

TITLE PAGE

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND GLOBAL TERRORISM I THE 21ST CENTU

RY: A CASE STUDY OF HAMAS ACIVITIES IN ISRAEL

FROM 2013 TO 2015

BY

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ABSTRACT

The study looks at the effects of global terrorism on international security in the 21st century, specifically Hamas activities in Israel from 2013-2015. The research examines the impact of Hamas' activities in the region—such as rocket fire, tunnel digging, suicide bombings and other violent incidents—on security in Israel and on international peace and stability. The study further analyzes the responses of the Israeli government and the international community towards the conflict and the implications of such responses on global security.

The study used the Political Violence Theory which was proposed by Ted Robert Gurr in the book, "Why Men Rebel (1970)" to explain the nature of the conflict and the motivation behind violent acts undertaken by Hamas. A descriptive research design was employed and secondary sources including textbooks, journal articles, official reports, newspaper, and Internet materials were used for data collection. This study showed that the activities of Hamas in the time frame examined sharply exacerbated the situation in the Middle East, killed human lives, caused loss of property, displaced civilians and raised the awareness of terrorism and international security throughout the world.

The study also revealed that the conflict had a negative impact on diplomatic relations, economic activities and humanitarian conditions in the region. In addition, it found that international organizations and the world's major powers failed to fully address the conflict and that this factor played a role in perpetuating the violence and instability. The study thus suggests better regional and international collaboration in the fight against terrorism, greater efforts in peaceful conflict resolution techniques, enhanced intelligence sharing among nations and better humanitarian assistance to those civilians affected by the conflict. The study concludes that global terrorism remains a major threat to international security in the 21st century and requires collective efforts from governments and international organizations to ensure global peace and stability.

Keywords: Global Terrorism, International Security, Hamas, Israel, Political Violence, Middle East Conflict.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Background Study

Terrorism is nothing new to the human experience and not exclusive to the 21st century. Its history can be traced to the 18th century during the Reign of Terror in the era of the French Revolution that overthrew the monarchy. Terrorism was also used as a weapon by the Zealots of Palestine in opposition to Roman rule over 2000 years ago. In the 21st century, there is hardly a nation that does not have some form of terrorism. Hoffman (2014) states that all terrorists have a mindset, they “live” in the future and believe they will overcome their enemies and realize their political objective. Wellman (2012) thought that threats by terrorist groups have grown more severe over the past 30 years, because they have access to high-tech technologies. This has also increased the terrorist's power to wreak more harm and remain more elusive. The United Nations (UN) Security Council (UNSC) has become challenged to keep the world secure in the face of globalization that fosters global interdependence, open borders and free flow of information technology (IT). Terrorism has become a global trend and by the 21st century has become a mutual concern of national and international security organizations. It is in this context that Hoffman (2014) has observed that in the globalised world today, threats to international security are not absent from international terrorism. Buzan (2010) pointed out that the terror threats p

used by terrorists have evolved and taken on a new dimension in today's world. Terrorist are so pervasive that even after they have been defeated and their plot foiled, the security agencies will not be able to rest with two eyes closed because terrorist organisations are always changing and developing new tactics, organizational structures and even tactical objectives. As such, terrorist groups and those whose duty it is to counter them are constantly evolving strategically to stay one step ahead through the application of new technologies or operational tactics. Terrorism has developed gradually over the years, each new phase being more dangerous and more deadly than the last, within this competitive environment. The terrorist attacks in the "United States of America" on September 11, 2001 (9/11) were a turning point and a new reality in world terrorism. After 9/11, the world community was facing an unprecedented threat by international terrorism. The world was new again because international terrorism had evolved. Prior to the terrorist attack on 9/11, it was easy for many world leaders and international security bodies such as the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to ignore or look away at the terror threat spreading across the globe, if they were not at the heart of the attack. Initially, the use of terror by the radical Islamic minds of the Muslim communities around the world, known as "dawah" activities, and the dogmatic radical principle of the movement that was based on the use of violence in "defending Islam" prevailed and resulted in the prevalence of terrorism. It was considered a theoretical concept until it was proven by the World Trade Centre building being attacked and almost 3,000 civilians being killed in a suicidal attack in the United States.

ates on 11th Sept 2001 which brought world leaders and international security organizations to recognize the threat that terrorism poses to international security and global security. But since then, the members of the international Jihadist network have not been shy about using the suicide attack technique of modern terrorism in their local and global operations. For many countries, global terrorism was the primary focus for their security agencies' top security agendas. Terrorist activities in the past were basically linked with the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict. Nowadays the situation is different.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

There are two broad lines of study that will be explored in this article under which an overview of the concept of international security will be revealed: the first is the description of the concept from a legal perspective, while the second is from a political perspective. On the one hand the historical and empirical development in international security will be presented, particularly when it comes to significant historical occurrences and eras, and how international security was perceived and explored during these periods, leading up to a characterization of the conditions for international security today. On the other hand the focus of the second part of the article will be on the theoretical development in the study of international security, as well as how the discipline has developed: on what insights it has identified. Last but not least, the newest theoretical progress will be discussed.

At the end of the contribution some viewpoints will be offered on how the thinking of security can make a significant contribution towards realising sustainable development, in relation to the empirical and theoretical develop

ment.

In the 21st century, international security has assumed new aspects. The concept of

International security is a concept of the twentieth century, that is, a security among states. States are no longer a major source of threats. Threats are associated with ethnic groups that suffer from hyper-nationalism, from criminal gangs, from mafia state, from epidemics, AIDS, from terrorism, from economic mismanagement, from overpopulation, from failed states, from flows of refugee, and, most importantly, from pollution and the impacts of pollution, from the irrigation and destruction of nature, and from the diversification of nature. The new threats' victims are mainly the single person, individual or human security, society (societal security) and the globe. (global security). The individual's life is at risk both physically and economically. The survival of societies is jeopardised, along with issues of identity and coherence. The survival of the world as we know it is threatened in the long run. Awareness of the need to battle for the sustainability of the globe has become common in the world for the first time in history.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Hamas' new, more sophisticated and multidimensional approach to asymmetric warfare, from cross border assault tunnels to indiscriminate population attacks, was a major obstacle to international security. This was a time of increasing violence, culminating in the Gaza War of 2014 (Operation Protective Edge), demonstrating the continued inability of current security measures to stop non-state military groups.

Even though there were strong counter-terrorism structures and the technology is superior,

From 2013 to 2015, the following fundamental issues continued to create tension between Israeli-Gaza borders and draw global attention to the area as a flash point of concern:

From 2012, Operation Pillar of Defense targeted the ability of Hamas to operate aircraft in the air, but, by 2014, Hamas had established a comprehensive system of cross-border attack tunnels. These tunnels created a new ground offensive for militants to sneak into Israel for possible mass-casualty attacks and kidnappings, bypassing the conventional border security.

Hamas and other Palestinian armed groups regularly fired unguided rockets and mortars in populated Israeli centres, indiscriminately. In

In 2013 Israel experienced multiple incidents of terrorism, such as rocket firings from

Gaza and a bus bombing. There was a significant increase in the volume of fire in 2014, as Hamas rockets were fired in excess of 100 during individual flare-ups, while in 2015 (as of October 31) some 20 rockets were fired, causing widespread fear even though there were lower casualty rates during that specific year.

Asymmetric Tactics and Humanitarian and Ethical Costs: One of the biggest security dilemmas was the alleged use of human shields as Hamas used rockets and stored weapons in or around civilian facilities like school, hospitals and homes. This strategy added another layer of “double war crime” in which Israeli and Palestinian civilians were put at risk and makes it m

ore difficult for international military intervention.

The main research issue this study aims to address is the absence of detailed studies that connect to general discussions on international security and global terrorism Hamas' activities in the Gaza Strip carried out in Israel in the period (2013-2015). The academic knowledge of modern asymmetric conflict, state response and peace implications are incomplete without a detailed study of this particular period.

1.3 Research Question

- 1 How has Hamas activities in Israel affected the Israeli National security and middle east security dynamics between 2013-2015
2. How effective was the international community response to the escalation of conflict between Hamas and Israel [2013-2015]

1.4 Objectives of the Study

This study has Both Broad and specific objectives. The broad objective of this study is to examine international security and global terrorism in the 21st century, using Hamas activities in Israel between 2013 and 2015 as a case study.

The specific objectives of the study are to:

1. To examine whether Hamas activities in Israel affected the Israeli national security and middle east security dynamics between 2013-2015
2. To verify how effective the international community response to the escalation of conflict between Hamas and Israel between 2013-2015.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study has both theoretical and empirical significance

THEORETICALLY: This research will also help to enrich the knowledge to ensure the security and peace in the world. Highlighting the roles countries and international organization are to play in maintaining a secured and terror free world. The results of this research will also help different states, international organization, security organizations and intelligence agencies to ensure that the world remains secure and devoid of negative elements of terrorism. This work will also affect a lot of knowledge to the students of political science, particularly those who are aspiring to become the president, governor, head of the intelligence agencies etc. This work would help them with a number of different ways they could secure themselves and obtain information for a peaceful and terror-free world.

