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# Nine Years of Bloodshed

A Statistical Report on Homicide Cases  
among Arab Palestinians in Israel (2011-2019)



**Baladna**  
Association for Arab Youth

Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations,  
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## **Nine Years of Bloodshed**

A Statistical Report on Homicide Cases  
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# Introduction

Violence and crime in the Arab Palestinian society in Israel has increased considerably in recent years. It has spread widely in many towns and villages, posing a direct threat to individuals and communities, with its effects reaching most aspects of life. Despite the rapid proliferation of crime and the alarm it has generated, most aspects of the violent situation remain unexamined and misunderstood. Indeed, Palestinian academic and political communities have not yet developed a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon, with political and sociological research on the matter remaining few and limited.

In light of this, **Baladna – Association for Arab Youth**, in cooperation with **the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations at Coventry University in the United Kingdom**, has launched a project aimed at understanding and addressing this phenomenon and its spread, particularly among youth, who are the most likely to both perpetrate and fall victim to violent crime.

In this report, which is the first published by the research group, we have compiled statistical data on murder victims in the Arab Palestinian society in Israel between 2011 and 2019. We aim to shed light on the scope and nature of homicides in the Arab Palestinian society through the collection of data on the victims, their ages, murder locations, and the weapons used in the crimes, as well as other data.

In our attempts to gather information about the victims, the research team made use of many sources. Since the Ministry of Public Security and the Israel Police do not provide adequate details on crime in the Arab community or sufficient information on Arab homicide victims, the team had to resort to other sources, among them local media, databanks compiled by research institutions, and government and political reports. The Aman Center – the Arab Center for Safe Society, provided us with data it had collected over the years, for which we are particularly grateful. After collecting the data, the team verified, classified, and summarized it. Since our research was aimed at contributing to an understanding of violence within the Arab Palestinian society in Israel in particular, we have excluded the names of homicide

victims from Jerusalem and the occupied Golan Heights. (Israeli authorities usually include data from Jerusalem and the Golan in their reports on Palestinians in Israel, referring to them together as the “Non-Jewish Sector” or “Arab Sector.”) We have also excluded suicide cases and homicides perpetrated by the Israeli police and security forces, maintaining our focus on the homicide cases occurring between members of the Arab Palestinian community in Israel, regardless of the motivation behind the murder, whether social, political, or otherwise.

As the first report of its kind on the Arab Palestinian society in Israel, this report constitutes an important source of information for assessing the magnitude and attributes of violent crime in the Arab Palestinian society. Despite its contributions, the research is not without its limitations. First, presenting and analyzing data on murder victims, although necessary, is not sufficient to drawing conclusions on the context and causes that have contributed to the increase in violent crime over the last nine years. We are fully aware that the victims of violent crime are not responsible for this phenomenon and that there are many other elements and actors at play. Nonetheless, we elected to gather data on murder victims because this specific focus would allow us to gather a significant amount of data which could, in turn, be used to identify points for further, more in-depth study.

Secondly, in the absence of official documentation, we relied on information published in police statements to the media and news reports to gather data on murder weapons and other specific details. Without a singular, reliable source of data on homicides in the Arab Palestinian community, we gathered information from multiple sources, verifying them against one another to ensure accuracy.

Additionally, the report does not include an assessment of the violent crimes that caused injury but did not result in death. Such crimes often go unreported and are not recorded as accurately and completely as homicides. In reality, the rate of injury resulting from firearms and other weapons is very high, with severe injuries occurring regularly. To compile all of the cases that have occurred over the course of a decade, however, would extend beyond the scope of the research.

Lastly, as a preliminary report, we opted not to offer conclusions or recommendations at this point. Rather, we are content to present the data as it is to the public, researchers, and interested parties so that it may serve as a basis for future research, whether by our team or other parties who share our concern for the welfare and safety of the Arab Palestinian public.

# Part One:

# Number of Homicides

This section focuses on the number of murders committed between 2011 and 2019. The data in Table 1 shows that the annual average number of homicides in the Arab Palestinian society was 64. This is very high when compared with numbers in the West Bank and among Jewish Israelis. In 2018, for example, the number of homicides among Arab Palestinians in Israel reached 67, compared to 24 in the West Bank where the population is nearly double.<sup>1</sup> That same year, almost twice as many Arabs were murdered than Jewish Israelis, meaning that the homicide rate was effectively eight times higher in the Arab Palestinian society than it was in the Jewish Israeli sector.<sup>2</sup>

