

Appendix

A: Chronological Chart of the Primary Sources used for the Content Analysis – Self-Portrayal of the Muslim Brotherhood

bold: programmatic writings

regular: official statements

1982	al-Tilmisani, Amr. "Interview." <i>al-Majalla</i> , January 16.
1984	al-Tilmisani, Amr. "al-Ḥukūma al-Dīniya: Niẓām Gharīb ‘alā al-Islām." <i>al-Wafd</i> , July 5.
1985	al-Tilmisani, Amr. "al-Islām wa-l-Ḥukūma al-Dīniya." al-Qāhira: Dār al-Tawzī‘ wa-l-Nashr al-Islāmiya.
1986	al-Tilmisani, Amr. "al-Khitāb al-Mar‘a al-Sayyid Ra‘īs al-Jumhūriya min al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn." <i>al-Sha‘b</i> , March 18.
-	al-Tilmisani, Amr. <i>al-Khurūj min al-Ma‘zeq al-Islāmī al-Rāhin</i> . al-Qāhira: Dār al-Tawzī‘ wa-l-Nashr al-Islāmiya. [publication year not visible]
1986	Abu al-Nasr, Hamid. "Interview." <i>al-Ahrār</i> , June 2.
1986	Abu al-Nasr, Hamid. "Interview." <i>al-Muṣṣawar</i> , June 6.
1986	Abu al-Nasr, Hamid and Fathi Radwan. "'Asharat Alāf Yashhaduna Mu‘atmar Huqūq al-Insān." <i>al-Ahrār</i> , November 3.
1987	al-Tahaluf al-Islami. "al-Barnāmaj al-Intikhābi." al-Ahrār, March 23.
1992	al-Hudaybi, Ma‘mun. "Interview." <i>Rūz al-Yūsuf</i> , June 29.
1992	al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun. "Bayān min al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn bi-Sha‘n Ḥawādith al-‘Unf wa-l-Irhāb." <i>al-Sha‘b</i> , December 15.
1994	al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun. "Al-Mar‘a al-Muslima fī al-Mujtama‘ al-Muslim." al-Qāhira: Dār al-Tawzī‘ wa-l-Nashr al-Islāmiya.
1994	al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun. "Mūjaz ‘an al-Shūrā fī al-Islām wa-Ta’dud al-Aḥzāb fī al-Mujtama‘ al-Muslim." al-Qāhira: Dār al-Tawzī‘ wa-l-Nashr al-Islāmiya.
1995	al-Hudaybi, Ma‘mun. "Mawqif ‘an al-Aqbāt." <i>al-Hayat</i> , January 17.
1995	Abu al-Nasr, Hamid, "Khitāb Maftūḥ ilā Ra‘īs al-Jumhūriya." <i>al-Sha‘b</i> , January 31.
1995	al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun. "Bayān li-l-Tadhkir bi-Ṣaḥīḥ Fikr al-Ikhwān wa-Salāmat Manhajihim." In <i>al-Ikhwān wa-l-‘Unf</i> .
1995	al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun. "Bayān min al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn." In <i>al-Ikhwān wa-l-‘Unf</i> .
1996	al-Hudaybi, Ma‘mun. <i>The Principles of Politics in Islam</i>, Cairo: Islamic Inc. Publishing and Distribution. [contains al-Hudaybi’s electoral programme of 1995].
1997	Mashhur, Mustafa, (in an interview). "Brotherhood leader would tax Copts." <i>al-Ahrām Weekly</i> , September 3.

