



Public Opinion in Arab Society in Israel During the War in Gaza November–December 2023

This survey of public opinion in Arab society in Israel on the war in Gaza was conducted by the Center for Democratic Values and Institutions (Arab Society in Israel Program) in collaboration with the Viterbi Family Center for Public Opinion and Policy Research at the Israel Democracy Institute. Data collection was carried out between November 27 and December 4, 2023, with 538 men and women interviewed by telephone in Arabic. The maximum sampling error was $\pm 4.31\%$ at a confidence level of 95%. Field work was carried out by Afkar Research Ltd. headed by Dr. Hisham Jubran.

On a scale of 1 = poor to 5 = excellent, what grade would you give each of the following institutions for their functioning since the beginning of the war?

[Responses presented in random order]

1. The Hadash-Ta'al political party:

	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
1 = poor	36.7	36.6	38.5	36.8
2	11.9	13.4	9.3	3.8
3	21.4	21.2	18.9	27.8
4	8.3	8.2	12.2	6.2
5 = Excellent	8.9	8.3	9.5	10.2
Don't know	12.8	12.3	11.6	15.2
Total	100	100	100	100

2. The Ra'am political party:

	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
1 = poor	31.8	31.3	33.7	28.3
2	15.6	14.5	20.6	22.1
3	20.7	22.4	17.0	14.5
4	9.7	10.0	10.5	5.6
5 = Excellent	11.0	11.8	5.0	12.2
Don't know	11.2	10.0	13.2	17.3
Total	100	100	100	100

3. The municipality or local authority where you live:

	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
1 = poor	32.3	33.7	25.5	26.0
2	15.8	15.3	25.0	13.3
3	24.5	24.8	26.0	20.7
4	10.3	10.0	12.4	11.9
5 = Excellent	14.0	13.1	9.1	26.1

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Don't know	3.1	3.1	2.0	2.0
Total	100	100	100	100

4. The Israel Police:

	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
1 = poor	35.5	37.2	35.5	15.9
2	12.5	13.2	13.2	5.1
3	24.9	24.2	23.2	37.8
4	9.5	8.5	12.8	15.9
5 = Excellent	13.1	11.6	13.3	23.2
Don't know	4.5	5.3	2.0	2.1
Total	100	100	100	100

5. The Arabic-language Israeli media

	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
1 = poor	26.0	28.4	18.1	10.0
2	17.4	18.2	11.8	17.2
3	22.9	20.3	40.4	28.5
4	10.9	9.8	15.7	14.9
5 = Excellent	13.8	14.0	6.0	23.4
Don't know	9.0	9.3	8.0	6.0
Total	100	100	100	100

6. There have been media reports about Arab Israelis helping with the civilian volunteering effort during the war, such as providing aid to evacuees and medical assistance. Do you support or oppose such assistance?

	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
Strongly support	40.9	37.5	56.5	50.5
Somewhat support	45.5	47.5	37.4	39.4
Somewhat oppose	6.0	6.6	3.9	3.9
Strongly oppose	2.5	2.6	2.2	0.0
Don't know	5.1	5.8	0.0	6.2
Total	100	100	100	100

7. To what extent do you feel part of the State of Israel and its problems?

	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
Very much	24.1	21.2	28.6	42.8
Quite a lot	40.6	40.6	44.3	37.4
Not so much	24.3	25.4	23.0	18.0

Not at all	8.9	10.2	2.2	1.8
Don't know	2.1	2.6	1.9	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100

8. The head of the Ra'am party, Mansour Abbas, said in an interview that Hamas's actions on October 7 "do not reflect Arab society, the Palestinian people, and the Islamic nation." Do you agree or disagree with his statement?

	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
Strongly agree	23.2	20.8	37.0	30.6
Somewhat agree	32.9	32.3	30.9	38.9
Somewhat disagree	20.8	23.5	15.0	8.1
Strongly disagree	12.3	11.0	12.9	17.9
Don't know	10.8	12.4	4.2	4.5
Total	100	100	100	100

9. Since the beginning of the war, do you feel comfortable entering Jewish or mixed localities for work or to run errands?

