

January
2021



Constitutional Process in the Eyes of Syrians

Contents

Executive Summary:.....	3
Methodology:	7
First- Objectives of the Study:.....	7
Second- Scope of the Study:	7
Third- Sample of the Study:	8
Fourth- Data Collection Teams:.....	11
Fifth- Obstacles and Challenges:	11
Key Findings:.....	12
First- Priorities of the Syrians:.....	12
Second- Knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee:	12
Third- Confidence in the work of the Constitutional Committee:	13
Fourth- Representation of Syrians by the Constitutional Committee:	14
Regarding Constitutional Issues:.....	16
First- Arab Identity within the Constitution:	16
Second- Religion and the State:	16
Third- Form of the Administrative System:	17
Fourth- Relation of the Authorities:.....	17
Fifth- Women within the Constitution:	18
First Section – Constitutional Committee.....	19
First- Priorities of the Syrians:.....	19
Second- Knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee:	27
Third- Confidence in the work of the Constitutional Committee:	33
Fourth- Representation of Syrians within the Constitutional Committee:.....	41
Second Section – Constitutional Issues.....	49
First- Arab Identity within the Constitution:	49
Second- Religion and the State:	53
Third- Form of the Administrative System:	61
Fourth- Relation between the authorities:	65
Fifth- Women within the Constitution:	74
Recommendations:.....	78
First - to the sponsors of the path of the political solution in Syria:	78
Second - To the Syrian civil society organizations:	78
Third - To the Constitutional Committee:	79
Fourth - To the civil society delegation:.....	79
Questionnaire:	81

Executive Summary:

Since the early years of the conflict in Syria, the international community has sought reaching a political solution to end the current state of violence in the country. In 2012, the Action Group for Syria held its talks in the Swiss city of Geneva which was headed by the then UN envoy to Syria, Kofi Annan, who announced after the conclusion of the talks that the meeting has issued a detailed statement known as the Geneva 1 statement, which stressed the need to pressure all parties to implement the six-point plan (the Annan plan)¹. The statement also condemned the continuation and escalation of combat operations, destruction, and human rights violations, and recommended the commitment of all parties to cease armed violence and intensify the pace of release of the arbitrarily detained people, and called for the formation of a transitional governing body and the review of the constitutional system and the legal system in Syria.

Later, on the 18th of December 2015, the Security Council unanimously approved Resolution No. 2254, which outlined the features of a political solution in Syria, as the resolution affirmed that the Syrian people is the party which shall decide the future of the country, demanded ceasing attacks on civilians, and stipulated that the United Nations Secretary-General shall call each of the representatives of the regime and the Syrian negotiating committee to participate in formal negotiations on the path towards the political transition. The resolution also expressed its support for the commencement of a Syrian-led political process facilitated by the United Nations that establishes a credible governance that includes everyone and is not based on sectarianism, and sets a timetable for drafting a new constitution for the country and conducting free and fair elections pursuant to the new constitution and under the supervision of the United Nations in a safe and neutral environment including all Syrians including those living in exile.

In fact, it can be said that none of the items of the statements and decisions related to the path of the political solution in Syria have been practically implemented due to the regime's procrastination and its unwillingness to enter that path seriously, which led to the prolongation of the political process, which went through several rounds of talks. The roadmap for a political solution in Syria was adopted in 2017 based on UN resolutions 2254 of 2015 and 2118 of 2013

¹ The six-point peace plan for Syria, which is also known as the Annan plan, includes the following points:
First- Commitment to working with Annan for an inclusive political process led by the Syrians.
Second- Commitment to ceasing all acts of armed violence, including the use of heavy weapons, withdrawing military forces, and stopping the movement of army forces towards populated areas.
Third- Implementing a daily two-hour truce to allow the delivery of aid to all conflict-affected areas.
Fourth- Releasing all of the arbitrarily arrested detainees, including those detained for their peaceful political activities.
Fifth- Agreeing to guarantee freedom of movement for journalists throughout the country and adopting a non-discriminatory policy regarding granting them visas to enter Syria.
Sixth- Agreeing on the freedom to form institutions and the right to peaceful demonstration as legally protected rights.

containing the Geneva Declaration. This roadmap stipulated the work in parallel or successively on the following four axes: governance, constitution, elections, and a safe and neutral environment. In this context, the Sochi Conference affirmed its support for the implementation of Security Council Resolution No. 2254 and called on the United Nations to form the Constitutional Committee as a contribution to the United Nations-led political process in Geneva, and to the implementation of Security Council Resolution No. 2254 of 2015, accordingly, the United Nations conducted indirect negotiations between the regime's government and the Syrian Negotiating Committee to form the Constitutional Committee and to agree its reference standards and the basic elements of its internal regulations.

Indeed, the Constitutional Committee commenced its work on the 30th of October 2019, and the UN envoy to Syria, Geir Pedersen, stressed during the opening speech that the commencement of the work of the Constitutional Committee represents an important step towards finding a sustainable political solution to the crisis in Syria in accordance with Security Council Resolution No. 2254, and until the date of preparing this report, the Constitutional Committee has held five sessions of its meetings, the last of which was in January 2021.

In view of the importance of the nature of the Constitutional Committee's work and its correlation with the future of the country and its impact on the lives of the Syrians, The Day After Organization, in cooperation with INDICATORS Company and in coordination with and consultancy with members of the Constitutional Committee from the delegations of the Negotiation Committee and the civil society conducted this study, which aims to identify the views of Syrians about the Constitutional Committee, the method of its formation, the results of its work and its meetings, the extent of their confidence in its ability to achieve real progress within the framework of the political solution, and their opinion about the delegations participating in drafting the constitution, and whether they see themselves represented by the Committee, the study also aims to identify the concerns of Syrians and the issues that are priorities for them within the path of the political solution, and to know their views on constitutional issues related to the identity of the state, the form of the administrative system, the powers of the state's authorities and the constitutional texts that regulates the rights of women, their role and the nature of their participation in society.

The study was conducted during January 2021, and covered all areas of control inside Syria (the areas controlled by the Syrian regime, the Syrian Democratic Forces, and the Syrian opposition), and it also covered the neighboring countries of Syria (Turkey - Jordan - Lebanon - Iraq), in addition to Sweden, Germany, France and the Netherlands within The European Union. The study included conducting 2040 in-person interviews with Syrians of all ethnic, religious and sectarian affiliations, and the study adopted the simple stratified random sample

to ensure covering the target groups, taking into account the inclusion of all Syrians.

The study concluded a set of key findings, the most prominent of which was that the vast majority of the study participants of all affiliations consider issues of (revealing the situation of detainees, ceasing military operations, delivering humanitarian aid to people affected by the conflict, working to expel foreign fighters, holding people who are responsible for committing human rights violations and war crimes accountable, creating a safe environment for the return of Syrian displaced people and refugees and ceasing security prosecutions) as a part of their priorities regarding the path of the political solution, followed in terms of importance by the of issues of starting reconstruction process and working on forming a transitional governing body to manage the current phase and to create a neutral environment for free and fair elections, while drafting a new constitution for the country came at the end of the list of priority issues from the viewpoint of the study participants.

The study also showed a low level of knowledge among Syrians about the work of the Constitutional Committee, as only a quarter of the study participants said that they have great or good knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee, while less than half said that they have average knowledge about the work of the Committee, and more than a third said that they have no knowledge about it. In general, social media is the main source for the majority of Syrians from which they obtain their information about the Constitutional Committee and the results of its meetings, while the percentage of those who obtain their information from official sources such as the statements issued by the Constitutional Committee itself or the United Nations is low.

On the other hand, the study also showed a low level of satisfaction among the participants with the results of the work of the Constitutional Committee, as the majority of them believe that the progress it achieved is insufficient or that it did not achieve any progress. As for the participating delegations, we notice that the degree of confidence of the participants in the delegation of the Syrian regime is low. Also, the percentage of participants who believe that the delegation of the Syrian regime represents them and reflects their desires and aspirations is low. The degree of confidence in the Syrian Delegation of the opposition and the percentage of participants who believe that it represents them and reflects their desires and aspirations is somewhat high. As for the delegation of the civil society, it gained the largest percentage of confidence among the respondents, and the percentage of participants who believe that it represents them and reflects their desires and aspirations is also high.

As for constitutional issues and regarding the Arab identity, we notice that a high percentage of participants agree on the necessity of affirming the Arab identity of Syria and to name it (Syrian Arab Republic), knowing that the vast majority of Kurds have expressed their rejection of this point, and it is also noticed that

there is a high level of acceptance of adopting official languages in addition to Arabic, whether at the state level or at the local levels.

As for the Islam and its relationship with the state, the percentage of those who support the adoption of Islamic jurisprudence as a main source of legislation or considering it a source of legislation is high, while the percentage of participants who support considering it as the only source of legislation or not considering it as a source is low.

Regarding the form of the administrative system of the state and the relationship between the authorities, results of the study showed that the majority of the participants support the adoption of a decentralized administrative system based on granting broad powers to local authorities of the provinces, while the percentage of participants who support the adoption of a central administrative system based on keeping powers in the hands of the central administration in the capital of the state is low. As for the legislative, executive and judicial authorities of the state, the vast majority of the participants stressed the necessity of adopting the principle of separation of authorities and taking measures to ensure that none of the authorities shall be able to interfere and influence the work of other authorities.

Finally, with regard to issues related to women, the study showed that a high percentage of participants support allocating a minimum number of seats for women within elected bodies and support the possibility that women assume the presidency of the republic and participate in the work of parliament and giving them the right to grant Syrian nationality to their non-Syrian husbands and children.

Methodology:

First- Objectives of the Study:

This study aims to identify the views of Syrians of all sects and components about the Constitutional Committee and its work, and to identify the issues that are a priority for them regarding the path of political solution in Syria, including working on drafting a new constitution for the country, and revealing the extent of their confidence in the work of the Constitutional Committee and its ability to advance the political process and to identify their restrictions about its work and method of formation. The study also aims to identify the Syrians' position on the three delegations of the Constitutional Committee (the delegation of the Syrian government – the delegation of the opposition – the delegation of the civil society), and to identify the most prominent means they believe that it can increase their ability to communicate their desires and aspirations to the members of the Constitutional Committee to be taken into consideration when drafting constitutional texts. The study also aims to identify the views of Syrians about some constitutional issues, such as the Arab identity of the Syrian Republic, the relationship of the state with the religion, the relationship of state authorities to each other, and women's issues.

Second- Scope of the Study:

Time Scope: the study was conducted during January 2021.

Geographical Scope: The study covered areas controlled by the Syrian regime, areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces and areas controlled by the Syrian opposition inside Syria, while outside Syria, it covered all of the neighboring countries of Syria (Turkey – Lebanon – Jordan – Iraq), and also covered Germany, the Netherlands, France and Sweden within the European Union.

The following table includes the governorates covered by the study within Syria in all areas of control:

Controlling Party	Governorates covered by the study
Syrian Opposition	Idlib
	Aleppo
Syrian Democratic Forces	Deir Ez-Zur
	Al-Raqqa
	Al-Hasakeh
Syrian Regime	Damascus
	Al-Sweidaa
	Daraa
	Homs
	Hama

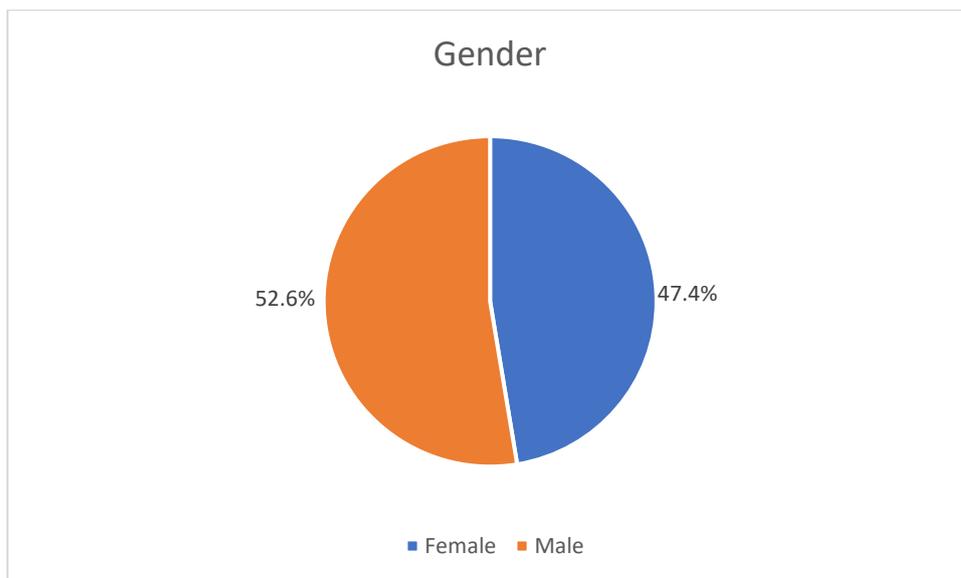
	Aleppo
	Latakia

Third- Sample of the Study:

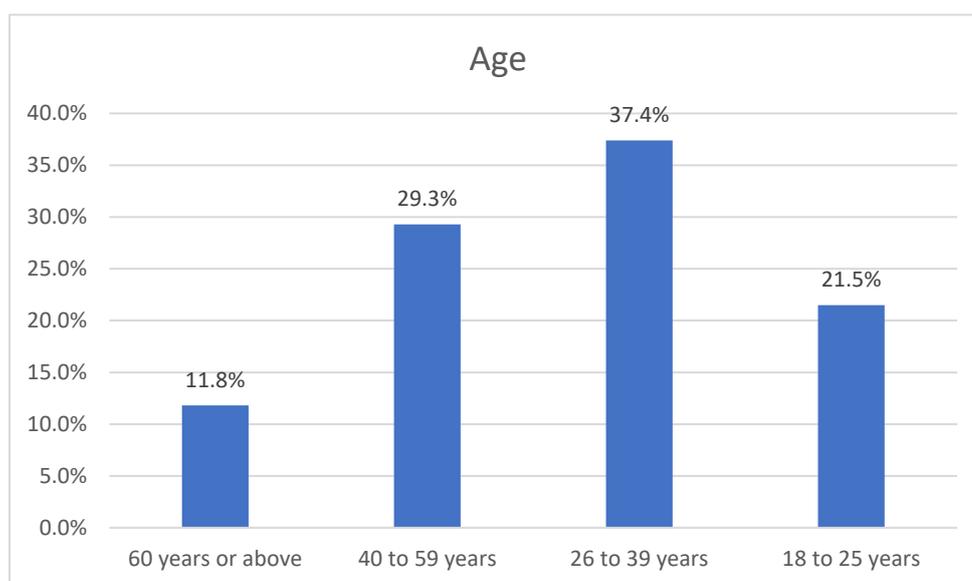
During the study, 2040 in-person interviews were conducted with Syrians in all of the study areas using a questionnaire that included closed questions with explanations about the vocabulary and specialized terms mentioned in the questions or answers. The interviews were carried out through Survey CTO Collect application, while the data analysis was done using the MS EXCEL and SPSS programs, and the study adopted the simple stratified random sample to cover the target groups, taking into account its inclusion of all Syrians according to several variables such as gender, race and religion.

Characteristics of the target sample:

1- Gender of the participants:



2- Age of the participants:



3- Religion/ sect of the participants:

Religion/ sect	Number	Percentage
Sunni Muslims	1490	73.1%
Christians	152	7.4%
Druze	119	5.8%
Alawites	103	5%
Other	109	5.3%
Refused to answer	67	3.3%

Note: (the option Other includes Shiites, Yazidis, Ismailis, and non-religious people).

4- Ethnicity/ Nationalism of the participants:

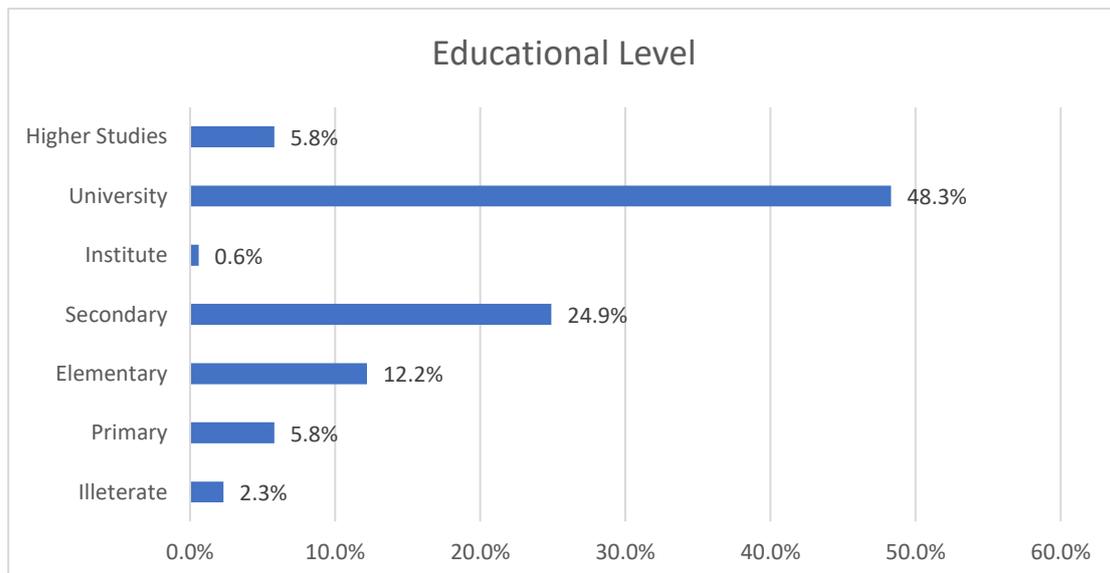
Ethnicity/ Nationalism	Number	Percentage
Arabs	1537	75.3%
Kurds	268	13.1%
Turkmen	100	4.9%
Other	120	5.8%
Refused to answer	15	0.7%

Note: (the option Other includes Syrians, Armenians, Assyrians, Circassians, and Chaldeans).

5- Place of residence of the participants:

In Syria	Opposition controlled areas	Idlib	184
		Aleppo	89
	Syrian Democratic Forces controlled areas	Al-Hasakeh	93
		Al-Ragqa	85
		Deir Ez-Zur	75
	Syrian regime controlled areas	Damascus	123
		Aleppo	86
		Homs	76
		Hama	76
		Latakia	70
Daraa		83	
	Al-Sweidaa	80	
Outside Syria	Neighboring countries	Turkey	332
		Iraq	88
		Jordan	86
		Lebanon	113
	European Union countries	Germany	102
		The Netherlands	63
		France	44
		Sweden	92

6- Educational level of the participants



Fourth- Data Collection Teams:

45 male and female researchers (23 female and 22 male researchers) participated in the data collection process, distributed in the areas of the study. researchers received a package of trainings that qualify them to complete the work optimally. The researchers attended training on the ethics of data collection and interviewing methods, they were also trained on the method of using the smartphone application that was used in the data collection process, in addition to attending a legal training during which included a detailed description of the Constitutional Committee, the method of its formation and the nature of its work, the legal training also included an explanation of the specialized terminology included in the questionnaire, and after the training ended, the researchers filled several experimental forms by interviewing actual respondents to ensure that they do not have any technical problems or weaknesses, and experimental forms were deleted before starting the actual data collection process in the field.

Fifth- Obstacles and Challenges:

The study faced a set of difficulties and challenges, the most prominent of which are:

- 1- Lack of accurate and up-to-date official statistics on the number of Syrians residing in each of the European Union countries, Iraq and Jordan, therefore, the study was based on statistics issued during 2019 and statistics issued by non-governmental bodies such as civil society organizations to reach closer numbers to the actual ones.
- 2- Researchers' work inside Syria (especially in areas of the Syrian regime) was fraught with security risks due to the political nature of the study.
- 3- Researchers faced many cases of refusal to conduct interviews in the areas controlled by the Syrian regime and the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces and in Lebanon due to the political nature of the study and the respondents' fear of participating for security reasons.
- 4- Many of the participants refused to answer some of the questions that they deem related to personal matters, such as the questions about religion, sect, doctrine, or ethnicity.
- 5- Some people refused to be interviewed due to their negative attitude towards the Constitutional Committee and their lack of confidence in the political process.
- 6- Researchers faced a difficulty represented by the fact that most Syrians did not know the Constitutional Committee nor the nature of its work.
- 7- Data collectors faced extreme difficulty in reaching Alawite respondents due to the extremely high security risks in their areas of residence.
- 8- The difficulty of conducting in-person interviews in light of the spread of COVID-19 and the measures taken by countries to confront it, and that difficulty increased for researchers in Turkey due to the curfew imposed on Saturdays and Sundays.

Key Findings:

Regarding the Constitutional Committee:

First- Priorities of the Syrians:

- 1- Approximately two-thirds of the study participants believe that working on drafting a new constitution for the country during the current stage is an important matter in the path of the political solution.
- 2- The percentage of participants who believe that working on drafting a new constitution for the country during the current phase is important is higher within the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces, reaching more than three quarters of the participants, while in the Syrian regime-controlled areas and the opposition-controlled areas, it was less than two-thirds.
- 3- The percentage of participants who believe that working on drafting a new constitution for the country during the current phase is important is higher in Germany, the Netherlands and Lebanon, while that percentage drops to less than half in Iraq, Sweden and France.
- 4- The vast majority of the study participants consider the issues of revealing the fate of detainees, ceasing military operations, delivering humanitarian aid to people affected by the conflict, working to expel foreign fighters, holding those responsible for committing human rights violations and war crimes accountable, creating a safe environment for the return of Syrian IDPs and refugees, and stopping security prosecutions as priority issues for them within the path of the political solution.
- 5- Nearly three-quarters of the study participants believe that the issues of starting reconstruction work and working on forming a transitional governing body to manage the current phase and ensure a neutral environment for conducting fair elections are important issues.

Second- Knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee:

- 1- In general, the degree of knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee among the study participants is low, as only about a quarter of the participants said that they have great knowledge or good knowledge of its work, and the largest percentage of respondents said that they are somewhat familiar with the work of the Constitutional Committee, and more than a third said that they do not have any knowledge.
- 2- The study shows that there is a correlation between the economic level of the respondent's family and the degree of knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee, as the degree of knowledge increases when the monthly income and living conditions of the respondent is better.
- 3- The degree of knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee increases when the educational level of the respondent is higher.

- 4- The degree of Syrians' knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee is high in France and Iraq, and somewhat in Turkey and Syria, while this degree of knowledge decreases gradually in Sweden, Lebanon, Jordan, Germany and the Netherlands.
- 5- The degree of Syrians' knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee is higher in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces inside Syria, while it decreases among the Syrians in the areas controlled by the opposition and the Syrian regime.
- 6- The majority of Syrians rely on social media to obtain information related to the work of the Constitutional Committee, and more than a third of the respondents said that they obtain their information through their discussions with those interested in political affairs in their social surrounding. About a third of the respondents said that they obtain their information from their friends or relatives.
- 7- In general, the percentage of respondents who obtain information related to the work of the Constitutional Committee from official sources is low, as less than one-fifth of the participants follow the statements of the members of the Constitutional Committee, while the percentage of respondents who follow the statements issued by the UN agencies or the statements issued by the countries concerned with the Syrian context was about a quarter.
- 8- About half of the study participants do not know that the Constitutional Committee consists of three delegations, and more than half do not know any member of the Constitutional Committee.
- 9- The majority of the study participants said that they did not personally participate in any of the activities related to the work of the Constitutional Committee, such as the sessions, meetings and seminars organized by civil society organizations interested in improving the political participation of members of the society.
- 10- The percentage of people who participate in activities related to the work of the Constitutional Committee inside Syria is higher in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces, reaching about a third, while this percentage significantly drops in both the regime and the opposition areas.

Third- Confidence in the work of the Constitutional Committee:

- 1- The majority of the study participants believe that the progress made by the Constitutional Committee in its work is insufficient or that it has not achieved any progress.
- 2- The degree of confidence of the participants who know that the constitutional committee consists of three delegations is low in the delegation of the Syrian regime.
- 3- The percentage of those who are convinced with the seriousness of the regime's delegation in participating in the negotiation process and advancing the path of the political solution is also low, as nearly a quarter

- of the participants believe it as not serious, while nearly two thirds consider it as not serious at all.
- 4- The degree of confidence in the delegation of the opposition is higher than in the delegation of the Syrian regime, as nearly a quarter of the participants who know that the constitutional committee consists of three delegations stated that they have confidence or great confidence in the delegation of the opposition.
 - 5- More than a quarter of the participants believe that the delegation of the opposition is serious or very serious about participating in the negotiation process and advancing the path of the political solution.
 - 6- The delegation of the civil society is considered the most trusted delegation by the study participants who know that the Constitutional Committee consists of three delegations, as more than a third of them said that they have confidence or great confidence in it, and more than a third of them also think that it is serious or very serious about participating in the negotiation process and advancing the path of the political solution.
 - 7- The vast majority of the study participants who do not know that the Constitutional Committee consists of three delegations do not trust the Constitutional Committee or do not trust it at all.
 - 8- About two-thirds of the study participants have little or no hopes for the success of the Constitutional Committee's work.
 - 9- There are many reasons for the participants' low or lack of hopes for the success of the work of the Constitutional Committee, and at the forefront of these reasons is the presence of interference in the work of the Constitutional Committee by countries and external parties, in addition to the lack of seriousness and desire of some countries to reach a solution to the Syrian crisis.
 - 10- Less than two-thirds of the study participants believe that the presence of all foreign military forces on Syrian lands has a negative impact on the work of the Constitutional Committee, while more than a quarter of them believe that the presence of certain foreign forces negatively affects the work of the Constitutional Committee, while the presence of the others does not affect its work.
 - 11- The Russian and Iranian forces constitute the most influential foreign powers from the viewpoint of the majority of those who believe that the presence of certain military forces negatively affects the work of the Constitutional Committee, followed by the Turkish forces and the American forces.

Fourth- Representation of Syrians by the Constitutional Committee:

- 1- About a third of the study participants support the work of the constitutional committee, but they have restrictions about the method of its formation.
- 2- The percentage of those who support the work of the Constitutional Committee but have restrictions about the method of its formation is

higher in both the opposition areas and the areas of the Syrian Democratic Forces.

- 3- The largest percentage of the study participants do not have a specific position on the constitutional committee.
- 4- The percentage of those who support the work of the Constitutional Committee according to the current data without having any restrictions is low, and the percentage of those who refuse the work of the committee is also low.
- 5- The largest percentage of study participants do not consider themselves represented by the Constitutional Committee and do not believe that any of the constituent delegations expresses their views and aspirations, while nearly a third believe that the delegation of the civil society is the closest to representing them within the Constitutional Committee, while the percentage of those who believe that the delegation of the opposition represents them was about a fifth.
- 6- In general, the level of satisfaction among those who believe that the delegation of the Syrian regime represents them is high with regard to its ability to mobilize international support, in addition its members' possession of legal expertise and competence, and its representation of the aspirations of Syrians in the constitutional negotiations and the degree of its interaction and involvement of the Syrians in the political process.
- 7- About half of the study participants who believe that the delegation of the Syrian opposition represents them are satisfied or very satisfied with its performance in terms of the ability to mobilize international support, and the vast majority of them are satisfied or very satisfied with the legal expertise and competencies possessed by the members of the delegation, while the percentage of those who said that they are satisfied or very satisfied with the delegation of the opposition representing the aspirations and desires of the Syrians was about two-thirds, and the degree of satisfaction with the interaction of the delegation of the opposition with the Syrians significantly drops.
- 8- Less than half of the participants who believe that the delegation of the civil society represents them are satisfied with its performance in terms of mobilizing international support and its representation of the aspirations of the Syrians in the constitutional negotiations, and nearly two-thirds of them believe that the members of the delegation possess legal expertise and competencies, while the degree of satisfaction with the interaction of the delegation of the civil society with the Syrians drops to less than a third.
- 9- Nearly two-thirds of the study participants prefer that periodic polls be conducted to know the views of Syrians to know their desires and aspirations, and to take them into account when drafting the country's new constitution.
- 10- More than half of the study participants support the members of the constitutional committee's delegations to hold meetings, meetings and conferences with the Syrians, and more than half also believe that it is

important to launch media campaigns and programs to publicize the work of the Constitutional Committee and publish the results of its meetings.

- 11- Approximately half of the participants support that members of the Constitutional Committee communicate with community leaders and representatives of the Syrians to identify their views on the work of the Constitutional Committee.
- 12- About a third of the study participants expressed their desire for the delegations of the Constitutional Committee to allocate phone numbers or e-mail accounts to receive the notes and suggestions of the Syrians about the work of the Constitutional Committee.

Regarding Constitutional Issues:

First- Arab Identity within the Constitution:

- 1- Nearly two-thirds of the respondents expressed their agreement on the necessity to affirm the Arab identity of the state and to name it Syrian Arab Republic, while more than a quarter of them refused this.
- 2- The level of agreement of the necessity to affirm the Arab identity of the state within the constitution is higher among Arabs and Turkmen, while it is lower among other ethnic components, especially the Kurds, as the vast majority of them expressed their rejection of this.
- 3- More than half of the study participants agree or strongly agree the adoption of the Arabic language as the only official language at the state level. This degree of approval is higher among Arabs and Turkmen, while it is lower among other ethnic components.
- 4- More than half of the study participants also agree or strongly agree the possibility of adopting other languages in addition to Arabic as official languages at the state level, which means that there are some respondents who prefer to adopt Arabic as the only official language at the state level, but at the same time they do not refuse adopting other official languages.
- 5- The option of adopting Arabic as the only official language at the state level, with the possibility of adopting other official languages at the regional level, was the most acceptable to the study participants, as about two-thirds of them said they agree or strongly agree with that.

Second- Religion and the State:

- 1- The largest percentage of the study participants do not support adopting Islamic jurisprudence as the only source of legislation.
- 2- Approximately, two-thirds of the study participants approve of adopting Islamic jurisprudence as a main source of legislation among other resources.
- 3- About two-thirds of the study participants also support considering Islamic jurisprudence as one of the sources of legislation.

- 4- Approximately, three-quarters of the study participants expressed their rejection of not considering Islamic jurisprudence as a source of legislation.
- 5- More than half of the study participants said they agree or strongly agree that the constitution stipulates that Islam be considered the religion of the state.
- 6- More than half of the study participants also indicated that they agree to separate religion from the state, which means that some participants accept the Islamic religion as the state's religion and at the same time accept the separation of religion from the state.
- 7- More than two-thirds of the study participants support the derivation of national laws and legislation from the regulations of the International Law.
- 8- The vast majority of the study participants emphasized the need for the constitution to guarantee the recognition of the cultural and intellectual rights of ethnic, national and religious minorities regardless of any text on the identity of the state.

Third- Form of the Administrative System:

- 1- about a third of the study participants said that they agree adopting a decentralized administrative system based on granting local authorities within regions broad administrative powers, and more than a quarter of the participants strongly agree to this.
- 2- About a third of the study participants agree or strongly agree with Syria's adoption of a centralized system that concentrates powers in the hands of the central government in the capital.
- 3- Some of the study participants expressed their acceptance of both the centralized and the decentralized systems.
- 4- The vast majority of the study participants reject adopting a federal system based on ethnic, religious, or sectarian foundations.

Fourth- Relation of the Authorities:

- 1- The vast majority of the study participants believe that the People's Assembly should have the supreme authority in the state and not be subordinate to the President of the Republic.
- 2- The vast majority of the study participants also believe that the work of the government and the executive authority should be subject to the supervision of the People's Assembly.
- 3- The vast majority of the study participants agree or strongly agree on the necessity of a complete independence of the judiciary and not to subject it to the President of the Republic.
- 4- More than two-thirds of the study participants expressed their support for the need to achieve the principle of separation of powers and to take the

necessary measures to prevent interference of any authority in the work of other authorities.

