designed and organized by entrepreneurs. As mentioned above; Mass Protest Organizations and Grassroots Organizations are the two sub-branches of Participatory Movement Organizations.

Mass Protest Organisations combine attention to participatory democracy with certain levels of formalization of the organizational structure. In the SMs of the 1970s, many political organizations like the communist K-Gruppen in Germany, the New Left parties in Italy, the Trotskysts in France, had adopted fairly rigid and hierarchical organizational structures, close to the model of the Leninist party (Della Porta, 1995 cited in Porta and Diani). Mass Protest Organisations started to lose power especially after the 1980s. SMs organisations had had political features and this started to change. Environmentalist or ecologist movements have been rising since that time and it became more affective into decades.

In contrast to the mass protest model, the grassroots model combines strong participatory orientations with low levels of formal structuration. The existence of organizations of this kind depends on their members' willingness to participate in their activities. Such participation may be encouraged through different combinations of ideological and solidaristic incentives. Oftentimes this is related to locality. For example, the local groups that opposed road building in many corners of Britain in the 1990s (Doherty 1999; Wall 1999; Drury et al. 2003 cited in Porta and Diani, 2006) has not any political root. Activists who attend grassroots model tend to show their social and daily apprehensions.

Both the MB and the National Vision became the most popular SMs in Turkey and Egypt in the historical process. Despite the fact, most of the devoted circles aren't connected to the movement via membership and participate in movements' organizations but there are groups that officially participate in those organizations. Although these social movement organizations' number of official members reach up to millions, voluntary participants outnumber the official members. While these movements explain the goal of their movements as to improve the living conditions of those who support; decision-makers only consult to the high-ranking circles when it comes to make a decision. Even sometimes, the leader, the head-figure of the movement, makes the decisions alone. The JDP has participated in many elections since 2002 and succeeded in most; however, party members have little, if any, influence in deciding who will be the candidate and for which position. The CEC, Central Executive Committee, and the Central Decision-Making and Administrative Committee makes decisions for the party, in general. There are mutual members of the committees and the two committees govern the party, presided by RTE.

Another way of differentiating SMs is to classify them as new or old SMs. According to the definitions, all SMs can be classified under these two titles. While old SMs are defined as struggles over material resources and political power, struggles over more emergent issues; including identity and cultural and symbolic issues explain new social movements. Old SMs, such as those of 19th century Europe and North America, demanded ‘inclusion and rights within the framework of state and society relations’ (Chester and Welsh, 2011, p. 2). They included working-class and labour movements that questioned how state and society were organized. Noteworthy theorists included Karl Marx (theory of ‘class conflicts’) and Antonio Gramsci (theory of ‘cultural hegemony’). The new SMs emerged in the 1960s and 70s ‘out of the crisis of modernity and focus on struggles over symbolic, informational, and cultural resources and rights to specificity and difference’ (Touraine, cited in Edelman, 2001, p.289). They focused on issues including human rights (feminist/women’s and LGBT movements, and those against racial and ethnic discrimination), the environment and peace. They involved actors not previously mobilized, or issues not previously contested or politicized – often related to ‘collective identity and belonging’ (Horn, 2013, p. 21). These movements were ‘new’, argued Klandermans (cited in Chesters and Welsh, 2011), because they involved new identities, class constituencies such as the educated middle class). Post-material concerns with questions of culture, power and identity and new forms of action, such as small-scale participatory action outside established civil society groups. New Social Movements dealt with issues and conflicts considered part of private and cultural life instead of focusing solely on political organizations.

The MB and the National Vision cannot be easily classified under either one of the titles due to two reasons. The first is that these Islam-based political SMs change throughout the historical process. The second problem is that experts are yet to come up with a political Islam definition that wouldn’t spark discussions. In the next section of this study, the extent to which the MB and the JDP, political Islam based SMs, are suitable for the sub-branches claimed to be the constituents of political Islam, will be discussed. Before moving onto the next section; the reason that the MB and the JDP are not fully compatible with either one of the old or new SMs topics is the debate on whether there are political and legal management change demands. The demand for change in political and legal management is openly included in old SMs’ definition. Only if it is accepted that these groups demand theocracy and sharia, the MB and the JDP can be accepted as old SMs. In the case that they are accepted as SMs that don’t demand theocracy and sharia, the demands of change should be accepted as a search of rights based on culture and identity. It Is clear that the MB and the JDP demand rights based on culture and identity, at least

until they ascend to power in their countries, and therefore, they can be classified under new SMs topic. However, this time, the fact that new SMs create new identities becomes a problem. MB and the JDP adopt Islamic culture and identity; and as they are not the first ones to do so, they aren't the last ones. Their characteristics will pass onto succeeding generations as legacy, especially even denser when they are under pressure; and they have felt under pressure since the 19th century. These social movement organizations, being not completely suitable for the new SMs definition, should be accepted as the synthesis of old and new SMs with the most realist approach.

SMs can be divided into types under the headings of local, national and transnational. First, it (transnational movements) shows how even prosaic activities, like immigrants bringing remittances home to their families, take on broader meanings when ordinary people cross transnational space. Most studies of transnational politics focus on self-conscious internationalist; we will broaden that framework to include people like my father whose brand of unselfconscious transnationalism has become increasingly common in today's world.

Second, even as they make transnational claims, these activists draw on resources, networks, and opportunities of the societies they live in. Their most interesting characteristic is how they connect the local and the global. In today's World, we can no more draw a sharp line between domestic and international politics.

Finally, transnational activism is transformative: just as it turned my father from a provider of immigrant remittances into a diaspora nationalist, it may be turning thousands today from occasional participants in international protests into rooted cosmopolitans. That transformation could become the hinge between a World of states a done in which stateness is no more than one identity among many: local, national and transnational. (Tarrow, 2005, p. 2-4)

The MB is seen as the ancestor of political Islamist SMs and it is known that the organization has branches in over forty countries under different names. The National Vision and its political party, the JDP are accepted as the MB's representative in Turkey, by some circles. The fact that JDP's Leader, RTE, visited Egypt twice following MB's accession to power, contrary to the custom, points at the existence of an organic bond between the two organizations; however, the fact that the National Vision and the JDP are accepted as independent SMs does not change their transnational characteristics. International institutions that belong to Fethullah Gülen, with whom the JDP governed Turkey for a long period in cooperation reveal the

transnationality of this social movement organization in Turkey. With the increasing influence of the JDP over these institutions since 2013 and the establishment of schools connected to the Republic of Turkey, the JDP became a transnational social group using the Turkish Republic's name. In the light of the aforementioned explanations, both the MB and the National Vision can be acknowledged as transnational SMs; however, it shouldn't be forgotten that they had been, respectively, local and national throughout the historical process. The MB, established in 1928 by the village imam Hasan Al-Banna, to be recognized as a transnational organization.

In this section, types of SMs, social movement organizations and different approaches used in creating these types are focused on. Titles used by David Aberle, Donatelle Della Porta and Mario Diani in classification of SMs are also discussed and explained. MB and the JDP can't be completely classified under either one of the aforementioned titles or under old and new SMs categories since they aren't in complete correspondence with definitions of those titles. The fact that SMs go through changes through the historical process is the reason behind this situation. The changes that SMs go through are tactical. These changes, made against the rule-maker and for the growing of the movement, have profound influence on the movement's future. Besides, the conflict about political Islam as a concept gives way for different interpretations of these SMs and makes it more difficult to put these SMs under a title. Local, national and transnational movements are different categories of SMs and for decades, MB and the JDP have been accepted as transnational SMs but, still, their historical characteristics will remain at the forefront. Both movements emerged as local movements that attracted a small number of people in small areas and with the successful utilization of resources, they first became national and then transnational movements.

2.2 Social Movements Theories

Not every perceived grievance or injustice generates a social movement. The question of how and why different movements emerge, and how are they sustained over time, has generated much debate in the social sciences (Horn, 2013, p. 21 – 22). Debates in social sciences, mentioned by Horn, stem from the diversity of theories about why and how SMs emerge. This diversity of social movement theories supports discussions and the progress of SMs studies; nonetheless, this doesn't mean that similarities between social movement theories are insignificant. Similar assumptions in theories make it easier to classify theories according to different viewpoints. When SMs are classified in macro-structural dimension; they are observed

to be divided into two main groups: the functionalist perspective and the conflict theory. The functionalist perspective includes collective behaviour theory; while the conflict theory includes RM Theory, political process theory and new SMs theory.

Some studies take the “historical process” into regard to classify social movement theories. SMs theories can be divided into three with regard to the historical process. These three theories are The Marxist Theory, Classical Theory and New Social Movements Theory (Çalı, 2006, p. 34). This study will be based on the approach that classifies SMs as old and new and that categorizes theories in accordance with this classification. Before moving onto the theories that describe old and new SMs, explaining the differences between old and new SMs will be illuminating and the table below explains

Table 1: Old and New Social Movements

1

Types of ...	Old Social Movements	New Social Movements
Ideology	Political Focus	Cultural Focus
Society	In Early Capitalist Societies	In Advanced Capitalist Societies
Period	Pre-1960’s Movements	Post-1960’s Movements
Participants	Class-Based Participants	Cross-Class Participants ¹
Issues raised	Class-Based Issues	Non-Class Or Cross-Class Issues
Goals	Materialist Goals	Post-materialist Goals ²
Organization	Centralised: Formal and hierarchical	Decentralised: Informal and grass roots
Medium of Change	Institutional Action	Direct Action
	Collective Action	Collective and Individual Action
	Political Involvement	Individual Lifestyle

(Lise, p. 3)

In line with the characteristics given above, SMs have changed, and different theorists try to explain SMs with different theories according to their assumptions. Theoreticians who study old SMs assume SMs as irrational and class-based and unravelled their classical and collective behaviour theories based on these assumptions. Concerning cultural problems that emerged

¹ This table is taken from the study of Marcia Lise in London Metropolitan University. This is declared that the table was drawn from the studies of Buechler (1995), Cohen (1985), Gamson (1988, 1992), Inglehart (1981), Martell (1994), Melucci (1994), Mertig (2001), Offe (1994), and Sutton (2000).

within the developed capitalist system after 1960 is accepted as the common characteristic of new SMs and theoreticians study different aspects of SMs under RM and new SMs theories.

2.2.1 Theories that Analyse Old Social Movements

2.2.1.1 Classical Theory

The classical theory was created by Gustave Le Bon towards the end of the 19th century and the reasons behind the emergence of SMs are studied within the context of this theory. In his study, Le Bon describes SMs as crowds. Le Bon designates a special meaning in crowd psychology and completely distinguishes it from individual psychology. Once the crowd psychology constituted, it starts evolving but this evolution isn't rational as it is when joining a mass.

2.2.1.2 Collective Behaviour Theory

Similar to Gustav Le Bon's theory, collective behaviour theory deals with the examination of revolutionary SMs; in contrast with Le Bon's theory, collective behaviour theory defines revolutionary SMs as rational. Despite the difference, collective behaviour theory will be considered as a sub-topic under the classical theory since most of the SMs that collective behaviour tried to explain emerged in the 18th and the first half of the 19th century and are considered to be old SMs. Views of Neil Smelser, an American sociologist, will be used while explaining the collective behaviour theory.

Although he did not hold the society was often completely harmonious and stable state, he retained the Notion on such equilibrium as the baseline from which the emergence of collective behaviour needed to be explained. His theory therefore hinges on the idea that SMs are the result of strains in the social structure, defined as the impairment of the relations among, and consequent inadequate function of, the components of action. (Smelser, 1962 cited in Ormron). According to Smelser, "people join radical movements because they experience social dislocation in the form of social strain, especially when such strain springs from rapid social change (Smelser cited in Weeber and Rodeheaver, 2003). The notion of strain is arguably the most critical component of his model of the determinants of collective behaviour (Weber and Rodeheaver, 2003), although the existence of strains alone was not considered enough to explain why collective behaviour occurred at the times and in the forms that it did.

2.2.1.3 Marxist Theory

The Marxist social movement theory mainly discusses the class-based conflict when explaining reasons of emergence for SMs. The Marxist Theory states that the conflicts that emerged from time to time between classes, starting with conflicts between masters and slaves in history, caused SMs and that the conflicting social organizations will continue to exist so long as the class distinctions continue to exist. In the 19th century, when Marxism was conceived, the proletariat and capitalist bourgeoisie were in conflict and this provided an opportunity for various SMs. SMs of the 19th century being considered more of ethnicity and culture-based movements makes one think if the Marxist Theory wasn't conceived to explain modern-day SMs. On the other hand, another view suggests that modern-day SMs are influenced by Marxism and show Marxist characteristics. Subsequent developments of Marxist theory in the twentieth century were intimately linked to the development of oppositional political projects across the globe, ranging from revolutionary struggles against imperialist wars and capitalism itself to anti-colonial movements and the emergence of new forms of popular assertion in the post-WWII era. (Barker, Cox, Krinsky and Nielsen, 2013)

2.2.2 Theories Analyse New Social Movements

New SMs differ from old SMs in many aspects; due to the differences, theories that study new SMs must differ from those that study old SMs. New SMs cannot be explained by the ones that study old SMs; because with the emergence of new SMs, validity of assumptions made when theories were being conceived was being questioned. Movements overwhelming during the first stages of modernism were mostly based on economic interests and were generally made up of a single cast of a society organized centrally to gain the political power. Labourers' movement that was identified with the idea of revolution and was formed almost under the shadow of a political party or movement is one of the foremost examples of movements of this kind. Theories that define new SMs no longer recognize them as revolutionary movements. According to those theories, there are cultural reasons for new SMs to emerge as there are economic reasons for it. cultural reasons may be based on ethnicity or religion as well as various radical intentions. Thus, these movements do not represent an apparent relation with social roles of the participants. In the essence of novel movements (new SMs) opposes to the labour

movements and Marxist ideology as a homogenizing and integrating agent and required for collective movement. (Eroğlu and Florek, 2018, p.638)

Theories that study new SMs are divided into two: the RM Theory and the new SMs theory. As stated above, the evaluation of social movement theories serves for the determination of similarities and differences between the emergence of the MB and the JDP, compared through the course of this thesis, in accordance with various characteristics. The evaluation will be made in the light of RM Theory's assumptions and suggestions; for this reason, RM Theory will be thoroughly discussed contrary to other theories. Following the explanation of the theory in general terms, specific assumptions and suggestions of the RM Theory will be discussed in connection with the historical processes of the MB and the JDP. It is necessary to state that national and universal actors which became partners with these SMs at some point in the power gaining process must be focused within the scope of this theory since this study recognizes these actors and their organizations as the source of these SMs gaining power.

2.2.2.1 Resource Mobilization Theory

The RM Theory was developed in the early 1970s to challenge social breakdown and relative deprivation theories that identify individual grievances as the primary stimulus for collective action. (Curti, 2008; Heitzman, 1990). In 1977, John McCarthy and Mayer Zald published a key paper outlining the ideas of RM Theory. In their paper, McCarthy and Zald began by outlining terminology for their theory: social movement organizations (SMOs) are groups that advocate for social change, and a social movement industry (SMI) is a set of organizations which advocate for similar causes. (Crossman, February 29, 2020)

The aforementioned statements on the RM Theory constitute only a small portion of ideas generated by researchers working on the issue. RM Theory is a very comprehensive theory and it is still being developed with modern-day studies. Different approaches on the RM Theory will be discussed under "the RM Theory and the Comparing of the MB and the JDP" section and the goal is to try to explain the theory based on the historical processes of the MB and the JDP.

2.2.2.2 New Social Movements Theory

New SMs theory tries to explain new SMs, as it is the case with the RM Theory; however, contrary to the RM Theory, new SMs theory emphasizes the individualistic aspect of social movement participants. The density of this emphasis changes according to experts and this difference leads to the different interpretations of the new SMs theory. The conflicts between different interpretations stem mostly about the connection of social movement participants to any organization. While focusing on the definition of SMs, it was stated that Touraine sees the subject as the basis of a social movement, and according to Touraine, it is explained that the subject is not part of any organization in new SMs. Contrary to this view, Alberto Melluci states that the subject may be a part of organizations that do not have revolutionary goals when interpreting new SMs theory. Touraine bases new SMs on his post-industrial society model. According to Touraine, contemporary movements are new because they struggle within the field opened by the post-industrial society. This field isn't the state or the market, but it is the civil society where the boundaries between private and public fade away. The collapse of the walls between the private and public domains lead to the emergence of new types of conflicts based on lifestyles and identities. Hence, Touraine states that SMs enhance the civilian domain by articulating social categories once isolated from the public domain. Alberto Melluci agrees with Touraine at the point that the post-modern world is creating new forms of social control and new conflicts. However, he lays stress more on the symbolic characteristic of SMs. (Çayır, 1999, p. cited in Göktolga, 2013). Compared to the characteristics of old SMs, which gravitated towards the states to actualize its grand ideals, new SMs are a web of social connections, building a collective identity through dialogues with different groups and struggles. A web and a movement provide an anchor point for the reconstruction of identities shattered between various memberships, roles and experiences, for individuals. (Larana, Honston and Gusfield, 1994, p. 117)

2.2.2.3 Political Process Theory

The standard clarification for social development preparation, known as political procedure hypothesis (PPT), accentuates the job of political chances, assembling structures, and encircling procedures, alongside fight cycles and combative collections. Created in the US during the 1970s and 1980s and established in an examination of social equality battles, PPT

centers around the communication between development characteristics, for example, hierarchical structure, and the more extensive financial and political setting. Pundits contend that the hypothesis is excessively basic and invariant. Ongoing exploration by center PPT scholars has moved concentration to a progressively powerful investigation of the reoccurring systems and procedures of combative governmental issues. PPT is the summit of a progression of investigates against the then-predominant social logical view that protestors and other social development members were nonsensical hordes, overpowered by an aggregate mindset. Developments didn't result from estrangement or irregular mental demeanors, yet rather were intends to accomplish political closures and resolve authentic complaints. Three antecedents to PPT are imperative for their commitments to set up this new examination. Initially, Olson's (1965) investigation of assortment conduct turned old thoughts about the madness of protestors on its head, investigating the balanced and intentional decisions that people made before joining a development. Second, in a persuasive investigation of the homestead laborers' development, McCarthy and Zald (1973, 1977) found that the accessibility of assets to the development, instead of the level of mistreatment, clarified a great part of the variety in the degree of activation. This asset assembly viewpoint tallied something beyond material merchandise as assets, including perspectives, for example, hierarchical quality and the nearness of world-class partners. Third, Piven and Cloward (1977) pointed out significant parts of the monetary and political framework. Just during times of extraordinary systemwide emergency, for example, during the Depression, for instance, were developments ready to separate concessions from elites. Consolidated, these three improvements shaped the premise of PPT. The central work in PPT is Charles Tilly's from *Mobilization to Revolution* (1978), which combined these experiences, alongside those of other authentic and political sociologists. Tilly states that the association between three parts – interests, association, and opportunity – clarifies a competitor's degree of assembly and aggregate activity. Interests speak to the expected additions from cooperation; association, the degree of brought together personality and systems; and opportunity, the measure of political force, the probability of suppression, and the defenselessness of the objective. From *Mobilization to Revolution*'s effect on social development grant is generally aberrant, as McAdam's resulting examination of the Civil Rights Movement turned into PPT's focal content. PPT solidified in McAdam's *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency* (1982). Drawing on prior evaluates of traditional methodologies, and expanding on asset activation and particularly crafted by Tilly, McAdam dissected the ascent and decrease of the US Civil Rights Movement as an immediate

consequence of three elements: political chances, indigenous hierarchical quality, and psychological freedom. Political open doors came about because of "any occasion or expansive social procedure that serves to subvert the computations and suppositions on which the political foundation is organized". The definition was expansive, and his models included wars, industrialization, worldwide political realignments, delayed joblessness, and across the board segment changes. Political open doors worked in a roundabout way, by changing the level of intensity disparity between the difficult gathering and the objective. Among the open doors that McAdam discovered paving the way to the Civil Rights Movement was the Southern dark populace move from a provincial to urban condition, the decrease in lynchings, and the potential for worldwide humiliation during this stage exposed War.

A second factor that empowered assembly was the quality of indigenous associations. These are not the associations that were framed in the warmth of the battle, but instead the prior political and possibly political associations that existed among the abused network. The associations give individuals who can be enrolled as a gathering, regarded pioneers, an interchanges system, and individual ties. For the early Civil Rights Movements, these establishments included dark houses of worship, dark schools, and the NAACP, all of which saw quick development in the decades promptly preceding the development.

The third component of McAdam's political procedure model is a feeling of psychological freedom among potential social development members. This is an aftereffect of a gathering procedure and streams legitimately from the political chances and through nearby associations. So as to partake, McAdam contends, drawing on Piven and Cloward (1977), people must feel that the current political framework needs authenticity and their social development support could roll out significant improvement occur. On account of the Civil Rights Movement, McAdam takes note of an emotional move towards confidence about the future for African Americans in surveying information during the 1950s.

Notwithstanding shifts in every one of the three of these variables representing the ascent of the Civil Rights Movements, McAdam additionally contends that PPT represents the decrease of preparation also. He graphs a negative move in each of the three variables in the late 1960s, which, he contends, represents the finish of social liberties fighting during that period. PPT has advanced since McAdam's definition. Outstandingly, confining has to a great extent supplanted intellectual freedom and indigenous authoritative quality has been supplanted by preparing

structures. Political open doors the component which has gotten the most consideration – has been both limited and expanded.

Instead of psychological freedom, PPTists before long started to talk about a development's confining procedure. Drawing intensely on crafted by David Snow and associates, confining is the "cognizant vital endeavors by gatherings of individuals to form shared understandings of the world and of themselves that real and rouse aggregate activity" (McAdam et al.1996). While McAdam's intellectual freedom was centered around an individual feeling of strengthening before contribution, investigation of encircling procedures underlines the more key choices accomplished at a higher hierarchical level as a continuous, powerful procedure. At least, a gathering needs to depict their complaints powerfully, the symptomatic edge, and present a practical arrangement, the prognostic casing. Huge developments frequently give ace casings, for example, "social liberties," which ensuing development and gatherings can without much of a stretch allude to. As opposed to the next two fundamentally auxiliary components, confining procedures are the significant spot where the social is joined into the model. All things considered, confining is now and then extended to incorporate all non-auxiliary components affecting activation. This inclination is something that PPT pundit deficiency as a model defect and that PPT advocates caution against.

In a move away from the express predisposition for formal previous associations in McAdam's indigenous authoritative quality, PPTists moved towards an investigation of assembling structures, which are "those aggregate vehicles, casual just as formal, through which individuals activate and participate in aggregate activity" (McAdam, 1996). This incorporates prior gatherings, yet in addition development associations and the casual Networks among expected activists.

So also, political open doors were found by researchers in such an assortment of spots as to make the idea almost unfalsifiable. As McAdam (1996) noted in their presentation, political open doors had become an undeniably clumsy idea, with each creator operationalizing the idea in one of kind ways. They endeavor to indicate the thought by concentrating on four measurements: (1) the relative receptiveness or conclusion of the organized political framework; (2) the soundness of that expansive arrangement of first-class arrangements that commonly undergirds a country; (3) the nearness of world-class partners; and (4) the state's ability and penchant for restraint. Where McAdam's unique definition had developed to fit pretty much everything outside to the development, this reformulation endeavored to limit the degree by

concentrating on progressively explicit parts of the political framework. These endeavors didn't go far enough, be that as it may, for pundits.

A fourth idea that is frequently connected with PPT is the dissent cycle. This alludes to chronicled times of uplifted conflict over the political circle, for example, in 1968 in the US or 1989 in Eastern Europe, when a large group of gatherings was testing the authenticity of the state. As another political open door, for the most part, influences more than one gathering and as casings are frequently transferable across developments, developments that are not clearly connected can have comparative life courses.

While the quantity of ways that a development can make itself understood is conceivably boundless, by and by the number accessible to some random development is very limited. Following Tilly (1995), this constrained arrangement of ways that entertainers can make claims establishes the collection of dispute. Tilly finds that the advanced collection of dispute, which incorporates strikes, shows, and social developments, began in the second 50% of the nineteenth century.

