



March 2021

How Syrian Activists consider their
**Country's Future
Constitution?**

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Executive Summary

The constitution is of great importance in the legal system of countries since it is the supreme law of the country, and it includes the general and basic rules that define the form of the state (simple or complex), the type of ruling in it (monarchy or republican) and the form of government (presidential, parliamentary or mixed). The constitution also regulates the general authorities (legislative, judicial and executive) in which the state carries out its tasks, the jurisdiction of each of them, and the relationship of these authorities with each other, and clarifies the economic, social, political and cultural principles. The constitution also has a great impact on the citizens of countries, as it defines their rights, freedoms and duties, and stipulates the guarantees that guarantee these rights for them in the face of arbitrariness of the authority. The constitution has preponderance over all other legal rules in the state, which means that the state's authorities must abide by its provisions when issuing any decisions or enacting any legislation, and that any other decisions or legislations that contradict it are null and void.

In Syria, and following the military coup carried out by Hafez Al-Assad in 1970 and his assumption of power, the permanent constitution of the republic was issued in 1973, and in fact the provisions and texts of that constitution were intended to consolidate the rule of Hafez Al-Assad and the Arab Socialist Baath Party, as Article 8 of the constitution affirmed that the Baath Party is the leading party of the society and the state, and that it leads the National Progressive Front that includes other political parties in the country. The 1973 Constitution has also granted the President of the Republic great powers that make him able to interfere in the work of all state authorities in a way that hollows the concept of the principle of separation of authorities from any content or meaning.

With the outbreak of public protests in Syria in March of 2011 and the expansion of their geographical area, the Syrian regime undertook some nominal reforms, including the adoption of a new constitution for Syria in 2012, which abolished Article 8 of the 1973 Constitution and stipulated party pluralism in Syria, but it has preserved the great and semi-absolute powers of the head of state, as he is the head of the executive authority and has the power to unilaterally issue legislations or block the passage of legislations decided by the People's Assembly. He is also the president of the Supreme Judicial Council which appoints judges of the Supreme Constitutional Court, and he is also the supreme commander of the Army and Armed Forces, in addition to other powers such as appointing civil and military employees and conducting referendum of the people in cases considered to be contradicting the constitution, in addition to the seven-year electoral cycle that is open to repetition.

In fact, the Syrian regime has not succeeded in suppressing the protests against it, on the contrary, because of the regime's adoption of the force-based solution, the calls for reform have turned into demands calling for the overthrow of the regime and the pace of military operations in Syria has increased, exacerbating the suffering of Syrians due to arrests, torture and siege on civilian areas and the

bombing with all types of weapons, including the internationally forbidden weapons, which led to large numbers of civilian deaths and casualties, and the displacement of many of them from their original areas. This prompted the international community to intervene in an endeavor to end the conflict in Syria through a comprehensive political process that would ensure that Syrians decide the future of the country and achieve their aspirations for freedom, justice, dignity and democracy in a state of equal citizenship.

The international community has drawn the outlines of the political solution through adopting a set of UN resolutions and international statements, the most important of which are Security Council Resolution No. 2254 of 2015 and Resolution 2118 of 2013 containing the Geneva Declaration, based on which a roadmap for a political solution in Syria was approved in 2017. The roadmap stipulated that four axes should be implemented in parallel or consecutively, namely: governance, the constitution, elections, and a safe and neutral environment. Indeed, a committee called the Constitutional Committee was first formed and entrusted with the task of drafting a new constitution for the country, and that committee commenced its work on the 30th of October of 2019, and the committee has held five sessions, the last of which was in January 2021, during which it was scheduled to discuss the basic constitutional principles.

Given the importance of the constitution and its role in guaranteeing the personal rights and freedoms of individuals, this study was conducted by The Day After Foundation in cooperation with INDICATORS Center and in coordination and consultation with members of the Constitutional Committee from the delegations of the Syrian Negotiations Commission and Civil Society, and the study aims to know the views of Syrian activists, community leaders, jurists, media professionals and other influential people in society and those interested in political affairs about the provisions and principles that should be included in the constitution, and this category of Syrians was chosen because they are the most capable category to understand the nature and content of the constitutional texts and thus give a realistic perception about what the Syrians in general aspire to.

The study was conducted in March of 2021, and covered Syria and the neighboring countries (Turkey - Lebanon - Jordan - Northern Iraq) and some of the European Union states (Germany - Netherlands - France - Sweden), and during the study, 532 in-person interviews were conducted with Syrians from All ethnicities, religions and sects using a questionnaire with closed-ended questions.

The study concluded with a set of key findings, the most prominent of which was the existence of a high degree of support among the participants for the constitution's inclusion of texts guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of individuals. The absolute majority of them support stipulating that the detention of people who gets arrested should not continue to be held by the administrative authorities and that they must be handed over to the judicial authority, and the need to provide lawyers for the arrested people, and it is not permissible to initiate any investigations with them except in the presence of their lawyer, and

the majority of the participants support that the constitution stipulates that it is not permissible to form judicial bodies and exceptional courts or to impose martial law, and there is almost a complete consensus among the participants on the need for the constitution to include texts that guarantee the freedom of media and granting journalists guarantees guaranteeing their personal safety and that they will not be held accountable because of their coverage of events in Syria. Likewise, there is almost a complete consensus on the need to compensate victims of the conflict in Syria for the violations they have suffered, to hold the perpetrators of these violations accountable and prevent them from assuming public roles in the future, and to limit the powers of the security agencies and ensure its inability to violate the rights and freedoms of citizens.

Regarding naming the state, Syrian Republic was the most acceptable name to the participants, and the most acceptable language options were the adoption of the Arabic language as the only official language at the state level with the possibility of adopting other official languages at the regional level. As for the relationship of religion with the state, we notice that the consideration of Islamic jurisprudence as a main source or as a source of legislation was the most acceptable option among the participants, and the vast majority of the participants emphasized the need for the state to respect all religions and the freedom to practice religious rites.

On the other hand, the vast majority of participants support limiting the powers of the head of state and ensuring guarantees that guarantee the independence of the judiciary and legislative authority and prevent the president from interfering in their work, and the vast majority of participants support subjecting the actions of the head of state and the government to oversight and accountability by the People's Assembly. Generally, study participants primarily tend to adopt a parliamentary system of governance, while the presidential system of governance has the lowest degrees of acceptance. Also, the participants generally tend to adopt a decentralized administrative system and support granting local authorities broad powers regarding administering their regions.

The key findings of the study also showed that the majority of participants support giving citizens freedom to form political parties and civil society institutions, and emphasizing the right of these parties and institutions to monitor the work of state institutions and agencies, and the vast majority of participants support prohibiting any decision regarding existing political parties or civil society institutions, such as dissolution or suspension of their work, except by virtue of a court ruling.

Finally, issues related to women's rights and their role in society had a high degree of support, as the vast majority of female participants and about three-quarters of male participants believe that the constitution should include a text that obligates the state to work to achieve full equality between men and women in all civil, political, social and economic rights. The vast majority support giving women the right to pass on Syrian nationality to their children.

Methodology of the Study:

Objectives of the Study

The study aims to explore the views of Syrian activists, community leaders and jurists, other influential people within the Syrian society, and people who are interested in political affairs, on the most important constitutional principles that they believe should be stipulated in the new constitution, which is currently being drafted, with the aim of presenting a clear conception for members of the Constitutional Committee on the aspirations and desires of Syrians to be taken into account during committee meetings and discussions that take place within the framework of constitution drafting process.

Scope of the Study

Time range: The study was conducted during March 2021.

Geographical Scope: The study covered areas that contain a high number of Syrians, and it included, in addition to Syria, all of the neighboring countries of Syria (Turkey - Jordan - Lebanon - northern Iraq), as well as some countries of the European Union, which include the largest number of Syrians (Germany - Netherlands - France - Sweden), and the study covered all areas of control within Syria (areas controlled by the Syrian regime - areas controlled by the Syrian opposition - areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces).

Sample of the Study

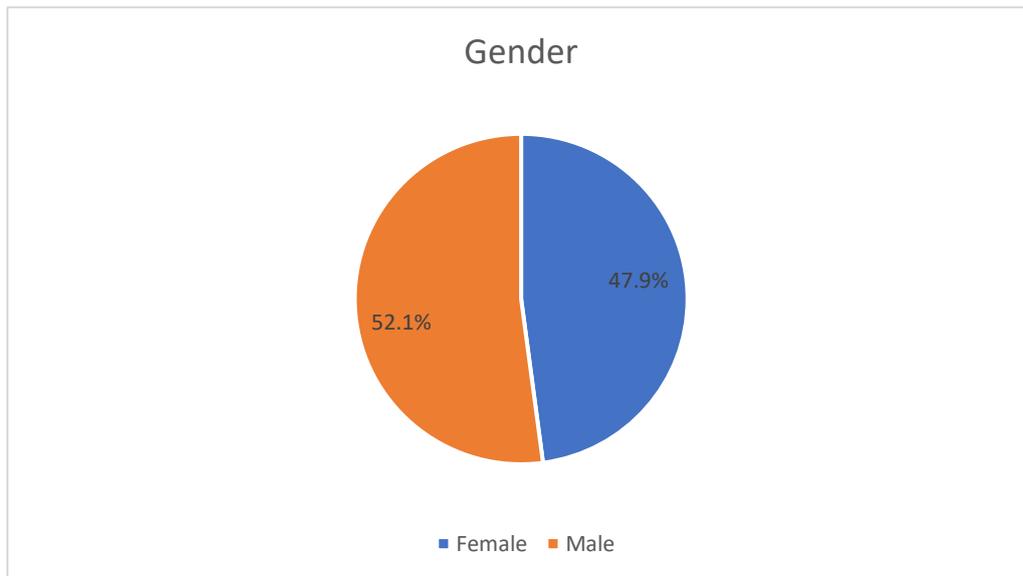
During the study, 532 in-person interviews were conducted with Syrians, who can be considered activists and influencers in the Syrian society, and several criteria were adopted to select the study participants, therefore, persons to be interviewed were required to achieve the following characteristics:

- 1- To have a legal background or knowledge, political participation, or an activity that enables him/her to understand the nature of the work of the Constitutional Committee.
- 2- To have societal participation in political affairs in general (such as his/her participation in seminars, conferences, or political meetings held in his/her area of residence).
- 3- Being known within the community in which he/she resides and being able to influence its members.
- 4- Has secondary education certificate at least.

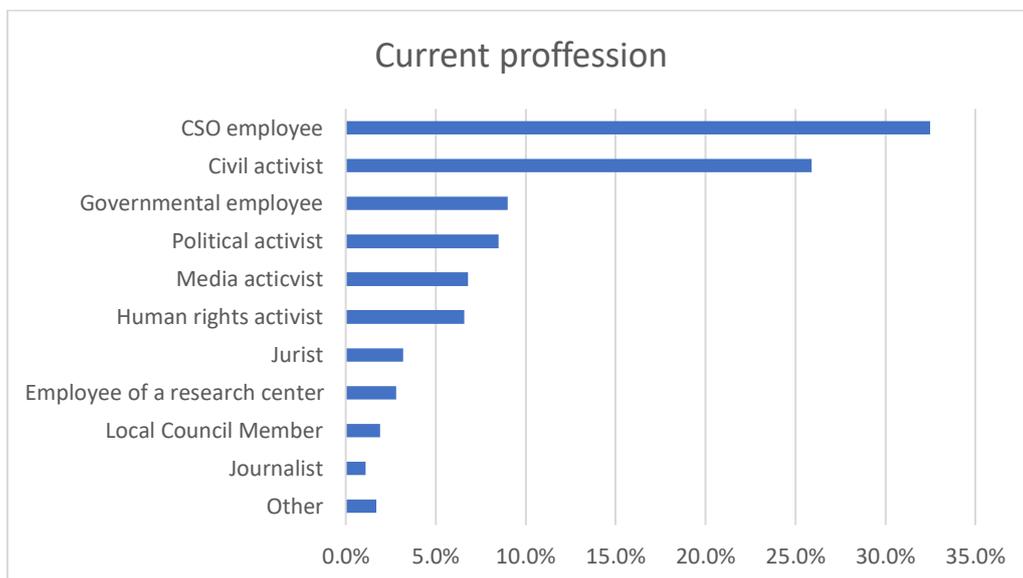
The data collection process was carried out using a questionnaire that includes closed-ended questions, and the interviews were conducted using the Survey CTO Collect application. For analyzing the data, the SPSS and MS EXCEL programs were used. The study adopted a two-step sampling method; the first of which is stratified, to ensure the representation of the Syrian society with all of its spectrums and components, and the second is intentionally, to ensure that the interviewees possess the required characteristics.

Characteristics of the Sample:

A. Gender:



B. Categories of the sample members in terms of the nature of their activity or characteristics:



Note: the option (OTHER) includes teachers, Imams and people who possess more than one of the aforementioned characteristics, such as being a human rights activist and a CSO employee at the same time

C. Sample members categories in terms of ethnicity/nationality:

Ethnicity/Nationality	Number	Percentage
Arabs	417	78.4%
Kurds	64	12%
Other	48	9%
No answer (Refused answering)	3	0.6%

Note: (the option OTHER includes Turkmen, Assyrians, Syriacs, Armenians and Circassians)

D. Sample members categories in terms of religion or sect:

Religion / Sect	Number	Percentage
Sunni	386	72.6%
Christians	49	9.2%
Druze	32	6%
Alawites	27	5.1%
Other	22	4.1%
No answer (Refused answering)	16	3%

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

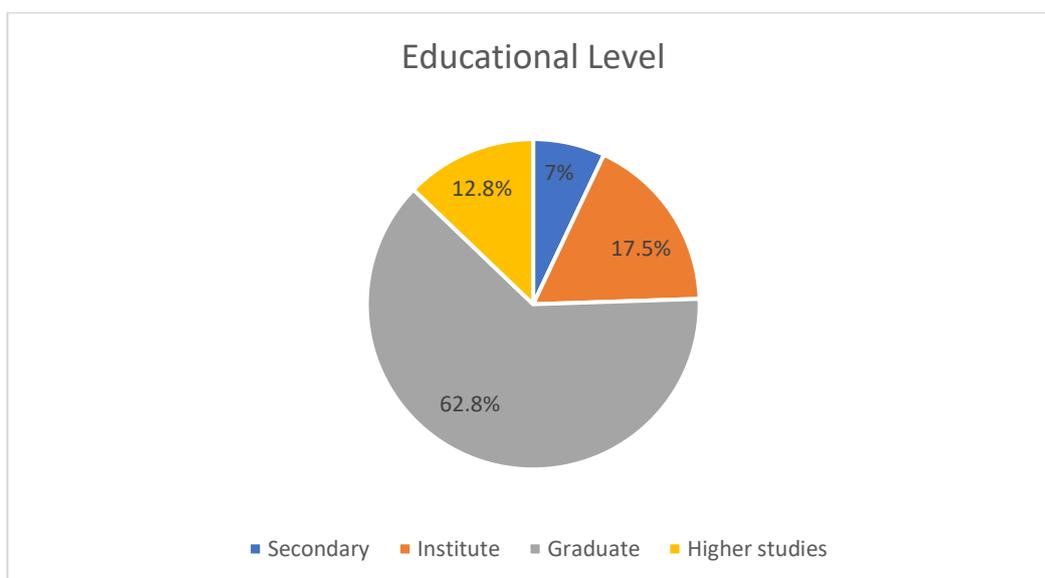
E. Sample members categories in terms of place of residence:

In Syria	Opposition areas of control	Idlib	51
		Aleppo	28
	SDF areas of control	AlHasakah	31
		AlRaqqah	34
		Deir ez-Zur	18
	Syrian regime areas of control	Damascus	19
		Aleppo	21
		Homs	20
		Hama	20
		Latakia	15
		Dara'a	18
		Suwayda	21
		Turkey	63

Outside Syria	Neighboring countries	Iraq	24
		Jordan	20
		Lebanon	28
	European Union states	Germany	29
		Netherlands	27
		France	23
		Sweden	22

Note: (data collection process in Iraq was only conducted in Northern Iraq, and any further mention of Iraq in this report means Northern Iraq only).

F. Educational level of sample members:



Data Collection Teams:

45 male and female researchers participated in the data collection process (23 males and 22 females). Before starting their work, the researchers attended several trainings to ensure their ability to conduct the interviews optimally. As they were firstly trained on data collection, which included many axes, such as data collection ethics, the method of conducting interviews, and using the electronic application. After that, they attended a legal training, during which the questionnaire questions were reviewed, and its specialized terms were explained. Researchers were provided with files that include an explanation of all the human rights terms included in the questionnaire to enable them to clarify the questions to the participants. Legal training also included talking about the Constitutional Committee, the nature of its work, and the concept of the constitution, and after completing the training, researchers were asked to conduct some experimental questionnaire forms to ensure their ability to conduct interviews, and to obtain their comments and the participants' comments about the questionnaire. Researchers were followed up during all stages of work, and they were asked on

a daily basis whether they face any difficulties or challenges, in addition to reviewing data they collected, to verify its quality, and to provide them with any notes about collected data.

Obstacles and Challenges:

Male and female researchers faced some challenges during the data collection process, the most prominent of which are the following:

1. Some people who were contacted to participate in the survey refused to participate due to their lack of confidence in the political solution efforts and the constitutional process in general.
2. Difficulty of reaching activists in areas under the control of the Syrian regime.
3. Difficulty of reaching activists from multiple nationalities, religions, and sects.

Key Findings

Regarding the Flag of the Country:

- 1- The flag adopted in the 1950 constitution (the flag with the three red stars) is more accepted than the flag adopted in the 2012 constitution (the flag with two green stars), as nearly a quarter of the study participants consider the adoption of the flag stipulated in the 1950 constitution a major demand that is indispensable, and more than a third of them want it to be adopted, but they accept dispensing with it in order to resolve the conflict.
- 2- A very low percentage of respondents (6.2%) consider adopting the flag stipulated in the 2012 constitution as a major and indispensable demand, and less than a fifth of respondents want it to be adopted, but they assure the possibility of dispensing with it in order to reach a solution.
- 3- About half of the study participants accepted the proposal of adopting a new flag for Syria.
- 4- About two-thirds of the study participants agree or strongly agree to leave the issue of the flag to the first Syrian parliament elected according to the new constitution.

Regarding the public rights and freedoms:

- 1- The absolute majority of the study participants stress the necessity of including texts in the new Syrian constitution that affirm respecting the freedom and dignity of citizens and the rule of law, and the right of citizens to move freely within and outside the state.
- 2- The absolute majority of the participants support stipulating that it is not permissible to continue the detention of arrested persons by the administrative authorities and that they must be handed over to the judicial authority, and the necessity of providing a lawyer for the arrested persons, and that the investigation shall not be initiated without the presence of their lawyer.
- 3- In general, the study participants refuse trying civilians before military courts, forming exceptional courts, or to impose and apply martial law.
- 4- There is almost complete consensus among the participants on the need to include a text in the constitution affirming the freedom of the media and the press, and granting journalists guarantees that ensure their personal safety and that they will not be held accountable for their coverage of the events taking place in Syria.
- 5- Also, there is almost a complete consensus on the necessity of stipulating within the constitution that it is not permissible to explain, interpret or employ any text of the constitution in a way that leads to the violation of any human right, and the need to compensate victims for the violations they suffered during the war, and the need to hold perpetrators of these violations accountable and prevent them from assuming public positions in the future.

Regarding Arab identity of Syria in the constitution:

- 1- The Syrian Republic name gained the highest degree of approval by the study participants, as about two-thirds of them said that they agree or strongly agree with this name.
- 2- About half of the study participants said that they agree or strongly agree with naming the country as the Syrian Arab Republic, which means that some of the participants accept both names.
- 3- With regard to the official language of the country, the option of adopting Arabic as the only official language at the state level with the possibility of adopting other official languages at the local levels was the most accepted option, as more than two-thirds of the participants said that they agree or strongly agree with this.

Regarding religion in the constitution:

- 1- Approximately half of the study participants expressed their acceptance for stipulating in the constitution that Islam is the religion of the state. As for the religion of the President of the Republic, half of the Sunni participants agree or strongly agree that the president of the republic must be Muslim, while the vast majority of the Non-Sunni participants refuse that.
- 2- More than three quarters of the study participants expressed their approval on deriving national laws and legislations from the rules of international law.
- 3- More than half of the Sunni participants believe that the provisions of Islamic jurisprudence should be weighted over the rules of international law in case they contradict them, while the vast majority of Non-Sunni participants believe that it is necessary to weight the rules of international law.
- 4- About three-quarters of the study participants believe that it is necessary to stipulate that the state shall respect the various orientations, beliefs and ideas that Syrians may adopt, including atheism.
- 5- Nearly two-thirds of the participants support subjecting personal status matters to two legal systems, one of which is civil and the other is Islam-based, provided that individuals have the right to choose any of them.

Regarding the form of the Systems of the State:

- 1- The parliamentary system of governance was the most acceptable system of governance among the participants, as nearly two-thirds of them said they agree or strongly agree with it, followed by the mixed system (parliamentary / presidential), which gained the acceptance of more than half of the participants, while the presidential system got the lowest degrees of support, as less than a third of the participants said they support adopting it.
- 2- In general, the results of the study showed that there is a general tendency among the participants to limit the powers of the head of state, as the vast majority of them believe that the president of the state should not have the authority to dissolve the People's Assembly, and the absolute majority

also stress the need to provide effective guarantees for the independence of the judicial authority.

- 3- The mixed economic system was the most acceptable economic system among the participants, as nearly three-quarters of them said that they support adopting it, and the degree of support for adopting the open market system was also high, as more than two-thirds of the participants support adopting it, while the directed economic system was the least supported system by participants at a percentage that is slightly over a third.
- 4- The decentralized administrative system was the most supported administrative system by the participants, as nearly two-thirds of them support or strongly support adopting it in the constitution, and the degree of support among the participants for granting local authorities within the regions broad powers for managing these regions was also high.
- 5- With regard to educational curricula, the most accepted option was to adopt a unified educational curriculum that is taught in all Syrian regions, with granting the local authorities in the regions the authority to adopt additional linguistic and literary materials that are compatible with the linguistic composition of the majority of the population within those regions.

Regarding the Military Institution in the constitution:

Generally, there is a tendency among the participants to exclude the Military Institution from political life. The vast majority of participants said that they agree or strongly agree to prohibit the officers and noncommissioned officers of the military institution from running for or assuming political positions, except after a certain period of time has passed since their retirement or resignation provided that this period is to be determined by the constitution.

Only over a third of respondents agree or strongly agree with making military service mandatory.

There is almost complete consensus among the participants on the need to stipulate within the constitution that the state guarantees forming the army and security forces on national grounds, far from any sectarian or ethnic form and without excluding any component of the Syrian people, and that the powers of the security agencies and the army are defined in a way that ensures their inability to violate the rights and freedoms of citizens.

Regarding Forming Political Parties and Civil Society Institutions:

- 1- The majority of the study participants believe that individuals should be granted the freedom to form political parties and civil society institutions, with only notifying the administrative authorities of doing so.
- 2- The majority of the study participants also believe that political parties and civil society institutions should be granted the right to monitor the work of state institutions and agencies.
- 3- The vast majority of participants support stipulating within the constitution that making any decision related to political parties or civil

society institutions (such as dissolving them or stopping their work) must be made by virtue of a court ruling.

Regarding Personal Property:

- 1- About half of the study participants agree or strongly agree that the constitution may include a text permitting the expropriation of individual property for the public benefit in exchange for fair compensation, provided that the constitution shall stipulate and exclusively determine cases which allow expropriation.
- 2- About half of the participants also agree or strongly agree to the inclusion of a text in the constitution permitting the expropriation of private property for the public benefit in exchange for fair compensation, and that the regulation of the cases of expropriation is referred to the law.
- 3- There is an almost complete consensus among the participants on the necessity to include a provision in the constitution that guarantees the right of displaced persons and refugees to return to their areas of origin, in addition to obliging the state to create the necessary conditions for this, and enabling them to recover their property and compensate them for the damages suffered.
- 4- The absolute majority of the participants support stipulating within the constitution to cancel all laws and judicial rulings issued during the conflict that affect the property of individuals, and for the cancellation to be done retroactively.

Regarding Women in the constitution:

- 1- There is a general tendency among study participants to achieve equality between men and women, as the vast majority of female participants and nearly three-quarters of male participants support that the constitution stipulates that the state guarantees full equality between men and women in all civil, political, social and economic rights.
- 2- The vast majority of the participants support that the constitution stipulates the right of women to pass Syrian nationality to their children.

Regarding Nationality in the constitution:

- 1- About three-quarters of the study participants support stipulating within the constitution that it is impermissible to withdraw or revoke the Syrian nationality from Syrians, and yet, about half of the participants accept the withdrawal or revocation of nationality, provided that the constitution exclusively stipulates cases of withdrawal or revocation of it, while the percentage of those who agree to refer this matter to the law up drops to about one-third.
- 2- The majority of the study participants agree or strongly agree with stipulating in the constitution to restore Syrian nationality to those who have been deprived of it.
- 3- The absolute majority of the study participants showed their support for stipulating within the constitution to grant Syrian nationality to all Syrians who were unable to obtain it for any reason, after ascertaining their eligibility for it.

Constitutional Issues

Flag of the State

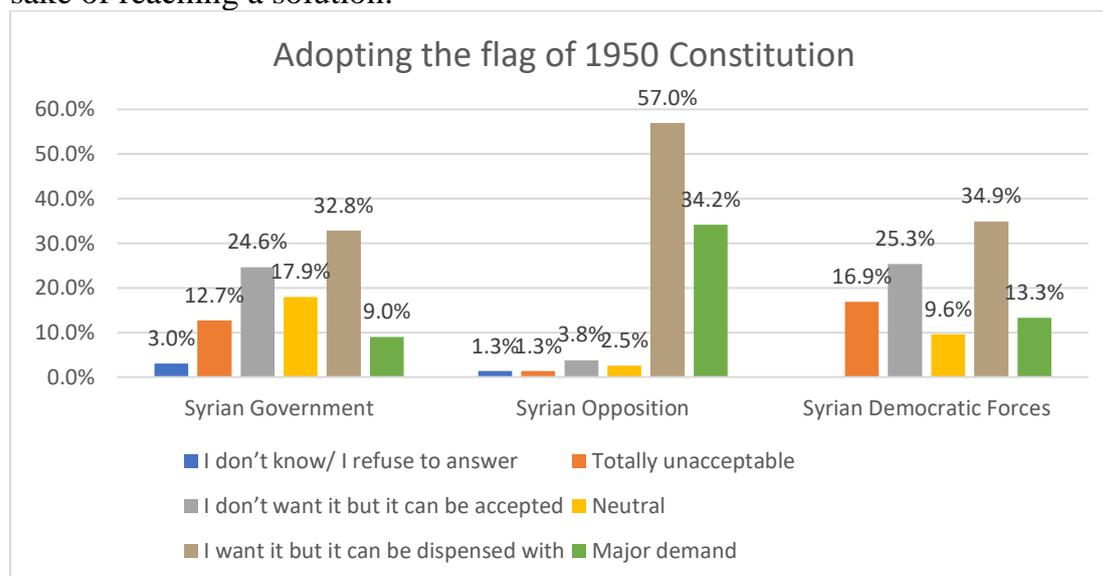
the former constitutions of Syria included different shapes of the Syrian flag¹, as in the constitution of 1950 the independence flag which consist of green, white, and black colors in addition to three red stars was adopted, while the constitution of 2012 adopted the flag with the colors of red, white and black in addition to two green stars. Actually the flag issue constitutes one of the most prominent argument points that emerged during the period of conflict in Syria, as the Syrian opposition of all factions has adopted the flag stipulated in the constitution of 1950, while the regime and its allies adopt the flag of the constitution of 2012 and some of the Syrians adopt other flags, such as for example the areas under control of Syrian Democratic Forces or the areas of control of Islamic groups. Given the importance of that issue the study participants were asked about the extent of their adhering to the adopted flags, knowing that the question only included the flags stipulated in the constitution of 1950 and the constitution of 2012 because they are the most adopted flags, then participants were asked about their acceptance of two hypotheses; the first of which suggests adopting a new flag for Syria while the other suggests leaving the flag issue for the first Syrian Parliament that may be elected according to the new constitution.

The study results showed that the participants showed a greater clinging to the flag adopted by the constitution of 1950, as nearly a quarter of them consider the adoption of that flag a major demand that cannot be dispensed with, and more than a third of them desire adopting it, but they assured at the same time the possibility of desisting with it if this would help ending the conflict, also, about 13% of the respondents said that they are neutral towards this issue, while 16.3% expressed that they do not want it, but they can accept it in order to resolve the conflict, while the percentage of those who do not accept it at all was 11.4%.

As a logical matter, the participants residing in opposition-controlled areas were the most adherent to the flag adopted in the 1950 constitution, as one-third of them believe that adopting it is a main and indispensable demand, while more than half of them said that they want it but would accept to dispense with it in order to resolve the conflict. Interestingly, 9% of residents within the areas controlled by the Syrian regime consider adopting the flag stipulated in the 1950 constitution also a major indispensable demand, and a third of them want it but would accept to dispensing with it for the sake of reaching a solution, and these percentages are very similar to the answers of residents within the areas of

¹ Article 6 of the 1950 Constitution stipulates: "The Syrian flag shall be as follows: its length is twice its width, and it is of three equal, parallel colors, the upper is green, then white then black, and the white section includes three red five-pointed stars in a straight line." As for the constitution of 1973, it did not clarify the shape of the state's flag and left this issue to the law, while the Constitution of 2012 stipulated in Article 6 the following: "The flag of the Syrian Arab Republic consists of three colors: red, white and black and it includes two green five pointed stars. The flag is rectangular, its width is two thirds of its length, and it consists of three equal-dimensional rectangles along the length of the flag, the upper one is red, the middle is white, and the lower is black, and the two stars are located in the middle of the white rectangle.

control of the Syrian Democratic Forces, as 13% of them consider adopting that flag a major indispensable demand, and a percentage of a little over a third of them want it with an indication of their acceptance of dispensing with it for the sake of reaching a solution.

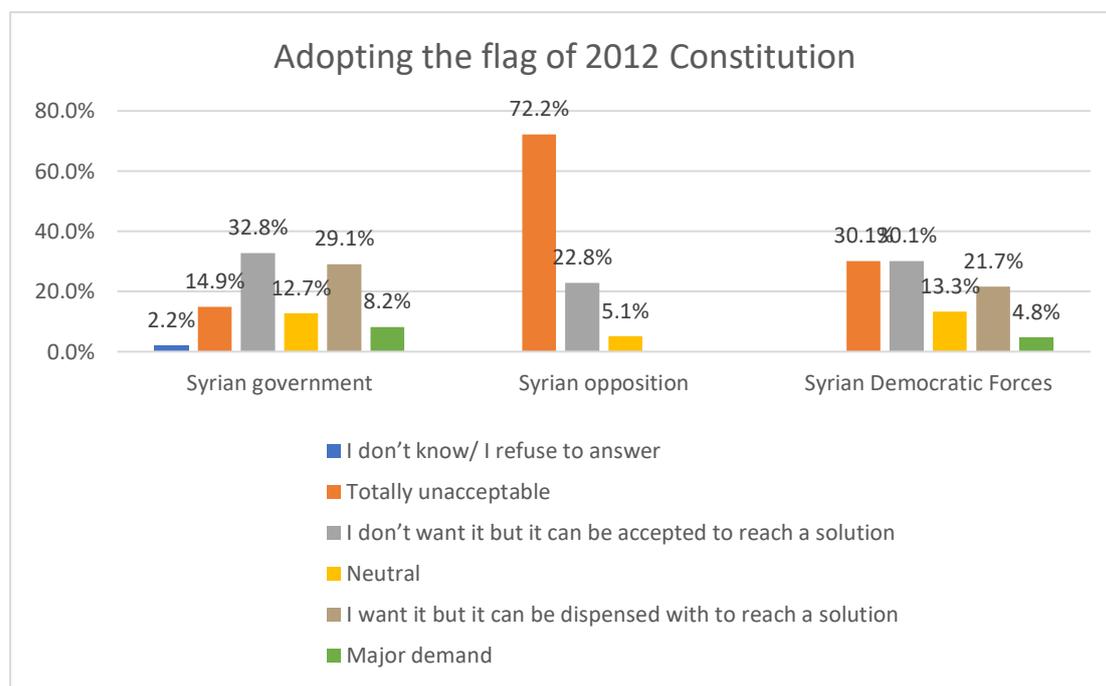


Arabs showed the greatest clinging to the flag of the constitution of 1950, while the Kurds showed the greatest rejection, in terms of religion or sect, Sunnis showed the greatest clinging to it, and about a quarter of the Alawites want it, but they expressed the possibility of dispensing with it for the sake of reaching a solution.