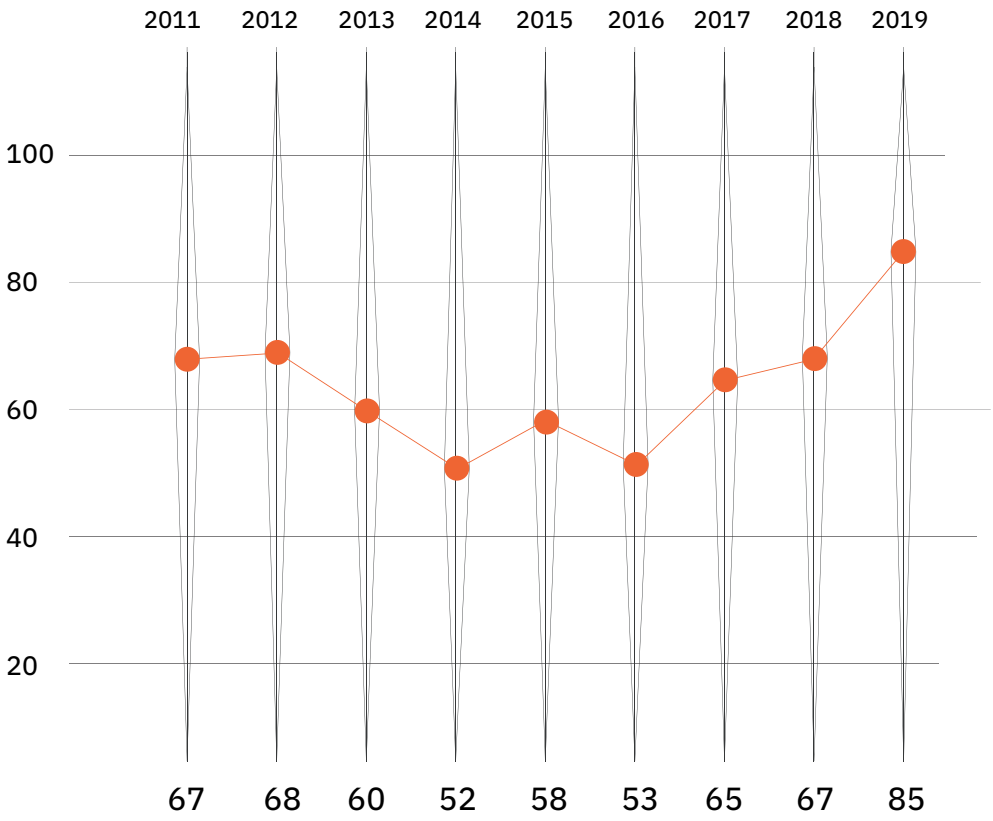
TABLE 1

Year	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total	Annual Average
Number of Victims	67	68	60	52	58	53	65	67	85	575	64

It is clear from the table above that each of the last nine years witnessed a high number of murders. Some oscillation from year to year is also apparent. Graph 1 below shows that the number of victims declined between 2013 and 2016, but it gradually increased after 2017, reaching a peak in 2019. In that year, a record 85 murder cases were reported, the most since 1948, marking a 27% increase from 2017 and a 60% increase from 2016.

1 "24 Murder Cases in the West Bank in 2018 ... These Are their Motives" (March 2019), UltraSawt <https://cutt.ly/Gyy8bOx>

2 Saban, Itzik. "For the first time: Police reveal the segmentation of homicides by division into Jewish and Arab sectors" (October 2019), Yisrael Hayom <https://www.israelhayom.co.il/article/703287>



GRAPH 1

# Part Two:

## Regions

In this section, we present data on the geographic distribution of homicide cases between the years 2011 and 2019. Areas populated by Arab Palestinians in Israel were divided into seven regions, namely the Naqab, the Center, the Southern Triangle, the Northern Triangle, Nazareth, Haifa and the North. (The names of the towns and villages where the crimes were committed are provided in Appendix 1).

The data in Table 2 demonstrates the geographic distribution of the murders. The table also provides the rate of homicide cases relative to the population of each region.