2.3 An Evaluation of the Resource Mobilization Theory Based-On the Historical Processes of the Muslim Brotherhood and the Justice and Development Party

This section can be regarded as the key point of this study since all the questions that emerged through the course of the study will be answered, as far as it can be, with the RM Theory and. In the context of this theory, MB, the representative of political Islam in Egypt, and the JDP, acknowledged as the defender of the same ideology in Turkey, are accepted as new social movement organizations established as a result of new SMs and this hypothesis is based on the RM Theory. Besides, the fact that the MB in Egypt and the JDP in Turkey came to power via elections is explained by their successful use of the means they had at their disposal. It is possible to generalize that the SMs that advocate political Islam today and, in the future, when institutionalized and when the social conditions are appropriate, by explaining the similarities and differences of the MB and the JDP in line with the RM Theory. J. Craig Jenkins (1983) will be consulted while explaining the RM Theory because in his work, Jenkins significantly included views of other experts and provides a wider viewpoint in the scope of this theory.

The social movement theories put forward in the past, especially the ones that study old SMs, argue that SMs emerge irrationally due to the difficulties through which individuals have

gone. However, the relatively new RM Theory approaches the subject with a different viewpoint. In specific, these analysts argued that: (a) movement actions are rational, adaptive responses to the costs and rewards of different lines of action; (b) the goals of movements are defined by conflicts of interest built into institutionalized power relations; (c) the grievances generated by such conflicts are sufficiently ubiquitous that the formation and mobilization of movements depend on changes in resources, group organization, and opportunities for collective action; (d) centralized, formally structured movement organizations are more typical of modern SMs and more effective at mobilizing resources and mounting sustained challenges than decentralizes, informal movement structures; and € the success of movements is largely determined by strategic factors and the political processes in which they become enmeshed.

RM Theory differs from classical theories in terms of its definition of SMs' emergence. According to classical theories, SMs emerge as a result of grievances that individuals encounter and the loss of rationality of individuals as a result of these grievances. The RM Theory does not see grievances as the main reason of SMs. RM theoreticians see grievances as the secondary reason for SMs to emerge; although there are similar opinions about the main reason, RM theoreticians are yet to reach consensus on the topic (Tilly, 1978; Jenkins and Perrow, 1977 cited in Jenkins,1983), and Oberschall (1978a) have argued that grievances are relatively constant, deriving from structural conflicts of interest built into social institutions, and that movements from because of long-term changes in group resources, organization, and opportunities for collective action. While grievances are necessary for movement formation, they are explained either by changes in power relations (Korpi, 1974) or by structural conflicts of interest. McCharty and Zald (1973, 1977) have taken a slightly different direction, arguing for an entrepreneurial theory of movement formation in which major factor is the availability of resources, especially cadres and organizing facilities. Grievances are either structurally given or, increasingly in the contemporary setting, manufactured by the mobilizing efforts of movement entrepreneurs. As McCharty and Zald formulate it, "definition of grievances will expand to meet the funds and support personnel available" (1973, p. 13).

SMs' reason of emergence is explained by changes, in accordance with the aforementioned explanations; however, McCharty and Zald do not place changes in the centre of the reasons that trigger SMs; in their view, the main reason of the emergence of SMs is the availability of appropriate resources and the correct use of resources by entrepreneurs. Besides, McCharty and Zald suggest that grievances, which are accepted as the main reason for SMs to

emerge, may be caused by actors who started the movement; and for this reason, deprivations cannot be accepted as the main reason. For some purposes we go even further: grievances and discontent may be defined, created manipulated by issue entrepreneurs and organisations. McCarthy and Zald argued that modern SMs are increasingly professionalized, characterized by full-time leadership, a largely paper membership, and a reliance on *conscience constituents* who “do not stand to benefit directly from its success in goal accomplishment” (1977, p. 1222).

2.4 Open System Approach and RM Theory

The results of changes that SMs have gone through differ because of the utilized resources and the way they were used. Reasons of difference between the utilization methods of resources are explained by various theories. Theories of the outcomes of SMs have traditionally been framed in terms of a “closed system” model of development, arguing that movements pass through a standard evolutionary sequence or “life cycle” culminating in either collapse or bureaucratization and institutional accommodation (Lang and Lang, 1961). In contrast, RM theorists have adopted an “open system” approach, arguing that the outcomes of movements are critically shaped by the larger political environment. The outcomes of challenges depend not only on strategic choices but also on the stance of political elites and the support/opposition of established interest organizations and other movements. The balance of supports and social controls, in turn, shaped by changes in governing coalitions the structure of regimes, and societal changes that give rise to regime crises.

The reason that resources and resource utilization methods, used by the RM Theory, are different is explained with the open system approach. Created SMs, social movement organizations’ resources and the way these resources used should be determined considering environmental conditions. Difference in environmental conditions cause SMs with similar ideologies to mobilize their resources in different manners and leads to differences in outcomes of these SMs. The difference between resources and outcomes that the MB and the JDP have achieved until today will be explained with the open system approach. Thus, discussing the approach in detail will be beneficial. This discussion will consult to *The Social Psychology of Organizations*, by Daniel Katz and Robert Khan. According to them, organisations are open social systems with emphasis on two aspects (a) system character where movement in one part leads to movement in other parts in predictable fashion and (b) openness to environmental inputs, so that they are constantly in a state of flux. (1978, p. 32)

The key elements of open systems according to Katz and Khan (1978, p. 32) are input, throughput or transformation, output and transactional relationship with the environment. An open system receives input from the environment that impacts on its ideal or desired goal states (or objectives). In response feedback from within the system causes adjustments in the system's structure (what it is) and its processes (what it does). Externally, outputs may maintain or change the environment. In organismic systems the objective is survival, but to achieve this they have to adjust to maintain balance within themselves and with their environments (Gregory 1999(a): 268 cited in Van Vuuren, p. 26)

Egypt was officially a part of Ottoman territory from the 1500s until the middle of 1800s. Afterwards, it was governed by the Ottoman notable Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha and his descendants. From the late 19th century until 1950, Egypt went through a political process which included independency, Egypt can be considered as a colony under British control. The military kept the governmental power in the country after the 1950s until 2011. This military government had an undulant relationship with the MB. Egypt was governed respectively by Nasser, Sadat and Mubarak and whenever these leaders needed public support, they sought to be in close contact/on good terms with the MB. In the meantime, the MB had the chance to acquire more resources and to mobilize its resources differently, but whenever the relationship between the MB and the government took a downturn, the MB was suppressed and contained. In periods of suppression, MB's resources decreased and changes in resource utilization were observed in such periods. Although the MB was established in 1928, its political brand the FJP wasn't founded until 2011 because until that time, the political system refused the MB to have such an important resource as a political party. Authorities feared that the MB would acquire new resources by using its political party. For this reason, the MB used various resources to improve the movement and reach its goals, but these resources were in a state of constant change. This change depended on governments in power, national and international conditions. Whereas in Turkey, the facts that the state was established as a republic in 1923 and the shift of governmental power from the founding cadre to the opposition, indicate that Turkey is more democratic compared to Egypt. Despite the military interventions in 1960, 1971, 1980 and 1998; soldiers held the power for a certain period and then competition between political parties continued. In this political environment, there weren't any obstacles before Islamist SMS' institutionalization, contrary to the environment Egypt, and hence the 1970s political parties that followed the National Vision philosophy were established subsequently. All these parties, which were once permitted to be established, had been shut down in accordance with environmental factors; thus,

differences in resources of Islamic SMs in Turkey and their methods of resource utilization occurred.

The JDP, the last political organization of the Islamic social movement in Turkey, has been the sole party in power since 2002 while the FJP, the first political organization of the MB, was closed down with a coup d'état in 2013. The new government in Egypt destroyed all resources used by the MB. As stated in open system approach, the reason for the difference of outcomes and utilized resources between these SMs that have adopted the same ideology, is the environmental factors. The JDP managed to acquire power and to keep it for a long period because it was established in a relatively more democratic country. On the other hand, in Egypt, conditions prevented the FJP from keeping the power. These conditions caused these SMs to have different resources and methods of utilization. As seen from the Egypt example, conditions sometimes prevent SMs from reaching the resources they have. In such a case, the movement either fades away while waiting for its resources or collapse. MB's historical process in Egypt is full of periods of hiding under the ground and it is a topic of interest whether the MB will come to surface again, after 2013.

Implementation of RM Theory and Open System Approach provides examination of mobilized resources by social movements in the theoretical frame. As mentioned above, the social movements theories' assumptions show diversities and focus on dissimilar features of social movements. The scope of this thesis is determination of factors led rising of Political Islamist movements. These factors make social movements powerful and for this reason, factors will be accepted as resources. This approach is appropriate for RM theory because while RM theory examines the causes of developing of a social movement, mobilizing resources are assumed as reasons of spreading of social movements. Firstly, resources of MB and JDP which were mobilized while they gain power are specified in this study. After the handling of findings, those will be assessed in the theoretical frame and RM theory provides, even not complete, sufficient knowledge about mobilization of resources. On the other hand, RM theory focuses on entrepreneurs of social movements and admits them as another reason of development of social movements. Importance of entrepreneurs is shown both on MB and JDP. With the using of RM theory roles of founders of social movements will be examined by propositions of theoreticians of RM theory. The question of why although MB and JDP have similar ideological background, they couldn't use the same resources under equal conditions is tried to answer during this thesis and Open System Approach succeed about it. The assumptions of Open System Approach is

used to grasp this. In this section, a theoretical approach towards SMs was followed and views of different experts of the issue are stated above. SMs are frequently studied by experts; for this reason, all views by all experts of the issue couldn't be discussed in the scope of this study. Principally, SMs' definitions by experts were put forward and the reason behind differences between definitions was explained. One of the issues that cause difficulty in defining SMs is the assessment of institutionalized movements as SMs. New SMs theories, except Resource Mobilization Theory and Political Process Theory, accept social movements as non-institutionalized but in definitions of RM theory and PPT, SMs institutionalize and can be divided into different organizations. Even if RM theory is used to provide a theoretical framework in the study, PPT can be accepted as a suitable theory for the study. The most important reason for this is that PPT accepts organizations as a social movement. In addition, environmental factors that are not included in the RM theory and are not studied under the theory by theorists are one of the most important factors when examining the establishment and development of social movements in PPT.

Social movements advocating political Islam in Turkey and Egypt always subsist under one organizational roof. Therefore, if these two social movements are evaluated, it should definitely focus on the theories that accept organizations as social movements. Muslim Brotherhood was established in 1928 as an organisation. When the organisation started to show itself to public, hierarchy which belonged to MB is always remarkable. Supreme leaders of the organisation are always highly known individuals and this situation can be accepted for Turkey too. Necmettin Erbakan and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan are leaders of the movement and their willings are admitted as order. In short, this is proved that leaders of the social movements organisations are entrepreneurs. One of the most important differences between Resource Mobilization Theory and Political Process Theory is that while RM Theory focuses on entrepreneurs, PPT examines influences of ordinary people. This is the reason of RM theory is used as theoretical frame in this thesis because influences of entrepreneurs will be assessed especially. Even though entrepreneurs are significant, interviews were committed with ordinary individuals due to conditions. This leads that PPT will always make its impact felt during the study.

CHAPTER 3:

POLITICAL ISLAM

Political Islam made feel its influence especially between 1980s and 2000s. Raising of political Islam can be understood by examining Islamist social movements of Egypt and Turkey easily. In addition, this can be alleged that raising of Islamist become true due to conflict between Soviets and the USA. The USA chose collaboration with Islamists in order to fight against communism. According to Bernard Lewis, the rise of political Islam is, in a sense, a result of the search for solutions to the problems faced by today's Islamic societies in their past (Lewis, 1993). Therefore, in order to understand the increasing influence of political Islam, it is necessary to examine the social, economic and political reasons that prepared the rise of political Islam. Political Islamic movements have shown great success in communicating with the urban population and organizing these masses. In the period following the Second World War", many countries where Muslims lived were subject to social and economic transformation. Especially in the 1960s, as a result of the increasing population and the rapid migration from the countryside to the city, unemployment rates among the people increased and the state became unable to provide basic services. For example, before the Iranian Revolution, more than half of the national income in Iran was collected in the hands of 1% of the population (Roy, 1995, p.56). Under deteriorating living conditions, the masses have become open to all kinds of dissenting movements under these conditions, under which the state was inadequate, Islamic movements expanded and strengthened their social base by providing services and assistance, filling the gap caused by the state. These organizations, which also provide employment opportunities to a large number of people in the economic field, gained significant advantages in terms of directing the society. In addition to the social and economic reasons mentioned above, political Islam movements are also among the people. He has also been able to appeal more effectively to the wider masses, especially with his rhetoric aimed at eliminating the feelings of helplessness and loneliness that are prevalent among young people and that arise from the conflict between traditional values and modern life.

Even though some features of political Islam is noticed above political Islam is a controversial concept. The dispute about political Islam is caused by the fact that there is no consensus on the fundamental concepts that constitute or said to be the constituents of political Islam. Those concepts are of great variety, but they are only accepted by certain groups while other groups and organizations that see political Islam differently do not accept those concepts as the basis of political Islam. In fact, the question of what political Islam is a product of this issue of whether those fundamental concepts are related to political Islam or not. In addition to the different conceptual perceptions of political Islam, another important problem is about the time it emerged and there are three views put forward. First of those three views suggest that political Islam rose with the Hijra, emigration of Muhammad the prophet of Islam from Mecca to Medina. As a result of Hijra, which took place in 622, the first Islamic State was founded and the term Ummah was established. Ummah includes all Muslims in the world and defines them as members of the one, united community. This term is one of the key terms of political Islam according to some parties of discussion. The second view suggests the idea that political Islam is an ideology produced by the modern world. This view argues that European states focus on the Middle East and North Africa (also known as MENA) where Islam is the dominant religion for their imperialist expansion since the 19th century industrialization. Colonizing European states did not only change the economic structure of the region but also imported their cultural values along with political structure. European imports were welcomed by a small part of the local population while the majority felt humiliated and perceived Europeans as enemies that should be fought back. Here, political Islam the ground on which that majority fought against the Europeans and their collaborators. At the time, the idea of political Islam was much more active on social issues rather than state business and ruling of the country since political Islam's defenders believed that Allah is the all-mighty and only He can rule the state and how Allah's rule should proceed is written in Qur'an the holy book and in Mohammad's deeds the Hadiths. Since local statesmen of the time hesitated to engage in politics and seek power, some groups oppose the idea that political Islam emerged concurrently with the European imperialist expansion. Those who do not approve the aforementioned view that suggests the simultaneous emergence of political Islam along with the struggle against imperialism and the attitude towards social issues; discuss that political Islam's source lies with the intersection of Islamic ideology and politics. During this period, groups that defend political Islam sought candidacy and public support for the first time to power over state governance. Pragmatism is the common ground of today's groups that accept this period as the beginning

of political Islam and the politicians who sought political power under the influence of Islam considering the conditions of the time. They found an opportunity to develop and spread their Islamic views via politics and their ideology was accepted even in much greater proportions than ever before.

The divergence over the concepts that are claimed to be constituting political Islam and different viewpoints of groups cause the difficulties faced while defining or understanding political Islam. According to a group of researchers, academics and interested people; political Islamist movements and organizations adopt certain concepts and viewpoints. Viewpoints generally change according to where researcher who study about political Islam is from. Despite the different local interpretations which are produced in Muslim societies, Westerners who study about the topic accepts that Political Islam includes willing of establishment of global caliphate and applying of Sharia. In addition, the Westerners generally alleged that supporters of political Islam oppose, and are in direct conflict, with Western values such as gender equity, homosexuality, liberalism, pluralism, and secularism. They are less tolerant of diversity, freedom of expression, freedom of religion, freedom of thought, human rights, individualism, liberty, open-mindedness. Another assumption produced by Westerners is that Israel is an invader and terrorist state. With the immigration of the Jewish from Europe to Phalestine, endless conflict begins and have lasted for years (Avi, 2017). As in mentioned above, these allegations which are produced by non Islamists change due to local conditions. Turkey and Egypt despite their common historical background have faced with unsimilar conditions especially after the 19th century and this caused to emergence of different political Islamist social movements on the countries even though they have similarities. In this section similarities and unique features of Political Islamist movements are examined by assessing of faced historical developments in Turkey and Egypt. In the following part, passed and current conditions of political Islamists in Turkey will be lighted and then influences of political Islam in Egypt will be examined historically. At the end of this chapter, development of political Islam in Turkey and Egypt will be compared

3.1 The Past and Present of Political Islam In Turkey

Compared to other countries where Muslims live predominantly, Turkey has unique features. Turkey is seen as a model Muslim country (Serter, 1997, p.24), which describes itself as secular and where "Islam" is not defined as a state religion. Because of this feature, discussions on secularism are frequently experienced in Turkey". However, the fact that secularism takes place in the constitution does not mean that the effectiveness of religion in political life is completely eliminated. From the perspective of the state's intervention in religion, it is seen that even after 1937, when secularism entered into the constitution in Turkey, a secular system was not fully formed, that is, religion and state affairs were not separated. The Religious Studies department through mosques, imams and their maaglarinin paid assignments, in later years, in addition to these, with the introduction of religious instruction into the curriculum in schools, religion can be said to continue its control over the state."The reason behind the state's attempt to maintain and maintain this control over religion in Turkey is due to the conditions at the time of the establishment of the Republic. In order to eliminate the influence of religion in political life and to take steps towards westernization and to free all areas of social, cultural and political life from the influence of religion, a series of reforms implemented in the 1920"s and were carried out (Yavuz, 1997, p.64). During the time of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, various policies were developed to establish a secular nation-state and to bring forward national elements instead of religious ones. In 1924 " the Caliphate was abolished, the Ministry of justice and Awqaf was abolished and the Head of Religious Affairs was established under the prime ministry and education was collected in one center by the law of Tawhid-i Tedrisat. After that, reforms aimed reducing of the power of religion in society and in 1925 lodges and shrines were closed. The amendment made in 1928 abolished the article establishing that the religion of the state is Islam, and in 1937 the principle of secularism was added to the constitution. In the historical process, it has emerged that, unlike nationalism, Islam has the ability to form a more permanent and lasting political community and to express the opposition of the masses by using various symbols. As explained in the previous section, while discussing the reasons behind the rise of political Islam in the world, there are various reasons behind the strengthening of political Islam in Turkey. Especially during the first period of the Republic, there was a perception among the broad masses that Islam was under threat in the newly established political system. This perception, which continued in the following

periods, was one of the most important reasons that formed the basis of political Islam movements in Turkey. This the cause of that Turkey is accepted as unique country which population is mostly Muslim. While other political Islamist movements emerge against colonial Powers in other Muslim countries, political Islam was born in Turkey against founders of republic and their policies.

1946 is the year of establishment of first permanent opposition political party in Turkey. Even though the establishment of Democrat Party came true due to probably economic conditions, the demands of voters on Islam and Islamic life style were assessed by the administrators of the new party. Politics of DP also affects the ruler party RPP. RPP declared that village institutes would be closed because of conditions of school which were not appropriate to the culture of the nation. Village Institutes were schools combined male and female students under the equal conditions. These schools created the close relation between students and it was seen immorality by conservatives especially. It is seen a huge trophy which is gained by Islamists and new earning would last despite obstacles. Turkish Armed Forces tries to decrease influence of political Islam and coups are the one of the methods for this aim. 1960 is the first coup of the Turkish Armed Forces and it was the end of DP. One of the reasons of the closing of the DP is that the party had had close relation with political Islam. Adnan Menderes declared opposite of his political party in a meeting that if he wanted, even caliphate could be established and he accepted the reason of closing the party. Justice Party had been founded after the coup and it affects the political life of the country deeply. At the first years of the party, it was the roof organisation which combined people who had various approaches. Political Islam was one of them and Justice Party was seen as protector of Islamists. Even though Justice Party had had close link with Islamists, some politics of the party cracked the partnership. Justice Party had had close relations with the USA and it was not acceptable for Islamists. Since the different point of view, Islamists needed to establish their own party and Necmettin Erbakan became the entrepreneur of it.

In Turkey, the National Vision emerged as a philosophy that advocates political Islam, or, in other words, an Islamic ideology emerged. Various organizations have established, in line with this philosophy. Some of these organizations, perhaps the most important ones, are structures institutionalized as political parties. These organizations emerged as of 1970; however, they have kept being closed due to their Islamic views over and over again in the course of time. Necmettin Erbakan is the chairman of these political parties, and for the last

time, he served as the chairman of the Welfare Party, which was established in 1983, at the beginning of the 1990. Along with local administrations of Turkey's most important cities, the seat of the prime minister passed onto the Welfare Party as a consequence of general elections. Welfare Party did not stay long in power neither on the local nor on the general level and the party was closed as a result of various developments. Many leading figures of the Welfare Party, including Necmettin Erbakan, were politically banned. As a consequence, some circles that advocate political Islam in Turkey deviated from the National Vision ideology. These pro-modernity circles created the most effective organization that advocates political Islam in Turkey. This organization was named, the Justice and Development Party. JDP participated in the general elections, only a year after its establishment and came to power, winning most of the seats and became the sole party to rule the country.

Before moving to JDP, historical background of the political Islam in Turkey will be examined throughout decades. The first political party of Islamists in Turkey was National Order Party and it is appropriate the assumptions of the ideology of National Vision. This is understood from the party program of the National Order Party. (1976). First article of the program focuses on morality. According to article, nation of Turkish has upper morality and the party aims to develop it. After the emphasis on spiritual value along with various articles, thoughts about secularism in the program are interesting in terms of subject. In the sixth article, the use of secularism as a means of repression against religious people is criticized and it is explained that the political party is against groups that see secularism as an antireligion. The items that follow the ideology of the national view are remarkable in the later parts of the program. One of them is given in the eighth article and it is explained that the National Order Party is against any foreign political ideology. (MSP, 1976, p. 5-9). Although the Islamic and conservative highlights are social and cultural in the program of the National Order Party, there is no emphasis on the state system and its administration. The reason of it is explained with possible pressure of soldiers and fear of closure. Although various measures have been taken, the national order party can not escape being shut down and a long-term process begins for political Islamists. In this process, many Islamist parties are established, but these parties are closed due to their Islamist aspects and anti-secularism.

The first political party of political Islamists and its leader Necmettin Erbakan raises its voice in the face of Israel's rise and strength and it lead to consolidate of the power of National Vision on Islamists. The first political party of political Islamists and its leader

Necmettin Erbakan raises its voice in the face of Israel's rise and strength and it leads to consolidate of the power of National Vision on Islamists. Israel is gaining strength in this period, and in the six-day war, it has gained many lands, including Jerusalem, and quadrupled the land it has owned since its foundation. Despite this, rulers of the country cannot make harsh rhetoric against Israel due to the support of the USA and it is up to the ideology of National Vision and representative of it to express these discourses. The National Order and its officials make harsh statements not only against Israel, but also about social issues. These speeches are exemplified as the reason for closing the party, which was closed in 1973. In all of these explanations that cause closure, the emphasis on Islamic state and government is observed. This is the one of he his statements cause the closure of the political party: "There are three ways in Turkey today; The first way; Leftism, the end of communism, there is the CHP. The second way; The cosmopolitan freemasonry way. There is an AP sign on this road. The third way; MNP path. This road represents the right; Right Way, Faith Road ... At the end of the next election, I invite you to pray in Hagia Sophia Mosque in 1973." (Resmi Gazete, 1972, January 14).

After the closure of the National Order, another Islamic party, the National Salvation Party, is established by the same people. This established party succeeded to be the small partner of the coalition after the elections held in 1974, but Islamic statements continue to be made. Hürriyet Daily News published an interview given to a German newspaper on September 29, 1974, by Necmettin Erbakan Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, also known as the Hodja by the Political Islam sympathizers and the founder of Political Islam in Turkey. Chairman of the National Salvation Party and the then deputy prime minister- where it was pointed out that Erbakan demanded Sharia and women to wear the veil. The newspaper -Vorwärts- known for its close relations with the FSPD, Federal Germany Social Democrat Party, published the interview under such headings as: "Turkish Way of Decline", "President of National Salvation Party Wants to Turn Medieval Age". Erbakan answers the question of "can you think of a Turkey ruled under sharia law in our age?" which was asked by interviewer smartly. Erbakan says that "theoretically speaking, it is quite possible. Countries ruled under sharia are very well contented, but the decision belongs to the Parliament." In fact, this statement puts forward the views of political Islamists in Turkey. It indicated that under the right circumstances, political Islamists may demand Sharia.