SIGIFICANCE OF THE STUDY: This research is imperative as it helps to address the issue of better understanding the global terrorism's impact on international security in the 21st century. Due to the changing nature of conflict from state versus state wars to conflicts between non-state actors, it is necessary to look at the role of non-state actors in regional and global stability. This study examines Hamas and what it does in the time period of 2013 to 2015 and hence gives insights into how modern terrorist organisations work in complex political and security environments.

The study has policy implications for both policy makers and international institutions. The study provides insights into the success of diplomatic, counter-terrorism and peace initiatives based on the reactions of the international community to Hamas' activities. The results can support the developm

ent of future policies to stop escalation and foster stability in the region. Furthermore this study has humanitarian relevance. Conflict with non-state actors can lead to civilian deaths, forced migration, deprivations of livelihoods, and other negative consequences. The security and political implications of the actions of Hamas that this research focuses on also indirectly help to contribute to the broader discussion of human security, conflict prevention and sustainable peace in the Middle East.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This study is an exploration of the relationship between international security and global terrorism in the 21st century with a focused case study of the activities of Hamas group in Israel from 2013-2015. The main objective is to comprehend the impact of the activities and methods of a non-state actor, like Hamas, on the national, regional and international security landscape in the modern geopolitical era. The study's focus is on the Gaza Strip and Israel, in geographic terms, where the conflict between Hamas and Israel was most intense during the time period focused upon. The emphasis is on these areas but the study also examines international reactions, including those of the great powers and the United Nations and other multilateral organisations, to offer insight into the wider implications for international security.

The study is limited to the years 2013 – 2015, but the results should be applicable to the rest of the year. The selection of this time period was made because of its significant escalations in the conflict, such as the Gaza conflict in 2014 (Operation Protective Edge), which provides a rich background to

examine contemporary terrorism, asymmetric warfare and security responses. The study can do that because it focus on a shorter time frame and hence offer a detailed and precise analysis of the strategies pursued by Hamas and the related security challenges without being lost in the larger story of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The research's conceptual directions are the following:

The operation techniques and military tactics used by Hamas such as rockets and tunnels

The reactions and effectiveness of the international community including regional actors and global institutions

The impact of such activities on the study of 21st century international security and counter terrorism strategies.

Limitations of the Study

There are some limitations to this study which must be noted.

One of the main strengths of the research is that it is based principally on secondary sources like scholarly research articles, news reports, government publications, and reports made by international organizations. No classified intelligence or internal security information from Israel or Hamas is available, thus restricting the level of detail in operations and potentially leaving the reader to rely on information made public.

Secondly, the delicate and sensitive situation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict represents a challenge to the objective neutral viewpoint in this conflict. There may be conflicting accounts from various sources, or multiple interpretations, which must be examined and analysed critically to be objective.

Finally, the study has some limitations as it focuses on the period of 2013 to 2015. This is a very important time period and is sufficient for in-depth study, but isn't comprehensive of Hamas' activities before or after these years. Consequently, the long-term trends in the conflict and the changing tactics prior to and following this time period are only mentioned in passing. Also, the research will be mainly about security and political issues during the conflict. This study acknowledges but does not fully explore the humanitarian, socio-economic and cultural impacts, which may reduce the study's comprehensiveness on civilian impacts.

1.7 Operational Definition of Terms

1. International Security – the policies, cooperation and actions which states and international organisations take to maintain peace, prevent conflict and help to protect the global community from threats like war, transnational violence and terrorism. The goal of international security is to protect the security of the nation and stability of the world as a whole.

2. Global Terrorism – Terrorism or acts of violence or intimidation by individuals or groups over a national boundary for political, religious or ideological purposes. Terrorism has a global dimension and affects the lives of people in more than one country, threatening peace and security.

3. Non-State Actors – groups, organizations, which are not part of the State, but which have an influence in political, social, or security events. These could be terrorist groups, insurgent groups or transnational advocacy networks, for instance.

4. Hamas: An Islamist Palestinian group and government in the Gaza Strip

as well as an armed group. It has been noted for its political involvement, social services, and militant actions, especially against Israel. Hamas has conducted asymmetric operations like rocket attacks, tunnel warfare.

5. Israel – A nation in the Middle East that is at the centre of the Israel/Palestine conflict. The region has had a direct impact on Israel's national security and policies, as has Hamas.

6. Israeli – Palestinian Conflict – A protracted political, territorial and religious dispute between Israelis and Palestinians regarding national recognition, governance and land. The conflict has seen several wars, uprisings and peace agreements; and it is one of the most complicated and ongoing security issues in the area.

7. Counter-terrorism – Measures, policies and strategies taken by governments or international organisations to prevent, respond to and combat terrorist threats. The activities of counter-terrorism are related to intelligence collection, military action, diplomatic action, and international cooperation to minimize risks and the effects of terrorism.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Conceptual review

Other terms of the rubric are also included in the course outline. Other statements in the rubric can also be included in the course outline.

In the context of the 21st century, international security is the policy, pacts, and practices implemented by states and international bodies to guarantee the survival of all parties, security from new threats in the world, and stability. It has grown from the traditional military defence structures to non-traditional less predictable threats such as cyber warfare, climate change, and global pandemics at the border.

International security in the 20th century was largely state-centric and military, dominated by the concepts of deterrence, arms race and war prevention between nation-states. In the 21st century, this has been extended to include a wider range of risks:

Human Security: On the physical and economic survival of the person, not just the borders of the state. It protects against poverty, human rights abuses and deprivation of basic resources.

Environmental Security: Acknowledges that climate change, natural disasters, and diminishing resources (such as water, arable land) can trigger instability, mass migration and regional conflict.

Cybersecurity: Covers the weaknesses of today's hyper-connected digital

Infrastructure. Both state and non-state actors engage in cyber warfare, disinformation and espionage to wreak havoc on economies and political processes.

Health and Pandemic Security: Emphasizes the danger of infectious diseases and global health emergencies for global stability and economic continuity. The nature of international security has changed in the 21st century. The notion of international security as security among states is a twentieth-century idea.

The threats are no longer from states, but more from the public. Ethnic groups obsessed with hyper-nationalism, criminal gangs, mafiosi governance, epidemics, AIDS, terrorism, poverty, economic mismanagement, overpopulation, failed states and the flow of refugees are posing threats. Barry Buzan (1991) states that in today's world security is not just military, it is political, economic and societal. Likewise, Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens (2017) state that the nature of security has become asymmetric and dominated by non-state actors in today's world.

As part of this research, international security serves as the lens to examine how the activities of Hamas in the region between 2013 and 2015 impacted regional stability and global security concerns.

2.1.2 Global terrorism

Unfortunately, global terrorism is a reality of our times. They can be acts of indiscriminate or targeted terrorism conducted by a variety of terrorist org

anizations, small groups or by a single individual. Anyone, anywhere, anytime can be the victim of these attacks, and the targets can be a person, an establishment or a business anywhere around the world. According to Bruce Hoffman (2006), global terrorism is violence perpetrated by transnational networks of violence with ideology, political or religious motives. As does Walter Laqueur (2003) who notes that today's terrorism is international and uses technology and modern communication networks to aid in its activities.

Most countries worldwide suffer from terrorism, because of sporadic conflict. If a country is affected by a lot of terrorism, then it will be fighting in one or more wars. But during and after these conflicts, there has been a significantly greater number of targeted attacks and threat against the civilian, police, government, and military of countries and communities outside these regions.

Terrorism is a threat which transcends state and national boundaries and can have an impact on any state or people regardless of geographical location. There is no exception for seemingly unaffected stable states and citizens in these states. People and organizations who are convinced that they can further their political and ideological agenda through terror are very dangerous to societies and the rights and freedoms of citizens, particularly when they indiscriminately target innocents.

Increasingly terrorists attack targets that are not well-protected places, or areas, and where an attack against a soft target would be the most devastating.

ting. These places include entertainment and recreational events and facilities, places of worship, tourist sites, airports and transport networks or links. Places and times that have been targeted include significant dates, anniversaries, public holidays, religious festivals and political events. Terrorists have also conducted attacks in response to international political or social developments, that they have considered offensive.

Terrorist groups and organisations are facing obstacles in several ways and now use technology to organise attacks. This includes social media to inspire or direct 'lone wolf' attacks which are virtually impossible to predict and disrupt, and can occur in virtually any country, at any time. By this means, terrorists have a broader audience and have the ability to encourage fellow sympathizers to strike whatever target they choose and in whatever manner they choose—by transmitting a call to action for such strike anywhere in the world. This is comprised of random small scale attacks on innocent individuals and symbols of the party they see as an enemy.

While governments and the justice systems of many countries have become more stringent in their response to terrorism, they are also now better prepared and more resourced to protect against acts of terrorism both globally and in their own countries, and this has helped to lessen the impact of terrorist acts in recent years, there are areas in which the threat and potential for terrorist acts appear to be set to grow in the near future.