- 5- About three-quarters of the respondents said that they agree or strongly agree with the concentration of power and executive powers in the hands of the Syrian government with granting the President of the Republic the power to monitor its work.
- 6- The degree of participants support to dividing executive powers between the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister is low.
- 7- More than three-quarters of the participants said that they refuse or strongly refuse to concentrate executive powers in the hands of the President of the Republic.
- 8- The vast majority of participants either refuse or strongly refuse the appearance of civilians before the military court.
- 9- Almost three-quarters of the study participants either refuse or strongly refuse the participation of military personnel in political life.

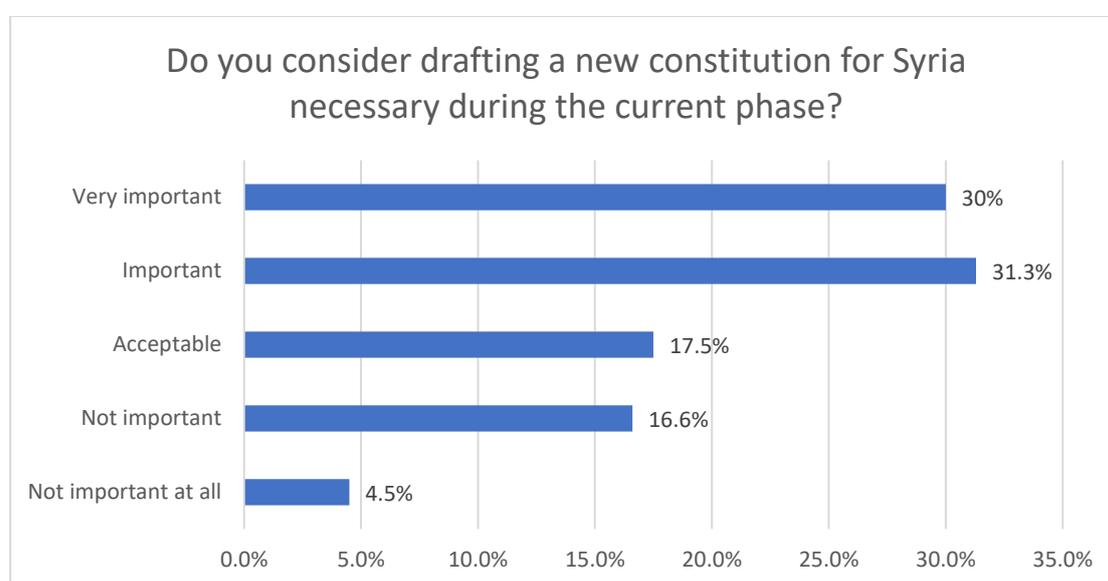
Fifth- Women within the Constitution:

- 1- The majority of the study participants support that the constitution stipulates allocating a minimum number of seats for women in electoral bodies and to specify a percentage for their participation in public life that the state must work to achieve, as nearly half of the participants answered that they agree to this, and more than a third said they strongly agree.
- 2- In general, there is an acceptance of the possibility of women being elected and assuming the presidency of the republic, as one-third of the participants said that they agree to this, and also a third said they strongly agree.
- 3- The vast majority of the study participants agree or strongly agree on the participation of women and electing them for the parliament (the People's Assembly).
- 4- The vast majority of the study participants also support that the constitution stipulates the right of women to grant Syrian nationality to their foreign husbands and children

First Section – Constitutional Committee

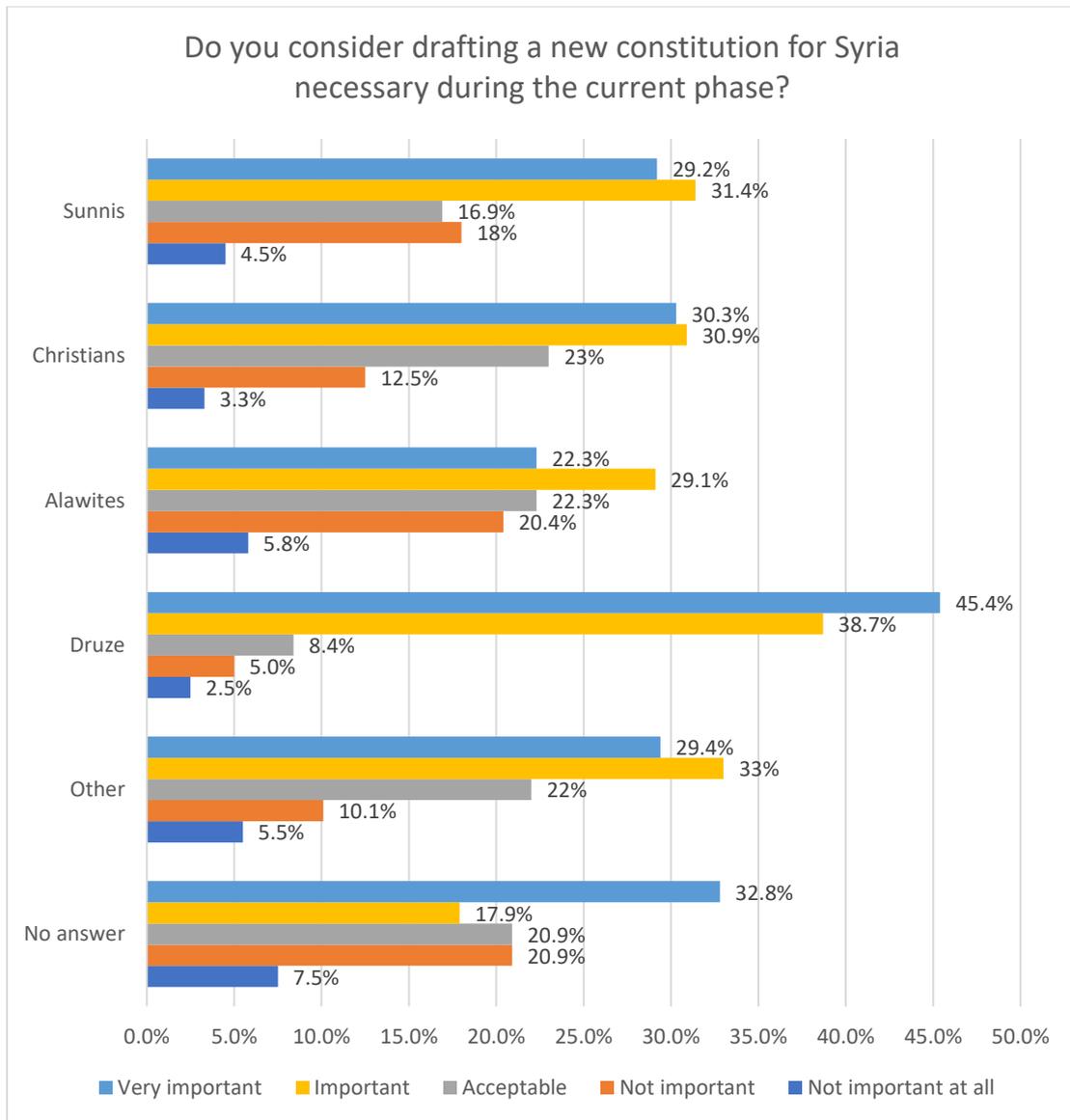
First- Priorities of the Syrians:

The commencement of the work of the Syrian Constitutional Committee was announced on the 30th of October 2019, and Pedersen, the special international envoy to Syria, considered this a first step to end the Syrian crisis², and the Constitutional Committee has held five meetings since then, the last of which was in January 2021. The majority of Syrians believe that working on drafting a new constitution for the country is one of the important issues within the path of political solution, as nearly two-thirds of the study participants believe that it is important or very important.



There is a noticeable similarity between the viewpoints of the Syrians of all religions regarding the importance of working on drafting a new constitution for the country, and the percentage of this viewpoint was higher among the Druze in particular, as the more than 80% of the Druze deem it important or very important.

² <https://news.un.org/ar/story/2019/10/1042821>



As for the place of residence, the study showed that the percentage of participants who believe that starting work on drafting a new constitution for the country is high within the areas under control of the Syrian Democratic Forces inside Syria, as the percentage of those who believe that this issue is important or very important reached 33.9% and 44.2% respectively, while 14.7% of the participants said that it is acceptable for them, and the percentage of those who think that this issue is not important or not important at all dropped to 6.4% and 0.8% respectively. In the opposition-controlled areas, 19% of the respondents said that starting to draft a new constitution is very important, and 43% said that it is important, while the percentage of those who said that it is unimportant or unimportant at all has risen to 20.4% and 5.7% respectively. In the areas controlled by the Syrian regime, more than a quarter of the participants believe that working to draft a new constitution for the country is very important, while a third of them said that it is important, and the percentage of those who believe it is not important or not important at all is 16% and 3.7% respectively.

As for outside Syria, we notice that the percentage of those who believe that working on drafting a new constitution for the country during the current phase is high in Germany, the Netherlands and Lebanon, while this percentage drops to less than a half in Iraq, Sweden and France as shown in the following table:

Do you consider drafting a new constitution for Syria necessary during the current phase?					
	Very important	Important	Acceptable	Not important	Not important at all
The Netherlands	55.6%	34.9%	3.2%	4.8%	1.6%
Lebanon	46.9%	31.9%	8%	11.5%	1.8%
Iraq	9.1%	27.3%	45.5%	13.6%	4.5%
France	31.8%	18.2%	20.5%	29.5%	0%
Syria	28%	36.1%	17.4%	14.9%	3.6%
Turkey	31%	20.2%	16%	22.6%	10.2%
Sweden	23.7%	21.5%	20.4%	25.8%	8.6%
Jordan	14%	40.7%	22.1%	22.1%	1.2%
Germany	51%	22.5%	11.8%	12.7%	2%

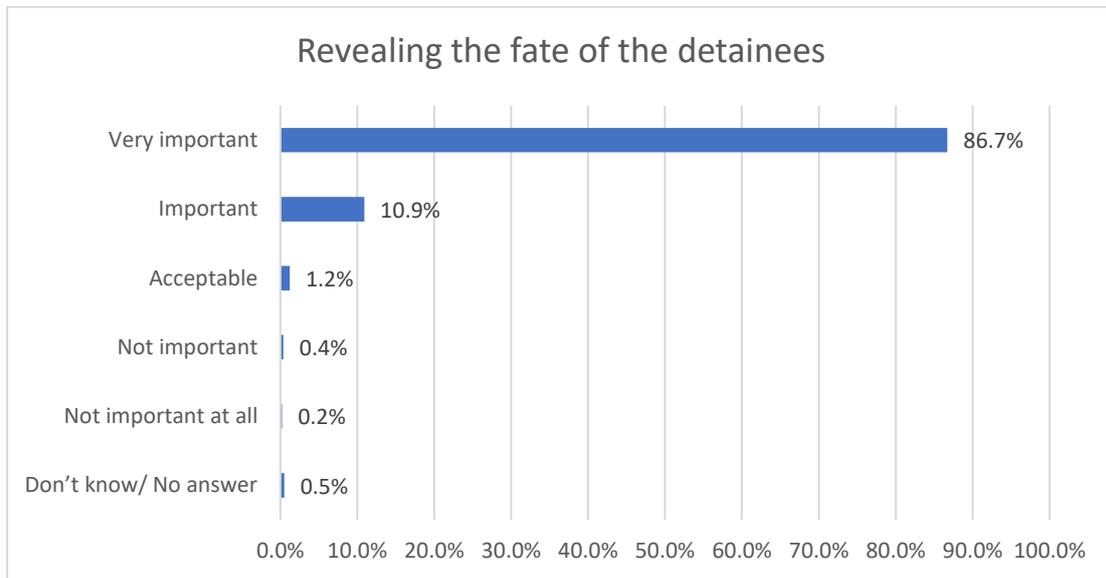
In addition to the question about the importance of working on starting the drafting of a new constitution for the country during the current phase, during the study, Syrians' views were surveyed regarding the extent of the importance of starting to take effective measures regarding each of the following issues and considering them as a priority within the path of the political solution in Syria:

- 1- Revealing the fate of the detainees.
- 2- Cessation of military operations.
- 3- Delivering humanitarian aid to people affected by the conflict.
- 4- Expelling foreign fighters.
- 5- Beginning of reconstruction work.
- 6- Hold people who are responsible for human rights violations and war crimes accountable.
- 7- Creating a safe environment for the return of refugees and IDPs.
- 8- Creating a neutral environment for conducting fair elections.
- 9- Ceasing security prosecutions.
- 10- Forming a transitional governing body to manage the transitional phase.

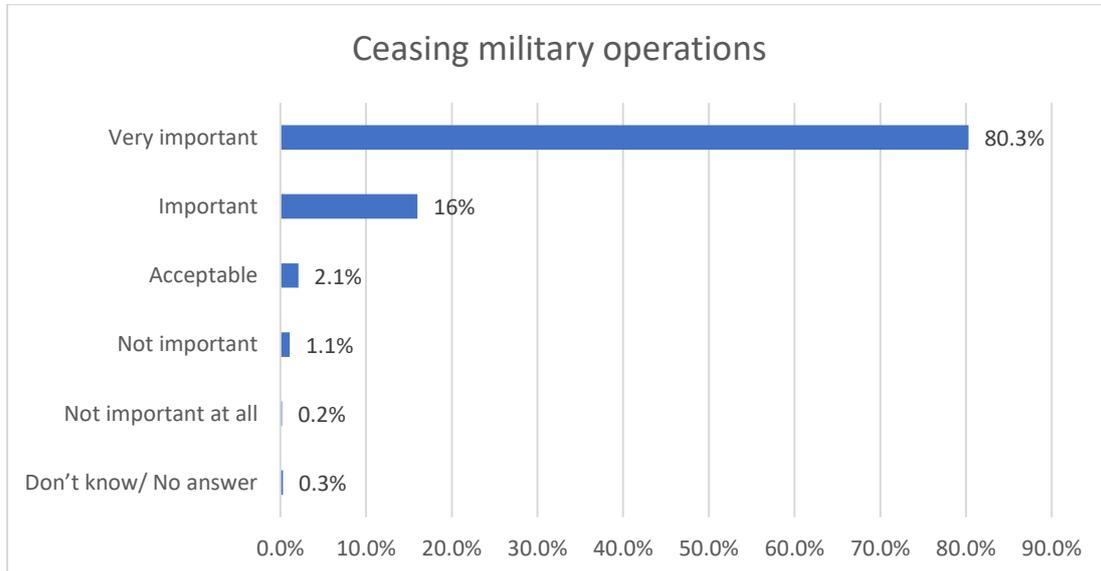
The degree of importance of these issues for the Syrians differed, although it can be said in general that they all have a high degree of importance, with some differences in the degree of importance for some issues based on variables such as (religion/ sect - place of residence - the controlling party of the place of residence).

In general, the vast majority of respondents stressed the importance of working to reveal the fate of the detainees imprisoned by all of the warring forces in Syria, and it is noticeable here that Syrians in all areas covered by the study and regardless of their religious, sectarian and ethnic affiliations agree on the

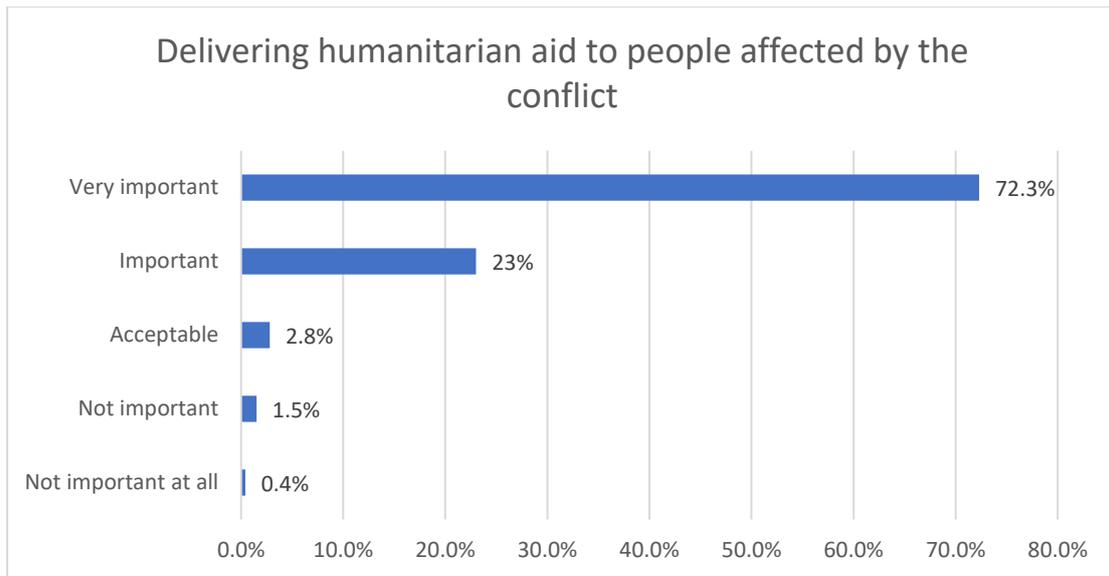
importance of revealing the fate of the detainees within the framework of the political solution process.



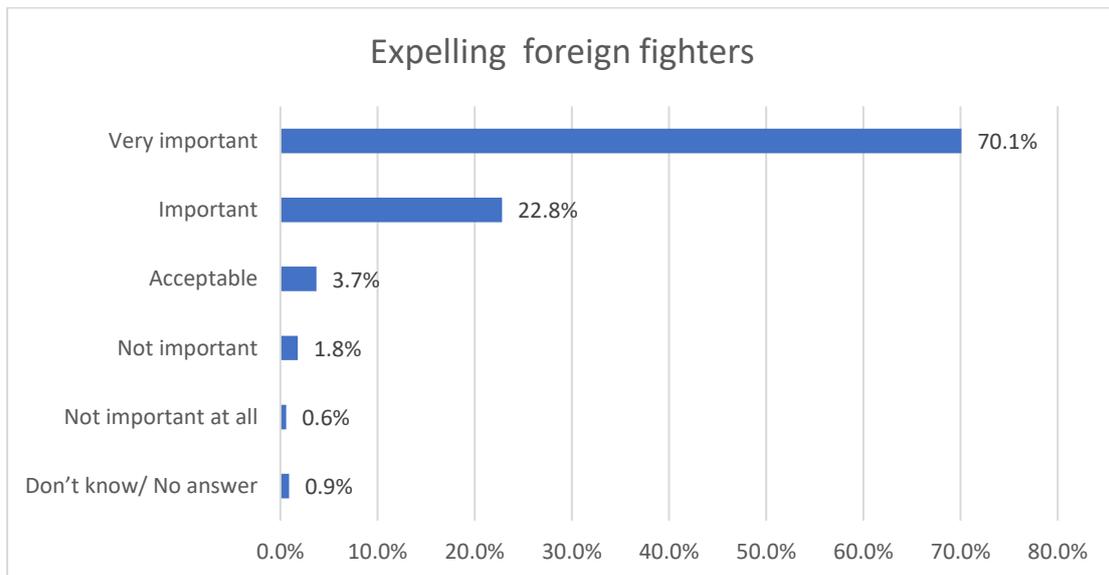
Also, the vast majority of the respondents in all areas of the study and regardless of their religious, sectarian and ethnic affiliations agree on the necessity of ceasing military operations in all of Syria as a step towards ending the crisis and reaching a political solution.



Working to deliver humanitarian aid to people affected by the conflict has also gained a high degree of importance according to all of the Syrians in all of their places of residence both in Syria or in other countries. In general, the percentage of the participants who believe that delivering humanitarian aid to people affected by the conflict is important reached 95.3%.



Among the important issues towards ending the conflict in Syria according to the study participants is also the necessity of working on expelling all foreign fighters from Syria no matter which party they fight for, knowing that there are no significant differences in the degree of importance based on any of the variables of the study.

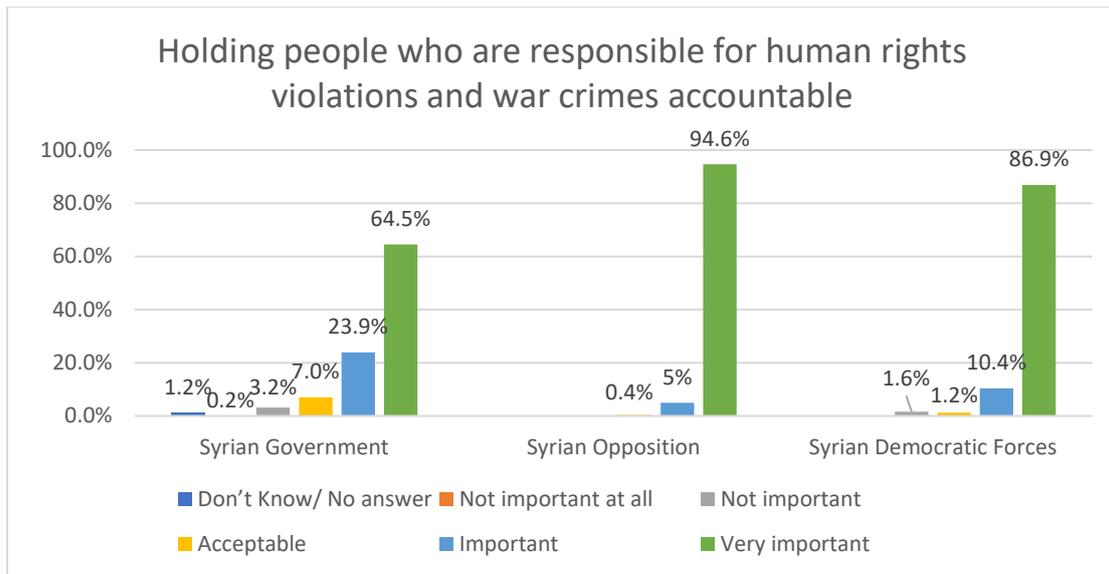


As for starting the reconstruction work within the framework of the political solution endeavors, we notice that the degree of importance of this issue is somewhat low among the study participants, as the percentage of those who believe that this issue is very important is 43.7%, and 29.1% of the participants said it is important, while 12% said that it is acceptable for them. As for the percentage of participants who believe that starting reconstruction work is not important or not important at all, it was 10.2% and 4.2% respectively, and 0.8% refused to answer.

In general, the degree of importance of starting reconstruction work is low among respondents who live in Jordan, Lebanon, and Sweden, and it is higher in the Netherlands, Germany, Iraq and Turkey, while in Syria, we notice that the degree of importance of starting reconstruction work is high in the areas under the control of the Syrian Democratic Forces and the areas under the control of the Syrian regime, as the percentage of those who believe that this issue is important or very important in the areas of Syrian Democratic Forces reached 91.6%, and this percentage reached 82.2% in the regime-controlled areas, while in the areas controlled by the Syrian opposition this percentage reached 61%. The reason for the low degree of importance of starting the reconstruction work among respondents living in opposition-controlled areas at the present time is because many of them linked the reconstruction process with the necessity of reaching a permanent political solution in Syria and a transfer of power in accordance with UN resolutions, foremost of which is Resolution No. 2254, in addition to the existence of a large number of IDPs within the opposition areas who are looking forward to returning to their original areas and to reclaim their properties before commencing reconstruction work.

How important is starting reconstruction work?						
	Very important	Important	Acceptable	Not important	Not important at all	Don't know/ No answer
The Netherlands	55.6%	36.5%	7.9%	0%	0%	0%
Lebanon	38.9%	17.7%	17.7%	21.2%	4.4%	0%
Iraq	48.9%	42%	4.5%	2.3%	2.3%	0%
France	50%	20.5%	11.4%	15.9%	2.3%	0%
Syria	47.1%	32%	10.7%	8%	1.7%	0.5%
Turkey	32.8%	24.7%	16.6%	14.5%	9.6%	1.8%
Sweden	35.5%	21.5%	9.7%	18.3%	12.9%	2.2%
Jordan	19.8%	25.6%	18.6%	17.4%	15.1%	3.5%
Germany	60.8%	21.6%	10.8%	4.9%	2%	0%

On the other hand, the results of the study showed that holding people who are responsible for committing human rights violations or war crimes from all parties to the conflict accountable is an important issue, as the percentage of participants who believe that this is very important or important reached 77.7% and 15.8% respectively, while 3.7% said that it is acceptable for them, and the percentage of those who said that it is not important or not important at all was 2.2% and 0.1% respectively, and 0.5% refused to answer. Here we denote that the degree of importance of holding people who are responsible for committing human rights violations or war crimes accountable was somewhat higher among respondents in the areas controlled by the Syrian opposition and the areas of the Syrian Democratic Forces compared to the respondents in the areas of the Syrian regime.

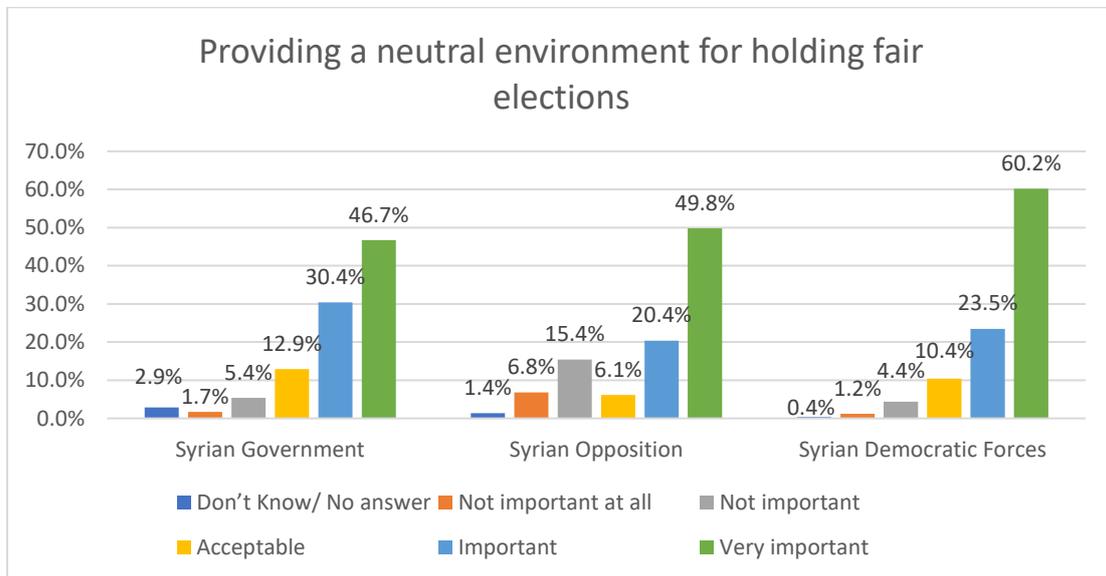


With regard to working to create a safe environment and providing favorable conditions for the return of Syrians IDPs and refugees to their original areas, the degree of importance of this issue was generally high, as 61% of the study participants said that it is very important and 25.5% said it is important. And the percentage of participants who said that it is acceptable is 7%, while the percentage of those who believe that it is not important or not important at all is 4.9% and 0.8% respectively, and 0.7% refused to answer. The degree of importance of this issue varies according to the respondents' place of residence, as it was high in Iraq, Jordan and the Netherlands, while it gradually drops in Germany, France, Lebanon, Syria and Turkey.

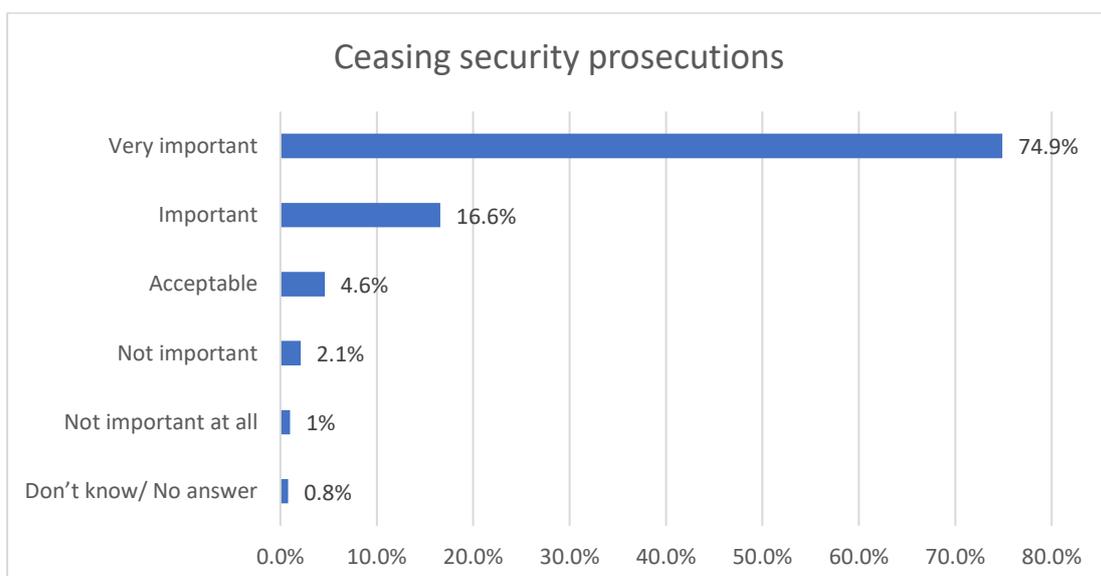
Importance of creating a favorable environment for the return of the IDPs and refugees to their original areas						
	Very important	Important	Acceptable	Not important	Not important at all	Don't know/ No answer
The Netherlands	81%	14.3%	4.8%	0%	0%	0%
Lebanon	63.7%	23.9%	5.3%	7.1%	0%	0%
Iraq	61.4%	37.5%	1.1%	0%	0%	0%
France	70.5%	15.9%	4.5%	9.1%	0%	0%
Syria	59.8%	26.8%	7.9%	4.3%	0.5%	0.6%
Turkey	60.2%	18.1%	7.8%	8.7%	3.3%	1.8%
Sweden	76.3%	17.2%	2.2%	2.2%	0%	2.2%
Jordan	41.9%	50%	5.8%	2.3%	0%	0%
Germany	58.8%	24.5%	8.8%	7.8%	0%	0%

As for the Syrians' views on the extent of important of working to secure a neutral environment for free and fair elections (such as being supervised by the United Nations), we find that nearly three-quarters of the study participants believe this issue is important or very important, and it is noticeable that this

option was less important for residents of opposition areas compared to those within the areas controlled by the Syrian regime and the areas of the Syrian Democratic Forces, which could be explained by the low level of confidence of residents within opposition areas in international bodies and organizations including the United Nations.

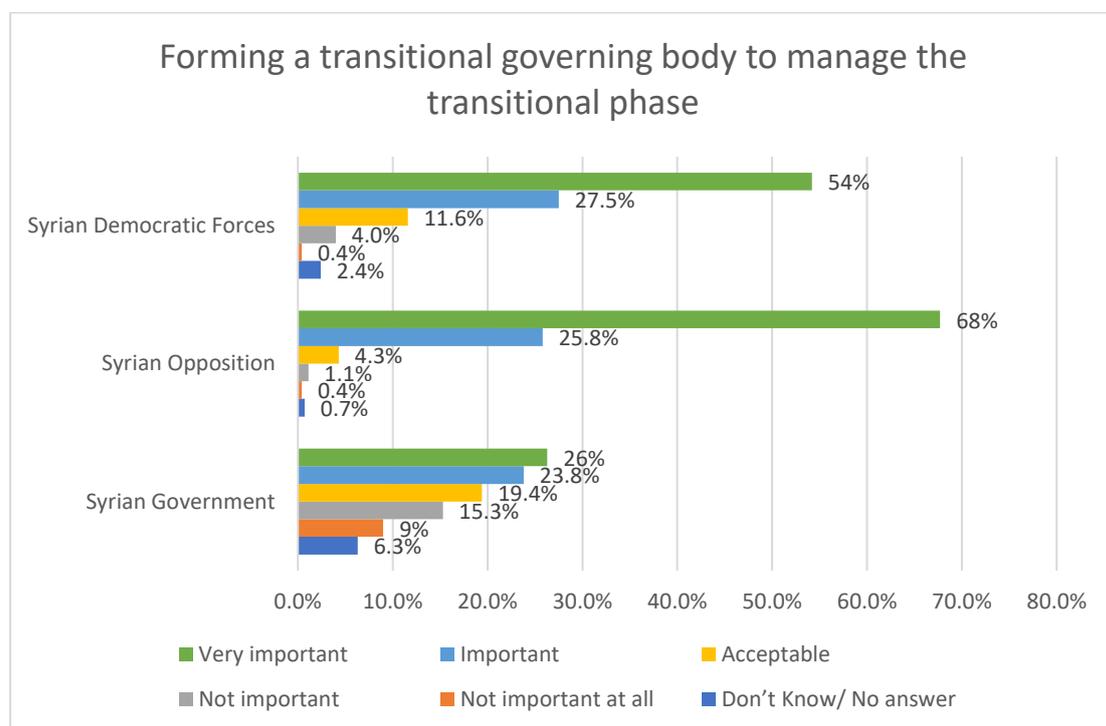


Regarding the importance of ceasing the security prosecutions and considering it as one of the main issues in the framework of the political solution, we find that the vast majority of Syrians deem this as one of the priorities, and we notice that the degree of importance of ceasing security prosecutions is low among Alawites compared to Syrians of other religions and sects, as the percentage of Alawites who believe that stopping the security prosecutions is an important or very important issue drops to less than three quarters.