The development of political Islam in Turkey inexplicable prompted by the Sharia

alone. Besides, social and economic works of political Islamists must be taken into consideration. In the years following the "Second World War", Turkey was subjected to rapid industrialization and migration from rural to urban areas. An important result of this demographic change was that these new urban masses, who brought traditional and Islamic identities and styles of life to the city, brought Islamic elements to prominence in urban life. In a sense, a situation such as "reconstruction" of cities has emerged. As a result of urbanization, the level of education has also increased and children of conservative families who are new to urban life, mostly with lower-middle income levels, have become more politically conscious in parallel with the rising levels of education. One reason for the strengthening of political Islam in Turkey is the inability of existing political powers to meet social expectations by failing to increase the level of prosperity. The masses sought to support political parties, which they perceived as an alternative to high inflation, rising unemployment and corruption, which directly affected them, and which promoted Islamic elements. With the demographic transformation mentioned above and the increasing political consciousness, especially since the 1970s, the political parties that put Islamic elements forward have begun to strengthen. Tariqats are another factor that plays a role in strengthening political Islam in Turkey. Sects, which are religious institutions formed to reach the holy truth, have been a part of Turkish social and cultural life for centuries. The main unit of the cults active in Turkish society is the tekke or the magazine. These units multiply as students leave the magazine. In modern times, cults are also spread through foundations, student dormitories, study groups and Quran courses that use the economic power of institutions. Within the framework of efforts to reduce the influence of religion in the political, social and cultural spheres, the cults which were closed continued their activities in secret and continued their activities openly in the new political framework formed with the transition to multi-party life. With the transition to multi-party life, the Qur'an courses and the mosque foundations showed a great increase.

Fethullahists movement was founded by Fethullah Gülen, who was initially a member of a group of Nurcians and later separated from them and assumed the leadership of a liberal Islamic Movement. This movement, which aims to reconstruct the society by using economic, social and cultural methods, found its first supporters in Izmir and spread its influence. The movements increased its strength by using of power of mass media. The Newspaper of Zaman and Samanyolu Tv were channels of Fettulah Gulen and with

the affect of these both thoughts of political Islam and visibility of the people who are on the way of Islamism in Turkey were accepted by people who had excluded before. Even though the influence of Fettulah Gulen began in 1980s, it had not been visible as in 1990s because of a coup which was organized in 1980. First of all, this has to be said that one of the reasons of the coup was activities of National Salvation Party. Thus, the second party of the Islamist would be close after the coup. The third party of Islamist was named Welfare Party and it becomes the prominent figure in the political life. 1980s is known as the decade of raising of Islamist around the World and local environmental conditions led it. After the coup, Turkey faces with various problems and economic issue is one of them. After the collapsing of leftist ideology in Turkey because of pressure, which was applied by army, political Islam gains power. Political Islam succeeded while it fills gap of leftists. They especially focus on regions which are set on out of the cities and Sultanbeyli is one of that. As mentioned above, people who came from villages to cities in order to afford their expenses started to reside in this type of districts. These types of villages are slums and they needed many investments. Even state could not afford the needs of the people who live there, while the volunteers of WP support them. At the same time, with the support of women of youth of WP, people who had needed help convert to voters of political Islam.

This explains the success of Welfare Party in local and general elections in 1994 and 1995. In 1994, works of the WP give results and WP won the Municipality of Istanbul and Ankara. Recep Tayyip Erdogan became the president of the Municipality of Istanbul and he gradually rises even though he is banned from political life due to his religious statements. After the general elections, WP became the big partner of the government and Necmetin Erbakan sits on the armchair of prime ministry. The inevitable rising of political Islam cause fear of seculars and soldiers. With the politics of WP, soldiers had had conditions and they created opportunity to another coup. Even though the coup is known as post-modern coup, results of the intervention were severe for WP. At the end of the process, Necmettin Erbakan is now politically banned and his political party, which he brought to power, is closed. Under the influence of the soldiers, the power of political Islamists collapses, but there is a great anger against the coup, especially in certain parts of the public. After the closure of WP, olds of the Islamist social movement started to feel pressure from youngs of the movement. This is known as conflict of traditionalists and reformists. When the traditionalists try to block influences of reformists the crack was

born between them. Reformists separated from traditionalists after the closing of the political party which had been established after coup. Along with establishment of JDP, Islamist social movement increased its power and it had great influence on society.

3.2. Political Islam in Egypt

The Muslim Brotherhood (Ihwan Al-Muslim) has had close relations with the state since its establishment in 1928. Hasan Al-Banna founded the society as a charitable organization, a social structure that would provide social solidarity among the poor people of Egypt; however, the foundation of the society was determined by the specific economic and political conditions of Egypt and the world. First, after modern Turkey abolished the caliphate in 1924, Britain sought to create a caliphate in Egypt and tried to place King Fuad of Egypt as caliph against the claims of Sharif Hussein in Hijaz, in Mecca, and French in Morocco. It was hoped that the return of this authority to Egypt under British control would give Britain control over the Muslims in India and provide the basis of legitimacy to King Fuad, whose social support was extremely limited and standing with British support. This claim did not materialize; the caliphate issue has sparked long debates in Mecca, Cairo and London. The second factor in the founding of the Muslim Brotherhood was the overwhelming majority of the nationalist Vafd, organized to attend the 1919 Paris Conference, and the fierce opposition of SA'ad Zaglul to both the Kingdom and British rule in the 1924 elections. This opposition caused the Muslim Brotherhood to organize in support of Britain and hold an important place in Egyptian politics as a social force, if not a political party (Akin and Karasapan, 1988). The British High Commissioners, residing in Beit Al-Lord in Cairo, and King Fuad's reactionary ruling parties collaborated against the vafd's aims of creating a free and democratic Egypt. Under the support of the state and Britain in the struggle for power in Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood has increased its organized power. The third factor in the development of the Muslim Brotherhood community was the search for social solidarity support from the large poor affected by the Great Depression. The society developed at a time when the vafd tried to get rid of the British protectorate of Egypt, when the king established Egypt's most repressive government under Ismail Sidki Pasha. When the British High Commissioner's office implemented a monocultural Agricultural Policy. Policies to increase agricultural income, particularly when small producers were impoverished by the world crisis of 1929. When the movement moved to Cairo in 1930,

the Muslim Brotherhood's religious liberation discourse, which began in Ismailia and influenced the rural conservative masses. It took on a structure that included the urban lower-middle classes. During Egypt's period of rapid rural impoverishment and migration to the city, the masses who did not achieve the liberation. They sought in political party struggles turned to the Muslim Brotherhood. The modernity experienced in Egypt during the period between the two world wars had eliminated the communities. Sufi sects that meet the needs of the large peasant masses such as religion, morality, faith and social solidarity, and the urban subclasses had been deprived of their guilds (Marsot and Lutfi, 2007, p. 90). Al-Banna filled this gap in society, inculcating the public to become members of the Muslim Brotherhood instead of political parties, whose liberal practices failed to solve social problems. Al-Banna, society to mean much more than a political party or charity, that his Bible, the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet an invitation from the Sunnah based on a method for the cleansing of the soul a reality in a political community. An athletic organization, the House of education and culture, economic and social concept is an initiative claimed that (Sullivan and Abed-Kotob 1999, p. 45). In fact, the invitation, method, reality, home, concept, such as beylik words wanted to be described in this community. The answer to the social problems of every Egyptian can find the religious belief; however, the community presented by the community, the relationship between the individual and God. The entire world of the individual had a content encompassing. This content was expressed in three D's: religion, the world, and the state. The ideology of society, religious, social and political life which claims to handle all sizes of political Islam, only people's personal faith and providing spiritual cleansing and doesn't stay on allegations of; the Egyptians, of the Muslim world and all socialpolitical institutions, and economic issues suggested improvement claim. The quest to find answers to the socio-economic problems created by the British protectorate in Egypt led the society to see the foreign occupation at the basis of the problems experienced by the Muslim world and to propagandize it. While the society was not opposed to the blessings of the material world, even though it was created to do so, it was opposed to a Western-style modernization. The society, which sees Islam as not only a religion but as society, religion, culture and economy, saw the answers to the problems of the Muslim Ummah in the politicization of Islam. In a short time, the Muslim Brotherhood ideology, which reached a wide sphere of influence in Egypt, became a social and political power by organizing in Libya, Tunisia, Sudan, Algeria, Palestine,

Jordan, Syria, the Gulf emirates and Southeast Asia. Following a conciliatory stance during the kingdom, the Muslim Brotherhood became increasingly radicalized after the 1936 Palestinian revolt. On the one hand, he incorporated the goal of establishing an Islamic State into his ideology, and on the other hand, from 1940, he began to organize guerrilla training camps in Cairo. Discussions of political integration or changing the regime violently led to the break-up of organisations such as Jamaat al-Islamiyya and Tanzim Al-Jihad from the Muslim Brotherhood. Violence against state institutions, the police and the judiciary culminated with the assassination of Prime Minister Nukrashi Pasha in 1948 and Hassan Al-Benna in 1949 (Boztemur,2003, p.5). The 1952 coup of Free Officers also received the necessary support from the Muslim Brotherhood. However, as a result of Nasser's offer to the Muslim Brotherhood only a ministry (Awqaf) and a directorate (Mufti), the relationship between the Free Officers and the Muslim Brotherhood established by Sedat and Nasser ended. Nasser's prosecution of violent Muslim Brotherhood elements in the new regime led to the community Going Underground. Nasser's integration of the Al-Azhar Ulema into the reform program, the contradictions between the reformist ulema and the Muslim Brotherhood, the arrest of members of the league and finally, the execution of Sayyid Qutb in 1966 caused the Muslim Brotherhood to gradually move away from the state during the Nasser era. Meanwhile, the groups Takfir and Al-Hijrah, Jihad and Jamaat al-Islamiyya, reacting from within the underground Muslim Brotherhood and against the consensus of the community, organized and adopted a method based on violence. The reconciliation of the Muslim Brotherhood with the state took place after 1970, when Anwar Sedat came to power. Nasser, Sadat and prone to technocratic economic policies pursued by the left of social democracy-erase the traces of the bureaucratic class and own social in order to provide support for the Muslim Brotherhood in the prisons of Egypt issued an amnesty, and the society's social, legal and educational institutions in their organization and tried to get the support of the Muslim Brotherhood has provided various legal regulations. Restrictions on labor unions, economic pressures on the peasantry, restrictions on political parties enabled the political opposition to be organized around the Muslim Brotherhood.

The Muslim Brotherhood took on student unions at universities, bar associations and judiciary in law, bureaucracy in the state, easily organizing within the army and police in the 1970s. However, the fact that Anwar Sedat made Sharia first a source of law and then a major source of legislation, including concessions to Islamic groups against the peace agreement he signed with Israel at Camp David, did not save him from being killed by Islamic Jihad (Boztemur, 2003, p.66). The Egyptian political regime under Hosni Mubarak created an army of half a million people and a police force with two and a half times the number of men against Islamic terrorism. At the same time, in order to prevent the threat from political Islam, he integrated Islamic groups that were purging themselves of more radical elements into the state. Not only did Sadat and Mubarak secure the legitimacy of the state and its regime with the ulama of AlAzhar, but he handed over education, law and media institutions into the hands of Wahhabiqualfied political Islamic organizations. This deep support for political Islam by the state prevented opposition to the regime; more accurately, the opposition melted away within political Islam, which seemed to be in opposition but was in fact integrated with the state, destroying Egyptian society's ability to understand, interpret and confront the problems of the modern world (Amin, 2011)

Even the anti-imperialist and nationalist rhetoric of the right opposition and the class criticism of the left and communist opposition were adorned with Islamic colors and expressed with Islamic slogans. The masses, who launched the Egyptian revolution for political, economic and social reasons and for demanding a better life, supported the Freedom and Justice Party founded by the Muslim Brotherhood during the election process that began in November 2011. As of the end of 2011, when the second phase of the elections was completed, the Hürriyet and Justice party received over fifty percent of the votes in the regions in which it participated. This result should be considered normal during Egypt's transition period, because the Muslim Brotherhood emerged as the most organized structure and already had a political-ideological program, even though it had joined the popular movement later, even in its own right. This was what attracted the masses; the Muslim Brotherhood's party was able to gain the support of the masses due to the lack of programming of other parties or the inability to adequately publicize their programs due to financial impossibilities. The Freedom and Justice Party was founded in May 2011. The declaration emphasized that it would adapt to democratic ideals, take care of women's rights and adhere to national unity. Although party spokesman Valid Çelebi stated that the party and the Muslim Brotherhood society would remain separate bodies. The party had more extensive functions than the party, that the party would only be

interested in politics, and that the party and the society would act in support of each other when necessary, he initially advised the members of the society not to join any other party. However, the fact that some young members broke away from the community and joined other parties during the party process. Some of the members of the party's leadership left their posts and some young members reacted to these decisions during the appointment of the party leaders shows that there is not always the same consistency between the party and the society (Al-Ahram, 1-7 December 2011). In June 2011, the Freedom and Justice Party formed the Egyptian Democratic Alliance with about forty parties, including Wafd and Ayman Nur's Ghad Party. However, as the elections approached, many parties, particularly the Wafd, left the electoral coalition, complaining that Freedom and Justice were the dominant force in the alliance. The leaders of the Wafd party also stressed that the Muslim Brotherhood had split from the unity dominated by the Freedom and Justice party because of their opposition to secularism. In contrast, Salafist parties, which argued that religion should be given a decisive role in society and politics and saw the Muslim Brotherhood's position in Egyptian politics as moderate, were organized under the Islamic bloc. The Al-Nur party, founded by individuals from the Salafist Invitational tradition, is the building and Development Party and the nobility party founded by the Jamaat al-Islamiyya organization. The Islamic bloc emphasizes that religion and state cannot be separated, and that Sharia should be adapted to social and political structure in a relative manner according to the needs of society. The Egyptian bloc, a union of left and socialist forces, was formed to balance the Freedom and Justice Party in the elections. The Egyptian Bloc, and the socialist Tagammu (National Progressive Union) sided with venture and private programs such as the Free Egyptians Party, the Tagammu Party leader and former occurred from different Economic also a member of the Communist Party, historian Rifat Al-Said, Egypt and that the Egyptians had usurped the Freedom and Justice Party, is trying to dominate politics at the expense of the national interest with common values and going up against the secular forces should unite said that the Egyptian bloc (Al-Ahram Weekly, 3-9 March 2011) The Egyptian bloc, where al-Tagammu is the dominant force, built its electoral rhetoric on democratization and independence. The Egyptian bloc has also set an anti-imperialist path in foreign policy, proposing to correct the distribution of income, strengthen the public sector and remove the domination of international organizations over the Egyptian economy.

As of December 2011, the Freedom and Justice Party finished the second round of the three-round election with a major electoral victory. Freedom and Justice in his election

campaign on equality, social justice and social solidarity before the law, he followed a line in which he supported private property and private enterprise and emphasized the importance of market economy. Freedom and Justice emphasized that the economic policy implemented during the Mubarak era was good, but that it was worn down by nepotism and corruption. He took part in the party's programme on the development of trade and industry and the adoption of an economic policy open to foreign investment. In contrast, the Freedom and Justice Party, fragile to destabilize the Egyptian economy and social movements on the grounds that worker's strikes against shipping, the elimination of poverty and stressed that the public should be organized to improve the welfare of as for charity (Al-Ahram Weekly, 3-9 March 2011). It is certain that the party of Freedom and Justice is not opposed to neoliberal capitalism, but rather wants to increase the prosperity of the Islamic artisans, importers and financial circles, which have formed their social base by integrating with the global economy, and the developing Islamic entrepreneurial class and middle and upper bourgeoisie since the infitah (Türel, 2013, p. 49-50). It is therefore possible to say that when the party came to power, the ruling bloc of the Mubarak era would break and the structure and color of the large capital circles would change. What the Freedom and Justice Party, whose economic program based on market economy and integration with the world economy is widely adopted, says on social platforms about religion and secularism is not in line with the Egyptian people's demands for freedom. Freedom and Justice that they do not aim for a re-eligibility of the militia, but a civil structure should be established in accordance with the purposes of Sharia, and that religious law should be the main reference in decision-making processes. The Muslim Brotherhood has strengthened Islamic State rhetoric in response to the electoral successes of Salafist groups, which include more radical Islamists, in an effort to prove that they are more Islamist than Salafists. The Muslim Brotherhood's goal of establishing a Sharia and religious state was one of the official admissions by the regime's former protectors to pressure both the public and opposition groups, and is now openly voiced by the Freedom and Justice Party. This has nothing to do with the demands of the Egyptians, who fill the squares with the demands of freedom and democracy. The resolution of this conflict depends on the ruling position of the party of Freedom and Justice, on the one hand on the attitude of the army and the Supreme Military Council, who are trying to make the change happen smoothly and without much change despite the transition period. Finally, on the Egyptian demands for change whether they vote for the FJP. The military's desire to maintain control of a power that insists on creating an Islamic State and enforcing legal regulations will reinforce the possibility of military

intervention in politics. The same attitude, on the other hand, would again turn Egyptians into defiant demonstrations, who could take action against the military, which made arrangements to continue to hold power after Mubarak. Therefore, the future of democracy in Egypt will depend on the approach that the Freedom and Justice Party will adopt between the Muslim Brotherhood and the Salafist group's Sharia aspirations. The second article of the Constitution that defines Islam as the state religion and makes it the source of legislation, and the attitude of the Egyptian people and the increasingly Islamic military.

Although it does not identify with the demands of the majority of the population, it does not seem to have offended the US and Western leaders and public opinion. Rashid Ghannouchi elnahn the party that won the elections in Tunisia. The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt of an Islamist government imparting quality maybe Salafist group with power that will come to the United States. The opinion of the majority of democratic choice should be respected by the EU and reflected in the trunk for reasons such as that are considered. As long as American economic, commercial and military interests are protected in the region, the threat of religious terrorist organizations is ended, Iran and Hezbollah are isolated and Israel's security is poeced, he modeaion of political Islam will not require much change in US policy. An important reason why the Muslim Brotherhood is preferred by the West in Egypt is that it will balance the Western Muslim Brotherhood (or Sunni) dominated governments of the region with the Shia crescent of Iran, southern Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. Another reason is the belief that Muslim Brotherhood-dominated governments will prevent anti-Western popular movements in the Middle East and maintain the status quo established with the West. This leads Egyptian intellectuals seeking freedom, national independence and lack of tools for global interests to increase their criticism that the Egyptian Revolution did not bring real change. After the results of the parliamentary elections are finalized at the end of March 2012. Presidential elections are likely to be held in the summer, Egypt's foreign policy under the direction of a Muslim Brotherhood dominated parliament. Government will be different from the old regime contrary to what the United States had hoped. However, under an Islamic rule, Egypt's policy towards Israel is likely to be more decisive in regional relations. Barry Rubin states that there is little chance of Islamic Egypt waging war on Israel, but that Hamas and the Palestinian issue will become important and that Hamas will increase its manpower, funding and arms assistance. It claims that an Islamic regime in Egypt would have the potential to lead Tunisia, Libya and Gaza at the de facto or state level and would support the Muslim Brotherhood in the struggles for regime change in Jordan and Syria (Rubin, 2020, July 22). Rubin, however, also says that

this bad scenario may not be achieved by focusing on the qualities of the president-elect, the army's attitude towards an Islamist regime, and the domestic problems of an Islamist regime, rather than foreign policy, considering his country's national interests. This study attempted to evaluate the relations of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt with the state by taking into account the places within the social and economic conditions of Egypt. The study examines the relations, ideological structure and electoral discourse of the Muslim Brotherhood with the state and economic interests in order to understand how the Muslim Brotherhood and the party of Freedom and Justice, founded during the Egyptian elections, are aligned with the demands of democracy by the forces that carried out the Egyptian revolution, considering that they are the closest organized force to power. Ultimately, the emphasis should be on the degree to which the Freedom and Justice Party will reconcile the demands of the Muslim Brotherhood and Salafist groups, in which the masses of the electorate come out of their demands for a better life, raising income, freedom and democracy. The Freedom and Justice Party in Egypt to establish a democratic government if they are sincere in the proposal this study are left outside the boundaries of the rule of law and secularism, religion and the state of the social position of women in society, community leader and a mentor, Murid, relationship, fundamental rights and freedoms, such as freedom of association and to adopt a democratic civil society discourse. But this kind of rhetoric contradicts the Muslim Brotherhood ideology. The Freedom and Justice Party's promises of only market economy and economic prosperity match the demands of the Egyptian people, but this time this discourse contradicts the Muslim Brotherhood's anti-Western and anti-capitalism ideology. As stated above, in order to fulfill the demands of democracy regardless of the defining ideology of the party that comes to power, it has to act on concrete social, political and economic data and class conditions under which Islamism in Egypt is difficult to respond.

3.3. Political Islam in Egypt and Turkey: A Comparison

The movement, which views Islam as a way of thought, practice and life, is original, strong, effective, current and rooted in the Arab nation and the Islamic ummah, nation. Moreover, the Islamic renewal and reform movements that played a political and revolutionary role, the Hejran bin Ali, Abdallah bin Al-Zbai and Abd al-Rahman bin al-Aad revolts emerged in Hijri 1. It dates back to the century and has continued throughout the centuries. In modern history, the major force in the Muslim Ummah facing the backwardness of the states, and the major factor in the exploitation of our own lands, Islam and Wahhabism in the Arabian

Peninsula, the Mahdi movement in Sudan, Sennusism in Libya, The Ahmad Khan movement in India, Ben Badis in Algeria and so on, are the action spirit of Islam. The Muslim Brotherhood, the Jamaat-i-Islam movements in the Indian subcontinent, the Nurculuk movement in Turkey and similar movements are the continuation of these reformist movements. This movement can neither be othered nor completely destroyed, as it is highly compatible with the prevailing religion, psychology, social, cultural structure, civilization formation and character in the region, and the values and ideals it espouses are accepted by every Arab and Muslim without any pretence or guile. This clarifies how the atmosphere of freedom prevailed with the collapse of the system of tyranny and corruption, and especially the subsequent rise of this moderate movement to prominence and gaining the confidence of the masses (Arı and Koç, 2015).

The Arab and Muslim world continues to suffer the consequences of turmoil at points where currents and ideologies overlap, due to the Zionist occupation, division and disintegration and the problem of weakening its role as a civilization. This is a way to exhibit A Nation View in the name of identity, to regain its strength, its awakening, and its empowered status among nations. Our predicament, although its expression is economics, is not economics a all. In he a majoi of o conie, inclding he conie hee he Aab Sping ' i happening, no one is starving. Rather, our people lose their lives because of too much food and obesity. However, many people die thousands of times every day from feelings of oppression, injustice and humiliation. Over the past years, regimes that rose up with nationalist slogans such as Baathists and Nassarists, as well as military regimes, secular regimes (left-wing socialist or capitalist) and descended regimes have failed to answer questions such as identity, unity, development and confrontation with Zionist projects. However, the Islamic Movement is still seen by most people as the only current social movement that has the answers and the chance of power for these questions (Ottaway and Hamzwy, 2011, p.2-14).

The Islamic Movement is the richest movement among some young members and competent youth. Unlike most left-wing movements, liberal and nationalist movements with leaders living the autumn of their lives are those that cannot renew themselves. What this means is that this movement will be inherited from other movements that filled their political, media and economic positions decades ago. In short, we stand in the face of both the rising generation and the departing generation.

Despite this bloodshed and repressive actions, the military coup against Islamists in

Egypt has perhaps had a positive effect on Islamists themselves. In Egypt, the 2011 revolution that took place on 25 January as in Tunisia and Yemen, is an unfinished revolution. This revolution did not bring with it the revolutionary means of change that made the preservation of the revolution possible, such as temporary Justice, revolutionary preservation institutions, opposition media supporting the old regime, and dealing with various forms of the “deep state” structure. The Islamists have found themselves in the middle of a dilemma without a fundamental means for change. The fact is that the Egyptian army led the wave of the January 25 Revolution, took on the task of directing and directing this wave, destroying the possibility that it would complete the components of the revolution. Islamists have tried to implement their programs through organizations that block and bring down their work. Islamists have tried to develop and accept these organizations in the belief of peaceful and calm change. However, he has paid a great price for his civilised behavior in an environment that requires revolutionary measures. One of these costs is that their popularity has declined and they have become inadequate in implementing their plans. It can be assumed that this is an auxiliary element, with its controversial relations necessary for a new wave of revolution and its profound influence on Egypt's state structure and institutions (Mencütek, Polat and Durmuş, 2015, p.1-15).

