

Contents

1	State of Research	1
1.1	Research on the Muslim Brotherhood Schism Pre-2013	1
1.1.1	Disparities and Splits in the Egyptian Islamist Movement	2
1.1.2	The Political Opportunity Structure and MB's Transformations	4
1.2	Research on the Muslim Brotherhood Factionalism Post-2013	7
1.2.1	Organizational Deficits and MB's Decline	7
1.2.2	MB's Adaptation Ability and Accommodation to Repression	8
1.2.3	Factionalism and Repression	10
1.3	Concluding Remarks	10
2	Theoretical Debates and Novelties in the Study of Social Movements	13
2.1	Classic Approaches and Recent Developments	14
2.1.1	Social Movements in the Twentieth Century: Theoretical Debates and Synthesis	14
2.1.2	Microstructural and Social-Psychological Approaches (Sociology of Emotions)	18
2.2	Schism and Factionalism	28
2.2.1	The Effect of Internal Organizational Factors on Factionalism	29
2.2.2	Environmental Facilitators of Factionalism and Schisms	33

2.2.3	The Repression- Dissent Nexus	36
2.3	Synthesis and Analytical Framework	40
2.3.1	Summary of Literature and Key Gaps	40
2.3.2	Conceptual Framework	44
2.3.3	Analytical Concepts	46
2.3.4	Hypothesis	50
3	Researching an Underground Organization: Methodology and Limitations	53
3.1	A Mixed Data Collection Approach in Search of the MB	54
3.1.1	The Limits of Conventional Fieldwork in High-Risk Research Environment	54
3.1.2	MBs' Official Websites: A Virtual Field of Research	56
3.1.3	Primary Documentation	57
3.1.4	Interviews: Fieldwork and Media	58
3.2	Data Analysis: Ethnography of the Written and the Virtual Word	59
3.2.1	Categorizing Strategy and Content Analysis	61
3.2.2	Connecting Strategy and Ethnographic Analysis	63
3.3	Concluding Remarks	64
4	Brotherhood's Internal Conflicts and their Outcomes: Historical Overview (1928–2011)	67
4.1	Internal Conflicts and Factions during the Founding Phase (1928–1948)	68
4.1.1	Opposing al-Banna's Leadership and Power	70
4.1.2	The Rise of the Militant Current	73
4.2	Internal Divisions and Organizational Disarray (1948–1970)	76
4.2.1	The Post-Banna Power Struggle (1948–1950)	76
4.2.2	Rising Opposition Against al-Hudaybi's Leadership (1951–1954)	79
4.2.3	The Great Ordeal: Divisions during the Prison Years (1954–1970)	82
4.3	Dissentions after the Second Founding (1970–2011)	88
4.3.1	Brotherhood's Conflicting Currents	90
4.3.2	Generational Divides and Tensions	94
4.4	Concluding Remarks	97

5	The Brotherhood's Organizational Re-configuration Amidst Political Turbulence	101
5.1	Players' Configuration Pre-2013	102
5.1.1	Mapping Subgroupings	102
5.1.2	Configuration of Internal Players: Alliance and Contention	116
5.2	RE-configuration and Growing Schism Post- 2013	124
5.2.1	Adapting to Repression: MB's Efforts and Challenges	125
5.2.2	The Micro Dynamics of Raba'a	131
5.2.3	Re-orientation and Re-organization of a Factional Movement	138
5.3	Concluding Remarks	147
6	Beyond Strategic Divisions: MB Narratives and Microstructural Dimensions of Factionalism	151
6.1	Contentious Narratives of the Internal Disaccord	153
6.1.1	The Strategic Dimension: The Stagnation and Adaptation Dilemma	154
6.1.2	The Legitimacy Dilemma: Between Historical and Institutional Legitimacy	161
6.1.3	Internal Reform: Adjusting of the Bylaws and Vision	168
6.2	Reconstructing the Conflict Narrative: The Implicit Dimensions in the Factional Conflict	176
6.2.1	Unpacking the Strategic Conflict: Fighting Against 'Religious Determinism'	176
6.2.2	Re-Configuring the Brotherhood's Collective Identity	183
6.2.3	Disputing the Organization	190
6.3	Concluding Remarks	195
7	Discussion and Conclusion	199
7.1	Research Review	199
7.2	Hypothesis: Discussion and Results	201
7.2.1	The Causes of Factionalism	201
7.2.2	The Scope of Factionalism	204
7.3	Key Findings: Sum up	207
7.4	Theoretical Impications	209
7.5	Contributions and Suggestions	211
	Bibliography	215