This concept is applicable for the study because it has made Hamas activities a topic of international attention and reaction, thus connecting local con

flict to international security discourse.

2.1.3 Non state actors

Non-state actors (NSAs) are organizations or entities that take part in the political, economic and social arena without being officially affiliated with any government and are thus important in various regions of the world. Non-state actors are groups that are neither state-sponsored nor legal, such as advocacy groups, insurgent organizations, and terrorist groups, according to Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink (1998). Thomas Risse-Kappen (1995) also argues that these actors have a significant impact on domestic global politics. Other types of entities in this category are non-governmental organizations (NGOs), multinational corporations, armed groups, and social movements, and others. Since the late 20th century, NSA's have become more popular, partly because of the distrust in traditional governance by state and the inability of governments to intervene in vulnerable areas.

Non-state actors include large NGOs such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, and influential individuals such as Elon Musk, who can have a global influence because of their wealth and prominence. Some consider NSA's to be necessary to check government power and to promote social change; others, possible threats to existing government structures and international relations. The digital platforms have also seen new expressions of non-state activism; decentralized social movements that can mobili

se public backlash rapidly. In general, non-state actors can be defined as those that have an influence on society without being a State or a government, and there are a variety and different categories of non-state actors in global governance.

It is widely accepted that non-state actors have grown in their prominence and power since the second half of the twentieth century. The European Commission (EC) recognises that non-state actors are playing an important role in the political, economic and social agenda of the world and are also a factor in the security settings and security policy of the twenty-first century. It is also observed that there can also be significant variations about conceptions of non-state actors – some sections of the public may think of some non-state actors as noble, heroic, while others may think of them as harmful or dangerous. In other instances, however, there are differences in public opinion based on the specific non-state actors' values as well as their socio-economic, political, or other perspectives.

In this study, Hamas is analysed as a non-state actor that played a significant role in the changing nature of Israeli security and Middle East affairs since 2013.

2.1.4 Asymmetric warfare

Asymmetrical warfare can be defined as a conflict in which the opposing forces are not equal and the weaker side uses unconventional tactics to fight the stronger side. Such wars are frequently against non-state actors such

as guerrillas, insurgents, or terrorists. The unequal power and resources and capabilities create uneven engagements, and so the nature of modern warfare is asymmetrical. Guerrilla warfare and terrorism are typically used by weaker actors to deal with stronger actors, according to Ivan Arreguín-Tost (2001). Likewise, Andrew Mack (1975) observes that in a sense, asymmetry empowers weaker actors to take advantage of the weaknesses of stronger states. Technology is developing as is asymmetrical warfare. Guerrilla groups, armed by state sponsors like Iran (e.g., Hezbollah, Hamas) or with constrained resources, evolve, adapt and exploit new and advanced technologies like drones.

Such capabilities make it harder for state military forces to keep pace with new threats.

Indirect strategies are important, as is strategic asymmetry; weaker forces trying to sustain fighting and wear down stronger forces. Meanwhile, more powerful players tend to prefer to fight it out directly, and this can cost them politically and socially, thus restricting their capacity to go on a long campaign. Non-state groups tend to be comprised of individuals based on ideology, religion, monetary or familial affiliations, and traditional soldiers and criminals are not easily distinguishable. The blurred distinction between war and peace, military and civilian, and even geographical separation, is another aspect of asymmetrical warfare. The nature of these conflicts is being questioned by what it does to non-combatants, what it does to the legitimacy of the conflict, and the use of tactics other than territorial in exchange

nge for gaining territory.

Hamas has persisted in using rocket strikes and unconventional methods to attack with the rationale of this concept.

Israel's high-tech weapons during the period studied.

2.1.5 Counter terrorism

Counter-terrorism or anti-terrorism is the term used for the laws, policies and operational responses to prevent, deter and respond to terrorism. These activities encompass a variety of tactics and strategies used by government, law enforcement, intelligence agencies and, in certain situations, private sector organizations. Daniel Byman (2011) defines counter-terrorism as military operations, intelligence operations and counter-intelligence, security and protective measures, and policies to disrupt terrorist groups. In addition, Martha Crenshaw (2010) points out the need for strategic responses to terrorism.

Where acts of terrorism form part of a wider insurgency, a range of definitions includes counterinsurgency, so counter-terrorism measures can include counterinsurgency operations. In the United States military lexicon, programs to help the partner countries suppress insurgency, lawlessness, or subversion and to reduce conditions that might lead to threats to national security are frequently called foreign internal defense activities.

In the late 1990s, governments' counter-terrorist capabilities grew as a result of the increasing terrorism threat. Following the 9/11 terrorist attacks of 2001, the governments of the Western powers placed counter-terrorism at the heart of the national security agenda, with significant institutional changes, more inter-agency cooperation, and new methods of operation like red team analysis and a broader suite of prevention measures.

The basic objectives of counter-terrorism are to disrupt actions of terrorists, prevent further attacks, break up extremist networks and identify and tackle the social, economic and political factors that are causes of violence. These actions are aimed at public safety, and at the maintenance of the Rule of Law and human rights. But as a rule, counter-terrorism tactics can be divided into four fundamental goals, as expressed in the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy.

2. State and local security issues. 3. Preparing for a disaster.

Disrupting Operations: How to identify, monitor and neutralize live terrorist cells before they can launch the attack.

Border Security: Improving physical and digital security to deter terrorists, weapons and illicit money flowing across borders.

3. Cleaning up the Streets, Parks and Public Areas

Addressing Root Causes: Identifying and removing socio-economic and political factors which contribute to the vulnerability of individuals to radicali

zation, including poverty, political exclusion, and illiteracy.

CR: Community outreach and rehabilitation programs for countering violent ideologies and reintegrating former extremists into society.

3. Building State Capacity

Global Collaboration: Promoting information sharing and intelligence cooperation among local, regional and international security agencies (including INTERPOL and NATO).

Enhancing Justice Systems: Training law enforcement, prosecutors and judiciary branches on efficient investigation, prosecution and detention of suspected terrorists in accordance with recognized justice systems.

5. Inspecting and Monitoring the State and Public Services

Protecting Civilians: Avoiding civilian deaths or harm to civilian property in counter-terrorism operations.

2.1.6 Hamas: Origin, Governance, and Conflict

Hamas is a militant Palestinian nationalistic and Islamist movement that was founded in 1987 during the first Palestinian Intifada (uprising) with the aim of creating an independent Islamic state in historical Palestine. Hamas was structurally against the secular, diplomatic approach of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Fatah movement from the beginning. The group rejected any peace agreements that cede to Palestine any territory, instead resorted to political violence and acts of terrorism as its main m

means of attaining its goals (Mishal & Sela, 2000).

There was a major change in January 2006 when Hamas joined the democratic process, and it came out victorious with a majority in the Palestinian Parliamentary elections. This political success brought with it deep international isolation and a lot of domestic opposition. In 2007, as tensions between the factions continued to rise, the fighting between segments of the Palestinian community was short-lived and violent. Hamas violently took over the Gaza Strip and expelled the secular Fatah movement (Pastor, 2011). The institutional break resulted in a permanent political division: Hamas took control of the Gaza Strip both civil and militarily, whereas the Palestinian Authority under the leadership of the Fatah-dominated government was responsible for the partially autonomous enclaves of the occupied West Bank and West Bank.

Since the takeover, Israel has classified Gaza as a "hostile territory" and imposed a full-fledged land, air and sea blockade. The current closure has been put in place in close coordination with Egypt, which controls the Rafah crossing on the south-west. Therefore, access to the enclave from outside is still tightly controlled. The Gaza Strip is one of the most overcrowded areas in the world, where people are poor and rely on international humanitarian aid constantly.

Hamas has always had a dual institutional identity—one as a social service provider (schools, charities, healthcare infrastructure) and another as an armed militant organization—from its inception until today (Byman, 2011). The

e attacks have been launched periodically against Israel, and it has always presented itself as a legitimate means of "armed resistance" and "self-defence". Even prior to recent events there have been four significant military escalations with the Israel Defense Forces (IDF): in 2008-2009, 2012, 2014 and 2021. Although there have been a number of repeated attempts at reconciliation between Hamas and Fatah, mediated by Egypt, political unity has eluded the two parties, and Hamas has continued to build its underground offensive tunnels and build-up of rockets in the face of the international blockade.

The volatile situation came to an end on 7 October 2023 when Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) simultaneously attacked Israel from the Gaza Strip in a coordinated effort across multiple domains into the southern part of the country. It left over 1,200 people dead, mostly civilian citizens, and the day was the deadliest day ever in Israel since 1948, its independence day (Wyss, 2024). The event led to an immediate declaration of war by Israel, which started the ongoing Gaza war and a huge change in Middle Eastern geopolitics (Shama, 2025).

2.1.7 Political violence

Political violence is the conscious application of force and violence to achieve political objectives.