1998	Mashhur, Mustafā. “Qaḍāyā Asāsiya ‘alā Ṭarīq al-Da’wa.” al-Qāhira: Dār al-Tawzī’ wa-l-Nashr al-Islāmiya. [date of first edition not visible]
1999	al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun. “Bayān bi-Sha’n Muḥāwalat al-I’tidā’ ‘alā al-Sayyid Ra’īs al-Jumhūriya.” In <i>al-Ikhwān wa-l-‘Unf</i> .
2004	Akif, Muhammad Mahdi. “Mubādarat al-Murshid al-‘Āmm li-l-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn Hawla al-Mabādī’ al-‘Āmma li-l-Iṣlāḥ fi Miṣr.”, In <i>Tahawwulat al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun</i>.
2004	the above’s English version: Muslim Brotherhood. <i>Muslim Brotherhood Initiative on the General Principles of Reform in Egypt, Egypt</i>.
2004	Akif, Muhammad Mahdi. <i>Speech in Al-Azhar Mosque</i> . March.
2004	Akif, Muhammad Mahdi. “Unpublished Interview.” In <i>Tahawwulat al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn</i> .
2004	al-Erian, Essam. “Unpublished Interview.” In <i>Tahawwulat al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn</i> . March.
2005	Akif, Muhammad Mahdi. “Bayān ‘an al-Irhāb wa-l-Muqāwama.” In <i>al-Ikhwān wa-l-‘Unf</i> .
2005	al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun. <i>Barnāmaj al-Intikhābī li-l-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn fī Majlis al-Sha’b</i>.
2006	Akif, Muhammad Mahdi. “Bayān li-l-Nās min al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn.” In <i>al-Ikhwān wa-l-‘Unf</i> .
2007	al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun. <i>al-Barnāmaj al-Intikhābī li-l-Majlis al-Shūrā, 2007</i>.
2007	al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun, <i>Barnāmaj Hizb al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn (al-Iṣḍār al-Awwal, 25 Aghuṣṭus 2007)</i>.
2007	al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun. <i>Barnāmaj al-Hizb: In Urūd ilā al-Iṣlāḥ mā Istṭā‘at wa-mā Tawfiqī illā bi-l-lāh (al-Qirā’a al-Ūlā)</i>,
2009	Nada, Yussuf. “Nahnu wa-l-Shī’a.” <i>Ikhwanonline</i> , February 16.
2009	Nada, Yussuf. “Yūsuf Nadā: Khilāf al-Ikhwān wa-l-Shī’a fī al-Furū’ wa-laysa al-Uṣūl.” <i>al-Islamiyūn</i> , April 11.
2009	Ghazlan, Mahmud. “al-Ikhwān wa-l-Shī’a Marratan Ukhra (Mushāraka).” <i>al-Islamiyūn</i> , April 19.
2009	Akif, Muhammad Mahdi, (in an interview with Egypt Today). “Time to Move on”, <i>Egypt Today</i> , May.
-	Akif, Muhammad Mahdi. “Min Aqwāl Muḥammad Mahdī ‘Ākif.” In <i>al-Ikhwān wa-l-‘Unf</i> . [date of statement: unknown].
2010	al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun, <i>Barnāmaj al-Intikhābī li-l-Majlis al-Sha’b</i>.

B: Chronological Chart of the Primary Sources used for the Content Analysis – the State’s Portrayal of the Brotherhood

bold: “populist-tabloid” (in Rūz al-Yūsuf and al-Muṣṣawar)

rehular: “political-pragmatic” (statements of regime figures in press)

