<u>Online Appendix</u>

Sampling procedures

The survey was written in English and was then translated and back-translated into Hebrew and Arabic, according to the relevant groups. Informed consent was obtained from all participants. IRB approval was granted by George Mason University.

Palestinian Sample

General

The sampling framework in the Occupied Palestinian Territories was based on the latest Palestinian Census (2007) prepared by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS). The established Palestinian poling company AWARD used a four-stage stratified probability sample of 500 respondents to yield a ± 4.8 percent margin error at a 95 percent confidence interval (P=0.05). The sample was an independent representative sample of the population, employing random sampling techniques yielding a representative, self-weighing sample that resembles the total population of the Palestinian Territories including age, gender, literacy, level of education, religious affiliation, marital status, occupation, employment sector, refugee/immigration status, as well as the geographic distribution of population. The sampling frame used is an electronic list of all the localities in Palestinian Territories, as defined by the PCBS. The frame is based on the 2007 Population and Establishment Census, with population figures used to draw the 2017 mid-year estimates that serve as the basis for the sample allocation to governorates. The sampling frame consists of localities classified into three categories: urban, rural, and refugee camp. It is also classified according to population size.

Stratification

The Palestinian Territory is divided into several administrative and statistical levels defined by the PCBS. The Palestinian Territory is first divided into two administrative regions: The West Bank and the Gaza Strip. 62.5% of the adult population of Palestinians reside in the West Bank, while 37.5 reside in the Gaza strip. Each region is divided into several governorates, which are divided into a number of localities. Governorate: The Palestinian Territories are divided into 16 governorates, 11 in the West Bank and 5 in Gaza Strip are sampled. Localities: Governorates include

groups of cities, villages, and refugee camps; each of them is called a "locality." Each governorate is divided into localities in accordance with the electronic list as defined by the PCBS. Every locality is divided into statistical divisions, which comprises the PSUs. In this survey 50 Primary Sampling Units (PSUs) were used, distributed across cities (38.7 percent), villages (35.6 percent) and refugee camps (25.7).

Each statistical division is divided into blocks, utilizing existing maps detailing neighborhoods, streets and housing units. An enumeration area is a geographic area that is defined on the maps and on the ground. The boundaries are clearly defined (roads, streets, footpaths, walls, administrative boundaries). The boundaries of each enumeration area are shown on the maps and should include at least 100 housing units.

In the field

Field researchers, in coordination with supervisors from AWARD, used the maps to designate enumeration areas, then choose the exact household to be approached by the field researcher. The households were selected according to a sampling interval of 1 out of every 10 households in every enumeration area of 100 houses. For enumeration areas of less than 100 households, the number of households is divided by 10. Say for an enumeration area with only 80 households we will sample 1 out of every 8. To ensure that the choice of access point in the community is the same as the entry point in each PSU, all field teams employ the following mechanisms and tools: o When the team arrives at the first PSU, it begins at a point northeast. When the team arrives at the second PSU, it begins at a point northwest. When the team arrives at the third PSU, it begins at a point southwest. When the team arrives at the fourth PSU, it begins at a point southeast. After a team selects a starting point, this determines the path for all interviews conducted in that given PSU. The team always counts households clockwise, from right to left. Multi-story buildings are treated as one home in the process of data collection. In the first building surveyed, a household on the first floor is selected. In the second building surveyed, a household on the second floor is selected, and so on. When inside the household, researchers utilize a Kish Table to determine the person to interview. All in all, 23 enumerators collected 500 responses between 1-3 of August 2017.

Israeli Sample

General

      The sampling framework in Israel used an online panel managed by Panel-Hamidgam poling company. The company manages a panel of more than 89,000 Israelis from all sectors of the population who signed up to participate in studies in return for monetary compensation. For over a decade, Panel Hamidgam's online platform has been used by social science researchers, including many research projects on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. From time to time, panelists receive an email with an invitation to participate in a survey. Those who open the email and accept the invitation and the informed consent, are directed to the online questionnaire designed on a Qualtrics platform. The process is automated and thus participants' anonymity and privacy are kept.