(World Health Organization (WHO), 2002). Political violence is defined by

the World Health Organization (2002) as “acts of violence which are intended to cause injury or intimidation to populations. Some examples include shootings or aerial bombing, detentions, arrests and torture, and home demolitions (Basoglu, Livanou, & Crnobaric, 2005; Clark et al., 2010; K. de Jong et al., 2002; E. F. Dubow et al., 2010; Farwell, 2004; Giacaman, Shannon, Saab, Arya, & Boyce, 2007; Hobfoll, Hall, & Canetti, 2012). Deprivation, which is defined as the intentional withholding of basic needs and human rights is also considered as a form of political violence under the WHO definition. Some examples are obstruction to free expression (such as when activists speak out against a regime, and are tortured (see Robben, 2005), and denial of access to food, education, sanitation, and health care (see, for instance, United Nations Population Fund, 2007; IPDC, UNESCO, 2012; ICRC, 1949; UNESCO, 2006).

Political violence does not have a single political objective, political ideology or political movement as its cause. Instead, it can be carried out by individuals with a range of political viewpoints.

In the past few years, there has been a rise in political violence and terrorist plots in the United States. There were over 520 incidents of terrorism and targeted violence in the United States during the first six months of 2025, up 40% from the same period in 2024.

An analysis also found that mass-casualty incidents – those in which four or more people were killed or injured – increased by 187.5% in the first half of 2025 (23 incidents) compared to the same time in 2024 (8 incidents). In another study, it has been found that extremists are using political vi

olence to recruit others to their cause on online platforms.

The report studied both far-right and far-left extremist groups, as well as violent Islamist and nihilistic violent extremists, in order to examine their tactics and motives.

Meanwhile, a survey of the nation in 2025 revealed that a “significant portion of”

The authoritarian sentiments of “American adults” were supported by smaller numbers who agreed that the current federal government should “use the military to help enforce its policies.” And about 10% of survey respondents said they were at least “somewhat willing to use violence themselves” to support or oppose the current federal government. About Thirty percent said it was at least somewhat true, while about 4 percent said it was very or strongly true, for it to be “private armed militia groups” used for that purpose.

The different forms of political violence. Different types of political violence.

Political violence is typically classified by the perpetrators of the violence, the institutional power relations and the victims of the violence. Normally scholars list these behaviors under three headings: State-Tactical Behaviors, Non-State Insurgencies, and Group Identity Conflicts (Kalyvas 2006, Tilly 2003).

1. State Political Violence

It includes acts of violence by an official or agents of a sovereign govern

ment against its own citizens, competing groups within the country, or other nations.

State Repression: The systematic use of state machinery, such as law enforcement, military forces or judicial systems, to suppress political dissent, restrict civil liberties, or eliminate political opponents (Davenport, 2007).

State Terrorism: Unlawful acts of violence, terror and violence committed by a State's government against its own citizens or foreign nationals, and done deliberately to maintain institutional control over them, or to compel them to obey the State's laws (Gareau, 2004).

A conflict with a threshold of at least 1,000 battle-related deaths per year, organised by a state, between two or more sovereign states that is considered to be a war according to the UCDP definition (UCDP, 2024).

2. Non-State Political Violence

Violence committed by an organized armed group, insurgent or political faction that is not under the control of the state or statutory powers.

Civil War: Highly organized, sustained military conflict within a single sovereign state between the state's armed forces and domestic armed groups (or between competing domestic armed groups) for territorial and political control (Kalyvas, 2006).

Terrorism: "The deliberate use or threat of violence and intimidation—often against non-combatants and civilians—and aimed at creating a general atmosphere of fear in the public while furthering a specific political, religious or ideological agenda (Hoffman, 2017)".

Guerrilla Warfare and Insurgency is a kind of irregular warfare in which gr

groups of small, highly mobile combatants use tactical asymmetric methods (such as ambushes, sabotage, raids) to gradually weaken, delegitimize, and eventually overthrow the regime or foreign occupying power (Kilcullen, 2009).

3. Identity and Communal Violence

The dimension emphasizes violence that results from a narrow in-group / out-group mentality, in which the victims are targeted in particular on the basis of their assigned identity markers (race / ethnicity / religion).

Ethnic cleansing and genocide are acts of systematic, deliberate, and violent mass elimination of an entire ethnic, racial, or national group from a territory by a dominant or more powerful group that seeks a homogeneous population (Straus, 2006).

Communal Riots: Violent conflicts that happen directly between communities based on their demographic, religious or cultural differences, often fueled by historical grievances, economic competition and/or strategic political management (Wilkinson, 2004).

2.2 THEMATIC REVIEW

Based on the research questions, the literature is reviewed in this section in a thematic way. The review is structured around the big picture themes of Hamas activities and the impact these activities may have on Israeli national security and the security dynamics in the Middle East, and the effectiveness of the international reaction to the conflict between 2013 and 2015.

Theme 1: Hamas Activities and Israeli/Middle East Security Dynamics

A variety of scholarly works have previously emphasized the importance of Hamas in security aspects of the Israeli – Palestinian conflict. Hamas has advanced military capabilities, such as rockets and tunnels, that threaten Israel continually, according to Daniel Byman (2011). The activities have compelled Israel to keep its military forces in a state of high readiness and have often led to the country being involved in defensive and offensive actions.

Likewise, Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela (2000) contend that Hamas is a political and militant entity, and therefore a multi-faceted player in regional politics. This twofold structure tends to create instability because, sometimes, the objectives of the militants are in conflict with the responsibilities of the government.

In addition, Bruce Hoffman (2006) has noted that in today's world, non-state actors like Hamas are involved in asymmetric warfare, which is defined as warfare employed by weaker actors against stronger ones. 2013-2015 has seen this trend in the form of recurrent episodes of violence and counter-violence.

In the overall picture, the available literature demonstrates the crucial impact of Hamas activities on the national security of Israel and on the security situation in the Middle East as a whole.

Theme 2: International Response to the Hamas – Israel Conflict

There has been much study and controversy regarding the effectiveness of the international community's actions in the Hamas – Israel conflict. Inter

national participation has been concentrated mostly on ceasefire negotiations, humanitarian assistance, and diplomatic activities as reflected in the reports of the United Nations in the year 2014-2015.

But geopolitical alliances, especially among major powers and Israel, as suggested by scholars like John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt (2007), often affect international actions and restrict both neutrality and effectiveness.

Furthermore, Daniel Byman (2015) mentions that counterterrorism measures and diplomatic actions have been inconsistent and reactive, not preventive. This diminishes their capacity to bring longterm peace or stability. Thus, the literature indicates that the international community is present and engaged but its contribution to the conflict has not been effective.

From the thematic review, two key issues are emerged in the literature. First, Hamas operations have a huge impact on Israeli national security and they easily cause instability in the

Middle East via asymmetric warfare and periodic acts of violence. Second, while the international community is engaged in the conflict management process, their intervention has been mainly short-term rather than medium or long-term. Overall, the literature indicates that Hamas – Israel conflict is yet to be resolved because of the interplay of limited international effectiveness, state military response and non-state armed resistance, especially in 2013 – 2015.

2.3 THEORETICAL REVIEW

The following section outlines the theoretical approach that underlies this study pertaining to international security and global terrorism and specifically to Hamas activities in Israel from 2013 to 2015. Theories are necessary in research because they are systematic explanations of events and can aid in understanding the causes behind social and political phenomena.

The study relies on three theories namely: Rational Choice Theory, Relative Deprivation Theory and the theory of Political Violence, which explain the motives, dynamics and implications of the activities of the Hamas within the context of international security.

RATIONAL CHOICE THEORY

Rational Choice Theory was initially introduced by Ronald V. Clarke and Derek B. Cornish in their book, *The Reasoning Criminal: Rational Choice Perspectives on Offending* in 1986. The theory is based on the premise, as expressed by T aylor (1997, p. 293), that human beings will commit a crime if it is beneficial for them. Basically, the offender uses a decision-making process whereby the positive and negative aspects of committing a particular act are weighed. If the view is that there are more grounds for going ahead, even if there are already security barriers in place, at least an attempt will be made. If they see a chance there is something to gain, and there is little chance to be caught, then they will do it.

Further, Pease (1997, p. 967) quotes Clarke and Cornish (1985), who claim that “the underlying assumption is that offenders seek to benefit themselves by their criminal behavior. This entails making decisions and choices, however rudimentary their rationality might be, being constrained by li

mits of time, ability, and the availability of relevant information.”

This rationalization will then leave it to the security practitioner to make the potential offender understand that the act is not in the offender's best interests. The application of situational crime prevention techniques is the result of this theory. The situational crime prevention techniques described below are the practical ways of reducing criminal opportunities while the theoretical element is rational choice. These methods are: "Try harder; try harder; make it more difficult to get rewards; lessen provocations; and eliminate excuses. To further narrow down the opportunities for criminals these five techniques are further broken down into five subcategories. They can range from physical access control devices to the use of psychology to deter people's criminal tendencies. The principle of "opportunistic criminals" is also a part of rational choice theory. These opportunistic criminals are not professionals, but average people. When the reward is great, deterrents will be ineffective. They will consider the reasons for and against the crime, and these revolve around the features of the target. Lastly, situational crime prevention is most effective with the amateur crime and least effective with the professional crime. Bearing in mind that there are different classifications of criminals, primarily amateur criminal and professional, the more security precautions taken, the more likely all but the most determined attacker will be stopped. Other factors come into play as well; two that will be discussed are displacement and diffusion of benefits.

