

## Abstract

This study combines sociological and discourse analysis frames to study Hamas discourse in terms of being a sociological field, acknowledging that discourse in general is not limited to its linguistic structure, but it is part of all socio historical practices. The study aims to identify the patterns of relationships between the discursive formations that cohere into what could be termed Hamas discourse; moreover, it tries to show its limits as a coherent and as one unit, despite its diversity and contradiction. The study explores these aspects since the establishment of Hamas in 1988 up to 2009.

The study depended on the assumption that the discourse is composed of a group of components that are continually active and relations that connect them. The position of each component is based on its connection with the other components and its function. In addition, the discourse is composed of several discursive formations that form it where the relations between these formations shapes the discourse and identifies its contents.

The study uses the discourse analysis methodology of Foucault, who brought to light that discourse is not just linguistic structure but a field for power and a subject of it. Thus, the most brilliant discovery of Foucault in the field of discourse (statement) that forms the basic bond of the discourse was applied in order to analyze Hamas' discourse. In order to identify the discursive formations and determine the relations between these formations, the study analyzed the function (that has several indicators and clues) that is referred to as the clause on which Hamas' discourse is based, whether such function was on the level of linguistic level or other levels. The study depends on analyzing some texts that form the literature of Hamas from its conception to the present.

Based on analyzing the literature of Hamas, starting with the charter as a founding document and several positions of Hamas during the nineties up to date, this study discovered that Hamas' discourse consists of several discursive formations. Among these formations, there is religious formation, ideological formation and political formation. These formations are built on several bases and existing conditions that are derived from the assumption that the discourse formations are an extension of the Islamic Brothers League's discourse on the first hand. These formations are connected with several relations that identify the degree of harmony or contradiction within the discourse. The study found out that the religious and ideological formations of the discourse are characterized as being

relatively closed. However, the political formation is characterized as being open (hybrid). One of the major crises that the discourse faces is that the religious and ideological formations are the main determinants of the discourse while at the end, the political formation is the one that determines everything. For that, the discourse tries to prove the opposite through reproducing the religious and ideological formations as in control of the political formation.

The main finding of the study is that the relationships between the discursive formations of the discourse are apparent and concealed. These relationships are based on conformity and commutativity once and on obligatory the other. They are dialectic relations based on the notion of "form and content".