Adoption of the flag stipulated in the 1950 Constitution.						
	A major demand that cannot be dispensed with.	I want it, but it can be dispensed with.	neutral	I don't want it, but it can be accepted.	It's totally unacceptable.	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Sunnis	27.3%	42%	10.3%	12.4%	7.5%	0.5%
Christians	6.1%	16.3%	18.4%	26.5%	30.6%	2%
Alawites	0%	22.2%	22.2%	37%	18.5%	0%
Druze	12.5%	21.9%	28.1%	21.9%	12.5%	3.1%
Other	0%	36.4%	4.5%	27.3%	31.8%	0%
No answer.	25%	18.8%	25%	18.8%	6.3%	6.3%

As for the flag adopted in the 2012 constitution, it was less agreed, as only 6.2% of the participants believe that adopting it as a flag for Syria is a major indispensable demand, and 16.9% want it with the possibility of dispensing with it for the sake of reaching a solution. As for the percentage of those who said that it is totally unacceptable, it exceeded a third, and a quarter expressed their refusal of it with the possibility of accepting it for the sake of reaching a solution, and the degree of rejection of that flag rises greatly in the opposition-controlled areas, as nearly three-quarters of the participants in the opposition areas expressed their rejection of it and said that it is totally unacceptable, and 22.8% of them said that

they do not want it with the possibility of accepting it for the sake of reaching a solution, and the degree of acceptance of it is also low in the areas controlled by the Syrian regime itself, as only 8.2% deem it as an indispensable demand, and 29.1% said that they want it, with the possibility of dispensing with it for the sake of reaching a solution.

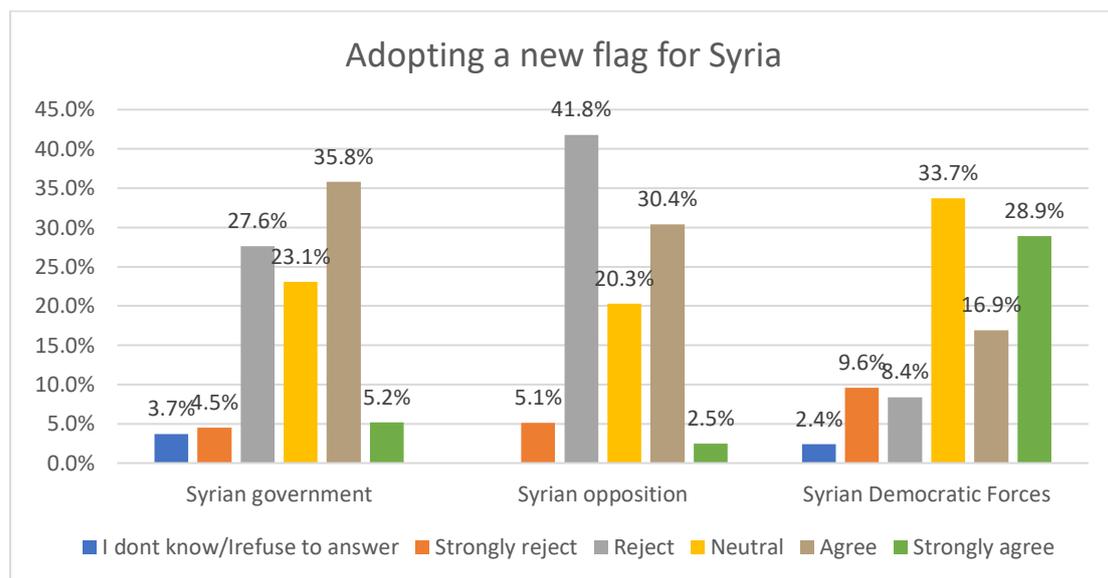


In general, the degree of rejection of adopting the flag stipulated by the constitution of 2012 was high among participants of all ethnicities, especially among Arabs and Kurds. In terms of religion or sect, Sunnis showed the greatest rejection of adopting this flag, while the Christians showed the greatest acceptance for it.

Adoption of the flag stipulated in the 2012 Constitution						
	A major demand that cannot be dispensed with.	I want it, but it can be dispensed with.	neutral	I don't want it, but it can be accepted.	It's totally unacceptable.	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Sunnis	3.9%	13.9%	10.8%	24.2%	46.9%	0.3%
Christians	18.4%	26.5%	20.4%	18.4%	14.3%	2%
Alawites	11.1%	29.6%	25.9%	29.6%	3.7%	0%
Druze	6.3%	25%	18.8%	25%	21.9%	3.1%
Other	13.6%	18.2%	0%	40.9%	27.3%	0%
No answer.	6.3%	18.8%	12.5%	12.5%	43.8%	6.3%

Regarding the opinion of the participants about the possibility of adopting a new flag for Syria, 16.1% of them said that they strongly agree with it, and more than a quarter of them agree with it, and the percentage of those who said that they

reject it was less than a quarter, and 9.9% said that they strongly reject it. The Kurds showed the greatest support for adopting a new flag for Syria, as nearly half of them said they strongly agree with it, and 20.3% said they agree, and among the Arabs, the percentage of those who said that they strongly agree or agree is 11.5% and 30.8% respectively. As for the participants from the ethnicities included in option (OTHER), 16.7% of them said that they strongly agree with adopting a new flag for Syria, and 20.8% of them said that they agree with that, and in terms of religion or sect, the answers of the participants of all religions and sects were close and similar. As for the areas of control, the participants within the areas of control of the Syrian Democratic Forces were the most showed the greatest acceptance for adopting a new flag for Syria.



Finally, the results of the study showed that the percentage of those who prefer to leave the issue of adopting a flag for the state for the first Syrian parliament to be elected according to the new constitution is high, as nearly two-thirds of the study participants expressed that they agree or strongly agree with that (22.8% strongly agree and 41.4% agree). The percentage of approval is higher among participants in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces to more than three-quarters of them, followed by the participants residing in the areas controlled by the Syrian regime at a percentage of about two-thirds, and it is also high among the participants residing in the opposition-controlled areas as it reached more than a half of them. Likewise, in terms of ethnicity, we find that about three-quarters of the Kurd participants strongly agree or agree to leave the issue of adopting the flag for the first Syrian parliament elected according to the new constitution, which is also agreed by about two-thirds of the Arabs, and in terms of religion, the degree of approval rises to more than three quarters among both Alawites and Druze, while it remains within two thirds for Sunnis and Christians, and for participants from religions and sects included under the option (OTHER). As for the current place of residence, the participants residing in both Iraq and Jordan are the most supportive of that proposition, while the percentage of support among the participants in Lebanon is low.

Leaving the issue of adopting the flag for the first Syrian parliament elected according to the new constitution						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	20.3%	45.6%	14.2%	16.2%	2%	1.7%
Turkey	32.3%	27.7%	9.2%	16.9%	13.8%	0%
Lebanon	7.1%	32.1%	39.3%	10.7%	7.1%	3.6%
Jordan	20%	65%	5%	10%	0%	0%
Iraq	25%	66.7%	4.2%	4.2%	0%	0%
European Union States	28.7%	29.7%	16.8%	19.8%	5%	0%

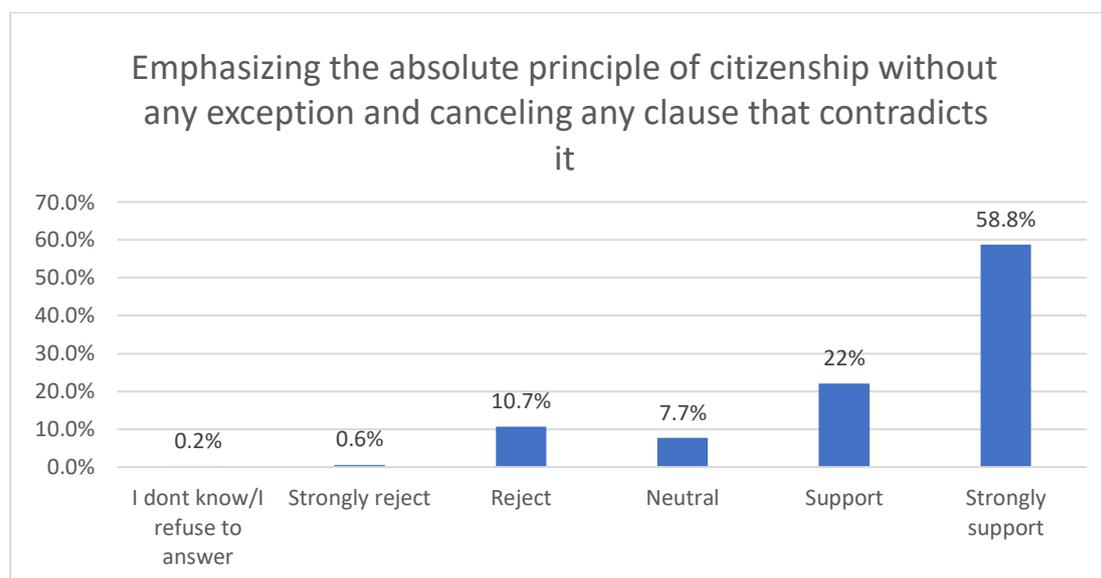
Public Freedoms and Rights

The constitutions of states generally enshrine the personal rights and freedoms of individuals, as they regulate the procedures for arresting and detaining individuals, setting out the rules to be followed in these cases of arrest and detention, as well as affirming the rights of individuals to express their opinions, and showing the extent of their right to demonstrate and hold peaceful gatherings, in addition to this, there are many principles, which are considered according to the prevailing trend in legal jurisprudence, are supra-constitutional principles that are applicable, even if they are not stipulated in the constitution, with no possibility of contradicting them, such as the principles that affirm the need to respect the freedom and dignity of citizens and their equality before the law, and here it can be said that there is an almost complete consensus among all study participants on the necessity to include texts in the new Syrian constitution affirming respect for the freedom and dignity of citizens and the rule of law, while the degree of approval of the principle of the supremacy of the constitution is somewhat low.

To what extent do you support the inclusion of each of the following principles in the Constitution?				
	The principle of the dignity of citizens	The principle of freedom of citizens	The Principle of supremacy of the Constitution	The principle of the rule of law
Strongly support	91.2%	84.4%	71%	81%
Support	8.6%	15%	19.7%	16.9%
Neutral	0.2%	0.4%	3.2%	1.7%
Reject.	0%	0.2%	5.2%	0%
Strongly reject.	0%	0%	0.2%	0%
I don't know, I refuse to answer.	0%	0%	0.7%	0.4%

Among other important principles that are stipulated by the constitutions around the world is the principle of citizenship, which is based on the equality of all citizens of the country in terms of rights and duties, we denote here that the vast majority of the participants who said that they agree or strongly agree that the

constitution must emphasize the principle of citizenship as one of the main principles of the state with cancelling all other constitutional texts that require a certain religion, ethnicity or a sect for assuming public positions, such as the text that requires the resident of the state to be a Muslim.

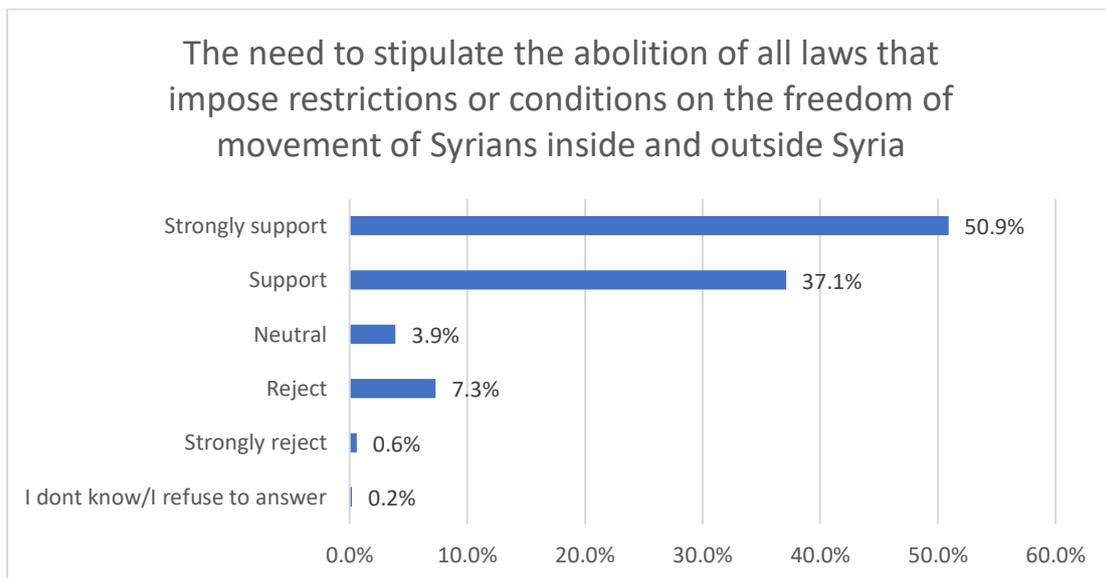


On the other hand, about a third of the study participants said that they support adopting the principle of citizenship in the constitution, and that they accept the existence of some exceptions to it, such as the stipulation that the head of state must be a Muslim, and the answers of the participants from all ethnicities are similar. In terms of religion, the percentage of respondents who accept the existence of exceptions to the principle of citizenship is noticeably high among Alawites and participants from religions and sects included under the option (OTHER) followed by the Sunnis, while the percentage has decreased among Christian and Druze participants.

Emphasizing the principle of citizenship with accepting having some exceptions						
	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject.	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Sunnis	13%	21.8%	10.1%	32.4%	21.8%	1%
Christians	4.1%	18.4%	18.4%	30.6%	28.6%	0%
Alawites	11.1%	37%	3.7%	33.3%	14.8%	0%
Druze	3.1%	9.4%	9.4%	43.8%	31.3%	3.1%
Other	13.6%	36.4%	4.5%	22.7%	22.7%	0%
No answer.	18.8%	6.3%	12.5%	18.8%	43.8%	0%

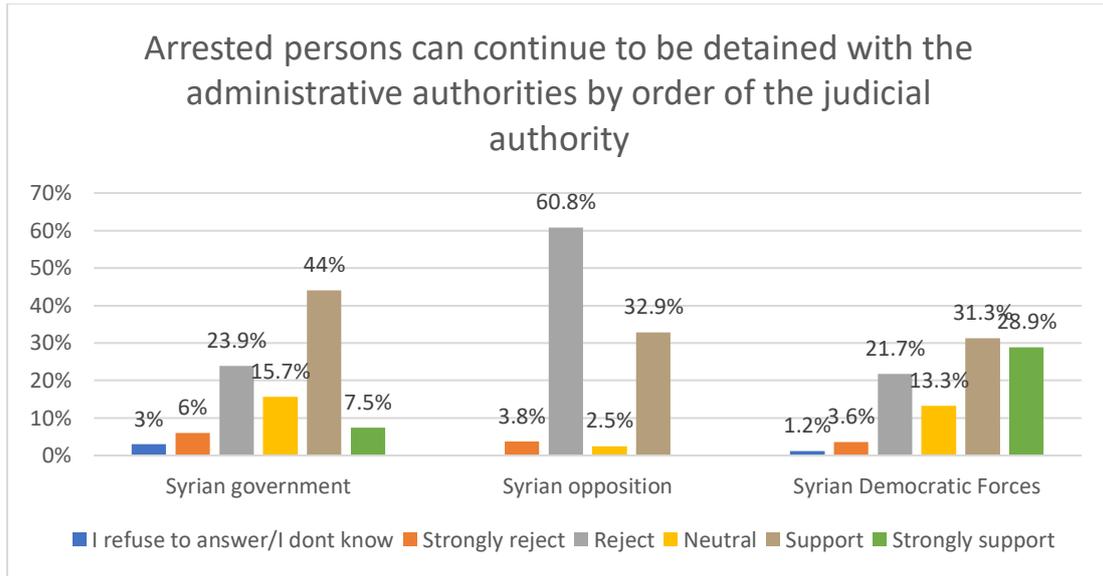
Regarding the rights and freedoms of individuals, the study showed that there is an almost complete consensus among the participants on the necessity of including a text in the constitution that guarantees the freedom of Syrian citizens to move in and outside the state's territory without restrictions or conditions (except for those against whom a court ruling has been issued restricting their

freedom of movement), as the percentage of participants who support or strongly support including this text in the constitution reached 97.4%, and despite the high degree of support for stipulating the freedom of movement of citizens within the constitution, we find that the percentage of those who support stipulating the necessity of abolishing all laws that impose restrictions or conditions on the freedom of movement of citizens within and outside the territory of the state is slightly low, as the percentage of those who support or strongly support this reached 88%, which means that there are some study participants who accept that the Syrian legislator imposes ordinary laws that impose restrictions on the freedom of movement of citizens.



On the other hand, and with regard to restricting citizens' freedoms and the possibility of arresting them, we find that the absolute majority of the participants also support that the arrest of persons arrested by the administrative authorities is not permissible no matter what, and that they should be handed over to the judicial authorities, but we also find that there is a high degree of acceptance of the possibility of continuing arrest of arrested persons with the administrative authorities, but that this takes place based on an order issued by the judicial authorities, which was indicated by more than half of the study participants, and we notice that this percentage is very close among participants of all religions and sects. In terms of ethnicity, it was this percentage was higher among the Kurds, reaching nearly three quarters, and in terms of the area of control, the degree of approval of the possibility of continuing the arrest of people by the administrative authorities is low among the participants residing in the opposition areas, even if this is done based on orders issued by the judicial authorities.

In general, no matter which authority is arresting the arrested person, the absolute majority of the respondents believe it is necessary to provide a lawyer for the arrested person, and that it is impermissible to conduct investigation or interrogation with him without the presence of his lawyer (24% support this and 71.9% strongly support it).



As for the exceptional courts and tribunals, about three-quarters of the study participants expressed their support for the constitution to stipulate that such tribunals and courts shall not to be formed. In general, this percentage was close among participants of all ethnicities, religions and sects, but it dropped to about two thirds among the Druze, and in terms of areas of control, the majority of the participants within the areas of control of the Syrian Democratic Forces supported this proposal, while in the areas of the regime and the opposition, the percentage decreased to slightly over two-thirds, and as for the current areas of residence, the percentage was higher in both Turkey and the European Union states, while it has significantly decreased in Iraq.

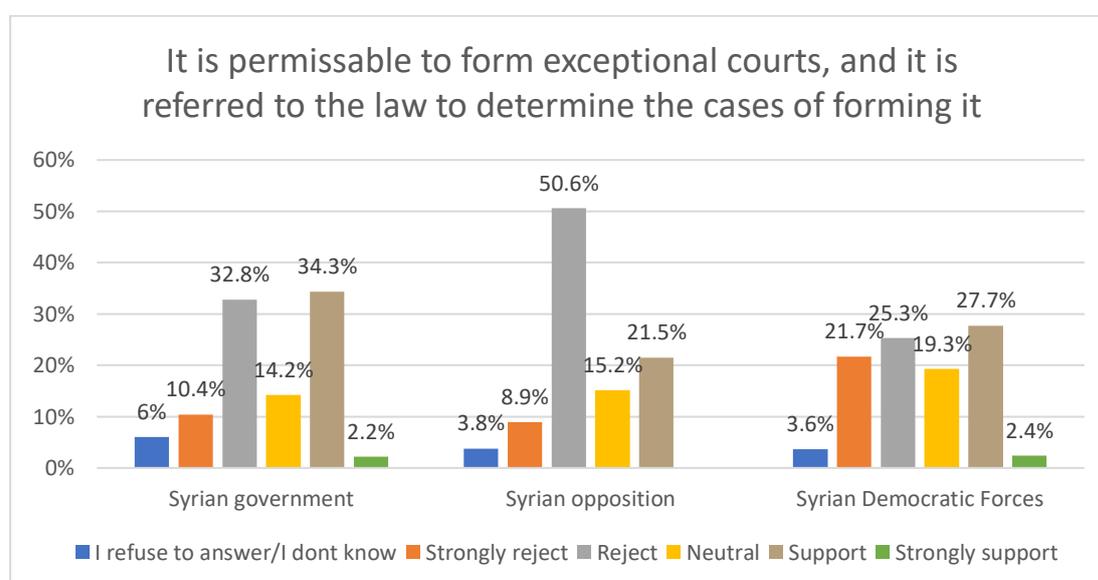
The Constitution must stipulate that special courts cannot be formed						
	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject.	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	34.8%	36.8%	12.8%	12.2%	0.7%	2.7%
Turkey	66.2%	21.5%	6.2%	4.6%	1.5%	0%
Lebanon	46.4%	32.1%	7.1%	10.7%	0%	3.6%
Jordan	40%	35%	5%	5%	0%	15%
Iraq	33.3%	25%	0%	41.7%	0%	0%
European Union States	63.4%	17.8%	9.9%	7.9%	1%	0%

In the same context, we note that 43.4% of the participants accept the possibility of forming exceptional courts and tribunals, but provided that the constitution exclusively stipulates cases that justify their formation, and the degree of approval for this is higher among the Druze as it reached more than half. In terms of ethnicity, the answers of participants from all ethnicities were within the framework of the general results of the study, except for the Kurds, whose degree of approval dropped to nearly a third, and in terms of areas of control, the answers of the participants in the regime areas remained within the framework

of the general results of the study, while it decreased to about a third in the areas of control of Syria Democratic Forces, and to less than a third in the areas controlled by the Syrian opposition, and the views of the participants significantly differ according to the areas of residence, as the degree of approval is higher in both Iraq and Jordan, then it gradually decreases to reach about a third in the European Union states.

Special courts may be formed in specific cases provided for by the Constitution						
	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject.	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	5.1%	33.4%	16.9%	31.1%	10.5%	3%
Turkey	9.2%	44.6%	9.2%	4.6%	32.3%	0%
Lebanon	10.7%	42.9%	28.6%	17.9%	0%	0%
Jordan	5%	60%	5%	20%	5%	5%
Iraq	16.7%	62.5%	16.7%	4.2%	0%	0%
European Union States	8.9%	26.7%	12.9%	36.6%	13.9%	1%

Also, about a third of the study participants expressed their acceptance of the formation of exceptional courts, provided that the law regulates the cases in which it is permissible to form these courts, and that it is not left for the discretion and authority of the administrative and executive authorities, and that percentage drops to the limits of a quarter among the Druze, while it increases to more than half among the participants of religions and sects included under the option (OTHER). In terms of ethnicity, it also drops to the limits of a quarter among the Kurds, and in terms of areas of control, there is a noticeable increase in the degree of rejection among the participants residing in the areas of the Syrian opposition.



In general, based on the above, it can be said that the majority of the participants support in the first place unauthorizing the formation of exceptional courts and tribunals, but at the same time some of them express their acceptance of the

formation of those courts and tribunals, provided that the cases in which they are formed are determined within the constitution or the law, and that it is not left to the discretion of the administrative authorities.

In a related context, and regarding the opinion of the participants regarding emergency status and the possibility of imposing martial law, more than three-quarters of the participants expressed their support that the constitution stipulates that imposing martial law is impermissible, and the answers of the participants from all religions, sects and ethnicities are similar. In terms of areas of control, the vast majority of the participants in the Syrian Democratic Forces supported this stipulation, (37.3% support it and 50.6% strongly support it), while in the regime-controlled areas and the Syrian opposition areas, the percentage was about two-thirds, and in terms of areas of residence, the results were as shown in the following table:

The Constitution must stipulate that imposing martial law is impermissible.						
	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject.	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	31.4%	40.5%	12.5%	13.9%	1.4%	0.3%
Turkey	64.6%	20%	4.6%	9.2%	1.5%	0%
Lebanon	46.4%	35.7%	7.1%	10.7%	0%	0%
Jordan	30%	45%	10%	15%	0%	0%
Iraq	25%	41.7%	12.5%	20.8%	0%	0%
European Union States	69.3%	15.8%	6.9%	5.9%	2%	0%

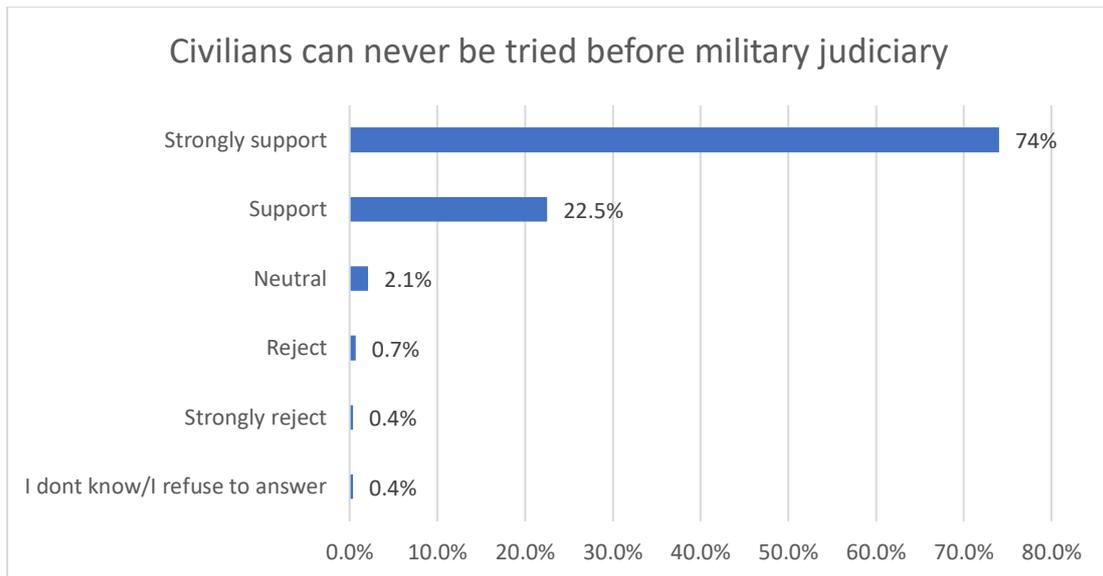
It should also be noted here that more than a third of the participants said that they agree to impose martial law in specific cases, provided that these cases are exclusively stipulated within the constitution, and the degree of that approval is higher among Arabs, as the percentage of those who said that they support or strongly support it is 45.4%, followed by participants from the ethnicities included in the option (OTHER) at a rate of 37.5%, then the Kurds by 34.4%. As for the areas of control, this percentage is higher among the participants residing within the regime-controlled areas, as it reached 42.6%, followed by participants residing within the areas of Syrian opposition at 38%, while it dropped among participants residing in the areas of Syrian Democratic Forces to 19.3%. In terms of current areas of residence, we notice a significant increase in the degree of acceptance of that proposal among respondents in Iraq, as shown in the following table:

Martial law can be imposed, providing that the constitution exclusively stipulates the cases in which it may be imposed						
	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject.	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	1.4%	33.4%	14.5%	34.5%	13.5%	2.7%
Turkey	9.2%	29.2%	12.3%	13.8%	33.8%	1.5%
Lebanon	3.6%	32.1%	35.7%	28.6%	0%	0%
Jordan	10%	50%	10%	15%	15%	0%
Iraq	20.8%	75%	0%	4.2%	0%	0%
European Union States	0%	25.7%	11.9%	45.5%	15.8%	1%

It should also be noted that slightly over a quarter of the study participants agree with the possibility of imposing martial law, provided that the law clearly defines the cases for imposing it and the authority authorized to do so, and that it shall not be left to the discretion of the executive authority, and that percentage decreases among the Druze to 6.3%, and increases among participants from religions and sects included in the option (OTHER). In terms of place of residence, the degree of approval was very high in Iraq, and it was also high in Lebanon as it reached about half of the participants residing there, and gradually decreases to the lowest degrees of approval among the participants in the European Union states.

Martial law can be imposed, and the law shall determine the cases in which it may be imposed and the authorities authorized of imposing it						
	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject.	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	1.4%	22.3%	17.2%	39.2%	17.9%	2%
Turkey	3.1%	29.2%	13.8%	15.4%	36.9%	1.5%
Lebanon	3.6%	42.9%	35.7%	17.9%	0%	0%
Jordan	0%	40%	5%	45%	10%	0%
Iraq	25%	62.5%	12.5%	0%	0%	0%
European Union States	0%	13.9%	9.9%	53.5%	22.8%	0%

In general, no matter what the opinions of the participants about the possibility of are forming exceptional courts or imposing martial law, the absolute majority of them agree that it is impermissible to try civilians before military courts at any case.



On the other hand, and in the context of the rights and freedoms of individuals, and with regard to the freedom to exercise the right to demonstrate and hold peaceful gatherings, the participants were asked about the extent of their support for each of the following hypotheses:

- A- The constitution stipulates the right of individuals to demonstrate and hold peaceful gatherings without referring to the law to regulate that right.
- B- Emphasizing the freedom of individuals to demonstrate and hold peaceful gatherings, with referring to the law to regulate that right.

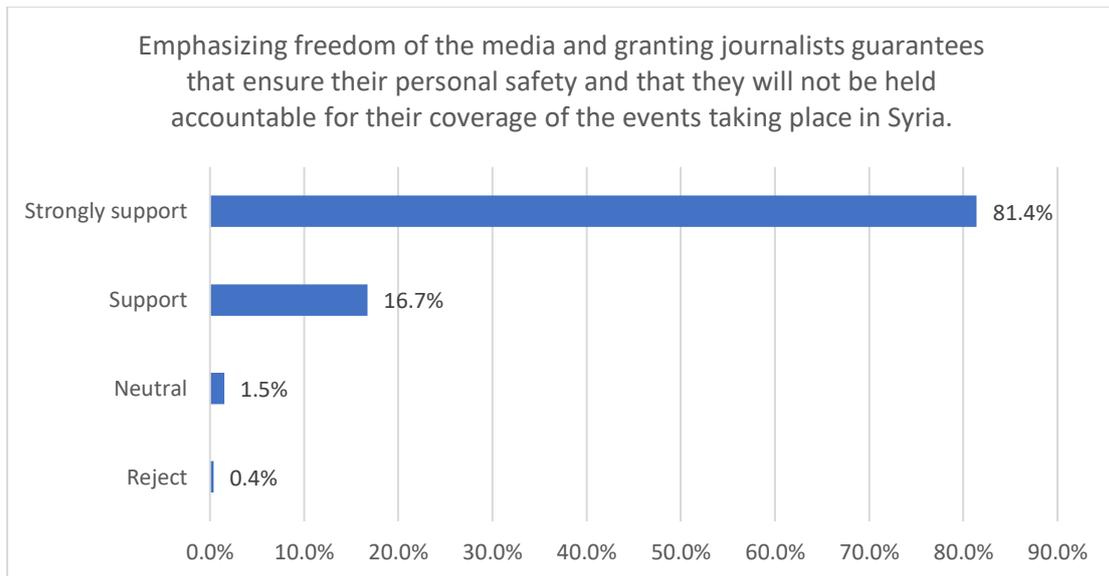
The second hypothesis which include the necessity of stipulating within the constitution the freedom of individuals to demonstrate and hold peaceful gatherings, provided that the law regulates that right, gained a higher degree of acceptance, as nearly three-quarters of the study participants said that they support or strongly support that proposal, and the degree of support is higher Among the Arabs compared to the Kurds, as the percentage of support among the Arabs reached 70.1% while among the Kurds it reached 61%, and in terms of areas of control, the degree of support among the participants within the Syrian opposition-controlled areas decreased to nearly a half, while it was about two-thirds in each of the control areas of the Syrian regime and the areas of the Syrian Democratic Forces, as for the place of residence, the degree of support was high in all regions, but it somewhat decreased in both Syria and Jordan.

