Religious Turns:
Gush Emunim & Hamas
From secular nationalism to religious legitimation


• 2. Prior religious dimensions of conflict.

• 3. Boost religious definition of conflict & legitimate uncompromising goals (partition).
Generational conflict

• 1. What is a generational explanation?
• 2. Older generation in double-vise & with negligible influence.
• 3. Politicized in 1967 and 1987, respectively.
• 4. GE reinterprets colonization & Hamas reinterprets jihad.
Spoilers of Oslo

1. Why did Yasser Arafat sign the unfavorable Oslo DOP?
2. The PNA’s ‘survivalist’ approach.
3. Settler violence.
5. Timing of terror attacks (dual arena strategy or outbidding).
Socio-economic dimension

• 1. Hamas’s da’wa social service institutions.
• 2. Gush Emunim’s social mobility (Amana & Council of Yesha).
• 3. GE’s inroads into the institutional framework.
Internal dynamics

1. GE vanguardists & consensus-builders.
2. Hamas’ pragmatism & controlled violence.
3. Hamas’s new Charter.
4. Limits on their influence (territorial division & secular forces).
5. International and Israeli blockade.