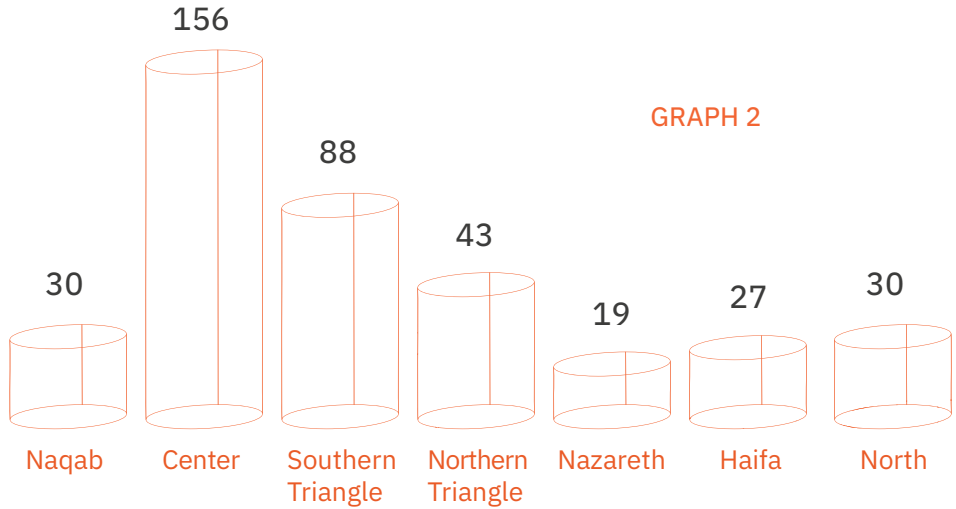
TABLE 2

Region	# of Homicides	% of Total Homicides	Population <sup>3</sup>	Homicide cases per 100,000
Naqab	73	12.7%	245,200	30
Center	112	19.5%	71,800	156
Southern Triangle	112	19.5%	126,600	88
Northern Triangle	71	12.3%	166,000	43
Nazareth	44	7.7%	235,900	19
Haifa	24	4.2%	88,800	27
North	138	24%	464,700	30
Other	1	0.2%	-	-
<b>Totals</b>	<b>575</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>1,399,000</b>	<b>41</b>

3 As per data for 2017 from the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics

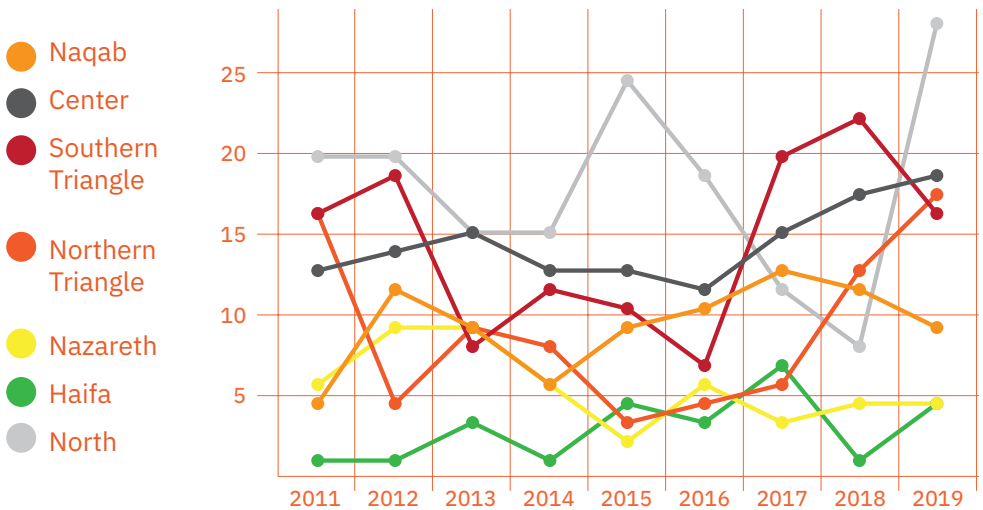


Based on Table 2, Graph 2 below provides the homicide rates per 100,000 people for all seven regions. As shown in the graph, the highest homicide rate was in the Center, where 156 murder cases were recorded per 100,000 people. This rate is almost twice as high as the second highest rate, which was found in the Southern Triangle, with 88 murder cases per 100,000 people. At the lower end of the spectrum was the Nazareth region, with 19 murder cases per 100,000 people.



Graph 3 shows the changes in the number of murder cases over the last nine years. As the graph demonstrates, the North, which has a low homicide rate in comparison to the Center and the Triangle, has witnessed a significant increase in homicide cases in recent years. Indeed, the number of homicides in the North jumped from seven in 2018 to twenty-four in 2019, an increase of 243%. This regional increase can largely explain the overall increase in homicide cases from 2018-2019.

**GRAPH 3**



Graph 3 is based on the data in Table 3, which provides the total number of homicide cases per year for every region.

**TABLE 3**

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
Naqab	4	10	8	5	8	9	11	10	8	73
Center	11	12	13	11	11	10	13	15	16	112
Southern Triangle	14	16	7	10	9	6	17	19	14	112
Northern Triangle	14	4	8	7	3	4	5	11	15	71
Nazareth	5	8	8	5	2	5	3	4	4	44
Haifa	1	1	3	1	4	3	6	1	4	24
North	17	17	13	13	21	16	10	7	24	138
<b>Total</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>575</b>

Table 4 reflects a clear rise in the average number of murders occurring between the beginning and the end of the decade in consideration. In the first five years (2011-2015), the annual average was 61 murders. In the four years that followed (2016-2019), the annual average increased by seven murders to reach 68, marking an 11% increase. All regions saw an increase in the annual average number of murders from the first half of the decade into the second half of the decade, with the exception of Nazareth and the North due to the fact that they began the second half of the decade with relatively fewer homicides.