The right of individuals to demonstrate and hold peaceful gatherings shall be emphasized with referring to the law to regulate that right.						
	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject.	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	17.9%	42.9%	12.2%	22%	4.1%	1%
Turkey	67.7%	23.1%	4.6%	4.6%	0%	0%
Lebanon	25%	67.9%	3.6%	3.6%	0%	0%
Jordan	10%	45%	10%	30%	5%	0%
Iraq	54.2%	37.5%	8.3%	0%	0%	0%
European Union States	41.6%	35.6%	9.9%	8.9%	4%	0%

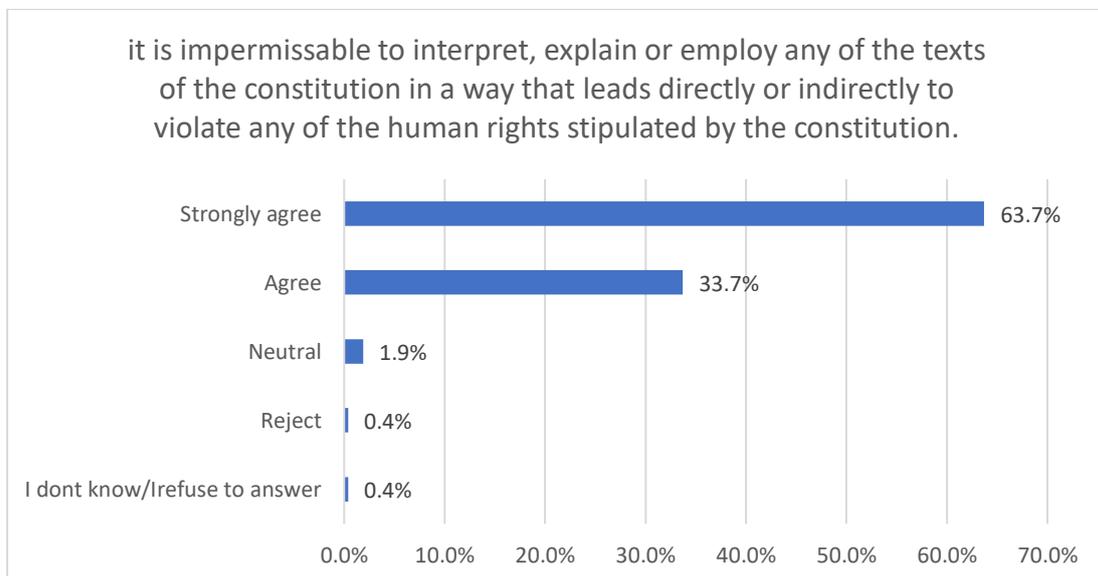
On the other hand, the hypothesis which include stipulating the freedom of individuals to demonstrate and their right to hold peaceful gatherings in the constitution without referring to the law to regulate that right, gained the support of about two-thirds of the study participants, and it is noticeable here that this degree of approval rises among Alawites for nearly three quarters, while it was in the range of two-thirds among Sunnis, and about a half among the Christians, and the percentage of approval was also high among the Kurds, reaching 68.8%, while among Arabs it was 60.8%. As for the areas of control, the degree of support for this hypothesis increased among the participants within the areas of control of the Syrian Democratic Forces. For more than three quarters, while it was less than two-thirds in both the regime and opposition areas, and in terms of areas of residence, the highest degrees of support were among the participants in Iraq and the lowest was in the European Union states.

The right of individuals to demonstrate and hold peaceful gatherings shall be emphasized without referring to the law to regulate that right.					
	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject.
Syria	32.8%	31.4%	10.8%	22%	3%
Turkey	43.1%	20%	6.2%	7.7%	23.1%
Lebanon	25%	39.3%	3.6%	28.6%	3.6%
Jordan	30%	30%	5%	35%	0%
Iraq	62.5%	33.3%	4.2%	0%	0%
European Union States	28.7%	11.9%	11.9%	43.6%	4%

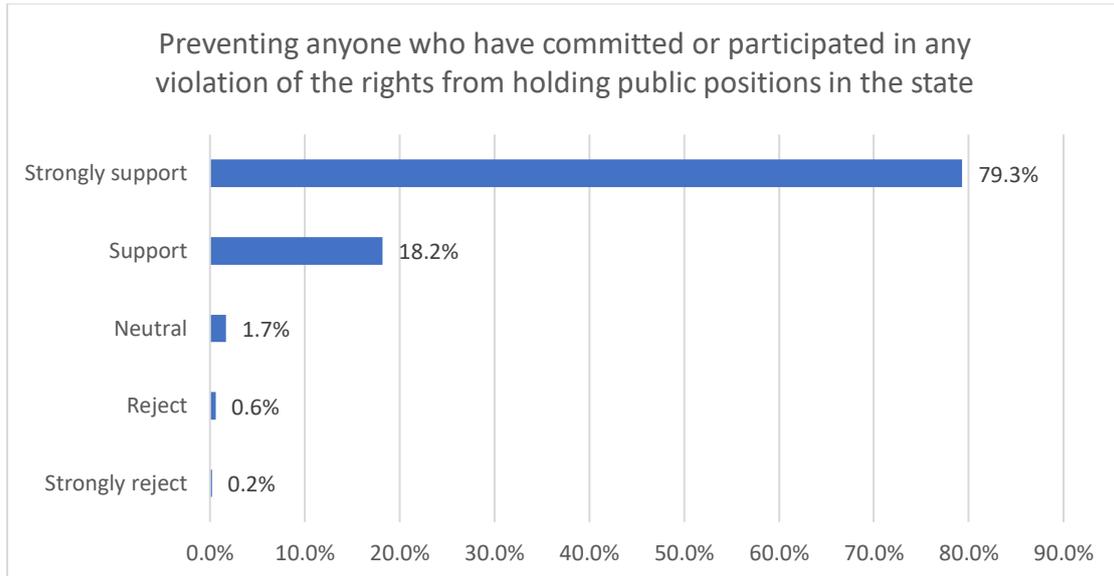
The aforementioned results clearly show that Syrians in general accept any proposals that guarantee their right to demonstrate and hold peaceful gatherings and express their opinions, even if they contradict the directions of the state authorities, without being exposed to the risk of being arrested or being confronted by the security forces and being forcibly dispersed. There is almost a consensus among the participants on the necessity to enable the press and the media to cover all events taking place on the territory of the state, with granting journalists guarantees that guarantee their personal safety.



It should be noted here that there is also an almost complete consensus among the participants on the necessity of states' authorities and committees' refrainment from interpreting, explaining or employing any of the texts of the constitution in a way that leads directly or indirectly to violate any of the human rights stipulated by the constitution.



Finally, and in the context of protecting citizens' public rights and freedoms, and with regard to the participants' opinion of the future of Syria and achieving transitional justice, we find that there is also an almost complete consensus among the participants on the need to include a text in the constitution ensuring that the state compensates the victims of the conflict for the violations they suffered, and for the constitution to guarantee holding people who are responsible for these violations accountable, as well as preventing anyone who have committed or participated in any violation of the rights and freedoms of individuals from all parties to the conflict from holding public positions in the state.

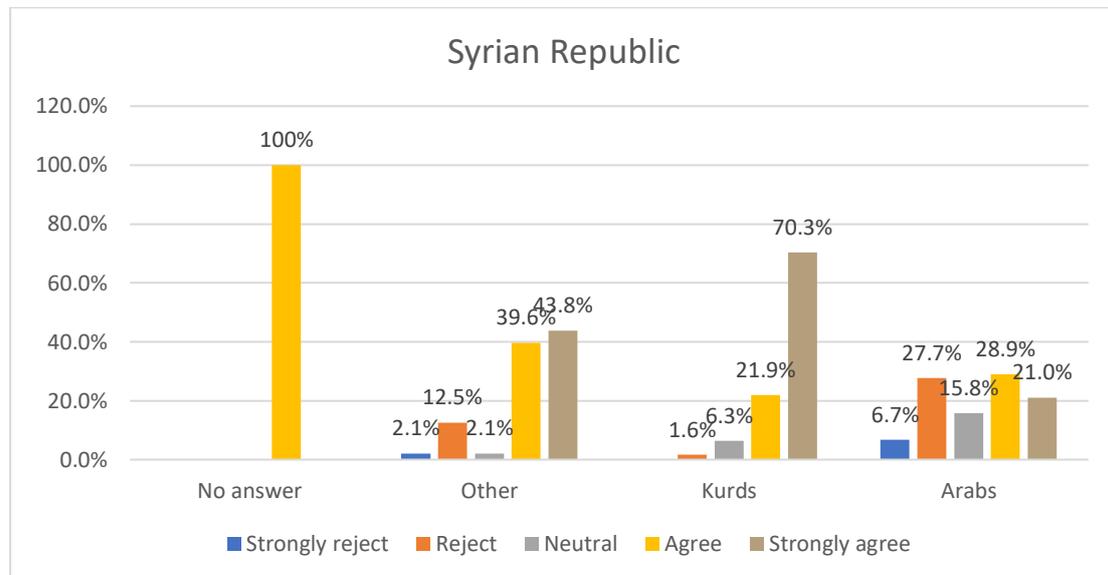


Arab Identity in the Constitution

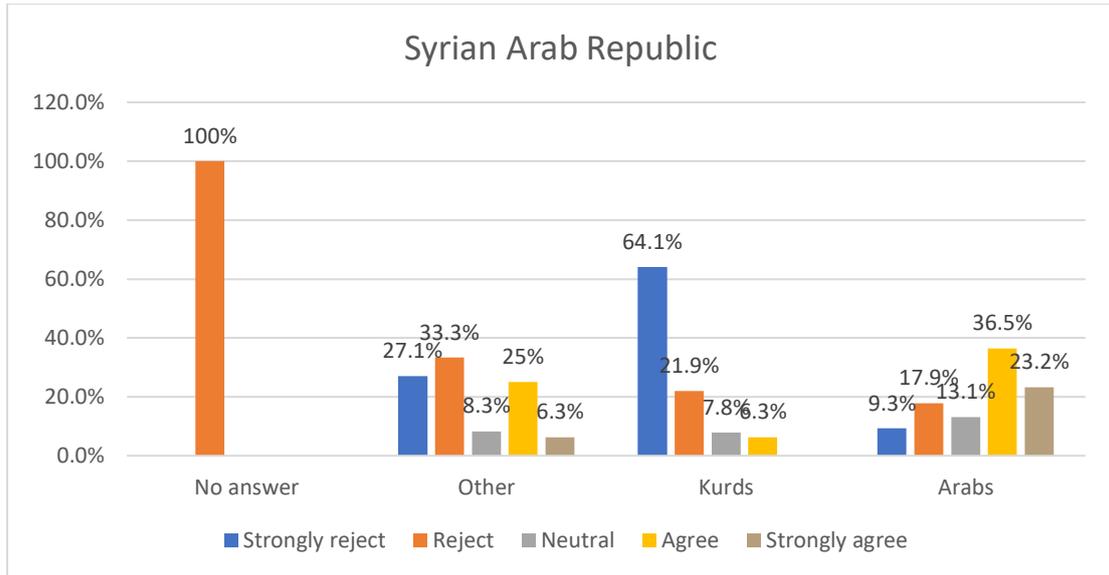
Arabs constitute the vast majority of the Syrian society, and the legislator took this into consideration when drafting the previous constitutions of Syria. The 1973 constitution affirmed the Arab identity in the name of the state in its first article, as it named it the Syrian Arab Republic, and it has also stipulated that it is considered part of the Arab world, and that the people in Syria are part of the Arab nation, and Article 4 stipulated that Arabic is the official language of the state, and this is similar to what was stipulated in the 2012 constitution, which stipulated in its first article naming the state the Syrian Arab Republic, and that the people in Syria are part of the Arab nation. It has also stipulated in its fourth article that Arabic is the official language, and the Arab character of the constitution is one of the points of contention within the Syrian society, as some Syrians, especially the Kurds, believe that the emphasis on the Arab identity of the state within the constitution and the adoption of Arabic as the only official language constitute a form of exclusion of non-Arab ethnic minorities in Syria, and it involves depriving them of their rights, such as their right to consider their own languages as official languages too at the local level at least, if not at the state level. Based on the above, during the study, the participants were asked about their opinions regarding the name of the state they would prefer to adopt within the new constitution of Syria, and their position on adopting Arabic as the official language of the state, or the possibility of adopting other official languages, whether at the state level or at the regional level.

In general, with regard to the name of the state, the study results showed that naming the state (Syrian Republic) was the most accepted name, with a percentage of 58.2%, and this degree of acceptance significantly increases among the participants in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces, reaching nearly three quarters, while it remains at less than a half of the

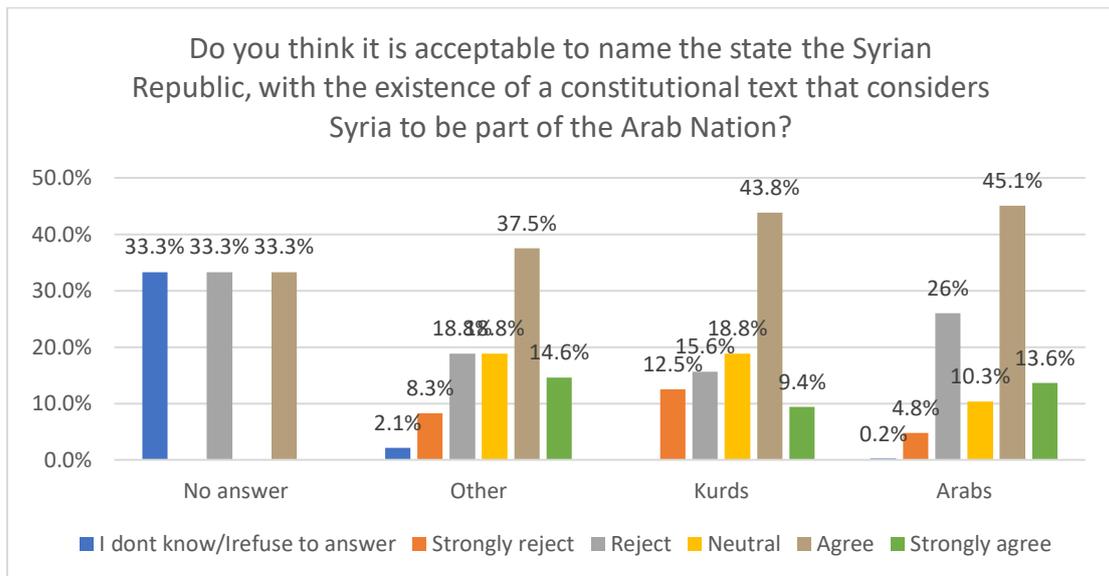
participants in areas of both the Syrian regime and the Syrian opposition, but in terms of ethnicity, the degree of approval was higher among participants of all ethnicities except for Arabs, as only half of them said that they agree or strongly agree with this name.



On the other hand, half of the study participants expressed their acceptance of naming the state as the (Syrian Arab Republic), and the degree of acceptance is high among the participants in the areas controlled by the Syrian opposition to about two thirds, while in the areas controlled by the Syrian regime it remained within the limits of nearly a half, and in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces, the percentage of those who said that they agree or strongly agree with that name was slightly more than one-third, and in terms of ethnicity, the degree of acceptance of naming the state the (Syrian Arab Republic) was higher among the Arabs reaching 59.7%, and this indicates the presence of many Arab participants who accept both names. As for the non-Arab participants, the vast majority of them expressed their rejection of adopting the name of the Syrian Arab Republic within the constitution.

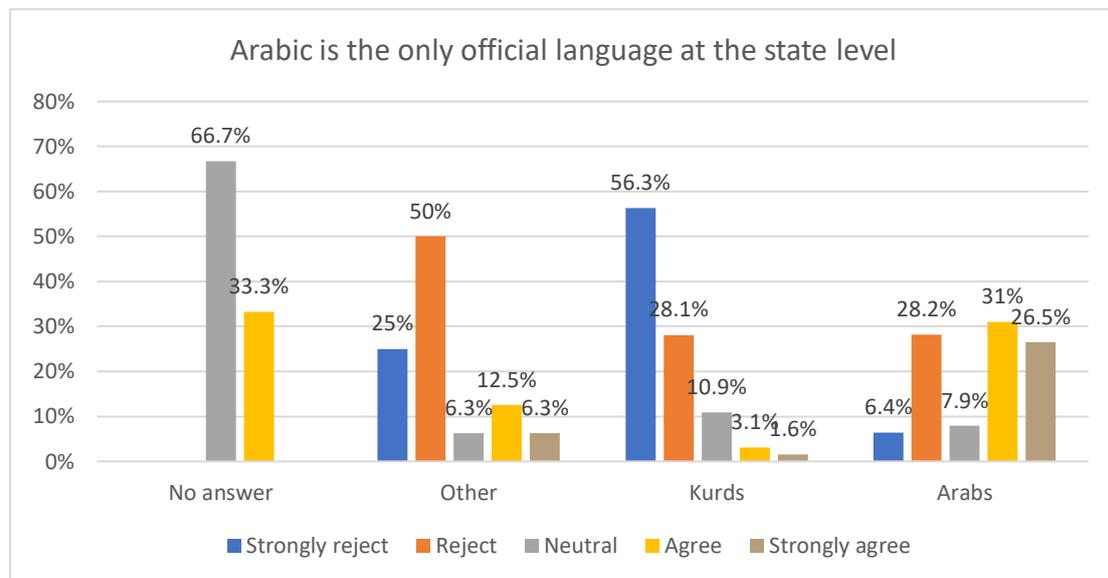


It should be noted here that the study participants were asked about their opinion of one of the proposals that can be considered as a compromise solution that takes into account the demands of ethnic minorities, and at the same time does not neglect the reference to the association of the Syrian state with the Arab nation, and that proposal is naming the state (The Syrian Republic) provided that the constitution stipulates a subsequent text that confirms that Syria is a founding member of the Arab League, and that it is proud of its Arab civilization, which all components of the Syrian people have contributed to enriching, and this proposal was accepted and supported by the participants of all ethnicities and nationalities.

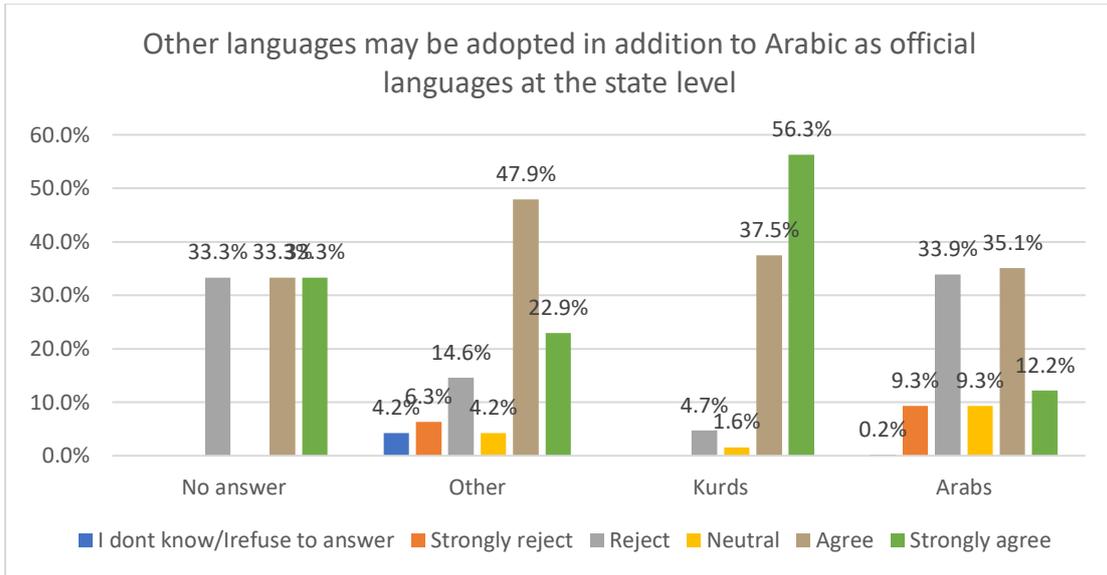


As for the official language of the state, nearly half of the study participants expressed their acceptance of adopting the Arabic language as the only official language at the state level, and the views of each of the participants residing in the areas controlled by the Syrian regime and the Syrian opposition are similar,

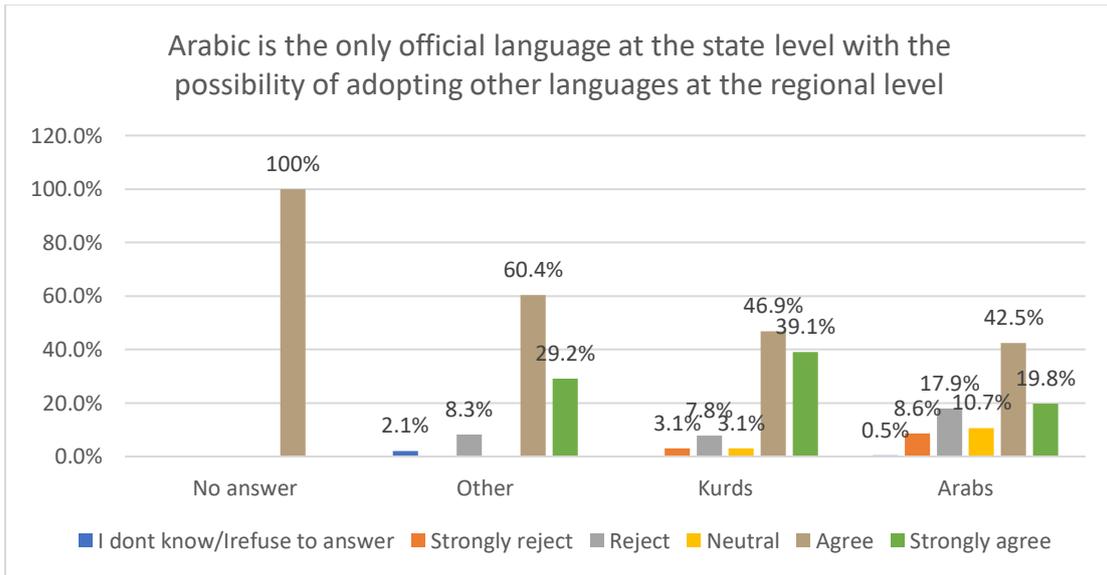
as about half of them expressed their support for that proposal while that percentage decreased among participants residing in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces to remain within the limits of one-third, and in terms of ethnicity, Arabs were the most supportive for that option, while the degree of support significantly decreased among the Kurds.



On the other hand, more than half of the study participants supported adopting other official languages at the state level in addition to the Arabic language, and this percentage rises to nearly three quarters of the participants in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces, while it was about a half among the participants in the regions under control of the Syrian regime, as for the participants residing in the areas controlled by the Syrian opposition, it decreased to about a third, and in general, the degree of support was significantly high among the participants of non-Arab ethnicity and nationalities, while among the Arabs, nearly half of them expressed their acceptance of that proposition, which means that some Arab participants accept both options which suggest the possibility of adopting Arabic as the only official language at the state level, or adopting additional official languages.



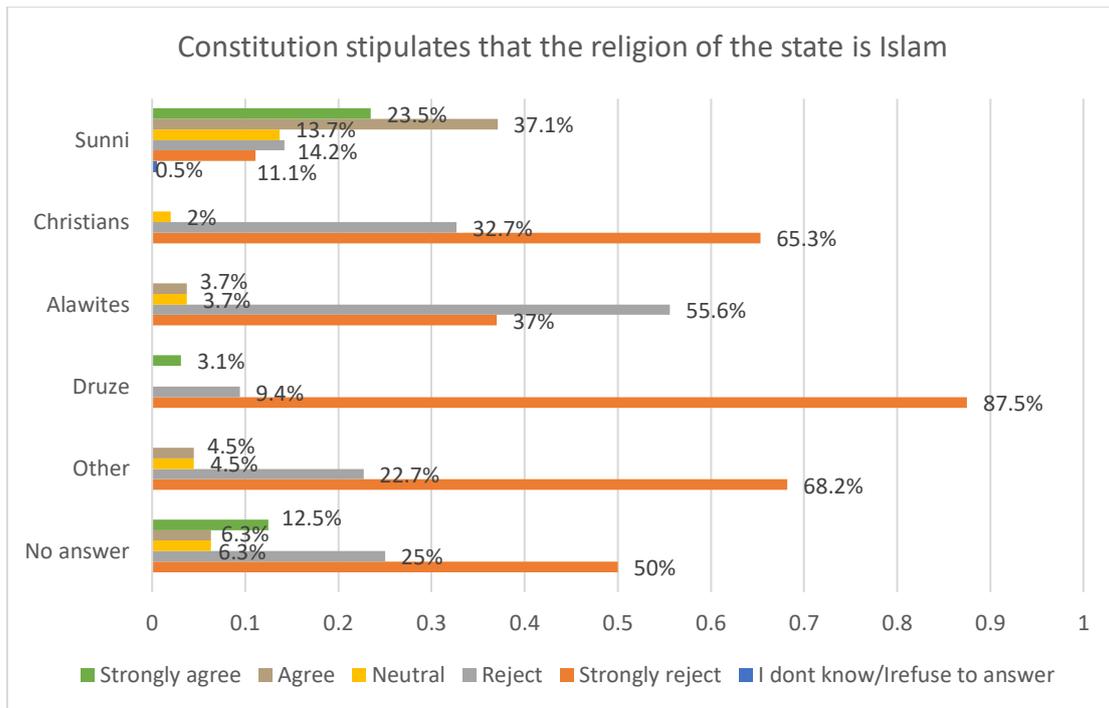
Finally, the study results showed that the proposal which suggests the possibility of adopting official languages in addition to Arabic at the regional level was the most accepted, as more than two-thirds of the study participants said that they agree or strongly agree with this, and the degree of acceptance is significantly higher among participants from all ethnicities and nationalities, knowing that the degree of acceptance among Arabs is lower than it is among participants of other nationalities.



Religion in the constitution

The vast majority of Syrians are Muslims, and the Syrian legislator has taken this into consideration in the texts of previous Syrian constitutions, as the first paragraph of Article 3 of the 1973 constitution stipulated that the religion of the head of the state be Islam, and the second paragraph of the same article stipulated that Islamic jurisprudence is a main source of legislation, and the legislator in the 1973 constitution did not remiss stipulating the freedom of belief, respect for all religions by the state, and guaranteeing the freedom to perform all religious rites (provided that this does not violate public order). However, this came in Article 35 of the chapter on freedoms, rights and public duties, not in the chapter of basic principles. The 2012 constitution is distinguished by the fact that it addressed issues related to religions in the chapter of basic principles as the third article addressed the religion of the head of state and stipulated that it should be Islam, and it has also stipulated that Islamic jurisprudence is a main source of legislation, and emphasized that the state shall respect all religions and guarantee the freedom of performing all religious rituals (provided that this does not violate the public order as well), and it has also addressed the personal status issues of religious sects and considered them protected and guaranteed. Based on all of the above, the study aimed to identify the position of Syrians regarding constitutional texts related to religions in general, such as those related to the religion of the head of state, the position of Islamic jurisprudence within the sources of legislation, respect for religions and beliefs, and personal status matters.

First, the participants were asked about the extent of their acceptance of stipulating in the new constitution of Syria that the Islam be considered the religion of the state. In general, nearly half of the participants answered that they agree or strongly agree with that (17.6% strongly agree and 27.5% agree), and the degree of approval is higher among Sunni participants, while it is significantly lower among participants of all other religions and sects.



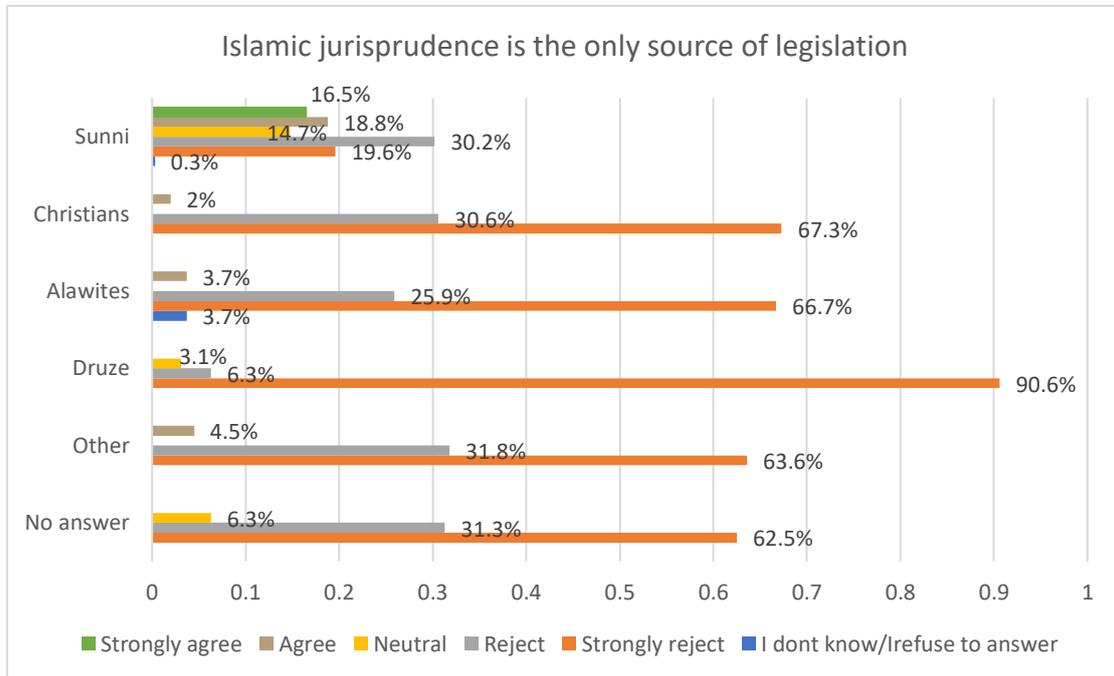
As for the religion of the head of state and the requirement that he should be a Muslim, only about a third of the participants said that they agree or strongly agree with that, and this percentage is higher among the Sunni participants reaching half of them, while it is lower among participants of other religions, as the vast majority of them reject the requirement Islam is the religion of the head of state.