Finally, with regard to the need to work on forming a transitional governing body to manage the transitional phase, three-quarters of the study participants stressed the importance of this issue (48.6% believe it is very important and 26.4% believe it is important), and 11% said that it is acceptable for them, while the percentage of those who considered it not important or not important at all was 7.6% and 3% respectively, and 3.3% did not answer (either refused to answer or said they do not know).

In general, the degree of support of Syrians who live outside Syria for forming a transitional governing body to manage the transitional phase is high, while in Syria it is high in both the Syrian opposition-controlled areas and areas of the Syrian Democratic Forces, while it is low in the Syrian regime areas.

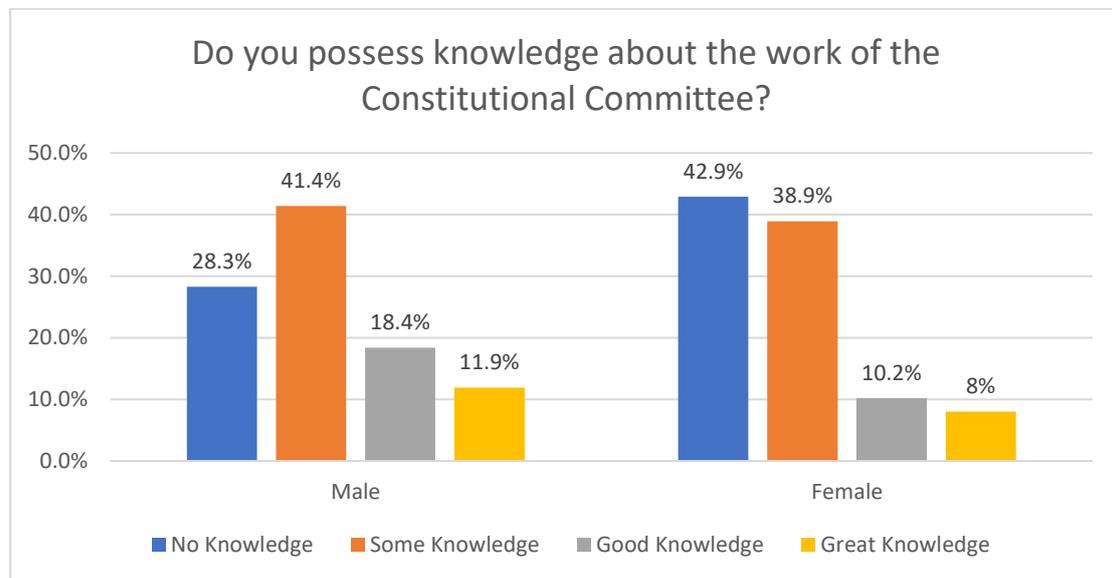


Second- Knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee:

Although nearly two-thirds of the study participants believe that starting work on drafting a new constitution for Syria at the current phase is considered one of the important or very important issues as previously mentioned, we notice a that the degree of Syrians' knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee is low, as participants who said that they have great knowledge of its work did not exceed 10%, while only 14.5% are have good knowledge about it, and the largest percentage of respondents (40.2%) said that they are somewhat familiar with the work of the Constitutional Committee, and more than a third said that they do not know anything about it.

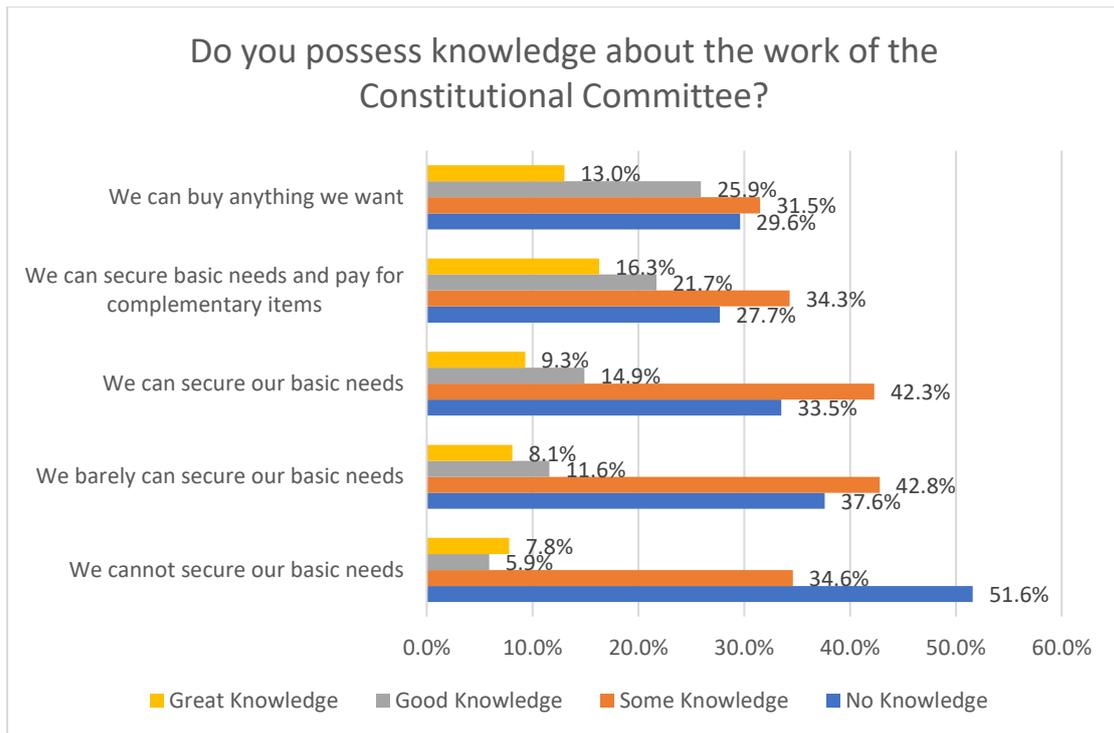
In general, the degree of knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee among the male participants was higher than among female

participants, and this could be because males are more concerned about political issues.



On the other hand, the study showed that there is a correlation between the economic level of the respondent's family and the degree of knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee; as the degree of knowledge was higher among respondents with high monthly income and living conditions, which may be attributed to the preoccupation of people with low income who must work for more hours in order to provide the basic needs of their families, while people with higher incomes are more free and have more time to follow up on the political events.

Note: (The basic needs of the family are food, clothes, shelter, education and treatment).



Results of the study has also shown that there is a correlation between Syrians knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee and the educational level of the respondents, as the degree of knowledge increases when the educational level of the respondent is higher:

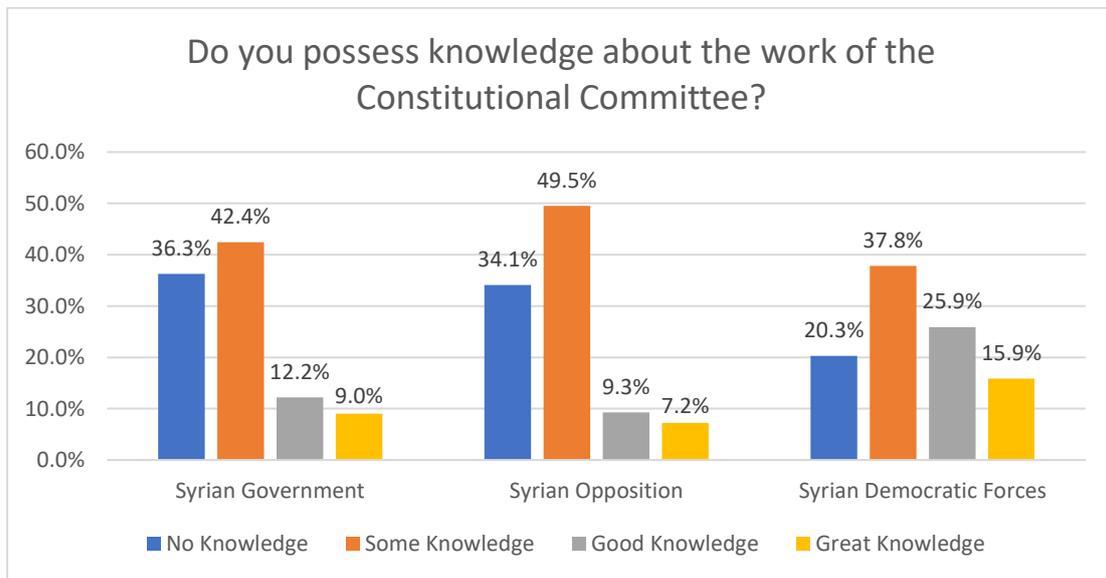
Do you possess knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee?				
	Great Knowledge	Good Knowledge	Some Knowledge	No Knowledge
Higher studies	21.8%	24.4%	41.2%	12.6%
University	10.9%	18.1%	42.9%	28.1%
Institute	30.8%	0%	30.8%	38.5%
Secondary	8.6%	12%	40.9%	38.5%
Preparatory	7.6%	6.8%	37.6%	48%
Primary	3.4%	8.4%	30.3%	58%
Illiterate	2.2%	2.2%	15.2%	80.4%

As for the place of residence, there is a high degree of knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee among participants who live in France and Iraq, and somewhat high degree in Turkey and Syria, while the degree of such knowledge is gradually lower in Sweden, Lebanon, Jordan, Germany and the Netherlands as shown in the following table:

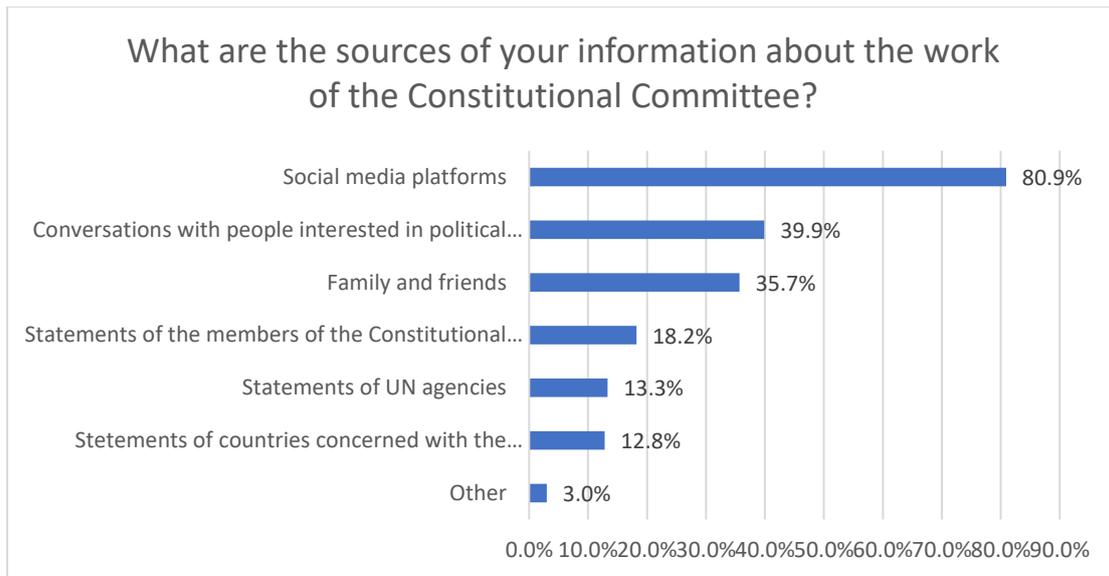
Do you possess knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee?				
	Great Knowledge	Good Knowledge	Some Knowledge	No Knowledge
The Netherlands	0%	20.6%	22.2%	57.1%
Lebanon	5.3%	19.5%	36.3%	38.9%

Iraq	23.9%	5.7%	25%	45.5%
France	22.7%	27.3%	38.6%	11.4%
Syria	10.1%	14.6%	43.2%	32.1%
Turkey	13.3%	16.3%	40.7%	29.8%
Sweden	6.5%	9.7%	32.3%	51.6%
Jordan	2.3%	14%	50%	33.7%
Germany	2.9%	5.9%	34.3%	56.9%

While in Syria, the degree of knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee is noticeably higher among respondents living in the areas controlled by Syrian Democratic Forces than among respondents living in the areas controlled by the opposition or the Syrian regime.

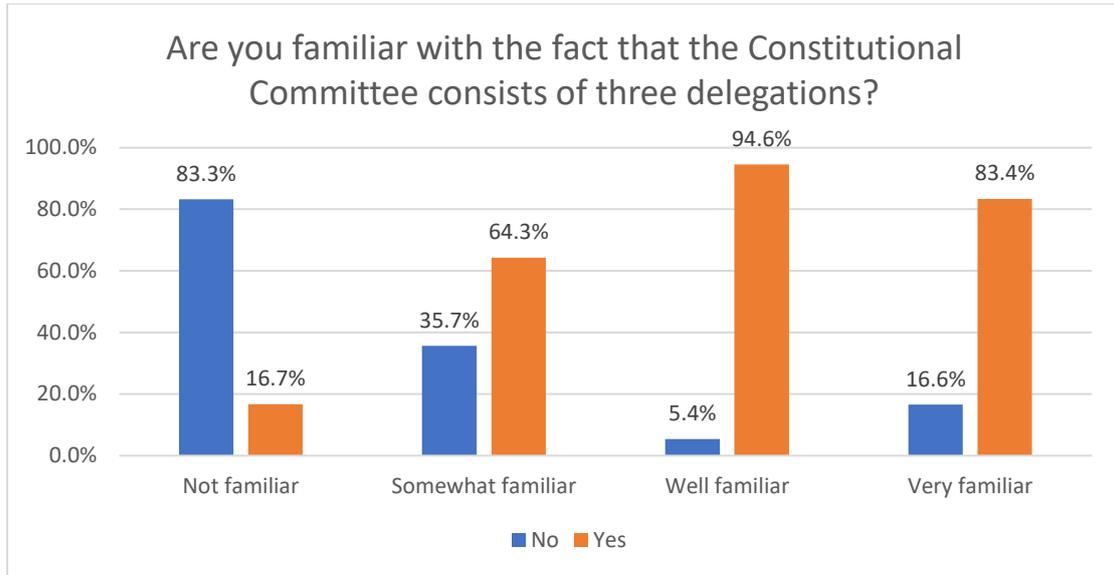


During the interviews, the participants (except for those who said that they do not have any knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee) were asked about the sources from which they obtain their information, and the results showed that the majority obtain their information by browsing internet websites and social networking platforms, which may cause providing them with some false information about the work of the Constitutional Committee, because information that is posted on social media platforms is not issued by official bodies, and it may also be issued by people who are not specialized in Syrian political context. On the other hand, more than a third of the respondents said that they obtain their information through discussions they hold with people interested in political matters in their society, and about a third also said that they obtain their information from their friends or relatives, while the percentage of those who obtain information from official sources such as statements of members of the Constitutional Committee or statements issued by the international bodies or countries concerned with Syrian context is low, as shown in the following chart:

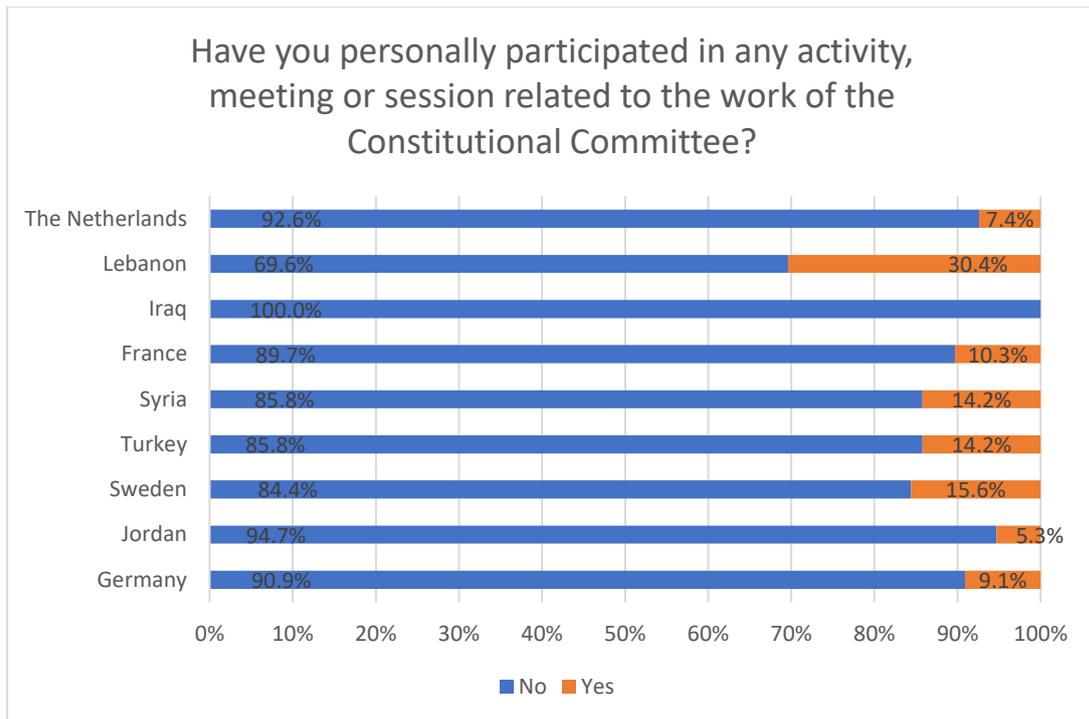


Note: (the option OTHER includes obtaining information from media and T.V news channels).

A proof to the poor knowledge of the Syrians about the Constitutional Committee and its work is that nearly half of the study participants do not know that the Committee consists of three delegations, and these participants include many respondents who said that they have great or good knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee, which means that Syrians' information about the Constitutional Committee are superficial or that they have false and inaccurate information. On the other hand, it must also be noted that more than half of the study participants (50.6%) do not know any member of the Constitutional Committee, while the remaining participants know one or more members of the Constitutional Committee either personally or in general, knowing that some respondents know some members of the Constitutional Committee, but they do not know which delegations are they with. The average number of members who respondents said they know without knowing which delegation are they with is two members. In general, members of the Syrian opposition delegation of the Constitutional Committee is the most known members for the respondents with an average of four members, while the average number of members that the respondents know from the delegations of the Syrian regime and the civil society was two members each.



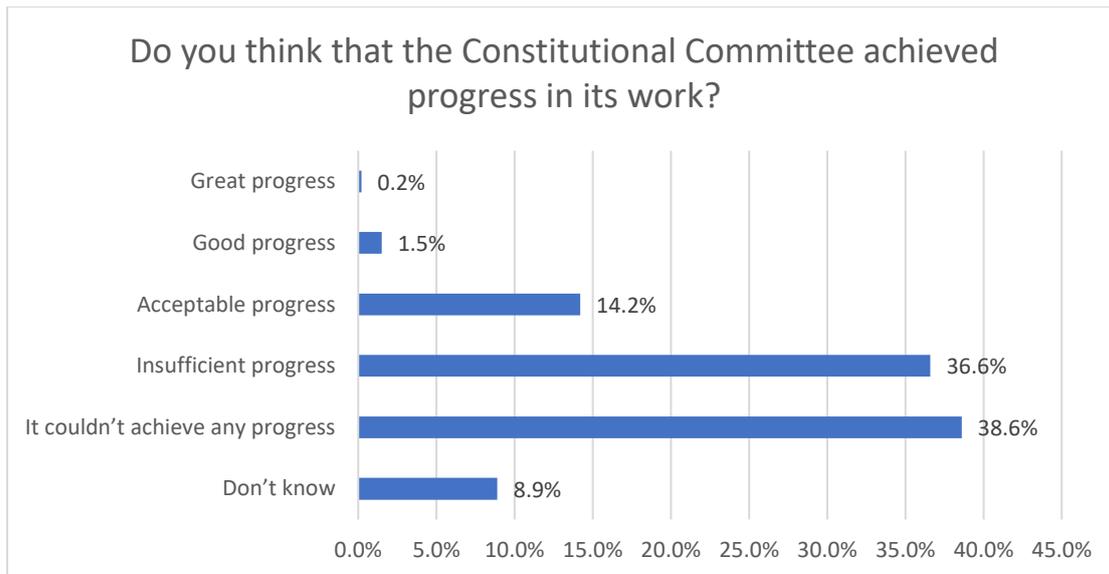
Finally, it should be noted that 13.8% of the study participants said that they have personally participated in some activities related to the work of the Constitutional Committee, such as the sessions, meetings and seminars organized by civil society organizations interested in improving the political participation of members of society, and this percentage is significantly higher in Lebanon (30.4%), while it was less in Jordan, Iraq and the European Union countries, and in both Turkey and Syria, this percentage reached 14.2% in each, and here we denote that the degree of participation in activities related to the work of the Constitutional Committee is higher inside Syria in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces as it reached 34%, while in the areas of the Syrian regime, it reached 8.3%, and this can be attributed to the risk of the circulation of political issues within the areas controlled by the Syrian regime, while the percentage of participation in the events and activities related to the work of the Constitutional Committee within the opposition areas dropped to 4.9%, and this may be attributed to the focus of civil society organizations' activities in opposition areas on relief and development aspects, with less concentration on political issues.



Third- Confidence in the work of the Constitutional Committee:

Since its formation, the Constitutional Committee has held five rounds of meetings, the last of which was in January 2021, during which the basic constitutional principles were supposed to be discussed, and in general, the Committee was unable to make any progress during its meetings, and the UN special envoy to Syria Geir Pedersen, who supervises the negotiation process, described the last round as disappointing and said that the work of the Constitutional Committee cannot continue in the same manner³. Regarding the opinion of the Syrians themselves about the progress that the Constitutional Committee has achieved, we find that the largest percentage of the study participants believe that the Committee did not achieve any progress, and over a third of respondents consider the progress it achieved insufficient.

³ <https://www.enabbaladi.net/archives/454072>



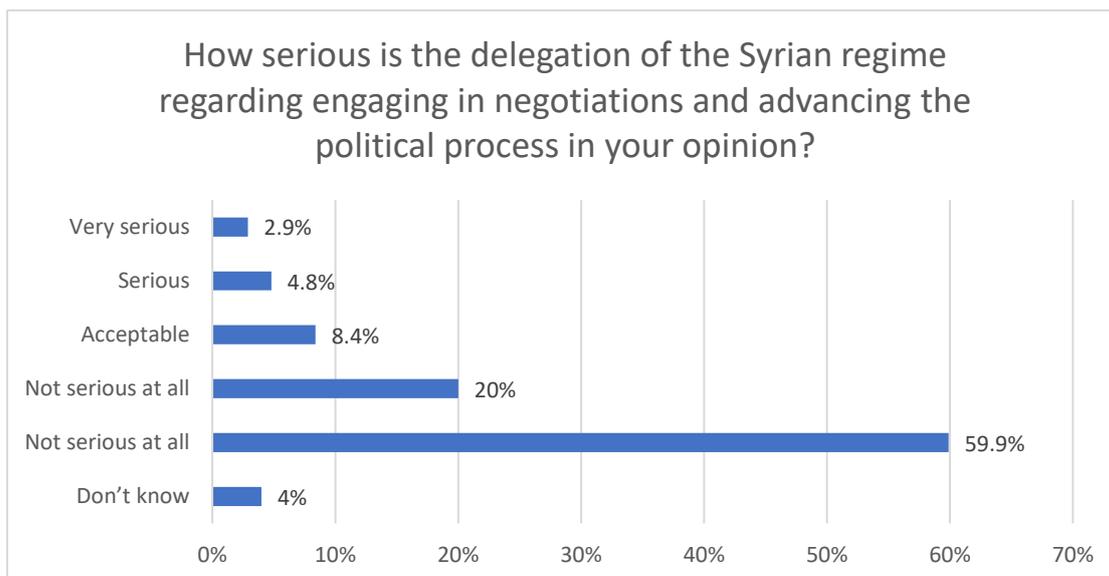
Aiming to know the views of the Syrians about the future of the constitutional process and their extent of confidence in the ability of the Constitutional Committee to complete its work and draft a new constitution for the country, a set of questions were asked about the delegations of the Constitutional Committee and the Committee itself, whereas the participants who know that the Committee consists of three delegations were asked about the degree of their confidence in each of those delegations and in their seriousness in participating in the political process, while the participants who did not know that the committee consists of three delegations were asked about the extent of their confidence in the Constitutional Committee and its ability to complete its work in general.

Generally, the degree of confidence of the respondents in the delegation of the Syrian regime was low, while the degree of confidence in both the opposition and the civil society delegations was somewhat higher. Regarding the delegation of the Syrian regime, the percentage of those who are confident or very confident in it very much did not exceed 8.7%, and here we denote that the degree of confidence in the Syrian regime's delegation is low among Arabs, Kurds, and Turkmen alike, while it is higher among the ethnic components included in the option {Other} (Syriacs, Armenians, Assyrians, Circassians and Chaldeans) as more than a third of them trust it or trust it very much, while in terms of religion or sect, the degree of confidence in the regime's delegation is higher among Christians and Alawites, while it remains very low among the Sunni component.

How confident in the Syrian regime delegation are you?					
	Very confident	Confident	Neutral	Not confident	Not confident at all.
Sunni	1.2%	3.3%	7.6%	19.6%	68.3%
Christians	7.1%	24.7%	20%	18.8%	29.4%
Alawites	9.3%	18.5%	13%	20.4%	38.9%
Druze	1.4%	9.7%	16.7%	25%	47.2%
Other	6.3%	0%	12.7%	24.1%	57%

No answer.	10.2%	4.1%	4.1%	20.4%	61.2%
------------	-------	------	------	-------	-------

Likewise, the results of the study showed a significantly low percentage of participants who believe that the regime’s delegation is serious regarding entering the negotiation process and advancing the path of the political solution, this might be a logical opinion in light of the regime delegation’s procrastination and disruption of the Constitutional Committee’s meetings and its refusal to discuss basic constitutional issues in an effort to gain time to hold the upcoming presidential elections within the framework of the 2012 constitution, and here we also notice that the percentage of participants who believe that the regime is serious in this regard is higher among the participants of the ethnic components included in the option {Other}; (Syriacs, Armenians, Assyrians, Circassians and Chaldeans), as a quarter of them believe that it is serious or very serious regarding advancing the negotiation process, while in terms of religion or sect, this percentage is also particularly high among both Christians and Alawites (22.3% of Christians believe that it is serious or very serious, while among Alawites this percentage was 26%).

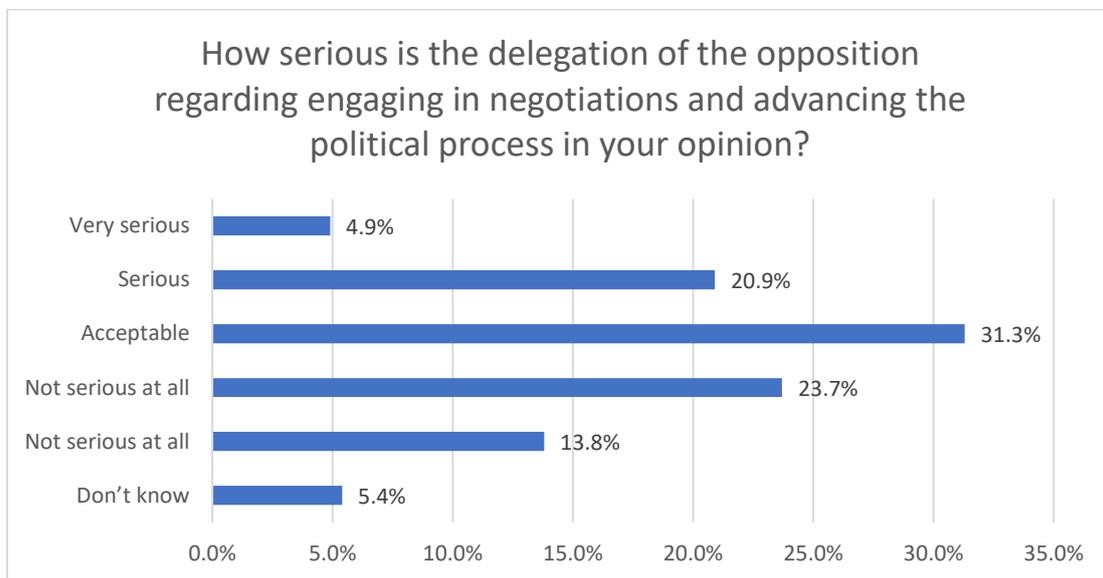


As for the Syrian opposition delegation, the degree of confidence is somewhat high among the respondents, as nearly a quarter of them said that they are confident or very confident in it, while 28.8% said that they are neutral, and the percentage of those who do not trust it or do not trust it at all reached 29.7% and 18.2%, respectively, and the degree of confidence in the opposition delegation is significantly higher among Turkmen, while it was lower among the Kurds.

How confident in the opposition delegation are you?					
	Very confident	Confident	Neutral	Not confident	Not confident at all.
Arabs	2.4%	23.6%	29.8%	29.6%	14.6%

Turkmen	0%	61.7%	10.6%	19.1%	8.5%
Kurds	1.5%	2.9%	25%	33.1%	37.5%
Other	0%	5%	35%	33.8%	26.3%
No answer	12.5%	12.5%	37.5%	0%	37.5%

Results of the study showed that there is somewhat higher percentage of the participants who believe that the opposition delegation is serious or very serious regarding entering the negotiation process and advancing the path of the political solution compared to the delegation of the Syrian regime, as more than a quarter of the respondents believe that the opposition delegation is serious or very serious regarding entering the political process, and this percentage is higher among Arabs, as nearly a third of them consider it as serious or very serious. While in terms of religion or sect, this percentage reached 31.8% among Sunnis, while among Christians and Alawites it dropped to 5.9% and 7.4%, respectively.