**TABLE 4**

Region	Naqab	Center	South Triangle	North Triangle	Nazareth	Haifa	North	All Regions
Annual Homicide Average 2011-2015	7	11.6	11.2	7.2	5.6	2	16.2	61
Annual Homicide Average 2016-2019	9.5	13.5	14	8.8	4	3.5	14.3	68

Table 5 lists the ten towns and villages with the highest homicide rates between the years 2011 and 2019. These cities also fall in the regions with the highest rates of murders. The cities of Jaffa and Lod in the Center are at the top of the list. There were 48 murders in Jaffa, constituting approximately 8% of the total murders of Arab Palestinians in Israel over the last nine years. Lod had 36 murders. Ramleh, also in the Center, had the sixth most at 28 murders. Completing the list were three cities in the Southern Triangle (Tayybi, Tira and Kofr Qasem), one city in the Northern Triangle (Um Al-Fahem), one city in the North (Acre), one city in the Naqab (Rahat), and Nazareth. The total number of homicides in these ten cities was 287, that is about 50% of the 575 murders that took place across all of the regions.

**TABLE 5**

	<b>Town</b>	<b>Number of Homicides</b>	<b>Population <sup>4</sup></b>	<b>Homicides per 10,000 People</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Jaffa</b>	<b>48</b>	19,722	24
<b>2</b>	<b>Lod</b>	<b>36</b>	22,641	16
<b>3</b>	<b>Tayybi</b>	<b>32</b>	42,401	8
<b>4</b>	<b>Um Al-Fahem</b>	<b>32</b>	54,240	6
<b>5</b>	<b>Tira</b>	<b>31</b>	25,721	12
<b>6</b>	<b>Ramleh</b>	<b>28</b>	17,580	16
<b>7</b>	<b>Kofr Qasem</b>	<b>23</b>	22,743	10
<b>8</b>	<b>Acre</b>	<b>20</b>	15,471	13
<b>9</b>	<b>Rahat</b>	<b>19</b>	66,791	3
<b>10</b>	<b>Nazareth</b>	<b>18</b>	76,551	2

<sup>4</sup> As per data for 2017 from the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics

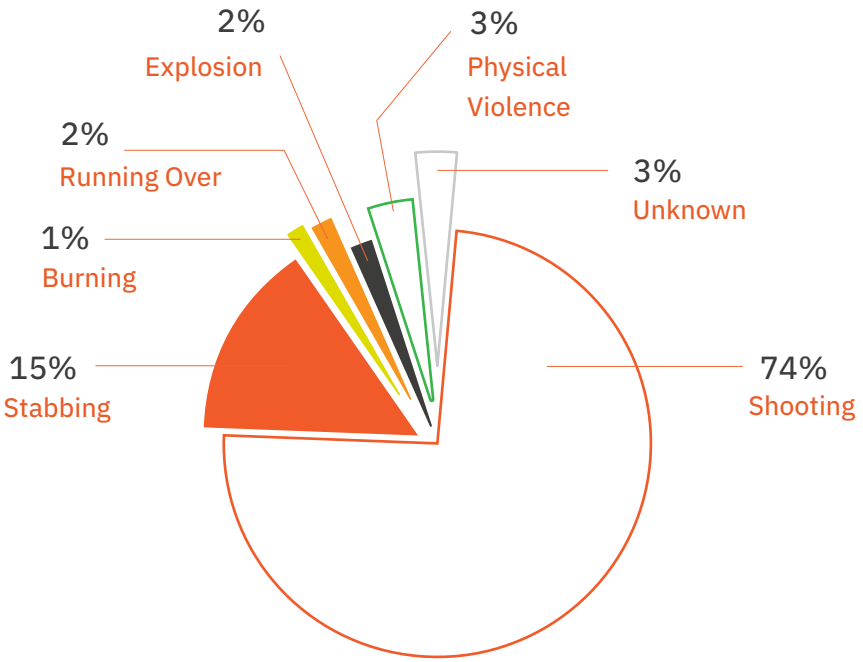
# Part Three:

## Murder Weapon

This section details the weapons used to commit the murders recorded between 2011 and 2019. We have classified the methods of murder as follows: shooting, stabbing, burning, running over, explosion, and physical violence (beating, suffocation, burying etc.), as well as a last classification that groups together all victims with no clear information about the murder weapon. The data in Table 6 and Graph 4 indicates that most victims, 74.3%, were killed by firearm, followed by stabbing with 14.8%.