1984	al-Muṣṣawar. “al-Intikhābāt wa-l-Mu’āraḍa wa-Qawā’im al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī fī Ḥiwār 3 Sā’āt ma’a Dr. Fu’ād Muḥī al-Dīn.” April 13.
1984	al-Muṣṣawar. “Risāla min Ikhwānī Qadīm.” April 20.
1985	al-Ahrār. “al-Ḥukūma Ta’tarif bi-Shar’at Jamā’at al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn wa-Tu’akkid: Hadaf al-Jamā’a...Nabīl.” May 30.
1987	al-Muṣṣawar. “Lā li-l-Hujūm ‘alā ‘Abd al-Naṣr, wa-lā li-l-Hujūm ‘alā al-Sādāt, wa-lā li-l-Hujūm ‘alā Kull Zu’amā’inā al-Waṭaniyīn.” April 3.
1987	al-Muṣṣawar. “Dr. Waḥīd Ra’afat li-l-Muṣṣawar: al-Khaṭar al-Ḥaqīqī lā Ya’atī min al-Shuyū’iya aw al-Wafd wa-innamā Ya’atī min Taḥāluḥ al-Ikhwān.” April 17.
1987	al-Māyū. “Turāt [sic] al-Ikhwān al-Dīmuqrāṭī!?” April 27.
1990	al-Ahrām. “Kalimat al-Ra’īs Mubārak amāma ‘Umāl Miṣr: Qaṭ’ānā Shawtan ‘alā Ṭarīq Ḥurriyat al-Ta’bīr wa-l-Imān bi-l-Ḥaq al-Mutakāfi’ li-Kull Muwāṭin li-l-Ishṭirāk fī al-Ḥukm.” May 2.
1992	Rūz al-Yūsuf. “al-Huḍaybī Yaḍ’ū li-l-Hujūm ‘alā al-Sā’ihīn!.” December 7.
1992	al-Ahrām al-Masā’ī. “Wazīr al-Dākhiliya fī Mu’tamar Ṣaḥafī: Jamā’a ‘al-Ikhwān’ wa-l-Tanzīmat al-Mutaṭarrifa Ya’amalūn taḥta ‘Abā’a Wāḥida – Ziyārat Mubārak li-l-Luḡṣur Khayr Dafīl ‘alā Istiqrār al-Waḍa’ al-Amanī bi-hā.” December.
1993	al-Ahrām. “Mubārak: Qānūn al-Niqābāt al-Jadīd Yuḥaqiq Mushārakat al-Qā’da al-‘Arīḍa wa-Yuwājih Muḥāwalāt Farḍ al-Waṣāya ‘alā al-Aghlabiya.” February 18.
1993	al-Ahrām. “al-Ra’īs Ḥusnī al-Mubārak fī Faransā.” November 1.
1994	al-Ahrām. “Mubārak: Miṣr fawqa Kull I’tibār wa-lan Nasmaḥ li-Aḥad an Ya’bat bi-Maṣlaḥatihā.” January 28.
1994	al-Ḥayāt. “Mubārak Yatham al-Ikhwān bi-Musā’idat al-Irhāb wa-l-Huḍaybī Yu’akkid Nabdh al-‘Unf.” May 17.
1994	al-Muṣṣawar. “Jam’yat Shabāb al-Muḥāmin Ta’tadhīr li-Sha’b Miṣr wa-Tu’lin annahā satunqidh al-Niqāba min Barāthīn al-Ikhwān.” May 27.
1994	al-Muṣṣawar. “Kayfa Taṣarraf Majlis al-Ikhwān fī Maṣīr Niqābat al-Muḥāmin?!.” May 27.
1995	al-Ḥayāt. “Wazīr al-Dākhiliya al-Miṣrī Akkad an al-Jamī’a Sawā’ al-Intikhābāt – al-Alfī li al-Ḥayāt: I’tiqāl A’ḍā’ Jamā’at al-Ikhwān Yatamm fī Iṭār al-Qānūn wa-Hum Yansiqūn ma’a Jabhat al-Turābī.” August 28.
1995	al-Ḥayāt. “Rafḍ Ṭaṭbīq al-Namūdhaj al-‘Irānī fī Qaḍiyat Naṣr Abū Zayd – Mubārak: al-Ikhwān Yumārisūn Nashāṭat Takhribiya.” September 27.