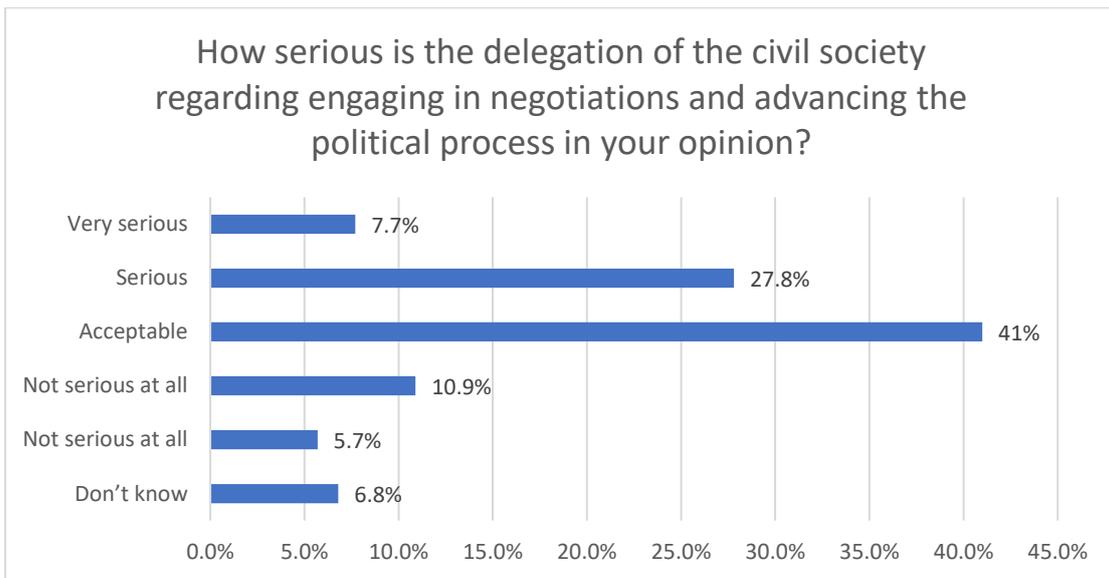


Finally, with regard to the civil society delegation, more than a third of the study participants said that they are confident or very confident in it, while 40.2% of them said that they are neutral, and the percentage of those who are not confident in it or not confident at all reached 16.9% and 7.9%, respectively, and it is noticeable that the degree of confidence in the civil society delegation is similar among Syrians of all religions and sects, while in terms of ethnicity, the degree of confidence in the civil society delegation is somewhat lower among the Turkmen compared to other ethnicities.

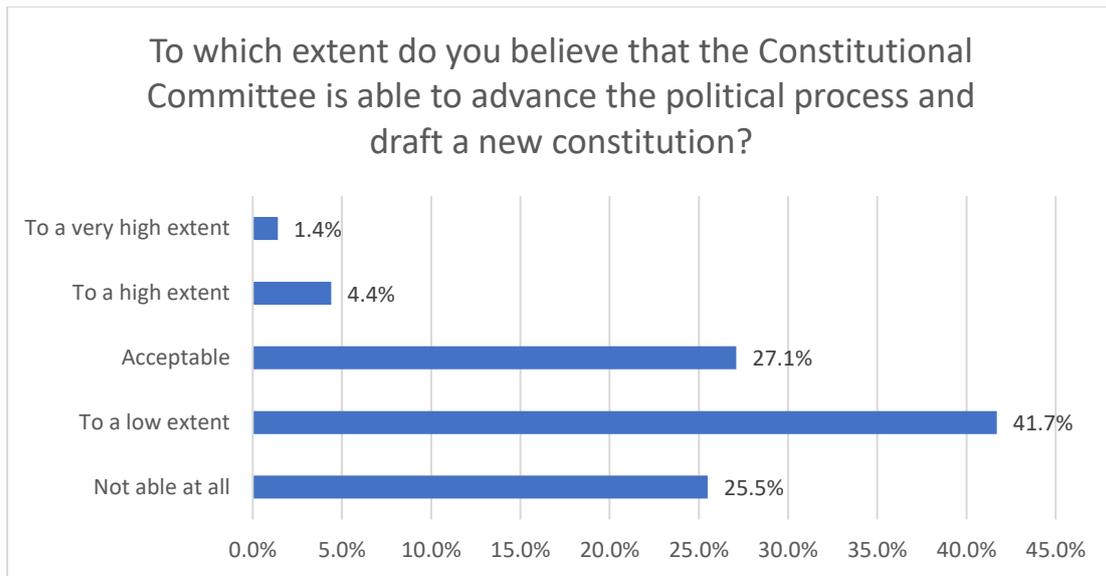
How confident in the civil society delegation are you?					
	Very confident	Confident	Neutral	Not confident	Not confident at all.
Arabs	4.6%	32.9%	39.3%	15.2%	8.1%
Turkmen	4.3%	17%	21.3%	53.2%	4.3%
Kurds	1.5%	22.8%	52.2%	16.2%	7.4%
Other	2.5%	31.3%	42.5%	16.3%	7.5%

No answer	12.5%	37.5%	25%	0%	25%
-----------	-------	-------	-----	----	-----

Here we denote that the civil society delegation from the viewpoint of the study participants is the most serious and willing delegation to achieve the objectives of the Constitutional Committee which are drafting a new constitution for the country and advancing the path of the political solution, as more than a third of the participants consider it serious or very serious in achieving these objectives. In general, the percentages of respondents who believe that the delegation of civil society is serious is similar among all religions and sects, except for the Druze, as this percentage reached more than half of them.

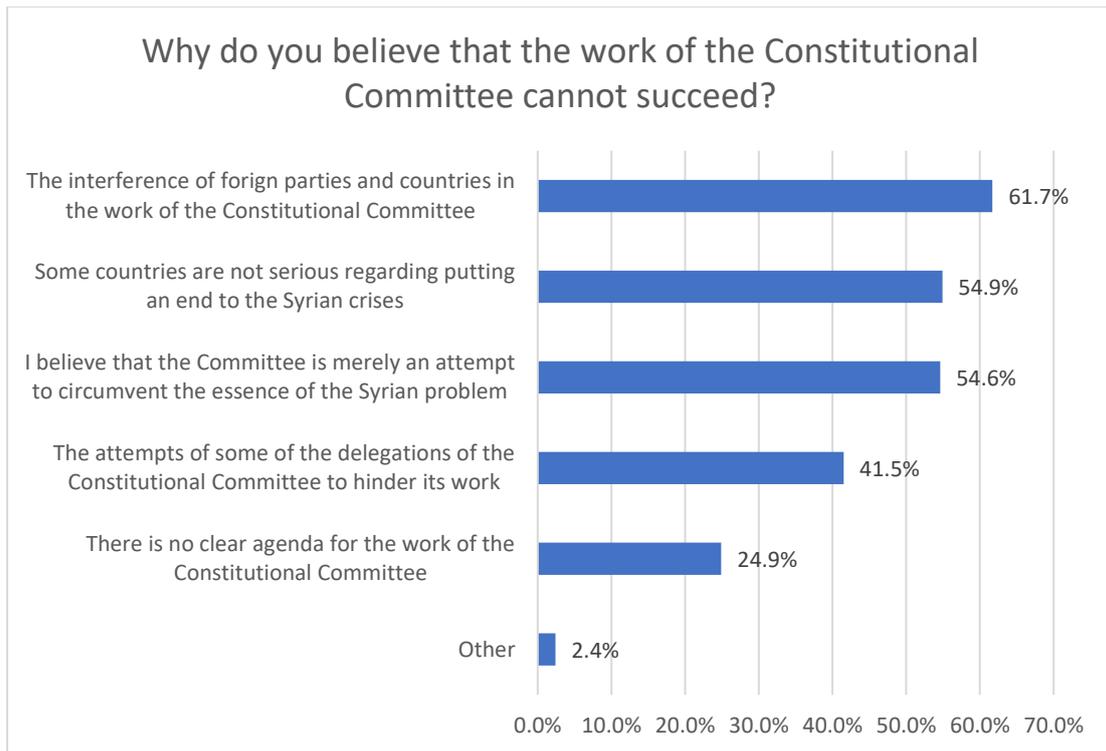


As for the participants who do not know that the Constitutional Committee consists of three delegations, who were asked about their confidence in the Constitutional Committee in general and in its ability to advance the political path and draft a new constitution for the country, we find that about half of them do not have confidence in the Constitutional Committee, and 44.8% of them said that they are neutral, while the percentage of those who are confident or very confident in the Constitutional Committee did not exceed 4.2%. Likewise, we also notice that the percentage of respondents who believe that the Constitutional Committee is able to complete its mission of drafting the constitution and advancing the path of the political solution in Syria is low.



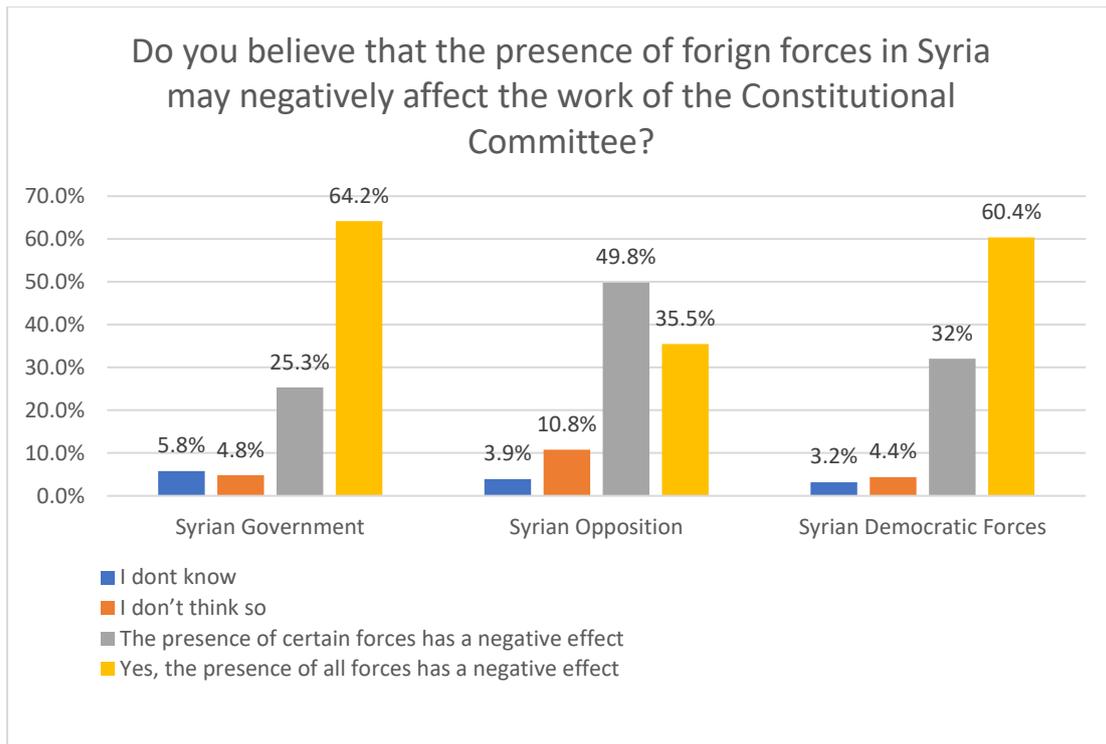
In addition to all of the aforementioned information, the study participants both those who knew or those who did not know that it consists of three delegations were generally asked about the extent of their belief in the possibility of the success of the Constitutional Committee in completing its work and reaching the drafting of a new constitution for the country, in general, about two-thirds of them said that they have a slight hope or no hope at all about the success of the work of the Constitutional Committee, and 28.8% of them said that they have some hope in the success of the work of the Constitutional Committee, while the percentage of respondents who have high or very high hopes reached 4.5% and 0.7%, respectively.

There are many reasons that lead the participants (who said that they have slight hopes or no hopes) to believe that the work of the Constitutional Committee will not succeed, at the foremost of these reasons according to nearly two-thirds of the participants is the interference of external bodies and parties in the work of the Constitutional Committee, as in the situation of some countries that seek to harness the work of the committee to preserve their interests and maintain their gains that they achieved by interfering in the conflict, and on the other hand, more than half of those who believe that the work of the Constitutional Committee cannot succeed attribute their beliefs to the fact that some countries are not serious or do not have a true intention to reach a political settlement that ends the conflict, also, more than half believe that the formation of the Constitutional Committee is nothing but an attempt to circumvent the essence of the Syrian issue and that it has begun its work to divert attention from other more priority issues within the framework of a political solution, such as the issue of revealing the fate of detainees and forcibly disappeared persons. There is also a high percentage of those who attributed their belief that the work of the Constitutional Committee will not succeed to the attempt of some of the Committee delegations to obstruct and disrupt its work, in addition to some participants who said that there is no clear agenda for the work of the Constitutional Committee in particular and that its work is not restricted to a specific timetable.



Finally, in order to know the Syrians' attitude regarding the foreign military forces in Syria, the study participants were asked about their opinion regarding the presence of these forces and the extent of their influence on the work of the Constitutional Committee, and in total 60.5% of the respondents said that the presence of all foreign forces have a negative effect on the work of the Constitutional Committee. While nearly a quarter believe that the presence of certain foreign forces has a negative impact on the work of the Committee, while the percentage of respondents who believe that there is no correlation between the work of the Constitutional Committee and the presence of foreign forces in Syria, it reached 9.4%.

In general, the percentage of respondents who believe that all foreign forces have a negative effect on the work of the Constitutional Committee is high in areas of the Syrian regime and the areas under control of the Syrian Democratic Forces, while in the areas of the Syrian opposition, there is a high percentage of respondents who believe that the presence of certain military forces negatively affects the work of the Constitutional Committee, while the presence of other forces does not affect it.



Respondents who said that the presence of certain forces negatively affects the work of the Constitutional Committee were asked about those forces, and the majority of them said that the presence of Russian and Iranian forces has a negative impact on the work of the Constitutional Committee, knowing that this percentage is high among Syrians of all ethnicities, while in terms of religion, the percentage of respondents who believe that there is a negative impact of the Russian and Iranian intervention is lower among Christians and Alawites. As for the Turkish intervention, we notice a significantly high percentage of those who believe that it has a negative effect among the Kurds, as it reached 89.1%, while it was lower among both Arabs and Turkmen to 33.1% and 6.8% respectively, while in terms of religion or sect, this percentage is high among all religions and sects except for the Sunnis, as 70.3% of them believe that the Turkish presence has no effect on the work of the Constitutional Committee. Results of the study has revealed a distinctive contrast between the views of the participants in Syria about the forces which presence negatively affects the work of the Constitutional Committee according to the control areas, as shown in the following table:

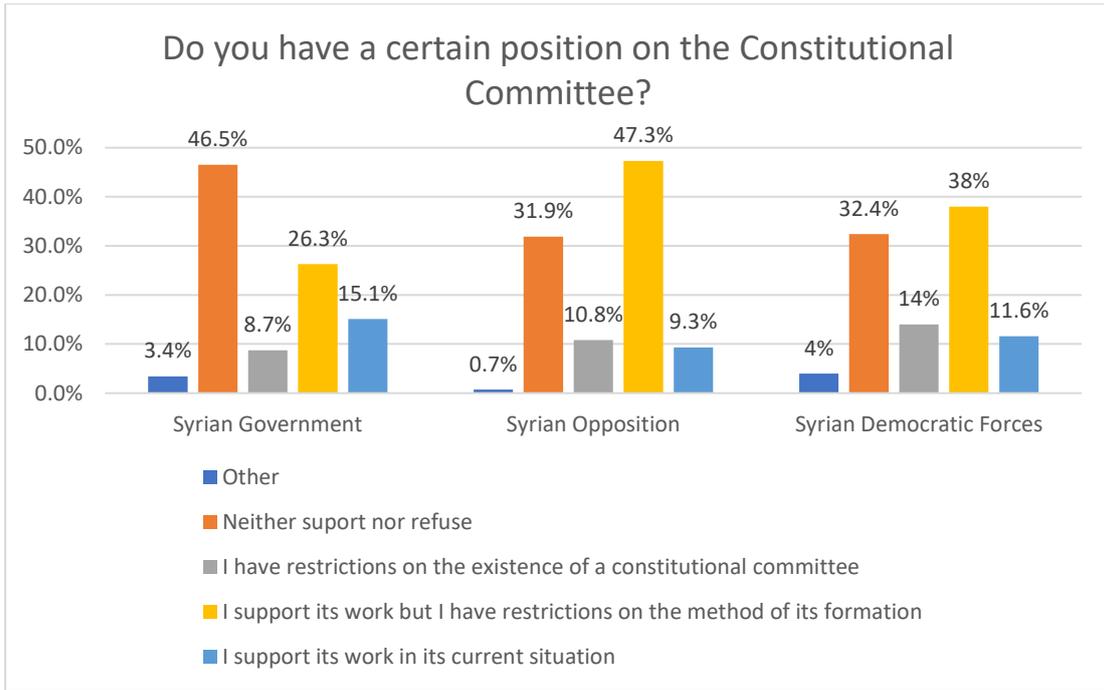
What are the forces which presence negatively affects the work of the Constitutional Committee in your opinion?			
	Syrian regime areas	Syrian Democratic Forces areas	Syrian opposition areas
Iran	50%	95%	94%
Russia	49%	84%	98%
Turkey	75%	60%	11%
America	79%	16%	24%
France	23%	1%	6%
Britain	26%	0%	3%
Other	6%	0%	1%

Note: The option OTHER includes Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Lebanese and Iraqi militias, and non-Syrian Kurdish forces.

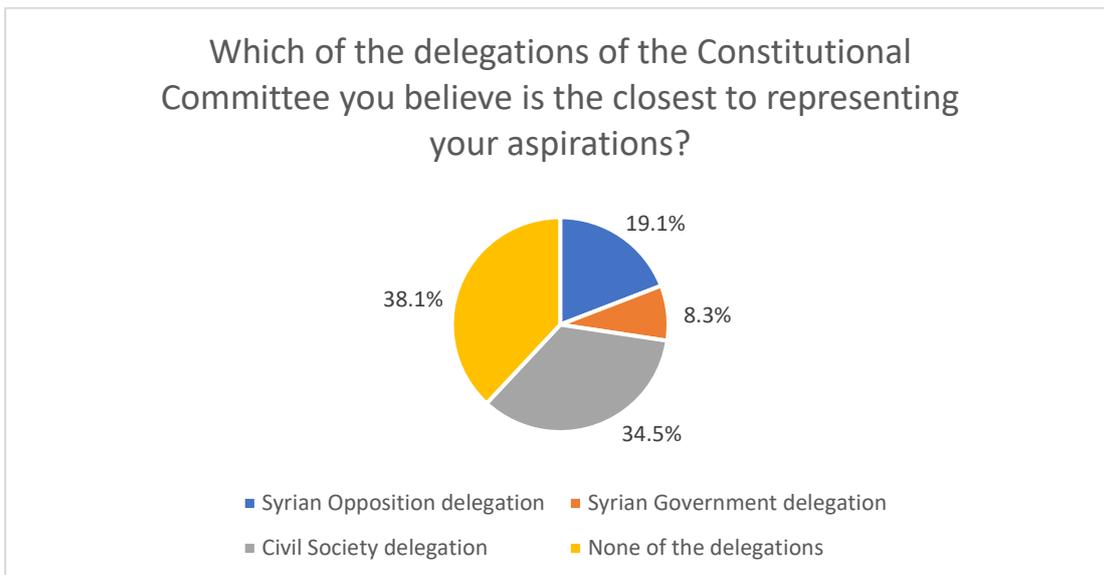
Fourth- Representation of Syrians within the Constitutional Committee:

The Constitutional Committee consists of three delegations, which are the delegation of the Syrian regime, the delegation of the Syrian opposition and the delegation of civil society, and in fact, the Syrians had no role in the process of selecting members of any of those delegations, as the Syrian regime and the Syrian opposition nominated the members representing them (50 members for each delegation), while the members of the civil society delegation were selected by the United Nations, based on the above, we asked the study participants about their position on the Constitutional Committee, and the study results showed that the largest percentage of them (41.8%) do not have a specific position on the Constitutional Committee as they neither support nor refuse its work, while nearly a third of the participants expressed their support for the work of the Constitutional Committee, but they said that they have restrictions about the method of its formation, as the Syrians did not participate in selecting its members, and 11.8% of the study participants said that they support the Constitutional Committee in its current form without having any restrictions, while the percentage of participants who refuse the work of the Committee reached 13.4%.

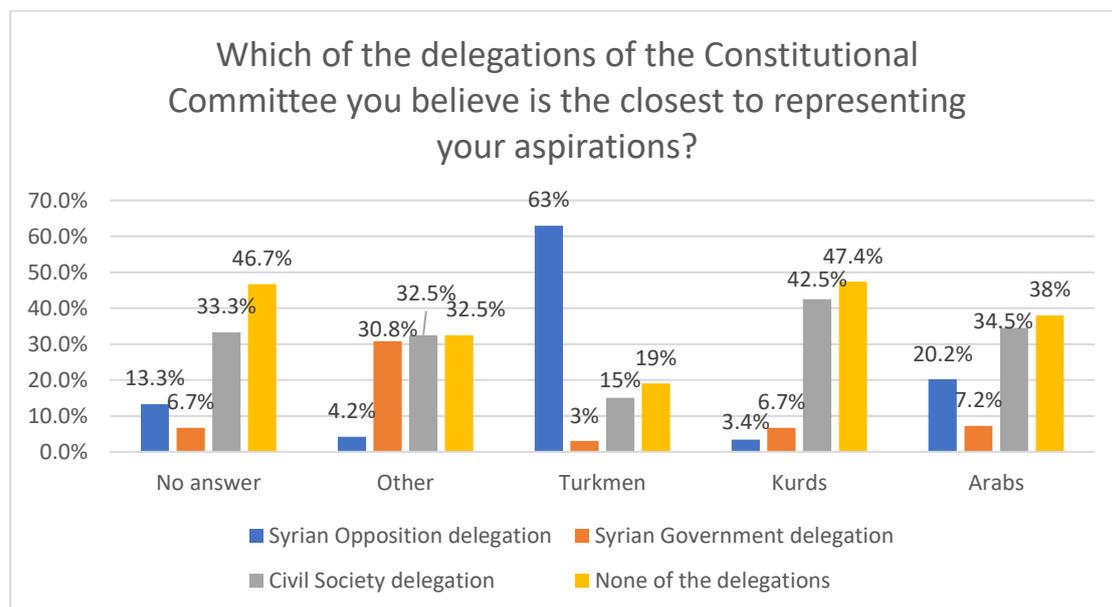
It is noticeable that the percentage of participants who support the work of the Constitutional Committee but have restrictions about its method of formation is high in both the areas of the Syrian opposition and in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces, this may be attributed (in addition to not engaging the Syrians in selecting the members of the delegations) to the pressure and interference by international parties regarding nominating members of the delegations, which prevented the nomination of many persons who were candidates for membership of the Constitutional Committee, such as some figures from the opposition or the Kurds, and the exclusion of representatives of the Syrian Democratic Forces among the Committee, which generally led to a low representation of the Kurds.



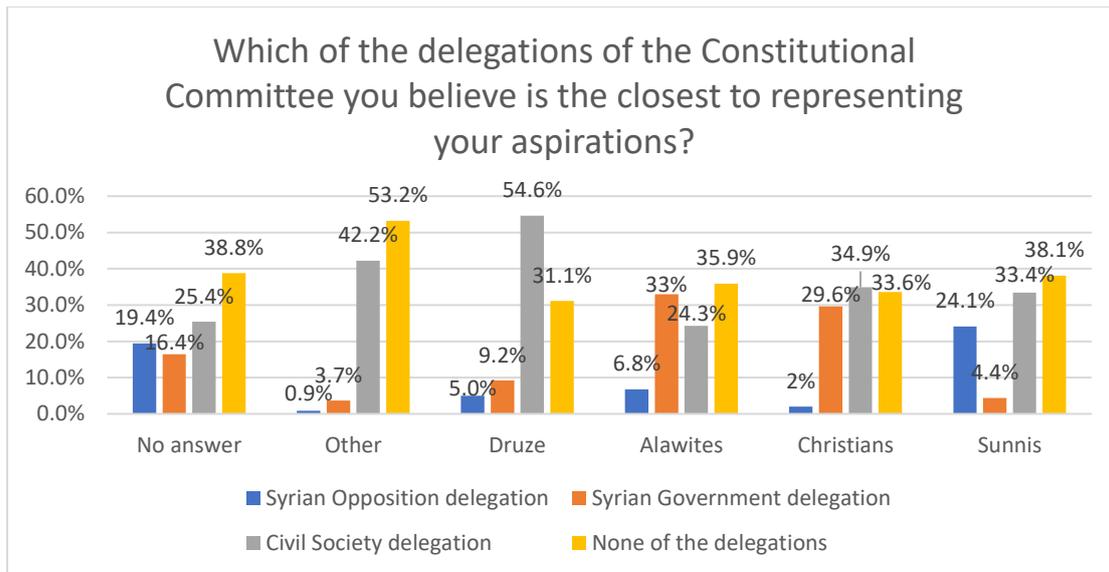
On the other hand, and to find out the extent to which the Syrians consider themselves represented by the Constitutional Committee and whether any of the delegations participating in the process of drafting the constitution reflects their desires and aspirations, we asked the study participants about the delegation that they consider the closest to representing their aspirations, and the highest percentage of them (38.1%) said that they do not consider themselves represented within the Constitutional Committee and that none of the delegations express their aspirations and desires, and we also notice that the percentage of those who believe that the civil society delegation is the closest to representing their aspirations is high, while that percentage is low for both the opposition and the Syrian regime delegations.



by analyzing the results we reached with the ethnicity variable, we find that there is a high percentage of those who believe that they are not represented within the Constitutional Committee among the Kurds, as almost half of them believe that none of the delegations represent them, and this may be attributed to the consensus that took place between countries when the Constitutional Committee was formed, that led to the exclusion of the Syrian Democratic Forces and some Kurdish figures who were nominated to be members of the civil society delegation, which may be considered by some Kurds as ethnicity-based exclusion. On the other hand, it must be denoted that nearly two-thirds of the Turkmen believe that the delegation of the Syrian opposition represents them and reflects their desires and aspirations.



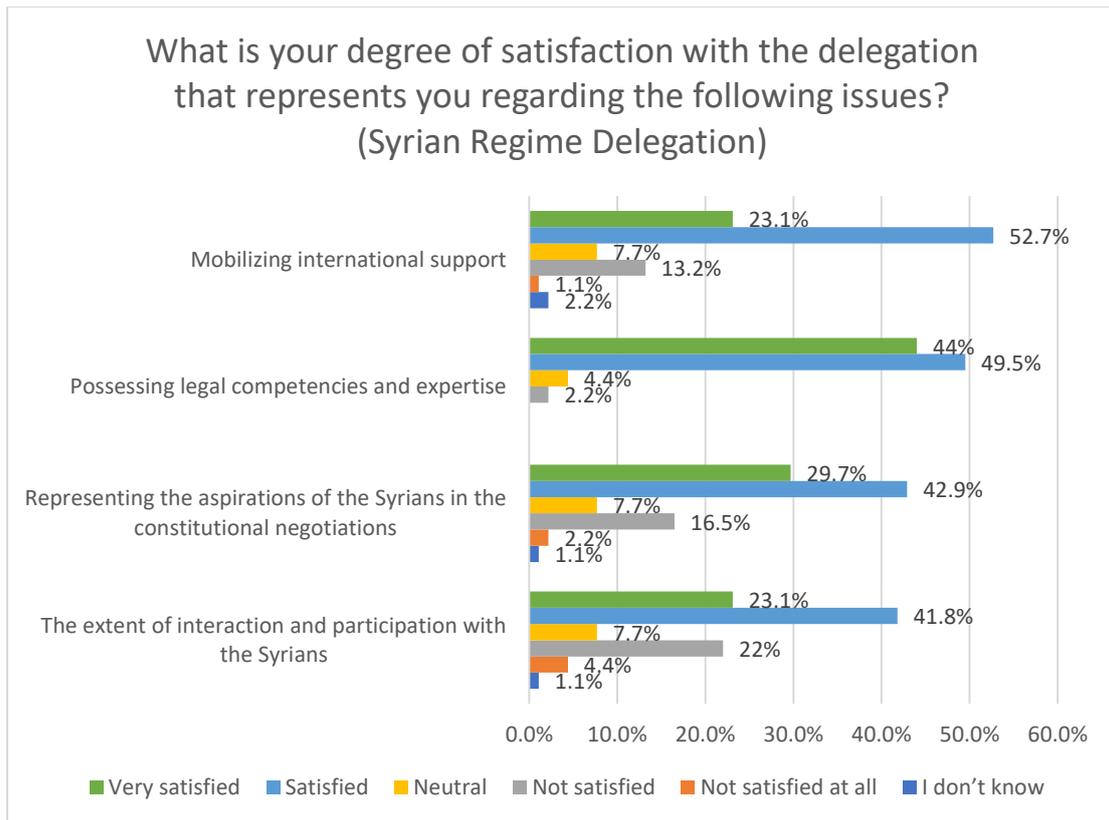
As for religion, it is noticed that the percentages of those who said that none of the Constitutional Committee delegations represent their desires and aspirations are close among all religions and sects except for respondents from minorities included under the option OTHER (Shiites, Yazidis, Ismailis and non-religious), as this percentage reached more than half among these minorities, while more than half of the Druze said that they believe that the civil society delegation represents them. While the percentage of Alawites and Christians who believe that the delegation of the regime represents them was high, as was the percentage of Sunnis who believe that the delegation of the opposition represents them.



On the other hand, in order to know the opinion of the participants (who said that one of the delegations of the Constitutional Committee represents them) about the performance of the delegations they consider as their representative and to evaluate their work, we asked a set of questions about their satisfaction with the following issues:

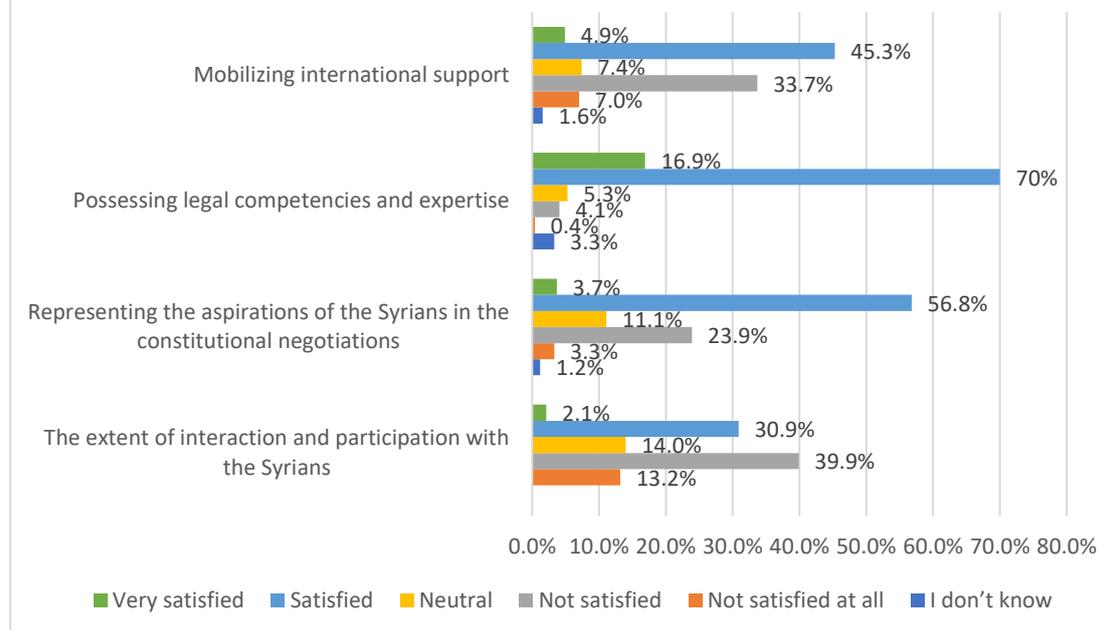
- 1- The ability of the delegation that represents them to mobilize international support.
- 2- Whether the members of the delegation that represents them possess legal competencies and expertise.
- 3- Representing the aspirations of the Syrians in the constitutional negotiations.
- 4- The extent of interaction and participation with the Syrians.

In general, the degree of satisfaction was high regarding all of these issues among participants who believe that the delegation of the Syrian regime represents them, as more than three-quarters of them believe that the performance of the regime's delegation is satisfactory or very satisfactory in terms of working to mobilize international support. On the other hand, the vast majority of them believe that the members of the regime's delegation possess the legal expertise, competencies and capabilities that qualify them to participate in the work of the Constitutional Committee. The degree of satisfaction was also high among nearly three-quarters of those who believe that the regime's delegation represents them of the proposals and ideas that that delegation adopts and consider that these ideas meet the aspirations of the Syrians and reflect their desires, also, nearly three-quarters of those who believe that the regime's delegation represents them are satisfied or very satisfied with the method of the delegation's interaction with the Syrians and involving them in the political process.