Stipulating in the constitution that the religion of the head of state is Islam						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	reject	Strongly reject	I don't know/ I refuse to answer.
Sunnis	21.6%	27.3%	15.7%	19.6%	15.2%	0.5%
Christians	0%	0%	4.1%	30.6%	63.3%	2%
Alawites	0%	11.1%	0%	33.3%	48.1%	7.4%
Druze	0%	0%	0%	9.4%	90.6%	0%
Other	0%	0%	4.5%	27.3%	63.6%	4.5%
No answer.	6.3%	6.3%	18.8%	18.8%	50%	0%

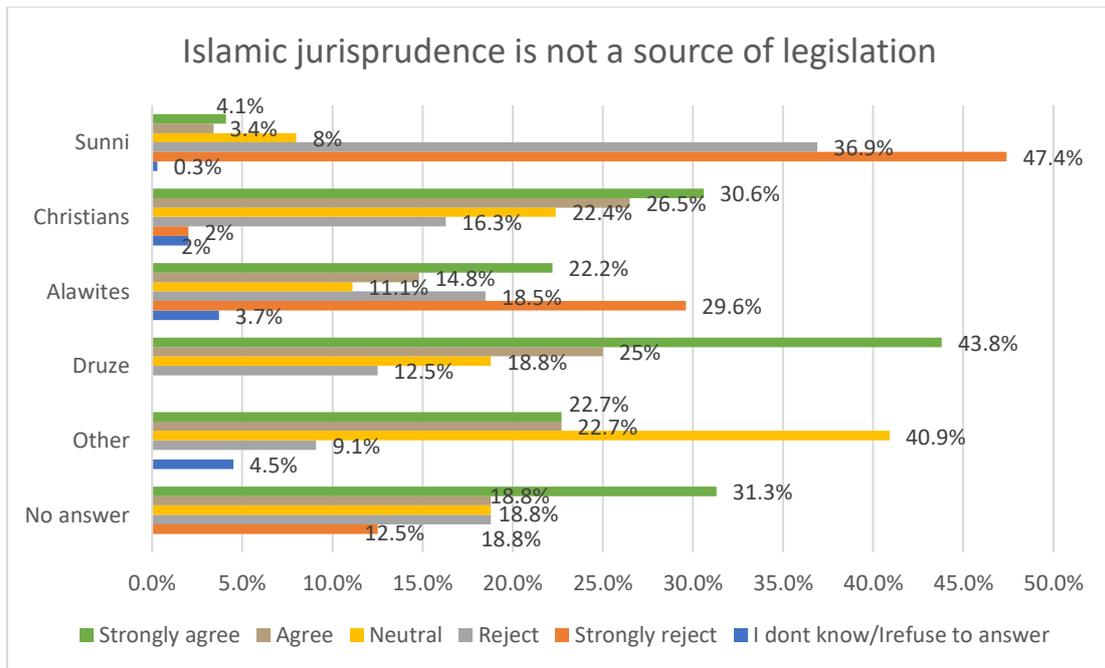
As for Islamic jurisprudence and its position within the sources of legislation, the study participants were asked about their opinion on each of the following hypotheses:

- A- Adopting Islamic jurisprudence as the only source of legislation.
- B- Islamic jurisprudence is a major source of legislation.
- C- Islamic jurisprudence is one of the sources of legislation.
- D- Islamic jurisprudence is not a source of legislation.

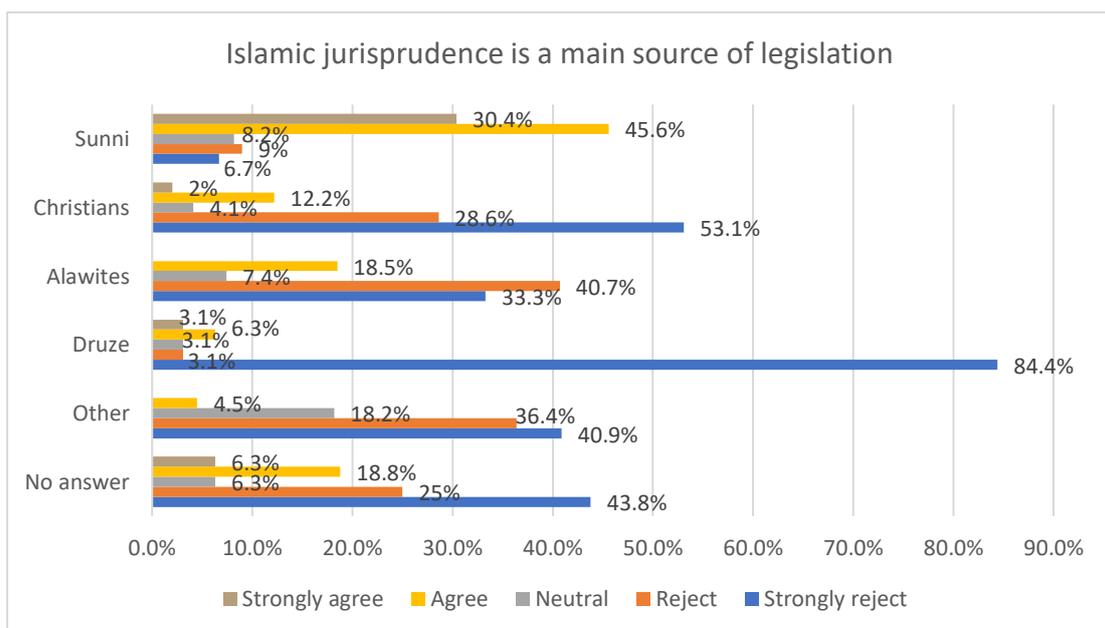
The study showed that the percentage of those who support the adoption of Islamic jurisprudence as the only source of legislation is low, as only a quarter of the participants said they agree or strongly agree to this, and the Sunni participants were the most accepting participants for adopting Islamic jurisprudence as the only source of legislation, while the degree of approval significantly decreased among the participants from all other religions and sects as shown in the following chart:



On the other hand, we find that two-thirds of the participants reject the proposal that suggest that Islamic jurisprudence shall not be considered a source of legislation, and the degree of rejection is significantly higher among the Sunni participants, and on the contrary, nearly three-quarters of the Druze and more than half of the Christians support not considering Islamic jurisprudence as a source of legislation.

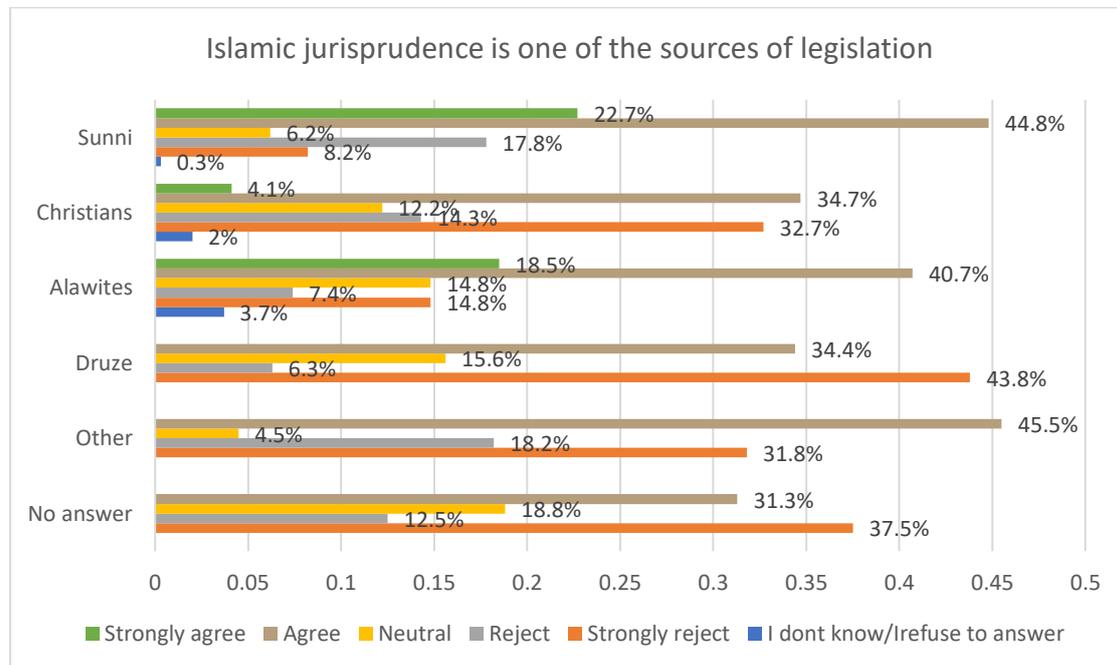


As for the percentage of those who agree to consider Islamic jurisprudence as a major source of legislation, it reached 59% (36.3% agree and 22.7% strongly agree). This percentage is higher among Sunni participants reaching more than three-quarters, while it significantly dropped among participants from other religions and sects, especially among the Druze, the majority of whom expressed their rejection of considering Islam as a main source of legislation.

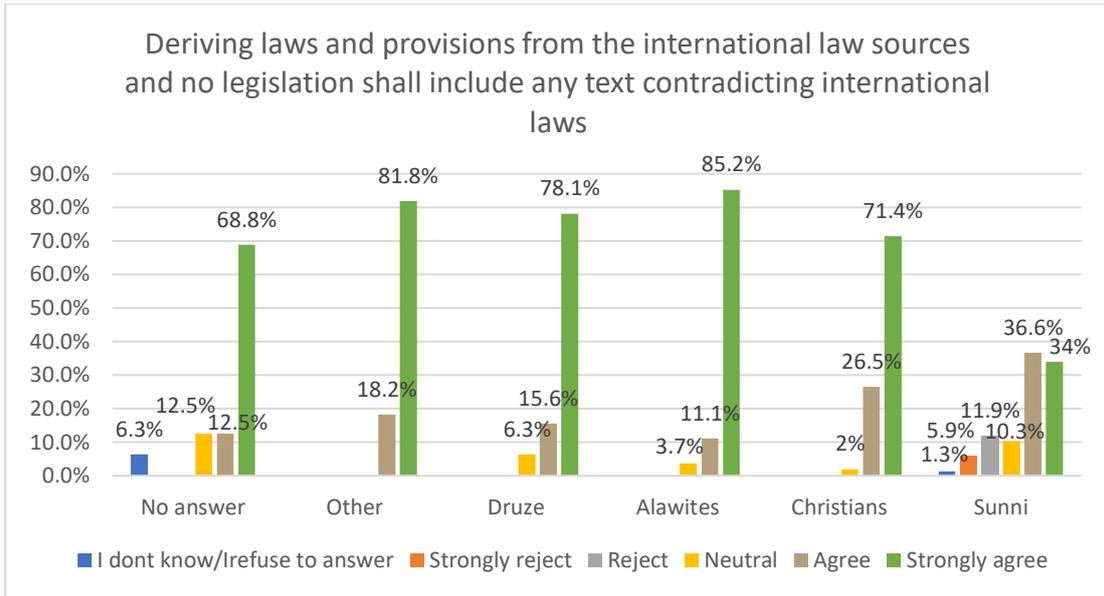


Also, the study showed a high degree of acceptance of Islamic jurisprudence as a source of legislation, as 60.5% of the participants said that they agree or strongly agree with that, and it is noticed that the degree of approval on considering Islamic jurisprudence as a source of legislation is higher among participants from all religions and the sects compared to the previous proposal

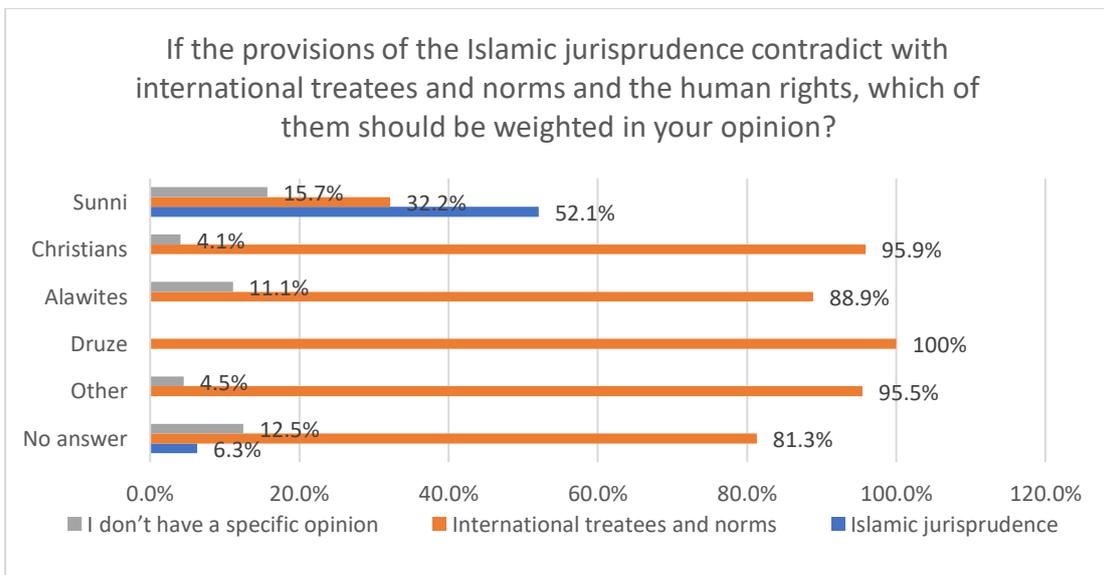
which suggested considering Islamic jurisprudence as a of legislation, with the exception of the Sunnah, who support both proposals according to the results of the study, with a little tendency for adopting Islamic Jurisprudence as a main source of legislation.



In the context of talking about the sources of legislation and the position of Islamic jurisprudence among them, the participants were asked about the extent of their support for deriving laws and internal provisions from the rules of international law, while they were also asked about their opinion on which source should be weighted in the event that the provisions of Islamic jurisprudence contradicted the rules and provisions of international law. Three-quarters of the study participants expressed their support for deriving national provisions and laws in Syria from the rules of international law, and stressed the need to cancel any internal legal text that violates the rules of international law, and the degree of approval is high among participants from all religions and sects except for the Sunnis, as this percentage remained within the limit of 70% among them.

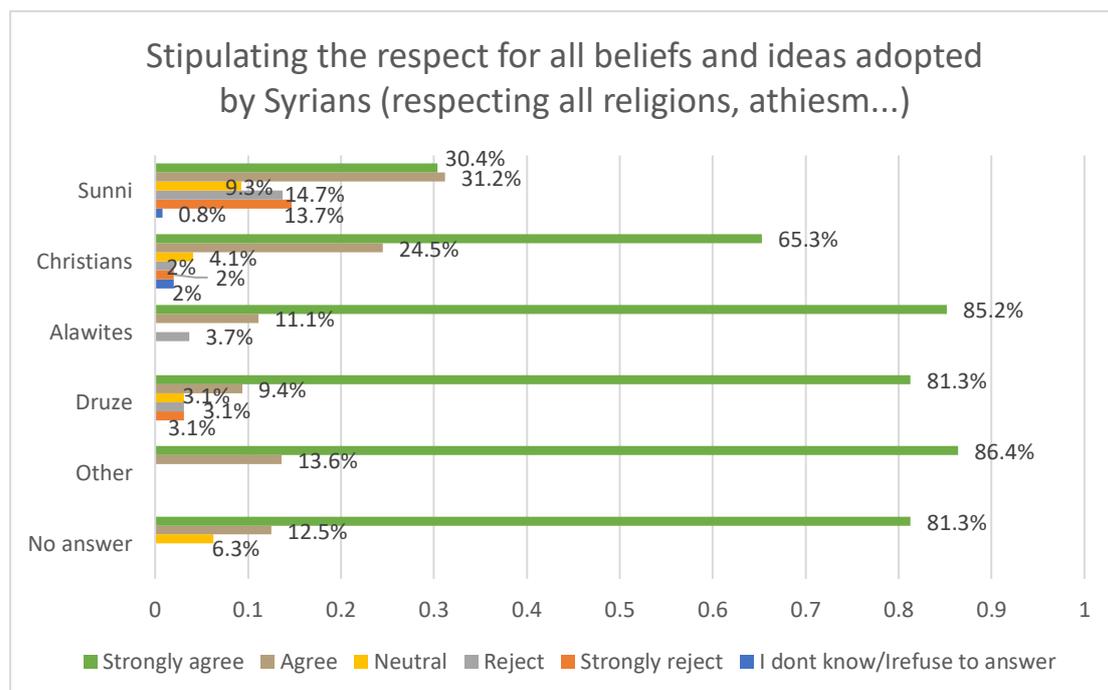


As for the source that should be weighted if the provisions of Islamic jurisprudence contradict with the provisions and rules of international law, we find that nearly half of the study participants believe that it is necessary to weight the provisions and rules of international law, while more than a third believe that it is necessary to weight the provisions of Islamic jurisprudence, while the rest of the participants have expressed neutralism and said that they do not have a specific approach or opinion towards this issue, and it should be noted here that more than half of the Sunni participants believe that if the provisions of Islamic jurisprudence contradict with the rules of international law, the provisions of Islamic jurisprudence must be weighted, as for non-Sunni participants, the vast majority of them believe that it is necessary to weight the provisions and rules of international law.



On the other hand, with regard to the state's relationship with religions in general, the participants were asked two questions; the first of which is about the

extent to which the constitution should stipulate the state’s respect for religions and the freedom to practice religious rites, and the second question was aimed to know the participants’ opinion about the possibility of including a text in the constitution obligating the state to respect all religions and beliefs that Syrians may adopt, including atheism, and the vast majority of the participants of all categories emphasized the need to include a text in the constitution that obliges the state to respect all religions, and guarantees Syrians the freedom to practice their religious rites, while the degree of approval on the necessity of that the state should respect all orientations and beliefs that Syrians may adopt, including atheism, as about three-quarters of the participants expressed their support for this (43.3% strongly agree and 27% agree), and it is noticeable that this percentage is significantly higher among participants from all religions and sects except for the Sunnis, as only about two-thirds of them said that they agree or strongly agree with this.

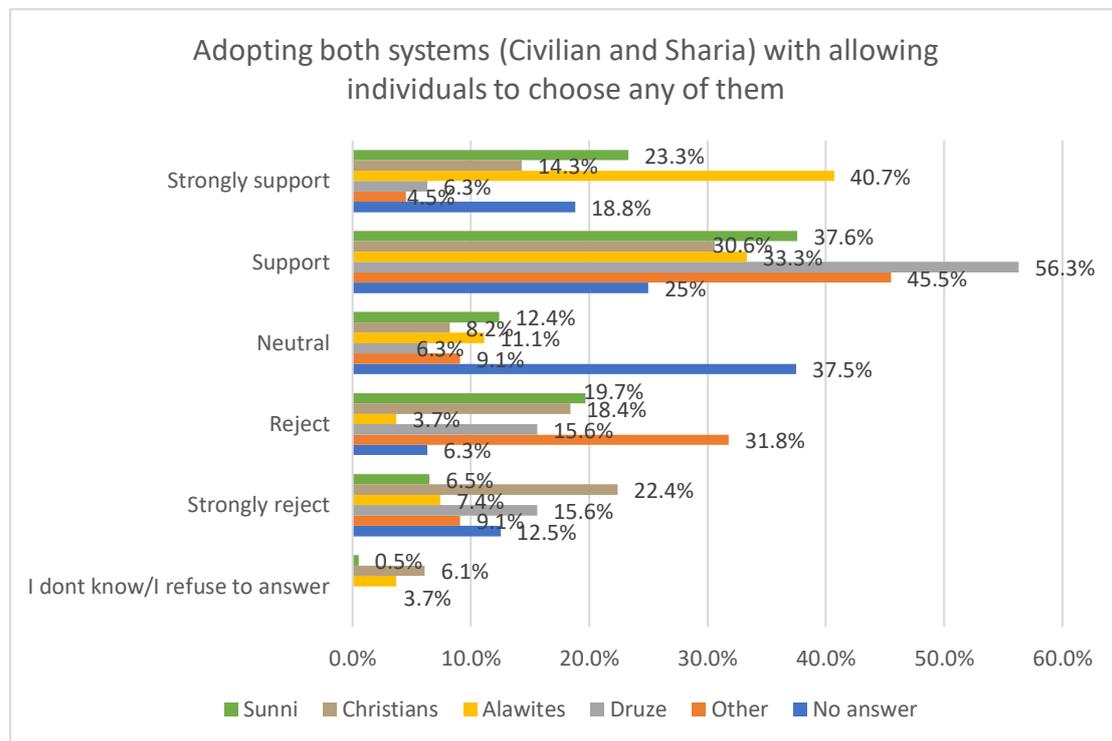


In the context related to religions and with regard to issues of marriage, divorce, inheritance, custody provisions and other matters of personal status, the study sought to identify the form of the most appropriate legal system to regulate these issues from the viewpoint of the participants by asking them about their acceptance of each of the following hypotheses:

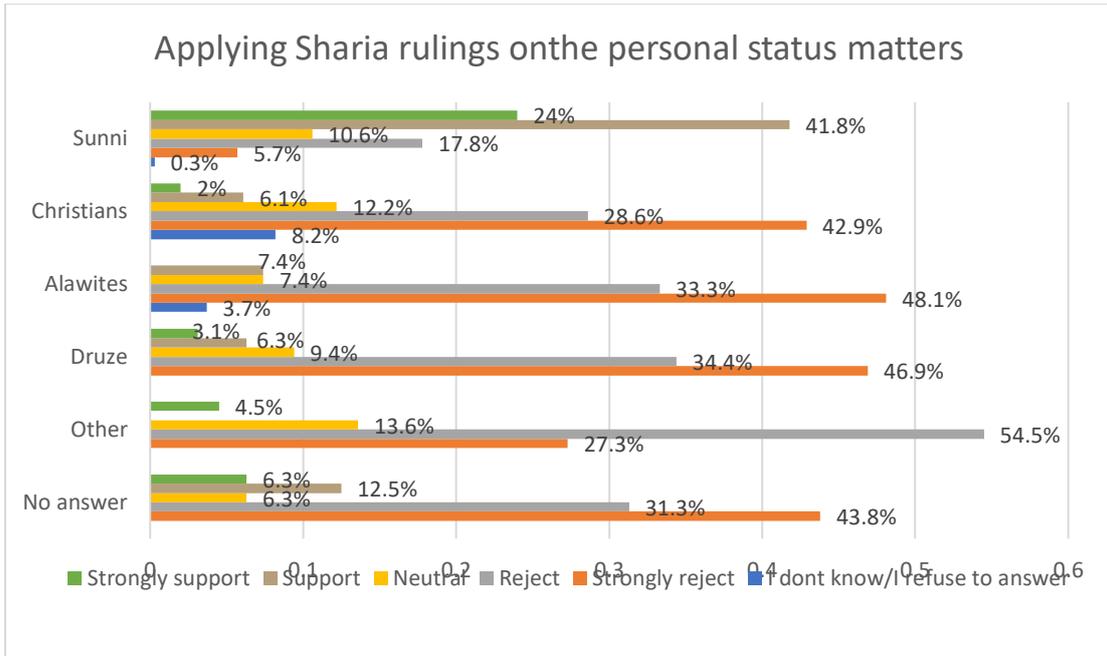
- A- Subjecting personal status matters to a civil law.
- B- Applying Sharia rulings to personal status matters.
- C- Adopting both systems (civil and Sharia) while allowing individuals to choose any of them.

In fact, the last option gained the highest degree of support, as nearly two-thirds of the study participants said that they support or strongly support the state’s

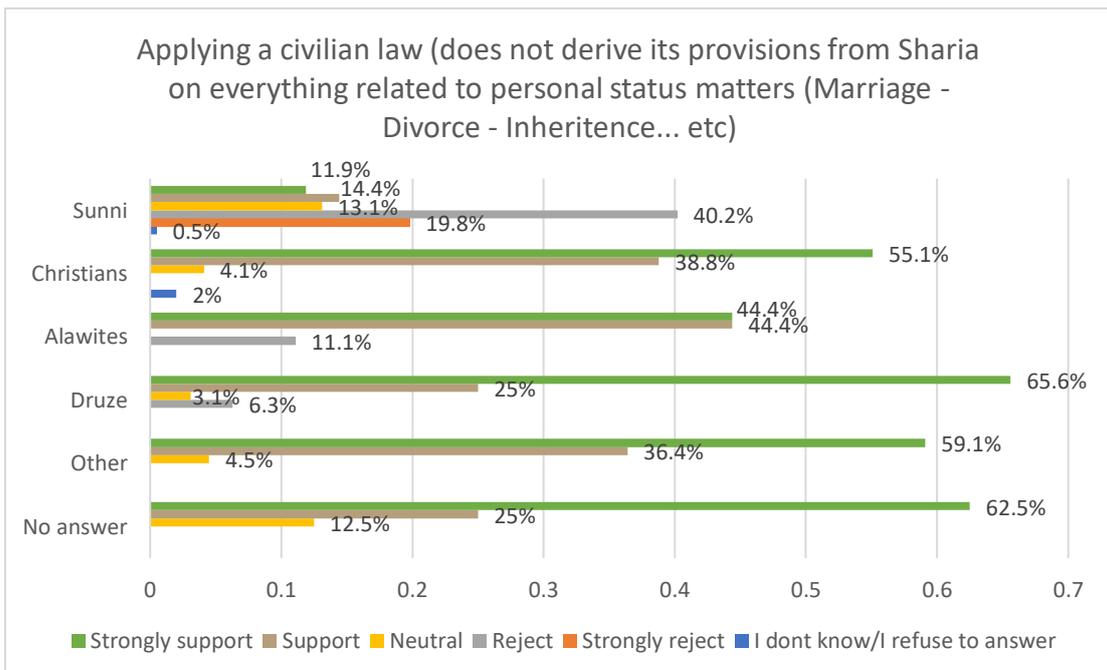
adoption of both the civil and Sharia systems, provided that individuals have the ability to choose any of them, and the degree of support is higher among Alawites reaching nearly three-quarters, while among Sunnis and Druze it was within the framework of the general results of the study, and it dropped among Christians to less than half.



As for subjecting personal status matters to Sharia rulings, it gained the approval of half of the study participants, knowing that this degree approval rises to about two-thirds among Sunnis, while it significantly decreases among non-Sunni participants from other religions and sects.



On the other hand, 44.2% of the participants expressed their support for adopting a civil law which provisions would be applied to personal status issues in Syria (20% of the respondents said that they support this and 24.2% said they strongly support it), and the percentage of support for that proposal among Sunnis dropped to about a quarter, while it significantly increases among respondents from non-Sunni religions and sects.



Form of Systems in the Constitution

Countries differ in the form of the systems they adopt, whether it is related to the form of the system of governance or the form of the administrative or economic system. Regarding governance systems, some countries adopt a presidential system of governance, while other countries adopt a parliamentary system, and some of them adopt a mixed system. On the economic level, there are three forms of economic systems; the directed economy, the open market economy, and the mixed economic system. As for the administrative systems, they include the centralized system, the decentralized system, and the federalism. We will now review the forms of the systems that are most preferred by the participants to be adopted by the new constitution of Syria.

First- Form of the Governance System:

The study participants were asked about their opinion about adopting each of the presidential system, the parliamentary system, and the mixed system. Residential system is based on complete separation of authorities in the country, and in this system, the executive authority is independent from the legislative authority, as the executive authority is vested to a president elected by the people, and ministers are answerable to him personally. As for the parliamentary system, it is based on the existence of a balance and a flexible separation of authorities, in which the powers of the head of state are nominal, and the majority of the executive authorities are in the hands of the prime minister and his government combined, while the mixed system distributes the powers of the executive authority, so the president of the republic and the prime minister are partners in conducting state affairs, the difference between this system and the parliamentary system is that the president of the republic is elected by the people by direct general suffrage, and the difference between it and the presidential system is that the prime minister is answerable to the parliament which can hold him accountable and discharge him. In general these differences were explained to the study participants.