From this perspective, Hamas' actions from 2013 – 15 can be seen as part of a political struggle, aimed at a wider goal. The group's rocket attacks a

nd armed resistance could be seen as a calculated use of force to attempt to sway Israeli policy, exert political pressure and seek international support for the Palestinian cause. Thus, with reference to the theory, the logic of the continuation and the escalation of conflict during the time span examined is explained.

1. RELATIVE DEPRIVATION THEORY

According to the framework of Social Movement Theory, Relative Deprivation Theory is one of the important theories that explains how the sense of deprivation and discontent can lead to social movements. This theory suggests that when a person or group doesn't attain the things they want because of the situation in society, they become feel deprived relative to a group with which they compare themselves. It can be experienced as being deprived in relation to one's own self (egoistic deprivation) or in relation to another group, or as being deprived in relation to another group (fraternal deprivation). The theory has implications in understanding social movements, including the labor movement and the civil rights movement, because it focuses on the role of collective emotions of deprivation in bringing people together to achieve social change.

Based on the work of sociologist Samuel A. Stouffer after World War II, relative deprivation theory has since had an impact on a number of fields such as psychology and economics. When applied, it can help to shed light on social activism: social movements can be traced back to what is perceived as an injustice or inequality, like the civil rights movement of Brown v.

Board of Education. The theory has been criticised however, in terms of the complexity of connecting deprivation to social movement and a consideration of other factors of deprivation – self-referenced relative deprivation. In conclusion, it is crucial to be able to understand the concepts of the theory of Relative Deprivation to be able to understand the nature of social movements and their efforts to achieve change.

This theory lends itself to understanding the differential reactions that may occur in response to perceived inequality, either at the individual or group level. The first case in the example of RDT—when a co-worker is promoted that you feel you could have been selected for—is an example of egoistic deprivation, which refers to situations where some people experience a disadvantage themselves when other people are more successful. The perception of inequality has been linked to deviant behavior, such as crime, substance abuse or antisocial attitudes, in response to this kind of deprivation.

Relative Deprivation Theory is a helpful concept to grasp in regards to the continuity of the Israel – Hamas conflict. The theory posits that when Palestinians feel that things are not equal and their expectations are not being met, they get frustrated and feel marginalized. These grievances are shared, especially in Gaza, and help to fuel the support for resistance groups like Hamas. As a result, the events taking place by Hamas in 2013, 2014 and 2015 may be seen as a reaction to the socio-political and economic deprivation they have suffered and this will continue to shape regional security dynamics.

2. POLITICAL VIOLENCE THEORY

Political violence is violence that is engaged in for political purposes. This can involve violence between states (war), violence against civilians and non-state actors (forced disappearance, psychological warfare, police brutality, targeted killings, torture, ethnic cleansing, or genocide) and violence by violent non-state actors against states and civilians (kidnappings, assassinations, terrorist attacks, torture, psychological and/or guerrilla warfare). It can also describe politically motivated violence which is used by violent non-state actors against a state (rebellion, rioting, treason, or coup d'état) or it can describe violence which is used against other non-state actors and/or civilians.

The failure of a government to do anything could also be deemed a form of political violence, for example a government's refusal to provide resources for famine relief or to provide any resources for groups that it considers to be politically undesirable within its borders. Political violence can also be asymmetric, where neither side can directly target the other side – strategies used include guerrilla warfare and terrorism – because of the power imbalances. Can frequently involve attacks on civilian or otherwise non-combatant targets. They can be targeted because they are part of a group (social, ethnic, religious, political, etc.) or be targeted individually for activities which are perceived as threatening someone else or supporting an opponent.

Many politically motivated militant, insurgent, extremist, and/or fundamentalist groups and individuals believe that the states and political systems to

which they belong will never respond in a manner that satisfies their demands and that the only way to change the government or state to their political and/or religious worldview is through violent action, which they consider not only to be justified but also to be necessary to achieve their political and/or religious goals. Likewise, numerous governments around the globe think they should resort to violence to coerce their citizens to submission. Other times, governments resort to force to protect their nation from a foreign attack or from others threatening it, in order to compel other governments or to seize other territory.

Political violence is one way to look at the Hamas-Israel conflict which demonstrates the use of force as a political or security tool for both state and non-state actors. Violence is not random in the case of Hamas and Israel, as both are engaged in it in order to secure their interests, to react to threats, and to affect political results. The theory also underscores the unevenness of the conflict, that is a powerful state and a non-state armed group that are engaged in a protracted, violent struggle. This helps perpetuate insecurity and instability in the area, especially during the period of the

This study is for the 2013-2015 years.

2.4 EMPIRICAL REVIEW

The purpose of this section is to survey the relevant previous empirical studies that are pertinent to the topic of this research. It is aimed at results of previous studies on international security, terrorist groups in the world and the activities of non-state actors, especially Hamas in the Israeli – Palestini

an issue. The aim of this review is to explore the studies on Hamas activities in Israel from 2013 to 2015 and see if there are any gaps to be covered by the current study.

1. Hamas Strategy in the Israeli – Palestinian Conflict

Scholars often examine the group's strategy of a combination of ideological militancy and pragmatic political survival in order to better understand Hamas's policies in the context of the broader Israeli – Palestinian conflict.

One of the key books on this path is the book by political scientist Beverly Milton-Edwards and veteran journalist Stephen Farrell (2010) titled *Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement*. Based on qualitative field research, patterns of internal conflict and in-depth primary interviews with members of the Hamas leadership, the authors map the group's evolution from a grassroots resistance movement to a controlling government.

As illustrated by Milton-Edwards and Farrell (2010), Hamas employs a very fluid dual strategy, which it intends to include political participation – most obviously in its decision to run and win the Palestinian Legislative Elections of 2006 – alongside a continued armed campaign against Israel. The authors offer a different perspective that looks at the ways in which Hamas "combines" civil governance and military branches. This is often a very well-considered approach to violence, designed to gain the most leverage in negotiations, to maintain its own political relevance and to assert its power over opponents, such as Fatah. Hamas is not a rigid militant organization with strict dogma; it is rather a politically adaptive organization that adjusts its ways of fighting in direct response to the regional and global dynamics.

amics of its environment, the study concludes.

This structure is very applicable to modern conflict analysis especially in relation to the conflict that took place between 2013 and 2015. In these years, Hamas was subjected to severe economic pressure, while simultaneously pursuing high-stakes negotiations and severe military battles, particularly the Gaza War of 2014. The strategic rationale for Hamas' actions when facing an acute geopolitical crisis is clear from this calculated duality, as is the strategic rationale for the Hamas actions when there is no acute geopolitical crisis.

3. The Israeli Forced Displacement of Palestinians

In the enclave the structural imbalance of military encounter between the state forces and non-state actors is high. The International Crisis Group (2014) released a full field report analysing the basis for the rocket attacks fired from the Gaza Strip into the Israeli site. The study charted the application of various methods of warfare and military doctrines by Hamas and other armed groups to take Israel's conventional superiority on the battlefield on.

According to International Crisis Group (2014), Gaza's armed groups used a lot of asymmetric warfare due to their conventional military weakness. Short-range and medium-range rocket shells were the key to their force projection and "punch through" of Israel's defense grid. Most importantly, the report noted, these rocket launches occurred not once and awhile but specifically as a means of political pressure in the context of pointed diplomatic negotiations or in times of heightened economic or social stress to s

secure concessions in the closing of the border or in the granting of economic relief. The study also noted, however, that Israel's military doctrine of response was very much based on massive conventional deterrence, responding to non-state fire through massive air campaigns and focus on ground operations in specific localities. This posture was often used defensively and further compounded the domestic humanitarian situation and led to a predictable and recurring cycle of escalation.

This analysis is directly applicable to the geopolitical landscape that will inform the interpretation of the geopolitical situation from 2013 to 2015. It paints a picture of the connections between the structural phenomenon of asymmetric non-state pressure and the conventional aspect of the state, in a way that directly led to major military conflagrations, most notably the 2014 Gaza War.

3. Israeli Military Operations and Counterterrorism Strategy

Human Rights Watch (2015) undertook a study of Israeli military operations in Gaza, concentrating on their counterterrorism goals and the effects on human rights. The study concluded that Israel's military operations focused largely on eliminating the Hamas military infrastructure – arms depots, tunnels and command centres.

The study also reported on civilian casualties and civilian infrastructure damage, however, the extent of these was significant, and concerns were raised regarding the proportionality and compliance with International Humanitarian Law (IHL). It found that Israel's operations were characterized as counterterrorism operations, but that they often had wider humanitarian eff

ects that stoked regional tensions.

This empirical observation is important because it suggests the ways in which counterterrorism interventions can help perpetuate conflict instead of ending it.