Sampling

      Participants' demographics, including gender, age, education level, religious observance, and the party they voted for in the latest general elections (held in 2015) are collected in advance by the polling company. Using this information together with reports on the demographics of the Israeli population published by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics and the actual results of the elections, the company can create samples that represent the Israeli Population on selected demographic criteria.

      In this study, participants were invited to take part in a study on their "thoughts and beliefs pertaining to the future of conflict and peace". Because we were interested in Jewish-Israelis' hope for peace, invitations were not sent to Arab/Palestinian citizens of Israel (who are also a part of the Panel-Hamidgam's panel). Representativeness was maintained using stratified quota sampling that limits panelist from participating in the study after a certain quota attached to pre-determined demographic criteria was reached. For example, if 14% of the population is in the age group of 20-24 and the sample size is N=500, anyone between the ages of 20-24 could not participate in the study after 70 (14% of 500) people aged 20-24 completed the survey. Because political ideology was found as a very robust predictor of a host of political attitudes and behaviors, panelists' vote in the general elections was set as the first criteria. Age and gender groups were determined as the next set of criteria. One limitation of quota sampling is that is cannot account for every demographic measure that exists in the population and so, after data collection is completed small adjustments such as reweighting might need to be performed.

Data collection began on August 1st 2017, and ended, after 500 completed surveys were recorded, on August 3rd. Before the survey was closed, the demographic makeup of the sample was compared to the true results of the 2015 elections and to the reports of Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics. Except or minor differences in religiosity, the sample was representative of the Jewish-Israeli population on the predetermined criteria. It was then decided to reweigh the sample based on the true proportions of religious observance in the population.

Comparing samples before and after exclusion

Table A1a. Comparing samples before and after exclusion: Palestinian Sample				
Measure	Full Sample (N=500)	Excluded participants (N=93)	Analyzed Sample (N=407)	Excluded vs. analyzed sample
Gender (% female)	50.2	51.6	49.9	$\chi^2 = .09$, p = .76
Age	35.6	35.6	35.6	t = .02, p = .98
Religiosity (%)				$\chi^2 = 3.5$, p = .32
Not religious	7.8	8.6	7.6	
Somewhat religious	41	48	39	
Religious	43	38	44	
Very Religious	8.2	5.4	8.9	
Total	100	100	100	
Education (%)				$\chi^2 = 0.5$, p = .92
Less than Highschool	25.6	24.7	25.8	
Highschool	36.8	36.6	36.9	
B.A.	35.8	37.6	35.4	
M.A and up	2	1.1	2	
Total	100	100	100	

Table A1b: Comparing samples before and after exclusion: – Israeli Sample				
Measure	Full Sample (N=500)	Excluded participants (N=30)	Analyzed Sample (N=470)	Excluded vs. analyzed sample
Gender (% female)	48.2	63	47	$\chi^2 = 2.9$, p = .09
Age	43.8	41.2	44	t = 1.2, p = .2
Religiosity (%)				$\chi^2 = 1.12$ p = .78
Not religious	49	58	48	
Somewhat religious	29	23	29	
Religious	13	13	13	
Very Religious	9	6	9	
Total	100	100	100	
Education (%)				$\chi^2 = .7$, p = .9
Less than Highschool	2	20	2	
Highschool	22	62	22	
B.A.	26	18	56	
M.A and up	2	0	2	
Total	100	100	100	

Conclusion: Exclusion of participants who answered don't know, did not change the demographic makeup of the samples.

Scale reliability

Table A2. Scale reliability by sample						
	Both societies		Israeli sample		Palestinian sample	
Scale	Before exclusion (N=1000)	After exclusion (N=877)	Before exclusion (N=500)	After exclusion (N=470)	Before exclusion (N=500)	After exclusion (N=407)
Wish for generic reciprocal peace	.82	.82	.81	.81	.83	.83
Expectations for generic reciprocal peace	.83	.84	.9	.9	.77	.78
Appraised wish for peace of the adversary	.89	.89	.91	.89	.88	.88
Appraised expectations for peace of the adversary	.87	.88	.89	.89	.86	.87
Ethos of Conflict	.67	.67	.77	.76	.51	.5
Support for peacebuilding	.67	.67	.76	.76	.64	.65
Note: Values in Cronbach's alpha						

Conclusion: reliability is robust for all scales before and after exclusion of participants who did not know to appraise their adversary's wishes and expectations for peace.