The results showed that the most acceptable system of governance is the parliamentary system, as nearly two-thirds of the participants expressed their support for adopting it within the new constitution (28.3% strongly support and 39.7% support), and the degree of support for the parliamentary system is higher among participants of all religions and sects, while in terms of ethnicity, the degree of support for the parliamentary system is significantly higher among the Kurds, as the percentage of those who said they strongly support it reached 46.9%, and 35.9% said that they support adopting it, while among Arab participants and participants from ethnicities included under the option (OTHER), percentages remained within the framework of the results of the general study. As for the areas of control, the degree of support for the parliamentary system decreased in the regime's areas to the limits of a half, and it increased in the areas of control of Syrian Democratic Forces for nearly three quarters, and as for the current places of residence, it was as shown in the following table:

Adoption of the parliamentary system						
	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	15.9%	44.3%	14.5%	22%	2.7%	0.7%
Turkey	52.3%	30.8%	7.7%	7.7%	1.5%	0%
Lebanon	17.9%	57.1%	14.3%	10.7%	0%	0%
Jordan	40%	30%	10%	20%	0%	0%
Iraq	16.7%	41.7%	12.5%	25%	4.2%	0%
European Union States	52.5%	28.7%	6.9%	10.9%	1%	0%

On the other hand, the adoption of the mixed system has gained a high degree of acceptance, as more than half of the study participants said that they support adopting it (33.9% support and 21.9% strongly support). this percentage was higher among the Alawites as it reached two-thirds and among the Druze at nearly three quarters, while among Christians, it decreased to about a third, and in terms of areas of control, the degree of support for the mixed system remained within the framework of the results of the general study in the areas of the Syrian opposition, while it increased to nearly two thirds in each of the areas of the regime and the areas of control of the Syrian Democratic Forces, and the degree of support also differed according to the current place of residence, as it was higher in Turkey, followed by Syria, and the rest of the countries, as shown in the following table:

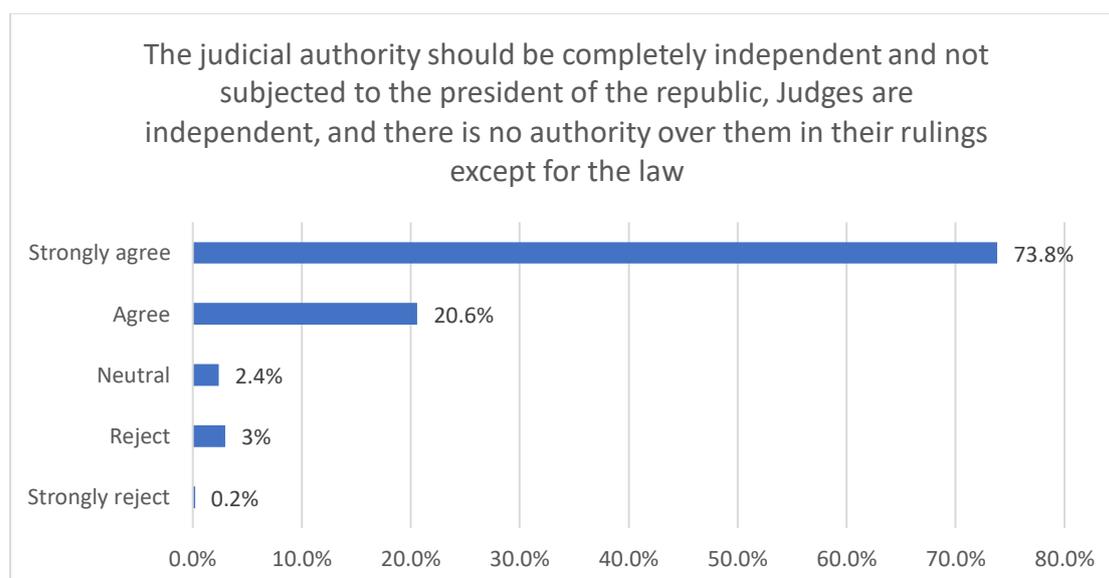
Adoption of the mixed system						
	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	21.6%	40.5%	15.2%	19.3%	2.7%	0.7%
Turkey	43.1%	33.8%	13.8%	7.7%	0%	1.5%
Lebanon	7.1%	35.7%	42.9%	14.3%	0%	0%
Jordan	25%	15%	10%	50%	0%	0%
Iraq	4.2%	16.7%	29.2%	50%	0%	0%
European Union States	16.8%	21.8%	28.7%	30.7%	2%	0%

As for the presidential system, it has gained the lowest degree of acceptance and support, as less than a third of the participants said they support or strongly support adopting it (9.2% strongly support and 21.3% support it). The degree of support for adopting the presidential system significantly drops among the Druze and Christians, as the degree of support of each of them (those who support or strongly support) was 12.6% and 18.3%, respectively. As for ethnicity, the percentage of support for the presidential system dropped to less than a quarter among the Kurds, while it increased to more than a third among the participants of the ethnicities included under the option (OTHER). As for the areas of control,

the degree of support was similar among the participants in all areas of control inside Syria, while it differed outside Syria, as it was higher in Iraq, and significantly decreased in the European Union states:

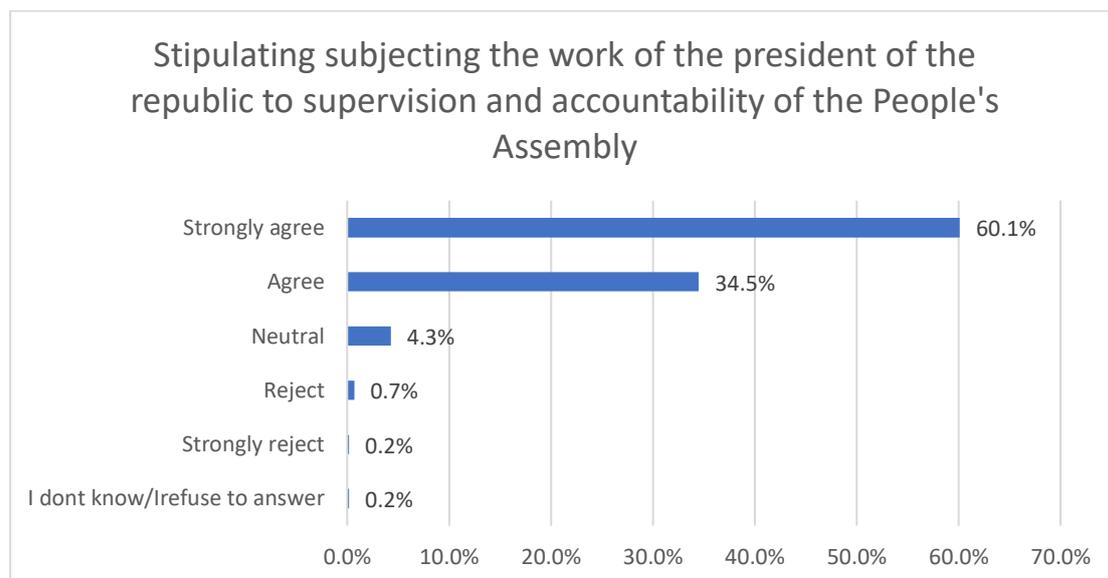
Adoption of the presidential system						
	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	8.8%	23%	13.9%	36.1%	17.2%	1%
Turkey	9.2%	21.5%	13.8%	32.3%	23.1%	0%
Lebanon	17.9%	17.9%	21.4%	32.1%	10.7%	0%
Jordan	5%	35%	5%	55%	0%	0%
Iraq	8.3%	45.8%	12.5%	33.3%	0%	0%
European Union States	8.9%	8.9%	14.9%	43.6%	23.8%	0%

In general, and no matter what is the form of governance system in Syria in the future, the results of the study show a general tendency among the participants to limit the powers vested to the head of state, as the vast majority of the participants said that they believe that the president of the state should not have the authority to dissolve the People's Assembly (30.5% agree on this and 58.8% strongly agree with it), and likewise, the vast majority of participants stress the need to provide effective guarantees that fully achieve the independence of the judicial authority and in a way that precludes the ability of any party, including the head of state, to exert any pressure on judges.



In exchange for limiting the powers of the president of the republic, the study participants strongly support the granting more powers to the People's Assembly and granting it a supervisory role over the work of the executive authority, as the absolute majority of the participants said that they support subjecting government's work to the supervision and accountability of the People's Assembly (61% strongly support that and 36.5% support it). Likewise, the

absolute majority of the participants also support subjecting the work of the head of state to supervision and accountability of the People's Assembly.



Finally, in order to prevent the tyranny of the state's authorities and its monopolization of governance; The absolute majority of the study participants also stressed the need to include provisions in the constitution that ensure the consolidation of the principle of separation of authorities, and the principle of the peaceful transfer of power:

To what extent do you agree to include the following principles in the Constitution						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
The principle of separation of authorities	59.2%	36.9%	1.7%	1.1%	0.6%	0.6%
The principle of peaceful transfer of power	68.9%	28.3%	0.9%	1.5%	0.2%	0.2%

Second- Form of the Economical System:

The most common economic systems around the world are the directed economy system, the open market system and the mixed system. In the directed economic system, the state manages all economic resources, makes decisions and draws out economic plans that must be adhered to by all those who carry out economic activities such as companies and businessmen. As for the open market economy, it is mainly based on the freedom of competition and freedom of investment and establishing projects without state's interference. As for the mixed system, it includes rules from both of the previous two systems, as the state manages resources and economic wealth and at the same time grants private sector companies the freedom of competition and investment. Study results showed that the mixed economic system was the most acceptable to the participants, as nearly three-quarters of the study participants said that they support or strongly support adopting it as a basis for economic activity in Syria in the future, and the degree of support is higher among both Alawites and participants from religions and sects included under the option (OTHER), as the vast majority of them support the adoption of a mixed economic system, while it dropped among the Christians to about two-thirds. As for the answers of the Sunnis and the Druze, they were within the framework of the general results of the study. As for the ethnicity, and areas of control, answers were similar among all participants. In terms of the current place of residence, the degree of support for adopting a mixed system is high in all countries except for Iraq and Lebanon as shown in the following table:

Adoption of a mixed economic system						
	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	19.6%	56.1%	12.2%	9.1%	1%	2%
Turkey	49.2%	41.5%	4.6%	4.6%	0%	0%
Lebanon	3.6%	21.4%	60.7%	10.7%	3.6%	0%
Jordan	20%	60%	10%	10%	0%	0%
Iraq	0%	41.7%	33.3%	25%	0%	0%
European Union States	43.6%	35.6%	10.9%	7.9%	2%	0%

Also, the adoption of the open market economy system gained a high percentage of support among the participants, as more than two-thirds of them said that they support or strongly support the adoption of the open market system, and the degree of support among participants of all ethnicities rises to three quarters of the respondents, except for the Sunnis, whose percentage remained within two thirds limit. In terms of religion or sect, the degree of support for adopting the open market system was high among participants of all religions and sects except for the Druze, whose percentage decreased to less than half. As for the areas of control, the participants in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces were the most supportive for adopting the open market system, and the percentage of those who support or strongly support it reached 90.4%, followed

by participants in opposition areas at 70.9%, while that percentage decreased among participants in areas controlled by the Syrian regime to reach 60.4%. As for the current places of residence, the degree of support for adopting the open market system was high among participants in all countries except for the European Union states:

Adoption of an open market system						
	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	22%	49.7%	12.2%	13.9%	2%	0.3%
Turkey	35.4%	47.7%	9.2%	7.7%	0%	0%
Lebanon	17.9%	64.3%	7.1%	10.7%	0%	0%
Jordan	10%	45%	15%	25%	0%	5%
Iraq	20.8%	66.7%	4.2%	8.3%	0%	0%
European Union States	15.8%	30.7%	23.8%	23.8%	5.9%	0%

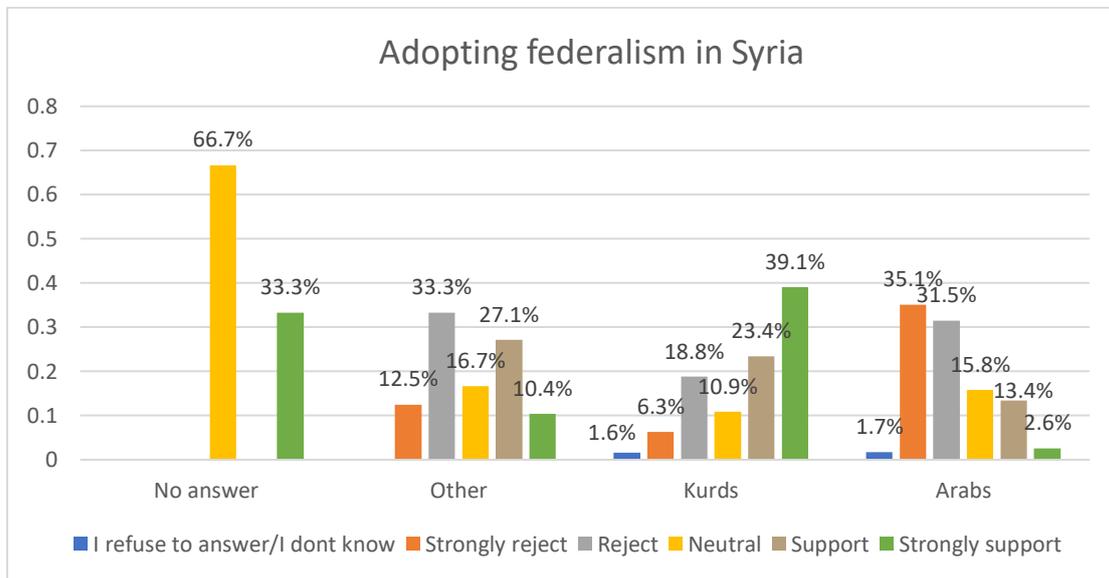
Finally, the directed economic system was the least acceptable to the participants, as slightly over a third of the participants said that they support or strongly support adopting it, and that percentage drops among Alawites to 18.5%, and among the Druze to 15.7%, and among the participants from the religions and sects included under the option (OTHER), it reached 18.2%, while among Sunni and Christian participants it remained within the framework of the general results of the study. In terms of areas of control, the degree of support among the participants in opposition areas decreased reaching about a quarter, and the respondents' answers also differed according to the current place of residence, as the degree of support was high Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon, while it decreased in the rest of the regions, especially the European Union states:

Adoption of a directed economic system						
	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	4.7%	32.4%	16.9%	33.4%	11.8%	0.7%
Turkey	26.2%	43.1%	7.7%	16.9%	6.2%	05
Lebanon	0%	46.4%	25%	25%	3.6%	0%
Jordan	10%	45%	20%	20%	0%	5%
Iraq	4.2%	25%	12.5%	58.3%	0%	0%
European Union States	8.9%	12.9%	12.9%	28.7%	36.6%	0%

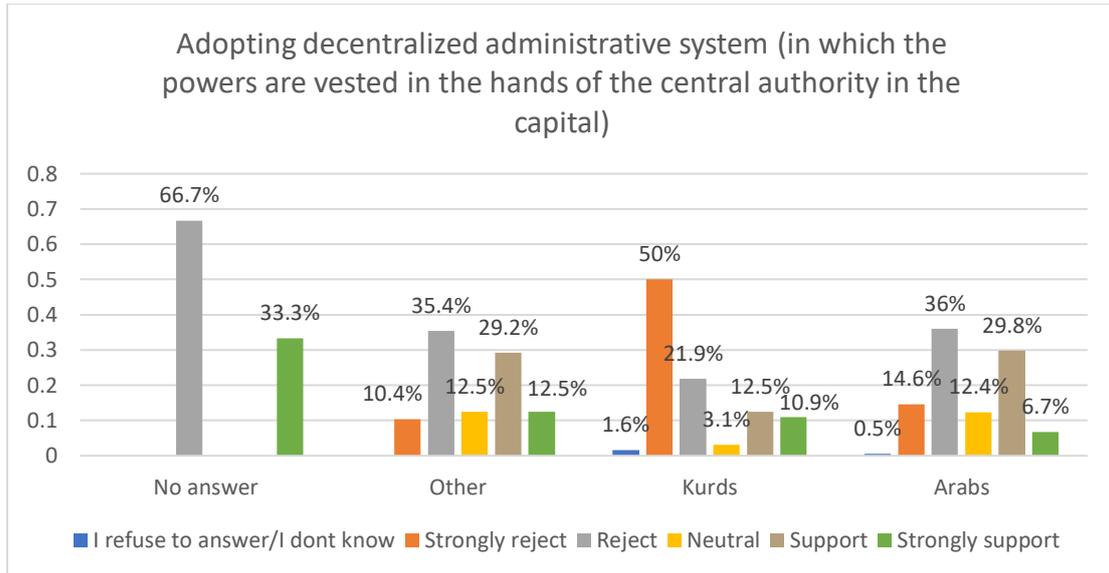
Third- Form of the Administrative System:

Regarding the form of the administrative system, the participants were asked about their opinion on adopting both the centralized system and the decentralized system or the adoption of the federal system in Syria, in general, the proposal of adopting federalism in Syria gained the lowest levels of support among the

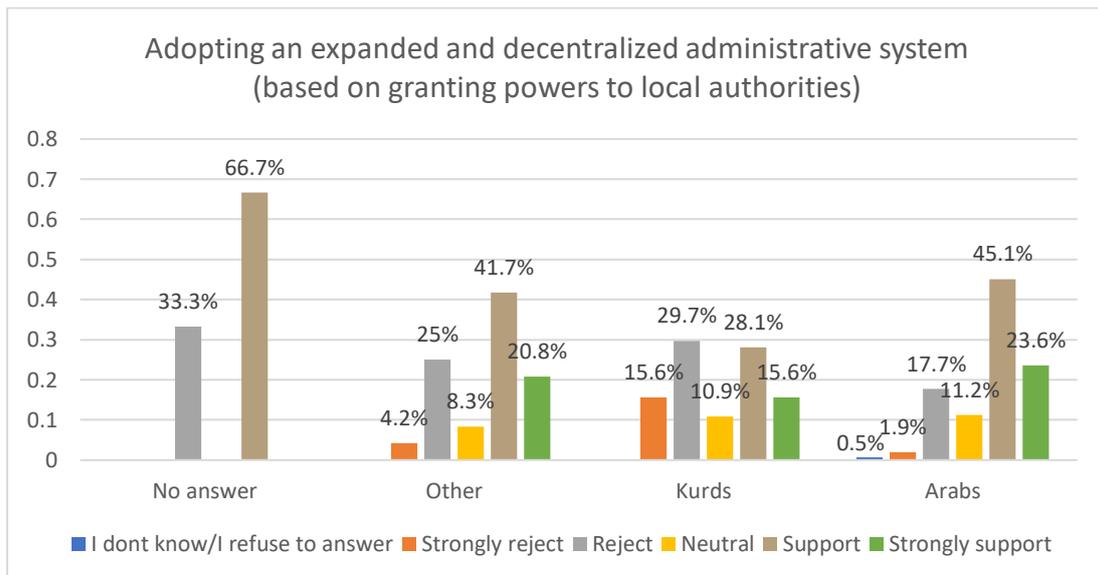
participants, as less than a quarter of them said they support or strongly support it, and this degree of support was low among respondents of all religions and sects, except for Alawites, as the degree of support for federalism was high reaching more than a third, and it was also high among respondents from religions and sects included under the option (OTHER), as 36.4% of them support the adoption of federalism and 22.7% strongly support it. In terms of ethnicity, the degree of support for adopting federalism was significantly high among the Kurds, while it significantly dropped among the Arabs.



The adoption of the centralized administrative system has also gained a somewhat low degree of support, as only slightly more than a third support or strongly support adopting it, and the degree of support for adopting the centralized system is close among the participants of all religions and sects, but it is higher among Alawites reaching about a half, while it significantly drops among the Druze, as the percentage of those who said that they support or strongly support it reached 3.1%. As for ethnicity, the answers of the Arab participants were within the framework of the general results of the study, while the degree of support for adopting centralized system decreased among the Kurds and increased among the participants of the ethnicities included in the option (OTHER).



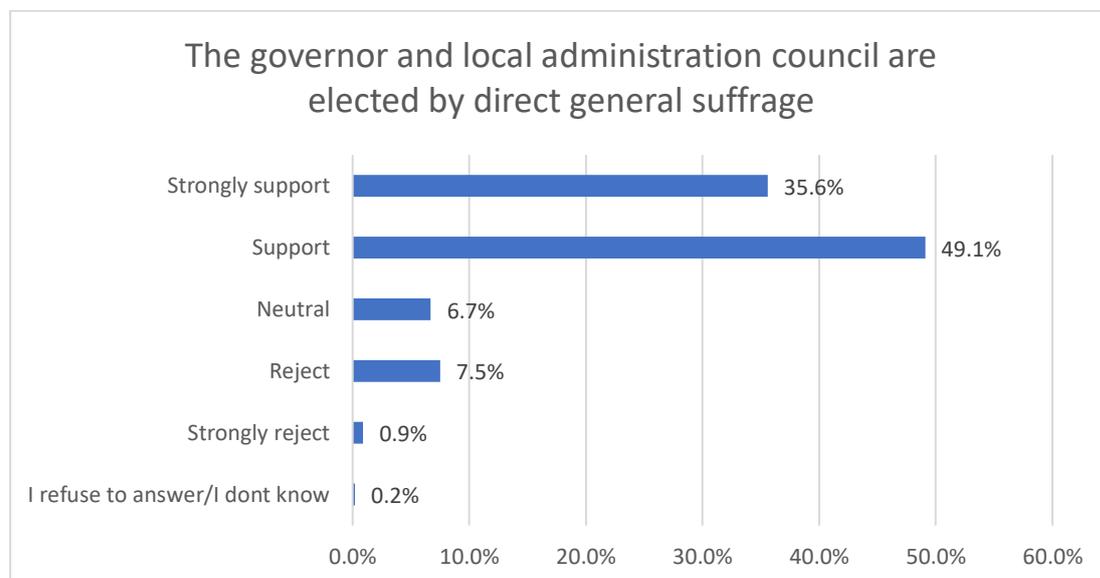
As for the most supported administrative system by the participants, it was the decentralized system, as it gained the support of nearly two-thirds of the respondents, and the answers of the participants from all religions and sects were close, but it was significantly higher among the Druze, as the percentage of those who said that they support adopting the decentralized system or strongly support it reached 93.8%. In terms of ethnicity, it is noticeable that the percentage of Kurds support for the decentralized system was less than the degree of support among participants of all ethnicities, which means that the Kurds prefer adopting federalism in the first place in Syria in the future.



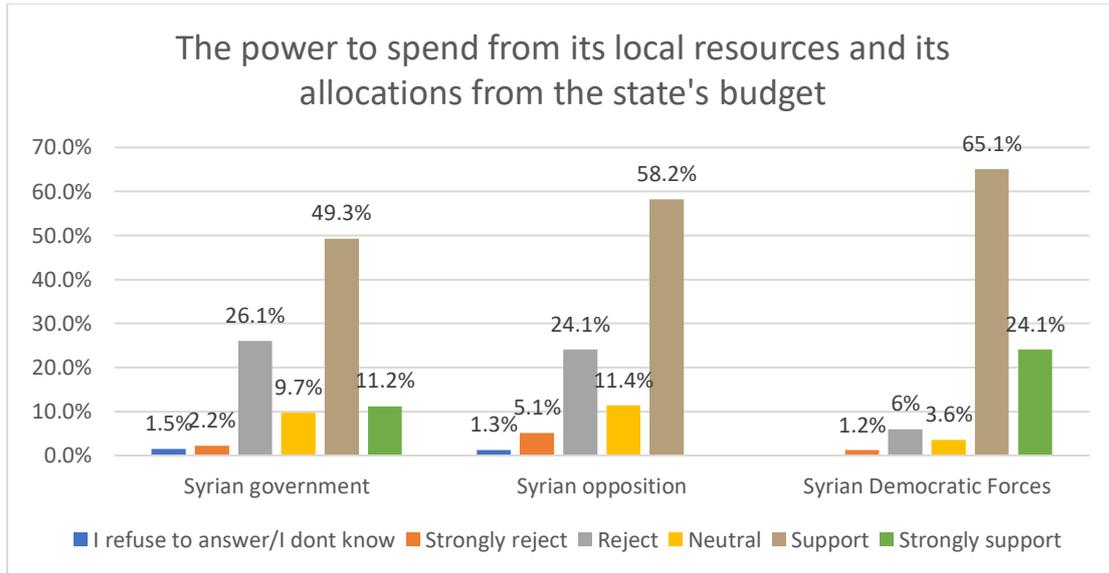
In general, whatever form of administrative system is preferred by participants, they were asked about the extent of their support for the selection of local authority members (governors and local administration councils' members) through general and direct suffrage, in addition to asking them about the extent of their support for granting local authorities each of the following powers:

- A- The power to invest natural resources within its regions.
- B- The power to impose and collect taxes.
- C- The power to spend from its local resources and their allocations from the state budget.
- D- the power of local legislation in a way that does not contradict the constitution and the laws of the state.
- E- Appointing and discharging judges in accordance with the constitution and state laws and in a manner that is committed to the independence of the judiciary.
- F- Forming police and security forces.

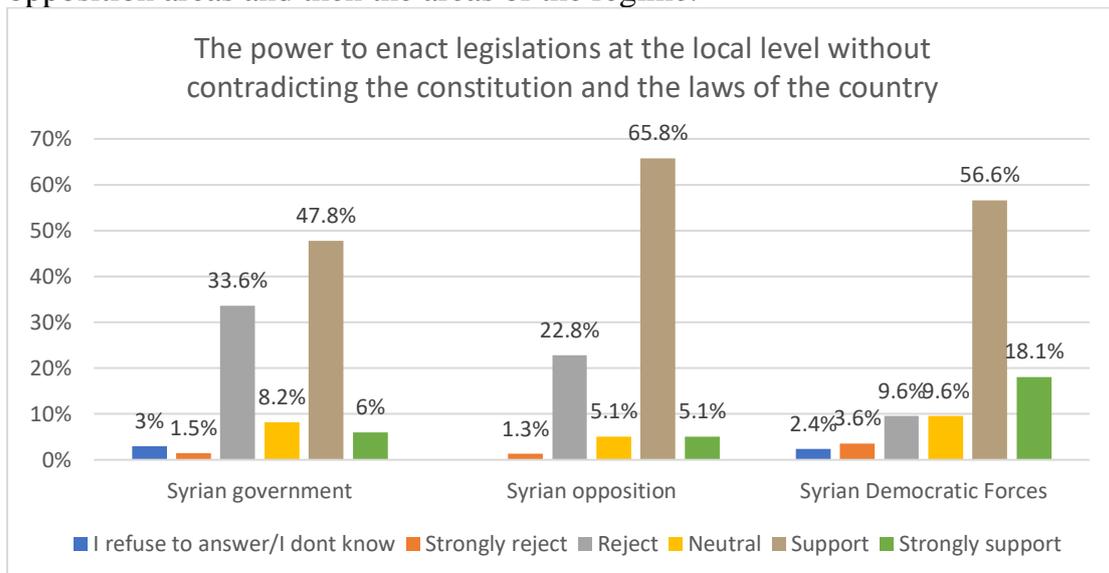
The vast majority of participants expressed their support for choosing governors and members of local administration councils through general and direct suffrage, and this percentage was high among all participants of all ethnicities, religions and sects and in all areas of residence, knowing that it was lower among Christians reaching less than two-thirds.



The degree of support of the participants for granting all powers to the local authorities was also high, with the difference in the degree of support for each of the powers, as the power of the local authorities to spend from their local resources and from its allocations from the state budget received the highest degree of support, as nearly three quarters of the participants said that they support it or strongly support it, and the degree of support for granting the local authorities that power to spend is higher among both the Druze and the participants from religions and sects included in the option (OTHER) reaching more than 90%, while it remained within the framework of the general results of the study among Sunnis and Christians, and decreased to about half among the Alawites. In terms of ethnicity, the degree of support was higher among the Kurds, as the percentage of those who said they support or strongly support it was 54.7% and 31.3%, respectively, while among the Arabs, the percentage was 58% and 14.1%, respectively.

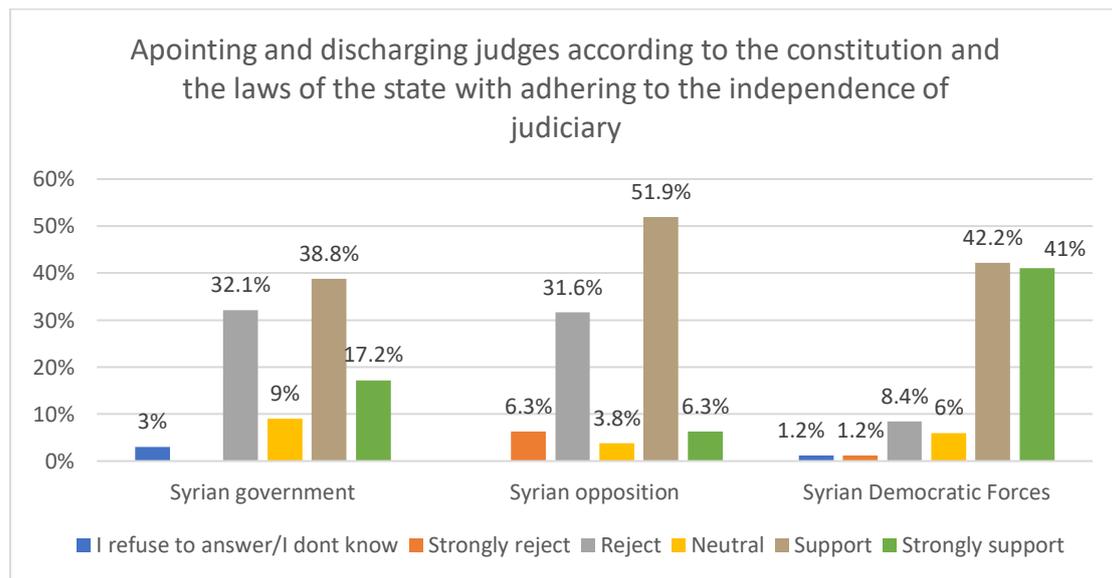


On the other hand, more than two-thirds of the study participants said that they support granting local authorities the power to enact legislations and laws at the local level, provided that such legislation does not contain any violations to the constitution or laws in force at the state level (54.9% support that and 14.4% strongly support it), and the degree of support among participants of all ethnicities and in terms of religion or sect is also close, knowing that it drops to more than half among Christians and Alawites, and in terms of areas of control, the degree of support for granting local authorities the power to legislate was higher in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces followed by opposition areas and then the areas of the regime.

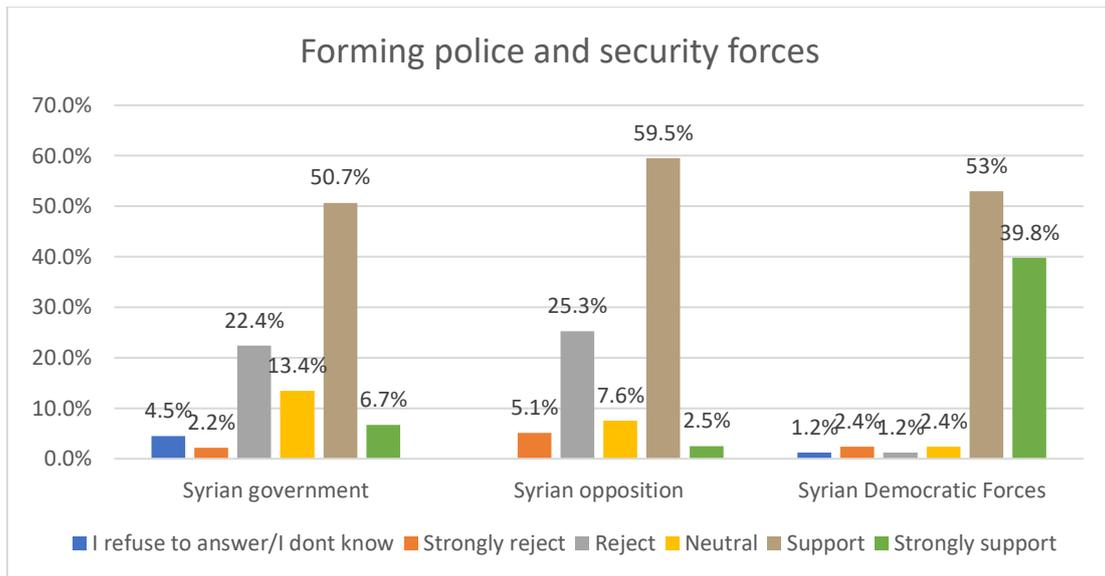


Likewise, more than two-thirds of the study participants support granting local authorities the power to appoint and discharge judges in accordance with the constitution and laws of the state, provided that this does not result in a breach of the independence of the judiciary, and the degree of support among both

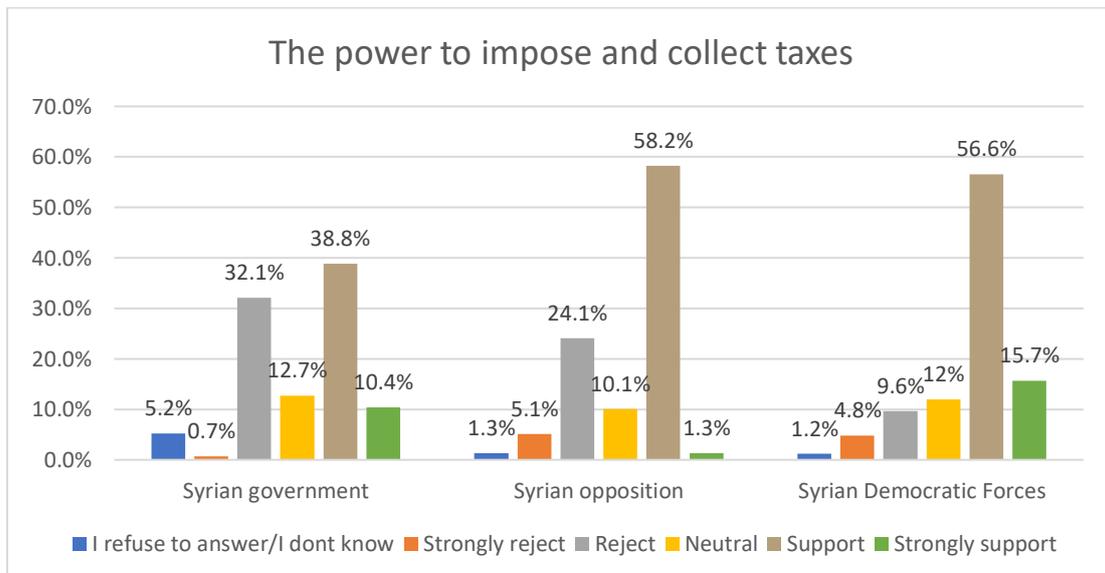
Alawites and Christians drop to about a half, while it significantly increases to include the majority of the Druze and participants from religions and sects included in the option (OTHER), but among the Sunnis, the percentage remained within the framework of the general results of the study, and we also notice a high degree of support for granting local authorities the power to appoint and discharge judges among the Kurds, as the percentage of those who said that they support or strongly support it is 42.2% and 45.3% and 45.3%, respectively, while among Arabs, the percentage was 37.9% and 29.1%, respectively, and the degree of support among participants residing in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces is also higher compared to the participants residing in both the opposition and the regime areas.