Hamas Governance and Dual Identity

Sara Roy (2011) has analyzed the dual nature of Hamas as a governing body and as a militant group in Gaza. The study, conducted through socio-economic analysis, revealed that Hamas is offering vital services, including education, health care, and social welfare, and has an armed wing involved in a conflict.

resistance activities.

This dual identity leads to structural contradiction, the study says, between governance and stability on one hand, and conflict and militancy on the other. It also points to the fact that, in part, Hamas' legitimacy among parts of the Palestinian population is due to its provision of services in the absence of robust alternative governance mechanisms.

This is important for the present study because it provides an answer to how Hamas was able to maintain its influence and operation in 2013 – 2015 in the face of international pressure and military confrontation.

5. Response of International Community to Gaza Conflicts

The international reactions to the Gaza conflict, including during the escalation periods, were assessed in a report by the United Nations (2014-2015).

The report concludes that the diplomatic negotiations, ceasefire agree-

nts and humanitarian assistance were the key methods of the international community.

It did, however, find that these interventions were of a reactive, not preventive, nature, and that they lacked effective enforcement tools to guarantee that the conflicting parties would comply for the longer term. The study also revealed some differences between the big powers, which were counterproductive in terms of collective international action.

The conclusion of the study is significant at the present time given the constraints of international action in the field of conflict resolution, in the context of a case of long conflict such as the one between Hamas and Israel.

7. The Study of Armed Non-State Groups and Terrorism in the 21st Century

Bruce Hoffman (2006) did a study on the evolution of terrorism in the modern era, focusing on non-state actors. It was a study that revealed that the terrorist groups are more and more active in decentralized networks and more and more using asymmetric tactics against stronger state actors.

Hoffman argued that it is in this type of setting, where governance is weak, grievances are prevalent and political stability is weak, that such groups flourish. The study highlights not only terrorism as a security problem but also as a political tool of non-state actors to gain influence.

This is significant for the current research because Hamas is active in this context, employing military and political means to shape the outcome of its engagement with Israel in the conflict.

Israel.

8. The Escalation Cycle in Hamas-Israel conflict.

A project by Shlomo Brom (2013) investigated the ups and downs of conflict escalation between Hamas and Israel. Based on historical conflict analysis, the study revealed that the conflict between the two parties is a repeated process of provocation, counter provocation and temporary truce.

It also noted that these cycles are set off by some event or incident but continue to be fueled by deeper structural problems like political mistrust, territorial conflicts and security concerns. The study found that if these underlying factors are not resolved, the escalation patterns that are evident will persist.

This is directly linked to the 2013-2015, when there were frequent episodes of tension and weak ceasefire stability.

9. The Future of International Mediation.

In 2011 William Zartman studied mediation in protracted conflicts, which included the Middle East. The research identified some factors contributing to the failure of mediation: lack of trust, conflicting goals, and external political issues.

Zartman suggests that both sides need to be at a point of “ripeness” in order to be able to negotiate a successful resolution, where the advantages of going on fighting are outweighed by the benefits of discussing and settling the issue. The study finds that in most of the Middle East conflicts, including the Israeli-Palestinian ones, those conditions are hardly met.

It is pertinent to the current research as it can explain why the international mediation efforts during the escalation between Hamas and Israel do not

generally lead to lasting peace.

9. Women's Power in the municipalities Education and Training.

Political violence as a strategic means of organized political groups was examined by Martha Crenshaw (2011). The research revealed that political violence is rarely random and spontaneous, but usually organized, planned and motivated by ideology and political goals.

Crenshaw believes groups like Hamas use violence as a tool to convey demands and affect opponents, as well as to keep members united. The study emphasizes that political violence continues to exist where the groups feel that it can be used as an effective tool to achieve their objectives.

This is important for the ongoing research as it sheds some light on the rationale behind Hamas' continued armed resistance in 2013-2015.

10. Regional security implications of the Gaza conflict

This study was done by Fawaz Gerges (2015) on the regional security impact of the Gaza conflict. The study revealed that the frequent Hamas-Israeli confrontations lead to instability in the region, changing alliances and more militarization in the Middle East.

It also pointed to the involvement of the regional powers like Iran and the neighboring countries like Egypt in the conflict through political, military and diplomatic assistance.

The study has found that the conflict between Hamas and Israel is not just a local or regional affair and has spillover effects on the security systems in the region and internationally.

2.5 GAP IN LITERATURE

While there is a vast amount of literature on international security, terrorism and the Israeli – Palestinian conflict, there are several gaps in the existing literature that warrant the present study.

First, most empirical studies and policy reports are limited to larger time frames, for example, the day of the post-2000 Intifada, the Gaza conflict in 2008 – 2009, or the Gaza war in 2014. The studies usually offer good information on the character of Hamas – Israel conflicts, but sometimes lack a systematic and focused examination of the time period between 2013 and 2015, which is a relatively calm and stable but intermittent escalation phase.

Second, much of the literature deals only with the military dimension of the activities of Hamas or with the consequences of conflict on the humanitarian level, leaving little work done on the interconnected aspects that affect the regional security dynamics and international security structures at the same time.

Third, several studies have considered the United Nations, the United States and the European Union's responses to the international level, but there remains a lack of evaluation of the effectiveness of these responses in securing long-term conflict resolution rather than temporary ceasefires.

Last but not least, there is a lack of empirical studies that link the 2013 – 2015 Hamas – Israel context with existing theories on terrorism, such as rational choice theory or political violence theories, in the field. Finally, there has been a lack of work that connects existing theories of terrorism (includin

g rational choice and political violence theories) to the empirical developments in the Hamas – Israel context of 2013 – 2015.

Hence, this study aims to close these gaps by focusing on Hamas's activities in Israel from 2013 until 2015, and analyse how they affect the international security landscape, as well as the effectiveness of international reactions in this period.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Theoretical framework

The Political Violence Theory is used as the basis of this study. The theory is about the phenomenon of using force, whether by the state or by non-state entities, to secure political, ideological and strategic interests. It comes particularly in handy when studying the conflict between state powers and/or insurgent and terrorist groups like Hamas and Israel. For the present study, the theory provides an explanation of the activities of Hamas in Israel in the period of 2013-2015, which included armed resistance and military responses, leading to a series of conflicts. It also offers insights into the logic of Hamas and Israel for resorting to force when striving for security and political goals.

3.1.1 POLITICAL VIOLENCE THEORY

Political violence theory concerns the analysis of the why, how, and of groups and individuals resorting to physical violence or coercion to meet political ends. It proposes that violence seldom happens randomly but is the tactical act of calculation employed to take, shift or maintain control over the social balance of power.

The study of political violence is a multi-disciplinary field, thus there are no one or few founders of it. Rather, it was created by a number of influential political scientists and sociologists, particularly Ted Robert Gurr.

Core Theories & Profunder.

Relative Deprivation Theory

The idea of "relative deprivation" can be traced back to Samuel A. Stouffer

r.

The same was done by Ted [1949] and subsequently formulated into a full-fledged theory.

Robert Gurr [1970]

Key Idea: This idea was introduced by Gurr in his book "Why Men Rebel", in the year 1970. He asserted that political violence arises out of "relative deprivation," which is the feeling that something is being denied them that they believe they deserve. Mass uprisings, rebellions, or civil unrest arise when the people are frustrated to a certain degree.

2. Theory of Collective Action / Mobilisation.

It is this theory that was advocated by Charles Tilly in the year 1978 (from his book mobilization to revolution). The theory accounts for political violence not being a result of mass frustration or anger, but rather as a result of organized and strategic collective efforts. It highlights that people are involved in violent movements if they believe the returns on investment are high and they have the necessary resources (leadership, finance and networks).

3. Theory of the State Monopoly on Violence

This theory was propounded by Max Weber in the year 1919 (in his lecture "politics as a vocation"). The theory is applied to political violence, which states that the state has the right to use force legally within its boundaries. It proposes that non-state actors that commit acts of violence are testing the authority and legitimacy of the state, which can lead to conflict.

4. Greed Versus Grievance Theory

The theory was first developed by Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler in the year 2000; it was later expanded the following year (2004) in their influential work *Greed and grievance in civil war*. As part of political violence, the theory suggests that conflicts and rebellions are fueled either by grievances like inequality and political exclusion, or by greed – when individuals or groups are pursuing economic gains and value resources.

5. Rational Action Theory

Douglas Hibbs made an assertion of this theory in the year 1973 (in his work *Political violence*). The theory accounts for the occurrence of political violence by individuals and groups, with rational calculations. It involves assuming that actors think about the costs and benefits of their actions, and resort to violence when it is likely to accomplish their political, economic, or strategic objectives.

Most Common Forms of Political Violence

That's what this theory can help explain and classify in the cases of, among other things: **State Repression:** Violence inflicted by the government against its own people (such as police brutality or torture).

Rebellious and Civil War: Armed conflict between a State and organized non-State groups.

Terrorism: The deliberate use of violence and intimidation against civilians

for political or religious purposes.