Islamists have displayed a civilized model in terms of the democratic process, peaceful return of power and the results from the ballot box. They have also won five, free, fair and transparent election opportunities in Egypt-legal proclamation, Parliament, Shura Assembly, Prime Minister's office and approval of the law. That is why they have expressed the demands of the Egyptian people when it is appropriate. There has been no mention of any political captivity during Mursi's Premiership. The media, including those under the state monopoly, have attacked Islamists, especially the Muslim Brotherhood, tarnished and distorted their image. In doing all this, they have neither been stopped nor received any punishment. Most members of the Muslim Brotherhood were killed when shots were fired at the leader. They have always been the vulnerable side, whether they are in power or not. The Islamists have maintained their civilised stance even after the coup, and have maintained what broad popularity they have proved. On the other hand, the coup and its supporters laid out their lies in the claims of being democratic and continued their efforts to sow the seeds of corruption, accusations of treason, slander and hatred. They could not tolerate the opinions of others, so they silenced the opposition media, carried out a campaign of annihilation against the Islamic Movement and everyone who opposes them, and a massive terrorist movement at an

unprecedented level. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of them have been bloodied; they have carried out peaceful demonstrations and massacres against demonstrators. Thousands of people have been convicted and charges have been brought against high-ranking officials and leaders. This exposed the fear of the military, the remnants of the old regime, their allies in overcoming politeness and tolerating freedoms, as well as the awareness of the weaknesses of the masses in knowing the truth and giving Islamists the same level of freedom of expression and movement. Due to the practices of the coup perpetrators, the popularity of Islamists and people's sympathy for Islam has increased rather than diminished. Moreover, other forces and youth movements -as they have proven to be true advocates of legal legitimacy and democratic process-have mobilized much more actively around them (Göçer and Çınar, 2014, p.53-67).

The practice of a military coup is an implicit admission of the inability of anti-Islamists to confront Islamists in an environment of free and fair elections. Oppressive extermination attitudes towards coup opponents, particularly the Muslim Brotherhood, are favoured by high-level figures of the establishment for the election ballot of the coup perpetrators and their allies. So they are staging elections to adapt their agendas. Otherwise, under the guarantee of neutrality for a new parliament, why did they not expect to participate in the elections two or three months from now, and why did they not decide on a democratic way of political life to implement their electoral programs in Egypt if they won.

Those who carry out a coup against the democratic process and those who oppose the Islamic Movement appear to have limited and difficult options. The reason is that there is an attempt to otherize and destroy Islamists, as well as previous corruption albeit with a new cover and the option of a return to the authoritarian regime. This option, sooner or later, will only allow it to lay the groundwork for a far more powerful and comprehensive popular revolution that will radically destroy the old regime and its institutions, and establish a new regime. There is a limited option of democracy that has been introduced by the measures taken by the coup perpetrators, and once their wings are cut off they will allow the Islamists limited low turnout. This option will appear to be wiser when it is realized that their democratic game is the highest level ruled by some military and influential figures who despise their people and aspirations. The regime itself continues to carry elements ready to explode through various crises. The most important of these elements are linked to identity, recovery, development of civilization, democratic legitimacy, corruption and tyranny. In addition, there is the option of implementing a fully democratic system promised by coup leaders and supporters, and of holding free and transparent elections. This option opens the doors for Islamists to return to power. Therefore,

their respect for the results of the elections will give Islamists a real opportunity for power, or they will carry out a new coup, thinking that they will see themselves as superior to institutions, people and democracy. The people in this region have broken down the barriers to the fear and oppressive authoritarian regimes that come from history, but they have no way to turn back time. These regimes are the only exception in our modern world, and the syringe they provide for their powerless bodies will not destroy people's desire for freedom and virtue. This desire ultimately means that they will determine their own destiny of their own free will, which in practice means that sooner or later Islamists will have serious opportunities to get on the scene. Islamists are not angels, they cannot be wrong or right. They make mistakes and they learn. Islamists have been kept away from state governments and institutions for a decade and have been subjected to othering. Therefore, when they learn the Working Mechanism in government institutions, they undergo a transition process and regain their rights in line with their competence and experience in order to exist in these institutions. Past experience, perhaps, has revealed that Islamists need to take numerous steps. These steps are as follows: it is more open to different segments of society and be more clear when describing their programs, reassures religious minorities about your project and pave the way for genuine partnership in their national action, search for ways to deconstruct all capacities and competencies, expand the circle of alliance so that we can maintain the revolution and the democratic process in the country, providing significant national security. Creating appropriate mechanisms to effectively deal with the "deep-state institutions " of the old regime, it is more efficient and balanced to avoid problems with regional and international circles. While the coup is a difficult lesson for Islamists, it is of invaluable value for their friends and enemies to learn clearly about their plans (Kor, 2014, p.45). In this way, they learned both the weaknesses and limits of their friends and enemies. Perhaps this has been a motivation for the Islamists to best demonstrate their strength and rise in the level of governance of society and the state.

CHAPTER 4:

COMPARING POLITICAL ISLAM IN TURKEY AND EGYPT: RESULTS OF THE CASE STUDY

4.1 Organisation of the Field Research

Both theoretical and applied researches were conducted in order for this study to be prepared. Theoretical and applied researches are used to give information about different topics that should be explained within the scope of the study. As mentioned in chapter two, while focusing to provide the theoretical framework to the RM theory, this study is a qualitative research and depth interviews and observations take an important place in the study. Political Islam ideology went through changes due to the social conditions of the 20th century and that caused SMs that stand for the ideology to emerge. These SMs became a part of a long-term struggle and went through structural changes in the historical process. Certain SMs of political Islam established political organizations to reach their goals and formed partnerships to rule their countries by setting new goals. Some SMs which have gone through this process ascend to power, reaching their goals. RM Theory recognizes everything these movements have as resources and regards resource utilization as the main factor that affects the emergence and change of SMs. The theory also argues that SMs of similar ideologies that mobilize similar resources will have similar outcomes. Political Islamist SMs are under discussion in this study and their resources are discussed according to the RM Theory along with their resources and outcomes. The common resources mobilized by the SMs discussed are considered as the indicators that open the power of their country to the SMs, but sometimes, even social groups in the same ideology cannot mobilize these common resources. Moreover, SMs that mobilize common resources and have similar outcomes starting to mobilize different resources from each other has a profound effect on the movements' fates. Therefore, conditions that push SMs to mobilize different resources are analysed on the basis of the open system approach.

The MB of Egypt and the JDP in Turkey are the SMs in discussion. Both movements developed by mobilizing similar resources in line with their goals and ascended to power at some point. The study ultimately tries to explain political Islam and SMs concepts after theoretical research; however, resources both SMs used through their efforts to acquire power were determined by the field research. In addition, with the field research, reasons that

prevented these movements from mobilizing similar resources from time to time were tried to be explained and information was gathered about the environmental conditions that determined RM.

The first step of the study was to determine the subject of research. SMs that stand for political Islam were chosen because conflicting concepts are used when describing these movements. MB and the JDP were chosen as SMs to be discussed in the scope of this study and literature written on both movements had been reviewed. The literature review has shown that this method wouldn't provide sufficient information and thus, the field research idea came up. Since JDP is still in power and due to the accommodation in Istanbul, the most crowded city in Turkey, both before and in the process of the study; field research on JDP was postponed and then due to the corona virus pandemic it had not been possible to make it. Thus, MB became the focal point of the field research in order to obtain more reliable information. The field was thus determined, and information was gathered on the field. The fact that there would be difficulties on the field was apparent prior to the field research and these difficulties were encountered in each phase. Interviews were arranged before going to the field and done on the field. At the end of these interviews, new individuals and sources of information were reached. Information from interviews were collected by observation, audition and note-taking. Due to the sensitivity of the subject and the fear of the interviewees, no image or recording was made. Written WhatsApp conversations with interviewees are still kept under record. In addition to information given by interviewees, primary sources were tried to be reached and hundreds of weekly newspapers were collected as hardcopies, published between the years of 1980 and 2013 from different centres and used as sources information to determine common resources that MB and the JDP used.

Principally, this research is based on the deductive method. The general view that suggests SMs can reach their goals, was benefitted from. For this reason, the ability of the MB and the JDP, two of the SMs in the scope of political Islam ideology, to come to power was tried to be explained through the common resources used by these SMs. Besides, social movement theories explain how SMs occur and the changes they have experiences, and the RM Theory, one of the SMs theories that is used to explain new SMs, bases its formation on SMs and their historical changes in the historical process. Since MB and the JDP are social movements organisations, understanding their formation and reasons according to the RM Theory can only be possible by literature review.

A range of research techniques is needed to collect data about the research based on deduction and in this study, appropriate techniques were used. Techniques in discussion are classified as literature review, observation and interview. Literature review technique was used before, during and after the field research. Literature review provided different views on the subject, shaped the field research and reviewed the reliability of the data collected through the field research. While determining resources that both the MB and the JDP used, the literature review and the analysis consisted of primary and secondary sources on the JDP were focused on. Accessing primary sources about JDP has not been difficult since research base is in the country where the movement originated, but accessing primary sources related to the MB poses several difficulties. Field research was done in order to access primary sources related to the MB which are, in this case, the hardcopy newspapers published in English between 1980 and 2013. The fact that these newspapers do not have digital copies increases the significance of accessed primary sources. Secondary resources were accessed easily since both SMs have been the subject for many researches.

Observation, a technique used in this research, is classified under several topics and different types of observation made during the field research are categorized under this classification. Observations are categorized as structured and unstructured; the field research is assessed in consideration of both structured and unstructured observation definitions. JDP being acknowledged as a social movement representing political Islam in Turkey provides the observer with the chance to make observations which he hadn't been aware of. These unconsciously made observations take shape in line with the observer's life.

Contrary to the observations about the JDP, observations about the MB can be explained as both structured and unstructured observations. Prior to the field research to determine MB's resources, the fact that the field isn't suitable for structured observations was determined in the literature review. As many times in history, the fact that the MB has been banned since 2013 is the main reason that makes structured observation difficult. To make structured observations under these conditions, literature review was applied, and structured observation areas were determined beforehand. Depending on the duration of the field research, it was planned when to go to the places visited and the equipment were prepared to record the environment. At the end of the preparations, some observation is made about the social movement related to the resources in the field study. The reason why field research is accepted as semi-structured is that unplanned observations about resources can also be made while in

field research. Although unstructured observations as well as structured observations about MB are difficult due to the circumstances, some remarkable observations to be used within this study are made.

While attempting to identify resources mobilized by the MB while marching towards power, observations are made in Cairo, Egypt. In order to understand the resources of the MB; Tahrir Square, Nasr City, Cairo University, FJP Headquarters were visited and structured observations were carried out in these centers. Although the observations are limited in terms of providing data due to environmental conditions, these places are worth observation as important places for the MB government. Unstructured observations were made during the month spent in Cairo, and it has been especially useful in analyzing the daily situation of MB and determining its resources. As for the JDP, the data obtained by using the observation method is obtained from unstructured observations. Various memories in the memory and observations that have occurred because of the JDP is currently in power contain useful data for the study. Similarities and differences between resources mobilized by both SMs are revealed by comparing the data obtained from observations on the MB and the data obtained about the JDP. The fact that the resources mobilized by the two SMs that advocate political Islam to come to power are determined as a result of environmental conditions. Important data about these environmental conditions are obtained through observations. The literature was reviewed while selecting locations for structured observation to collect data about the MB, and these sites were identified prior to the arrival in Cairo. The Tahrir Square was the first visited location and it is observed that the square was rebuilt. The new square will have a more modern look. Tahrir Square was also observed during the Cairo trip in February 2019, and this comparison is based on these observations. The police draw attention in the observations made in Tahrir Square. The police officers are constantly in Tahrir Square and armored vehicles are on the roads connected to the square. In addition, police checks identity on every pedestrian path that connects to Tahrir Square. While passing through Tahrir Square with the interviewees, the control by the police creates the opportunity to make various observations. Tahrir Square will soon host a historical transfer. Thousands of historical artifacts from the time of Ancient Egypt Civilization in Tahrir Square are moved to the world's largest museum, built in Giza. The renewal of the Tahrir Square can be interpreted as a move to erase the January 25 Revolution and its traces. As it is known, Mubarak's military rule was overthrown as a result of the protest movements in Tahrir Square, but it does not end these protests and Tahrir Square will be the stage for different groups until 2013.

Nasr-City is located east of Cairo and Al-Azhar University is located there. In the. Nasr City also hosts Anwar Sadat's tomb and the Unknown Soldier Memorial, built in the shape of a pyramid. The tomb and the monument are located together in a complex. Nasr City is seen as the fortress of the MB and the social movement provides the human resources to mobilize from this region. The fact that Al-Azhar University is in this region causes more religious and conservative people to settle in the region. Al-Azhar is an Islamic institution that is known worldwide and has an important place in Egyptian administration, and when Al-Azhar is observed, it is considered an important resource for the MB. The fact that the buildings in Nasr City are new can be explained by the new establishment of this region, Cairo has received a big wave of immigration especially from the outside and distant regions of the city center such as Nasr City draw attention as the places where the immigrants settle. Those living in this region are often poor and political Islam addresses this economic class. The Unknown Soldier Memorial in Nasr City was built on Anwar Sadat's assassination. Anwar Sadat was assassinated because of the peace talks with Israel and his visit to the country. This monument's being located in the region is worth noting.

Cairo University and the former headquarters of the FJP are other places visited for observation within the scope of this study, but these places were only observed from the outside. Cairo University was the first and the clothing style of students shows that students from different cultures are studying at the university. For this reason, serious conflicts took place in the university following the overthrow of the MB. Students of different political views approached each other violently. Cairo University is accepted as one of the places where young people and women mobilized by the MB are attained and it is clear that this strategy of the MB is a successful one to provide resources for the movement. Even now, it can be understood by the observations that people who love the MB and have a connection with the movement continue their education and life at the university.

Following the structure observations, information from unstructured observations will be shared, and unstructured observations will help identify environmental factors that affect the mobilization of resources more. The easiest way to get somewhere in Cairo is to use the metro, and the metro is often preferred during the field research. It is seen that the wagons are separated according to the genders. Women can use men's wagons, but men have no chance to travel in women's wagons. Unstructured observations are also important to explain the current state of the MB, and pressure from the state affects the status of the MB. State pressure has

caused the MB to disappear either completely or temporarily. As a result of the observations, the idea that the MB stopped mobilizing its resources for a while is concluded because the Egyptian people are mostly conservative and religious.

The observations made on JDP are unstructured and they're based on the observations made in the past years and are found only in the minds. Remembered observations were mostly done in Beşiktaş district during the election periods. During the election periods, there were election teams from each party, and volunteers that are fond of the parties spread the brochures prepared by different parties in Beşiktaş. However, Beşiktaş is a stronghold of a social democratic party who is the opposing party of JDP, it's interesting that JDP is very active in this district. Also, the crowd of women and youth that participates in election work is remarkable. Women that participate in election work in Beşiktaş have different types of physical appearances and women with and without hijab works together side by side. Also, the opportunities in JDP's election centers during the election period, are tangible resources that none of the other political parties won't be able to control. Also, some of the stores located on the Ihlamurdere Street were turned into the election offices of JDP and it's observed that many women and young worked in these offices for the sake of the objectives of the SMs.

From the meetings held in Istanbul Bilgi University Dolapdere Campus in the year 2012, with the heads of youth branches participation, some information was retrieved about the observations on the youth from SMs' resources. The youth of parties other than JDP has relatively fewer resources than JDP's representatives. While the representative of JDP participates in the meeting with a tablet pc, the other youth representatives don't have any technological resources. Also, JDP representative comes to the meeting room and leaves with a chauffeur-driven car. Other representatives arrive at the meeting place either on foot or by public transportation. These unstructured observations are important in terms of JDP's showing that it has more women and teens devoted to the party than other SMs. Here, JDP's having government resources is an influential factor. The resources of the government are easily provided for any organization held by JDP.

Identifying the resources of the MB and JDP to come to power by using the observation techniques contains various difficulties. First of all, the fact that the MB was banned in Egypt and the ones linked with the MB is under threat shows that the observations

made on the MB weren't benefited that much. Even so, the observations have been useful to determine the current situation of the social movement. It can be seen that MB is not mobilizing its resources from the observations; however, MB social movement is going to have its resources even after a long time and may have a chance to use them at the right time. Even if it's apparent, it can be identified as a quiet social movement and the doubt in the governance of Sisi explains that MB is always going to be considered luck. The observations made in Cairo also reveal the important economic crisis the society went through and that people are in need. Same as the old days, people who advocate political Islam collect charity after the Friday prayer and this shows that they're against Sisi governance. These people who are linked to MB actually weren't able to state their opinion due to fear. On the other hand, unlike Egypt, making observations in Turkey is quite easy. The reason for this is JDP has been governing the country for 20 years. Even in the light of the unplanned observations, it's obvious that JDP has a wide range of resources.

Another technique used to collect data while trying to get information about the resources used by MB and the JDP while coming to power is the interview. The interview technique is carried out in accordance with the intended purpose, but the subject, the person and the group interviewed, and also the interview environment deeply affect the objectives to be achieved by using the interview technique. The purpose of the field research carried out is to determine the resources used by the MB and the JDP while coming to power, which were accepted as social movement organizations advocating political Islam in line with the RM Theory, and for this purpose, the interview technique is used only in determining the resources used by the MB. It is considerably more dangerous to interview under the circumstances where it is menacing to observe the MB and during this study, it was intended to conduct interviews with the ones who would not pose a danger. The danger that may arise during the interview is actually three-sided. The observer and the observed can be personally in danger, or both may be exposed to danger. This situation requires narrowing both the interviewees and the resource information, which is used to be obtained after the interview, in other words, the intended purpose. The resources used by the MB while coming to power were intended to be reached after interviews with people still connected to the political organization of the social movement, but today the FJP has been closed and senior officials of the organization have been arrested. Therefore, interviews were held with people who had old ties with the social movement and who had previously agreed to be interviewed. In addition, the data obtained from interviews held with people who had no connection with the social movement but who had opinions on

the subject were used. A three-person interview is held only once, but the interviewees are unaware of the identity of the interviewer, and the information obtained during the interview is removed by the interviewee after the interview. Therefore, while recording the aforementioned interviews, various recording methods are used, while in others, no resources were used to record. In order to hold the interview, a field study was completed in Cairo, Egypt between the dates 4 February 2020 - 2 March 2020, however, some of the people to be interviewed were determined beforehand, before arriving in Egypt. To determine who to interview, networks in Cairo were contacted. A new graduate, a 23-year-old Syrian woman refugee who was met in February 2019 during a trip to Egypt in St. Catherine was so helpful to arrange those interviews. This person's identity is kept hidden because helping research about MB is dangerous for her since she is a refugee living in Egypt. To arrange the interviews prior to arriving in Egypt, help was received from Cihat Aksu, who is an old player and current scout from Galatasaray Sports Club. With Aksu's referrals, separate interviews were held with a businessman and his MB sympathizer chauffeur in Egypt. Also, with the referral of Zafer Kaya, a businessman living in Turkey, a reputable woman journalist in Egypt was contacted. With the journalist, approximately 35-minute interview was held about the resources MB uses while the period of its coming to power. Also, with the contact information received from the journalist, an academic who does researches about MB and the answers received from the questions that were sent to academics was utilized in the research. New networks were found during the stay in Cairo, and with the help of a tourism professional named Halit, an interview with a woman, who is an old MB member, was held. The interviewee was a person who had received financial support from MB and lead people for MB movement during her university years. Interview with this person was held in a comfortable place and it was influential for determining the resources MB mobilizes as it comes to power. Finally, a woman who's in her 20s and currently studying at the university was met in The Museum of Egyptian Antiquities. After receiving permission, a couple of questions was asked about MB during the interview. The questions were intended to detect the current situation of MB. The fact that her father is a politician who is a former MB member is learned and some questions were put by texting her via SMS. And finally, a brief interview was held with the owner of the hotel who has negative opinions about MB. When he finds out that research about MB is being done, he warns the researcher and states that the topic that's being researched is very dangerous under Sisi's regime. The warnings received from people with different opinions were relayed to the researcher by the

owner of the hotel. The hotel owner forwards some information about the Italian researcher who was murdered. The story of the researcher ²Giulio Regeni was reminded to the researcher by some of the interviewees and the researcher was warned intently. The female journalist gives the meeting location to one of her friends before arriving at the meeting and reminds us that this is an important precaution.

The places where the interviews were held had been determined according to the wishes of the interviewees and the researcher met each interviewee at a different place. Only the tourism professional Halit and the former MB member, interviewed with the help of Halit, were interviewed at a restaurant in Downtown. Interviews with the Syrian refugee were made in different places and at different times. A Christian man, an NGO employee who is a friend of the Syrian refugee from university, also attended these meetings. Interviews with these people were generally held in the Garden City area. The previously contacted manager, contacted whilst in Turkey, was interviewed at a five-star hotel in New Cairo. The researcher arrived at the location with the manager's car and, as Cihat Aksu had mentioned, the driver was known to be a religious man, and it was understood during the interview that he was sympathetic to the MB during the conversation. The meeting request with the driver was welcomed and questions were directed at a café in Downtown the next day. The interview with the journalist took place in an office determined by the journalist and it has been noted that the journalist paid significant attention to the choice of location. Places that were not too crowded were preferred and attention was paid not to be heard by others during the interview.

Interviews are classified as structured, semi-structured and unstructured according to the questions asked. In addition, the interviews are separated from each other as individual and group interviews according to the number of interviewees. All of the questions asked in the interviews were open-ended. The structured interview is held only with the professor working on the MB and was asked the following questions:

- How do you define the MB?
- What are your opinions about the MB and the FJP?

² Giulio Regeni, a post-graduate student at Cambridge University, disappeared on 25 January in Cairo, where he was researching independent trade unions for his PhD. On 3 February his body was found, bearing signs of severe torture which human rights groups say are the hallmarks of the Egyptian security forces. (Amnesty International, 2016, November)

- What are the main intangible resources that brought the party to power and mobilized by the party?
- What are your thoughts on the external supports that affect FJP's coming to power?
- Explain the environmental condition that occurred while the MB came to power and the effect of these environmental conditions on the main resources mobilized by the party?
- After the MB has been made illegal and the FJP has been closed, what changes have occurred in the mobility of the resources mobilized by these organizations?
- What it would take for the MB to be active again?

The first question aims to reveal whether the MB is a social movement that advocates political Islam. The second question is posed to the interviewee to prove the link between the MB and the FJP. The third and fourth questions are asked in order to identify the internal and external resources that the MB mobilized and benefited from while coming to power. In addition, the answers given to this question are compared with the results obtained through other data collection techniques. The fifth question is asked in line with the open system approach and the effect of environmental factors on RM is tried to be revealed. The last questions are directed to the interviewees in order to determine the effects of resources and environmental conditions on the future of SMs. These questions are also asked to the interviewees during unstructured interviews, but different questions are asked as the answers given by the interviewee necessitate to ask new question. In unstructured interviews, these questions are followed in order to determine the course of the interview, but the questions are changed in the interviews and directed to the interviewees in a more informal language.