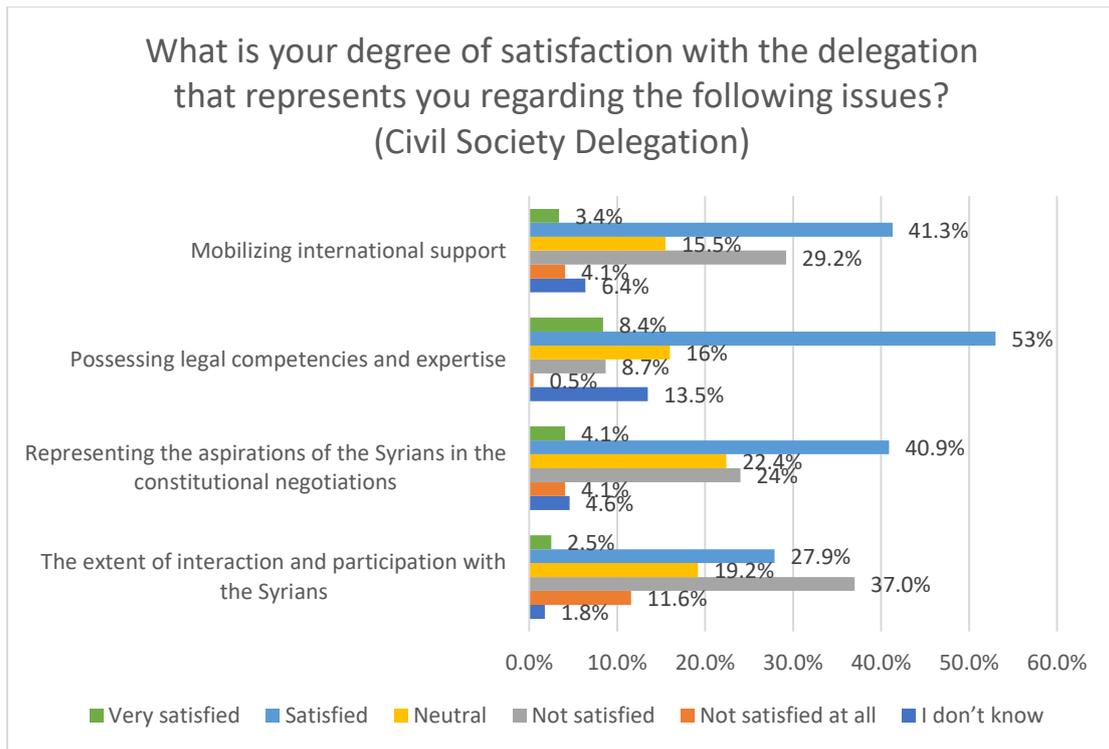


As for respondents who consider the delegation of the Syrian opposition as their representative, nearly half of them were satisfied with the performance of the opposition delegation with regard to its ability to mobilize international support. As for the members of the opposition delegation possessing legal expertise and competencies, the vast majority of those who believe that the opposition delegation represent them expressed their satisfaction with expertise and competencies that members of that delegation possess, while the degree of satisfaction is somewhat lower regarding the proposals and ideas adopted by the opposition delegation, as more than a quarter of them are unsatisfied or unsatisfied at all about them, and do not consider them expressing the aspirations and desires of the Syrians. The degree of satisfaction is also noticeably low regarding the interaction of the opposition delegation with the Syrians and the extent to which it informed them about the work of the Constitutional Committee and engaged them in the path of the political solution.

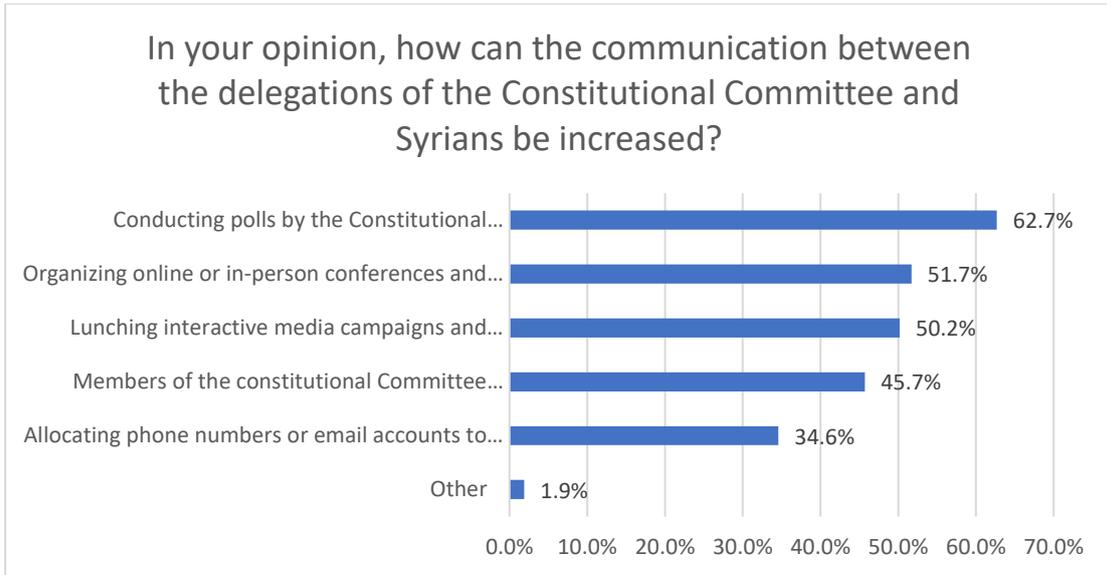
What is your degree of satisfaction with the delegation that represents you regarding the following issues?
(Syrian Opposition Delegation)



Finally, with regard to the civil society delegation, we notice a medium level of satisfaction with its ability to mobilize international support, as nearly half of those who consider it as their representative believe that its performance is satisfactory or very satisfactory, while one third considers it unsatisfactory or unsatisfactory at all. As for possessing legal expertise and competencies, we find that nearly two-thirds are satisfied or very satisfied with the expertise and competencies of the delegation members. As for the representation of the civil society delegation's proposals of the Syrians' desires and aspirations, 45% of them said that they are satisfied or very satisfied with these proposals, while more than a quarter are unsatisfied or unsatisfied at all with it. The degree of satisfaction with the way the civil society delegation interacts with the Syrians and communicates with them is noticeably low, as nearly half of those who consider the civil society delegation as their representative are unsatisfied or unsatisfied at all with the way it interacts with them.



Finally, the study participants were generally asked about the methods they deem most useful and effective in increasing the ability of Syrians to communicate with members of the Constitutional Committee, in general, the largest number of respondents (nearly two-thirds of them) said that the most appropriate way in their opinion is to conduct periodic polls to know Syrians’ desires and aspirations, and more than half of them believe that it is necessary to work on organizing periodic seminars and conferences that include Syrians and the members of the Constitutional Committee to exchange opinions and views, and there was a high percentage of participants who believe that it is important to work on launching media campaigns to introduce the work of the Constitutional Committee and the results of its meetings, and those who believe that members of the Constitutional Committee can communicate with community leaders and representatives of Syrians in all regions to know their views and aspirations.



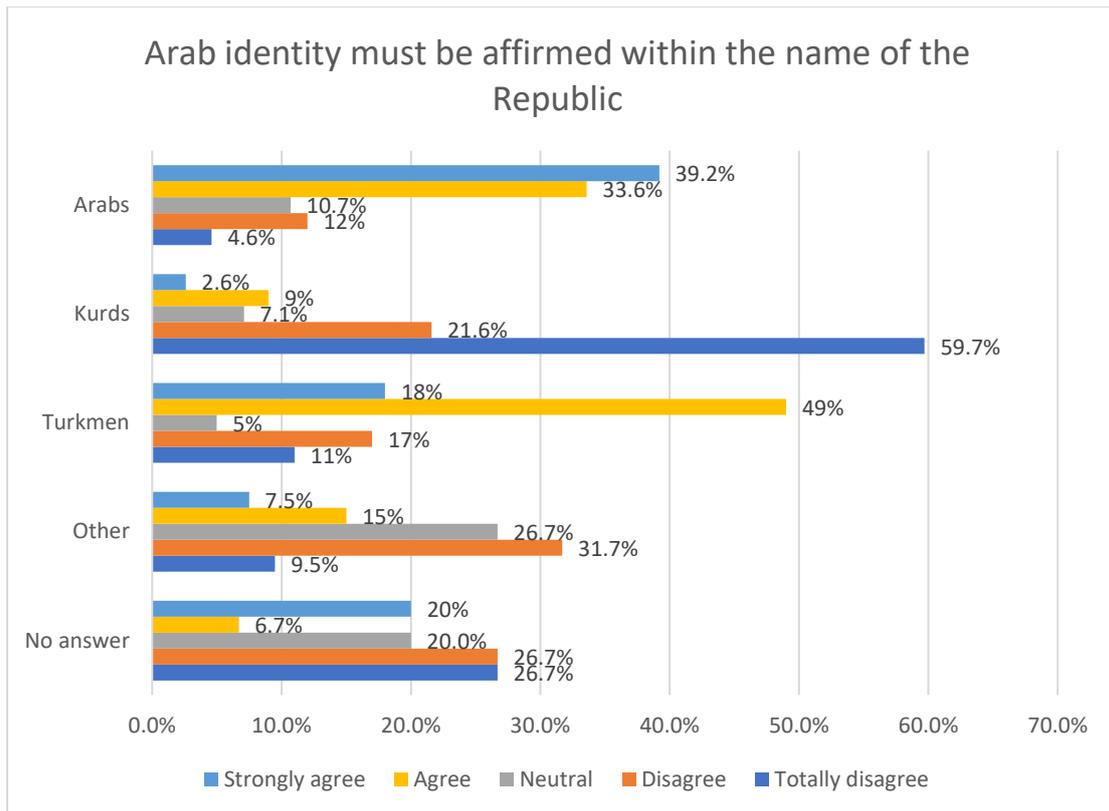
Note: (The highest percentage of participants who selected the option OTHER said that it is not important to open communication channels between Syrians and members of the committee due to their negative attitude towards it and their lack of confidence in its ability to achieve practical results, while some of them said that the best way is to create electronic platforms through which the results of the committee’s meetings can be shared and the feedback from Syrians whether living in Syria or outside it can be received this period, and some of them also suggested forming teams that represent Syrians in all areas of residence that periodically communicate with the delegations of the Constitutional Committee and convey the views and aspirations of the Syrians to its members).

Second Section – Constitutional Issues

First- Arab Identity within the Constitution:

All former constitutions of the Syrian Republic assured the Arab identity of the state in terms of the name of the republic, in terms of considering it a part of the Arab World or in terms of adopting Arabic as the only official language in the country. The recent years witnessed the emergence of some movements (mostly include persons or parties from the ethnic or national minorities) which call for considering the ethnic variety of the Syrian community and adopting additional official languages along with Arabic at the state level or at least at the level of regions which these minorities constitute a large proportion of its society as the case is for Kurds in Afrin area in Aleppo governorate or Qamishli area in Al-Hasakah governorate. There were also some claims that call for naming the state as (Syrian Republic), and the people who call for this justify their call by saying that adopting this name reflects the true situation of the Syrian community which consists of many ethnicities and nationalities, while adding the word (Arab) to the name of the state will cause exclusion of Non-Arab ethnicities and nationalities in their point of view.

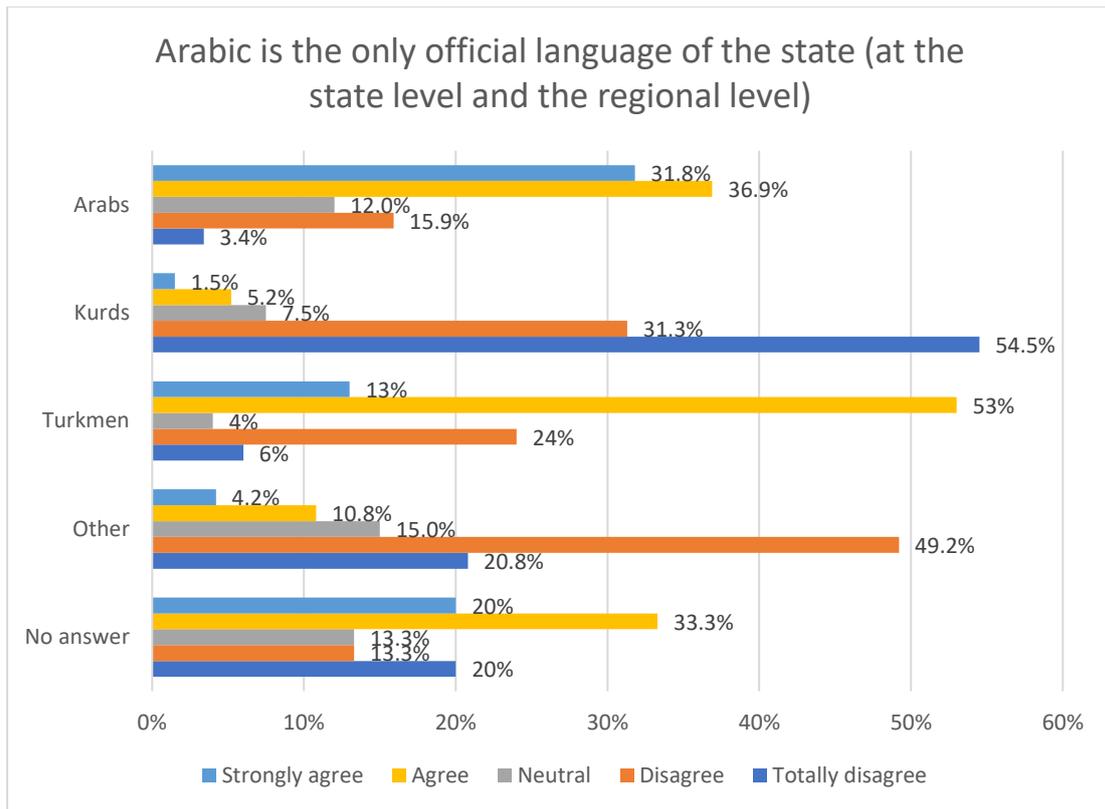
Regarding all of the above, we surveyed the opinions of the study participants about all issues related to the identity and the language of the state. In general, about two-thirds of the respondents expressed their support for affirming the Arab identity of the state and to name it (Syrian Arab Republic), which was refused by more than a quarter of the respondents. While analyzing the results with the ethnicity (the nationality) variable, the study showed that Arab participant expressed their support for the necessity of mentioning the Arab identity within the name of the state, and this degree of support was also high among Turkmen, while the majority of respondents from other ethnicities refused this opinion, especially the Kurds.



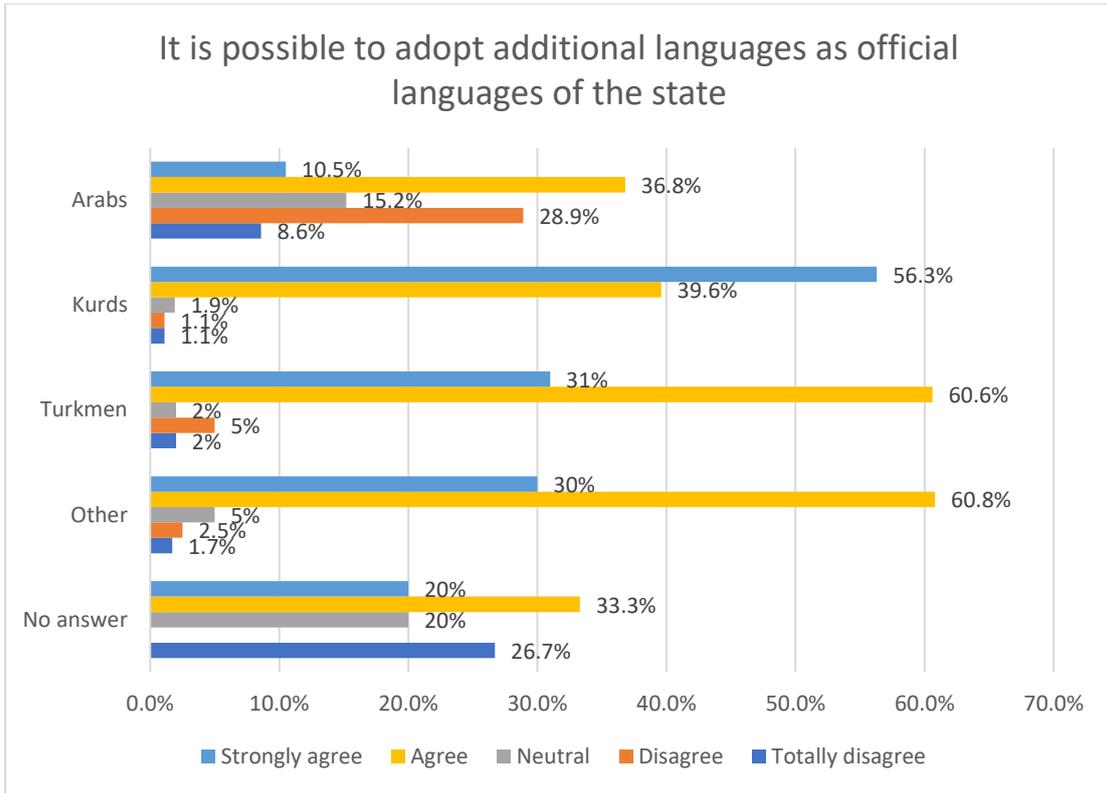
With regard to the official language of the state, study participants were asked about their opinions and positions regarding each of the following hypotheses:

- 1- Adopting Arabic as the only official language at the state level and the regional level.
- 2- The possibility of adopting additional official languages at the state level.
- 3- Arabic is the only official language at the state level, with the possibility of adopting other official languages at the regional level.

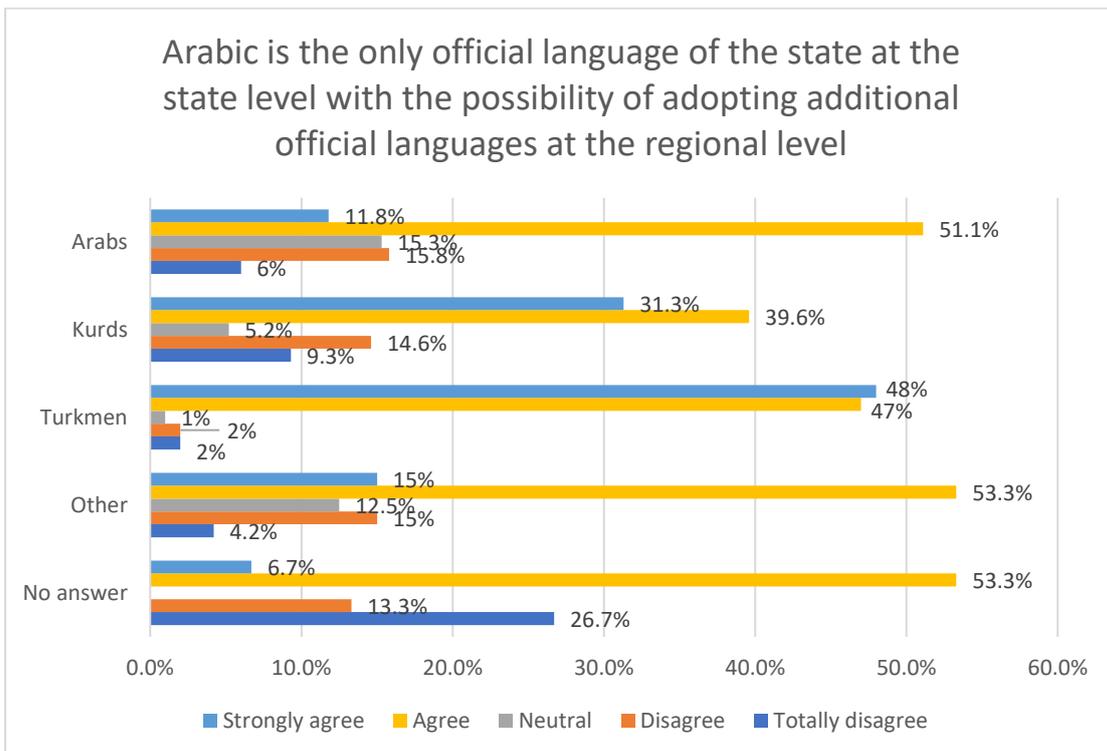
Regarding the first hypothesis which is adopting Arabic as the only official language at the state level and the regional level, more than half of the study respondents said that they agree or totally agree it, while about a quarter of them said that they do not agree it or do not agree it at all, and 11.2% of them were neutral regarding this issue. Also, similar to the situation regarding the name of the state, the adoption of Arabic as the only official language at the state level and the regional level was highly disagreed among Kurds and ethnic minorities listed under the option OTHER (Syriacs, Armenians, Assyrians, Circassians, and Chaldeans), while it was highly agreed among Arabs and Turkmen.



On the other hand, regarding the possibility of adopting additional official languages at the state level, we find that more than half of the study participants agree or strongly agree with this hypothesis, while the percentage of participants who refuse it is approximately one third, and the degree of approval for the adoption of additional official languages is high among Kurds and respondents from other ethnic minorities, and it was also high among Turkmen and somewhat among Arabs, which means that although the largest percentage of Arabs and Turkmen prefer adopting Arabic as the only official language at the state level, some of them do not mind adopting other official languages at the same time.



Finally, with regard to adopting Arabic as the only official language at the state level with the possibility of adopting other official languages at the regional level, about two-thirds of the respondents expressed their agreement with this option, and the degree of approval is close among Syrians of all ethnicities, with a noticeable increase among Turkmen.



Second- Religion and the State:

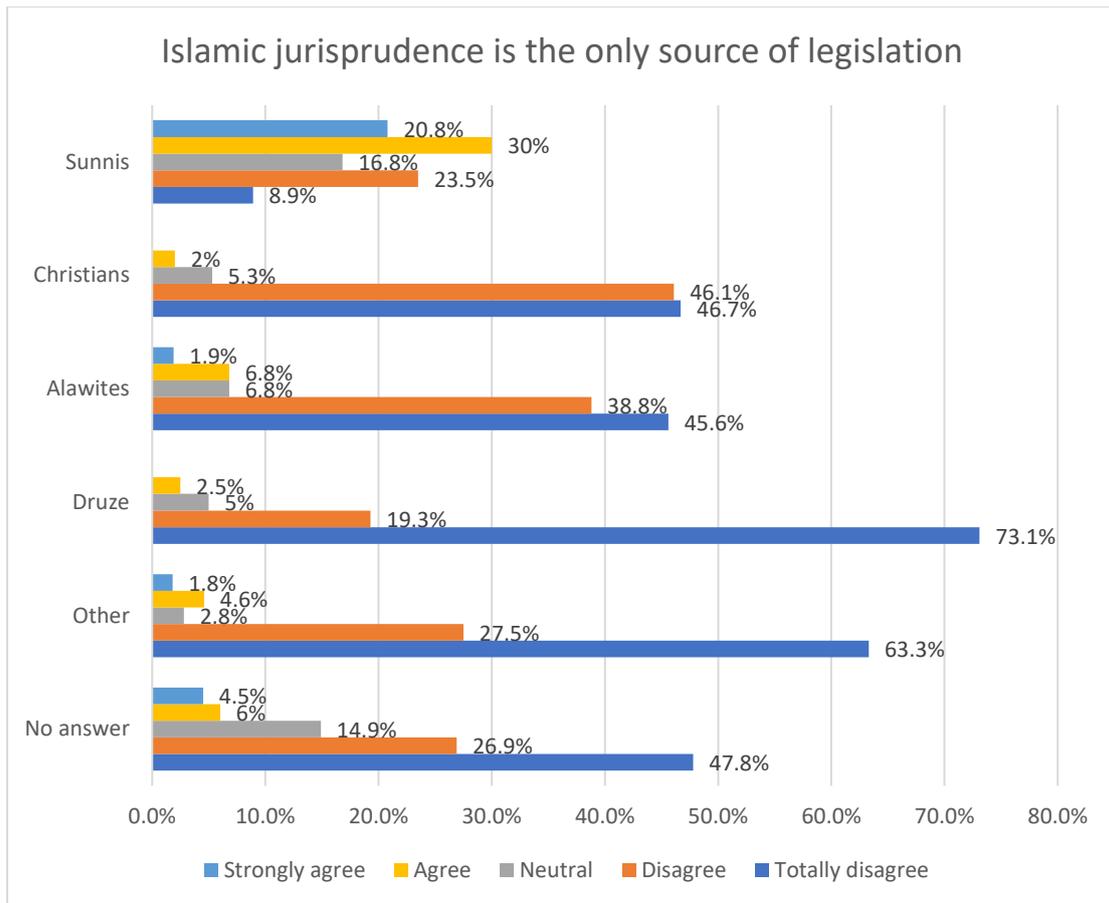
As is the case for the Arab identity, all former Syrian constitutions have included some articles that reflect the Syrian state's correlation with the Islam, as it is the most widespread religion in Syria, as these constitutions stipulated that the president of the state must be Muslim, and also stipulated that the Islamic jurisprudence is one of the sources of legislations, with slight differences between the constitutions about this stipulation, as the Constitution of 1950 considered Islamic jurisprudence as the main source of legislation, and thus it is superior to other main sources of legislation, while the constitutions of 1973 and 2012 considered Islamic jurisprudence a main source of legislation, and thus it is on par with other main sources.

In order to know the Syrians' views on the Islamic religion and the extent to which it should be taken into account by the Constitutional Committee while drafting the new constitution, we raised a number of questions about their views on Islamic jurisprudence and its position among the sources of legislation, and in this regard, they were asked about their position on the following hypothesis:

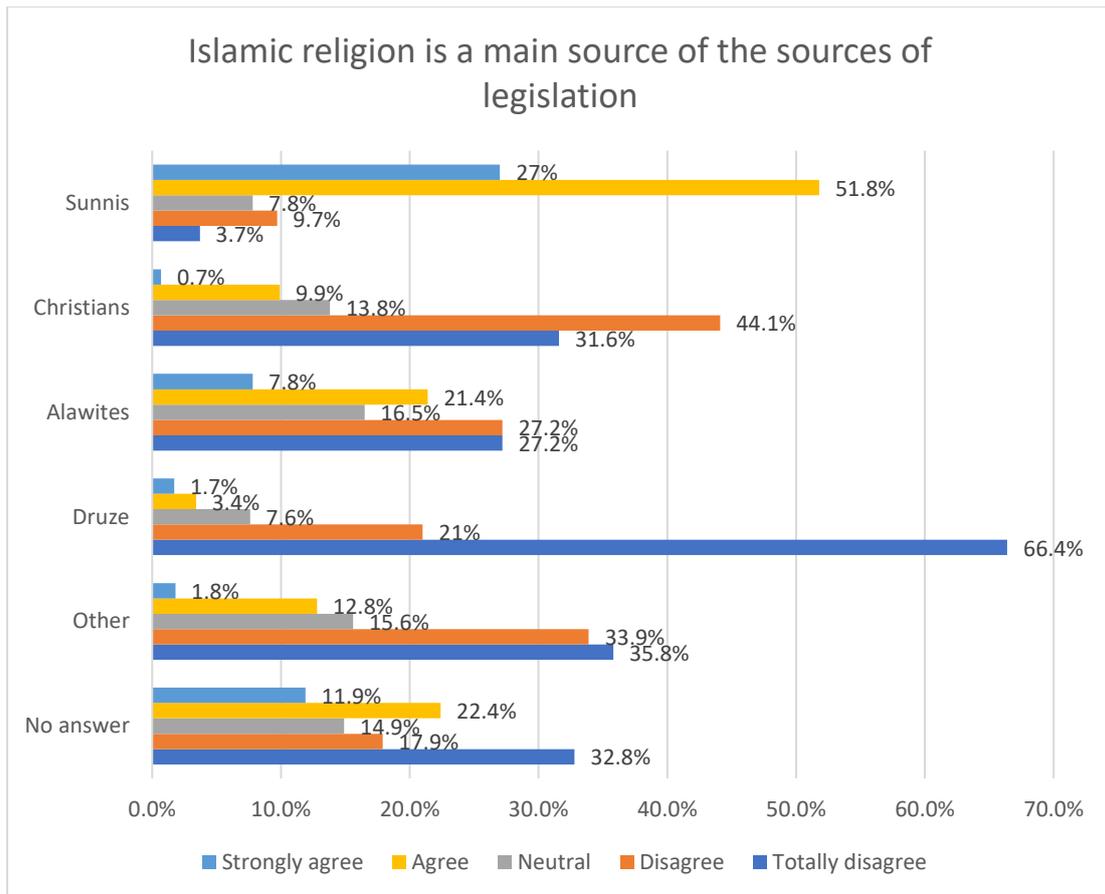
- 1- The constitution stipulates that Islamic jurisprudence is the only source of legislation.
- 2- The constitution stipulates that Islamic jurisprudence is a main source of legislation.
- 3- The constitution stipulates that Islamic jurisprudence is one of the sources of legislation.
- 4- The constitution does not consider Islamic jurisprudence a source of legislation.

In addition to the question about the Syrians' position on Islamic jurisprudence, they were asked whether they would prefer that the constitution stipulates that the Islam is the religion of the state or that it works to achieve a complete separation between religion and state.

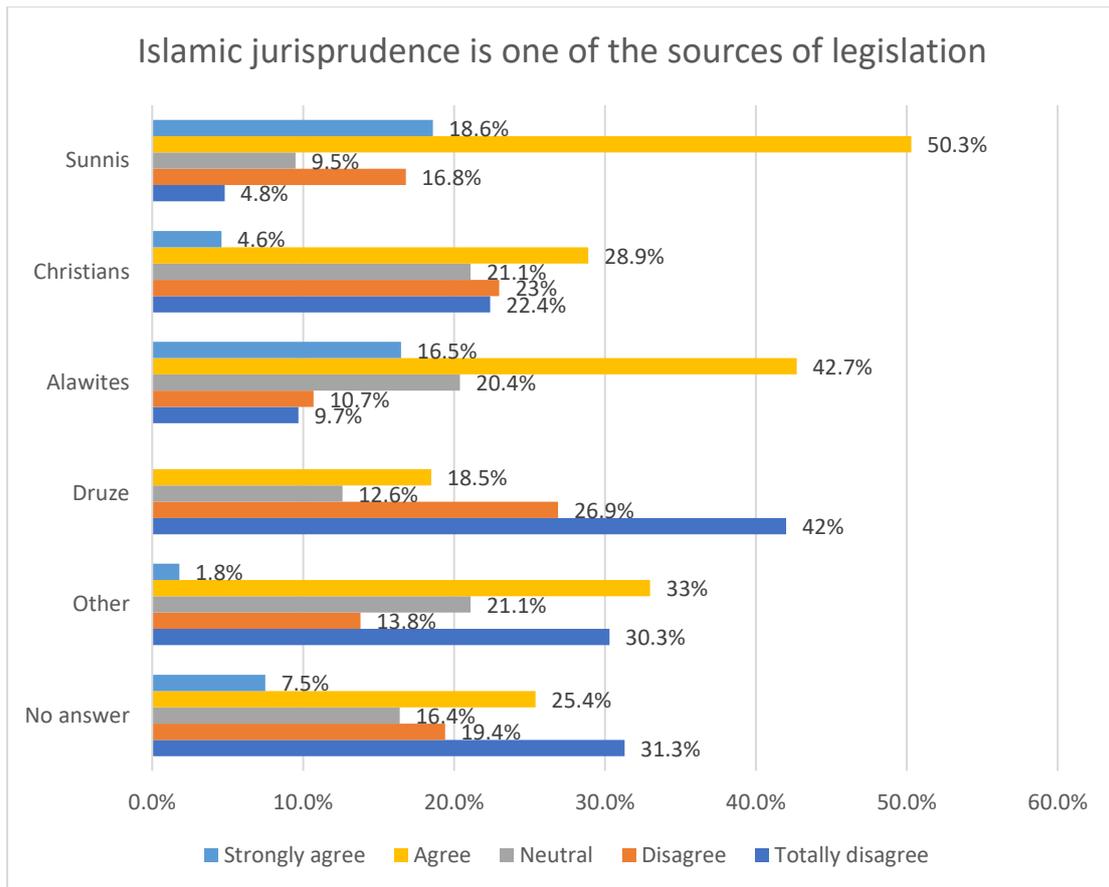
The results showed that the largest percentage of Syrians do not support Islamic jurisprudence being the only source of legislation, naturally, the vast majority of Syrians of various religions and sects except for the Sunnis refuse adopting Islamic jurisprudence as the only source of legislation, while half of the Sunnis agree or strongly agree with that, while in terms of ethnicity, the majority of Turkmen supported adopting Islamic jurisprudence as the only source of legislation, while the percentage of respondents who agreed and respondents who disagreed this was equal among Arabs. As for the Kurds and other ethnic minorities, most of them expressed their refusal of considering Islamic jurisprudence as the only source of legislation.