Table A2b, minimum factor loading for scale item	
Scale	Minimum loading
Wish for generic reciprocal peace	.62
Expectations for generic reciprocal peace	.65
Appraised wish for peace of the adversary	.63
Appraised expectations for peace of the adversary	.61
Ethos of Conflict	.64
Support for peacebuilding	.60

Ethos of Conflict Items

1	2	3	4	5	
Completely dissagree	Somewhat disagree	Neutral	Somewhat agree	Completely agree	
1	2	3	4	5	The Palestinians have an exclusive claim to the land of Palestine as it has been their homeland for generations.
1	2	3	4	5	Palestinians have always aspired for peace
1	2	3	4	5	Palestinians have always been subjected to disproportionate aggression from the side of the Israelis
1	2	3	4	5	I do not believe in the peaceful intentions of the Israelis.
1	2	3	4	5	In times of threat for the Palestinians it is important to take armed action, even if it means harming civilians from the opposing side.

	M (SD)	Range	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Table A3. Means, Standarard Deviations and correlations between variables: Entire Sample											
1. Support for peacbuilding	2.4 (1.24)	1-5	1								
2. Wish for reciprocal peace	4.37 (1.54)	1-6	.43***	1							
3.Expectations for reciprocal peace	2.41 (1.32)	1-6	.32***	.28***	1						
4. Appraised Wishes of Adversaty	2.64 (1.71)	1-6	.37***	.3***	.4***	1					
5. Appraised Expectations of Adversaty	2.32 (1.45)	1-6	.25***	.18***	.43***	.62***	1				
6. Ethos of Conflict	4.03 (0.73)	1-5	-.38***	-.23***	-.21***	-.26***	-.2***	1			
7. age	39.8 (14.6)	18-83	12**	.17***	.03	.04	.04	-.14***	1		
8. gender (1 = female)	49%		.01	.05	.08*	.04	-.01	-.04	-.07*	1	
9. religiosity	2.1 (0.98)	1-4	-.21***	-.29***	-.08*	-.15***	-.06	-.27***	-.09**	.03	1
10. education	2.5 (0.86)	1-4	.09**	.09**	-.03	.001	-.03	-.14***	.02	-.01	-.33***

Two talied $p^{***} < .001$, $p^{**} < .01$, $p^* < .05$.

Table A3a. Means, Standarard Deviations and correlations between variables: Palestinian Sampl

	M (SD)	Range	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Support for peacbuilding	2.4 (1.24)	1-5	1								
2. Wish for reciprocal peace	4.37 (1.54)	1-6	.34***	1							
3.Expectations for reciprocal peace	2.41 (1.32)	1-6	.3***	.32***	1						
4. Appraised Wishes of Adversaty	2.64 (1.71)	1-6	.27***	.27***	.3***	1					
5. Appraised Expectations of Adversaty	2.32 (1.45)	1-6	.23***	.21***	.3***	.63***	1				
6. Ethos of Conflict	4.03 (0.73)	1-5	-.14**	-.06	-.16***	-.05	-.12*	1			
7. age	39.8 (14.6)	18-83	-.01	.03	.05	.02	.03	-.04	1		
8. gender (1 = female)	49%		-.04	.1*	.1*	.02	-.03	-.02	-.1*	1	
9. religiosity	2.1 (0.98)	1-4	-.06	-.1*	-.1*	-.09*	-.08	.06	.27***	.1*	1
10. education	2.5 (0.86)	1-4	.03	.05	.05	.04	-.05	-.02	-.33	.06	-.17***

Two talied, $p*** < .001$, $p** < .01$, $p* < .05$.

