

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’s 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

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

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

<i>Ikhwan</i>	<i>Brethren</i>
<i>Izz al-Din al- Qassam Brigades</i>	<i>Hamas's military wing</i>
<i>Jihad</i>	<i>Striving for Allah, holy war</i>
<i>Majlis ash- Shura</i>	<i>Consultative Council</i>
<i>Masjid al-Haram</i>	<i>The Sacred Mosque</i>
<i>Muqawama</i>	<i>Resistance</i>
<i>Nakba</i>	<i>Catastrophe/Palestinian exodus of 1948</i>
<i>Sabr</i>	<i>Self-restraint</i>
<i>Sharia law</i>	<i>Islamic law</i>
<i>Sheik</i>	<i>Leader</i>
<i>Urf</i>	<i>Customary law</i>
<i>Waqf</i>	<i>Sacred Islamic endowment, land</i>

Wasta

Mediation

Wataniyya

Nationalism

Zakat

Charitable donation

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
------------------------------------	-----