Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.
THE 2017 PALESTINIAN UNITY ACCORD UNDER HAMAS’S NEW LEADERSHIP AND REVISED CHARTER: A CRITICAL INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS

A thesis presented for the completion of the degree of

Master of Arts

In politics

College of humanities and social sciences

Massey University: Manawatu, Palmerston North

NICHOLAS ROBERT BROUGH
2018
Abstract

Since its success in the 2006 Palestinian legislative elections, Hamas has struggled to be an effective governing agent and service provider within the Gaza Strip. The refusal of Israel to recognise Hamas’s administrative status after the free and fair elections resulted in a severe blockade and an international boycott from the international organisation known as the Quartet. The negative outcome of these harsh sanctions combined with past and present measures from the PA based in Ramallah, the West Bank, has been widespread for Palestinian nationalist goals and well-being in the Gaza Strip, which is now on the verge of total economic collapse. 2017 marks a highly active time for Hamas for its political development. Through its internal bylaws a major reorganisation of its leadership occurred along with the release of a long-awaited revision to its founding 1988 charter. With the signing of a unity deal in October with their rival’s, Fatah, Hamas’s new leadership is attempting to relinquish political control over the Gaza Strip. This has renewed hope from Palestinians that the harmful division may be finally ending along with imposed sanctions. This thesis presents a critical interpretive analysis of how this misunderstood Islamic resistance movement is willing to make concessions for the betterment of Palestinian nationalism. Combined with criteria from a shared transformational and transactional leadership framework, this approach challenges popular misrepresentation of Hamas by revealing the pragmatism of its new leadership in this unity accord.
Acknowledgements

Special thanks to my supervisor Dr Nigel Parsons for your high level of expertise in guiding this research and introducing me to this subject. Thank you to Massey University for the support throughout the many years of study. Also, thank you to my mother for providing me with the motivation to complete this research project.
Table of Contents

ABSTRACT .................................................................................................................. I
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ........................................................................................... II
TABLE OF CONTENTS ............................................................................................. III
ABBREVIATIONS ...................................................................................................... V
GLOSSARY of Arabic Terms ................................................................................... VI
FIGURES ................................................................................................................... IX
TABLES ..................................................................................................................... IX

1 INTRODUCTION ........................................................................................................ 1

2 Theoretical Framework .......................................................................................... 10
2.1 Theorizing traditional leadership ....................................................................... 11
2.2 The development of a shared leadership model ................................................. 13
2.3 Shared leadership framework of transformational-transactional leadership .... 18
2.4 Conclusion ........................................................................................................... 20

3 LITERATURE REVIEW .......................................................................................... 21
3.1 Hamas as an Islamic resistance and political movement: 1987-2017 .............. 22
3.2 Conclusion ........................................................................................................... 29

4 METHODOLOGY ..................................................................................................... 30
4.1 Primary and secondary sources ....................................................................... 30
4.2 Ontology and epistemology .............................................................................. 31
4.3 Quantitative and qualitative research ............................................................... 33
4.4 Method of analysis: critical interpretive analysis .............................................. 34

5 ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE AND CONTEXT OF HAMAS’S RULE IN THE
GAZA STRIP .............................................................................................................. 39
5.1 Political and military leadership of Hamas ....................................................... 39
5.2 political and economic situation in the Gaza Strip ................................................................. 47
5.3 Conclusion .................................................................................................................................. 54

6 The Palestinian unity deal: October 12 2017 ................................................................. 55
6.1 How is Hamas’ new leadership reconciling with the PA through its new charter in the creation of a unity government? ................................................................. 56
6.2 What position do these leaders now have regarding regional and international actors throughout the unity accord? ..................................................................................... 74

7 Key findings ................................................................................................................................ 91
7.1 Conclusion ................................................................................................................................. 96
Bibliography ................................................................................................................................. 98
Appendix 1 ..................................................................................................................................... 122
Appendix 2 ..................................................................................................................................... 125
**Abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANSA</td>
<td>Armed Non-State Actors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFLP</td>
<td>Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESCWA</td>
<td>Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDF</td>
<td>Israel Defense Forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISIS</td>
<td>Islamic State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td>Muslim Brotherhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-State Organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>Palestinian Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCC</td>
<td>Palestine Central Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFLP</td>
<td>Popular Front for the liberation of Palestine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLC</td>
<td>Palestinian Liberation Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLO</td>
<td>Palestine Liberation Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNC</td>
<td>Palestinian National Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSC</td>
<td>United Nations Security Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNRWA</td>
<td>United Nations Relief and Works Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Glossary of Arabic terms

Ahl al-Kitab  People of the book

Al-dawla al-islamiyya fi al-’Iraq wa al-Sham  Islamic State

Al-Masjid an-Nabawi  The Mosque of the prophet

Al-Maktab al-Siyasi  Political bureau

Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimum  Muslim Brotherhood

Al-Quds  Jerusalem

Asabiyya  Group solidarity

Harakat  Movement

Hizb  Party

Hudna  Ceasefire, truce

Intifada  Uprising
Ikhwan  Brethren

Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades  Hamas’s military wing

Jihad  Striving for Allah, holy war

Majlis ash-Shura  Consultative Council

Masjid al-Haram  The Sacred Mosque

Muqawama  Resistance

Nakba  Catastrophe/Palestinian exodus of 1948

Sabr  Self-restraint

Sharia law  Islamic law

Sheik  Leader

Urf  Customary law

Waqf  Sacred Islamic endowment, land
Figures

Figure 1: Model of shared leadership from Pearce and Conger (2003) ...............15

Figure 2: Political and military organizational structure of Hamas’s leadership .....42

Figure 3: Hamas’s grassroots activities from Jensen (2009) .........................42

Figure 4: Map of Israel, West Bank, and the Gaza Strip from Macintyre (2016) ....125

Figure 5: Map of the Gaza Strip from Macintyre (2016) .............................126

Tables

Table 1: Hamas over 30 years .................................................................122