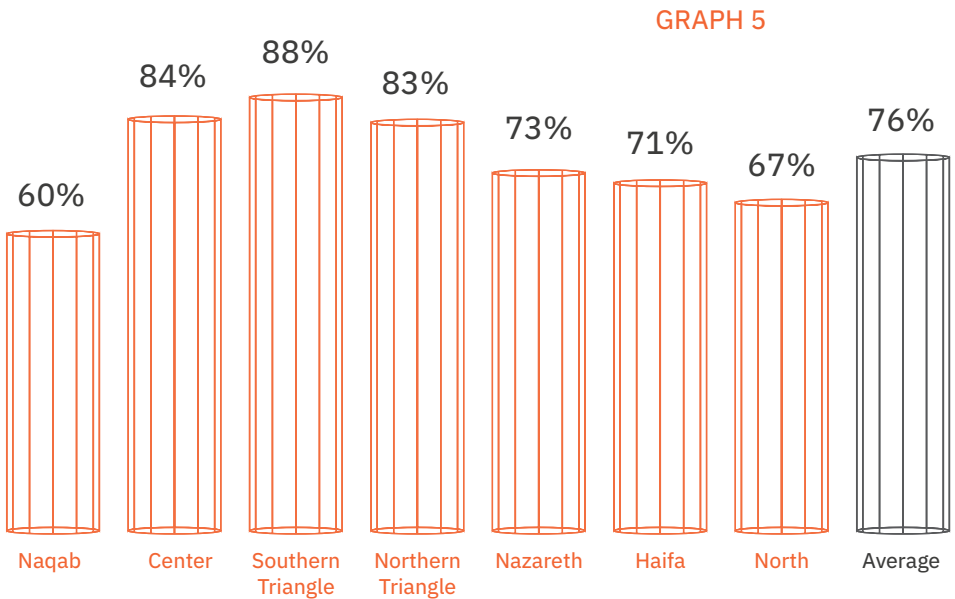
TABLE 6

Murder Weapon	No. of Victims	Percent of Total
Shooting (firearm)	427	74.3%
Stabbing	85	14.8%
Burning	8	1.4%
Running Over	10	1.7%
Explosion	9	1.5%
Physical Violence	20	3.5%
Unknown	16	2.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>575</b>	<b>100%</b>



GRAPH 4

Graph 5 shows the combined percentages of murders by shooting and the use of explosives by region. It is clear from the graph that the highest percentage of homicide deaths resulting from shooting and explosion was in the Southern Triangle, followed by the Center. It is also of note that the Naqab had the lowest percentage of all regions for the number of homicide deaths resulting from shooting and explosion.



GRAPH 5

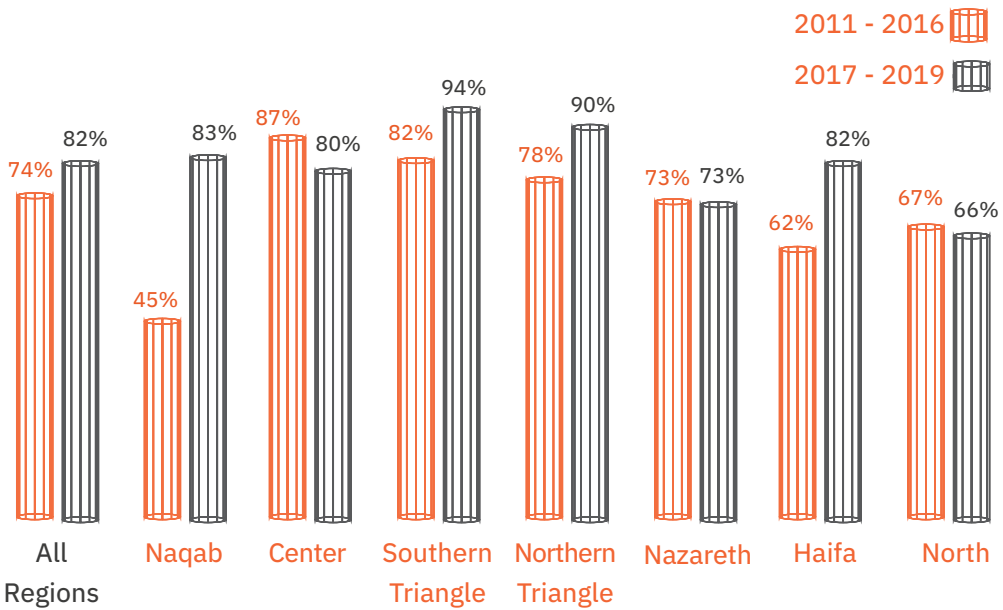
Table 7 shows the number of murders involving firearms and explosives in the different regions over time in contrast with the total number of homicides.

TABLE 7

		2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
Naqab	Homicides by Firearm / Explosion	2	6	1	3	5	3	9	9	6	44
	% of Total	50%	60%	12.5%	60%	63%	33%	82%	90%	75%	60%
	Total Homicides	4	10	8	5	8	9	11	10	8	73
Center	Homicides by Firearm / Explosion	11	9	11	10	11	7	10	12	13	94
	% of Total	100%	75%	85%	91%	100%	70%	77%	80%	81%	84%
	Total Homicides	11	12	13	11	11	10	13	15	16	112
Southern Triangle	Homicides by Firearm / Explosion	14	11	5	9	6	6	15	18	14	98
	% of Total	100%	69%	71%	90%	67%	100%	88%	95%	100%	88%
	Total Homicides	14	16	7	10	9	6	17	19	14	112
Northern Triangle	Homicides by Firearm / Explosion	10	1	6	7	3	4	4	11	13	59
	% of Total	71%	25%	75%	100%	100%	100%	80%	100%	87%	83%
	Total Homicides	14	4	8	7	3	4	5	11	15	71