	M (SD)	Range	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Support for peacbuilding	2.4 (1.24)	1-5	1								
2. Wish for reciprocal peace	4.37 (1.54)	1-6	.54***	1							
3.Expectations for reciprocal peace	2.41 (1.32)	1-6	.36***	.29***	1						
4. Appraised Wishes of Adversaty	2.64 (1.71)	1-6	.48***	.37***	.53***	1					
5. Appraised Expectations of Adversaty	2.32 (1.45)	1-6	.3***	.19***	.6***	.59***	1				
6. Ethos of Conflict	4.03 (0.73)	1-5	-.57***	-.34	-.31***	-.49***	-.32***	1			
7. age	39.8 (14.6)	18-83	.2***	.22	.11*	.1*	.13**	-.18***	1		
8. gender (1 = female)	49%		.03	.02	.04	-.05	.01	-.06	-.04	1	
9. religiosity	2.1 (0.98)	1-4	-.31***	-.4***	-.18***	-.28***	-.15**	.3***	-.12**	-.03	1
10. education	2.5 (0.86)	1-4	.1*	.09*	.01	.06	-.02	-.12**	-.06	-.07	-.2***

Table A3b. Means, Standarard Deviations and correlations between variables: Israeli Samplw

Two talied, $p^{***} < .001$, $p^{**} < .01$, $p^* < .05$.