The only structured interview is held with an academic working on MB. The reason why this interview is structure is that the questions prepared within the scope of the research are sent to the academician by e-mail and the answers are received by e-mail. A face-to-face meeting was organized, but later on, the meeting was held online at the request of the academician. The answers given by the academician to the questions correspond with the data obtained by using the literature review and observation technique. Semi-structured interviews are held with people who are contacted prior to the arrival in Egypt. While a group interview with a Syrian female refugee, a graduate of Cairo University and a Christian NGO employee, another semi-structured interview was held with a group of two. Three of the interviewees are

between the ages of 21 and 27 and semi-structured interviews were held with these people. The second semi-structured group interviewees were Halit and the former MB member, who was contacted through Halit. During the meeting, the questions were directed to the former MB member, but Halit, currently a tourism professional who had graduated from philosophical studies, declared his thoughts. The two had discussions among themselves, sometimes in the light of the questions asked by the interviewer. Before starting the interview, the former MB member states that she had found RTE successful when she learned that the interviewer had come from Turkey. The love for Erdoğan, who supports the MB and has a bond with this social movement, is encountered many times before and after the interview. The interviewee's relationship with the Brotherhood is the first question asked and states that she was among the leading group of the MB social movement in her university years.

The most important support for the field research in Cairo, the capital of Egypt, comes from the Syrian refugee, who is a university graduate. The researcher met the Syrian refugee a year ago on a trip to Egypt in a historical town named St. Catherine in the Middle of Sinai Desert, and an acquaintance was formed with her. She was given a book, *The Son of Hamas*, written by Mosab Hassan Yousef as a gift from the researcher and thus the relations developed. When it was determined that the researcher was to do his field research in Cairo, the first person contacted was the Syrian refugee. When the researcher arrived in Cairo, the Syrian refugee met him and then they joined the group of refugee's friends. These developments facilitated new observations and interviews. The NGO employee, a Coptic man living in Cairo is one of the closest friends of the Syrian refugee and his opinions were also asked in during the interviews. Both interviewees are opposed to the MB, but they are also against the Sisi administration. The Syrian refugee lives in Syria during the 2011 revolution and therefore she did not witness the MB's march towards power, but the Coptic NGO employee explains that he participated in the protests in Tahrir Square in 2011. Upon this, the interviewee was asked to state which resources were mobilized by the MB in this period and the interviewee shares his ideas and what he witnessed.

During the meeting with the journalist, who was contacted while in Istanbul, structured questions were asked and according to answer, new questions had been produced so interview which is done with the journalist can be explained as semi-structured. Other interviews that can be classified as semi-structured were made with the owner of the hotel, Egyptian manager, his driver, the university student met at the Cairo Archeology Museum and her father. The

manager is one of the most well-known people in Egypt and he was interviewed at the meeting room of a five-star hotel in Cairo.

Different techniques have been used to access the data in the research and these techniques have been specified as literature review, observation, and interview. The literature review was conducted in Istanbul in Turkey and the cities of Hurghada and Cairo in Egypt. Primary and secondary resources were obtained in Istanbul and Cairo and the literature review was carried out. Primary resources from Cairo have been obtained from different parts of Cairo. These sources are weekly English newspapers published from 1980 to 2013. These newspapers were obtained from the biggest second-hand book bazaar in Cairo and from the archives in the centers of newspapers. Some of the newspapers could not be accessed online because the newspaper official interviewed while receiving the newspapers said that the online newspapers published between 2011 and 2013 had been removed from the online archive for political reasons. This political environment shows how difficult it was to access primary resources containing data on the resources that the MB used in the process of coming to power in Cairo.

Azbakeya Books Market, the biggest second-hand book bazaar, was the first visited place in Cairo in order to obtain primary resources, and it was learned during the visit that the books market has been in service for more than a hundred years. It is also known as the biggest bookstore in Cairo. When visiting the centre, about a hundred stores lined up, side to side, draw attention. In the research conducted after entering the bookstore, especially newspapers published in English between 2011 and 2013 were directed to, but newspapers and magazines in Arabic published on certain days of importance in Egypt were also collected as primary sources. Arabic magazines and newspapers were collected from each bookstore stopped by. English publications published on these dates were not found in any bookstore. Among the collected journals, the ones that were published in February 2011 and that focused on civil disobedience actions in Tahrir Square, which carried the Muslim Brotherhood to power, are important in terms of collecting data. These magazines were translated through both personal efforts and aids; therefore, information written in these magazines was reached.

When entering the Azbekaya book market is entered in the direction of the Attaba metro station, the weekly newspapers published in English from the early 1990s were accessed in the second bookstore on the right and when these newspapers were reviewed, a special study series about the Muslim Brotherhood coincided. Finding these newspapers as primary sources is considered valuable for the purpose of the study and these newspapers were collected

immediately. While doing research on these newspapers, dating back to the late 1990s, to determine the Muslim Brotherhood's resources, it has been noted that Sami Kohen was a columnist in this newspaper, and he was contacted through his phone number, which was received from Rifat Karaköy, a writer of the weekly newspaper, Shalom in Turkey. The interview with Sami Kohen will be assessed while analysing the data obtained through the interview technique. The owner of the bookstore in Azbekaya book market, where sources were provided, was informed with the need for newspapers published in English especially between 2011 and 2013. The owner of the bookstore stated that he could provide the targeted sources and offered to meet again after prayer on Friday, February 14. On the predetermined date, when the Azbekaya book market was visited again, the owner of the bookstore stated that he couldn't reach the sources.

The second place visited to obtain primary sources published in Egypt between 2011 and 2013 was the Egyptian Gazette centre in Ramses Street. In fact, this centre belongs to the Egyptian State and all newspapers issued by the state are managed from this centre. Therefore, it is dangerous to go to the headquarters where the Egyptian Gazette is located, and demand newspapers published between 2011 and 2013. The state does not allow the Muslim Brotherhood's name to be used and to conduct research on the Muslim Brotherhood is prohibited. Some of the researchers who have done political research in Egypt in recent years have been arrested and some have lost their lives. These people will be addressed at the end of the study. Due to this danger, primarily, the editor of the Egyptian Gazette was contacted. During the contact with Mohammed Kassem, the researcher has shown his Portuguese passport, stating that he is a citizen of Portugal, because of the tense relationship between Egypt and Turkey since the Egyptian military intervention. News against Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Turkey's president, are situated in the headlines of the daily and the weekly newspapers, and therefore it had been estimated that a biased approach would be used towards a Turkish researcher. The researcher went to the Egyptian Gazette building on Ramses Street at 11.00 in the morning on Saturday, February 15, and left the building to return at 15.00 upon being informed that Mohammed Kassem would arrive at the building at 15.00, at noon. While entering the building, the researcher came across with Mohammed Kassem and introduced himself. The researcher, who came in with Mohammed Kassem was asked for an ID and the researcher handed his Portuguese passport over. The researcher never stated that he was Turkish for security reasons.

Mohammed Kassem had been informed with the fact that a research was being conducted about the Muslim Brotherhood since the newspaper published between 2011 and 2013 were demanded specifically, which are important indicators of the fact. Therewith, the editor gave very newspapers to the researcher and stated that it wasn't possible to give more. The researcher then stated that he needed more newspapers and asked where to find them. Upon stating that it is also impossible to reach old issues of the newspapers online, the editor says that the only way to reach the newspapers was to demand them from the distributor in Talat Harb Street 32, and the researcher left the Egyptian Gazette building and set off for the newspaper distributor, but the owner explained that there were only Egyptian Gazettes from February 13, 2020, which was just published. The distributor directed the researcher to Sofi, who works in another building on Talat Harb Street and has former issues, but the researcher was informed that Sofi could be reached on Monday. The researcher waited until Monday and was given about fifty Egyptian Gazettes published between 2011 and 2013 on February 17, 2020, and began to study the newspapers as primary sources. The last place visited by the researcher to collect primary sources was the centre of Al-Ahram newspaper. The word "Al-Ahram" means pyramid in Arabic. The centre of the Al-Ahram newspaper is located on the Boulaq Num Street of Azbakaye region. There was no planning done before going to the interview. When the researcher arrived at the centre, the security officers were told that the old issues of Al-Ahram newspapers were demanded and the researcher stated that he was a citizen of Portugal. After the security officer's phone call, the researcher was directed to another building at the back. When the researcher reached at Al-Ahram newspaper's centre, he was greeted by security and the researcher was asked which were the numbers of issues he demanded. Since the researcher did not know the numbers of newspapers published in the years he was looking for he told that he would send the numbers by e-mail and would come again. By looking at the numbers of the current newspapers, the numbers of the newspapers published from 2011 to 2013 were calculated and sent by e-mail. On February 19, the researcher went back to the centre and he was directed to the ninth floor where he contacted an official named So Hasem. So Hasem provided the researcher with all the newspapers in the room where they met. Hasem also gave an e-mail address saying that he could provide any other numbers if requested. Later on, Hasem provided additional issues requested by the researcher. Therefore, the researcher collected data from the primary sources he had obtained in order to determine the resources that the Muslim Brotherhood used to ascend to power and these data were analysed.

In this study, the data obtained from primary and secondary sources are discussed by comparison. Firstly, the analyses created based on the data obtained from primary and secondary sources will be explained one by one and then they will be compared. Thus, the reliability of the data is ensured. While preparing the study, the primary sources were focused first and the resources used by the social movements while ascending to power and under what conditions they have used these resources were tried to be determined. In this case, the data obtained from secondary resources are analysed first. Intangible resources are non-material resources that can be used while ascending to power. The main resources that can be used by social movements to come to power are analysed under three titles. These resources are women's and youth movements. Partnerships with social movements in different countries are accepted as the main external resource used by social movements to come to power. The availability of internal and external resources is determined by environmental factors, and these factors will also be analysed based on the data obtained from the secondary sources.

4.2. Mobilisation of Women by MB and JDP

One of the criticisms directed to Islamic SMs is that these SMs do not take cognizance of gender equality. Institutionalized religion based SMs do not establish the management of the institutions according to the skills or merit possessed. More precisely, women who have given their hearts to the social movement due to cultural and religious habits; who can take part in the administrative staff with their talents are generally women and they lose this chance in general because they are women, but this does not mean that the women's movement cannot be evaluated as one of the resources, according to the RM Theory, in SMs that advocate political Islam. On the contrary, women are one of the most important resources that carry SMs advocating political Islam to power, both in Egypt and Turkey. Though most women who have participated in such SMs did not participate with their female identification, these SMs saw this female identification as a resource and utilized it in accordance with their needs. As mentioned, these women are utilized in accordance with the needs of SMs. Due to the constant change of SMs' needs, women's movement's position in a given social movement is also in constant change. JDP and the MB, effective SMs that advocate political Islam respectively in Turkey and Egypt, often benefited from women's movements. Moreover, even though women were often utilized as resources, individuals that have risen in position can be considered as different resources created by women's movements since these SMs do not include women in administrative cadres. Apart from this, SMs in both countries remain under the frequent

pressure of environmental factors due to the goals they have set to achieve and therefore cannot mobilize their resources. Members or prominent supporters of the MB and the social movement organizations advocating political Islam in Turkey had been kept under control by various methods such as execution, life imprisonment, torture and political ban. The majority of those who have encountered such pressure are men. Women's movements enter the stage at this point and replace resources that cannot be used by the SMs. In the absence of men, they help SMs to advance for their purposes. Women, in particular, have an important role during the election campaigns because in those periods, close relationships with voters are formed in Egypt and Turkey. Visiting voters' homes is a method used in order to increase votes and women are generally directed to perform these visits. This method, applied by considering cultural characteristics of societies, is only a small reason why women's movements are accepted as one of the main sources that bring SMs to power and women undertake various tasks for the purposes of SMs. The ability to mobilize women's movements as resources is determined by environmental factors as in other resources. These environmental factors can be both political and cultural. Women's social and political rights were provided at different times and rates from each other in Turkey and Egypt. Therefore, women's mobilization as resources occurred in different historical processes in these countries. As women being used as resources differs from country to country it also differs from region to region. Women being considered as resource of SMs is more difficult to see in more conservative regions of Egypt and Turkey compared to the modern and industrialized cities. Although Turkey is more modern country than Egypt, Women of the Islamic movement in Egypt is effective as women in Turkey and this shows that some extra conditions will be discussed later lead it.

The establishment of the women's movement that supports political Islam takes place immediately after the appearance of the Muslim Brotherhood. Hasan Al- Banna, the founder of the MB, thinks that women can be important resources for the movement. The Brotherhood's first women's division, called *ferqat al-akhawaat al-muslimaat* (the Muslim Sisters Group), was set up in 1932. It consisted mainly of the daughters, wives, and other relatives of the Brothers, a practice that remained central in the Sisters' recruitment. (Latif, 2008, p.2). The year 1932 can be seen as an early date for Muslim Sisters to be utilized as a resource since women did not have their rights, even in European countries at the time, but this isn't a struggle for rights, it is the idea of women to mobilize and contribute to the social movement. Also, as mentioned above, the first Muslim Sisters used as resources were relatives of other intangible resources of the MB. These women's participation to the movement can be regarded as their

relatives', who incorporated them into the movement, desire to rise within the MB organization. The ability of a tangible resource of a social movement to produce new tangible resources is a valuable capacity and it is considered to deserve reward. In the time of Hasan Al-Banna's leadership, among the women who supported the movement, Zaynab Al-Ghazali is an outstanding figure and Muslim Sisters' support for the MB can be examined by assessing her works. Al-Ghazali is a name that originates from the Islamic tradition, and its effect isn't only on women who are attached to the Islamic culture. On the contrary, she has succeeded in reaching women of different cultural backgrounds with her works and discourses, and she was able to influence them.

It is not right to limit the women's movement in Egypt to Islamists only. Modernist women organisations were found. Egyptian Feminist Union is one of them. They focused on equality and gender issues. In contrast, al-Ghazali asserted that Islam had provided women all the rights that secular feminists were concern with. Although Ghazali criticizes women's movements other than Islamic women as Westerners, she also wants women to be more visible in society. For this, he chooses Islam as a guide. These works by Al-Ghazali and her connection to the MB facilitated the action of women affiliated to Islamic social organizations. With her teachings, women both fulfill the responsibilities for their homes imposed upon them and become active in political life. Women who follow Al-Ghazali's path can be indirectly regarded as resources of the MB, due to Al-Ghazali's connection to the movement. Given the fact that the MB came to power in 2012, it is clear that the Muslim Sisters had gained experience until then, but this experience cannot be regarded as political experience. The Sisters' efforts, nonetheless, remained largely focused on charity work, social activities such as setting up schools, and medical services and religious matters, although the number of female divisions had reached approximately 150 nationwide. (Latif, 2008, p. 3). Although Hasan Al-Banna had idea of mobilizing women as a resource, he did not want women to engage in politics in the aforementioned areas. For this reason, Zaynab Al-Ghazali hadn't been a member of any women's organization of the MB and continued to work independently, until the mid-1960s. The entire Nasser era and the late 1970s are the years when the MB was suppressed by environmental conditions; the leaders and prominent figures of the movement spent long periods of their lives in prison. MB as a social movement has had troubled times in terms of mobilizing its resources. According to the RM Theory, if a social movement cannot find resources to use, SMs will come to an end, and according to a view, the Muslim Sisters served as a resource that made it possible for the MB to survive in the time periods given above.

With the assassination of Hasan Al Banna, hard times begin for the Muslim Brotherhood. People who are passionate about the movement begin to arrest one by one, and this causes women to come to the fore. “What kept the movement from collapse at the time was the fact that women moved quickly to take on the job when men were imprisoned or were sent into long exiles,” said Jihan al-Halafawi, a senior activist. By 1954, the pressure that will be seen throughout the Nasser period is felt and a new wave of arrest begins. Women again become responsible for the future of the MB. They provided moral and financial support to the families of the detainees, a task that would remain one of the key undertakings of the women’s division as the movement continued to be the target of the state wrath. In June 1957, twenty-one MB leaders were accused of plotting an attempt on Nasser’s life. Some died of torture. Besieged, the Brotherhood turned to underground activism. The women’s division struggled to come to terms with the crisis. Their most important task was to hold meetings to organize their work, although overt political activities were a risky business, since the movement was banned. Through a simple organization and a division of labor, the women’s division managed to hold meetings. Zaynab al-Ghazali, acting on her own, worked to secure financial support for the families of the detained Brothers and also helped publish the writings of Sayyid Qutb, the Brotherhood’s intellectual guru, which were smuggled out of prison. She later joined the Brotherhood women’s division. With the execution of Qutb in 1965, MB members were put under pressure again. This was alleged that they planned a coup. Women's movements are also affected by this pressure. The MB is drawn underground under the influence of environmental conditions. (Latif, 2008, p. 8)

With Anwar Sadat coming to power, succeeding Nasser, the normalization process began for the MB, but Sadat’s relationship with Israel was met by harsh reactions from the MB. When Sadat and his government responded with pressure, as in Nasser’s era, difficult times began for the MB once again. In the context of this period, looking at Muslim Sisters, there wasn’t much change in the women’s movement used as a resource. Sadat sought to use the Islamists as a pawn against his other, stauncher Nasserist and leftist opponents. It paid off for the Islamists. When Sadat comes to power, he collaborates with the Islamists against leftists and opponents. This causes his period to begin as freedom for Islam. A woman activist who attended university at the time called it the era of open Islamist activism. The Brotherhood made political and social gains during “the return to religion” wave that followed defeat in the Six-Day War with Israel. This situation causes the MB to revive again and women's movement

takes advantage of this situation. Universities for activist women become places where they will continue their studies. (Latif, 2008, p. 5).

The 1980s were the years when the MB had started to change as a social movement and women benefited from this change. In the 1980s, the MB entered the modernization process. Tsilmani, who had been the supreme guide of the movement until 1986 has a major contribution in that modernization process. The developments were not welcomed especially by the old guards and there were conflicts within the movement. Due to this tension, women who had a love bond with the MB acted more actively in universities and unions. The 1980s meant a return to politics for the MB after many years, and people who were affiliated with the MB were elected as candidates for other parties as an outcome of partnerships. In these partnerships, women are not considered as resources. By 1994, the reformist wing of the social movement prepared a statement called “The Muslim Women in Muslim Society and Shura and Party Pluralism”, and Muslim Sisters’ journey to become more politically active was therefore initiated. The reformists who wanted women to engage in politics were the people who approved of women’s mobilization as a resource in accordance with the MB’s goals. Mubarek’s changing policy as of the end of the 1980s underlies the desire of women to be mobilized as a resource. The 1990s witnessed the beginning of the end of the state policy of toleration regarding the Brotherhood. The Brotherhood boycotted the elections in 1990 in protest against the state’s repressive policy toward them. (Latif, 2008, p. 6).

The 1994 statement exhibited a striking evolution in the Brotherhood’s discourse on women. The text asserted that Quranic verse 4:34 establishing the authority of men over women applied only to the domain of the family and should be understood as a component of the reciprocal obligations of husband and wife. Further, while emphasizing the crucial roles women play in raising children and managing the home, it endorsed their right to work and participate in public affairs. The statement said women had the right to vote and to run as candidates in legislative elections, “finding nothing in the Shari‘a texts which prohibits them from doing so” and observing that in other Islamic countries, denying women the right to vote tended to limit the gains of Islamist candidates. Further, painstaking efforts were made in the *bayan*, statement, itself to rebut traditional objections to granting women the right to vote and run for office, from doubts regarding their mental fitness to fears that their participation in politics would compromise the fulfillment of their duties at home. For example, the *bayan* observed that candidates in most elected councils must fulfill a minimum age requirement,

which is typically around forty, at which time most women have already completed the task of raising children. And to ensure that the involvement of women in public affairs did not compromise their modesty and dignity, the *bayān* advised women to wear Islamic dress when they went out to vote and when they sat in assembly sessions, and advocated establishing separate polling stations for men and women to avoid any improper mixing of the sexes. Finally, the *bayān* stipulated that women were entitled to serve in all elected positions except the head of state, noting that on the question of whether a woman can serve as a judge, “the opinions of Muslim jurists are divided” and should be open to review in light of Shari‘a sources and the interests of society. As in its discussion of political pluralism, the *bayān*’s discourse on women sought to walk a fine line—in this case, supporting the expansion of women’s roles on the one hand and emphasizing the obligations of women as wives and mothers and seeking to preserve their chastity and modesty on the other. (Wickham, 2013, p. 69-70).

With this document, published in 1994, it is stated that women within the MB’s social movement can enter political life for the first time, but no significant improvement can be achieved in this regard until the 2000s, except for some minor changes. This declaration clearly states that women can enter political life as mentioned, but there is no explanation about the tasks that women can take within the MB. By the 2000s, the MB attends the parliamentary elections with its candidates and for the first time a woman was announced as a candidate deputy even if she wasn’t announced from a district from which she could be elected. The 2000s brought other innovations for the women’s movement of the MB and the Brotherhood itself. With a new document published in 2004, the position of the women in the MB was gradually being determined and women were becoming more active in the social movement. In addition, women participated in street demonstrations alongside the men that took place through the 2000s. The fact that the number of women participating in such shows was as much as men indicates the importance of women as resources.

In 2005, despite government efforts, the Brotherhood secured an unprecedented 88 seats. Women played an important role as organizers, activists, and vote mobilizers in the majority of Brotherhood electoral campaigns. After this date, as in previous years, the Islamist movement is declared a threat. Women help families of male members who are under pressure as they have done before. In addition, by organizing demonstrations on the streets, their voices become more audible with changing conditions. (Latif, 2008, p. 6).

Since 2007, the state's desire to take control of the MB and the seizure of its resources reveal itself. In fact, this is similar to the oppressive policies seen throughout the Nasser period and at the end of the Sadat administration. Another similarity occurs in the mobilization of women as a resource. After the mid-2000s women took the stage instead of men against the state's pressure, and with the influence of political freedoms offered to women in 1994 and 2004, the women's movement increased its effectiveness at the year of 2008, one sister activist described the state of the women's movement today as "an organized entity" but not "an organizational structure." In other words, women members divide work and responsibilities, but there is no particular mechanism for doing this. The Sisters' activities are channeled through a number of committees, each focused on a specific domain. There are, for example, the educational committee, the social committee, the media committee, and the political committee. (Latif, 2008, p.7) This situation of course drew reaction and women made various statements to improve their movement. A case in point is 35-year-old Rasha Ahmed. Ahmed, who holds a teaching position at the faculty of medicine at an Egyptian university, wrote an online open letter to the Brothers' Supreme Guide in 2007, in which she took issue with the status of women inside the movement. She questioned the way in which the movement dealt with the women's section. Ahmed wrote: "If the Sisters were undertaking difficult roles just like the Brothers, my question is why are women not treated like men inside the movement? (Latif, 2008, p. 12).

This question that Rasha Ahmad conveyed to the highest level of the MB's social movement can be answered according to the RM and open system approach. The MB uses women as a resource to improve the social movement, and as explained in Wickham's statement, women are regarded as resources to vote for other candidates, faithful to the MB, in the first decade of the 2000s and to allow the Brotherhood to enter the parliament. Women's service as resources allows men to become deputies. Although the MB did not aim to come to power until 2011, it was not intended for women to be mobilized as new resources, as deputies, but after 2011, when the MB realized that it could come to power, women became regarded as the resource that could bring the power. This change in women's mobilization as resources allowed the FJP, MB's own political party, to come power. The reason why women are used differently in the time period can be explained with the open system approach. Changing environmental factors and political changes explain the mobilization of women as different resources. According to the RM Theory, it is not possible to think of women as resources to ensure MB's coming to power, since the MB's coming to power due to environmental

conditions cannot be considered before 2011. Since the goal of the social movement after 2011 was power, it can be understood that women turned into resources that would carry the social movement to power. The impact of women's movements, one of the main resources at the FJP's disposal, the political organization of the MB, when marching towards power, will be accompanied by the primary sources collected during the field study in Cairo, the capital of Egypt. Explaining how women in the MB had been used as a resource between 1932 and 2010s explains the historical process of using the women's movement as a source of power and that women were not immediately mobilized as a source of power. One of the main resources of SMs that advocate political Islam when coming to power in Turkey are women but, in contrast with the Egyptian MB's brothers, women have been mobilized as a source of power since the 1980s. The reason for mobilizing women as a power source is explained as environmental factors by the open system approach and this explanation emphasizes that women are mobilized differently by the SMs that advocate political Islam in Turkey and the MB.

As noted previously, resources, that the social movement advocating political Islam in Turkey used while marching towards power, were accessed via primary and secondary sources. Just like in the MB's SMs, women are regarded as one of the main resources by the JDP and its predecessor the WP Party that would bring them to power. These women's movements are first assessed through secondary resources. Since Turkey is a more democratic state and the equality between men and women is more advanced compared to Egypt, major differences, in mobilizing women as resources, between SMs that advocate political Islam in both countries are observed. SMs that advocate political Islam began to strengthen due to environmental factors as of the 1990s. Therefore, the discussion on women's movements being mobilized as resources by such SMs will focus on the period after 1990.