Also, 62.2% of the participants expressed their support for granting local authorities the power to form security and police forces and maintain order within their regions, and the viewpoints of Sunnis, Christians, and participants of religions and sects included under the option (OTHER) are close regarding this matter, and they remain within the framework of the general results of the study, while it is dropped to the limits of half among the Alawites, and it rises to the limits of three quarters among the Druze, and the degree of support among the Kurds participants is also high, as the percentage of those who support or strongly support it has reached 79.7%, while among the Arabs, this percentage reached 58.7%. As for the areas of control, we notice that the participants in areas of control of the Syrian Democratic Forces was the most supportive of this proposal.

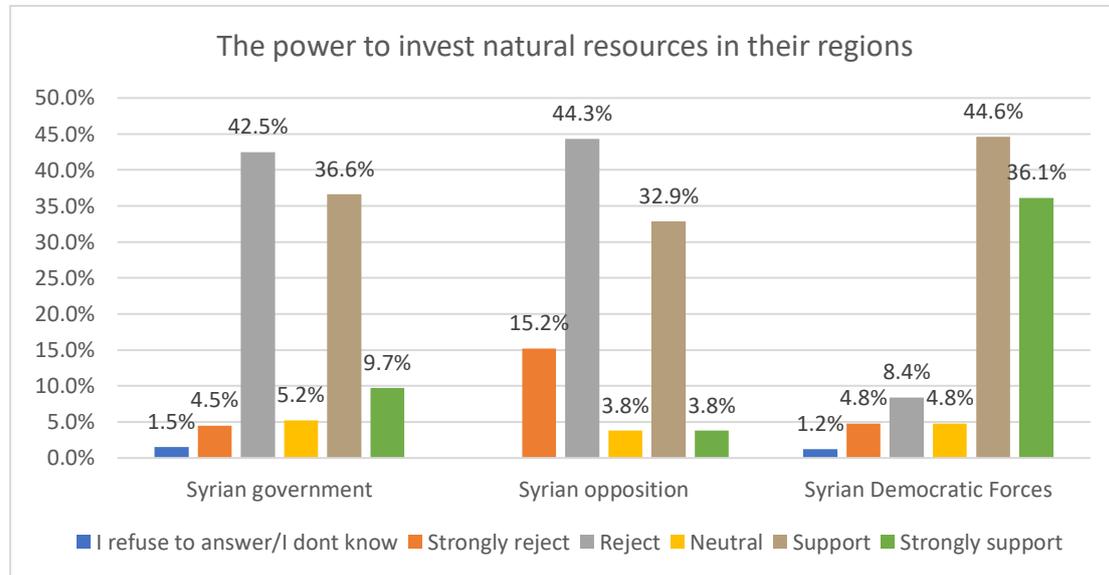


On the other hand, nearly half of the study participants (48.5%) said that they support granting local authorities the power to impose and collect taxes in the areas within their jurisdiction, while 11% said that they strongly support this, and the degree of support among participants from all religions and sects is close, with an increase among the Druze and the participants of religions and sects included under the option (OTHER) to about three-quarters, and the degree of support has also reached about three-quarters among the Kurds. As for the areas of control, the degree of support was higher in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces, followed by the areas controlled by the Syrian opposition and then the areas controlled by the regime.



As for granting the local authorities the power to invest natural resources within their jurisdiction, half of the study participants expressed that they support or strongly support it, and the answers of the participants of all religions and sects were close, while it reached more than three quarters among the participants from

the religions and sects included under the option (OTHER). As for ethnicity, the degree of approval decreased to less than half among the Arab participants, while the percentage of those who said that they support granting the local authorities that power among the Kurds or strongly support it reached 42.2% and 40.6%, respectively. The degree of support in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces was significantly high compared to the areas of the regime and the Syrian opposition.

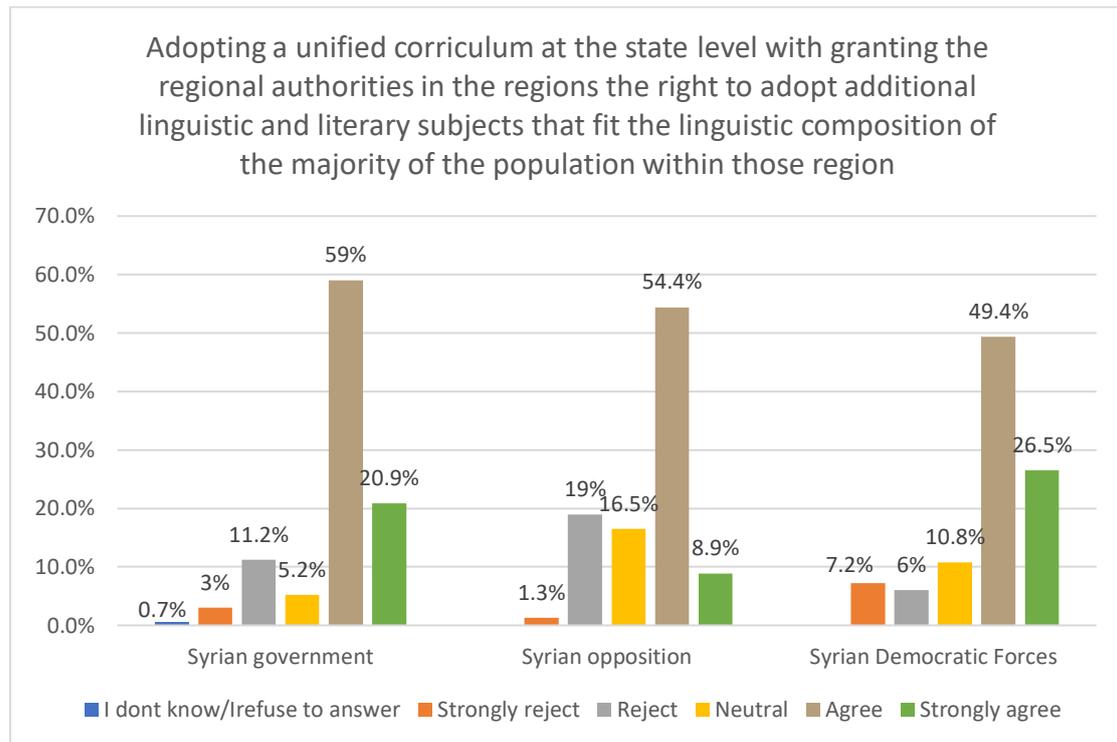


In a related context, and with regard to educational curricula, the participants were asked for their opinion on each of the following hypotheses:

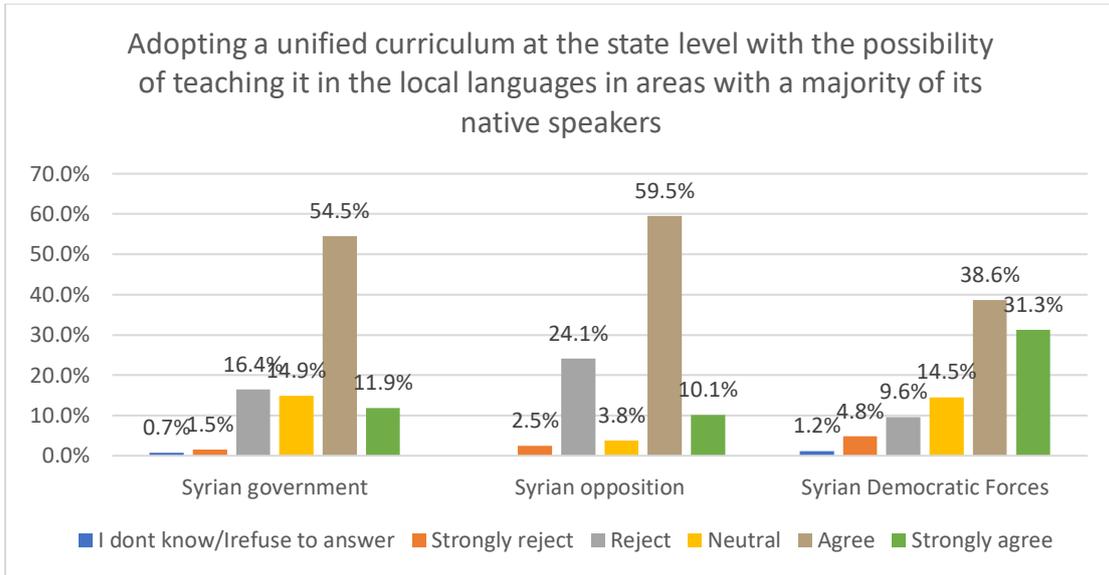
- A- Adopting an educational curriculum for each region.
- B- Adopting a unified educational curriculum that is taught only in Arabic.
- C- Adopting a unified educational curriculum with the ability to teach it in the prevailing local languages in regions with a majority of its native speakers.
- D- Adopting a unified educational curriculum while granting local authorities in the regions the authority to adopt additional linguistic and literary materials that are compatible with the linguistic composition of the majority of the population within the regions.

The hypothesis of adopting a unified educational curriculum with the granting local authorities in the regions the power to adopt additional linguistic and literary subjects (such as languages, poetry, arts and music) that fit the linguistic composition of the majority of the population within those regions gained the highest levels of approval, as nearly three-quarters of the study participants said they agree or they strongly with it, and it is noticeable that the degree of support for that option was high among participants of all ethnicities, religions and sects, and in terms of areas of control, the degree of support increased among participants residing within the areas of the Syrian regime's control, followed by

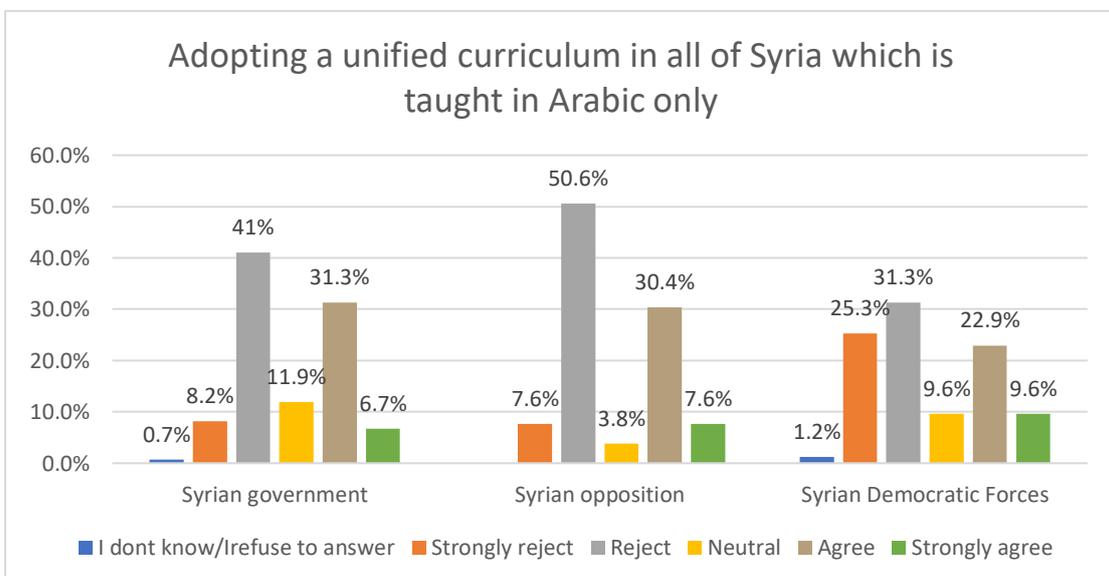
the areas of control of the Syrian Democratic Forces then the areas controlled by the opposition.



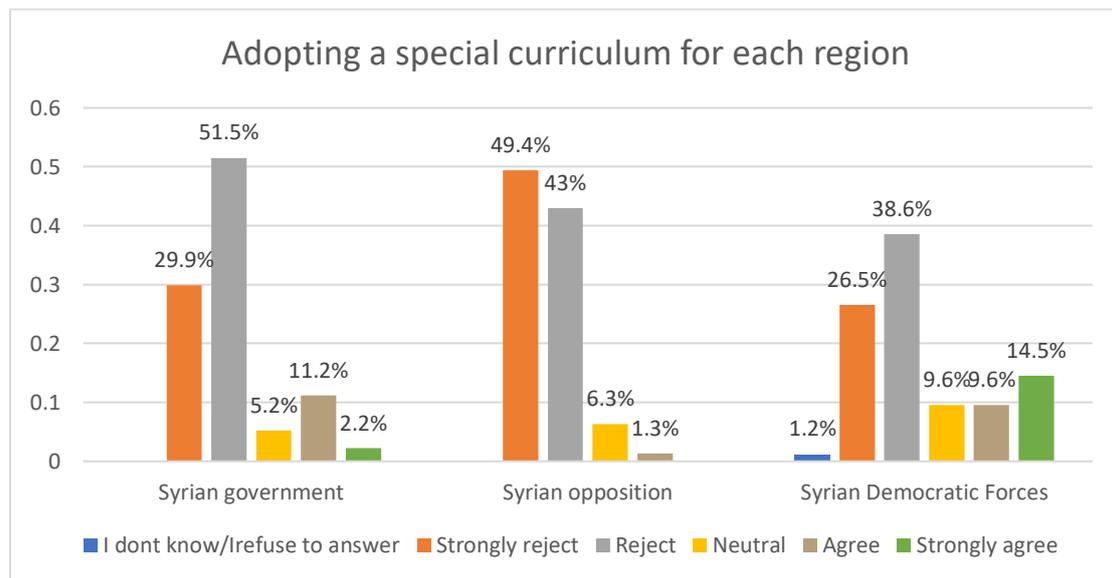
We also notice that the degree of participants' support for the hypothesis of adopting a unified educational curriculum with the ability to teach it in the prevailing local languages in regions with a majority of its native speakers is also high, as 44.2% said they agree with this hypothesis, and 14.2% said they strongly agree with it, and the degree of approval is higher among Alawites reaching about three quarters, and more than two thirds among the Druze, but in terms of ethnicity, that hypothesis gained the approval of more than half of the Arabs and the vast majority of the Kurds, and about two-thirds of the participants from the ethnicities included in the option (OTHER), and in terms of areas of control, the percentages were close among participants in all regions.



The degree of support for adopting a unified educational curriculum that is only taught in Arabic drops to less than a half, as the percentage of those who said they agree or strongly agree with this is 27.7% and 15.2%, respectively, and the answers of the Sunni and Alawite participants are close and remain within the framework of the general results of the study, while among the participants from the religions and sects included under the option (OTHER), it decreased to the limits of a third, and to the limits of a quarter among the Christians, while among the Druze the percentage was only 9.4%, and in terms of ethnicity, the degree of support was within the limits of a half among the Arabs, while it decreased to less than 20% among the Kurds and the participants included under the option (OTHER). As for areas of control, the answers of the participants were close in all regions, while it was slightly lower in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces.



Finally, the vast majority of the participants expressed their rejection of the proposal of adopting a specific educational curriculum for each region, which was the answer of the participants of all religions and sects, while in terms of ethnicity, we notice that the Kurds were the most supportive for that hypothesis, as the percentage of those who said they agree or strongly agree with that is 18.8% and 25%, respectively, while this percentage did not exceed 10% among Arabs and among ethnicities included under the option (OTHER). In terms of areas of control, the degree of approval of the participants within the areas of control of the Syrian Democratic Forces was high, while it decreased in each of the opposition and regime areas.

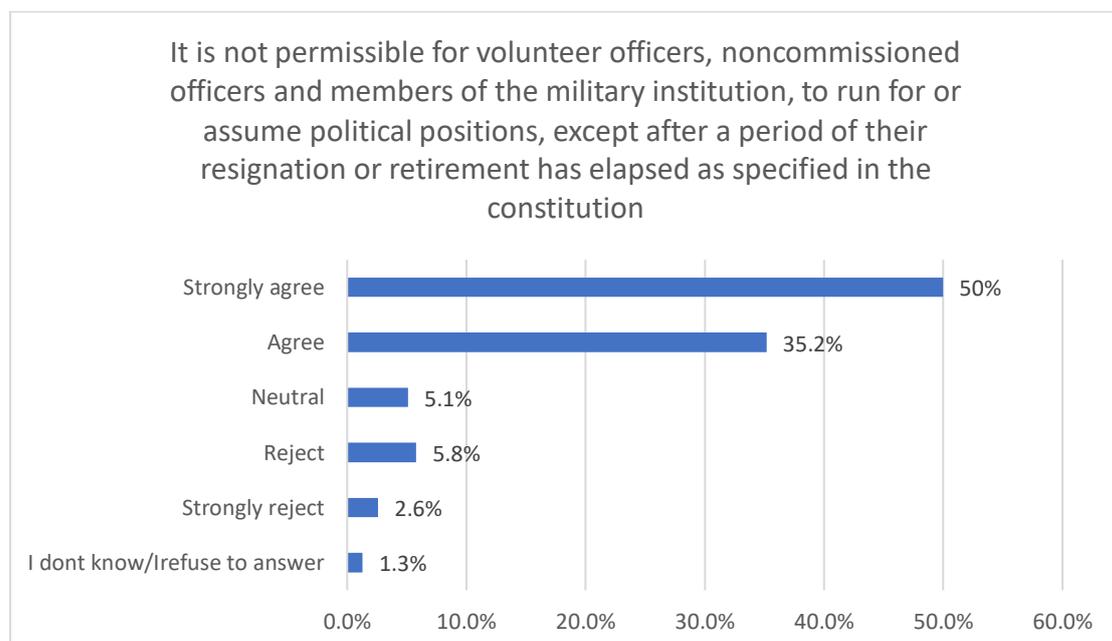


Military Institution in the constitution

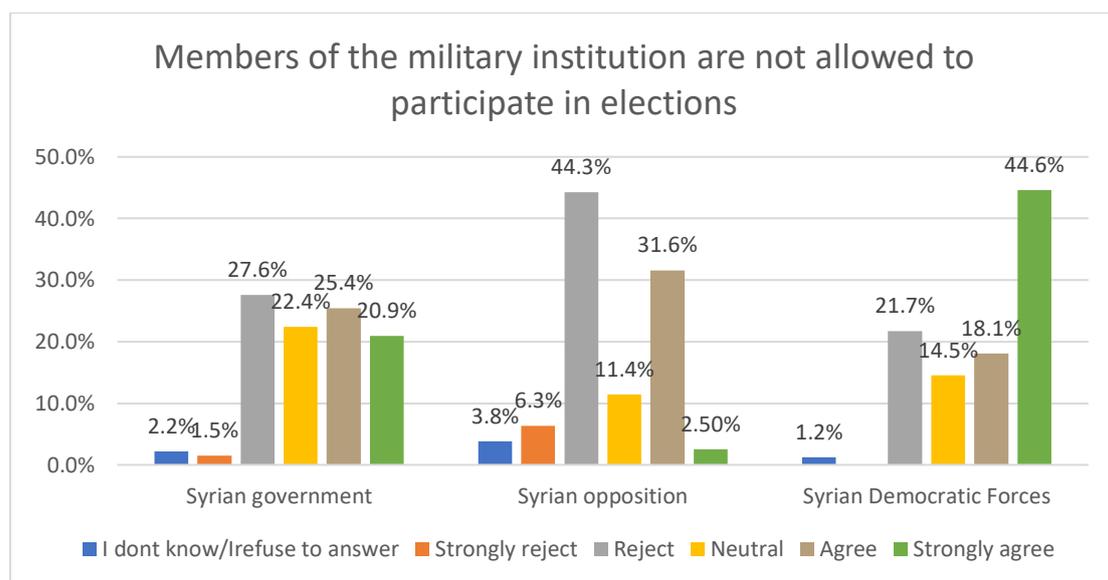
Previous Syrian constitutions included some articles that addressed the role of the army and the military institution, and cases of declaring war and public mobilization. Article 30 of the 1950 constitution considered the army to be the guardian of the homeland, and restricted its mission to defending the borders and safety of the homeland. Likewise, Article 11 of the 1973 Constitution stipulated that “The armed forces and other defense organizations are responsible for the safety of the homeland and the protection of the revolution’s objectives; unity, freedom and socialism.” This article was amended in the 2012 constitution to become: “The army and the armed forces are a national institution responsible for defending the safety of the homeland and its territorial sovereignty, and it is established for serving the interests of the people and protecting its goals and its national security”. Both Article 100 of the 1973 Constitution and Article 102 of the 2012 Constitution stipulated: “The President of the Republic declares war and public mobilization and concludes reconciliation after the approval of the People's Assembly”. As for Articles 103 of the 1973 Constitution and 105 of the 2012 Constitution, They stipulated that the President of the Republic be

considered the Supreme Commander of the Army and Armed Forces, and that he issues all decisions and orders necessary to exercise this power and with the ability to delegate some of them. Article 46 of the 2012 Constitution affirmed considering the compulsory military service as a sacred duty which is organized by the law, and based on the reading of the aforementioned texts, it can be said that the legislator sought to limit the army's duties in defending the lands and borders of the state while not interfering with political life, however, the actual situation in Syria is completely different, as the army along the history of Syria after independence from the French Mandate has interfered in all aspects of life, and its officers have led a long series of military coups that led to the change of political regimes, the most recent of which was the coup in 1970 which led to the arrival of Assad the father to power, then he restructured the army on the basis of loyalties and used it in suppressing his opponents. Given the importance of the role of the military institution in the future of Syria, we asked the participants to know the extent of their acceptance of the army's intervention in political life, and how to make decisions related to public mobilization and the declaration of the state of war.

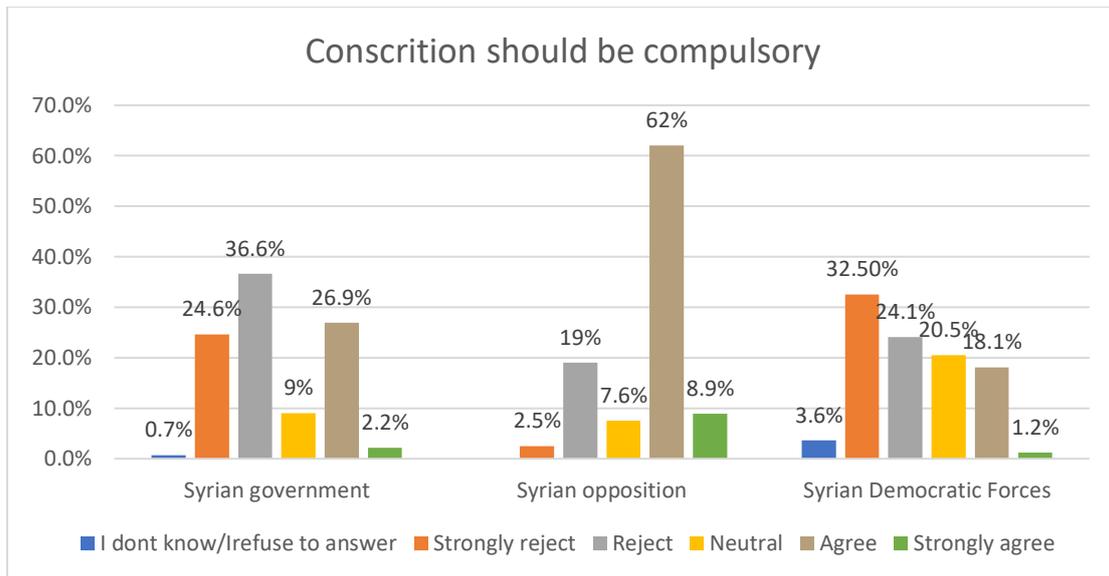
In general, the vast majority of participants from all ethnicities, religions and sects (with the exception of Christians whose percentage was less than two-thirds) and in all of the current areas residence and areas of control expressed their support for the inclusion of a text in the constitution that prohibits members of the military establishment, including officers and noncommissioned officers, from running for or holding political positions, except after a certain period of time has elapsed since their retirement or resignation from military service, provided that this period is specified within the constitution.



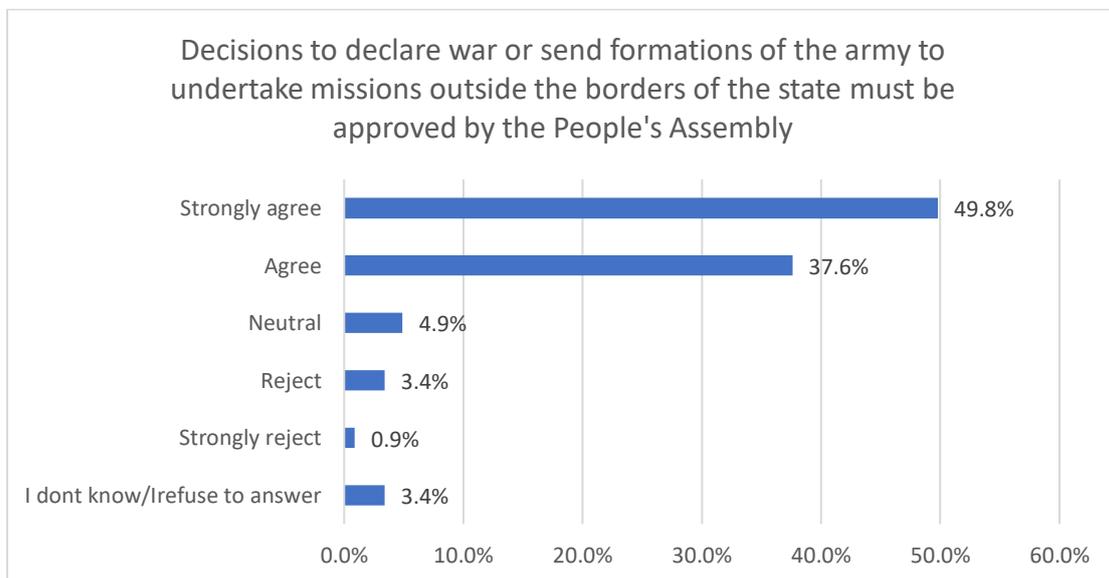
On the other hand, half of the study participants said that they agree or strongly agree to the inclusion of a text in the constitution that prohibits members of the military institution from participating in the public elections and voting, and the answers of the participants from all religions and sects are close to the general results of the study except for Christians among whom the percentage decreased to about one third. In terms of ethnicity, the percentage increased to about two-thirds among the Kurds, while it decreased to less than a quarter among the participants of the ethnicities included under the option (OTHER). As for the Arabs, the percentage remained within the framework of the general results of the study. In terms of areas of control, the degree of approval was the highest in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces, the areas of the Syrian regime, and finally in the opposition areas.



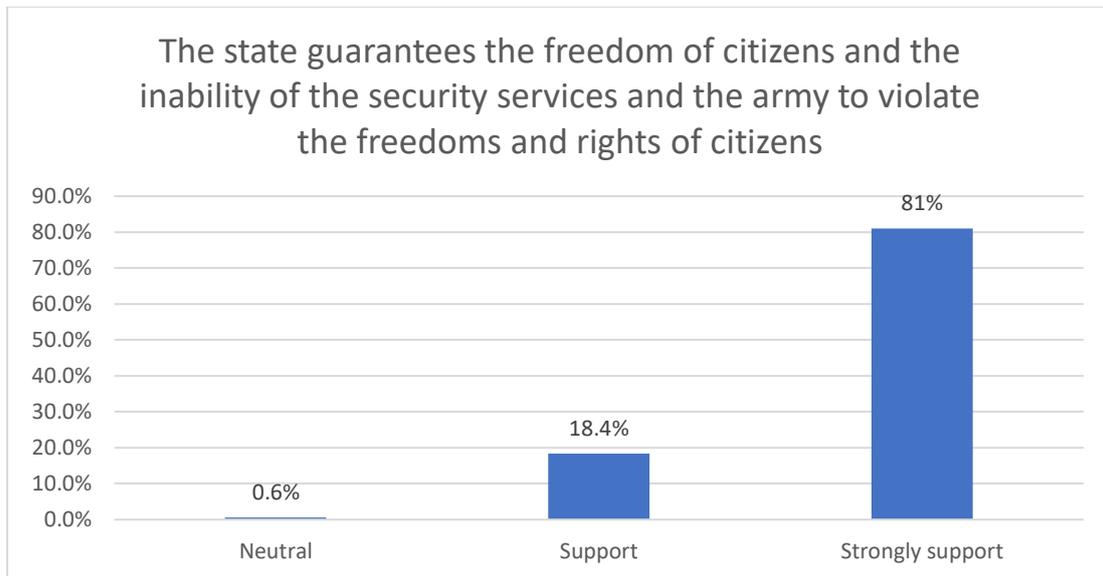
Also, one of the important results that the study showed is that slightly over a third of the participants only agree or strongly agree with making military service and conscription compulsory, and that percentage drops to less than a quarter among the Druze, while it is very low among participants of religions and sects included under the option (OTHER), as the percentage of those who said that they agree or strongly agree with the compulsory conscription was only 9.1%, and in terms of ethnicity the degree of approval for compulsory conscription among the Kurds was also low, as the percentage of those who said that they agree or strongly agree with that is 9.38% and 4.69%, respectively. As for the areas of control, it is perplexing that the participants residing in the areas controlled by the Syrian opposition were the most supportive of compulsory conscription.



It should also be noted that the vast majority of the participants believe that decisions to declare war or participate in military missions outside the borders of the state must be subject to the approval of the People's Assembly.



In a related context, regarding the structure of the army, armed forces and security services and their relationship with citizens, we notice that there is an almost complete consensus among the participants on the necessity of including a text in the constitution that the state guarantees the formation of the army and security forces on national bases far from any sectarian or ethnic character and without excluding any of the components of the Syrian people, the participants also agree with the necessity of limiting the powers and capacities of the security services and the army in a way that guarantees the rights and freedoms of Syrians.



Forming Political Parties and Civil Society Organizations

The phenomenon of multiparty politics is one of the main features that distinguish democratic societies, as many political parties are active in these societies, each adopting its own political program, with the ability of these parties to compete in electoral races in general, such as presidential, local administration or parliamentary elections. There are also civil society organizations active in these societies, which can influence the decisions of the political authorities in the state through their ability to carry out monitoring, mobilization and advocacy work towards public issues of concern to society, and countries differ in regulating the issue of forming parties and civil society organizations, as some countries only require the founders of the party or the organization to notify the competent authorities, while others require obtaining a license to establish the party or the organization, and in Syria, the 1973 Constitution enshrined the one-party principle, stating in its eighth article that “the Arab Socialist Baath Party is the leading party of the society and the state and leads a progressive national front working on unifying the powers of the masses of the people and placing them in the service of the goals of the Arab nation”. This article was amended in the 2012 constitution following the beginning of the protests in Syria, and the principle of political pluralism was stipulated, but the matter fact indicates that the amendment was nothing but a nominal amendment with the continuation of the one-party policy on the ground, and the constitution referred to law to regulate the provisions and procedures for forming political parties, which increases the capacity of the ruling regime to obstruct the formation of political parties due to its control over the People's Assembly and its control over the texts of laws that are issued, and based on the above, we asked the participants about their opinion on what procedures must be followed for the formation of political parties.