Structural Equations Models
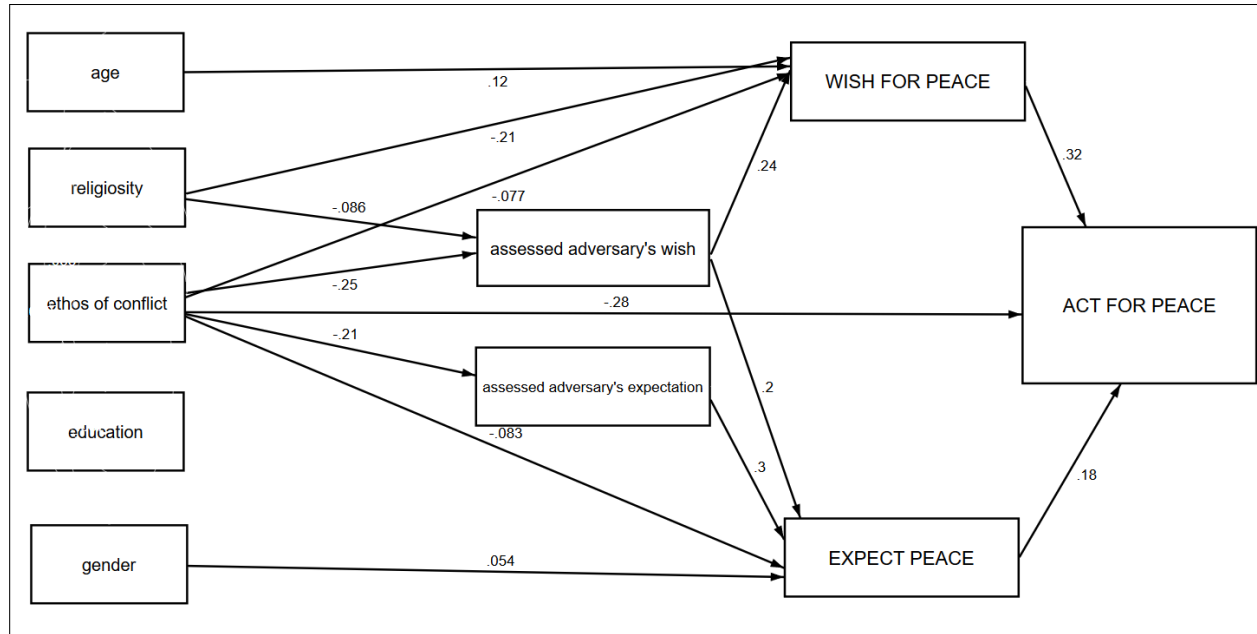
Figure A1: Proposed model after trimming non-significant paths with effects of covariates presented. Fit: $\chi^2 = 42.4$, $df = 19$, RMSEA = .037, CFI = .981, TLI = .965, SRMR = .027, χ^2/df ratio = 2.23. Note: Entries are standardized coefficients. All effects $p < .05$
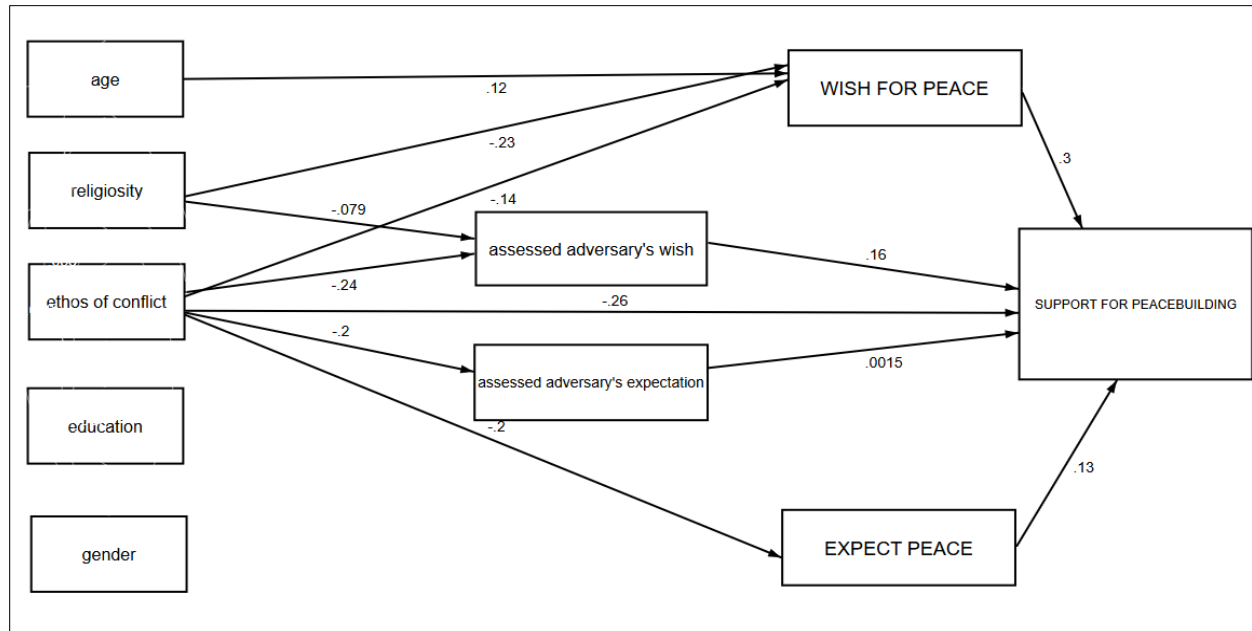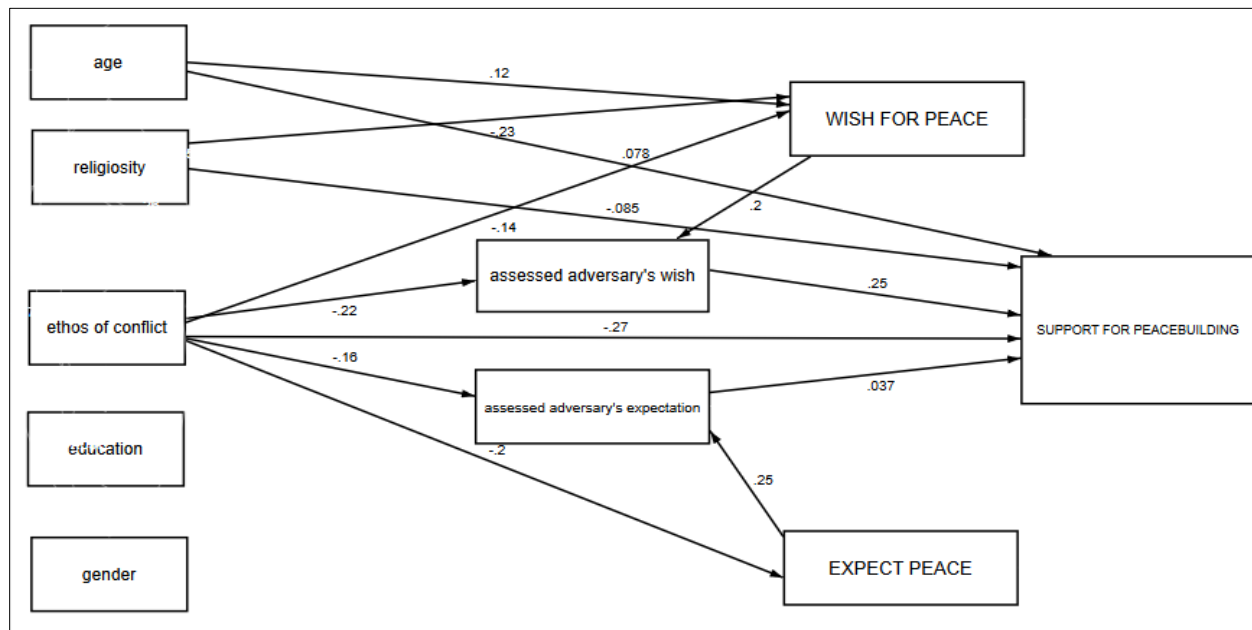
Figure A2: Alternative model 1 after trimming non-significant paths. Appraisals of adversary's hope affects support for peacebuilding directly not via own hopes. Poor Fit: $\chi^2 = 127.5$, $df = 15$, RMSEA = .091, CFI = .9, TLI = .82, SRMR = .06, χ^2/df ratio = 8.5. Note: Entries are standardized coefficients. All effects $p < .05$