Both WP Party and the JDP place women's organizations within their party structures, in contrast with the MB. These organizations are known as women's branches. The autonomous position positions of women's organizations within political parties facilitate women's mobilization and lead women to become resources that will generate new resources. The WP Party, established in the aftermath of the 1980 military coup in Turkey, achieved considerable success in the country as of the 1990s. The WP Party won the mayoral races in major cities such as Ankara and Istanbul in the local elections held in 1994. RTE who became the mayor of Istanbul in 1994, gave a special importance to the women's branch known as the ladies' commission and women take important roles in both municipal and general elections.

The WP Party seized important ministries including the seat of the prime minister, as the major partner of the coalition government, established in the second half of the 1990s, but the party was later closed on the grounds that it was an anti-secularist party by virtue of the decision taken by the constitutional court after the process known as the 1998 postmodern coup. Following the closure of the party, the movement was divided into conservatives and the pro-innovationists. The JDP was established as the pro-innovationist wing's political party. After its establishment, JDP won great success in the first election it participated and came to power alone. A political party managed to come to power alone for the first time, after many years of coalition experience and women have made an important contribution to this achievement. Women have been one of the most important resources mobilized by the social movement to achieve its goals. Besides women became the first deputies and ministers of the social movement that advocates political Islam in Turkey, under JDP's roof and they have become a resource that is able to generate new resources. The secondary source review has shown many works that signify the fact that SMs advocating political Islam in Turkey mobilize women as resources. Therefore, women's movements within these SMs will be discussed according to secondary sources followed by assessments via primary sources.

Before the 1989 local elections, RP adopted conservative solidarity models. Before the electoral process, RP used face to face interaction for organizing. At that point, the Ladies' Commission's effects were quite important. Thus, the ladies' commission created an alternative politization model by using traditional values, solidarity and socialization patterns. This commission tried to create an alternative society model. The women in middle class - especially recently immigrated women (After 1980 a lot of peasants immigrated to metropolitans in Turkey) – were politicized with this conservatist-solidarist ethos. In this period traditional values and solidarity models in the social area were carried to the political area. Women were mobilized for RP. Thus, the women's search of new social identity in conformity with traditional values caused the politization process. (Arikan, 2016, p. 120). When the reason behind women's mobilization is considered to reach the party's goals, a statement is made in accordance with the RM Theory. The targeted goals of Ladies' Commission can be explained as follows:

- 1- ensuring the institutionalization and effectiveness of the ladies' commissions at provincial-level and district-level organizations.

2- organizing “enlarged monthly consultative meetings,” with the participation of the provincial-level and district-level “ladies’ commissions.” c. organizing seminars, conferences, panels, symposiums, and the like concerning ladies’ problems at the provincial or district levels. d. preparing propositions that present the party’s National Outlook solutions concerning ladies’ problems. e. ensuring the increase in ladies’ membership. f. organizing fairs, plays, and fashion shows directed toward ladies. g. ensuring the participation of women with oratory powers in the propaganda work of the party.

3-Ladies’ commissions were vertically organized and horizontally tied to the central organs of the party. In Ankara, the President’s Office of the Refah Party Ladies’ Commission ‘RP Hanımlar Komisyonu Genel Başkanlığı,’ was the organizational center of the commission. Below the office of the president were the ladies’ commissions organized at the province level, ‘il teşkilatları,’ which were loosely overseen by regional supervisors, ‘bölge teşkilatları.’ Under the provincial-level organizations were the district organizations, ‘ilçe teşkilatları.’ Under the district organizations were at times the administratively larger ‘belde,’ or county organizations, and in most places the smaller ‘mahalle’ or quarter, organizations, and under them were the ‘sandık’ or ballot box, organizations. At every organizational level, the ladies’ commissions were horizontally tied to the relevant central party organization. (Arat, 2005, p: 42-43)

The reason why women are accepted as a part of SMs becomes clear from the goals set out, and as can be seen, mobilization of women will bring great advantages to the social movement. Mobilization of women as resources was carried out under the right conditions and with the right methods, and the WP Party brought the political movement based on political Islam to the top, which has been active in politics since the 1970s. Environmental conditions started to change while the WP Party was at the top, and when the party was closed, the party couldn’t mobilize any resources, including women, which explains that the social movement had ended in the political arena. In Turkey, political movements that advocate political Islam have many non-political resources as well, and the closure of the movement’s political organization does not prevent the social movement from using its non-political resources and these resources turned into constructing resources to build new political institutions as extensions of the social movement. The women in the WP Party were represented in the provincial administrations as the top organization under the name of “ladies commission”, but this has changed with the establishment of the JDP. The JDP was established under the presidency of RTE and it was clear, from the time when he served as the Istanbul Provincial

Mayor, a position he acquired as a candidate of the WP party, that RTE gives significant importance for women's mobilization as resources. JDP's women's movement institutionalized under the name of "Women's Branch Directorate". All provincial and district-based women's organizations of the JDP were linked to the Women's Branch Directorate. Thus, JDP could mobilize women more systematically as a resource. Apart from that, unlike the WP Party, JDP gave women a separate place in the JDP program and its charter. Under JDP's roof, women also have the chance to become deputies and ministers from the very first period, and the fact that women can come to these positions allows women to be identified as resources that create new resources according to the RM Theory. The development of women's utilization as resources and their assessment as new resources is one of the indicators that the social movement is developing with regard to the RM Theory; and, JDP's development and reaching full power took place during the period when mobilization of women as a resource was increasing in accordance with the RM Theory. Increasing the mobilization of women as resources that support SMs cannot be explained only by the establishment of organizations connected to the social movement or by increasing their number. JDP's taking power also led to the mobilization of state resources and women who support the movement from the heart are brought to the positions in the state structure and their influences are increased. The study titled "*The Role of Women's Branches in Women's Participation in Political Life*" by the Directorate General of the Status of Women of the Prime Ministry (Ankara Provincial Example in the Context of the Political Parties in the Parliament) is important in terms of showing the areas in which women are utilized as resources. The report was criticized for the small variety of women's branches and what activities women were more involved in. It has been observed that women took action in missions that would benefit the party more, develop it and helped achieve its goals.

During the interviews, the directors of women's branches were asked of the activities that women's branches have done. Within the framework of the answers received, it can be said that the most frequent and widespread activities are neighborhood meetings and home trips. It is seen that these activities, which are carried out in order to inform women about the party and bring new members, are concentrated on during the election periods and women's branches are channeled especially to such activities. The saying "The election is won in the neighborhoods." Has been widely used in the past 20 years. According to the saying, the most important duties in the election campaigns are given to women's branches. Social aid activities (in-kind and cash aid activities for the poor, disabled, students, etc.) and socio-cultural

activities (travel, charity, memorial, etc) and neighborhood meetings and home visiting are the that members of the JDP women's branches participate in. It is observed that the members of the women's branches have low participation in the meetings organized by other women's organizations, universities and in collaboration with other women's branches (in connection with the infrequent execution of these activities). In this context, it can be said that the answers given by the members of the JDP women's branches are in line with the general findings regarding the activities and show similarities. (Çadır, 2011, p. 123- 132)

The above-mentioned statements explain JDP's reasons to mobilize women as resources. The fact that women engage in activities that would bring more members and votes for the party indicates women are beneficial mobilized resources for the party. Apart from this, the reason for women's low participation in activities organized by NGOs and other institutions that would promote their personal development can be explained in accordance with the social movement. Participating in organizations organized by other SMs would not add any additional value to the social movement to which women's movements depend and therefore low participation can be considered low. In addition, the statement that states women as the most important agents of the election periods should also be assessed within the scope of this study because, as is known, both the WP Party and the JDP came to power as a result of elections, which makes it easier to see the women's branches, which take the most important role in elections, as the main resources that SMs to power.

Women, who are acknowledged as resources that carry SMs to power, in the MB and SMs that advocate political Islam in Turkey and how they see women as resources are explained through secondary sources accessed as a result of the literature review technique. Now the same study will be carried out on primary sources. While explaining women mobilized as resources in the MB social movement, weekly newspapers published in English between 2011 and 2013 are collected, especially as a result of the field research in Cairo. Primary sources to assess the women's movements within the JDP in terms of the RM Theory are accessed through JDP's website. In addition, there are also old issues of newspapers that exemplify WP Party's and JDP's mobilization of women as resources, and these are studied as primary sources in the study.

People in Egypt occupied the Tahrir Square on January 25, 2011, and asked for Mubarak's resignation, who had been the president of Egypt for thirty years. The MB was under great pressure in the last years of Mubarak's rule. In 2007, the MB took steps to

institutionalize the social movement and establish a political party, but the party could not be established. Before January 25, 2011, MB was banned, and movement's effect wasn't felt in Tahrir Square during the first few days of protests. In the following days of demonstrations, the MB fully participated in the occupation with its supporters reaching about 100,000. It took eighteen days to overthrow Mubarak and a new age began for Egypt. Those who have overthrown Mubarak and started a new era in the country are undoubtedly the actors of the occupation movements, and these actors were also effective in the post-Mubarak period. Some of the actors were not organized individuals and participated in action due to personal decisions. MB supporters were representatives of a social movement and acted in line with the movement's goals. The social movement representatives involved in the action tended to the interests of the movement more than individual achievements and they are therefore considered as the resources of the SMs.

RM Theory links the formation and development of a social movement to the resource utilization of a social movement, and therefore the developments that took place on and after January 25 can be explained according to the RM Theory. Data obtained from the primary source review are similar to the data obtained from secondary resources, and women are considered as one of the main resources mobilized by the MB. While studying primary resources, the photographs on the newspapers drew the attention first. Following the victories of the MB and its political extension FJP, these victories were often conveyed to the readers through photographs of women supporting the MB. This shows the importance of women for the social movement. These photographs were the photographs of women who took many different actions, and each photograph was intended show the benefits women provided to the MB social movement. On December 8, 2011, with the title of "Brotherhood Consolidation", parliamentary elections were mentioned and the votes that were casted for the FJP were announced as protest votes. In the photograph related to the news, an old woman is seen voting and the woman was said to have voted in favor of the FJP. This photograph is just one of the photographs that describe women as MB's resources. The data obtained from primary sources reflect to the reader in different ways that women are one of the main resources mobilized by the MB. In certain texts, the place of women in the social movement is stated directly by using the word "woman", whereas in some articles the organizational power of the MB is mentioned but the word "woman" is not included in the texts. Data from secondary sources show that women have existed in the organization since the time the MB emerged as a social movement, and therefore their effects are known, even if women are not clearly stated in the strong

organizational structure specified in primary sources. Another striking point is that, even though women carried the social movement to power, they couldn't find much space in the parliament. In fact, this shows us that women are resources for the MB, and they have committed themselves to the action. Women spend long efforts for the movement and in return do not need to be a candidate for any authority, and the action taken is not intended to move women to somewhere. The aim is to assist the supported social movement to reach its target. In the parliamentary elections held following the January 25 Revolution, only 376 women are running for parliament, thus forming 31 percent of the total number of individual candidates. Female representation in party and coalition lists does not exceed six per-cent. This noticeably low representation in the elections raises feminist concerns about whether women will be able to play a significant role in the country's politics within the next few years. (Al-Ahram Weekly, 8-14 December 2011, p.6) according to the information given in the news, feminists are uncomfortable that women remain secondary, but this does not indicate that all women are uncomfortable with the situation. Women who support the MB act according to the strategies of the institutionalized social movement as resources. These strategies created to come to power impose important tasks on women. According to the strategies of the social movement, women who are affiliated with the MB are sometimes in squares and sometimes they do not participate in demonstrations. This is entirely dependent on the MB's strategies and women do not have the chance to participate in demonstrations against femicides as resources. On Friday, 22 December 2011, in Tahrir demonstration held symbolic funerals for dead protesters, carrying empty coffins covered with Egyptian flags and chanting slogans against the Field Marshal Tantawi. They called on the military to hand power to civilian authority and hold presidential elections as soon possible. "Our women are our red line. Protecting their dignity means protecting Egypt's honour with SCAF has failed to do" chanted thousands of protesters. In Tahrir, chants were raised not only against the military but against the MB and Salafi parties that refused to join the demonstration. The reason why MB does not mobilize its resources is explained by the following accusation directed against the MB. "You abandoned your principles for a seat in parliament." (Al-Ahram Weekly, 5-11 January 2012). According to the open system approach, which is also used by the RM Theory, resources are used according to environmental factors and in this example, environmental factors are not suitable for the MB to mobilize its resources. This example demonstrates that women are the resources that the MB mobilized to come to power, but it also proves the existence of the authority over women.

Referring to the movements advocating political Islam in Turkey, JDP's success in November 3, 2002 elections, bears similarities with that of MB's FJP. Both political parties won the government shortly after they were established. The mobilization of resources by these SMs is critical in the swiftly won success and both the JDP and the FJP had these resources prior to their establishment. When the formation and rise of the JDP is analyzed according to the RM Theory; the resources owned by political organizations and the mobilization of these resources determine the fate of the organizations and women should be studied since they are among the main resources mobilized when coming to power. The effect of women, mobilized by the JDP as resources, on the movement is discussed in the light of secondary source review and in this section, the relationship between the JDP and women's movement will be assessed through primary sources. JDP's relationship with women's organizations, which the JDP saw as a resource when coming to power, is explained through the documents published by the JDP and these documents are the primary sources used in this study.

Looking at the JDP's 2002 regulation, women's branches are specified as one of the subsidiaries. According to the condition written in the second part of the charter, every woman who gained the membership of the party gains the membership of the women's branch by registering for the women's branch membership. The charter also explains the powers and duties of women's branches and determines the position of women's branches in the social movement. According to the Article 86 of the Charter, Women and Youth Branches Tier President, Management and Executive Boards; they use the powers of the co-level body of the party exactly for their own. The representation of the party in the region where these branches are established belongs to the head of the executive board of the party organization. Women's and Youth Branches work in harmony and coordination under the co-management board of the party. They make their external correspondence through the party management level. (JDP Charter, Article: 95, 2002). The particular emphasis in this article of the Charter is that women's branches are compatible with the party's headquarters. In order to ensure this harmony, women are asked to make external correspondence through the party management. This article in the charter explains that women's branches are not independent and indicates that the women's branches are among the resources mobilized by the party to achieve its goals. Activity reports of the Women's Branches are important in terms of explaining the work of women who are one of the resources mobilized by the JDP, and every activity carried out may lead the social movement to gain new resources. According to the RM Theory, the development of a social movement depends on the existing resources' production of new resources. The

“May 2008-2012 Women’ Activity Report” published by the JDP Women’s Branches explains that the work of women utilized as a resource is one the factors that keep the party in power, and this important role of women is also explained by RTE. RTE starts JDP Headquarters Women’s 3rd Ordinary Congress with the following words: “I would like to thank our sisters who have served for their country, nation and struggle under the roof our Women’s Branches Directorate since the very moment we established the JDP and JDP Headquarters Women’s Branches. Today, with all my heart and peace of mind, I want to state this again: Many political parties have women’s branches; however, JDP Women’s Branches organization is different from others in every respect. The JDP established the Presidency of Women’s Branches not as an ornament, a shop window or an accessory, but to ensure that women can be active in the country’s fate, today and tomorrow.” (AK Parti Kadın Kolları Faaliyet Raporu, 2018)

This statement explains the importance of women for the social movement. The reason for RTE to thank women is their contribution to the social movement, which he leads. Besides, saying that the JDP Women’s Branches are not ornamental, they convey the benefits of mobilization of women as resources for SMs. Data from secondary sources explain the role that RTE played in the formation of the women’s movement during his provincial presidency of the WP Party, as explained above, and this speech shows that trusting women is the correct thing to do.

The Annual Report indicates the work done by women, and that the work done by women means women can create resources which JDP can mobilize. In the published annual report, women’s work on the East and Southeast Regions of Turkey is remarkable. In the period called the JDP “solution process”, peaceful remedies are searched for the Kurdish problem that has existed for many years and women are mobilized to reach the targets. It is stated that a workshop titled “Women’s Issues in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia” was held in the Annual Report. In the workshop, JDP Headquarters Women’s Branches President Gülşah Akşit’s following words: “This will be an important study for women’s social and economic empowerment. I believe academician NGO representative deputies will contribute to us. The social-economic conditions of women in the region is not at the desired level. Although literacy campaigns have increased considerably, education is still among the issues of priority. Violence, traditional marriage models and early marriage are still major problems.” Are emphasized. This workshop, held during the solution process, created the belief that women’s problems in the region can be solved by the JDP and cause the parties to get closer. Ensuring

convergence by women is a strategic decision. The details of another women's movement that will provide an advantage to the JDP during the solution process are explained under the heading "Fatma Şahin, Minister of National Education Nimet Çubukçu and the Accompanying Delegation Went to Erbil" and the news conveys that the delegation which is stated to have an important standing in Erbil, was in several contacts with Erbil. (Annual Report 2008-2012, p.27-32). JDP Women's Branch Annual Reports published after the solution process does not include projects about the region, and this indicates that in line with the JDP's goals, women's movements are resources mobilized in different respects in order to protect and develop the power. When primary and secondary sources are studied; it is understood that women's movements are mobilized in line with the goals of SMs that advocate political Islam that came to power in Turkey and Egypt. Women's movements are unique resources for but the MB and the JDP and can be mobilized for different purposes. SMs that have these resources, on the other hand, acquire power or approach their goals, with their politicized institutions.

Besides the findings given above, at the end of observations and interviews, significant findings were acquired as well. First, the findings obtained from the observations will be explained below. Then, the findings obtained at the end of the interviews will be started. The easiest way to get somewhere in Cairo is to use the metro, and the metro is often preferred during the field research. It is seen that the wagons are separated according to the genders. Women can use men's wagons, but men have no chance to travel in women's wagons. The MB, a social movement that advocates political Islam, is effective in a conservative society as it can be understood from the distinction in subway wagons and therefore it can survive for many years. It is one of the rules of the religion of Islam that women and men are in separate places, but especially in modern countries, this rule is not applied much. With the adoption of this practice, women take action while acting in accordance with the opinions of the MB. Thus, women can participate in the activities and actions organized by MB without any problem by metro.

It was observed in some cases that contradicted the above example while in Egypt. On 6 February, a tourism professional named Halit was met in the café, and since this person has been in Istanbul before, a long conversation was held. It was clarified that he has come to Cairo to conduct a study for identifying the resources MB uses. With the help of Halit, an interview was arranged with a 30-year-old woman who had received financial support from the MB during her university years and wear hijab. The interview was on February 8,

however, the remarkable thing is that the meeting was held in a place where alcohol was served and the woman was comfortable. The meeting place was decided by Halit and it was observed that the woman was comfortable. In Turkey, it's a rare thing to see the ones who advocate political Islam and join the SMs entering the places with alcohol serve. The fundamental factor that brings the MB to power is the fact that women and men from the internal resources are up together, strengthen the power of the movement. As a result of this observation, it is revealed that the women who support MB are protected from people who are not familiar, not from their close circle. This leads women to trust their organization while allowing women to live their lives within some limits, and therefore, women's mobilization is more comfortable.

In the observations about JDP, different results are obtained regarding women's mobilization. Women that participate in election work in Beşiktaş have different types of physical appearances and women with and without hijab works together side by side. This shows us that JDP doesn't only use the conservative ones as resources. Also, the opportunities in JDP's election centers during the election period, are tangible resources that none of the other political parties won't be able to control. Also some of the stores located on the Ihlamurdere Street were turned into the election offices of JDP and it's observed that many women have various physical appearance work together. JDP's ability to employ women who are different from each other in line with their own movement explains the power and capacity to mobilize.

MB and JDP mobilise woman in successfull and they obtain advantages from this. The advantages which are had by MB can be seen by interviews which is committed. During the interview with the academic, first, he explains that women are mobilized by the MB and used as a resource. According to him, it is a distinctive advantage that women make home visits. The interviewed journalist also states the importance of women for the movement. She pointed out that women who normally cannot find much space in the movement has shown themselves especially in Tahrir Square and help MB achieve its goals. In addition, the journalist states that her statements are coming from a woman who opposed MB. According to him, women joining the MB do not have expectations about rising to higher ranks and this situation, which can be considered negative for women, does not affect the number of women participating in the movement. The journalist, who claims that the Brotherhood has not been able to mobilize its women resources since July 2013 and that it

will never be able to mobilize its resources again, she explains that the Egyptian people were not satisfied with the FJP administration and that it can never be as inspiring as it had been. Besides, it is clarified that after the FJP's closure, the MB's supporters resorted to violence and thus, it was understood that the MB was radical, and that, for this reason, people put a distance between themselves and the social movement.

The NGO employee, who is Christian also declares his knowledge on mobilization of women. According to him, although the FJP was newly established, it had many members both women and these women were visible in the society. The Syrian refugee, on the other hand, explains that the MB is still effective and explains that especially women affiliated with the Brotherhood are still active and that women can be mobilized more comfortably during the periods of oppression than men. The woman who was supported by MB repeats what worker of NGO told and she remarks that number of women who work for FJP and MB shows mobilization power of social movement.

The manager and hotel owner who were interviewed have close thoughts. The manager states that the radicals are mobilized by the MB and that the brains of the are washed by the Brotherhood. The hotel owner agrees with the manager. He explains the MB as an enemy of the society. Stating that the MB never had real resources, the owner of the hotel explains that the resources mobilized by the Brotherhood are leased resources. He explains that the MB provided money to people so that some sections seem to be the resources of the MB. In the meetings with the university student and her father, it is stated that the MB was once supported by everyone and that people trusted the Brotherhood. In the meetings with the university student and her father, it is stated that the MB was once supported by everyone and that people trusted the Brotherhood. This means that women trust MB and so they are prominent participant of social movements.

Even though both MB and JDP mobilize women as resources of social movements, methods of using women as resources are different. Environmental conditions cause these variations. Since Turkey is more democratic country than Egypt, women can rise to top ranks in Islamist social movements. In addition, women who participate Islamist social movements in Turkey can be mobilised in various ways. They find places on TV channels and can express their thoughts even men don't accept it. As it turns out, this is not true for women in Egypt. Even though women who are used as a resource by the MB in Egypt are in good relationship with their close circle, they generally stay away from foreigners. When an interview with the

former MB member is made, it is stated that they will come together again to continue the interview. Even if the woman to be interviewed owns a workplace, she does not agree to meet at the workplace. This explains, albeit small, that JDP is a more successful social movement. The women that JDP uses as a source for development do activities that will benefit the party. As for MB, the fact that women communicate with foreigners is not tolerated by both MB managers and women.

Politics of JDP on Islamist women explain why Islamist women in Turkey can be mobilized more easily than Islamist women of MB. Elimination of forbids about hijab is may be the most significant. Women who wear scarf could not join social, work and education life before the JDP completely and these environmental conditions led to the mobilization of women under Islamist organisations. When it comes to Egypt, it is hard to say that the Islamic movement has brought profit to women. Islamist social movement in Egypt generally only utilized women. this led that Islamist women in Turkey are more effective than Islamist women in Egypt. Findings which obtained after the comparison are appropriate to assumptions of open system approach and PPT. Both theory focus on environmental conditions. As the journalist told at the time of interview, the environmental conditions of Eyppt have not allowed rising of women. This affect both modern and conservative women. While modern women can not find prominent place in the society, Islamist women can not rise in the social movements. This create a difference between Islamist social movements in Turkey and Egypt.