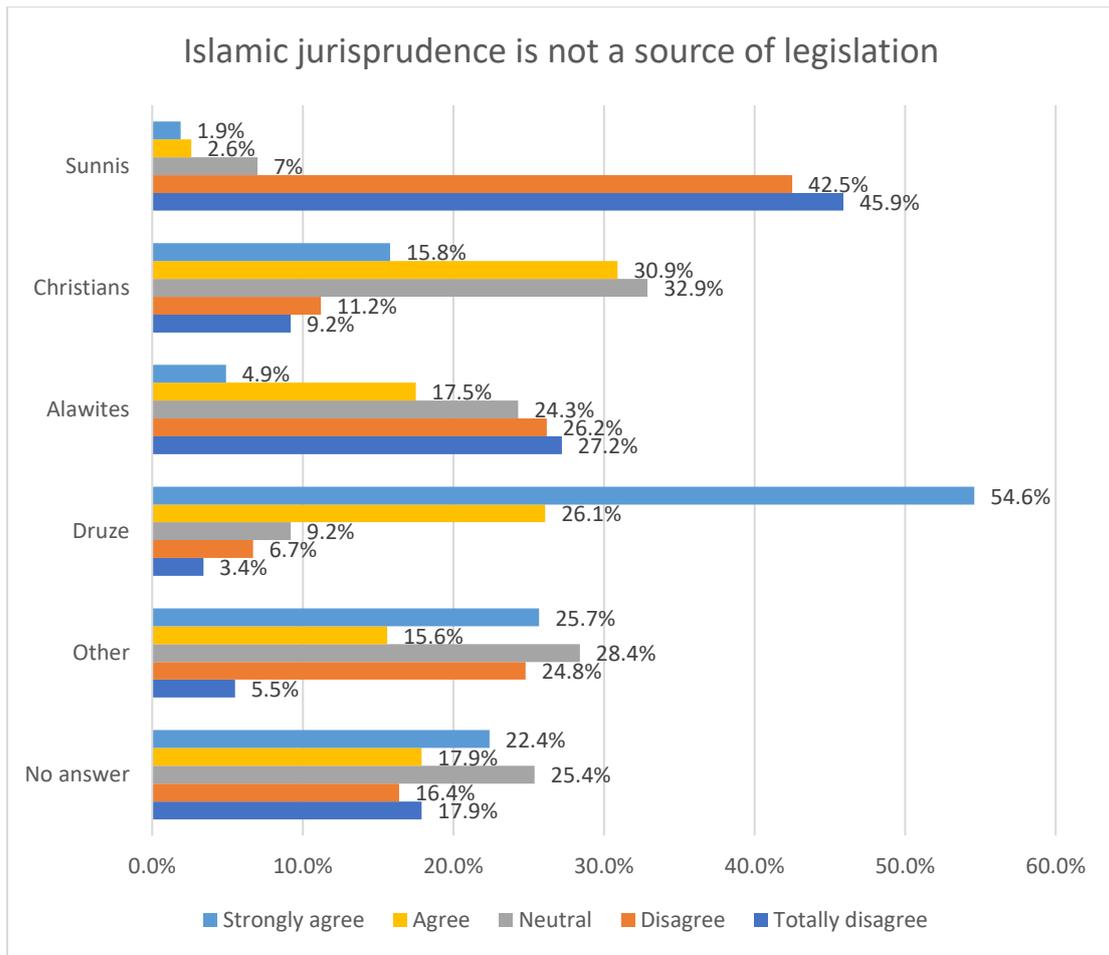
As for considering the Islamic religion as a main source of the sources of legislation, we notice a high percentage of participants who agree with this, as nearly two-thirds of the participants said that they agree or strongly agree with it, and it is noticeable here that the degree of acceptance by the Kurds about considering Islamic jurisprudence as a main source of the sources of legislation is high, and it is also very high among Arabs and Turkmen, with percentages exceeding three-quarters of them, while this degree of acceptance remains low among other ethnic components. In terms of religion or sect, the percentage of those who agree or strongly agree with considering Islamic jurisprudence as a main source of the sources of legislation among Sunnis is high, while the majority of Christians and Druze disagree with it.



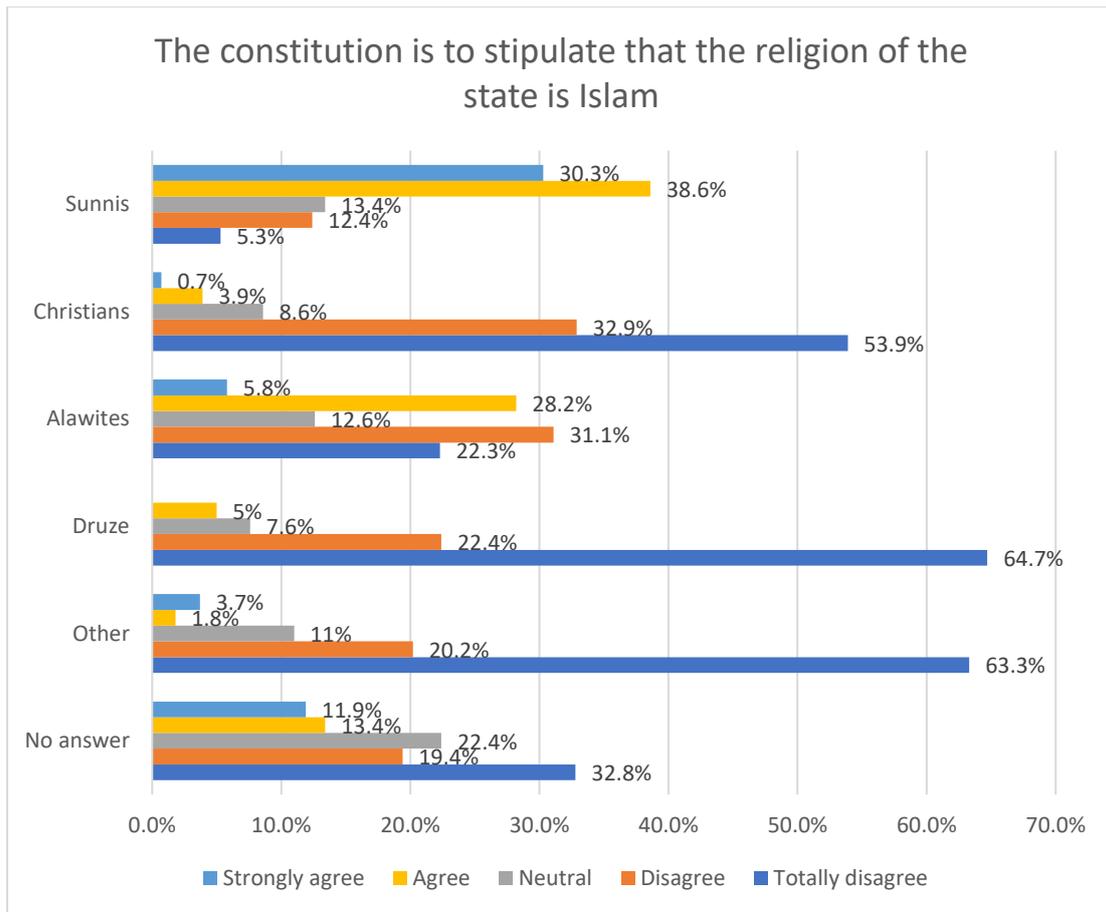
Likewise, the study results showed that nearly two-thirds of the participants agree or strongly agree with the adoption of Islamic jurisprudence as one of the sources of legislation, and this percentage was high among Turkmen as it reached 84%, and more than half of the Kurds accept this hypothesis, while in terms of religion or sect, we notice that the degree of acceptance of Islamic jurisprudence as one of the sources of legislation is high among Christians.



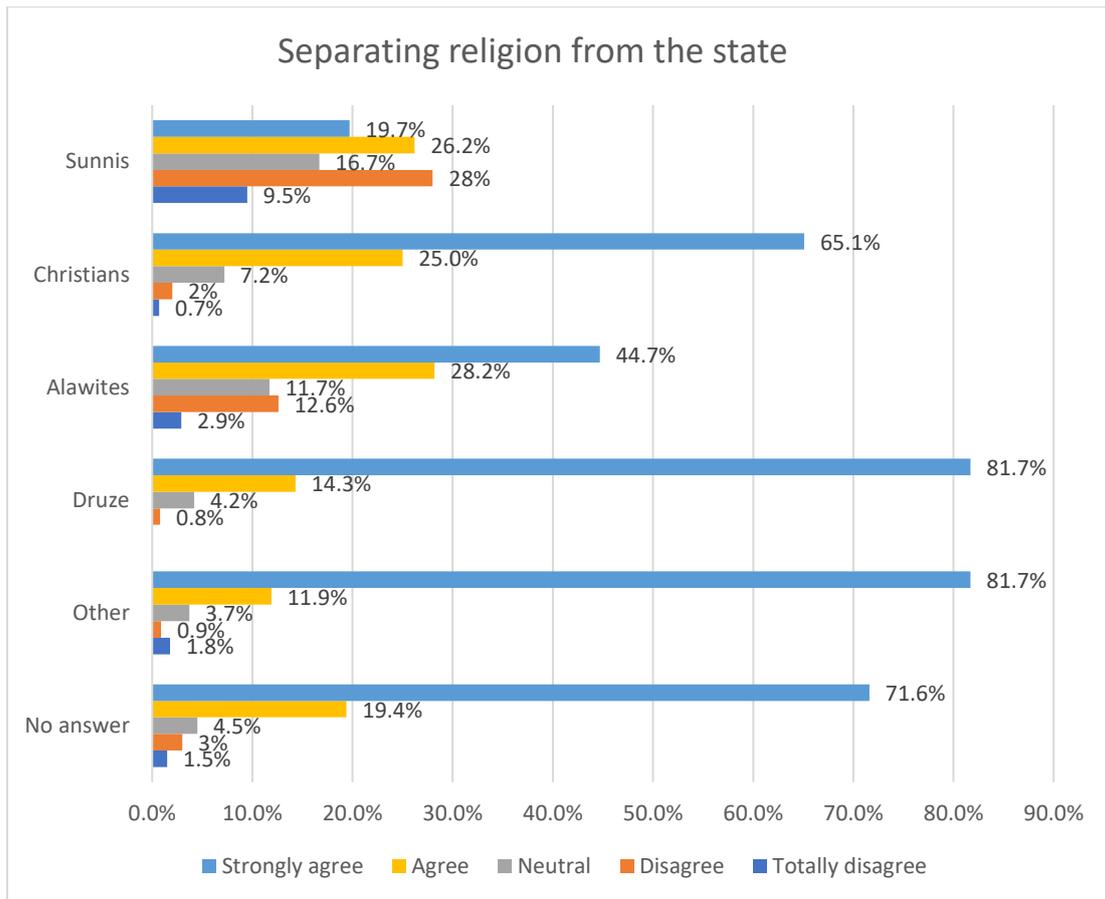
As for the hypothesis of not considering Islamic jurisprudence as a source of legislation, nearly three-quarters of the respondents expressed their rejection of this hypothesis, and the degree of rejection was very high among Turkmen according to the vast majority of them, and by looking at the areas of control, we find that the degree of approval for not considering Islamic jurisprudence as a source of legislation is almost nonexistent in the areas controlled by the Syrian opposition, and it is also low in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces, while in the regime areas, more than a quarter of the participants expressed their support for this hypothesis. In terms of religion or sect, the vast majority are Sunnis and more than half of the Alawites refuse the hypothesis of not considering Islamic jurisprudence as a source of legislation, while the vast majority of Druze and nearly half of Christians support it.



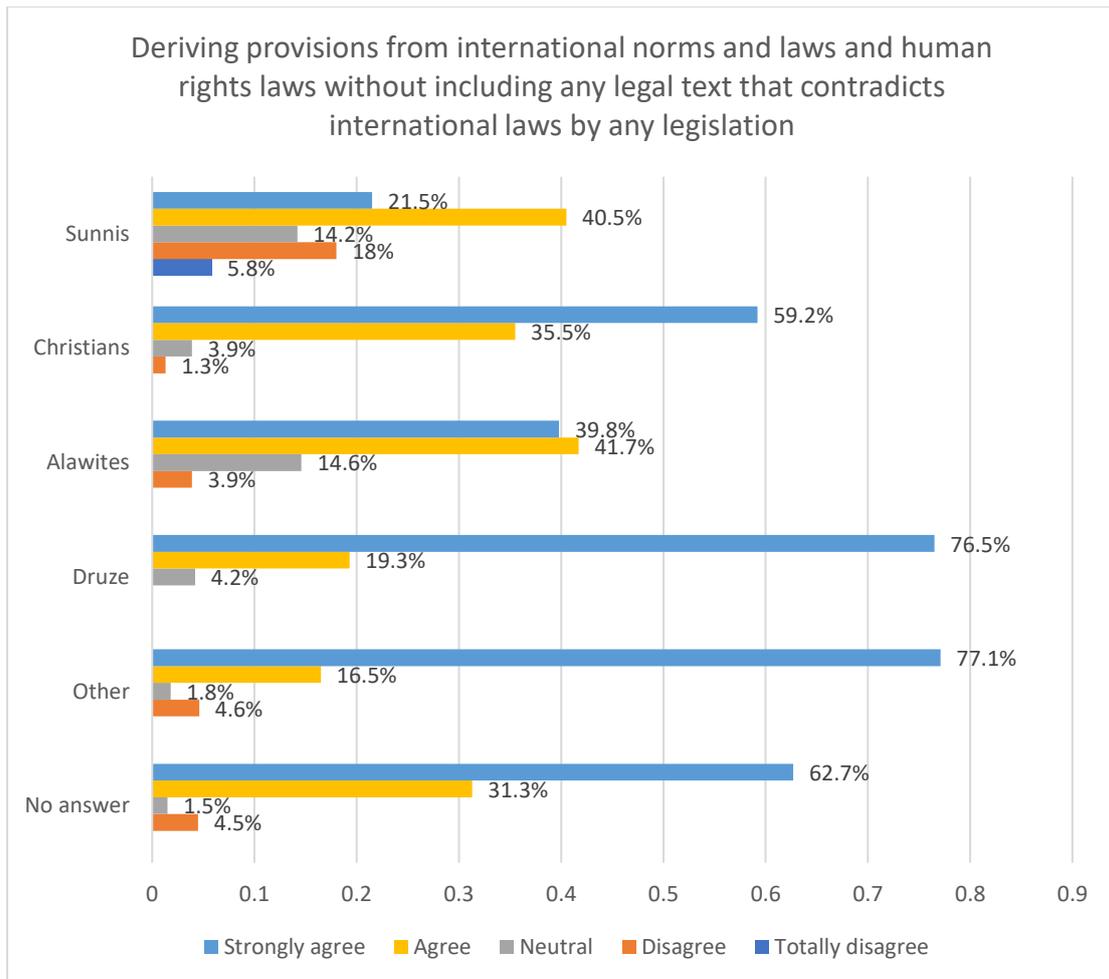
Regarding the relationship of religion with the state, more than half of the study participants said that they agree or strongly agree that the constitution stipulates that Islam is the religion of the state, and the degree of support for this issue is higher among the Turkmen, where the percentage of those who agree or strongly agree with it reached 85%, and among the Arabs, at was approximately two-thirds, while among the Kurds it dropped to less than 20%. In terms of religion or sect, more than two-thirds of Sunnis and nearly a third of Alawites expressed their approval of considering Islam as the religion of the state, while the vast majority of respondents from other religions and sects refused it.



On the other hand, more than half of the study participants also expressed their support for the separation of the religion from the state, which means that there are some who support adopting the Islam as the religion of the state but at the same time they accept the separation between them, or that they believe it is important to considering Islam as the religion of the state with the necessity of adopting the principle of citizenship and achieving equality among all citizens in terms of rights and duties regardless of their ethnic, religious or sectarian affiliations, and we notice a high degree of support for the separation of religion from the state among the Kurds according to the vast majority of them, while among the Arabs, about half of them said that they agree or strongly agree with it, while nearly half of the Turkmen expressed their neutrality towards that proposition. In terms of religion, the vast majority of participants from all religions and sects said that they agree or strongly agree with the separation of religion from the state except for the Sunnis, whose degree of approval dropped to less than half of them.



On the other hand, the study participants were asked about their opinion on the hypothesis which implies that the constitution stipulates the adoption of the regulations of the International Law as a source of legislation, and that domestic laws and legislation are derived from the provisions contained within the international norms, charters, treaties and human rights laws, in general, more than two-thirds of the study participants supported this option, and the degree of approval among the Kurds and Turkmen was high, as it reached more than three quarters of each, while that percentage was about two-thirds among the Arabs. In terms of religion or sect, the vast majority of participants from all religions and sects expressed their support for deriving national laws and legislations from the regulations of the International Law, except for the Sunnis, among whom the percentage dropped to less than two-thirds.

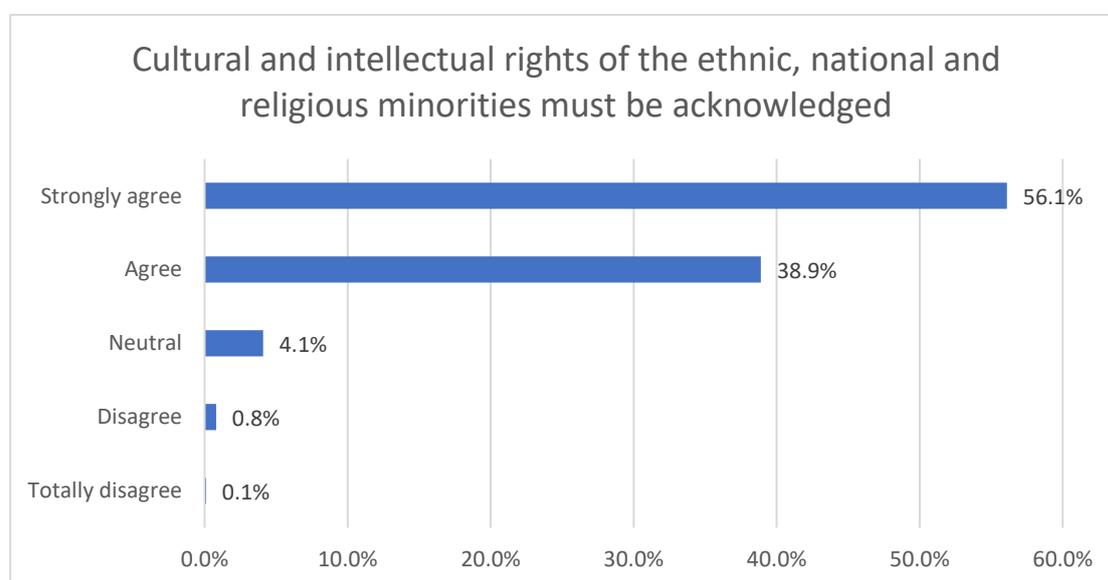


Regarding the participants’ opinion about the source which provisions should be preponderant in the event of a difference between the rules and provisions of Islamic jurisprudence and the rules and provisions of International Law, we find that the percentages of answers are close, as 44.3% expressed that the rules and provisions stipulated by Islamic jurisprudence should be preponderant, while 40.4% said That preponderance should be granted to the rules and provisions of international laws. by analyzing these results according to the ethnicity (nationality) variable, we find that more than half of the Arabs believe that the provisions of Islamic jurisprudence should be preponderant, while a third believe that the preponderance shall be granted to the rules of international law, while approximately two-thirds of the Kurds have expressed their tendency for the rules of International Law, while a quarter of them said that the preponderance should be granted to the rules of Islamic jurisprudence. As for the Turkmen, the largest percentage (46%) did not have any opinion on this issue, while 43% of them said that preponderance shall be granted to the rules of Islamic jurisprudence. In terms of religion or sect, the vast majority of respondents from all religions and sects said that it is necessary to adopt the rules of international law, except for the Sunnis, as nearly two-thirds of them promoted the preponderance of the rules of Islamic jurisprudence. In terms of the controlling parties, three-quarters of the respondents who live in the opposition areas support granting the preponderance to the rules and provisions of Islamic jurisprudence,

while in the regime areas, we find that more than half of the respondents support granting the preponderance to the rules of international law, and in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces, the answers were close for both of the two sources (44.2% for the rules of international law and 42.6% for the rules of Islamic jurisprudence), while in terms of the countries of residence, the opinions of the respondents varied as shown in the following table:

If the provisions of Islamic jurisprudence conflict with the rules of International Law, which source do you think should be preponderant?			
	Rules and provisions of Islamic jurisprudence	Rules of International Law	I don't have an opinion.
The Netherlands	28.6%	60.3%	11.1%
Lebanon	56.6%	22.1%	21.2%
Iraq	12.5%	87.5%	0%
France	22.7%	52.3%	25%
Syria	46.4%	38.9%	14.6%
Turkey	44.9%	36.7%	18.4%
Sweden	54.8%	26.9%	18.3%
Jordan	62.8%	26.7%	10.5%
Germany	26.5%	53.9%	19.6%

Finally, apart from any text that the constitution may include about the identity, religion of the state, or the religion of its president, the vast majority of the study participants from all religions, sects and ethnicities stressed the necessity of affirming the recognition of the cultural and intellectual rights of ethnic, national and religious minorities within the constitution.

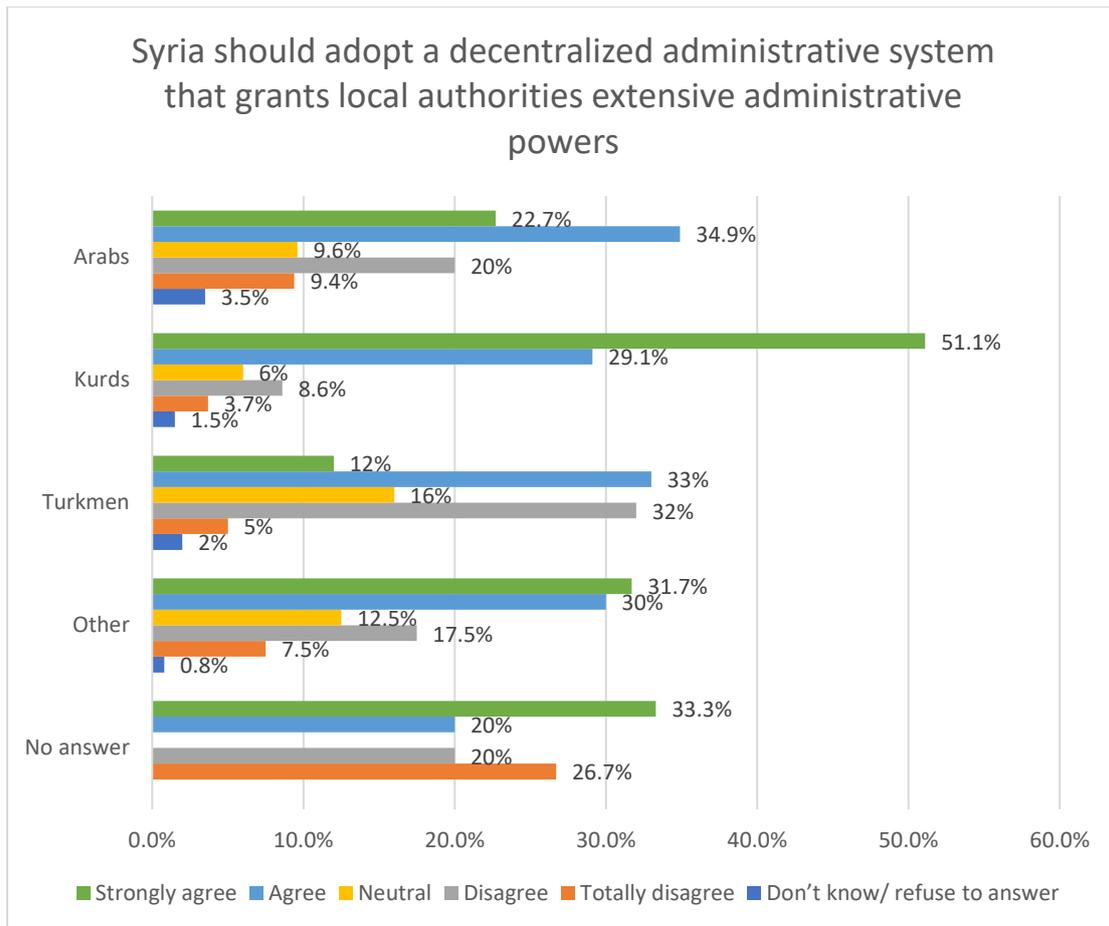


Third- Form of the Administrative System:

The form of the administrative system differs from one country to another, as some countries adopt the centralized system, which is based on limiting and concentrating the powers and the ability to make decisions in the hands of the

central authority in the capital of the state, while other countries adopt the decentralized system, which grants local authorities in the state's regions powers to make decisions in all or some of administrative matters. In Syria, it can be said that the existing administrative system is a centralized system based on the concentration of all powers not only in the hands of the central government, but in the hands of one person; the President of the Republic, which the 1973 constitution sought to promote with the assuming of Hafez Al-Assad of the presidency role in line with the idea of the sole leader and sole party.

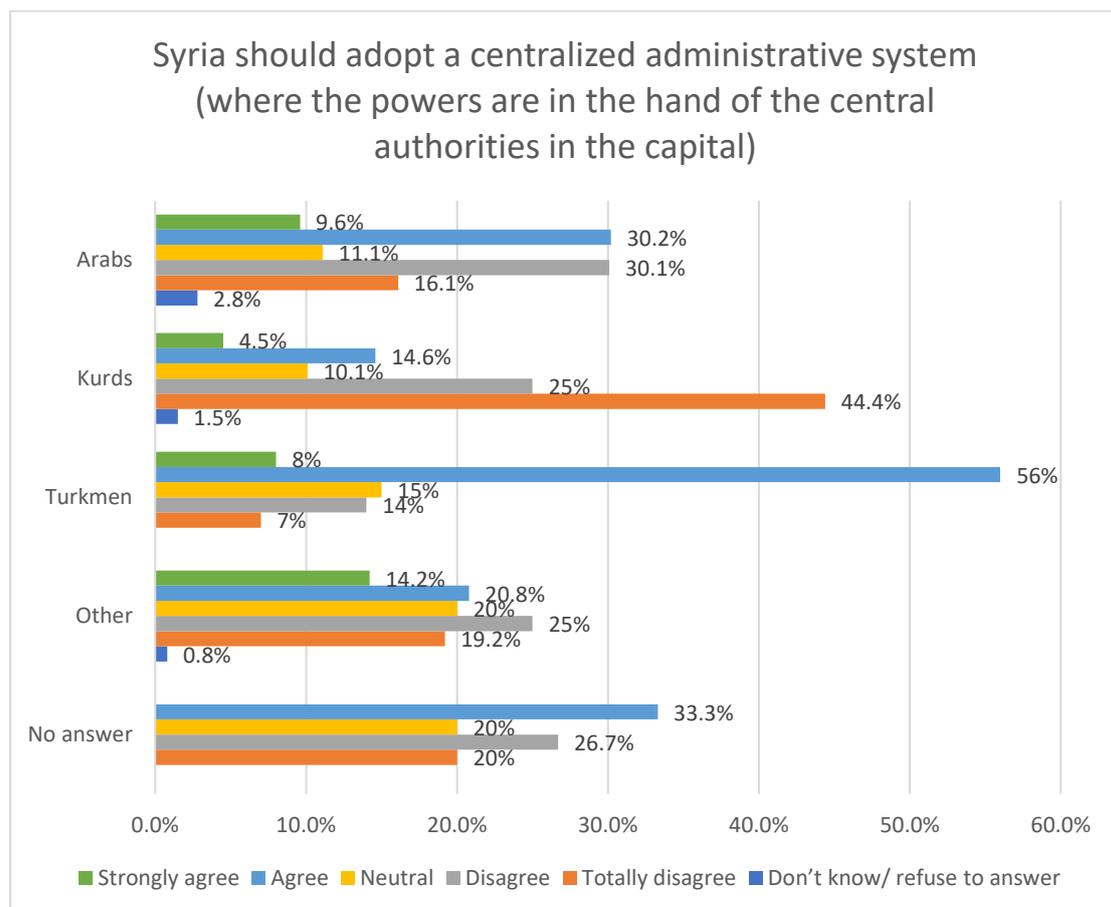
In order to find out the opinion of the Syrians about the most appropriate administrative system that must be adopted in the future to regulate the relationship between the central authority and the local authorities, during the study, we asked about the opinion of the participants and the extent of their support for both administrative centralization and decentralization, and in general, the largest percentage of the study participants expressed their support for adopting a Decentralized system which is based on granting local authorities of the state's regions extensive administrative powers which achieves independence for those authorities in making decisions, as more than a quarter of the respondents said that they strongly agree to the adoption of decentralized administration, and nearly a third of them said they agree with it, while the percentage of those who disagree or totally disagree with this did not exceed a quarter of the respondents. In general, the adoption of decentralization has gained a close degree of acceptance among Syrians of all religions and sects with a particularly higher degree among the Druze, and the strong support of the Druze to decentralization may be attributed to their desire to manage their areas away from the influence and control of the ruling regime in Damascus, especially in light of the tension in relations between the Druze and the regime which started since the beginning of the conflict in Syria. In terms of ethnicity, the degree of support for the adoption of the decentralization is close among participants of all ethnicities and nationalities, and it is significantly higher among the Kurds, who are not concealing their desire to manage their regions and achieve a kind of autonomy.