Electoral Violence: Any use, before, during or after an election of intimidation, arson or thuggery to change political behaviour or to alter the results.

The major premises of the political violence theory are as follows:

A theory that was put forward by Ted Robert Gurr in his work on relative deprivation and political violence. The theory can be used to offer an explanation of why a person or a group will settle for political violence in response to injustice and inequalities.

Political violence is the result of perceived deprivation.

A key tenet of Political Violence Theory is that when individuals or groups feel deprived they act in some form of political violence, either in relation to others or in relation to what they think they deserve. This "relative deprivation is a source of discontent and frustration, particularly where they feel social, political or economic circumstances are unfair.

2. When frustrated, people may become aggressive and collectively act.

A further assumption is that if there is persistent frustration due to inequality or an inability to reach a goal, aggression may arise. If the groups have similar grievances, this frustration becomes collective and not individual. This means that more persons are likely to join and coordinate political violence in groups, particularly when they feel that collective action is required to address a sense of injustice or to set a course for change.

3.1.2 APPLICATION OF THE THEORY

Political Violence Theory is a theory that was initially observed by Samuel A. Stouffer in 1949 and then put forward and formalized by Ted Robert Gurr in 1970.

Political Violence Theory describes the circumstances under which individuals and/or groups use violence as a means to political ends. The theory basically states that political violence rises out of relative deprivation, that is, when a person feels that they are deprived of a political right, economic opportunities, and social recognition in comparison to what they think they are entitled to.

The theory has been applied to the Israel – Hamas conflict, to account for the influence of political and socio-economic deprivation on Hamas support among Palestinians. These complaints are often related to territorial claims, movement restrictions, economic difficulties, and/or political non-sovereignty. When this dearth is pervasive and enduring it can lead to organized resistance and political violence, Gurr (1970) argues.

The theory also accounts for the cyclical pattern of violence from 2013-2015, when one side would retaliate against the other. This constant counteraction and reaction maintains insecurity as well as the conflict over the long term. In this respect political violence is used by Hamas and Israel both as reaction to threats, insecurity and aims.

In addition, Political Violence Theory puts forward the idea that violence is f

requently used as a rational and strategic weapon and not without reason. Hamas' operations since then can thus be seen as an effort to defy real or perceived oppression, to achieve political leverage, and to exert influence in a wider Israel – Palestina conflict. Similarly,

The military actions of Israel are designed to ensure national security, to repel attacks, and to keep the country intact.

In general Political Violence Theory (Stouffer, 1949; Gurr, 1970) offers a useful analytical approach to explaining the ongoing nature of the Israel-Hamas conflict, the reasons for violent activity and the consequences thereof for international security and global terrorism.

3.2 HYPOTHESES

Hamas activities in Israel negatively impacted national security and middle east dynamics between 2013-2015. Hamas activities in Israel negatively impacted upon the national security dynamics and Israeli middle east dynamics in the period of 2013-2015.

In 2013 – 2015, the international community response to the escalation of conflict between Hamas and Israeli was less effective.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The type of research design applied to the research is ex post facto research

ch design. Ex-post facto research design is a research design in which the researcher looks at what may have caused or the consequences of an existing condition or event. Ex post facto means "after the fact" in Latin, that is, the researcher observes the phenomenon without manipulating any of the variables.

The researcher will employ the following methods of data collection:

The study used the documentary method of data collection which is known as the secondary method of data collection. This approach requires the use of existing materials and not the collection of new data directly from the respondents.

The primary secondary sources of data in this study of international security and global terrorism (GSGT) with a particular focus on Hamas's activities in Israel from 2013 to 2015 were textbooks, journal articles, official government documents, policy documents, international organization reports and credible online academic databases.

3.6 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

Content analysis method was used in the data analysis. Content analysis is a qualitative research method that enables one to systematically analyze and interpret textual data and identify the patterns, themes, and meaning from

m the data relevant to the research problem.

Content analysis was employed in this study on international security and global terrorism, with a particular lens on the activities of Hamas in Israel during the period of 2013 – 2015, to analyse secondary sources, including textbooks, journal articles, official reports, policy documents and credible online publications.

Research Questions	Hypotheses	Major Variables (X & Y)	Empirical Indicators (X & Y)	Sources of Data Collection	Method of Data Collection	Method of Data Analysis
How has Hamas activities in Israel affected the Israeli national security and Middle East security dynamics between 2013 and 2015?	Hamas activities in Israel affected negatively the Israeli national security and Middle East security dynamics between 2013 and 2015.	X: Hamas activities in Israel Y: Israeli national security and Middle East security dynamics	X: Rocket attacks, suicide bombings, tunnel warfare, hostage taking, armed clashes. Y: Loss of lives and property, insecurity, displacement of civilians, political instability, regional tensions.	Books, journals, newspapers, internet materials, official reports, UN publications.	The study is anchored on the documentary method of data collection, also referred to as the secondary method of data collection.	The study employed the content analysis method of data analysis.

How effective was the international community response to the escalation of conflicts between Hamas and Israel between 2013 and 2015?	The international community response to the escalation of conflicts between Hamas and Israel was less effective between 2013 and 2015.	X: International community response Y: Escalation of conflicts between Hamas and Israel	X: Diplomatic interventions, peace talks, humanitarian aid, sanctions, UN resolutions. Y: Continued violence, civilian casualties, humanitarian crisis, prolonged conflict, regional instability.	Academic articles, government documents, media reports, international organization reports, online sources.	The study is anchored on the documentary method of data collection, also referred to as the secondary method of data collection.	The study employed the content analysis method of data analysis.
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CHAPTER FOUR

DATA REPRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

Hamas activities in Israel had a negative impact on the national security and middle east security dynamic between 2013 – 2015, as per point 4.1.

The root of the Israel-Hamas conflict is the competing claims of two nations and religions over the very same land. It is a modern timeline which came about as a result of the displacement after the establishment of Israel in 1948, decades of military occupation and the emergence of the militant

Hamas movement that is opposed to peace and the Israeli state.

The years 2013-16 were a very turbulent and significant time in the Israel-Hamas conflict. It went from a fragile uneasy pause to the Gaza War of 2014 – known at the time as Operation Protective Edge – the longest and most devastating fighting between the two sides since the Hamas takeover of Gaza in 2007.

As you can see in this overview, these events followed each other in this order:

Meanwhile, in 2013: The Fragile Calm and Tunnels.

Technically, there was a ceasefire until the November 2012 conflict (Operation Pillar of Defense) which was brokered by the Egyptians.

Low Level Friction: 2013 was a fairly quiet year compared to the previous years, but not entirely peaceful. Palestinian militants fired dozens of sporadic rockets into southern Israel and Israel Defense Forces (IDF) responded with occasional fire.

Airstrikes on militants' infrastructure.

Israeli “Metro” Discovery: At the end of 2013, Israel uncovered a number of tunnels that crossed the border from Gaza into Israel and were filled with concrete. This revealed that Hamas was also making a major investment in building infrastructure underground to prepare for raids in the future, raising Israeli security concerns.

The rising tide and the 50-day war of 2014.

Things came undone in the summer of 2014 due to events in the

A very rapid race that spread from the West Bank to Gaza.

The Spark (June 2014)

On June 12, three Israeli teenagers—Naftali Fraenkel, Gilad Shaer and Eyal Yifrach—were kidnapped in the West Bank. Israel blamed Hamas for the attacks and launched Operation.

A massive search and arrest sweep throughout the west bank involving the arrest of hundreds of Hamas members, “Brother’s Keeper” .

On June 30, the bodies of three teenagers were all murdered.

Mohammed Abu Khdeir, a 16-year-old Palestinian boy, was kidnapped and killed by Israeli extremists in revenge for the killing of a fellow teenager in July 1992, in what is suspected to be a revenge attack, in the East Jerusalem. The events sparked massive riots and Hamas and other militant groups in the Gaza Strip launched intense, daily rocket barrages into Israel.

The Operation Protective Edge (8 July – 26 August 2014)

Israel officially declared on July 8 it would strike back at Hamas and its rockets in a military move to stop the attacks and cripple its ability to fire rockets.

Phase 1: The Air Campaign: Israel launched the first nine days of a heavy bombing campaign over Gaza and Hamas fired thousands of rockets deep into Israel, as far north as Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, the majority of which were successfully shot down by Israel's Iron Dome system.

Phase 2: The Ground Invasion (July 17): Israel went on the ground invasion after Hamas tried to cross into Israel via a sea crossing and a tunnel. The mission of the ground troops was to find and destroy the cross-border "a

ssault tunnels.

For more than a year, there were numerous failed ceasefires until an open-ended truce was finally agreed to on

August 26.

The human and material cost of the 2014 War:

Gaza: More than 2,100 Palestinians died (UN estimates saw more than 60% of Palestinian deaths as civilian). Hundreds of thousands of people were displaced and tens of thousands of homes, schools, and critical infrastructure were damaged or destroyed.