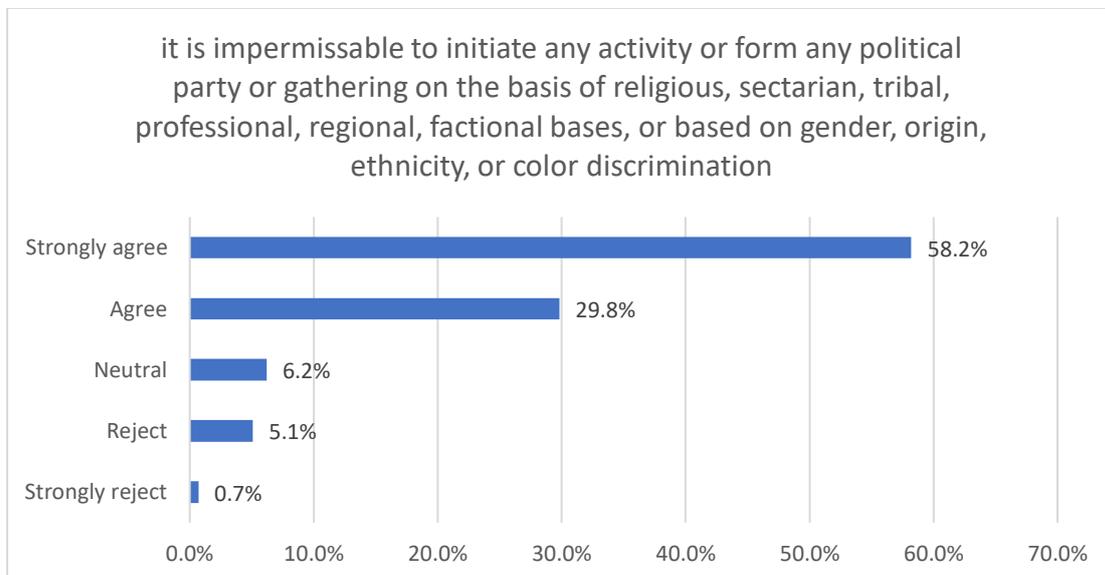
The study showed the participants' tendency to grant individuals a greater degree of freedom in forming political parties, as more than three-quarters of the participants said that they prefer not to suspend the formation of political parties until obtaining the approval of the state's administrative authorities and agencies, and only sufficing with notifying those authorities, provided that the statutes of the parties and their political programs shall not include any violations of the constitution, and the answers of the participants from all religions and sects were close to each other, with a higher degree among the Alawites reaching 85.1%. Likewise, the answers of the participants from all ethnicities and in all areas of control were close and within the framework of the general results of the study. As for the current areas of residence, there were some differences in the opinions of the participants, as shown in the following table:

Individuals are free to form political parties and they should only notify the administrative authorities						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	24%	52.4%	6.8%	13.2%	2.7%	1%
Turkey	26.2%	43.1%	6.2%	1.5%	23.1%	0%
Lebanon	32.1%	46.4%	17.9%	3.6%	0%	0%
Jordan	10%	75%	5%	10%	0%	0%
Iraq	25%	66.7%	8.3%	0%	0%	0%
European Union States	46.5%	33.7%	8.9%	7.9%	1%	2%

On the other hand, we notice that the percentage of respondents' acceptance of referring the issue of organizing the provisions and procedures for forming political parties to the law decreases to less than two-thirds, and the degree of approval for the regulation of provisions and procedures of forming political parties according to the law is higher among the Druze, reaching nearly three-quarters of them, while among the Alawites it drops to the limits of a half. As for the percentage of Christians who said that they agree or strongly agree with this, it was 40.8% and 4.1%, respectively, and the answers of the respondents from the rest of the religions and sects remained within the framework of the general results of the study. In terms of ethnicity, two thirds of the Arabs expressed their acceptance of regulating the provisions and procedures of forming political parties according to the law, while the percentage of participants from the rest of the ethnicities decreased to about a half, and in terms of the current places of residence, the answers of the participants also differed as the participants in Turkey were agreed with this the most:

The law regulates the provisions and procedures for the formation of political parties						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	10.5%	43.6%	16.2%	24.3%	4.1%	1.4%
Turkey	20.6%	60.3%	11.1%	4.8%	3.2%	0%
Lebanon	25%	39.3%	35.7%	0%	0%	0%
Jordan	15%	60%	0%	20%	0%	5%
Iraq	12.5%	54.2%	33.3%	0%	0%	0%
European Union States	20.8%	49.5%	7.9%	18.8%	3%	0%

In general, no matter what are the provisions or procedures that must be followed to form political parties, the vast majority of the study participants expressed their refusal to initiate any activity or form any political party or gathering on the basis of religious, sectarian, tribal, professional, regional, factional bases, or based on gender, origin, ethnicity, or color discrimination.

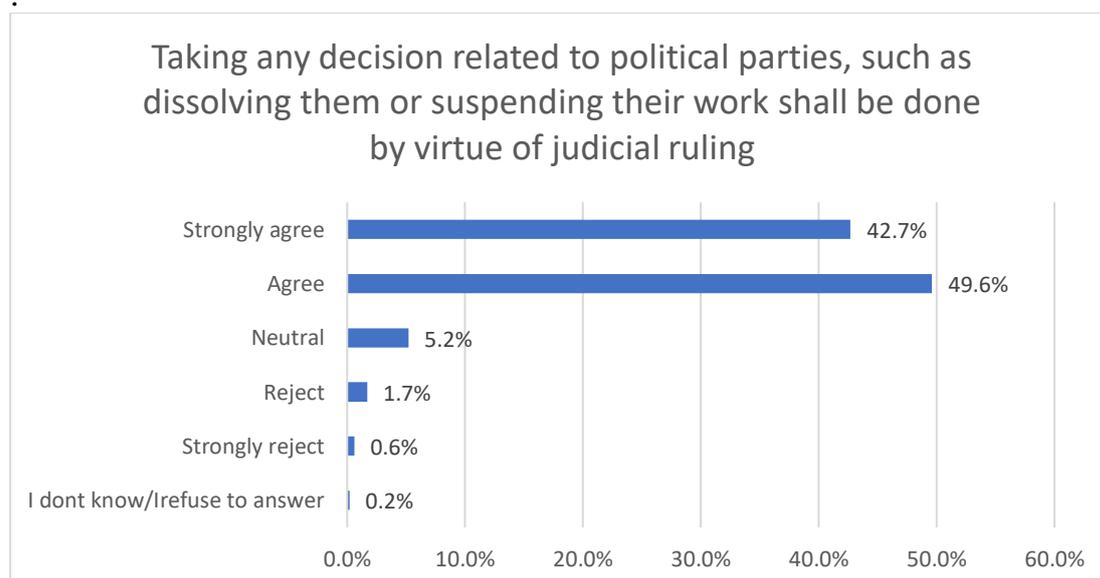


Regarding the role of the parties in monitoring the work of state agencies and institutions, we find that nearly three-quarters of the participants said that they agree or strongly agree to the inclusion of a text within the constitution affirming the right of political parties to monitor the work of state institutions, and that percentage is higher among Alawites, as the percentage of those who said they agree or strongly agree with this was 29.6% and 59.3%, respectively, while that percentage decreased among the Druze to about two-thirds, and in terms of ethnicity, the answers were close among the participants of all ethnicities, and we notice that in terms of the areas of control there is a high degree of approval in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces, as the percentage of those who said that they agree or strongly agree to granting parties the right to monitor the work of state institutions was 89.1%, while that percentage in the

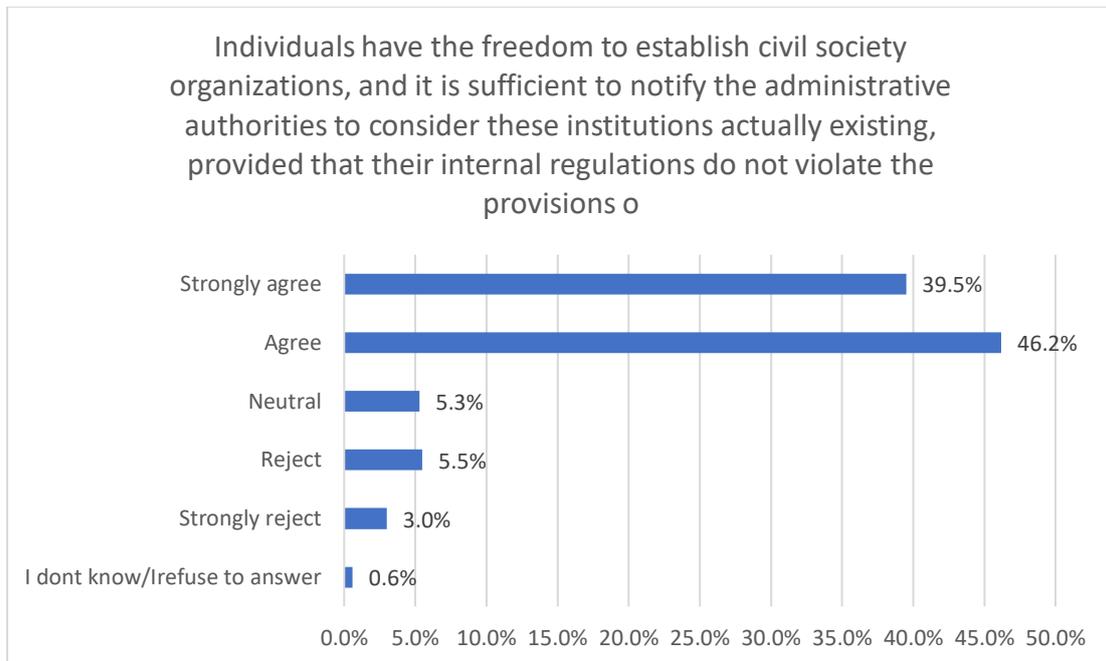
areas controlled by the regime and the opposition was about 70%. As for the current areas of residence, the percentages were as shown in the following table:

The Constitution guarantees the right of political parties to monitor the work of state institutions						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	25.7%	49.7%	11.1%	10.5%	2.4%	0.7%
Turkey	13.8%	47.7%	9.2%	10.8%	15.4%	3.1%
Lebanon	39.3%	46.4%	3.6%	10.7%	0%	0%
Jordan	15%	45%	5%	30%	5%	0%
Iraq	20.8%	62.5%	12.5%	4.2%	0%	0%
European Union States	44.6%	35.6%	7.9%	10.9%	1%	0%

Finally, and in order to enable political parties to carry out their political activities and their role in monitoring the work of state agencies, institutions and authorities freely, and to prevent the arbitrariness of the administrative authorities, the vast majority of the study participants indicated their support for restricting any decision related to political parties, such as dissolving them or suspending their work with the judicial authority and according to a court ruling.



As for the civil society organizations, such as unions, associations, organizations, and other institutions, the degree of the participants' approval of granting individuals the freedom to establish them was high, with sufficing with notifying the administrative authorities only to consider these organizations as existing, as the percentage of those who said that they agree or strongly agree to this reached 46.1% and 39.3%, respectively, and that is certainly provided that their statutes do not contradict the provisions of the constitution.



The percentage of those who said that they agree or strongly agree on that the procedures for forming civil society organizations to be regulated by law has decreased to about two thirds (which means that the legislator can set conditions for forming unions, societies or organizations), and this percentage rises to three quarters among the Druze and participants from the religions and sects included under the option (OTHER). As for ethnicity and areas of control, the answers of all participants were close, and in terms of place of residence, we notice an increase in the degree of approval among the participants in Lebanon, Iraq and Turkey, followed by the participants in Jordan and the European Union states, while that percentage decreased among participants inside Syria:

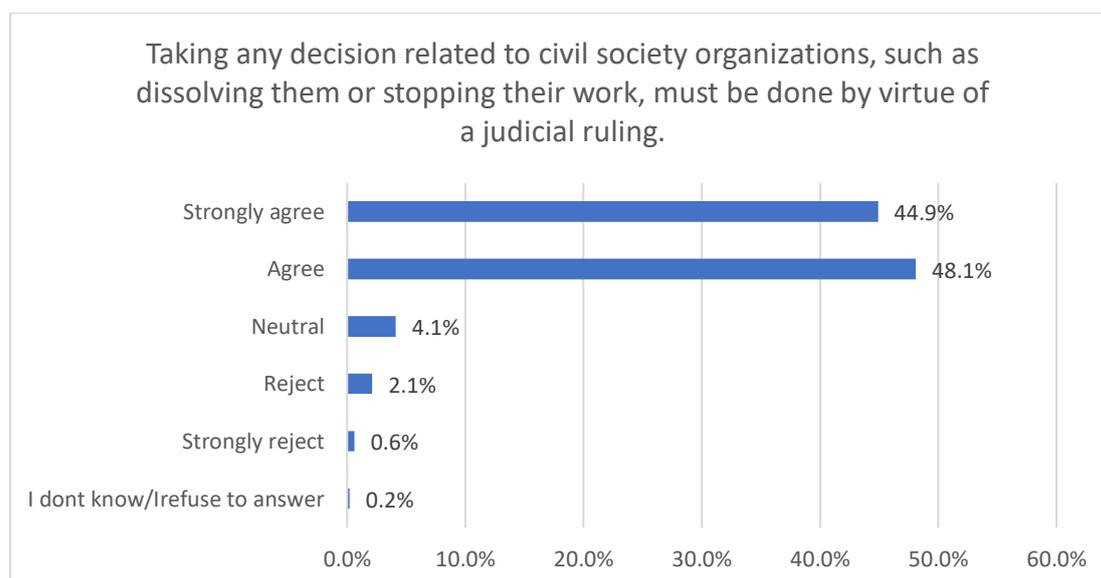
The law regulates the provisions and procedures for the formation of civil society organizations						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	9.5%	47%	10.1%	22.6%	10.1%	0.7%
Turkey	23.1%	61.5%	10.8%	4.6%	0%	0%
Lebanon	42.9%	46.4%	10.7%	0%	0%	0%
Jordan	10%	65%	0%	20%	5%	0%
Iraq	16.7%	70.8%	8.3%	4.2%	0%	0%
European Union States	27.7%	45.5%	11.9%	14.9%	0%	0%

Regarding the participants' acceptance of granting civil society organizations the right to monitor the work of state institutions, the percentage of those who said that they agree or strongly agree with that is 46.4% and 34.3%, respectively, and that percentage is close among participants of all religions and sects with a higher percentage of more than 90% among Alawites and Druze, and in terms of areas of control, the percentage increased to about 95% among the participants in the

areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces, while it remained within the limits of 80% in both the regime and opposition controlled areas. In terms of the current places of residence, this percentage includes all respondents in Lebanon and gradually decrease in other countries:

The Constitution guarantees the right of civil society institutions to control the work of state institutions						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	34.8%	48%	9.1%	6.1%	1%	1%
Turkey	13.8%	52.3%	4.6%	6.2%	21.5%	1.5%
Lebanon	39.3%	60.7%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Jordan	5%	60%	15%	20%	0%	0%
Iraq	29.2%	58.3%	12.5%	0%	0%	0%
European Union States	51.5%	28.7%	5%	14.9%	0%	0%

Finally, the vast majority of participants expressed their support for the constitution to stipulate that any decision related to civil society organizations, such as dissolving them, suspending or stopping their work, must be issued by virtue of a court ruling.



Personal Properties in the Constitution

All laws, customs, charters and international treaties enshrine the right to ownership as one of the main rights related to the personality of the individual, who may not be stripped or deprived of it no matter what, unless there is a justification for this². All Syrian constitutions have also emphasized referring to the right to ownership as a right that cannot be dispossessed or confiscated except for the public benefit and in return for fair compensation³, and despite the emphasis within the Syrian constitution on protecting individual property and that it is not permissible to expropriate it except for the public benefit and in exchange for fair compensation, however, the Syrian regime has issued many laws during the years of the conflict that directly or indirectly involve violating the rights of individuals and their property without being able to demand fair compensation or equal to the value of the real property⁴. In general, these laws are considered to be aimed to punish for opposing the Assad Regime. Given the importance of the personal property, the study participants were asked about their opinion regarding the inclusion of a text in the Syrian constitution permitting the expropriation of individuals for the public benefit and in exchange for fair compensation, in addition to stipulating the cancellation of the laws that include violating the rights of Syrians were and enabling them to regain their property.

In general, nearly half of the study participants agree or strongly agree with the inclusion of a text in the constitution permitting the expropriation of individual property (for public benefit and in exchange for a fair compensation), provided that the cases that justify expropriation are exclusively defined within the constitution, and it is noticeable that there is a convergence between the answers of respondents from all religions, sects and ethnicities. As for the areas of control, the degree of support among the participants decreased to the limits of a quarter while in the areas controlled by the regime and the Syrian opposition it remained within the framework of the general results of the study. As for the current places of residence, the degree of support increased significantly in Iraq, while it was the lowest in Syria:

² Article 17 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights stipulates that everyone has the right to own property alone or in association with others, and no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

³ The Syrian constitution of 1950 stipulated that personal property is safeguarded, and the law defines how it is acquired and disposed of. It also stipulated that it is not permissible to expropriate it except for the purpose of public benefit and for a fair compensation.

The Syrian Constitution of 2012 has also stipulates in Article 15 that public confiscation of funds is prohibited and that personal property shall not be expropriated except for the public benefit by virtue of a decree and in exchange for a fair compensation, and that compensation must be equivalent to the real value of the property.

⁴ Among the most prominent of these laws are Law No. 10 of 2018 and Terrorism Laws No. 19 and 22 of 2012.

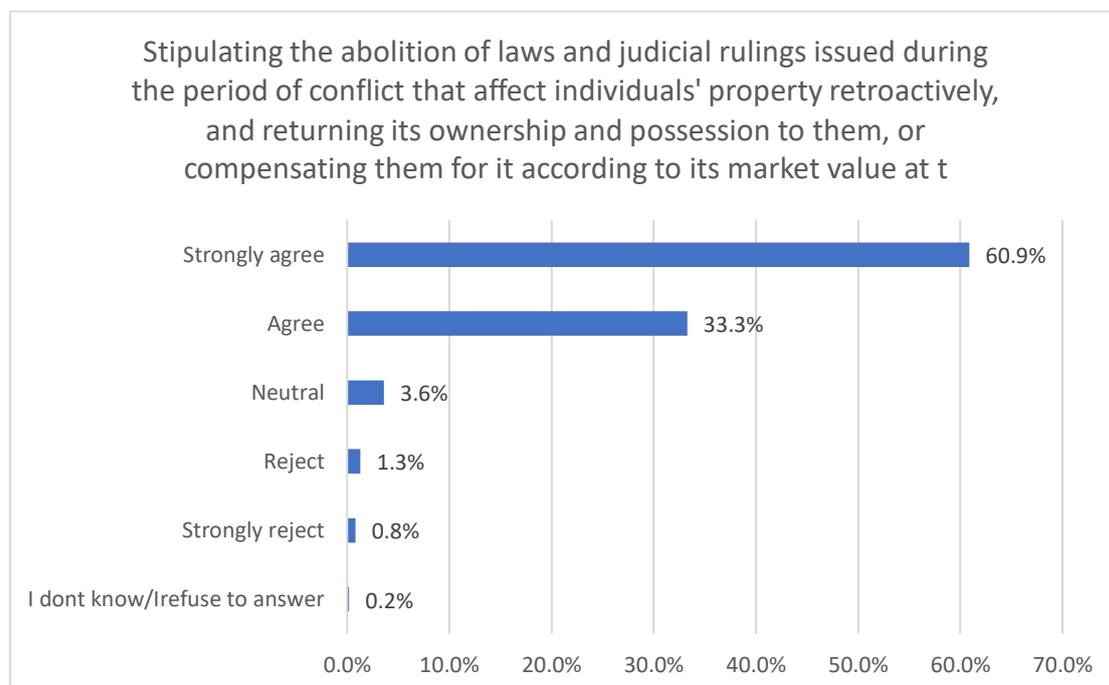
Personal property may be expropriated for the public benefit in exchange for fair compensation, with stipulating the cases of expropriation in the constitution exclusively.						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	2.4%	36.1%	11.5%	31.8%	16.6%	1.7%
Turkey	12.3%	56.9%	6.2%	13.8%	10.8%	0%
Lebanon	35.7%	32.1%	3.6%	17.9%	10.7%	0%
Jordan	0%	30%	25%	35%	10%	0%
Iraq	37.5%	54.2%	0%	8.3%	0%	0%
European Union States	7.9%	45.5%	13.9%	23.8%	8.9%	0%

On the other hand, we also find that nearly half of the study participants also agree on stipulating within the constitution that private property may be expropriated (for public benefit and in exchange for fair compensation) and that the expropriation be decided by virtue of a decree in accordance with the provisions of the law, and we notice here that the degree of approval for this proposal decreases to the limits of a third among the Kurds, and it also decreases to the limits of a third in all areas of control inside Syria, while in terms of areas of residence, it is higher in Turkey and Iraq and gradually decreases in other regions, as shown in the following table:

Expropriation of a personal property may be done for the public benefit and in exchange for a fair compensation by virtue of a decree in accordance with the provisions of the law						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	2.4%	35.5%	17.6%	28.7%	13.9%	2%
Turkey	20%	61.5%	7.7%	3.1%	7.7%	0%
Lebanon	0%	46.4%	32.1%	17.9%	3.6%	0%
Jordan	5%	50%	10%	25%	10%	0%
Iraq	16.7%	54.2%	29.2%	0%	0%	0%
European Union States	7.9%	35.6%	15.8%	27.7%	12.9%	0%

The aforementioned results show that there are many participants (as is the case in Turkey and Iraq) who accept both texts which suggest expropriation of individual ownership for public benefit and in exchange for a fair compensation, whether the expropriation cases are exclusively determined within the constitution or is done by a decree in accordance with the provisions of the law. On the other hand, we also find that there are some participants (as is the case in Syria) who refuse to stipulate the permissibility of expropriation at all, whether in accordance with the provisions of the constitution or by virtue of a decree in accordance with the provisions of the law. In general, no matter what the opinions of the participants are about the permissibility of expropriating individual property, there is an almost complete consensus among them on the need to stipulate within the constitution the right of displaced persons and

refugees to return to their areas of origin and for the state to create the necessary conditions for this while enabling the displaced and refugees to recover their property and compensate them for the damages they have suffered, also, the absolute majority of them believe that it is necessary to stipulate the abolition of the various laws and judicial rulings that were issued during the period of conflict that (arbitrarily) affect the property of individuals, and that this abolition takes place retroactively in a way that enables those whose property has been confiscated or seized to regain their ownership and possession or compensate them for it according to its market value in the event that it cannot be returned to them.



Women in the Constitution

Syria ratified its accession to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 2002, but it made fifteen reservations on some articles and paragraphs of the Convention, and among the most prominent of those reservations was the reservation to Article 2 of the Convention, which addresses to denouncing all forms of discrimination against women and the adoption of the principle of equality between men and women in legislation, and the adoption of appropriate measures to ensure this, and reservations has also included Article 9 of the Convention, which states that party states grant women an equal right to that of men with regard to the nationality of her children, and the effects of these reservations appear in many legal and constitutional texts in Syria, the Syrian law did not give women the right to pass on her nationality to her children, and the stipulation in the constitution on the state's duty to support women and enable them to participate in all political, economic, social and cultural sectors was general and did not clearly show the

extent of the state's commitment to women⁵. Many of the civil society bodies and organizations concerned with women's affairs and defending their rights call for achieving equality between men and women in various sectors of life. They also believe that it is necessary to amend laws in Syria in a form that takes into account achieving that equality, and to identify the opinion of the participants about women's rights and their role within society, they were asked during the study about their position on allocating a percentage or a minimum number of seats for women in elected bodies and other public positions or working to achieve complete equality between men and women, or leaving the matter dependent on competence and experience without stipulating a specific percentage to be allocated for women. Participants were also asked about their opinion on allowing Syrian women to pass their nationality to their children.

About two-thirds of the study participants indicated that they agree or strongly agree with the allocation of a specified percentage or minimum number of seats for women in elected bodies, public offices, or other sectors of life, and about three-quarters of the female participants support that option, while half of the male participants said that they agree or strongly agree with that, and the degree of support among the Druze and Alawite participants rises to three-quarters of them, and remains below two-thirds among Sunnis, Christians, and participants from religions and sects included under the option (OTHER). In terms of ethnicity, the vast majority of the Kurds expressed their support for this, while the percentage remained less than two-thirds for participants from the rest of the ethnicities. As for the areas of control, the participants residing in the regime-controlled areas were the most supportive of allocating a minimum number of seats and vacancies for women, at a percentage of three quarters of them, followed by those residing in the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces at a percentage of more than two-thirds of them, but in the areas of the Syrian opposition, the percentage of those who answered that they agree or strongly agree is 20.3% for each of them, and the degree of support for that option varies among the participants according to their place of residence, as it is high in Iraq, Jordan, and Lebanon, and decreases in Syria, Turkey and the European Union states.

⁵ Article 45 of the 1973 Constitution stipulated the following: "The state guarantees women all opportunities that allow them to fully and effectively participate in political, social and cultural life, and works to remove restrictions that prevent their development and participation in building the Arab socialist society."

Article 23 of the 2012 Constitution stipulates the following: "The state provides women with all opportunities that allow them to fully and effectively participate in political, social and cultural life, and works to remove restrictions that prevent their development and participation in building society."

Allocation of a certain percentage or minimum number of seats for women						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	31.1%	32.1%	9.1%	20.3%	6.8%	0.7%
Turkey	33.8%	30.8%	20%	13.8%	1.5%	0%
Lebanon	35.7%	39.3%	14.3%	10.7%	0%	0%
Jordan	30%	45%	10%	10%	5%	0%
Iraq	50%	37.5%	12.5%	0%	0%	0%
European Union States	24.8%	22.8%	10.9%	33.7%	7.9%	0%

On the other hand, less than two-thirds of the participants also said that they accept that no percentage or minimum number of seats be allocated for women and that competence, experience or elections are the main criterion for assuming public positions or seats in elected bodies without discrimination between men and women, and two-thirds of the female study participants support this option in addition to half of the male participants, while the answers of the participants from all ethnicities were converging. As for religion, this option gained the support of about two-thirds of the Sunnis, while that percentage was about half among all non-Sunni participants. In terms of place of residence, the degree of support for this option significantly increased among participants in Turkey, followed by Jordan, and then decreased among participants in other regions.

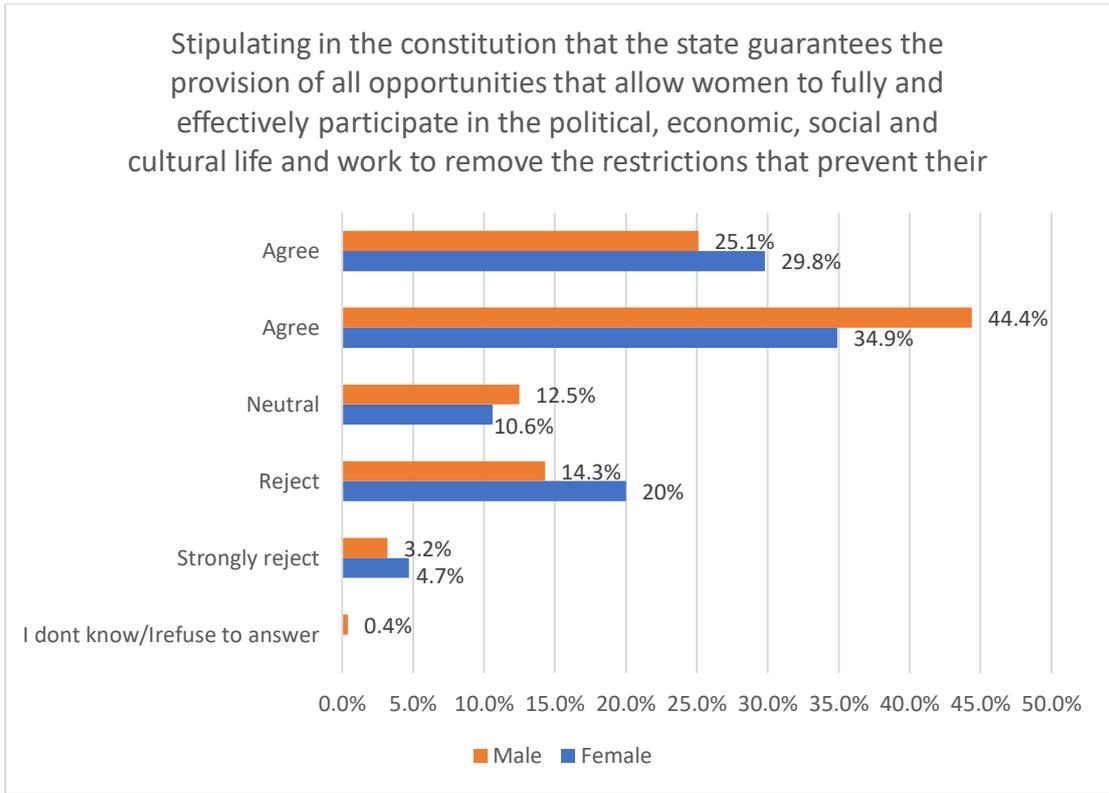
considering efficiency and elections as the criterion for assuming public office or seats in elected bodies without discrimination between men and women						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	15.5%	39.5%	11.5%	29.4%	4.1%	0%
Turkey	38.5%	41.5%	6.2%	9.2%	4.6%	0%
Lebanon	0%	64.3%	25%	10.7%	0%	0%
Jordan	40%	30%	10%	20%	0%	0%
Iraq	12.5%	50%	20.8%	16.7%	0%	0%
European Union States	26.7%	27.7%	14.9%	26.7%	3%	1%

As for the most accepted proposals related to the role of women and their rights, it was stipulated in the constitution that the state guarantees complete equality between men and women in all civil, political, social and economic rights, as the vast majority of respondents expressed their support for this (32% strongly agree and 49.8% agree). It is worth noting that this proposal is accepted by the vast majority of the female participants and nearly three quarters of the male participants. As for religion or sect, the vast majority of participants from all religions and sects said that they agree or strongly agree with that, except for the Sunnis, where degree of their approval is low remaining at about three quarters,

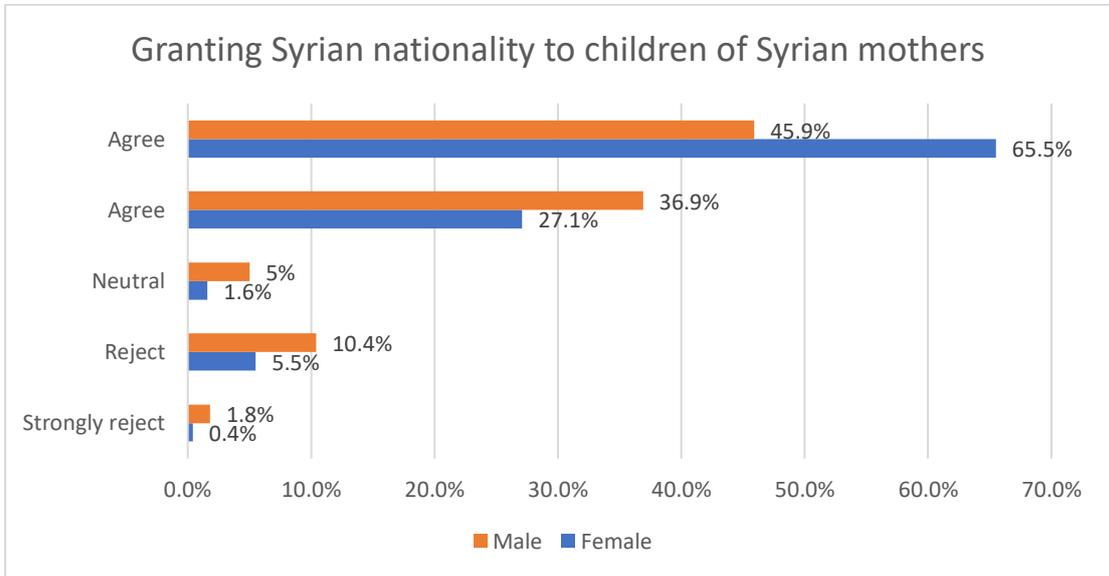
but in terms of place of residence, the degree of support is significantly higher among participants in the European Union states and Turkey.