	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
Feel not at all comfortable	28.6	30.1	23.2	16.9
Feel not so comfortable	25.1	27.4	15.2	18.4
Feel fairly comfortable	28.7	25.1	49.4	39.9
Feel completely comfortable	14.9	14.0	12.2	24.8
Don't know / Not relevant to me	2.7	3.4	0.0	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100

10. Since the beginning of the war, do you feel comfortable expressing yourself freely on social media?

	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
Feel not at all comfortable	46.7	48.9	44.1	28.0
Feel not so comfortable	24.5	25.0	23.6	26.0
Feel fairly comfortable	13.3	12.1	18.6	20.5
Feel completely comfortable	7.8	6.8	6.3	15.5
Don't know / Not relevant to me	7.7	7.2	7.4	10.0
Total	100	100	100	100



11. Since the beginning of the war, do you feel comfortable speaking Arabic when around Jews, such as on public transport or next to unfamiliar people?

	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
Feel not at all comfortable	22.0	22.8	20.6	12.2
Feel not so comfortable	24.2	25.0	23.4	19.8
Feel fairly comfortable	32.6	30.6	40.5	43.2
Feel completely comfortable	18.6	18.2	15.5	24.8
Don't know / Not relevant to me	2.6	3.4	0.0	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100

12. Since the beginning of the war, do you feel comfortable contacting relatives and friends in Gaza and in the West Bank?

Total sample (%)	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
Feel not at all comfortable	18.9	21.1	14.6	5.6
Feel not so comfortable	14.1	14.9	11.8	11.9
Feel fairly comfortable	7.1	7.2	6.3	9.1
Feel completely comfortable	3.0	3.1	4.2	1.8
Don't know / Not relevant to me	56.9	53.7	63.1	71.6
Total	100	100	100	100

Since the beginning of the war, do you feel comfortable contacting relatives and friends in Gaza and in the West Bank?

Interviewees who have relatives and friends in Gaza and the West Bank (%)	All Arabs (out of 43.1%)	Muslims (out of 46.3%)	Christians (out of 36.9%)	Druze (out of 28.4%)
Feel not at all comfortable	43.8	45.5	39.5	19.8
Feel not so comfortable	32.7	32.3	31.9	41.9
Feel fairly comfortable	16.5	15.5	17.1	31.9
Feel completely comfortable	7.0	6.7	11.5	6.4
Total	100	100	100	100



13. Since the beginning of the war, what has happened to your relations with Jewish friends and acquaintances?

Total sample (%)	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
I do not have any relations with Jews	26.0	27.7	12.9	21.2
Relations have improved	4.0	3.0	7.5	8.0
Relations have worsened	11.5	12.6	5.7	10.2
No change	57.7	56.0	73.9	58.6
Don't know	0.8	0.7	0.0	2.0
Total	100	100	100	100

Since the outbreak of the war, what has happened to your relations with Jewish friends and acquaintances?

Interviewees who have relations with Jews (%)	All Arabs (out of 74.0%)	Muslims (out of 72.3%)	Christians (out of 87.1%)	Druze (out of 78.8%)
Relations have improved	5.5	4.1	8.6	10.2
Relations have worsened	15.5	17.5	6.6	12.9
No change	78.0	77.5	84.8	74.4
Don't know	1.0	0.9	0.0	2.5
Total	100	100	100	100

14. Are you familiar with the instructions from the IDF Home Front Command about what to do in an emergency (for example, when a siren sounds), and do you follow them?

	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
Not familiar with the instructions	13.5	15.0	5.9	8.5
Familiar with the instructions and always follow them	59.5	58.1	61.1	74.1
Familiar with the instructions and often follow them	13.8	13.6	17.7	11.5
Familiar with the instructions and only occasionally follow them	5.9	6.0	7.4	1.9
Familiar with the instructions but never follow them	7.3	7.3	7.9	4.0
Total	100	100	100	100

15. In your opinion, does the State of Israel ensure the provision of protective structures in Arab localities to the same extent as it does in Jewish localities?