In Israel, 67 soldiers and 6 civilians lost their lives. In southern Israel, the economic activity stopped as a result of the constant fears of attacks and infiltration by tunnels.

In 2015, the aftermath of the registered dogfight and the legal warfare are discussed.

2015 was marked by reconstruction in Gaza, a fragile stalemate and a transition to international legal forums. The year 2015 witnessed reconstruction in Gaza, a precarious standoff and a move to international legal forums.

An international mechanism was established to let in building materials to Gaza but not diverted by Hamas for building military tunnels (Reconstruction Bottleneck). Temporary shelters were built to house thousands of Gazans with progress, which was slow to say the least.

In January 2015, the International Criminal Court (ICC) launched an investigation into the possibility of war crimes in the Palestinian territories, with particular emphasis on the conflict between the IDF and Hamas in the sum

mer of 2014.

Political isolation: Hamas was politically isolated during this period. Its relationship with Egypt has deteriorated in recent years since the formation of the military junta that began systematically smashing the smuggling tunnels along the Gaza-Egypt border, thereby further tightening the blockade, and thus weakening its relationship with Egypt's ideological allies, the Muslim Brotherhood.

A state of high tension was restored by the end of 2015 but none of the underlying political or humanitarian issues had been addressed, paving the way for the next cycle of violence.

OCTOBER 7, 2023

The war that erupted on Oct. 7, 2023, is the most tragic and paradigm-shifting in the modern history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It finally shattered the established order and created a huge regional crisis.

How It Started (October 7, 2023)

Mid-morning on Saturday, October 7, the Muslim militant groups of Hamas and others in the Gaza Strip struck southern Israel with a large-scale coordinated surprise attack, dubbed Operation Al-Aqsa Flood, on a major Jewish holiday.

The Attack: Thousands of rockets, thousands of militants crossed the heavily fortified border wall by air, land and sea. They systematically raided military outposts, town centers, civilian communities (kibbutzim) and an outdoor music festival.

The Immediate Toll: In Israel, 1,200 lives were lost, with almost all of them being civilian. Also, militants seized 251 hostages and returned them to Gaza's underground network of tunnels.

Hamas's Motives: Hamas leaders claimed the attack was in reaction to the 16-year blockade of Gaza, the growth of Israeli settlements and growing violence in the West Bank, and perceived provocations at Jerusalem's Al-Aqsa Mosque. Geo-politically it was also an effort to stop the historic process of normalisation between Israel and Saudi Arabia.

The Escalation & War

In response, Israel launched its first war in decades, Operation Iron Swords. The declared objectives were to completely destroy Hamas military and government capabilities and to free all hostages.

Israel launched a first-of-its-kind aerial bombardment and then embarked on an unprecedented invasion of the territory, sweeping down from Gaza City to Rafah.

The human impact of the hugely violent conflict continued to rise throughout the conflict. More than 72,000 Palestinians were killed, most of whom were women and children; almost the whole population of 2.3 million was displaced; and approximately 90% of Gaza's civilian infrastructure and housing were destroyed or damaged.

HOW IT STANDS PRESENTLY P1173388-1

The situation of the conflict has dramatically changed into a new highly fra

gile, tense, and complicated phase:

Both the Ceasefire and Phase Two are set for October 2025.

In October 2025, after a great deal of pressure and mediation from around the world, a comprehensive ceasefire agreement was reached. Early 2026, it moved to a diplomatic "Phase Two.

The Gaza Administration: The area has been nominally transferred to a transition Palestinian technical administration (the National Committee for the Administration of Gaza) which is responsible for running civil affairs and the huge task of reconstruction.

Notwithstanding the truce, Israel maintains a rigid demarcation zone known as the "Yellow Line" which actually divides Gaza in half and severely limits movement.

Palestinian access to previous Palestinian farming lands and neighborhoods.

This is a tense, daily attrition. This is an ongoing tension and attrition.

The current ceasefire is very fragile, as at present there are no large-scale military operations underway like those of 2023 and 2024. Low-level skirmishes, sporadic Israeli air strikes, and military measures around the security lines persist nearly daily. Hundreds of people have been murdered in isolated incidents since the truce went into effect, according to the UN and local health officials.

3. Deep Humanitarian Crisis

Gaza's humanitarian situation remains very dire. More than half of the peo

ple are still trapped in poorly resourced and overcrowded displaced persons camps, according to the UN. The importation of mechanical parts, vehicle oil and generators has become a major constraint, limiting the availability of basic services such as hospitals, water sanitation and heavy rubble-clearance teams to a fraction of their capacity.

4. Regional Spillover

The fight has gone past the Gaza Strip. The geopolitical reverberations set a regional face off between Iran and its "axis of resistance. The war in Gaza has been on a pause, but tensions persist between Israel and the United States, as well as Lebanon and Iran, and there are many sharp diplomatic spats.

Between 2013 and 2015, Hamas activities were an impediment to Israeli national security and Middle East security.

The conflict from 2013-2015 was a watershed in the modern history of asymmetric warfare. Over the past three years, this fragile power-sharing arrangement between Israel and Hamas has been swept away, replaced by a devastating 50-day war over the past year.

A detailed look at this period from a human perspective gives insight into the extent of its threat to Israeli national security and the disruption it caused in the Middle East.

Moreover, Hamas' tactics have changed in this particular period, making it a prime example of 21st century international security and global terrorism.

In 2013-2015 he authored Shattering Israeli National Security.

During this time, the term "national security" for Israelis no longer meant a political discussion among politicians, but rather the few seconds it took for a family to get to a bomb-proof shelter when the sirens of "Tzeva Adom" wailed.

The Psychological Terror of the Tunnels (2013-2014)

Israel's Iron Dome anti-missile defense system was able to deflect the threat of airborne rockets, but a much more insidious threat emerged from the ground. In October 2013, Israeli troops uncovered a huge and concrete-lined tunnel from the Gaza border into an Israeli civilian kibbutz.

For Israelis who live along the Gaza envelope (Otef Aza), the strategic threat turned into a nightmare while they were sleeping. The residents said they could hear the rhythmic shoveling going under the living room floors at night. The thought that armed militants might just show up in someone's community dining hall or a kids' playground led to a general feeling of helplessness that technology can't resolve.

A summer crisis occurred in 2014. A summer crisis in 2014.

In June 2014, the friction came to a head after being set ablaze by a Hamas cell in the West Bank, when three Israeli teenagers – Naftali Fraenkel, Gilad Shaer and Eyal Yifrach – were kidnapped and murdered. The following retaliatory killing of a Palestinian youth by Israel's extreme right, Mohammed Abu Khdeir, led to mass riots and an explosive increase in rocket fire from the Gaza Strip, culminating in Operation Protective Edge which began on July 8, 2014.

For 50 days regular life in Israel came to a standstill: The Human Reality. During the summer months, millions of citizens sought refuge in shelters, while Palestinian militant groups launched 4,881 rockets and 1,753 mortars hitting Israeli cities (UN OCHA, 2015). The entire border communities were evacuated, making once-vibrant agricultural communities into ghost towns, and creating a collective trauma.

2. The Devastating Human Toll in Gaza (2014 – 2015)

The devastating humanitarian impact of state defensive measures must be taken into consideration in any analysis of international security that does not overlook the reality that such measures can lead to more cycles of radicalization.

The mass killing of Palestinians during the war of 2014, by the Israeli air and artillery campaign resulted in the deaths of 2,251 Palestinians, including 1,462 documented civilians, including 551 children (UN OCHA, 2015). As compared to their close neighbors across the border,

There were no underground public shelters and no early-warning defense system in Gaza for the city's 1.8 million people.

In 2015, the mass of the conflict had left 108,000 Gazans completely homeless (UN OCHA, 2015). Reconstruction was stalled due to Israel and Egypt's strict import ban on the dual use materials such as cement and steel, which Hamas used for its building projects. Throughout 2015, families had to live in makeshift tents set up among the broken chunks of concrete in their former homes and create a world of utter hopelessness.

The Global Connection: 21st Century Terrorism

The history of the Israel-Hamas conflict from 2013-2015 was the first step in the success of global terrorism and asymmetric warfare in the 21st century.

B. Non-State Capabilities Less than States

In the 20th century, international security was determined by state-state standing armies. The 2013-2015 period proved that an insurgent movement could neutralize the radar, satellite and physical border security of a multi-billion dollar military power using simple and inexpensive engineering methods (subterranean tunneling). The same ideology of subversion was later studied, tweaked and applied to other militant groups around the world – including ISIS in Iraq and Syria.

E. The Digital Silk Road

The 2014 war was a first step to the weaponization of the digital narrative. Hamas' live social media output was a means to circulate graphic images of the plight of civilians to international audiences.

Hamas placed a heavy diplomatic strain on Western democracies by making the “war of images” more important than the traditional “war of victory.” Hamas also exacerbated political division within international organizations. The playbook of civilian trauma to secure international political legitimacy has become business as usual for asymmetric forces around the world.

C. This is a "Human Shield" Dilemma & Lawfare.

One of the hallmarks of 21st century urban war is the deliberate blurring of