TABLE 7

		2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
Naza-reth	Homicides by Firearm / Explosion	4	5	7	3	1	4	2	2	4	32
	% of Total	80%	63%	88%	60%	50%	80%	67%	50%	100%	73%
	Total Homicides	5	8	8	5	2	5	3	4	4	44
Haifa	Homicides by Firearm / Explosion	1	0	0	1	4	2	5	1	3	17
	% of Total	100%	0%	0%	100%	100%	67%	83%	100%	75%	71%
	Total Homicides	1	1	3	1	4	3	6	1	4	24
North	Homicides by Firearm / Explosion	9	11	9	11	14	11	6	3	18	92
	% of Total	53%	65%	69%	85%	67%	69%	60%	43%	75%	67%
	Total Homicides	17	17	13	13	21	16	10	7	24	138
Totals	Homicides by Firearm / Explosion	52	43	39	43	44	37	51	56	71	436
	% of Total	78%	74%	65%	83%	76%	70%	78%	84%	84%	76%
	Total Homicides	67	58	60	52	58	53	65	67	85	575



GRAPH 6

Graph 6 shows the percentage of murders by shooting and explosion out of the total number of murders by region. It also provides a comparison between the periods 2011-2016 and 2017-2019, showing that the ratio increased from 74% to 82% for the 2011-2016 period and the 2017-2019 period respectively, marking an 8% increase. The ratio increased in the Naqab, Haifa, and the Southern and Northern Triangle, remained steady for the Nazareth and North regions, and decreased in the Center.

Although the percentage of deaths resulting from firearm and explosion in the North between 2011 and 2016 was about the same as the percentage that occurred between 2017 and 2019, 2018 to 2019 saw a significant increase in the percentage of homicides by firearm and explosion in this region. Indeed, in 2018, 67% of homicides in the North resulted from firearm or explosion in comparison to 75% in 2019, marking an 8% increase. This indicator sheds further light on the concerning trend noted in Part 2 regarding the increase in homicide cases in the North by 243% from 2018 to 2019.



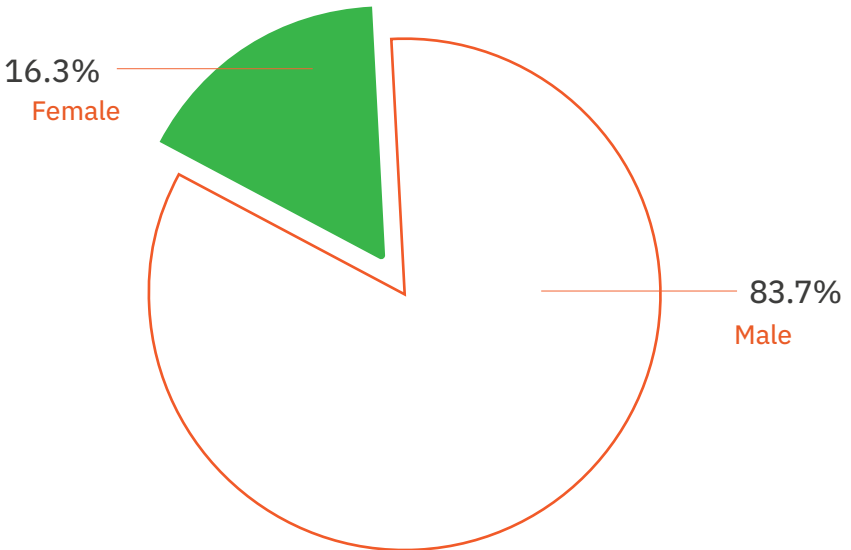
# Part Four:

## Victims' Gender

The data in Table 8 and Graph 7 shows the numbers and percentages of males and females murdered between 2011 and 2019. Both the table and graph show that the percentage of females murdered is 16.3% of the total, clearly lower than the percentage of males murdered at 83.7%.

TABLE 8

Gender	Homicide Count	Percentage
Female	94	16.3%
Male	481	83.7%
Total	575	100%



GRAPH 7

Table 9 below provides the percentages of female homicide victims out of the total number of homicide victims in the different regions. The table shows significant differences between the various regions, with the highest ratios in the Naqab (where about 25% of those murdered were female), the Center (where about 20% were female), and the North (where about 17% were female).