The Constitution stipulates that the State guarantees full equality between men and women in all civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	44.6%	36.1%	6.4%	10.8%	2%	0%
Turkey	67.7%	18.5%	4.6%	7.7%	1.5%	0%
Lebanon	39.3%	42.9%	10.7%	7.1%	0%	0%
Jordan	25%	25%	15%	20%	0%	15%
Iraq	16.7%	54.2%	25%	4.2%	0%	0%
European Union States	69.3%	21.8%	4%	4%	1%	0%

It should be noted that about two-thirds of the study participants expressed their acceptance of retaining the same text contained in Article 23 of the 2012 Constitution, which stipulates that the state guarantees the provision of all opportunities that allow women to fully and effectively participate in the political, economic, social and cultural life and work to remove the restrictions that prevent their development and their participation in society, noting that the degree of approval in this case drops to less than two-thirds among the female participants, while it is higher among the male participants, which may be due to the fact that the female participants generally prefer to include a text in the constitution that clearly defines the state's responsibility and obligations towards women, but at the same time they, they accept any text that may guarantee their rights at a minimum level.



Finally, the vast majority of the study participants said that they agree or strongly agree that the constitution stipulates the right of women to pass Syrian nationality to their children (55.2% strongly agree and 32.2% agree to that). The degree of approval to allowing Syrian women to pass their nationality to their children is convergent among participants in each of the areas controlled by the Syrian regime and the Syrian Democratic Forces according to the vast majority of them, while it decreases to about two-thirds in the areas controlled by the Syrian opposition, and it increases among females compared to males.



Nationality in the constitution

States' constitutions differ in regulating issues related to the nationality of the state, whether in terms of acquiring that nationality or in terms of withdrawing it and the possibility of stripping citizens of it, as some constitutions explicitly stipulate the criteria for acquiring or revoking a nationality, and some constitutions absolutely prohibit the withdrawal or revocation of citizenship, as is the case in the Tunisian constitution⁶, while some constitutions refer regulating nationality issues to the law, as is the case in the Syrian constitution, and given the importance of the issue of revoking citizenship and stripping citizens of it, during the study we asked the participants about their opinions on several hypotheses related to that issue, and these hypotheses are as follows :

- A- The impermissibility to withdraw or revoke the nationality.
- B- The possibility of revoking or forfeiting nationality, provided that the constitution exclusively specifies cases of withdrawal and revocation.
- C- The possibility of revoking or forfeiting nationality, and it is referred to the law to determine cases of withdrawal and forfeiture.
- D- Stipulation returning the Syrian nationality to those who were stripped of it.
- E- Granting Syrian nationality to all Syrians who were unable to obtain it for any reason after confirming their eligibility for it.

With regard to the first hypothesis, which is the necessity of stipulating that it is impermissible to withdraw or revoke Syrian nationality for any reason, about three-quarters of the study participants expressed their support for this, and that percentage is higher among Christians reaching 85.8% and among participants from religions and sects included under the option (OTHER), as it reached 90.9%, the degree of approval is also high among the Kurds, according to what the vast majority of them expressed. As for the areas of control, the degree of approval in the opposition areas decreased to about a half, while it was higher in both areas controlled by the Syrian regime and areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces to include the majority of participants within those areas, and as for the distribution of the answers in terms of the current areas of residence of the participants, they are as shown in the following table:

⁶ The Tunisian constitution states, in Article 25 of Chapter Two related to rights and freedoms, that: "It is forbidden to withdraw Tunisian nationality from any citizen, to expatriate him, to extradite him, or to prevent him from returning to the homeland".

The Constitution stipulates that citizenship cannot be withdrawn or revoked						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	34.5%	37.8%	6.4%	18.9%	2%	0.3%
Turkey	61.5%	20%	3.1%	13.8%	1.5%	0%
Lebanon	42.9%	32.1%	14.3%	10.7%	0%	0%
Jordan	35%	40%	10%	15%	0%	0%
Iraq	58.3%	25%	0%	16.7%	0%	0%
European Union States	64.4%	17.8%	6.9%	10.9%	0%	0%

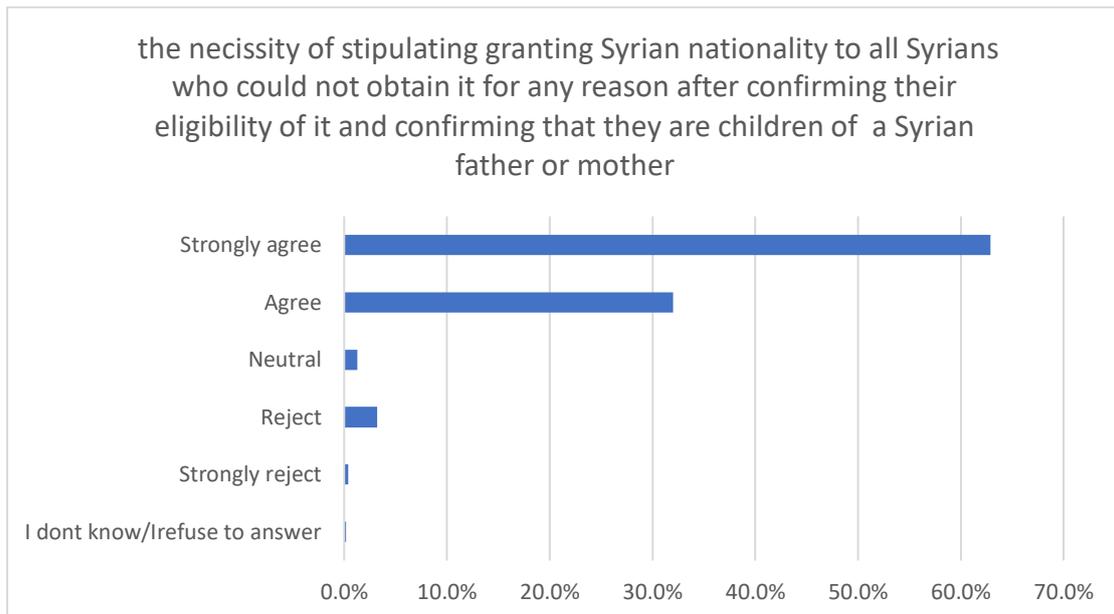
On the other hand, the percentage of those who agree or strongly agree with the permissibility of withdrawing or revoking nationality even if the cases that justify this are determined within the constitution has decreased to less than half, and the answers of the participants in terms of religion or sect remained within the framework of the general results for all religions and sects with a higher degree reaching more than half among the Druze. As for ethnicity, the degree of approval among Arabs remained within the framework of the general results of the study, while among the Kurds it decreased to about a quarter, and increased to more than half among the participants of the ethnicities included under the option (OTHER). In terms of the place of residence, the degree of approval was higher in both Turkey and Iraq:

Nationality may be withdrawn or revoked in specific cases, provided that these cases be exclusively determined in the Constitution						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	10.5%	33.1%	12.5%	31.8%	10.1%	2%
Turkey	36.9%	33.8%	3.1%	15.4%	9.2%	1.5%
Lebanon	3.6%	39.3%	25%	25%	7.1%	0%
Jordan	25%	25%	0%	45%	5%	0%
Iraq	16.7%	41.7%	20.8%	20.8%	0%	0%
European Union States	7.9%	24.8%	8.9%	26.7%	31.7%	0%

The percentage of those who said they agree or strongly agree that the constitution stipulates the permissibility of revoking or forfeiting nationality with referring the regulation of these issues to the law was also low reaching about a third. The answers of the participants from the Sunnis, Christians and Druze were converging and within the framework of the general results of the study. As for the Alawites and the participants from the religions and sects included under the option (OTHER), the degree of their approval decreased to about a quarter, and the degree of approval of the Kurds is also low at about a quarter. As for the answers in terms of the current place of residence, they were as shown in the table below:

Nationality may be withdrawn or revoked and it is up to the law to determine the cases of withdrawal and revoking						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Reject	Strongly reject	I don't know, I refuse to answer.
Syria	3%	26.4%	14.5%	40.9%	13.2%	2%
Turkey	41.5%	26.2%	6.2%	12.3%	13.8%	0%
Lebanon	3.6%	21.4%	35.7%	28.6%	10.7%	0%
Jordan	0%	20%	5%	70%	5%	0%
Iraq	16.7%	50%	16.7%	4.2%	12.5%	0%
European Union States	2%	22.8%	6.9%	35.6%	32.7%	0%

Regarding returning the Syrian nationality to those who were previously stripped of it, the results of the study showed that 48.1% strongly agree with that, and 36% said that they agree, and the results of the study showed that the absolute majority of the participants support stipulating in the constitution to grant Syrian nationality to all Syrians who could not obtain it for any reason, such as children of people who have not registered their marriage and or their children at the official government departments of the Syrian regime, after confirming their eligibility to obtain nationality and that they are from a Syrian father or mother, here, the support of participants for granting Syrian nationality to the children of Syrian women is noticeable again.



Recommendations

Based on the results of the study, and based on the opinions of the participants, members of the Constitutional Committee are advised to:

- 1- Avoid including a text in the constitution that defines the shape of the state's flag and refer this to the first parliament elected in accordance with the new constitution of Syria.
- 2- Stipulating in the constitution that arrested persons shall not be detained by the administrative authorities for more than a specified period, and that they must be referred to the judicial authorities, regardless of the reasons of their arrest.
- 3- Stipulating in the constitution that it is impermissible to form exceptional courts, or to exclusively specify the cases in which such courts may be established within the constitution.
- 4- Stipulating that civilians may not be tried before military courts.
- 5- Stipulating in the constitution that it is impermissible to interpret, explain or employ any of its provisions in a manner that leads directly or indirectly to violating any of the human rights stipulated in the constitution.
- 6- Adopting official languages in addition to Arabic at local levels at least.
- 7- Limiting the broad powers granted to the President of the Republic, which empty the principle of separation of authorities from its content.
- 8- Adopting a decentralized administrative system or granting local bodies and authorities more powers at least.
- 9- Adopting a unified educational curriculum taught in all Syrian regions, while granting the local authorities in the regions the authority to adopt additional linguistic and literary materials that are compatible with the linguistic composition of the majority of the population within those regions.
- 10- Preventing officers, noncommissioned officers, and members of the military institution from running for or assuming political positions except after a period of time has elapsed since their retirement or resignation, which shall be specified in the constitution.
- 11- Limiting the powers of the security services and providing real guarantees that guarantee the inability of these services or agencies to violate the rights and freedoms of citizens.
- 12- Providing real guarantees in the constitution that guarantee the right of political parties and civil society institutions to monitor the work of state institutions.
- 13- Emphasizing the right of all Syrians, especially the displaced and refugees, to return to their original areas, recover their personal property, and compensate them for damages caused to that property.
- 14- Stipulating the right of Syrian women to pass their nationality to their children.
- 15- Stipulating granting Syrian nationality to all Syrians who could not obtain it for any reason.

Survey

General Information Section:

- 1- Age: Male
A. Female
- 2- Educational level
A. Secondary
B. Institute
C. University
D. Higher studies
- 3- If the answer is university or postgraduate what is the major (specialization)?
A. Law
B. Political science
C. Trade and economy
D. Literature and humanities
E. Engineering
F. Pharmacy
G. Medicine
H. Education and psychology
I. Other (please specify)
- 4- Current job:
A. Jurist (including lawyers, judges and prosecutors.... etc.)
B. Employee of a humanitarian organization (provided that his work is related to legal affairs)
C. Government employee
D. Political activist
E. Employee at a study center
F. Businessman
G. Human Rights Activist
H. Media activist
I. Member of a local council
J. Other (please specify)
- 5- Which of the following phrases describes your family's economic situation (alert for the data collector: by basic needs we mean expenses of shelter, food, drink, medicine, education, and clothing)
A. We can't afford basic needs of the family.
B. We can barely secure the basic needs of the family.
C. We can secure the basic needs of the family.
D. We can secure the basic needs of the family and spend on some luxuries
E. We can buy everything we want.

6- The original governorate of the respondent:

- A. Damascus
- B. Damascus Countryside
- C. Aleppo
- D. Hama
- E. Homs
- F. Idlib
- G. Latakia
- H. Tartus
- I. Dara'a
- J. Sweida
- K. Quneitra
- L. Deir ez-Zur
- M. Al Hasaka
- N. Al Raqqah

7- Religion/ Sect:

- A. Sunni
- B. Alawite
- C. Shiite
- D. Christian
- E. Druze
- F. Ismaili
- G. Azidi
- H. No answer.
- I. Other (please specify)

8- Ethnicity (nationalism):

- A. Arab
- B. Kurd
- C. Turkmen
- D. Circassian
- E. Assyrian
- F. Armenian
- G. Syriac
- H. Chechen
- I. No answer.
- J. Other (please specify)

9- Current place of residence:

- A. Syria
- B. Lebanon
- C. Jordan
- D. Iraqi Kurdistan
- E. Turkey
- F. European Union countries

10-If the answer is Syria, what province do you currently reside in?

- A. Damascus
- B. Damascus Countryside
- C. Aleppo
- D. Hama
- E. Homs
- F. Idlib
- G. Latakia
- H. Tartus
- I. Dara'a
- J. Sweida
- K. Quneitra
- L. Deir ez-Zur
- M. Al Hasaka
- N. Al Raqqah

11-If you live in Syria, who controls the area where you live?

- A. Syrian Government
- B. Syrian Opposition
- C. Syrian Democratic Forces
- D. Other (please specify)

12-If the answer is European Union countries, which country do you reside in

- A. Germany
- B. France
- C. Netherlands
- D. Sweden

Questions:

First - To what extent do you support the inclusion of each of the following principles and values within the basic principles of the Constitution:

	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Don't support	Don't support it at all	Refuse to answer/ Don't know.
Emphasizing the principle of the citizen's dignity						
Emphasizing the principle of citizen's freedom						

Emphasizing the principle of the supremacy of the constitution						
Emphasizing the principle of the rule of law						
Emphasizing the principle of citizenship while accepting the existence of some exceptions (as is the case for the legal text that stipulates the religion or gender of the head of state) (for the data collector, the principle of citizenship means that all citizens are equal before the law in terms of rights and duties regardless of their ethnic, religious or gender affiliation)						
Emphasizing the absolute principle of citizenship without any exception and canceling any provision or term that states otherwise						

Second - With regard to the flag of the state, what is the position regarding the following:

	A main demand I don't accept to waive.	I want it, but it can be dispensed with to reach a solution.	Neutral	I don't want it, but it can be accepted to reach a solution.	It's totally unacceptable.	I don't know/ I refuse to answer.
Adopting the Flag of Independence and the Constitution of 1950 (three red stars in the middle with green at the top and black at the bottom)						
Adopting the 2012 Constitution Flag (two stars in the middle with red at the top and black at the bottom)						

To what extent do you agree with each of the following options:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	I don't know/ I refuse to answer.
Adopting new flag for Syria						

I prefer leaving the matter of the flag to the first Syrian parliament elected in accordance with the new constitution.						
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Third – Regarding the **Name of the State**, several names were used in the previous constitutions, as in the 1950 Constitution, the name of the state was **The Syrian Republic**, which was later amended to the Syrian Arab Republic, which of the following names do you consider acceptable? (you may choose multiple options):

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	I don't know/ I refuse to answer.
Syrian Arab Republic						
Syrian Republic						
Do you consider it acceptable for the name of the state to be the Syrian Republic, with a subsequent constitutional text indicating that Syria is a founding member of the Arab League and is proud of its Arab civilization, which has been enriched by all of the components of the Syrian people?						

Fourth - With regard to the **official language of the State and other local languages**, to what extent do you agree with each of the following terms:⁷

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	I don't know/ I refuse to answer.
Arabic is the only official language at the state level and the regional levels.						
Additional languages can be adopted with Arabic as official languages at the state level.						
Arabic is the official language of the state , with the possibility of adopting other official languages with the official language of the state at the regional level (i.e. those languages are not official in all of the regions of the state, but in specific						

⁷ The Syrian Constitution of 2012 in the first article of the first chapter of the first section has emphasized the Arab identity of the Syrian Republic by naming it The Syrian Arab Republic and by stating that Syria is a part of the Arab World and that the people in Syria are part of the Arab nation, and it has also stated in Article 4 of the same Chapter that Arabic is the official language of the state. Likewise, the amended Egyptian constitution of 2019 in the first article of its first chapter has emphasized the Arab identity of the Republic of Egypt by naming it The Arab Republic of Egypt and by stating that the Egyptian people are part of the Arab nation, and the second article of the same chapter states that Arabic is the official language. As for the Tunisian Constitution of 2014, it sufficed with the name of The Republic of Tunisia, and stated that Arabic is the language of the state and did not mention that the state is considered a part of the Arab World, but rather a part of The Arab Maghreb as stated in the fifth chapter of the first section.

geographical areas in addition to the official language of the state) in the sectors of education, culture, media and all local public services matters.						
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Fifth - With regard to religions and beliefs, to what extent do you agree with the following phrases:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	I don't know/ I refuse to answer.
Constitution stipulates that the religion of the state is Islam						
Constitution stipulates that the religion of the president of the state is Islam						
Islamic jurisprudence is the only source of legislation						
Islamic jurisprudence is a main source of legislation and other sources include comparative legislations, judicial innovation and						

principles of justice						
Islamic jurisprudence is one of the sources of legislation						
Islamic jurisprudence is not a source of legislation						
Stipulating the respect for all religions and the freedom to practice religious rites						
Deriving laws and provisions from the international norms and charters and human rights laws, and no legislation shall include any text that contradicts the international laws						
No text of the constitutional texts shall be interpreted or used in a manner that may directly or indirectly lead to violating any of the human rights stipulated by the constitution						

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

- Islamic jurisprudence
- International charters, norms and human rights laws
- I don't have a certain opinion

Sixth - Regarding personal status matters, to what extent do you support each of the following:

	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Don't support	Don't support it at all	Refuse to answer/ Don't know.
A civil law (its provisions are not derived from Sharia) must be applied on all matters related to personal status (marriage - divorce - inheritance... etc.)						
applying Sharia's provisions to personal status matters						
Applying both systems (civil and Sharia) to personal status matters, with granting individuals the ability to choose one of them						

Seventh - With regard to transitional justice, to what extent do you support each of the following phrases:

	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Don't support	Don't support it at all	Refuse to answer/ Don't know.

<p>The constitution should stipulate that the state guarantees compensation for victims of human rights violations and that people who committed these violations are held accountable.</p>						
<p>The constitution should stipulate that the state shall guarantee holding people who are responsible for human rights violations accountable</p>						
<p>Preventing any person who has committed or participated in human rights violations from assuming public positions or roles within the state</p>						
<p>The state shall work continuously to develop the structure of its institutions and adopt modern management systems</p>						
<p>The state guarantees forming the security forces and the army on national foundations,</p>						

without any sectarian or ethnic character, and without excluding any component of the Syrian society.						
The state guarantees the freedom of citizens and the inability of the security forces and the army to violate the freedoms and rights of citizens						
Emphasizing Syrians' freedom of movement and the right of refugees and IDPs to return to their original areas, and creating appropriate conditions for it						

Eighth - With regard to the form of the regime, to what extent do you support the adoption of the following regime types:

	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Don't support	Don't support it at all	Refuse to answer/ Don't know.
Presidential governance (which is based on the complete separation of authorities, whereas the executive authority is independent from the legislative authority, and the executive						

<p>authority is concentrated in the hands of a president elected by the people and the ministers are responsible to him)</p>						
<p>A parliamentary governance (based on a balance and a flexible separation between legislative, judicial and executive authorities), the powers of the President of the Republic are symbolic protocols, and the majority of the executive powers are vested to the Prime Minister and his government combined.</p>						
<p>A mixed system (presidential/parliamentary) which achieves a balanced separation of powers (legislative, judicial and executive), and distributes the powers of the executive authority, in which the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister are partners in managing the affairs of the state, and this system differs from the parliamentary system, as the President of the Republic is elected by the people by direct general suffrage, and differs from the presidential system that the prime minister is accountable to parliament and can be</p>						

held accountable and discharged.						
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Ninth - With regard to the form of the administrative system in the State, to what extent do you support the following phrases:

	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Don't support	Don't support it at all	Refuse to answer/ Don't know.
Adoption of federalism in Syria						
Adoption of a central administrative system (in which powers are concentrated in the hands of the central authority in the capital)						
Adopting an expanded, decentralized administrative system (based on granting powers to local or regional authorities)						

To what extent do you support granting local authorities the following powers:

	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Don't support	Don't support it at all	Refuse to answer/ Don't know.
The power to invest natural resources within their regions						

The power to impose and collect taxes						
The power to spend from its local resources and allocations from the state budget						
The validity of local legislation in accordance with the constitution and state laws						
Judiciary: appointing judges and discharging them in accordance with the constitution and state laws and in accordance with the independence of the judiciary						
Forming police forces and security forces						
The governor and the local administration council are elected by direct general suffrage.						

With regard to education, to what extent do you agree with each of the following terms

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	I don't know/ I refuse to answer.
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<p>A specific educational curriculum can be adopted in each province (this means that there is no unified educational curriculum taught on all provinces of the Republic, and means that local authorities will be granted the power to develop educational curricula that are taught within the administrative borders of the provinces)</p>						
<p>Adopting a unified educational curriculum in all provinces of the Republic, which is taught in Arabic only (without the possibility of adding or modifying the courses prescribed within the curriculum or teaching it in other languages)</p>						
<p>Adopting a unified educational curriculum at the state level with the ability to teach it in the</p>						

prevailing local languages in regions where the majority of the citizens speak this language						
Adopting a unified educational curriculum at the state level with granting the local authorities of the provinces the right to add lingual or literary subjects that suit the language of the majority of the population in the region (such as adding subjects of languages, poetry, arts and music which are not included within the unified curriculum						

Tenth - With regard to the economic system, to what extent do you support the adoption of each of the following systems:

	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Don't support	Don't support it at all	Refuse to answer/ Don't know.
A directed economic system (in which the state manages all economic resources, makes decisions and						

makes economic plans)						
A capitalist system or what is known as the open market system, which is based on freedom of investment and the establishment of projects						
A mixed system, which includes a mixture of the two previous systems, whereby the state manages the economic resources and wealth in the state and at the same time grants companies the freedom to compete and invest.						

Eleventh - With regard to women, to what extent do you agree with the following phrases⁸:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	I don't know/ I refuse
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⁸ The Syrian constitution stipulates in Article 23 that the state provides women with all opportunities that allow them to fully and effectively participate in political, economic, social and cultural life and works to remove restrictions that prevent their development and participation in building society. As for the Tunisian constitution, it stipulated in Article 46 that the state seeks To achieve parity between men and women in elected councils. In the same context, the Egyptian constitution stipulated in Article 11 that the state guarantees equality between men and women in all civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

						to answer.
Adopting the quota formally (i.e. allocating a percentage or a minimum number of seats that must be reserved for women in elected bodies, etc.)						
Not adopting the quota formally, and considering efficiency or elections a standard for assuming public offices or seats in elected bodies without discrimination between men and women						
Not adopting the quota provided that the state guarantees the provision of all opportunities that allow women to fully and effectively participate in the political, economic, social and cultural life and works to remove the restrictions that prevent their development and participation in building society						

The constitution shall stipulate that the state guarantees full equality between men and women in all civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights						
Granting Syrian nationality to anyone born to a Syrian mother ⁹						

Twelfth - With regard to public rights and freedoms, to what extent do you support each of the following:

	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Don't support	Don't support it at all	Refuse to answer/ Don't know.
Civilians shall not be tried before a military court under any circumstances ¹⁰ .						
Under no circumstances may exceptional courts be formed						
Under no circumstances may martial law be applied						
Exceptional courts may be formed in specific cases provided						

⁹ The Egyptian constitution stipulates in Article 6 that nationality is a right for those born to an Egyptian father or an Egyptian mother.

¹⁰ The Syrian Constitution of 1950 stipulated in Article 10 that no one shall not be tried before military courts except for members of the military and the law shall stipulate exceptions of this rule.

that all such cases are specifically defined within the constitution						
Exceptional courts may be formed and the provisions of its formation are referred to law ¹¹						
Martial law may be imposed, provided that the constitution exclusively stipulates cases where they can be imposed						
Martial law may be imposed, and it is referred to the law to determine the party authorized to impose it and the cases where it can be applied						
It is not permissible to detain arrested persons at the administrative authorities under any circumstances, and they must be handed over to the judicial authorities						
Arrested persons can continue to be detained at the						

¹¹ Tunisian Constitution stipulates within its 110th Chapter that no exceptional courts shall be formed and no exceptional measures shall be taken that may affect the principles of the fair trial. The Syrian Constitution of 1950 stipulated in Article 10 that exceptional courts shall never be formed, and in emergency cases, special principles and legal rules shall be decided for courts.

administrative authorities by order of the judicial authority ¹²						
An attorney must be appointed for the arrested person, and his statements shall not be taken without the presence of the attorney ¹³						
The freedom of individuals to demonstrate and form peaceful assemblies or gatherings must be emphasized, with no referral for the law to regulate that right ¹⁴						
Emphasizing the freedom of individuals to demonstrate and form peaceful assemblies, provided that the law stipulates the limits of that right ¹⁵						

¹² The Syrian constitution of 1950 stipulated in Article 10 that every detainee must be handed over to the judicial authorities within forty-eight hours at most since the arrest. The text did not include the possibility of continuing his detention before administrative authorities based on a judicial order, while the constitution of 2012 under the third paragraph of Article 53 has allowed continuing his detention before the administrative authority by order of the competent judicial authority. As for the Egyptian Constitution, Article 54 stipulates that the arrested must be brought to the investigation authority within 24 hours from the time of restricting his freedom.

¹³ The Egyptian Constitution stipulates in Article 54 that the interrogation of the arrested person shall not begin without the presence of his lawyer.

¹⁴ The Tunisian constitution under Article 37 emphasized that the freedom of peaceful assembly and demonstration is inviolable without referring to the law.

¹⁵ Article 44 of the Syrian Constitution of 2012 referred regulating citizens' right to peaceful demonstration and assembly to law.

<p>Emphasizing the right of the Syrians to freedom of movement within and outside the Republic without restrictions or conditions (except for those against whom a court order was issued restricting their freedom of movement)</p>						
<p>The need to stipulate the abolition of all laws that impose restrictions or conditions on the freedom of movement of Syrians within and outside Syria</p>						
<p>Emphasizing freedom of the media and granting journalists guarantees that guarantee their personal safety and that they will not be held accountable for their coverage of the events taking place in Syria.</p>						

Thirteenth - With regard to citizenship, to what extent do you agree with each of the following phrases:¹⁶

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	I don't know/ I refuse to answer.
Under no circumstances may citizenship be withdrawn or revoked						
Citizenship may be withdrawn or revoked in specific cases, provided that these cases are exclusively stipulated by the constitution						
Citizenship may be withdrawn or revoked and it is referred to the law to determine the cases of withdrawing or revoking citizenship						
Stipulating that Syrian citizenship is returned to those who have been deprived of it						
The need to stipulate granting Syrian citizenship to all Syrians who were unable to obtain						

¹⁶ The Tunisian Constitution in its 25th chapter of the second section on Rights and Freedoms, stipulates that no citizen shall be subjected to withdrawal, alienation, extradition or denial of Tunisian citizenship or prohibition from returning to the country.

it for any reason, after verifying their eligibility and that they are children of a Syrian father or Syrian mother						
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Fourteenth – regarding properties, to what extent do you agree with each of the following phrases:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	I don't know/ I refuse to answer.
Personal property may be expropriated (for public benefit and in exchange of a compensation), provided that the constitution specifies cases of expropriation						
Private property may be expropriated (for public benefit and in exchange of a fair compensation) under a decree or in accordance with the law						
stipulating the abolition of laws and judicial verdicts issued during the period of the conflict that affect individuals' property retroactively and						

returning its ownership and possession to them, or compensating them for it according to its market value at the time of abolition in case it is impossible to return it to them.						
It is imperative that the constitution stipulates allowing the IDPs and refugees to recover their property and receive compensation for the damages their properties received						

Fifteenth - regarding the relationship between the authorities, to what extent do you agree with each of the following phrases:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	I don't know/ I refuse to answer.
The President of the Republic may not dissolve the People's Assembly						
The judicial authority shall be completely independent and not subject to the President of the Republic, the						

judges shall be independent and under no authority regarding their judgments except the authority of the law						
The work of the government and the executive authority shall be supervised by the People's Assembly						
stipulating that the actions of the President of the Republic shall be subject to the control and supervision of the People's Assembly and shall be held accountable by the same						
Consolidating the principle of separation of authorities						
Consolidating the principle of peaceful transfer of power						

Sixteenth - With regard to the military, to what extent do you agree with each of the following phrases:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	I don't know/ I refuse to answer.
It is not permissible for						

volunteer service officers, warrant officers and members of the military establishment to run for or hold political offices, except after three years of retirement or resignation from military service						
Members of the military establishment may not participate in elections						
Recruitment must be mandatory						
Decisions to declare war or send army formations on missions outside the borders of the state must be ratified by the People's Assembly						

Seventeenth - With regard to parties, trade unions and associations, to what extent do you agree with each of the following phrases:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree	I don't know/ I refuse to answer.
Individuals are free to form political parties, and it is sufficient to notify the						

administrative authorities to consider that these parties actually exist, provided that their internal regulations and political programs do not contradict with the constitution. ¹⁷						
No political activity or political parties or gatherings may be initiated on the basis of religion, sect, tribe, region, faction or profession, or on the basis of discrimination between genders, origins, ethnicities or colors						
The law regulates the provisions and procedures for forming political parties (i.e. the legislator can stipulate conditions for forming parties) ¹⁸						
The Constitution guarantees the right of political parties to monitor						

¹⁷ Tunisian Constitution in its 35th Chapter has stipulated the freedom to form parties, trade unions and associations, the legal text did not include referring to the law, and the constitution merely stipulates that parties, trade unions and associations regarding their statutes and activities must abide by the provisions of the Constitution and the law, financial transparency and non-violence.

¹⁸ Syrian Constitution of 2012 stipulates in third paragraph of the eighth article that the law shall organize and regulate the provisions and measures of forming political parties.

the work of state institutions						
Any decision against political parties (such as suspension or dissolution) can only be taken through judicial order						
Individuals are free to establish civil society organizations (unions, associations and organizations) and it is sufficient to notify the administrative authorities to consider that these organizations actually exist, provided that their internal regulations and political programs do not contradict with the constitution						
The law shall regulate the provisions and procedures for the formation and establishment of unions, associations and organizations (i.e. the legislator may stipulate conditions for the formation of						

unions, societies, or organizations)						
The constitution guarantees the right of civil society organizations (unions, organizations, and associations) to monitor the work of state institutions						
Taking any decision against civil society organizations (unions, associations, or organizations) such as suspension or dissolution can only be taken through judicial order						

An open-ended question: in general, what are the most important values, principles and ideas that you believe should be stipulated as essential principles within the Syrian Constitution?

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