4.3. Mobilisation of Youth by MB and JDP

The effects of women's movements on MB and JDP are remarkable, but the impact of young people on these social movements is at least as important as women's movements. One of the strategies, formed by the SMs advocating political Islam, that led to the acquisition and development of power is the mobilization of the youth as a resource. The young population's being large in Turkey and Egypt, and the ability to mobilize these resources separates the studied SMs from others. This situation has shown its effect on many events experienced in these countries. When the primary sources published after the January 25 Revolution in Egypt are examined, the developments are connected to the youth movements and the youngbloods of the MB are among the participants in the occupation movements. The youth movements that started the process that led the MB to establish a political party first and then to win the power in the country will be assessed according to the RM Theory and the assessment will be based

on the data collected from the primary resources published in Egypt. Youth in Turkey is also effective in the events that occurred in the country and SMs also want to benefit from the power the youth has. JDP's youth organization and other young groups that the party can mobilize are the primary sources that led the party to come to power and then strengthen and maintain this power, and therefore, it is assessed over primary sources as one of the main sources that carry SMs to power for the purpose of the study. Thus, the effect of these resources mobilized by the JDP on SMs advocating Islamic movement in Turkey is explained in accordance with the assumptions of the RM Theory.

It is not possible to give precise information about the population of the Muslim Brotherhood because this social movement is constantly changing. He was in a continuous cycle of being pulled underground and then making him feel the effect again. According to the estimates, it can be said that the Muslim Brotherhood has a population between 600,000 and 700,000. Given the weight of the MB in Egypt and the youthfulness of the country's population, it should not be surprising that MB youth make up a significant demographic. The MB defines its "youth" as members under the age of 35. There is no hard data on the size of the youth cohort, although a reasonable estimate can be derived from the fact that roughly 35 percent of Egypt's population is between the ages of 15 and 35 and that the Brotherhood is thought to be broadly representative of society. This ratio is also consistent with the Brotherhood's own estimates, as those interviewed estimated that Brotherhood youth comprise between 35 percent and 50 percent of the organization's total membership. Applying the more conservative 35 percent figure to the estimate of 600,000 members yields a youth cohort of 210,000 while applying that same figure to the Brotherhood's estimate of 700,000 yields a youth cohort of 245,000. (Martini, Kaye and York, p. 8-10)

Prior to the January 25 Revolution, even though the MB was banned, it had a huge number of young resources and had the opportunity to mobilize these young people for its own purposes. The MB defines its "youth" as members under the age of 35 and this proves that the MB youth is constituted by active individuals. During the January 25 Revolution, uprising. Young members of the Muslim Brotherhood took different actions depending on the circumstances. First, the prominent figures of the social movement do not allow joining the insurrection under the name MB because they see themselves in danger. Then, the individual participation in the demonstrations increases and MB youth become the prominent participants. Although the leaders of the CBT stated that the curfew imposed after five o'clock should be

followed, young people do not care about this decision. During the 18 days that culminated in Mubarak's ouster, MB youth distinguished themselves through their prior experience in street politics. Not only did their participation swell the ranks of the demonstrators, they also provided expertise and organizational know-how. The youth of the MB also engaged in relief activities for demonstrators. In addition to moving the injured to hospitals, they achieved their goals for the continuation of the rebellion. (Martini, Kaye and York, p. 11-12)

Islam Lutfi and Muhammad al-Qasas were prominent names of the youth of MB and they were chosen as MB representatives to the Youth Revolution Coalition (YRC), which was formed as an umbrella group to coordinate interaction between the youth and the transitional authorities in the early days after the Revolution. It does not take long for the MB youth to be active in the YCR because the authorities of the social movement ask the youth to carry out their work in the FJP. Shortly after its establishment, the FJP participated in parliamentary elections and was considered the closest party to come to power with its strong organizational structure. Youth is an important part of the strong organizational structure that would carry the MB to power and the partnership with the YCR may divert the MB from its goals. Youth's own preference was ignored in this case and they were mobilized as resources for the purposes of the social movement. In the demonstrations that started on January 25 and lasted for eighteen days, the youth was in the front lines. There were speculations that they would establish their own political parties, but this never happens. Ziad El- Olaimi, a member of YCR stated that: "It is too early to think about parties. We will continue with strikes and protests until we achieve all the demands of this great revolution." (Al- Ahram Weekly, February 10-17 March) however, this revolution actualized MB's purposes rather than that of the crowds." The MB was considered as the party that would benefit most from the revolution and that would come to power, and the YCR's youth group tried to prevent it. Two young activists, Dia Rashwan and Amina, contributed extensively to the process, which took eighteen days and overthrew Mubarak, stated the following ideas: "The revolution's young leader will refuse to accommodate an Islamist party, even if it is undercover." Rashwan points out that they are already unhappy about the attempt by some Islamic clergy to take over massive demonstrations held last Friday to celebrate the victory of the revolution." Amina, one of the protesters, insists that "nobody will allow" the MB to assume a big role. (Al- Ahram Weekly, February 6-11, p.5). The above-mentioned ideas stated by protestors have never been actualized and the MB youth is separated from others since they are the resources mobilized by the senior management, and then they became resources that collect votes for the MB's political party.

SCAF is a commission created under the leadership of General Tantawi to take Egypt to democratic elections after Mubarak's resignation, but the youth demanded this commission to hand over the task to civilians as soon as possible. YCR organized demonstrations in Tahrir Square to force SCAF to hand over the task, but the MB's youth who had contributed to the YCR did not participate in these protests because the MB's political party was established and they thought that the action against the SCAF with their name would affect the participation of the social movement in the upcoming elections. Changes were made regarding the mobilization of the MB youth and their connections with other youth organizations were minimized. "The MB rejects the protest arguing that the youth movements have taken the decision of organizing protests without consulting with its leaders. "None of the movements coordinated with us on these protests. We only heard about it from the media, so we decided not to participate," said Saad El- Husseini, a leading MB figure. Essam El- Erian, the spokesperson of the MB, said that group's objection is naming Friday's protest a "second revolution". While the first, 25 January revolution, has not accomplished its goals. "We need the youth to focus on how to built the country, not only through protest but also through raising awareness among the Egyptian people to fight incitement and participate in the political process, to make their voice heard and valuable policy makers in the future." The MB youth group on Facebook also announced that they would not participate in the protest because it is an unethical way to delay the parliamentary election that will provide stability and legitimacy for the new political system." (Al- Ahram Weekly, 3-9 March 2011)

MB's not attending the protests indicates that youth is being used in different ways as resources. When the movements begin and the youth of MB is out there under certain conditions, they are considered useful by SMs. However, during the election period, they make statements aiming for protecting the political system, as a resource of an organization wishing to come to power. Political power is such a critical objective for SMs that youth resources are directed into protecting a committee with a military influence like SCAF in order to assure political power. The MB sees the advantage of using the youth resources in that way and keeps the political power under control during the elections. After the elections, while other youth branches experience disruptions, MB youth turn into the youth resources of the government party. After coming to political power, this time they are used as resources that protect and improve political power.

Considering the SMs that advocate political Islam in Turkey, some similarities with the movements in Egypt are observed. In Turkey, youth is considered one of the most significant resources that lead the SMs to their goal when used, and SMs that advocate political Islam motivates youth differently according to their strategies. The regulations (tüzük) of JDP don't allow the youth movement to act separately from the main branch and they expect them to act in full accordance with the management. According to the regulations, women's and youth's branches' structure and duties are the same.

According to the regulations of JDP, every member who has gained a party membership and is not older than 29 years old, also gains membership for the youth branch after being registered. The youth branch works in accordance and coordination under the co-management board of the party. They conduct the external correspondences through the party and top management. Heads of the youth branches are natural members of the governance management and executive committee in the area they're entrusted. Under this title, they participate in meetings and negotiations as a non-voter. (JDP Regulations, p. 78). Those thoughts about youth branches clarify the fact that the youth branches are used as a resource, because even though they put an effort for the sake of the party, they don't have any influence on the party's decisions.

It can be seen from the youth branches' activity report that youth branches are resources of SMs and used to gain and strengthen political power. In the activity report of the JDP Karatay Youth Branch, the missions are separated into two parts as electoral and non-electoral periods. During the electoral period, the objective is to consolidate the power in the places where the party is already in power and to include new areas into the power of JDP. During the non-electoral period, the bond between the party and the youth branch is strengthened via committee actions. It can be seen from the founding purpose and actions of the JDP Youth Branch High School Committee that SMs are using youth as resources in the line with their objective. The agenda of our commission is engaged in educations on religion, history, politics, communication, etiquette, and morality. Our commission works as it holds on to "Ethics is the only safe port of the politics" principle and knows that a politician rises from the ranks. Having representatives in each high school in Karatay district, our commission is carrying out its works in order to change the high school teens who suffer from demoralization. We would like to point out that, we are going to continue educating the youth in high school in which political thoughts just begin to take a shape, by adding them into the JDP family. If we don't do this,

others who hide under the title “Brother” does it and continue undermining the government. (Karatay Youth Branch Activity Report, p. 6) As can be seen, the interest of the government and the party are shown as the reason why the youth is being educated, and it’s clarified that youth is being used as resources in order for JDP to reach its goals.

During electoral periods, the main duty of the youth is to carry the party to the power by conducting the electoral work. Indicating that in order to be able to use the resources of JDP fully, top management, especially Head of the Election Affairs, Head of Youth and Women’s Branches’ Election Affairs, The Provincial and District Heads of Election Coordination Center and District Presidents have been invited, Şentop has given information about what has been done:

“During these meetings, we discuss the entire preparations in detail, analyze district by district. We evaluate all of the assignments starting from the ballot boxes. Also, we investigate the election results district by district, and even street by street in the districts. We take elections into considerations and make evaluations based on them, starting from 2002, until the very last election held on 30 March Mayoral Election and 10 August Presidential Election. We make evaluations of the deficiency of the assignments or training of the tasks for some of our ballot boxes. While providing training on working methods, the participants’ questions are also answered. We are aiming for completing all of these until 21 February. We will be calling for 81 provinces, districts, and more than 5000 organization members. These people are the ones who are at the top of the election management in the provinces and districts. And the ones we provide training are going to convey that information to the ones who are working under them.

Apart from that, there will be at least three legal experts and three trainers assigned to each district. We provide another training for our legal experts and trainers. We relay them the experiences throughout the process in the conferences. In return, they provide training inside of the program they present to us, for the operation members that are going to work in their district. Thus, there will be approximately one million people on duty on election day. This is the minimum figure. There are officials of the ballot box, ballot box counselors, building, floor, and neighbourhood officers. Including our legal experts, at least one million people from Election Coordination Centre’s head and teams and Election Affairs’ head and teams make up the audience that we will be working with the in-person connection (AA Haber,2015, January 17). Also, youth form an effective audience among a minimum of one million election officers and work in coordination with the SMs along the line with the strategies of JDP.

Interviews which are committed provide significant knowledge on mobilisation of youth by MB and JDP too. When it comes to the questions about the resources mobilized while coming to power by the Freedom and Justice Party, the academician presents a long list of resources and emphasizes the influence of the youth who actualized the revolution. At the beginning of the revolution, it is explained that the MB youth, who were announced to be in relation with the youth movements of different ideologies, approached the headquarter policies over time. This actually proves how loyal young people are to MB. With the establishment of the FJP, young people are in full control of the MB they are affiliated with. The journalist is one of the people who gives information about young people during interviews. According to her, uneducated and youngs have economic issues join the Islamist movement and were mobilized by MB. MB chooses this type of youth because direct them is easier than other youngs. This suggestion is also correct for the Islamist movement in Turkey before the era of JDP. When JDP started to rule Turkey, it had been supported by both richs and poor. This also shows influence of environmental conditions on factors whic are mobilised by Islamist movements.

Considering of JDP and MB together, some similarities can be seen in their structure of youth organizations and using them as resources. However, those organizations, do an act along the line with the SMs' objective using different methods. The reason for that can be explained by the open system approach supported by RM Theory. Environmental factors are also a reason why youth is being used in different ways as resources. Environmental factors in Egypt uncovers MB youth and differs them from the ones that they were associated, within the arena. The reason why the MB youth differs from other youth is to bring the party to power. And due to the environmental factors in Turkey, before 2002 JDP youth is solely focused on the elections and they are motivated to help JDP, the last representative of the social movement that advocates political Islam in Turkey, come to power. The effort of the youth pays off and JDP really comes into power. Later on, again with the help of the youth, they have successfully protected the power until today.

The manager and owner of a hotel have on the same thoughts on youth who are mobilized by Islamist again. The football manager and the owner of a hotel have same thoughts on youth who are mobilized by Islamist. According to them youth shaped the fate of revolution and carried the FJP to power. Both of them specified that they are very sorry for youth who are

mobilised by MB because there is no difference, they think that there is no difference between supporting of Islamist movement and catastrophe.

Comparison on youth of MB and JDP and determination of differences are hard because of technological improvements. Youth are the users of social media and they communicate with each other even they live in different continents. This leads statement of global messages. Despite local habits youth who spend time in social media are under the influence of global Islamist thought. For this reason, youth movements and mobilization of youth by Islamists demonstrate similarities. Entrepreneurs of the movement expect loyalty from the youth. When this loyalty is achieved, it has an indispensable resource for social movements.

Although the environmental conditions are different, the similarity of young movements in both countries seems to contradict the open system approach and PPT. Although both countries go through different processes, Islamic youth live in similar conditions in both countries. Islamist youth in both communities are under the pressure of soldiers in the 20th century. In addition, these young people are crushed by rich, educated and modern people. Therefore, the Islamic youth movement that develops under similar conditions shows similar characteristics in both countries. This similarity changes with JDP gaining and sustaining power. The youth used by JDP after 2007 now constitute the upper part of the society.

While SMs that advocate political Islam prepare to come to power, they turn to external resources as well as internal resources and benefit from these external resources while moving towards their goals. In the above sections, it is seen that MB and JDP frequently use women and youth as internal resources. When looking at the external resources mobilized by the MB and the JDP when coming to power, the relationships established with the SMs that advocate political Islam, especially in the USA and different countries is frequently present in primary and secondary resources. In the context of this study, the effects of these mobilized external resources that bring SMs to power will be assessed. Moreover, even if these external resources are the same, their mobilization according to the strategies of the SMs is tried to be explained through the open system approach. The relationship between the MB and the USA goes back to old times. In line with its own interests, the MB tries to achieve its own goals, sometimes by discrediting the country in general and sometimes trying to establish warmer relations. The USA also acts in a similar way for its own interests and purposes and sometimes draws social movement that advocate political Islam closer and sometimes acts in hostility. Looking at this situation, the relationship between the USA and the SMs advocating political Islam is a two-

way RM according to the RM Theory, and this is clearly seen especially as a result of the January 25 Revolution. The MB one of the parties in this relationship to increase the impact of its movement and to acquire support from different groups, while the USA becomes the other party in order to direct MB, the strongest social movement in Egypt, in line with its own policies and worldviews, and this relationship is often transferred to the readers in primary sources. This established relationship of interest, or in other words, strategies of making use of each other as resources, helps both the MB to come to power and increases the influence of the USA in the region.

In recent months, the relationship between Washington and Cairo has been strained because of the Egyptian parliamentary elections held last November where the National Democratic Party³, to won an overwhelming majority of seats and left only a few seats for the opposition, Washington urged Cairo to follow a fair democratic process to meet the aspiration of the Egyptian people, and the Congress sought to pass a resolution calling the Egyptian government to respect to the will of voters, no avail. The USA demanded Egypt to be more democratic before the revolution took place and it continues to demand after the revolution. A senior assistant to Hillary Clinton told the Weekly, “The US government is not supporting any individual any specific proposal. We are supporting a transition to democratic government and negotiations over the way forward that includes everyone, government and opposition and civil society. (Al-Ahram Weekly, 3-9 March 2011)

These statements made by the USA after the revolution caused panic in some groups because it was known that the social movement advocating political Islam would win democratic elections in Egypt. In Gingrich assessment, Gingrich is former Republican spokesman, of the current situation, “there is a real possibility in a few weeks that Egypt will join Iran and join Lebanon and join Gaza and join the things that are happening extraordinarily dangerous to us. Having thus displayed almost no understanding of the Middle East, Gingrich goes on the ridicule US President Barack Obama’s “native, charging that Obama” went to Cairo and gave his famous speech in which he explained that we should all be friends together because we are all the same... and there are no differences for us. Well, I think are a lot of differences between MB and the rest of us” (Al- Ahram Weekly, 8-14 December 2011).

³NDP was established in 1977 while Anwar Sadat was ruling the country. It was the first political party of the Egypt. After the assassination of Sadat, Mubarek had become the leader of party until the dissolution of the party until 2011.

In the statement made by Obama, it is stated indirectly by Gingrich that he meant MB. Gingrich explicitly states that they have nothing in common with the MB. Later on, in a unique forum of communication, Hillary Clinton went online with young Egyptians. Hillary Clinton was asked the following question; “What would be the reaction of the US if the MB managed to come to power through elections? by a user named Ghanim and Clinton’s answer is as follows: “This is not our business. I think that whatever their party is, it will be committed to democracy and non-violence.” (Al-Ahram Weekly, 26 January- 1 February 2012). These explanations show the rapprochement between the USA and the MB, and this convergence became clearer later. Khalil El-Anani, the author of the Al-Ahram Weekly newspaper, after the parliamentary elections were won by the MB which coincided with the first anniversary of the revolution, stated in this column as follows: “Washington is currently working to reorder its relationship with them and seems ready to proceed with the development of a strategic partnership with the Muslim Brothers, marking a radical shift in US policy towards the movement.” (Al-Ahram Weekly, 19-25 January 2012) and thus, explains the convergence.

Mohammed Morsi is the first civilian president since 1952, and his electoral victory was met with interest in the world. MB’s political party the FJP, which had won parliamentary earlier, consolidated its position in power by also winning the presidential elections. The White House congratulated MB candidate Mohammed Morsi over his win, describing Egypt’s presidential election as a “milestone” in transition to democracy. US President Barack Obama called Morsi on Sunday to congratulate him on his victory and said that the US would continue to support Egypt’s transition to democracy and stand by Egyptian people as they strive to fulfill the demands of their revolution. (Al-Ahram Weekly, 28 June- 4 July 2012) MB followed a strategy to take advantage of these statements from the USA to consolidate its power and agrees to be in touch with Israel to make this support continue. MB and other SMs that advocate political Islam have never been close to Israel, but as in the case of the MB and the JDP, they remained in reconciliation with Israel while they were ascending to power. Israel saw that the peace treaty signed during Mubarak’s era was in danger when she saw MB walking to power, and therefore criticized the USA, which Israel thought she was put in danger, for USA’s close relationship with the MB. In his first statement to the Western media, after Morsi was elected president, on these criticisms, he promised to respect his country’s historic peace treaty with Israel (Blomfield, 2012, August 28).

A similar rapprochement to that of MB's when it came to power in Egypt has occurred in Turkey when RTE received US support even though he was politically banned when he came to power as the leader of the JDP, last political party of the SMs that advocate political Islam in Turkey. This support is important in terms of ensuring that the party would come to power and remain in power. According to the RM Theory, this situation explains that the JDP used USA's support as a resource. Turkey, as a democratic state with a predominantly Muslim population, began to be regarded as a successful model in the West, especially in the aftermath of the 9/11 events in the United States.

Erdoğan is accepted by the then US President George W. Bush at the White House, although RTE was only the leader of the JDP on December 10, 2002, five weeks after his party came to power. (Temel, 28 Mayıs 2018) RTE went to Washington to meet Bush and Bush accepted Erdoğan before he became the prime minister, because both sides wanted to benefit from each other, and Cengiz Candar spoke about the benefits of the partnership that would be established the day after the meeting. "Turkey's new leader, RTE, spends today in Washington and here, he will be pressured by President Bush about the deployment of the US aircrafts and troops in Turkey. When we come to the end of the week, ties between Turkey and the West either will be certainly strengthened or will be dangerously weakened. Anyone who has an interest in overcoming the existing gap between developed democracies and the Islamic world should hope for the first of these two possibilities. This explains the reason for Bush administration's pressure on the European Union for Turkey's membership-not only the military cooperation request-. The issue is not only to secure Turkey's economic stability; the real benefit of the EU membership negotiations is that it will completely liberate the Turkish political system and put an end to discrimination and violation of human rights against minorities. The result is not only the consolidation of modern democracy in a strategically important country but also the creation of an example for the neighbouring countries of the Middle East and Central Asia." (Çandar, 2003, December 11). JDP's acquisition of the US support and strengthened their relations with the EU as a political party is critical because when JDP came to power in 2002, the party was under the pressure of the state bureaucracy and military in Turkey. The pressure was caused by the JDP's worldview advocating political Islam and the party needed the support of the West in order to break this pressure and maintain its power. The USA, on the other hand, wanted to benefit from Turkey, the neighbor of Iraq, before the approaching Gulf War II. Besides, the USA wanted to politically reshape the region after 9/11, wanted to apply Turkish model in the Middle East. The initiation of negotiations

with the EU for Turkey's full membership showed that the strategy of mobilizing the US support was beneficial for the JDP's social movement. With these partnerships and developments, JDP reinforces its power, increases its votes by %12 in the second election they participated in 2007 and increased its votes by approximately three million five hundred thousand people compared to the previous election.

Before the establishment of the JDP, the WP Party, which also advocated political Islam, had also been in close relationship with the West and tried to make use of this partnership for its own advantage. Erdogan, WP Party chairman and the then prime minister, angered hardcore Islamist supporters by accepting a custom union with the EU and continuing to honor treaties with Israel that he had promised to annual. (Rabasa and Larrabee, 2008, p. 43)

As seen in the Egyptian example, SMs that advocate political Islam expect support from the modern world and use the protection strategy to get this support even if they do not improve their relations with Israel. Thus, they have the opportunity to establish new partnerships, especially with the USA, and prevent titles such as anti-democratic and jihadists used against Islamists, especially in the domestic press. According to the RM Theory, diplomatic relations mobilized as external resources generate new resources and contribute to the formation and expansion of movements.

The data obtained from the literature review reveals the relationship of SMs that advocate political Islam. The MB is accepted as the first of such movements, and Islamists in other countries gather support and reach resources in their countries, taking the MB movement, established in 1928 by Hasan Al-Banna in Egypt, as an example. although the MB is accepted as the first Islamist social movement established in Egypt, they receive support from Islamist social movement organizations in other countries especially in the process of institutionalization and create new resources by using their experiences as resources. The relationship between the MB and the JDP, representatives of political Islam in Egypt and Turkey, and their support for each other in the process of power acquisition is studied through their relationship. Therefore, the way the social movement advocating political Islam in Turkey takes the MB as an example and mobilizes tactics should be noted. In addition, the political institutionalization of the MB takes 2011 and the JDP, which came to power in 2002 is a proper example. The fact that the MB took the JDP as an example to realize its target is an indication that JDP is mobilized as a resource according to the RM Theory. MB's victory in parliamentary elections marked the first time that the movement approached power after years of struggle,

and this caused some problems. The problem the MB's leadership now faces is that they are no longer opposition. They must act to show the electorate that they are worthy of the faith that has been placed in them, whether in parliament or government. As they calculate their steps, they appear to be doing their homework. Khairat El-Shater, the Brotherhood's deputy supreme guide, recently toured Malaysia, Thailand, and Turkey, consulting over ways to improve social services and boost the economy (Al-Ahram Weekly, 28 June- 4 July 2012). The MB has organic bonds with the JDP, the ruling party in Turkey, and Turkey is the country that has similar features to that of Egypt's among the countries visited by the Khairat El-Shater in the Middle East. Since the period of the revolution to the day when Morsi came to power and afterward, FJP received support from the JDP and the two visits by RTE to Egypt within eleven months revealed this support, as stated in the first section. Moreover, the JDP provides the biggest international support for the MB government which was overthrown by the military coup on July 3, 2013. RTE's frequent use of the Rabia⁴ sign and MB's members taking refuge in Turkey after the coup are the indicators of this support. The MB accepts Turkey's support as a resource that can be mobilized.