We would like to denote here that there is a high degree of support for decentralization of the administrative system among respondents living the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces, as more than three quarters of them said that they agree or strongly agree with it, and nearly two thirds of the respondents in opposition areas and more than half of the respondents in the areas of the regime expressed their support and acceptance of decentralization, while in term of country of residence, we find a high degree of support for decentralization an all countries except for Jordan and Iraq, as the majority of the respondents there expressed their refusal of decentralization:

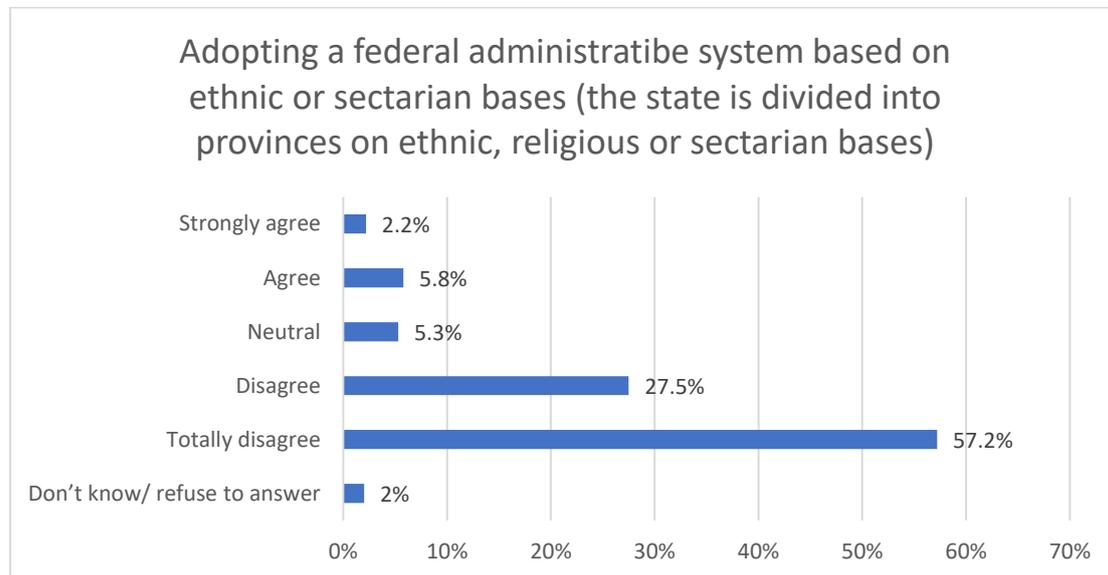
Syria must adopt a decentralized political system based on granting broad administrative powers to local authorities						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	Don't know/ refuse to answer
Netherlands	25.4%	61.9%	9.5%	3.2%	0%	0%
Lebanon	15%	49.6%	13.3%	19.5%	1.8%	0.9%
Iraq	2.3%	19.3%	3.4%	48.9%	18.2%	8%
France	68.2%	13.6%	4.5%	11.4%	2.3%	0%
Syria	27.1%	35.6%	8.3%	18.6%	7.6%	2.9%
Turkey	31.6%	28%	11.1%	18.7%	6.6%	3.9%
Sweden	25.8%	33.3%	21.5%	15.1%	2.2%	2.2%
Jordan	2.3%	24.4%	7%	17.4%	43%	5.8%
Germany	41.2%	23.5%	12.7%	14.7%	6.9%	1%

On the other hand, with regard to Syria's adoption of a centralized system based on the concentration of authorities and powers in the hands of the central government in the capital of the state, nearly one third of the participants said that they agree or strongly agree with this, while nearly half of them expressed their refusal of the adoption of centralization. by analyzing the current percentages with previous ones related to decentralization, we find that some respondents who accept both the centralized and decentralized systems at the same time, in fact the Kurds had the highest degree of refusal of the centralized system, while the Turkmen had the highest degree of agreement with it. In terms of religion or sect, the degree of accepting centralization is higher among Alawites as it reached a half of them, while it remains within one third among Christians and slightly higher than one third among the Sunnis. In terms of areas of control, we notice a high degree of acceptance of centralization in areas controlled by the Syrian regime, as nearly half of the participants in the areas of the regime agree or strongly agree to the adoption of administrative centralization, while in the areas controlled by the opposition, that percentage was about one third, and dropped to less than a quarter in areas controlled by Syrian Democratic Forces.



Finally, it should be noted that study participants were asked about their opinion on adopting federal administrative system in Syria, which is based on dividing

the country to provinces based on nationality, ethnicity, religion or sect. the vast majority of the study participants expressed their refusal of the federal system, with a kind of acceptance among the Kurds, as about a quarter of them said that they agree or strongly agree with this proposition.



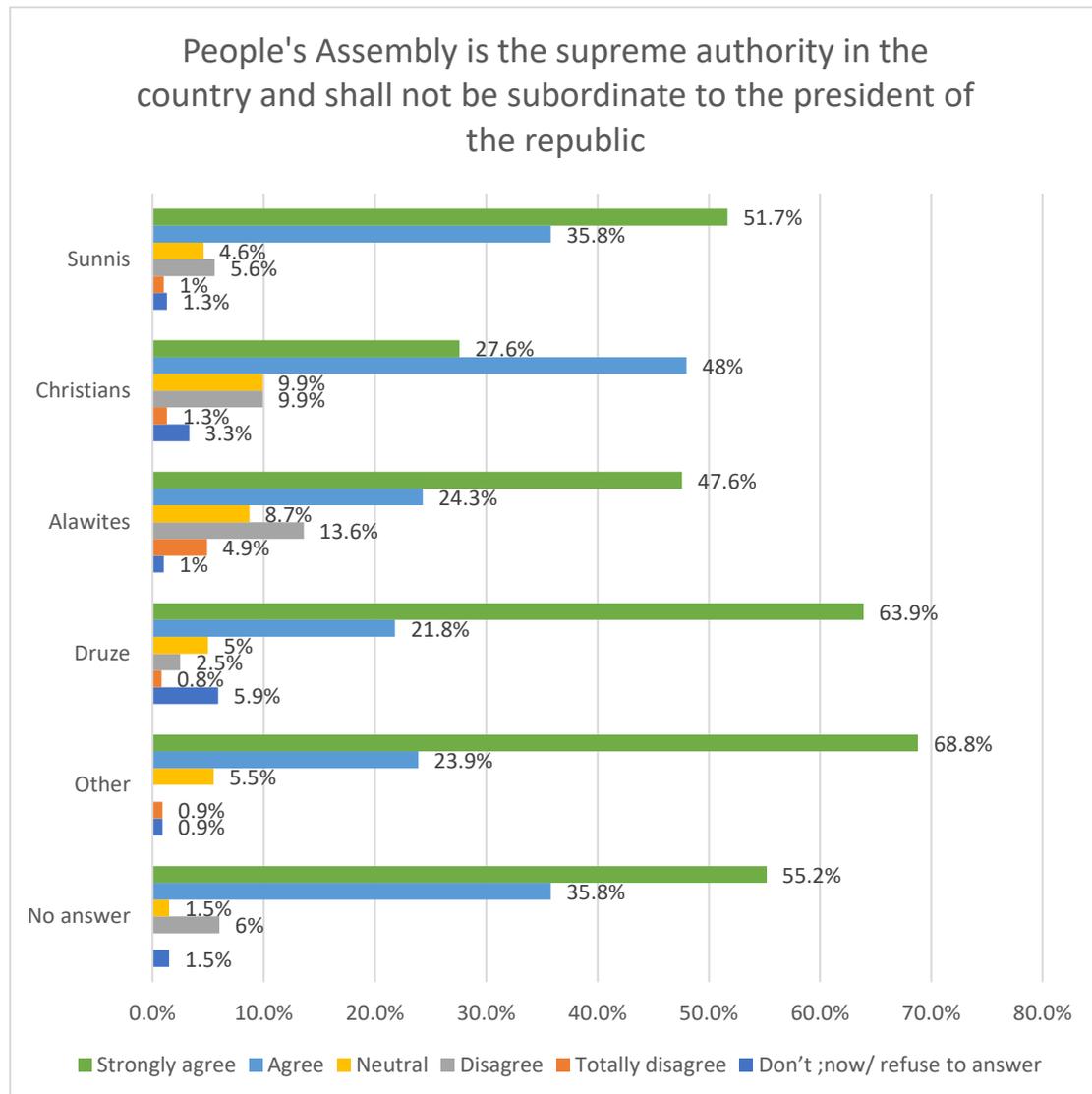
Fourth- Relation between the authorities:

States with democratic ruling systems adopt the principle of separation of authorities to manage its affairs, this principle is based on distributing powers and capacities of the state to independent bodies and institutions, with the ability of each of the state's authorities to monitor the work of other authorities in a method that guarantees the protection of public rights and freedoms.

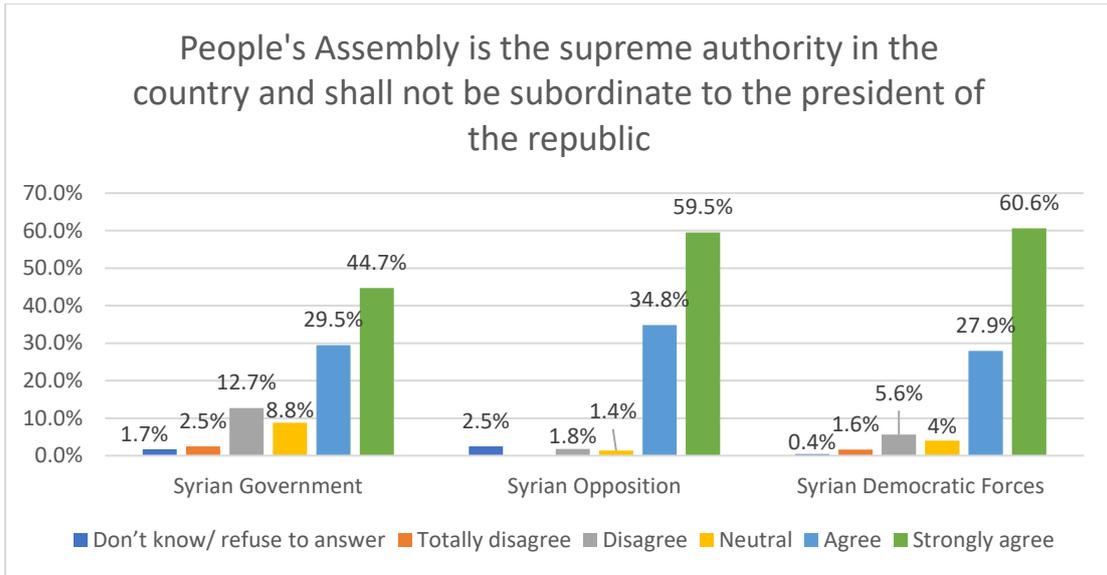
When talking about the authorities in Syria, it can be said that since Hafez Al-Assad assumed the presidency of Syria, all powers have been practically in the hand of the president of the Republic, as the president is the general commander of the army and the military forces, and he is the head of the executive authority and the Higher Council of Judiciary, and he has the right to dissolve the People's Assembly and to issue decrees and legislations in addition to many other powers and capacities, which clearly shows the nature of the authoritarian regime which is currently ruling Syria, the thing that requires the Constitutional Committee to revise the powers and capacities granted to the president of the state and to achieve a true separation of authorities that helps creating a Democratic Syria that preserves the dignity, rights and public freedoms of the citizens, knowing that during the study we asked the participants about their opinions on a set of issues related to the powers of the president of the republic, his relation with each of the legislative and judicial authorities, adoption of the separation of authorities principle and the distribution of powers within the executive authority.

First, regarding the powers of the president of the republic and his relation with the legislative authority represented by the People's Assembly, we find that the vast majority of the study participants believe that the People's Assembly should

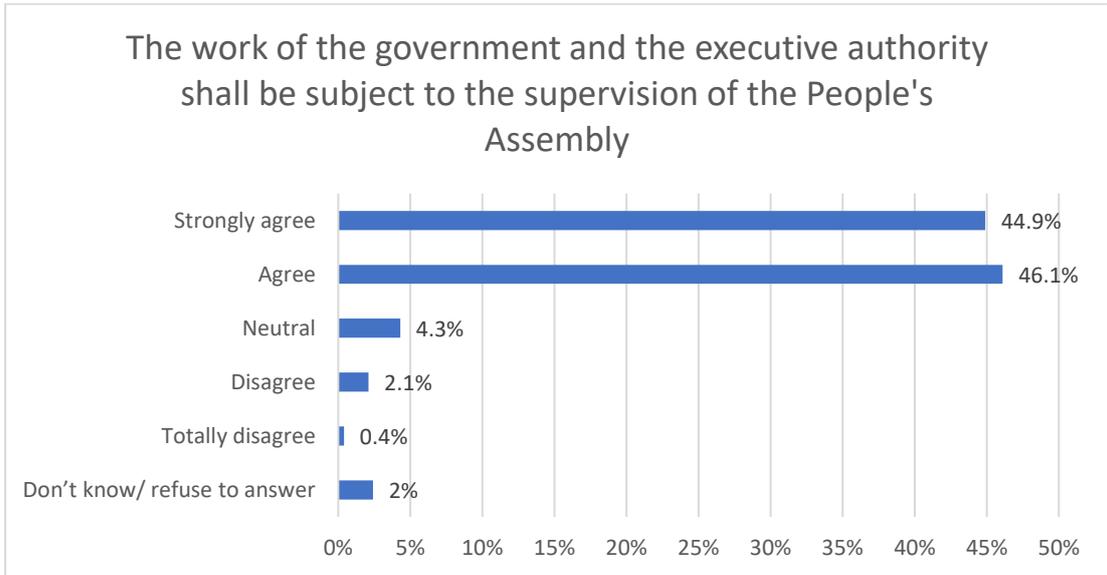
have the highest authority and powers within the state, and that it should not be subordinate to the president of the republic, thus, the president cannot dissolve the People’s Assembly. About one third of the respondents said that they agree with this proposition, while more than a half of them strongly agree with it. We denote here that the answers of Syrians of all ethnicities and nationalities are similar, while in terms of the religion or the sect, we find that the Alawites and the Christians had the highest degree of refusal regarding the independence of the People’s Assembly and not to subject it to the president of the republic, as their degree of support to this option dropped to nearly three quarters.



As for the distribution of the answers according to the areas of control, the degree of support for this hypothesis was the highest in the areas of the Syrian opposition, followed by areas of Syrian Democratic Forces then areas of the Syrian regime.

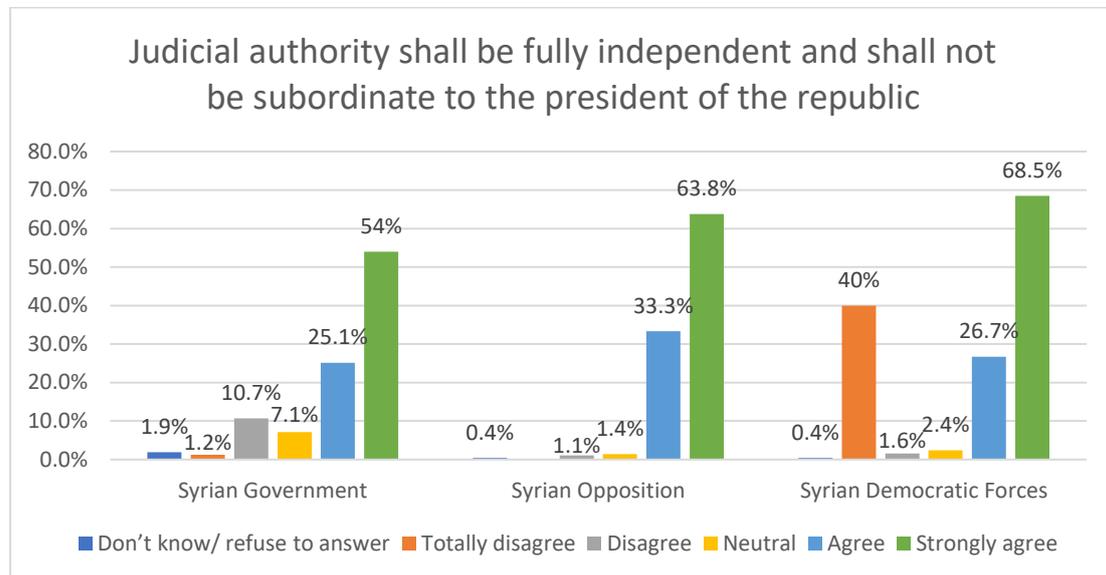


Given that the People’s Assembly should be the supreme authority of the state according to the vast majority of the participants, also the vast majority of them believe that it is necessary that the work of the government and the executive authority be conducted under its supervision.



Likewise, the degree of support of the study participants is high regarding the necessity of judiciary’s independence and that it should not be subordinate to the president of the state, as approximately one third of the participants agree with this hypothesis, and 58.9% of them strongly agree with it. We also notice here that the degree of support of the Alawites regarding this proposition drops to less than three quarters, while it was similar among Syrians of all other religions and sects. In terms of ethnicity, all of the participants who refused to mention their ethnicity support judiciary’s independence and that it should not be subordinate to the president of the state, followed by the Turkmen with a percentage of 98%, while the opinions of the Arabs and the Kurds are close to each other within the

general framework of the results. By analyzing the answers according to the areas of control, we find a higher degree of support to this proposition in the areas of the Syrian opposition and areas of the Syrian Democratic Forces compared to the areas of the Syrian regime.



Regarding the need of the constitution’s adoption of the principle of separation of the state’s legislative, executive and judicial authorities, and its inclusion of legal texts that guarantee achieving this separation without giving any authority the right to interfere in the work of the other authorities, we find that more than two thirds of the study participants expressed their support for this principle, as more than a third of them said that they agree the necessity of separation of authorities, and more than a third of them strongly agree this. By analyzing the results with the ethnicity variable, we find that the Kurds have the highest degree of support for adopting the principle of separation of authorities, as more than one quarter of them agree and more than half of them strongly agree with it, while the Turkmen have the lowest degree of support for this principle, as only half of them agree or strongly agree with it, while the percentages among the other ethnicities such as the Arabs, Circassians, Syriacs, Assyrians and Armenians remained within the framework of the study’s general key findings. In terms of religion or sect, the opinions of the study participants of all religions and sects were similar, except for the Druze, among whom there is a high percentage of those who believe that it is necessary to achieve the principle of separation of authorities, as more than a quarter of them agree with it, and more than half of them strongly agree.

By considering the areas of control within Syria, we find that the degree of support for the principle of separation of authorities is high among the participants living in the areas controlled by Syrian Democratic Forces, as more than three quarters of them said they agree or strongly agree with it, while this percentage is lower in the regime areas and opposition areas, where it was about two thirds. As for the results according to the country of residence, the degree of support is significantly higher among participants living in Netherlands, France

and Germany, while it decreased gradually among participants living in other countries:

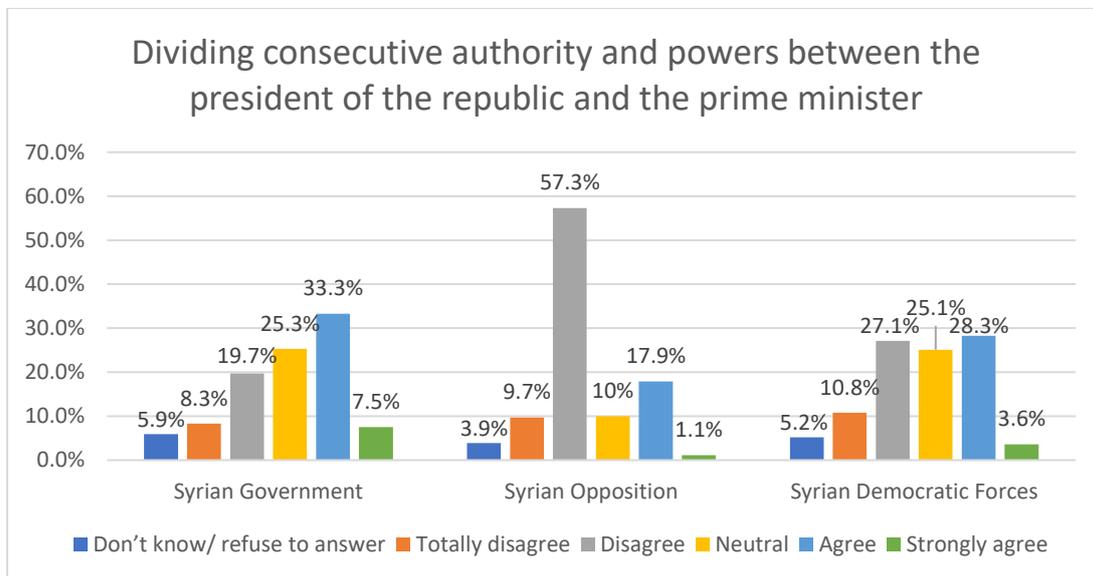
The necessity of affirming the principle of separation of legislative, executive and judicial authorities without granting any of them the power to interfere in the work of other authorities						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	Don't know/ refused to answer
Netherlands	60.3%	34.9%	3.2%	0%	0%	1.6%
Lebanon	31.9%	49.6%	12.4%	6.2%	0%	0%
Iraq	15.9%	26.1%	9.1%	14.8%	8%	26.1%
France	88.6%	4.5%	0%	2.3%	4.5%	0%
Syria	34.2%	35.1%	11.3%	9%	5.8%	4.6%
Turkey	33.1%	34.9%	11.4%	11.1%	3.9%	5.4%
Sweden	33.3%	33.3%	16.1%	10.8%	3.2%	3.2%
Jordan	9.3%	45.3%	20.9%	8.1%	0%	16.3%
Germany	49%	39.2%	7.8%	2%	2%	0%

With regard to the distribution of powers within the executive authority, the most supported proposition by the study participants was that the executive powers be concentrated in the hands of the Syrian government represented by the prime minister and ministers, with granting the president of the republic the authority to monitor government's work and hold its members accountable, as nearly three quarters of the respondents said that they agree or strongly agree with this (11.3% strongly agree and 59.2% agree with it), and this degree of support is high among respondents from all ethnicities and nationalities. In terms of religion or sect, the results among Sunnis and participants from religions and sects listed under the option OTHER (Shiites And the Yazidis, Ismailis, and non-religious) remained within the range of the general key findings of the study, while it decreased to about two thirds of the respondents among the Druze, Alawite, and Christians. As for the areas of control in Syria, the participants in the opposition areas were the most supportive of this proposition at a percentage of more than three quarters of them, while it decreased among the respondents in each of the areas of control of the Syrian Democratic Forces and the areas of the Syrian regime to two-thirds. In terms of the country of residence, the degree of support was significantly high in Jordan, the Netherlands and Germany, while it gradually decreases in other countries:

Concentrating the executive powers in the hands of the Syrian Government (the prime minister and the ministers) with granting the president of the republic the authority to monitor government's work and hold its members accountable.						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	Don't know/ refused to answer
Netherlands	3.2%	84.1%	11.1%	0%	0%	1.6%
Lebanon	17.7%	54.9%	12.4%	15%	0%	0%
Iraq	8%	46.6%	8%	12.5%	1.1%	23.9%
France	27.3%	27.3%	13.6%	13.6%	15.9%	2.3%
Syria	10.1%	58.3%	13.1%	12.3%	2.15	4%

Turkey	16%	54.5%	11.4%	9%	4.5%	4.5%
Sweden	6.5%	64.5%	22.6%	5.4%	0%	1.1%
Jordan	8.1%	87.2%	1.2%	1.2%	0%	2.3%
Germany	9.8%	70.6%	12.7%	3.9%	2%	1%

In terms of the degree of support, the previous option is followed by the division of the authority and the distribution of executive powers to the president of the republic and the prime minister, thus, the form of the ruling regime in Syria becomes similar to the mixed system (presidential / parliamentary). In general, the degree of support for this option was somewhat low, as only about one third of the respondents said that they agree with it, while the percentage of those who strongly agree was only 6.1%, and the percentages of the answers among the Arabs are very close to the general results of the study, while it was higher among the Kurds, as the percentage of those who said that they agree or strongly agree was about a half of them, while among the Turkmen, the percentage of approval dropped to less than a quarter, while in terms of religion or sect, the Druze and the participants from the minorities listed under the option OTHER were the most supportive respondents for this proposition at a percentage of more than half of them. As for Sunnis and Alawites, their degrees of support were close to the general results of the study, while among Christians it dropped to less than a third. In terms of the areas of control, we notice a significant increase in the degree of refusal among the participants in the areas of the Syrian opposition compared to the participants in the areas controlled by the regime and the Syrian Democratic Forces.

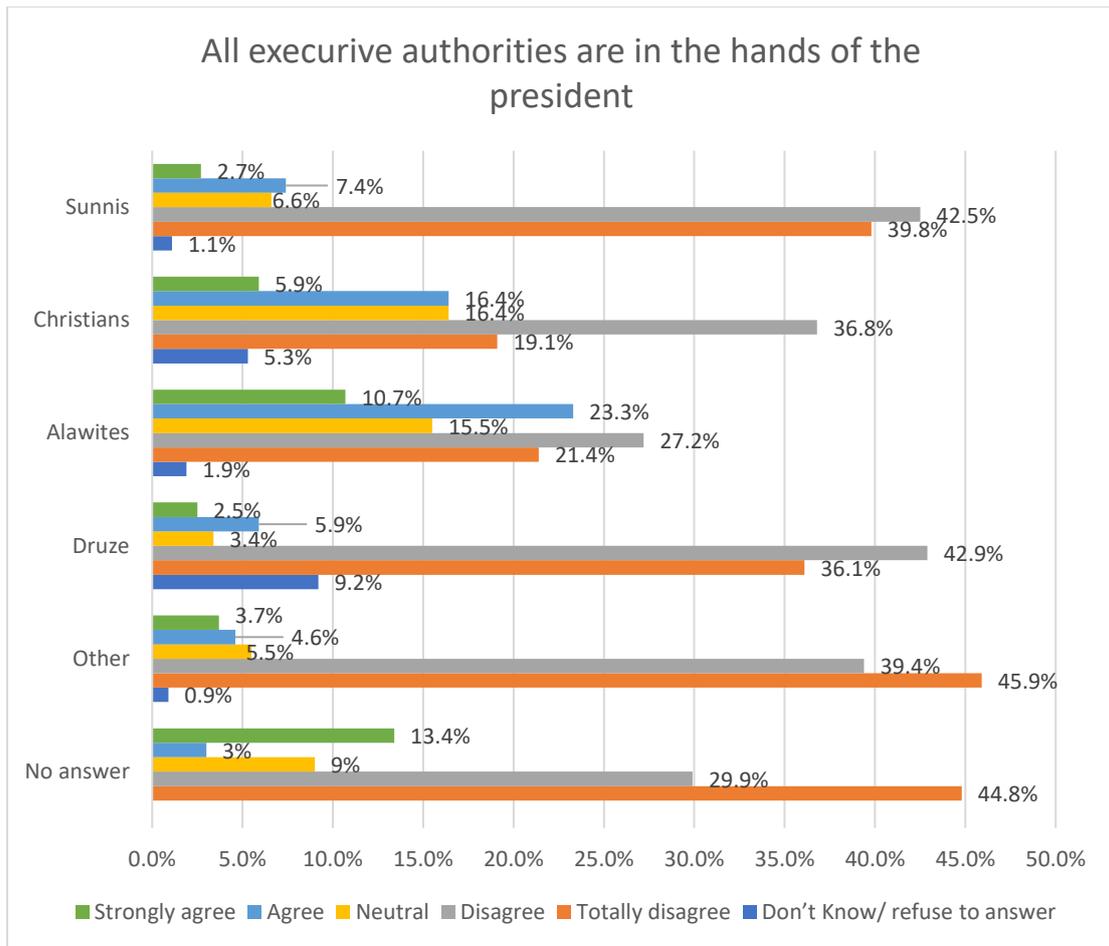


While in terms of the country of residence, participants living in the Netherlands, Iraq, Jordan and Germany were the most supportive of dividing the consecutive powers between the president of the republic and the prime minister:

Dividing consecutive authority and powers between the president of the republic and the prime minister						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	Don't know/ refused to answer
Netherlands	1.6%	61.9%	27%	4.8%	0%	4.8%
Lebanon	6.2%	33.6%	18.6%	33.6%	8%	0%
Iraq	8%	64.8%	5.7%	5.7%	0%	15.9%
France	13.6%	25%	25%	22.7%	11.4%	2.3%
Syria	5%	28.4%	21.4%	30.7%	9.2%	5.3%
Turkey	10.5%	34.3%	17.2%	23.5%	9.9%	4.5%
Sweden	1.1%	25.8%	47.3%	18.3%	1.1%	6.5%
Jordan	4.7%	69.8%	9.3%	10.5%	2.3%	3.5%
Germany	6.9%	60.8%	9.8%	20.6%	1%	1%

As for the adoption of the presidential system, which is based on the concentration of executive powers in the hands of the president of the republic, it was the most rejected proposal by the participants, as more than three-quarters of the participants in general said that they disagree or strongly disagree with that, while the percentage of participants who said they agree or strongly agree with it was 8.5% and 3.7%, respectively, and here we denote the closeness of answers among Syrians of all ethnicities, except for respondents from minorities included in the option OTHER; (Syriacs, Armenians, Assyrians, Circassians, and Chaldeans) among whom the percentage of support for the concentration of executive powers in the hands of the president of the republic reached nearly a quarter of them.

As for religion or sect, we notice a high degree of support for this proposition among the Alawites, as nearly a third of them expressed their approval of the concentration of authority in the hands of the president of the republic, and that percentage is also somewhat high among Christians, as it reached about a quarter.

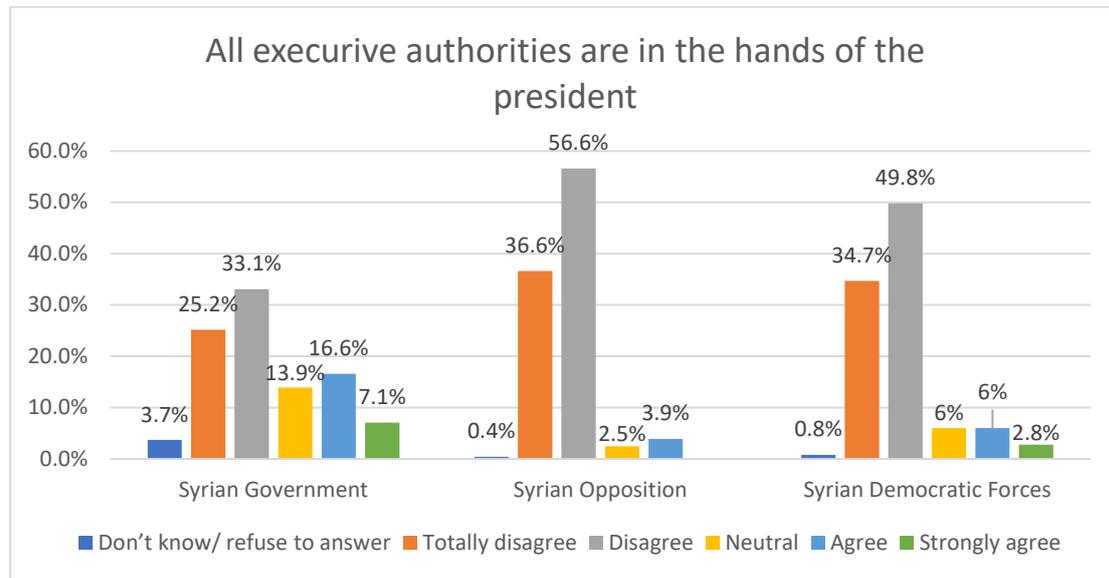


Regarding the countries of residence, the degree of support for concentrating the executive powers in the hands of the president of the republic is low in Germany, Jordan, Sweden and the Netherlands, while it was slightly higher in Turkey, Syria, France and Iraq.