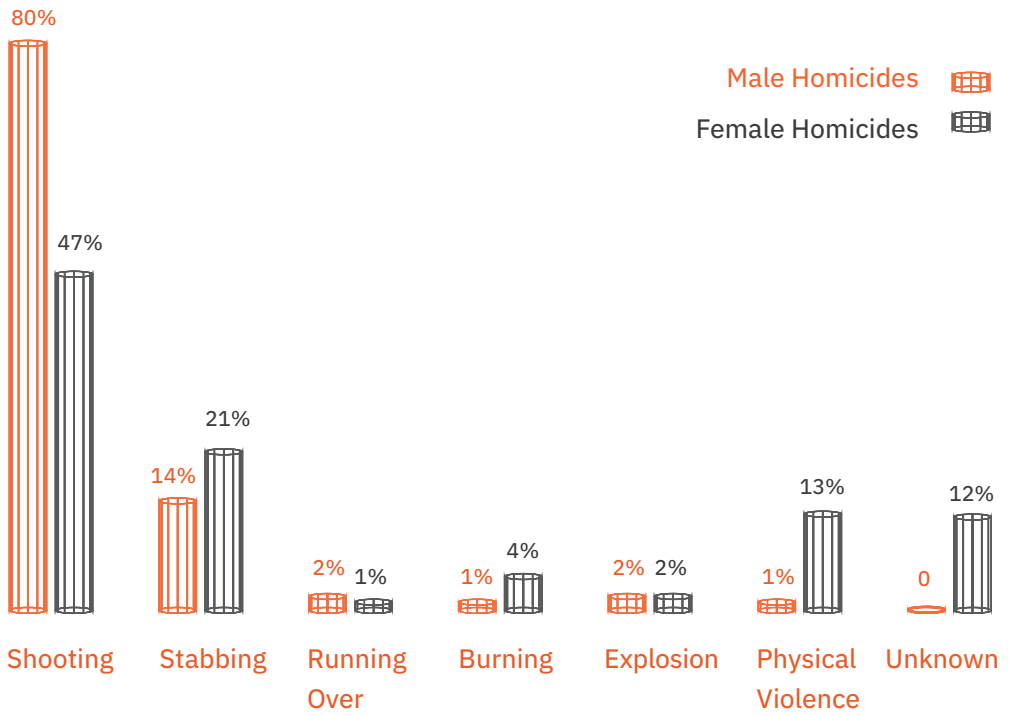
TABLE 9

Region	Total	Male Homicides	Male Homicides as % of Total	Female Homicides	Female Homicides as % of Total
All regions	575	481	83.7%	94	16.3%
Naqab	73	55	75.3%	18	24.7%
Center	112	90	80.3%	22	19.7%
Southern Triangle	112	101	90.1%	11	9.9%
Northern Triangle	71	62	87.3%	9	12.7%
Nazareth	44	39	88.6%	5	11.4%
Haifa	24	21	87.5%	3	12.5%
North	138	114	82.6%	24	17.4%

Table 10 and Graph 8 show that the percentage of females murdered by firearms is 47% of the total female murders, which is much lower than the equivalent percentage of 80% among males. By contrast, the percentage of females murdered by other means, such as stabbing, physical violence and burning, is higher.

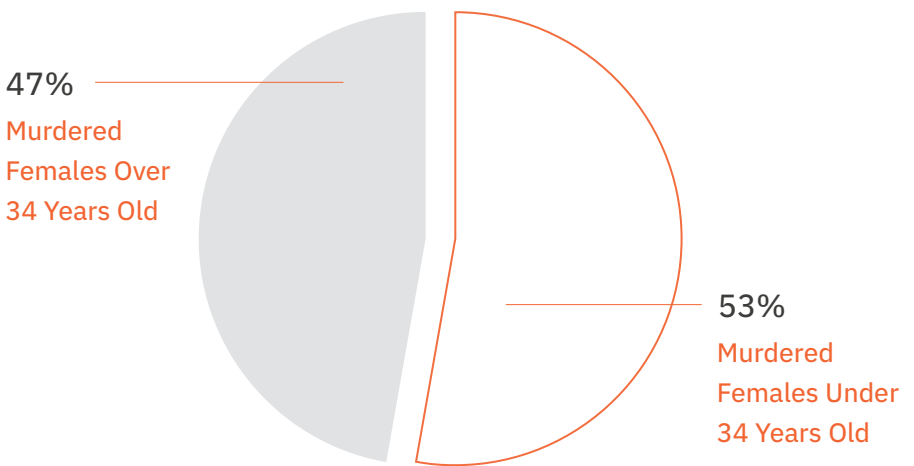
TABLE 10

Murder Weapon	Female Victims	Percentage
Shooting	44	47%
Stabbing	20	21%
Running Over	1	1%
Burning	4	4%
Explosion	2	2%
Physical Violence	12	13%
Unknown	11	12%



GRAPH 8

Graph 9 presents the murders committed against women and girls by age group, and demonstrates that more than half the female murder victims were young, with about 53% of them under 34 years old.