In the column published on July 17, 2013, that is exactly fourteen days after the military coup in Egypt, it is stated that "the relations of the MB organization in Egypt through the ideological closeness with the National Vision (NV) movement are actually going back very old." The article continues as follows: "The strong political relations built upon this closeness with the arrival of the government in 2012 made Morsi Erdoğan's most important ally in the region." showing Erdoğan's support for the MB. In his group speech on February 1, 2011 Erdoğan said, "The place we all go is a hollow of two cubic meters. Let's know the value of the shroud. Respond to the change from the people with understanding, take the step that will satisfy the people in the name of peace in Egypt." and thus, he openly encouraged Mubarak to withdraw. Turkey contributed to the dynamics that demanded Morsi to withdraw from his position as an important power in the region. Erdoğan inviting Mubarak to withdraw, though

⁴The "R4BIA, Rabia, sign" has become the most rapidly spreading symbol across the globe in recent years. It was born in Rabia al-Adawiya Square, now the focal point of the resistance against the military coup that occurred in Egypt on July 3, resulting in the military overthrow of elected president Mohamed Morsi. The logo for the sign, featuring four black fingers on a yellow background, has achieved substantial visibility online. Millions across the Muslim world from Malaysia to Morocco have begun using it as an avatar image on their social media profiles. (AA, 2013, August 28)

indirectly, means supporting the MB because it is known that Egypt's strongest organization is the MB. MB uses Erdoğan's support to consolidate its power since there is great love for Erdoğan in Egypt especially by groups whose Islamic beliefs outweigh. During his visit to Cairo in September of the same year, where some sections were visited as if it were an election campaign, Erdoğan was greeted at the airport with slogans such as "Savior of Islam, the saint of Allah, Erdoğan." (Ergin, July 2013)

Erdoğan's other trip to Egypt takes place on November 17, 2012, and on that day, Morsi had become the president of Egypt as a representative of the MB. This visit on the second trip of RTE aimed at consolidating the MB government and therefore an Islamic discourse is preferred. While in Egypt, Erdoğan read verse 139 as follows: "Do not unbrace yourself, do not grieve. If you are true believers, you are the superior." and continues: In Egypt, in Turkey, all of this region, to feel this fundamental principle, every moment in our hearts, our minds we have to carry and remember... We believe, as the people of these lands, so we are superior... We will proceed on our way with full confidence and we will bring the history, all together again. Erdoğan's aforementioned words clearly indicate the partnership between the MB and the JDP. In the article, Erdoğan's statement is interpreted as a return to the essence of Islam and it is stated that Erdoğan sees the Arab awakening as "turning towards history" on the basis of history's return to the essence. By saying return to essence, Erdoğan might be referring to SMS', advocating political Islam, becoming the government and the administration; because the situation in Egypt reminds Erdoğan of the events that occurred in Turkey when JDP became the government in 2002. While speaking of history's return to its essence, Erdoğan adds the JDP experience in Turkey. In his statements after the trip to Egypt, Erdoğan states that it felt as if he saw "the Turkey in 2002" in Egypt and he associated this with the "holy birth". In this context, we must state that Erdoğan is in a full identification with the MB. In this state of corresponding identification, RTE mobilized all resources at his disposal for Mohammed Morsi and the MB's success, during the democratization process in Egypt. This mobilization was of a great variety, from political support for Morsi and his political party to the facilitation of credits provided for the Egyptian economy. It should also be underlined that the professional advertising staff also carried out the election campaigns of Erdoğan played a key role in the campaigns of Morsi and the FJP, which is in the same with the JDP. (Ergin, 2013). The above-mentioned column shows that the MB used the DP as a resource when the FJP was preparing to come to power. JDP's support for the Muslim is not a resource any other political party can have.

After explaining that the MB's mobilization JDP as a resource when coming to power, how SMs that advocate political Islam in Turkey take advantage of the Brotherhood should be studied. Özdemir İnce refers to the Capillaries Theory in his column and HAMAS, Hezbollah, MB and the National Vision in Turkey are regarded as the most successful political structure to actualize the theory through activities carried out from one neighborhood to another. (Hürriyet, 27.05.07). The MB initiated the above-mentioned neighborhood activities and other SMs including the JDP used this strategy as a resource. JDP's women's and youth branches are resources that use this strategy, and women and young groups are regarded as the main resources that have brought the JDP to power.

Before the JDP, the fact that JDP has been influenced by the MB is indicated with this statement: the second leader of the MB, after Hasan Al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) also influenced and raised our Islamists, especially the National Vision's followers. Sayyid Qutb's book, "Signs on the Road (Fi El Zilal El Qur'an)" comes second after Qur'an for RTE, Abdullah Gül and their kindreds. (İnce, Hürriyet, 2007). Though not mentioned in the article, Sayyid Qutb is considered a radical even for the MB and the then supreme guide of the MB Hudaybi criticized his ideology for including violence. It is clear that RTE and Abdullah Gül, most prominent name in the JDP, were influenced by the MB and used their strategies to gain power, but this should not be considered to lead to the acceptance of the idea that Said Qutb's violent methods were advocated. It must be accepted that the social movement that advocates political Islam in Turkey was established by taking the example of MB in Egypt, but it has changed, especially with the effect of environmental factors, under JDP. Then it should be accepted that the change in the JDP and in Turkey has affected and changed the MB in Egypt. This table shows that while both SMs affect each other, they also mobilize one another as resources from time to time. While attempting to reveal the resources that MB and the JDP mobilized while coming to power, the literature review method was carried out first and the result indicates that these SMs have mobilized women and the young and benefited from the US support and each other as external resources. These resources should not be seen as the only resources that keep the JDP and MB in power; other resources, which are not studied in this research also affect these SMs. The study of the primary sources reveals that Copts⁵ who

⁵The Coptic Orthodox Church is the main Christian Church in Egypt, where it has between 6 and 11 million members/While most Copts live in Egypt, the Church has around a million members outside Egypt; there are over 100 churches in the USA and a cathedral in the UK. (BBC, 2009, June 25)

live in Egypt and have a significant population, also support the MB. In addition, the revolution and the overthrow of the power and dissemination of ideas of the MB to the broad masses are related to the developing internet technology and experts repeat that the MB used social media as a resource. While coming to power, JDP sees serious economic support apart from the resources mentioned above and uses the institutions and individuals that provide economic support to them in line with their goals. The list can be extended further, but the study focuses on human resources, since it is accepted that the main factor which takes a political movement to power is human.

4.4 A Different Point of View: Resources of Islamist Movements and Political Process Theory

In the continuation of this section, the resources used by MB and JDP while coming to power are tried to be determined. Different data collection methods have been used to achieve this. By using different data collection methods, both broader information was obtained, and control of the obtained data was carried out. The information obtained in this section will be interpreted briefly again and will be compared with the findings in the studies of researcher who study on similar topics. While making this comparison, Munson (2002), White (2002), Bulut (2014), Özen (2013), Tuğal (2009) and Eligur (2010) will be assessed. While the researches of Eligul and White are on Islamist movements in Turkey, Munson concentrates on Islamist movements in Egypt. Beside of these; Tuğal, Özen and Bulut try to provide theoretical frameworks to their research more and do not give place to case studies. These studies are related to different parts of the thesis and therefore this thesis can be seen as a short whole of these studies.

As a result of the literature review, observations and deep interviews, women and youth are considered to be the main inte sources that brought JDP and MB to power. Although it has been proven many times in the historical process that these resources are so important, the reasons for not using these resources continuously are environmental conditions. It is evident that when environmental conditions are appropriate, women give great power to the movement. The situation of young people is never as uncertain as women. Even though young people

occasionally have conflicts with former leaders, they are never ineffective like women. In fact, young people lead to a split in social movements that advocate political Islam. This division, on the other hand, helps both MB and JDP to take power. Feeling the influence of young people coincides with both social movements after the 1980s. After the closing of WP, Islamist movement in Turkey divided into two parts: Traditionalists and reformists. Reformists established a new political party at the leadership of RTE and they had started to rule country only one year later. In Egypt, as in Turkey has experienced the same division between the old and the young people and begin to take a more active role in the social movement. Unlike the elderly, who adopt the Hasan Al-Banna era, young people desire to participate in political life, and naturally, as a result of their desire, the FJP, which was established under appropriate environmental conditions, takes power in 2011. These developments can be seen in the research given above.

In the seventh part of his book *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey* (2002), White discusses the impact of women on the movement in depth. According to him, women's contribution to the social movement is determined by environmental conditions. When environmental conditions are appropriate, women can improve by improving their education. Although developing women want to play a more active role in the social movement, men oppose women being active due to the Islamic tradition. (White, 2016, p. 219-222). With the separation of reformists from traditionalists, women gain importance and make themselves more active. Women became more active after the emerging of the reformist wing and they had significant role first time. This is not the only reason that political Islamist started to rule Turkey but influences of women do not be underestimated. In research of Eligur, similar findings are encountered with White's research. While influences of women were restricted before establishment of JDP, Eligur reflects it with the words of the former Minister of State, Hasan Akkaya. He declared aims of the movement and his third aim was about women. He stated that women should obey Islamic restrictions (Eligur, 2010, p. 114). Islamic restrictions which are alleged by political Islamists block visibility of women in society. The restrictions which are specified are lightened with the era of JDP and women effect both their and Islamists' fate. As mentioned above, reformers moved against traditionalists and their taboos. Activation of women had been one of them and this was eliminated with the raising of reformists in Islamist movements.

In the researches of White and Eligur, influences of youth in Islamist movement of Turkey are remarked too. In Eligur research, while the social networks which are utilized by Islamist movements are declared, relation between Islamist social movements and youth are explained. At the time of WP, National Youth Foundations and the Association of Imam- Hatip Graduates are directly on the way of political Islam (Eligur, 2010, p. 31). In addition, Eligur declares that illegal Quran courses were under the control of Islamists. These conditions lead to the enhancement of Islamists in Turkey and finally with the participation of young people who had been supported from Islamists to Islamist organisations, Islamist Social Movements take its power to the top. In White's study, the effect of social movements that support political Islam on the local level is examined and youth are accepted as one of the most significant factor of vernacular politics. According to White, WP had attracted a much greater variety of supporters than any previous Islam- inspired party: conservative towns people and poor urban migrants, but also up-and-coming professionals, intellectuals and wealthy industrialists (White, 2016, p. 3). The endeavour which is presented by Islamists lead participation of youth to the social movement organisations because youth who live under harsh conditions see an alternative way which is showed by Islamists. The effort offered by the Islamists enables young people to participate in social movement organizations, because young people living under difficult conditions see an alternative path shown by the Islamists. At the end of the road, they may have money, fame and/or importance that they couldn't even imagine. JDP is the most benefited from the work done by Welfare Party on young people. When they come to power and when they are in power, they make more use of these young people and increase their power.

As for the Egyptian Islamic movement, Munson's study is in harmony with the results obtained in the thesis. According to him, the successful mobilization of the MB became true because Islamic message of the social movement reflects on its structure, activities and strategies. Near of this, the Islamic message of MB influence everyday lives of Egyptians (Munson, 2002, p. 3). Youth and women are the social groups which are influenced by the message in Egypt and as similar in Turkey, MB is seen as a chance for them. The power of Muslim Brotherhood is seen in every social issues. When the Cairo earthquake occurs, the aid of the MB to the places where the state cannot intervene due to the weakness of the state attracts everyone's attention. Under these circumstances, it is a surprise that the MB does not receive support from women and youth. These conditions lead to the development of the women's and youth movement in line with the MB's ideas. While MB has the power under the leadership of its political party FJP, it gets the return of these policies that it has implemented for many years.

The effects of women and youth on social movements that advocate political Islam are stated in these studies as well as in the thesis. Thus, the accuracy of the information obtained by using different methods in the thesis is checked. Apart from this, it is confirmed that the assumed environmental conditions affect the use of resources. However, this causes some problems with the theoretical framework. As explained earlier, the theory of RM is considered as the main social movements theory, and the findings are shaped according to the assumptions of this theory. The emergence of the effects of women and youth on social movements inevitably leads to a reassessment of PPT because women and youth are not entrepreneurs focused on RM theory. They are ordinary social movement participants who are examined by PPT. This does not necessarily mean that the RM theory has been refuted because as explained above, the effects of entrepreneurs on women and youth are important. It makes women and young people more visible to the decisions taken by entrepreneurs. RTE is one of the most important of these entrepreneurs. Until their time, especially women are not allowed to take active roles in the social movement. The first and most important duties of women are considered to be motherhood. With JDP, Islamist women become more visible in society and this situation supports the approach of RM theory on entrepreneurs.

The study of Bulut is the comparison of RM theory and PPT (2014). In the research, RM theory and PPT are accepted as theories that examine new social movements. RM theory and PPT have in common, and representatives of both theories consider institutions to be social movements. PPT, unlike RM theory, focuses on the impact of environmental conditions such as being democratic, the harmony and conflict of the elites. Some of the prominent RM theoreticians attempt to explain environmental impacts using the open system approach and this leads to the assessment of environmental conditions. However, the findings obtained during the thesis are more compatible with the assumptions of PPT. The findings revealed in the thesis explain that women and youth are the significant factors which make JDP and MB gain power. The reason why JDP is more effective than MB is that it is more open-minded towards women's and youth movements. The reason of JDP is more open minded than MB is that Turkey is more democratic country than Egypt. This finding is also linked to the Open System Approach, but it exactly matches PPT's assumptions on political opportunities. The authors which are examined in this chapter clarify improving of Islamist social movements by advocating assumptions of PPT.

CHAPTER 5:

CONCLUSION

The MB and the JDP were established respectively in Egypt and Turkey and became influential on the society. Different concepts are used to describe these movements, but both MB and the JDP are described as SMs that advocate political Islam. There is no consensus on the concepts of political Islam and social movements among experts, and therefore the concepts of political Islam and SMs have been tried to be explained in this thesis. There are different views on the concept of political Islam, especially among those living in different geographies, but the concept of political Islam is often explained by the assumptions of Western experts. Organizations that are representatives of political Islam undergo changes in the historical process and therefore the concept of political Islam cannot be universally explained. The concept of political Islam can be explained by assessing local conditions according to the historical process and to be successful on its historical backgrounds of Turkey and Egypt are examined under headlines which are not the same. For this reason, both the MB and the JDP are considered to be organizations that advocate political Islam, but due to environmental conditions, JDP is explained to have a more modern view of political Islam.

After explaining the concept of political Islam, it comes to the concept of SMs and the concept of SMs is explained in detail. There are different ideas about what SMs are and this shows that some views do not accept MB and the JDP as SMs. MB and the JDP are politically institutionalized organizations and therefore are not considered SMs by some views. In order to eliminate this duality, different definitions about SMs are needed. The discussion about what SMs are is also manifested in the classification of SMs according to their types, and therefore different models emerge according to their types when classifying SMs. However, SMs may have different characteristics and may not be compatible with the social movement definitions given in the study. It is explained that the movements that become institutionalized by being politicized can also be defined as SMs, and therefore MB and the JDP are accepted as SMs. MB and the JDP are also studied along with many models that separate SMs by type, but in this study, both organizations are researched by adhering to the model that separates SMs as old and new. While trying to explain the concept of social movement, more “what” questions are answered, but other questions derived from “how” and the “how” questions should be asked in

order to have more information about SMs. Asking these questions is directed to the SMs theories. Firstly, the concepts of the theory are explained and then the social movement theories that are formed according to different assumptions are focused. SMs theories explain the emergence, development and destruction of SMs with different assumptions and meta-theories. One of the theories trying to explain new SMs is the RM Theory, and the RM Theory links the emergence, development and extinction of a social movement to resources. In addition, according to the RM Theory, SMs become institutionalized and can participate in politics to increase their resources. The meta-theories that make up the RM Theory are explored and the MB and the JDP SMs can be explained exactly in accordance with the RM Theory. According to the RM Theory, the factor that carries both SMs to power is the mobilization of similar resources and the RM Theory explains the mobilization of these resources according to the Open System Approach.

The Open System Approach shows that the mobilization of resources depends on environmental conditions, and therefore SMs in a similar ideology cannot be mobilized the same resources, even if they can mobilize the same resource the outcome cannot be the same. The approach is therefore useful to the study because the resources mobilized by the MB and the JDP show similarities while they were marching towards power. However, while the JDP has been in power for twenty years in Turkey, the MB could only stay in power for three years and it has been banned since the coup on July 3, 2013. According to the RM Theory, with the banning of the MB, SMs cannot mobilize their resources and therefore lose their influence. The impact that caused resources not to be mobilized is considered as an environmental condition. The situation has been different for the JDP and although there are many attempts to come to power and after it comes, JDP continues to mobilize its resources by developing its strategies according to environmental conditions and generates new resources from its resources. According to the RM Theory, this means the development of the social movement. Together with RM Theory, PPT is another theory that accepts institutionalized movements as social movements. According to PPT, improving of a social movement become true under certain conditions. The concepts of political opportunity and organisational strength are two of them and so PPT is seen as combination of RM theory and Open System Approach. Therefore, researches which use PPT while examining Islamist social movements are touched in the study

In the last part, the studies carried out to identify the resources that carried the MB and the JDP to power and to reveal the environmental conditions that enabled the mobilization of

these resources are transferred and the data collection techniques used in the study are explained. Literature review, observation and interview techniques are used in the study. The literature review is carried out by examining both primary and secondary sources. When evaluating observations, different types of observations are used for the MB and the JDP. These are structured and unstructured observations. The interview technique is used only to determine the resources mobilized by the MB when coming to power and the environmental conditions affecting the mobilization of these resources. In order to reach primary sources, to use observation and interview techniques and to reach data, the field research is carried out in Cairo, the capital city, between February 4 and March 4, 2020, and new data is added to the data obtained from the secondary sources using data collection techniques. As a result of the techniques applied, it is revealed that the MB and the JDP mobilize similar resources to come to power and these resources are separated internally and externally. The data show that the main internal resources of the MB and the JDP are women and youth, but non-Muslims and soldiers are also mobilized by the MB and the FJP on the road to power. In addition, both SMs have important financial resources, but within the scope of the study, financial resources are seen as sub-resources that activate intangible resources and the obtained data prove this view. While influences of women and youth are stated this has to be said that they are prominents at the time of rising of Islamist social movements. While influences of women and youth are stated this has to be said that they are prominents at the time of rising of Islamist social movements. This situation is grasped by looking at women and youth movements of MB and JDP. Islamist Women movements in Turkey started raising with the politics and tactics of WP. Even though their affect had been important especially in the era of elections, they had not gain important positions in spite of victory of WP. Women was accepted as resources which were utilized in the election periods. At the JDP period women were utilized in election periods again but they had chance to establish their private movements under the name of JDP women organisation. This opportunity caused the increasing of women mobilization. The subject of hijab is one of the main topics that JDP uses women as a resource. Even today, the topic of hijab is frequently voiced by the JDP and used as a source of votes. When it comes to the MB women's movement, it is seen that the women's movement is more mobilized in difficult situations. Especially in the Nasser period, women have embraced the social movement and helped the movement to survive. MB could not become a legal organization like JDP except for a short period, and this situation affected women's mobilization. Although women were generally invisible in the society of Egypt, they were particularly influential in the FJP's

election victory. The situation of Islamist women today is similar to that of the Nasser era. While all the important figures of the MB are in detention, women are again embracing the Islamic social movement. When importance of youth is stated, this has to be specified that they are the other partner of the victories which is gained by Islamists. As seen as in Turkey and Egypt, when youth become prominents of the Islamist movements, SMs utilize from them. As mentioned in previous chapters, political Islamists in Egypt had had a political party, FJP, after years due to influences of youth in 25th January Revolution. Moreover, when new politicians of Islamist movements in Turkey separated from olds, they gained power and started ruling the country under the roof of JDP. To understand the importance of young people in both countries, it will be sufficient to look at the young population in the countries. Turkey and Egypt are rich in terms of young people and this is the reflected in the richness of Islamic social movements. Despite these similarities, young people who are supporter of Islamist social movements do not live under even similar conditions. Whilen young Islamists live in Turkey are supported by state, young Islamists of Egypt are threatened by state of Egypt after the collapse of MB.

The external resources that carry MB and the JDP to power are SMs that advocate political Islam in different countries taking the MB as a role model and the USA. The USA especially puts forward its support to the MB and the JDP, which will bring them to power, before the elections and this support is benefited by these SMs to reach their goals. The MB is a social movement, modeled by Islamists in other countries, and many SMs that take the MB example emerge in different countries. The National Vision is one of these SMs that took the MB as an example, and National Vision's last political representative, JDP, has a close relationship with the MB. This close relationship particularly occurred when the FJP was established and the JDP, has been in power in Turkey since 2002, shared its nine years of experience with the MB. JDP leader RTE's visit to Egypt twice during Morsi's short term in office and supporting Morsi and the MB even after the coup shows that MB mobilized this support as a resource, and it was one of the external resources that brought it to power. The National Vision and its political party, JDP, adopted the organizational structure of the MB as a form of organization. SMs advocating political Islam in Turkey often used views of MB's important founding fathers such as Hasan Al-Banna and Said Qutb, and this explains the mobilization of MB's developed parts as resources.

The MB is a social movement, founded in 1928 but it wasn't until 2011 that the movement established its own political party. The SMs advocating political Islam in Turkey in

the late 1970s emerged under the National Vision's roof and soon gets its first political party. The collected data reveal that MB and the JDP mobilize similar resources with each other, but their mobilization of similar resources does not lead to similar historical processes of SMs. More precisely, there are times when both SMs mobilize similar resources, but the mobilization of these resources changes as environmental factors differ. Turkey is a republic, founded in 1923. It is more democratic and modern compared to Egypt. This makes the electoral system fairer, as well. The period of military-origin presidency ended when Turgut Özal was elected as a civilian president in 1987. Although the military continues to intervene in politics, the democratic and modern environment in the country has not prevented JDP from mobilizing its resources, and the JDP in power, generates new resources by mobilizing the existing ones. This causes JDP to develop beyond intervention. MB is established when Egypt was under British control and acts together with the soldiers to overthrow the king, who supported the British, by the soldiers who took control of the government in a short time and these soldiers tried to put an end to the social movement by seizing MB's resources. Military rule prevails in the country, and leaders of military origin will always rule as presidents until 2011. These presidents do not allow MB to establish a political party, and there are those who oppose the establishment of a political party. Under these environmental conditions, with the January 25 revolution, Mubarak is overthrown, and for the first time, a civilian administration has the chance to rule the country. MB is ready for this race in terms of resources and by mobilizing its resources, it acquires the power in Egypt, but these resources it mobilizes cannot guard its power. With the military coup that took place in 2013, all resources mobilized by the MB and its political party, FJP are put under pressure and the social movement is not allowed to reach these resources. The coup in the 21st century and the fact that Sisi, who is of military origin, came to power again shows that Egypt is a non-democratic and non-modern country, and MB's loss of influence is experienced due to these conditions.

Before starting the research, it was aimed to identify the partnerships established by the MB and the JDP, the SMs that advocate political Islam and to explain the conditions that led them to mobilize resources and this goal was achieved. In the light of the obtained data, the resources mobilized by SMs, when coming to power, were determined and it was explained that the mobilization of these resources depends on environmental conditions. The future of the MB and JDP SMs, which differ in RM due to environmental conditions, can and cannot be similar. It should be stated to conclude that the deficiencies of the studied also exist. First of all, the concepts of political Islam and social movement could be studied in further detail and

different types of SMs could be listed. Although this can be done in accordance with the purpose of the study, limiting the study prevents more detailed study. In addition, while determining the resources mobilized by the MB and the JDP when marching towards power, only intangible resources are focused, and some of these intangible resources are explained as resources mobilized by these SMs. The absence of other tangible resources and intangible resources in the study should not lead to the idea that power is achieved only by mobilizing the aforementioned resources. Being the sole power in a country can be possible by mobilizing available resources in many different categories and both the MB and JDP have these resources, although not mentioned in the study. Finding deficiencies indicates that the study can be continued and expanded. In addition, the RM Theory emphasizes that the mobilization may vary depending on the circumstances. In the case of a change in the RM of the MB and the JDP, this study must be revised.

In mentioned above, this thesis can be expanded because social movements theories are used to examine and explain even for radical Islamist movements. Methods which are used by political Islamists specify that a social movement is radical or not. In this study the groups which use non-violent resources are focused on even though radical Islamist social movements are not touched. While experts try to explain why and how a radical organization emerge, they utilize from different theories however social movements theory generally accepted in the last year. After the findings of this thesis, this is believed that social movements theories should be used for complete grasping. In this thesis, RM Theory and Political Process Theory are seen appropriate because of their assumptions while define how MB and JDP, non-radical Islamist social movements, developed. These theories also are preferred while explaining facts about why Al- Queda or/and ISIS emerged and developed. In addition, this can be said that Researchers working on political Islam often focus on radical or non-radical groups. With the adoption of RM Theory and PPT, radical and non-radical groups can be studied together

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