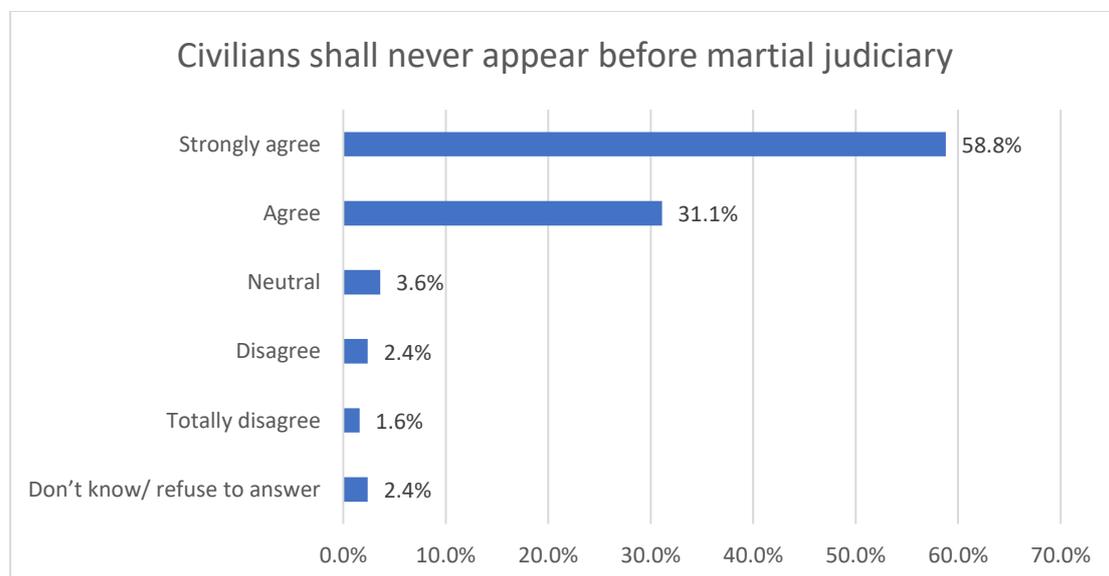
Concentrating all executive authorities in the hands of the president of the republic						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	Don't know/ refused to answer
Netherlands	0%	1.6%	6.3%	50.8%	41.3%	0%
Lebanon	2.7%	9.7%	13.3%	54.9%	19.5%	0%
Iraq	4.5%	8%	2.3%	44.3%	33%	8%
France	9.1%	2.3%	4.5%	27.3%	56.8%	0%
Syria	4.4%	11.1%	9.3%	42.7%	30.4%	2.2%
Turkey	4.5%	7.5%	5.4%	35.8%	46.1%	0.6%
Sweden	0%	3.2%	2.2%	32.3%	61.3%	1.1%
Jordan	0%	1.2%	4.7%	24.4%	67.4%	2.3%
Germany	1%	1%	3.9%	37.3%	55.9%	1%

As for the areas of control in Syria, the degree of support for the concentration of executive powers in the hands of the president of the republic was higher in the areas controlled by the Syrian regime, followed by the areas controlled by

the Syrian Democratic Forces, while the vast majority of the participants in the opposition areas expressed their refusal of this proposal.



Apart from the executive authority, and with regard to the judicial authority and the jurisdiction of the courts, the study participants were specifically asked about the extent of their acceptance of trying civilians before martial judiciary and courts, and the results of the study showed that the vast majority of the participants refuse this action.

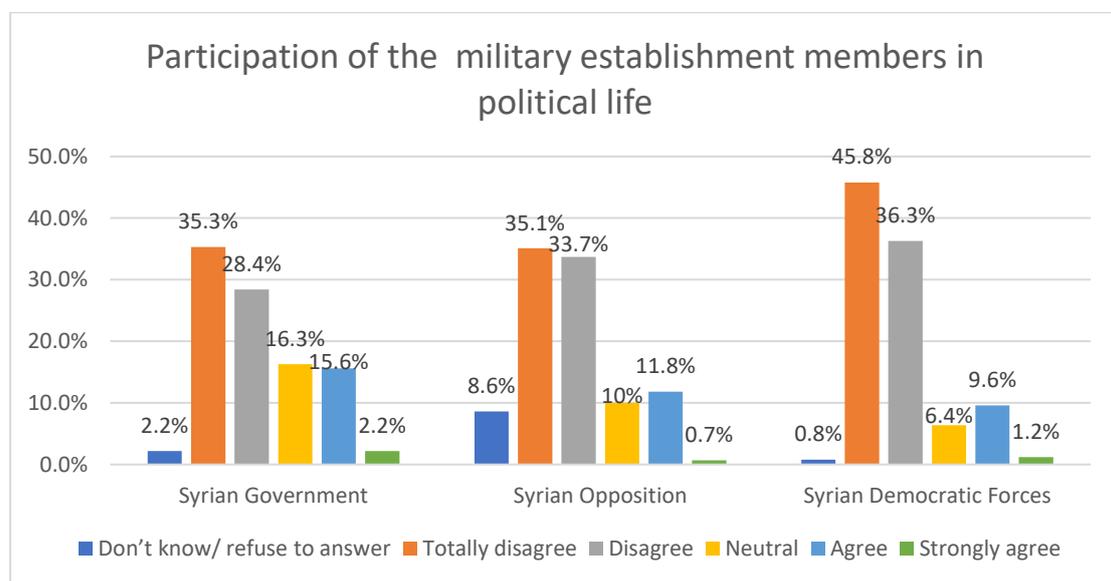


Finally, and to know the Syrians' opinions on the role of the military establishment and the possibility of its interference in the political life in Syria, the study participants were asked about the extent of their acceptance of the participation of military establishment members in the political life and their assumption of official positions within the state, and in general, nearly three quarters of the respondents expressed their refusal of that matter (31.6% refuse

it and 41.4% strongly refuse it). The degree of refusal of the participation members of the military establishment is high among Syrians of all ethnicities and nationalities except for Turkmen, as the largest percentage of them expressed their neutrality regarding this issue, while nearly a third of them said that they refuse it.

As for the religion or the sect, the majority of the participants expressed their refusal of the participation of the military establishment members in political life, with a low degree of rejection among Alawites, as more than a third of them said they accept such participation.

Regarding the control areas, the degree of refusal of the participation of the military establishment members in political life was the highest is in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces, followed by the opposition areas and the areas of the Syrian regime.



Fifth- Women within the Constitution:

Given the importance of the role of women in building society and in the framework of striving to ensure the activation of their participation in various aspects of political, social and economic life, states in general are make sure to include texts in their constitutions that ensure the promotion of women's participation in public life, and place an obligation on governments to take the necessary measures to achieve that objective. In fact, states' constitutions differ in their view of the size of participation that must be guaranteed for women, for example, the Tunisian constitution stipulates that the state seeks to achieve parity between men and women in elected councils⁴, and in the same context the Egyptian constitution stipulates that the state guarantees equality between men and women in all civil, political, economic and social rights⁵, while the current Syrian constitution stipulates that the state shall provide women with all

⁴ Chapter No. 46 of the Tunisian Constitution of 2014.

⁵ Article No. 11 of the Amended Egyptian Constitution of 2014.

opportunities that allow them to fully and effectively participate in political, economic, social and cultural life and work to remove restrictions that prevent their development and participation in building the society⁶, and we notice here that the Syrian constitution does not set a specific percentage for the participation of women which the state must strive to achieve, and on the other hand, states' constitutions differ in the size of the rights granted to women, as some constitutions grant them greater rights than other constitutions, for example, we find that the Egyptian constitution stipulates that the Egyptian nationality is a right for those born to an Egyptian father or an Egyptian mother⁷, and therefore Egyptian women have the right to grant nationality to their children, while the Syrian constitution has referred issues of nationality to the law, which did not grant women the right to pass their nationality to their children.

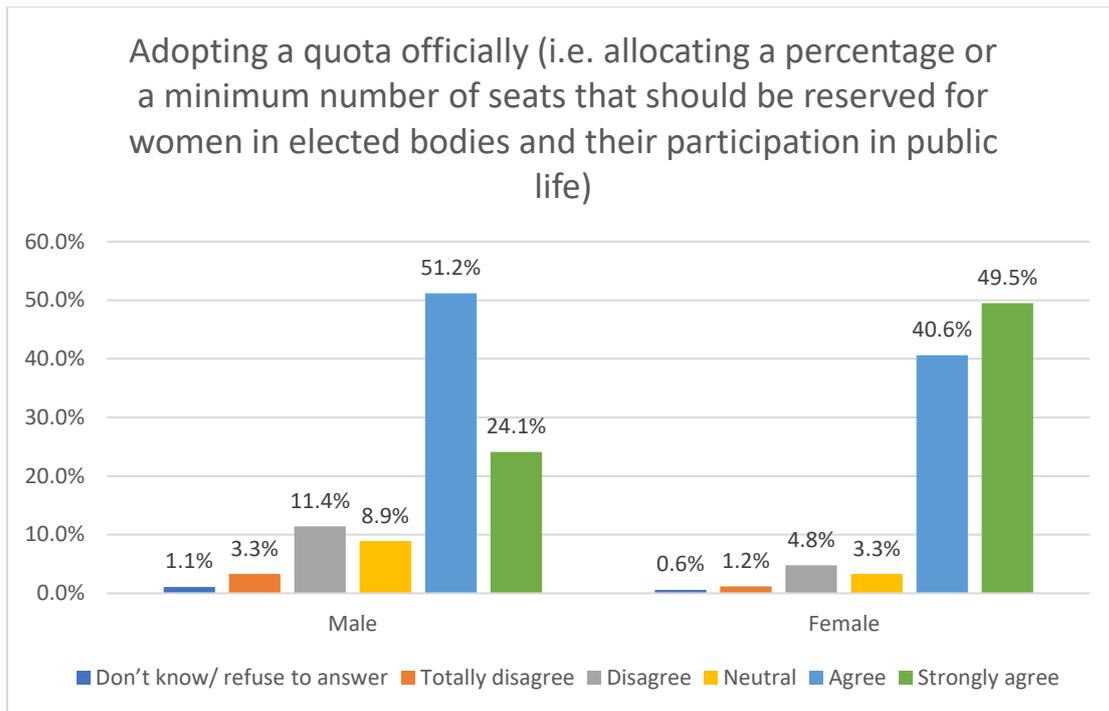
Based on the above, during the study we surveyed the participants' opinions on the most prominent issues related to women, the degree of their participation in public life, and the size of the rights granted to them. The participants were asked about their opinion on each of the following issues:

- 1- The necessity to stipulate within the constitution the allocation of a minimum number of seats for women within electoral bodies and to specify a percentage for women's participation in society that the state must work to achieve.
- 2- The possibility of women run for and assume the presidency of the republic.
- 3- Participation of women in Parliament (People's Assembly).
- 4- Women's right to pass Syrian nationality to their husbands and children.

In general, the majority of the participants in the study supported the official adoption of the quota and that the constitution stipulate that a minimum number of seats to be allocated for women in electoral bodies and that a percentage of participation in public life be set for them, that the state must strive to achieve, as nearly half of the participants answered that they agree with this, and more than a third of them said that they strongly agree, and we notice here that there is a great similarity in the views of Syrians of different ethnicities, religions, sects and in the different areas of study in this regard, while slight differences appear according to the gender variable, as the degree of support for the adoption of the quota is higher among female participants as shown in the following chart:

⁶ Article No. 23 of the Syrian Constitution of 2012.

⁷ Article No. 6 of Amended Egyptian Constitution of 2014.



As for the possibility of women to be elected and to assume the presidency of the republic, the study showed that there is a general acceptance of that hypothesis, as nearly two thirds of the participants said that they agree or strongly agree with it, while those who said they disagree or totally disagree with it constitute about a quarter of the participants.

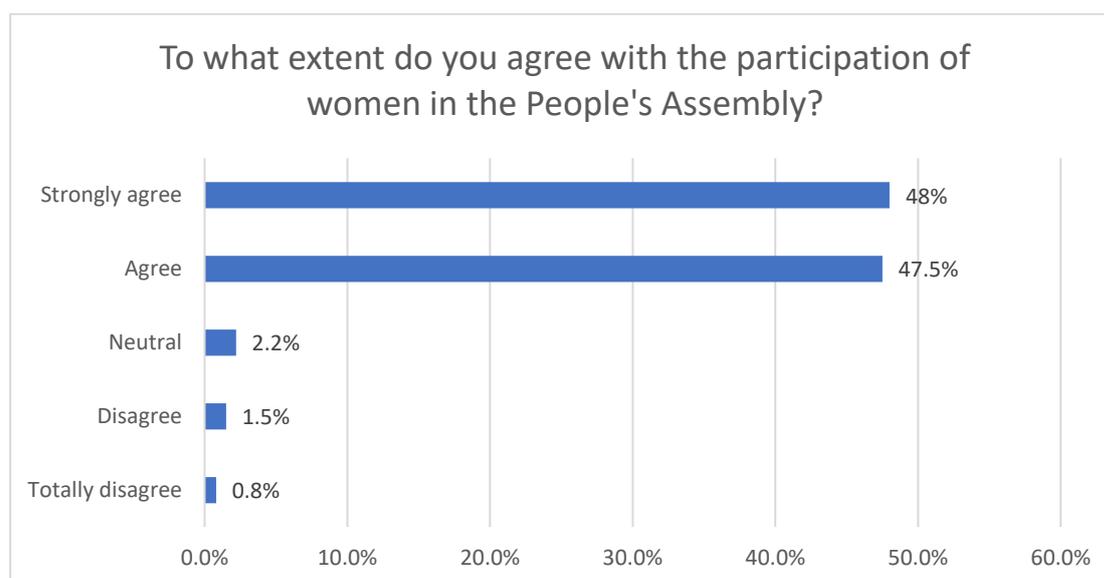
In general, the degree of acceptance of women assuming the presidency of the republic is lower among males, as half of them said that they agree or strongly agree with it, while that percentage reached 79.1% among female participants. In terms of ethnicity, Turkmen had the highest degree of refusal of the possibility of a woman assuming the presidency of the republic, as almost half of them said that they disagree or totally disagree with it, while about a third of them expressed their agreement to it. As for the Kurds, they were the most supportive category of this hypothesis, as the majority of them agree or strongly agree with a woman's assumption of the presidency of the republic.

In terms of religion or sect, we notice a similarity in the views of Christians and Alawites, as nearly three quarters of them said that they agree or strongly agree with the election of women to the presidency of the republic. The degree of support of the assumption of the presidency by women was high among the participants of religions and sects listed under another option (Shiites, Yazidis, Ismailis and non-religious), as more than a quarter of them said they agreed with it, and nearly two thirds of them said they strongly agree, and the majority of Druze indicated their support for the right of women to assume the presidency of the republic (26.9% of the Druze agree and 57.1% of them strongly agree). As for the Sunnis, they were the least accepting of this hypothesis, as one third of them said that they agree with assuming the presidency of the republic by a woman and a quarter of them said they strongly agree. Finally, in terms of country of residence, we notice a high degree of support for the right of women

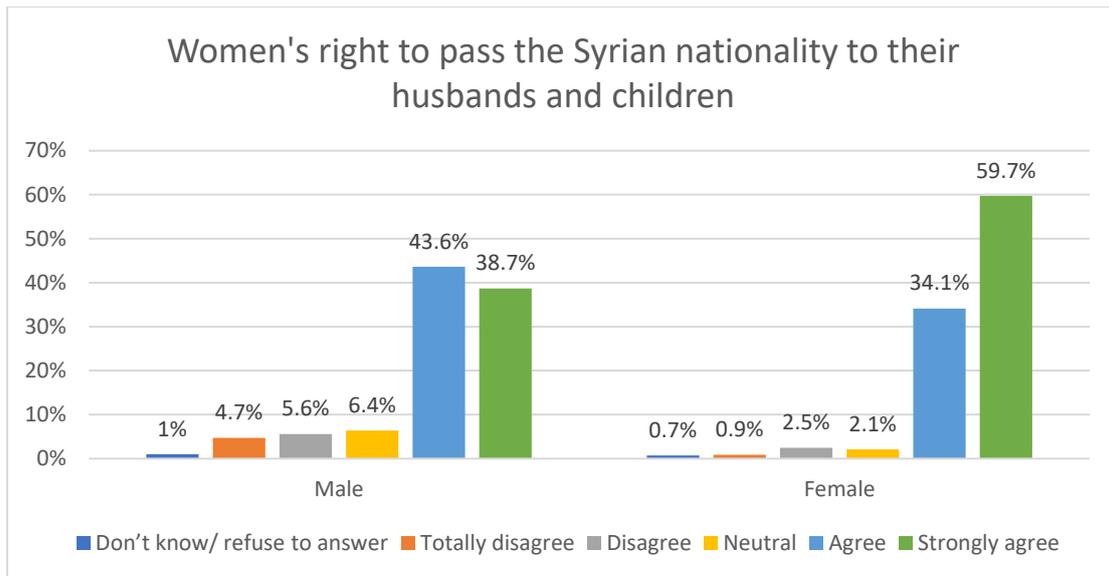
to assume the presidency of the republic among participants living in France, Iraq and Germany, while it was lower in Syria and Turkey:

To what extent do you agree the assumption of the presidency of the republic by a woman?						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	Don't know/ refused to answer
Netherlands	39.7%	33.3%	11.1%	15.9%	0%	0%
Lebanon	27.4%	38.1%	4.4%	23.9%	6.2%	0%
Iraq	60.2%	33%	3.4%	3.4%	0%	0%
France	81.8%	13.6%	2.3%	2.3%	0%	0%
Syria	27.9%	32.3%	8.8%	21.8%	8.7%	0.6%
Turkey	31.6%	23.8%	10.2%	24.7%	9.3%	0.3%
Sweden	22.6%	51.6%	6.5%	16.1%	3.2%	0%
Jordan	23.3%	55.8%	7%	10.5%	3.5%	0%
Germany	53.9%	29.4%	6.9%	7.8%	2%	0%

As for the possibility of women’s participation and running for the membership of the parliament (The People’s Assembly), the vast majority of the respondents of all religions and ethnicities and from all areas of the study agree or strongly agree with this.



Finally, with regard to the right of women to pass the Syrian nationality to their husbands and children, the vast majority of study participants of all ethnicities and religions agree with stipulating this by the constitution, knowing that the degree of support was somewhat lower among male participants than among females:



Recommendations:

Based on the key findings of the study and the viewpoints of the participants, the study concluded with a set of recommendations, which are:

First - to the sponsors of the path of the political solution in Syria:

- 1- The necessity of working to take practical steps regarding issues that are among the Syrians' priorities within the path of the political solution.
- 2- Pressuring the parties involved in the constitutional process to take more serious positions and actually begin drafting the constitution and setting a time frame for the work of the Constitutional Committee.
- 3- Pressuring the various states concerned with the Syrian context or those supporting the parties to the conflict to take serious steps within the framework of the political solution endeavors.
- 4- Pressuring all states with military forces present in Syria to withdraw their forces.

Second - To the Syrian civil society organizations:

- 1- Working to increase activities aimed at increasing political awareness among Syrians.
- 2- Increasing the number of the mobilization and advocacy campaigns towards the issues that are among the Syrians' priorities within the path of the political solution, foremost of which is revealing the fate of the detainees, ceasing military operations, delivering humanitarian aid to people affected by the conflict, and ceasing security prosecutions.

- 3- Launching projects to document human rights violations and war crimes committed against Syrians, and working to hold people who were responsible for them accountable.
- 4- Enhancing communication and dialogue with members of the Constitutional Committee from the civil society delegation and cooperation in order to coordinate efforts, given that the Syrians' confidence in the civil society delegation is the largest compared to the other delegations.

Third - To the Constitutional Committee:

- 1- Working to conduct periodic polls of Syrians' opinions to identify their desires and aspirations and to take them into consideration during the negotiation process and constitution drafting.
- 2- Organizing seminars and meetings that bring members of the Constitutional Committee and the Syrians together, in-person or online, to inform them of the most important results reached by the committee during its meetings, and to know their observations and suggestions about its work and activities.
- 3- Holding periodic meetings with community leaders and local representatives of the Syrians to know the aspirations and desires of Syrians in all regions.
- 4- Allocating phone numbers or emails to receive Syrians' suggestions and feedback on the work of the Constitutional Committee.
- 5- According to the opinions and orientations of the study participants, it is recommended that the constitution stipulates the following:
 - The necessity of working on adopting official languages in addition to Arabic at the local and regional level at least.
 - The preponderance of the rules of international law over the rules of national law.
 - Limiting the powers of the President of the Republic in a way that ensures that he will not interfere and influence the work of the legislative and judicial authorities.
 - Granting The People's Assembly broad powers to hold the government accountable for its actions.
 - Granting women the right to run for the presidency of the republic.
 - Granting women the right to pass Syrian nationality to her children.

Fourth - To the civil society delegation:

- 1- The necessity of working to increase the level of communication with the Syrians while highlighting the activities carried out by the civil society delegation through which it seeks to know the opinions of Syrians and involve them in the constitutional process.

- 2- Work to amend the agenda of the civil society delegation and the constitutional proposals that it adopts in line with the results of the polls of Syrians' opinions on constitutional issues, and then work on launching campaigns to inform Syrians of that agenda and the extent of its compatibility with their orientations and aspirations.

Questionnaire:

General Information:

- 1- Age:
 - A. 18 to 25
 - B. 26 to 39
 - C. 40 to 59
 - D. 60 and above
- 2- Gender:
 - A. Male
 - B. Female
- 3- Educational level:
 - A. Illiterate
 - B. Primary
 - C. Preparatory
 - D. Secondary
 - E. University (university student or graduate)
 - F. Higher studies
 - G. Other (please specify)
- 4- Any of the following statements describe your family's economic situation (alert to the data collector: by main needs we mean shelter, food, water, medicine, education and clothes)
 - A. We can't secure the family's basic needs.
 - B. We can barely secure the family's basic needs.
 - C. We can secure the family's basic needs.
 - D. We can secure the family's basic needs and spend on some luxuries.
 - E. We can buy anything we want.
- 5- Original Governorate:
 - 1) Damascus
 - 2) Damascus Countryside
 - 3) Aleppo
 - 4) Hama
 - 5) Homs
 - 6) Idlib
 - 7) Latakia
 - 8) Tartous
 - 9) Dara'a
 - 10) Sweida
 - 11) Quneitra
 - 12) Deir ez-Zor
 - 13) Al-Hasakah
 - 14) Al-Raqqah

- 6- Religion/Sect:
- A. Sunni
 - B. Alawite
 - C. Shiite
 - D. Christian
 - E. Druze
 - F. Esmaeili
 - G. Yazidi
 - H. No answer.
 - I. Other (please specify)
- 7- Ethnicity (nationality):
- A. Arab
 - B. Kurdish
 - C. Turkmen
 - D. Circassian
 - E. Assyrian
 - F. Armenian
 - G. Syriac
 - H. Chechen
 - I. No answer
 - J. Other (please specify)
- 8- Current place of residence:
- A. Syria
 - B. Lebanon
 - C. Jordan
 - D. Iraqi Kurdistan
 - E. Turkey
 - F. Germany
 - G. France
 - H. Sweden
 - I. Netherlands
- 9- If the answer is (Syria), what is your current governorate of residence?
- A. Damascus
 - B. Damascus Countryside
 - C. Aleppo
 - D. Hama
 - E. Homs
 - F. Idlib
 - G. Latakia
 - H. Tartous
 - I. Dara'a
 - J. Sweida

- K. Quneitra
- L. Deir ez-Zor
- M. Al-Hasakah
- N. Al-Raqqah

- 10-If residing in Syria, which party controls your area of residence?
- A. Syrian government
 - B. Syrian opposition
 - C. Syrian Democratic Forces
 - D. Other (please specify)

Section of the Constitutional Committee:

- 1- Do you think that drafting a new constitution for Syria is necessary at the current phase?
- A. Yes, it is very important.
 - B. Yes, it is important.
 - C. Yes, it is acceptable.
 - D. No, it is not important.
 - E. No, it is not important at all.
- 2- Do you have any knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee?
- A. Yes, I'm trying to remain aware of all details.
 - B. I have a good knowledge.
 - C. I don't have much knowledge about the work of the Constitutional Committee.
 - D. I have no knowledge about its work (go to question 6)
- 3- What are the sources of your information about the work of the Constitutional Committee? (Accepts Multi Answers)
- A. Social media platforms
 - B. Statements by members of the Constitutional Committee
 - C. Statements of UN agencies
 - D. Statements issued by countries concerned with the Syrian context
 - E. Conversations with people interested in political affairs in my society
 - F. Family and friends
 - G. Other (please specify)
- 4- Have you personally participated in any activity or meeting related to the work of the Constitutional Committee?
- A. Yes

- B. No
- 5- Do you think that the Constitutional Committee has achieved progress in its work?
- A. It couldn't achieve any progress.
 B. The progress that has been achieved is insufficient.
 C. It has achieved acceptable progress.
 D. It has achieved good progress.
 E. It has achieved a great progress.
 F. I don't know
- 6- To what extent do you consider important to start taking practical steps on each of the following issues simultaneously with the work of the Constitutional Committee:

	Very important	Important	Acceptable	Not important	Not important at all.
Revealing the fate of detainees					
Cessation of military operations					
Delivering humanitarian aid to people affected by the conflict					
Expelling foreign fighters					
Starting reconstruction work					
Holding people who are responsible for human rights violations and war crimes accountable					
Creating a safe environment for the return of refugees and IDPs to their areas of origin					
Ensuring a neutral environment for holding fair election					
Ceasing security prosecutions					
Forming a transitional governing body to					

manage the current phase					
--------------------------	--	--	--	--	--

- 7- Did you know that the Constitutional Committee consists of three delegations?
 A. Yes
 B. No

- 8- If the answer to question 7 is yes, what is the level of your confidence each of the participating delegations?

	Extreme confidence	Great confidence	Neutral	No confidence	No confidence at all
Syrian government delegation					
Opposition delegation					
Civil society delegation					

- 9- If the answer to question 7 is yes, to what extent do you think the participating delegations are serious about advancing the political process and drafting a new constitution?

	Very serious	Serious	Acceptable	Not serious.	Not serious at all.	I don't know
Syrian government delegation						
Opposition delegation						
Civil society delegation						

- 10-If the answer to question 7 is no, what is the level of your confidence in the Constitutional Committee?
 A. Extreme confidence.
 B. Great confidence.
 C. Neutral
 D. No confidence.
 E. No confidence at all.

- 11-If the answer to question 7 is no, to what extent do you think the Constitutional Committee is capable of advancing the political process and drafting a new constitution

- A. Highly capable.
- B. Very capable.
- C. Acceptable
- D. Low capability.
- E. Not capable at all.

12-Which delegation of the Constitutional Committee do you think is closest to representing your aspirations?

- A. Syrian government delegation
- B. Syrian opposition delegation
- C. Civil society delegation
- D. None of the delegations (go to question 14)

13- What is your evaluation of the delegation that you consider to represent your aspirations in terms of the following? (do not ask this question if the answer in question 7 is no, or if the answer in question 12 is none of the delegations and go to question 14):

	Very satisfactory	satisfactory	Acceptable	Not satisfactory	Not satisfactory at all.	don't know
Mobilizing international support						
possessing legal competencies						
Representing Syrians' aspirations in constitutional negotiations						
The extent of interaction and engagement with Syrian society						

14-How do you think you can work to increase communication between the delegations of the Constitutional Committee and the Syrians? (best way for you) (accepts multiple options - three options maximum)

- A. Organizing online or in-person conferences and seminars that bring members of that delegation together with Syrians.
- B. Allocating phone numbers or e-mails to receive Syrians' feedback and suggestions.
- C. Members of the Constitutional Committee communicate with community leaders and representatives of the Syrian to know Syrians' views.
- D. Conducting polls by the Constitutional Committee to know the Syrians aspirations .
- E. Interactive media campaigns and programs.

- F. Other (please specify).
- 15-To what extent do you hope for the success of the work of the Constitutional Committee?
- To a great extent.
 - To a large extent.
 - To an acceptable extent.
 - Slight hope
 - I have no hope.
- 16-If the answer is (slight) or (I have no hoe), what's the reason? (multiple answers - three options as maximum)
- Interference of external parties and states in the work of the Constitutional Committee.
 - Some countries are not serious about solving the crisis.
 - I think it's an attempt to circumvent the essence of the Syrian problem.
 - There is no clear agenda for the work of the Constitutional Committee.
 - Some delegations of the Constitutional Committee attempted to obstruct and disrupt its work.
 - Other (please specify).
- 17-How many members of the Constitutional Committee do you know personally or in general?
- 18-In case he/she know several members of the Constitutional Committee:
- How many members of the Syrian government delegation do you know?
 - How many members of the Syrian opposition delegation do you know?
 - How many members of the civil society delegation do you know?
 - How many members of the constitutional committee do you know but you don't know with which delegation they are?
- 19-Do you have a particular position on the Constitutional Committee?
- Neither suport nor refuse I have restrictions on the existence of a constitutional committee I support its work but I have restrictions on the method of its formation
- I support its work in its current situation.
 - I support the idea of the Constitutional Committee, but I have restrictions about the method of its formation.
 - I neither support nor refuse it (I don't have a certain position)
 - I have conservation on the existence of a constitutional committee.
 - Other (please specify)
- 20-Do you think that the presence of foreign powers in Syria would have a negative effect on the work of the Constitutional Committee?

- A. Yes, the presence all foreign powers affects the work of the Constitutional Committee.
- B. The presence of some forces affect its work, while the presence of others doesn't.
- C. I don't think the presence of foreign powers would affect the work of the Constitutional Committee.
- D. I don't know.

21-If the participant selects answer (b): which forces have a negative effect on the work of the Constitutional Committee? (Multiple options)

- A. Russia
- B. Iran
- C. Turkey
- D. United States of America
- E. Britain
- F. France
- G. Other (please specify)

Section on Constitutional Issues

1) What is your opinion regarding the following issues:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree
Arab identity must be affirmed within the name of the Republic					
Arabic is the only official language of the state					
Other languages can be adopted as official languages at the state level					
Arabic is the only official language at the state level with the possibility of adopting other official languages at the local level (i.e., those languages are not official in all of the state, but in specific geographical areas).					
Cultural and intellectual rights of ethnic, national and religious minorities must be acknowledged.					

2) With regard to religion, to what extent do you agree with the following statements:

	strongly agree	agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree
Islamic jurisprudence is the only source of legislation					
Islamic jurisprudence is a main source of legislation					
Islamic jurisprudence is a source of legislation					
Islamic jurisprudence is not a source of legislation					
The Constitution stipulates that the religion of the state is Islam.					
Separation of the religion from the state.					
Deriving provisions from international norms and laws and human rights laws without including any legal text that contradicts international laws by any legislation.					

If the provisions of Islamic jurisprudence contradict with international laws and norms and human rights laws, which of them do you think should be granted preponderance?

- Islamic jurisprudence
- international laws and norms and human rights laws
- I don't have a certain opinion.

3) Regarding the form of the political system, what do you think of each of the following options:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Acceptable	Disagree	Totally disagree	don't know/ refuse to answer
Syria must adopt a decentralized						

political system based on granting local authorities broad administrative powers (i.e., giving provinces and geographical regions independence in decision-making)						
The system should be centralized (in which sovereignty is unified - powers are concentrated in the hands of the central authorities in the capital)						
Adoption of a federal system based on the ethnic or sectarian basis (the State is divided into territories on the basis of ethnicity, religion or sect)						

- 4) Do you know what the legislative authority means?
- A. Yes
 - B. No

5) If the answer is yes, which of the following options is the primary task of the legislative authority:

- A. Enacting laws.
- B. Executing laws.
- C. Settling conflicts between institutions and people.

6) To which extent do you agree with each of the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Acceptable	Disagree	Totally disagree	Don't know/ refuse to answer
The People's Assembly is the supreme authority in the country and is not subordinate to the President of the Republic.						
The judiciary must be completely independent and not subordinate to the President of the Republic.						
Separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers without granting any of them the power to interfere in the work of other authorities						
The actions of the						

government and the executive authority must be supervised by the People's Assembly						
Civilians shall never be brought before military courts in any case.						

7) The best way to determine executive powers, what is the degree of your support for each of the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Acceptable	Disagree	Totally disagree	Don't know/ refuse to answer
All of the executive authorities should be in the hands of the President.						
The executive powers should be in the hands of the prime minister and the ministers) with a supervisory role for the President on its work						
Authority shall be divided between the						

president and the prime minister						
Participation of members of the military establishment in political life						

8) With regard to women issues, to what extent do you agree with each of the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Acceptable	Disagree	Totally disagree	Don't know/ refuse to answer
Adopting quota officially (i.e. allocation of a percentage or minimum seats that must be reserved for women in elected bodies and other bodies)						
The possibility of electing women for the presidency of the Republic						
Women's participation in Parliament						
The right of woman to grant citizenship to						

husband and children						
-------------------------	--	--	--	--	--	--

INDICATORS

A chance of improvement

www.indicators.company