GRAPH 9

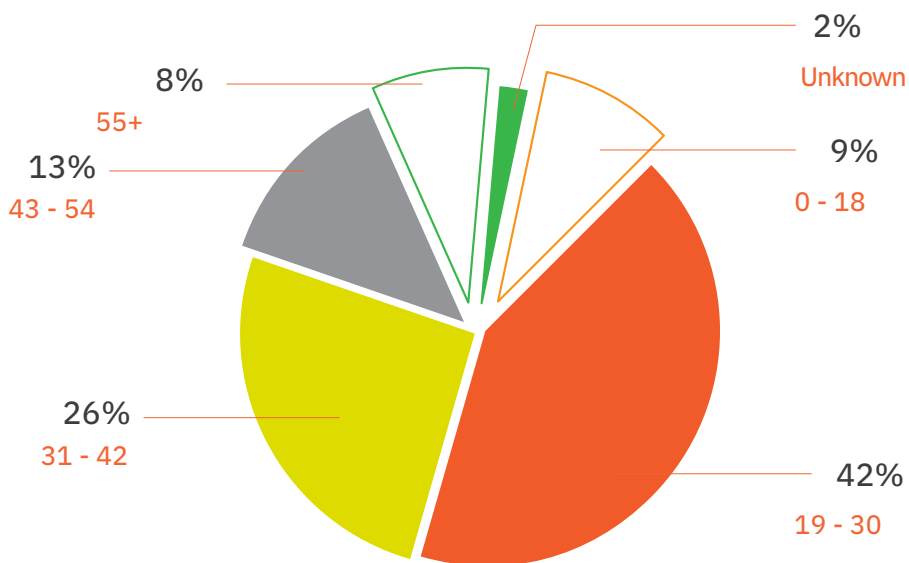
# Part Five:

## Victims' Ages

Part 5 presents the number of homicide victims between 2011 and 2019 according to age group. Table 11 and Graph 10 clearly demonstrate that the age group suffering the most murders is youth. About half the homicides are young people under 30 years of age. It is also clear that the highest number of murders occurred among youth between the ages of 19 and 30, with this age group accounting for 42% of all of the homicide victims.

TABLE 11

Age Group	No. of Victims	% of Total Homicides	Total Homicides per Age Group	% Homicides per Age Group
0-14	17	3%	51	8.9%
15-18	34	5.9%		
19-22	91	15.8%	242	42%
23-26	91	15.8%		
27-30	60	10.4%		
31-34	44	7.7%	149	26%
35-38	61	10.6%		
39-42	44	7.7%		
43-46	27	4.7%	73	12.7%
47-50	28	4.9%		
51-54	18	3.1%		
55-58	20	3.5%	49	8.5%
59-62	14	2.4%		
63+	15	2.6%		
Unknown	11	1.9%	11	1.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>575</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>575</b>	<b>100%</b>



GRAPH 10

Table 12 presents the numbers and percentages of victims under the age of 34 by region. The table demonstrates that the number of youth murdered is high across all regions. To a large extent, there is no difference among the regions in terms of the percentages of youth victims, with the exception of slightly higher percentages in the Naqab and the Center. As for the Haifa region, which experienced a particularly high youth homicide rate (79%), consideration must be given to the fact that it was the region with the lowest number of murder victims over the last decade, with 24 murders overall.

TABLE 12

Region	Total Number of Homicide Victims	Number of Homicide Victims Below the Age of 34	% of Homicide Victims Below the Age of 34
Naqab	73	46	63%
Center	112	74	66%
South Triangle	112	61	54%
North Triangle	71	41	58%
Nazareth	44	23	52%
Haifa	24	19	79%
North	138	70	51%
<b>Total</b>	<b>575</b>	<b>334</b>	<b>58%</b>

# Appendix 1

Names of Towns and Villages with Recorded Murder Cases  
in the Period 2011-2019 by Region

Naqab	Al-A'asam, Shoqaib Al-Salam, Al-Fara'a, Al-Laqqiyya, Bir Hadaj, Tal Al-Sabe'a, Bir Al-Sabe'a, Hora, Rahat, Ara'ra Al-Naqab, Ksefa, unrecognized villages  (Information about unrecognized villages was according to the classification from the source. Accordingly, we could not identify the specific names of the villages.)
Center	Jaffa, Lod, Ramleh
Southern Triangle	Tayybi, Tira, Kofr Qasem, Qalansawa, Jaljoulia, Kofr Bara
Northern Triangle	Um Al-Fahem, Baqa Al-Gharbiyya, Jat, Kofr Qare'a, Salem, Zalafa, Ara, Ar'ara, Mo'awiya, Mosmos
Nazareth	Al-Ozair, Al-Mashhad, Dabbourya, Kofr Kanna, Iksal, Yafet Al-Nasera, Tora'an, Ilut, Reini, Tayybi Zo'abiyyi
Haifa	Jesr Al-Zarqa, Haifa, Dalyet Al-Karmel
North	Ibilin, Kofr Yasif, Shefa-Amr, Arab Al-Na'eem, Sakhneen, Arab Al-Qabsi, Arraba, Nahaf, Kabul, Me'alia, Tamra, Joulis, Majd Al-Kroom, Yarka, Rama, Beit Jan, Al-Be'ani, Al-Maghar, Jdaidi Al-Makr, Horfesh, Al-Tbash, Basmat Tab'aon, Al-Shibli, Al-Jesh, Al-Zarazir, Acre, Der Al-Asad, Ibtan, Kofr Manda, Abo Snan