	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
Certain it does	13.3	12.0	10.7	26.8
Think it does	23.8	24.3	22.7	25.0
Think it does not	25.4	26.6	20.5	22.0
Certain it does not	34.1	33.5	41.1	24.2
Don't know	3.4	3.6	5.0	2.0
Total	100	100	100	100

16. During the war, Palestinian civilians in the Gaza Strip who were not involved in the fighting against Israel have also been harmed. In your opinion, who is most responsible for this harm to civilians?

	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
Hamas	15.6	12.3	26.3	33.1
The State of Israel and the IDF	14.5	15.5	7.9	8.8
Both equally	58.4	60.3	57.4	47.8
Don't know	11.5	11.9	8.4	10.3
Total	100	100	100	100

Regarding yourself and your immediate family members, are you worried or not worried in the near future about:

17. Your physical security:

	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
Very worried	51.2	51.6	47.5	54.4
Fairly worried	32.4	33.7	31.8	27.4
Not so worried	9.3	8.5	12.5	12.4
Not at all worried	6.1	5.5	8.2	5.8
Don't know	1.0	0.7	0.0	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100

18. Your economic security:

	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
Very worried	52.0	53.6	41.8	57.1
Fairly worried	34.0	34.8	37.6	27.2
Not so worried	8.0	6.3	14.5	10.0
Not at all worried	5.2	4.9	6.1	5.6
Don't know	0.8	0.4	0.0	0.1



Total	100	100	100	100
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19. Do you have first-degree or second-degree relatives who live in the West Bank and/or the Gaza Strip?

	All Arabs	Muslims	Christians	Druze
I do not have relatives in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank	91.9	91.0	97.8	91.9
I have relatives only in the Gaza Strip	0.9	1.2	0.0	0.0
I have relatives only in the West Bank	5.8	6.7	0.0	6.1
I have relatives both in the Gaza Strip and in the West Bank	1.4	1.1	2.2	2.0
Total	100	100	100	100

Socio-demographic distribution and self-definitions (%)¹

Sex	
Men	49.8
Women	50.2
Total	100

Age	
18–24	20.4
25–34	24.0
35–44	21.7
45–54	16.4
55–64	10.8
65+	6.7
Total	100

Education	
Elementary or less	5.8
Partial secondary, with no matriculation certificate	18.0
Full secondary, with matriculation certificate	24.2

¹ The data presented are not weighted. For the purposes of data analysis, weighting by age and by area of residence was performed.

Post-secondary (teacher training college, nursing school, practical engineering school)	5.6
Post-secondary, graduate of vocational training course	3.0
Partial academic education (no degree)	14.9
Full academic education	26.6
Don't know / Did not respond	1.9
Total	100

Monthly household income	
Well below average	24.3
Slightly below average	21.6
Average	23.4
Slightly above average	9.3
Well above average	6.9
Did not respond	14.5
Total	100

*The average (median) gross household income in Israel today is approximately NIS 16,000 per month. Is your overall family income (for both partners): [In one-person households, the average gross household income is around NIS 8,000 per month.]

Religion	
Muslim	79.7
Christian	9.5
Druze	9.3
Did not respond / Other	1.5
Total	100

Area of residence	
Galilee	54.6
Triangle*	25.5
Negev <u>Mixed cities</u>	8.4
Mixed cities <u>Negev</u>	11.5
Total	100

*The Triangle is an area in central Israel with a largely Arab population, including the major Arab towns of Tayibe, Tira, Baqa al-Gharbiyye, and Umm el-Fahm

Vote in the 2022 Knesset elections	
Hadash-Ta'al	9.9
Ra'am	16.2
Balad	7.2
Zionist party	8.6
Did not vote	47.4
Did not respond	10.7
Total	100



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