1996	al-Hayāt. “al-Alfī: al-Mutaṭarrafūn Kafara wa-lā Farq bayna Jamā‘at al-Ikhwān wa-l-Irhābiyīn.” December 16.
1997	Rūz al-Yūsuf. “al-Murshid Şādiq.” April 28.
1997	Rūz al-Yūsuf. “Murshid...Yaḥtāj ilā Irshād!!.” April 28.
2000	Rūz al-Yūsuf. “Mādhā Yaḥduth law al-Ikhwān [illegible] Mişr al-Kharāba.” August 19.
2000	Rūz al-Yūsuf. “Ba’īdan ‘an Idhā‘at Landan wa-Ittihāmāt Munazzamat al-‘Afū al-Dawliya: al-Taṭarruf fī al-Intikhābāt al-Mişriya.” September 23.
2005	Rūz al-Yūsuf. “Min Qalb al-Ikhwān...Yakshif al-Ikhwān: Hadaf al-Tanzīm laysa al-Dīmuqrāṭiya wa-innamā al-Fawḍa wa-l-‘Işyān al-Madani!.” April 9.
2005	Rūz al-Yūsuf. “Lā budd an N‘ai al-Farq bayna al-Hujūm ‘alā ‘al-Ḥukūma’ aw ‘al-Dawla’ aw ‘al-Nizām’... wa-bayna Hadam al-Waṭan – Amrikā ‘Nawiya’ Ta‘amal eyh fī Mişr?.” April 16.
2006	al-Jazeera. “Mubarak’s Shi’a remarks stir anger.” April 10.
2006	al-Maşrī al-Yawm. “Dābiṭ Amn al-Dawla fī al-Taḥqīqāt: Tuḷāb al-Azhār l’tabarū ‘Ḥamās wa-Ḥizb Allāh’ Mathalahum al-‘Alfiy.” December 21.
2006	Rūz al-Yūsuf. “Ḥālat Talabbus Siyāsī wa-Jinā‘ī – al-Suqūṭ al-Kabīr li-Jamā‘a Ḍāla.” December 29.
2006	Rūz al-Yūsuf. “Mīlīshiyāt al-Azhār Laysat al-Ūlā wa-lā al-Akhīra – Brūvāt al-Maḥzūra ‘alā Ḥarb al-Shawāri’.” December 23.
2007	al-Usbū‘. “Mubarak fī Ḥadīth Shāmil li-‘al-Usbū’.” January 15.
2007	al-Ahrām. “al-Qabḍ ‘alā ‘Işām al-‘Iryān wa-15 min Qiyādāt al-Maḥzūra – al-Niyāba al-‘Āmma Taḍbiṭ al-Muttahamīn fī Athnā’ ‘Aqdihim l’jīmā‘an bi-l-Jīza.” August 18.
2007	al-Ahrām. “Wathā‘iq Tanzīmiya Takshif al-Tansīq bayna al-Ikhwān wa-Ḥamās li-Takwīn wa-Tadrīb Majmū‘āt Jihādiya fī Mişr wa-l-Urdun wa-Lubnān.” September 1.
2007	al-Jazeera. <i>Inside Story: Majed Reda Boutros (NDP-Member).</i>
2009	Rūz al-Yūsuf. “al-‘Aşāba – al-Taqrīr al-Kāmil li-l-Ḥarb.” January 9.
2009	Rūz al-Yūsuf. “Zawāj al-Muta‘a bayna al-Ikhwān wa-İrān.” March 6.
2009	Al-Sharq Al-Awsat (via Mideastwire). “Egyptian Foreign Minister Ahmad Abu-al-Ghayt interviewed on Iranian scheme.” April 15.
2009	al-Ahrām. “Istiḳāla Mahdi ‘Akif.” October 19.

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Interviews*Members of the Muslim Brotherhood*

Top Leadership (Supreme Guide, Deputy/Vice Supreme Guide or Guidance Office):

MB 1 (Cairo, February 2010)

MB 2 (Cairo, February 2010)

MB 3 (Cairo, October 2010)

MB 4 (Cairo, October 2010)

Parliamentarians:

MB 5 (Cairo, February 2010)

MB 3 (Cairo, October 2010)

Youth/MB-Website Management:

MB 6 (Cairo, October 2010)

Ex-Members of the Muslim Brotherhood

Ex-MB 1 (Cairo, February 2010)

Ex-MB 2 (Cairo, May 2009)

Ex-MB 3 (Cairo, February 2010)

Ex-MB 4 (Cairo, February 2010)

Representatives of the Mubarak-Regime

Top Leadership:

Regime member 1 (Cairo, May 2009)

Regime member 2 (Cairo, May 2009)

Non-MB Opposition Activists

Member of kifaya (Cairo, May 2009)

Member of non-Islamist Opposition (Cairo, May 2009)

Ex-Member of al-Gama'a al-Islamiya (Cairo, October 2010)

Distinguished Experts on the Muslim Brotherhood and Egyptian Politics

Expert 1 (April 2009, Octobre 2010)

Expert 2 (Cairo May 2009)

Expert 3 (Cairo, February 2010)

Expert 4 (Cairo, February 2010)

Expert 5 (Cairo, Octobre 2010)

Expert 6 (Cairo, Octobre 2010)

Expert 7 (Cairo, Octobre 2010)

Expert 8 (Hamburg, Octobre 2011)

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