Figure A3: Alternative model 2 after trimming non-significant paths. Citizens' own hope for peace affects appraised hope of the adversary which, in turn, affects support for peacebuilding. Poor Fit: well $\chi^2 = 132$, $df = 19$, RMSEA = .083, CFI = .91, TLI = .83, SRMR = .045, χ^2/df ratio = 6.9. Note: Entries are standardized coefficients. All effects $p < .05$

Full questionnaire

<u>Survey Questions</u>

We appreciate your willingness to take part in this study conducted for George Mason University in the USA.

There are no right or wrong answers.

For scientific purposes, there is great importance you answer with maximum honesty.

The questionnaire is anonymous and there is no way for us to track the identity of the participants.

Thank you,

The research team,

New page

First, we want to hear your opinions on the relations between people and political situations. Some people feel that citizens can have influence over political situations while others think citizens can have no influence on political circumstances. Mark the extent that you agree with the following sentences (1=completely disagree, 5 = completely agree):

1 Completely dissagree	2 Somewhat disagree	3 Neutral	4 Somewhat agree	5 Completely agree	
1	2	3	4	5	As citizens, there is always something we can do to change the political situation
1	2	3	4	5	Public opinion can have a powerful impact on governments

New page

Now we want to hear your personal attitudes towards uncertainty.
Some people feel just fine being uncertain about the future while others need to be certain about the future. Mark the extent that you agree with the following sentences: (1=completely disagree, 5 = completely agree)

1	2	3	4	5	
Completely dissagree	Somewhat disagree	Neutral	Somewhat agree	Completely agree	
1	2	3	4	5	It's OK that some things about our future are uncertain
1	2	3	4	5	I can't stand being uncertain about the future

New page

Now we would like to learn about your feelings and beliefs towards the future of Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the possibilities to end the conflict.

First, we would like to ask how much you think about the following things during your day to day life. (1 = I think about it very often, 5 = I never think about it).

1	2	3	4	5	
I think about it very often	I think about it often	I think about it sometimes	I seldom think about it	I never think about it	
1	2	3	4	5	The day after the fighting between Palestinians and Israelis will be over.
1	2	3	4	5	The day when the two peoples live in in dignity, justice and freedom.

New page

Note to pollster: Next items are on a 1-5 scale

As we all know, there is a difference between what people wish for and what they expect to come.

In the next questions, we are interested to learn only about your **wishes for the future.**

How much do you **wish** that he following proposition will materialize?

(1= have no specific wish, 6= wish very much).

1 I have no such wish	2	3	4	5	6 I Wish very much	
1	2	3	4	5	6	Achieving peace (as you define and understand it)

New page

Now, we want to learn more about your wishes for the future.

Please indicate how much do you **wish** the following propositions to materialize?

(1= have no specific wish, 6= wish very much).

1 I have no such wish	2	3	4	5	6 I Wish very much	
1	2	3	4	5	6	Ending the conflict in a way that addresses the core needs of both peoples.
1	2	3	4	5	6	Ending the conflict in a way that assures independence and freedom for Palestinians and security and safety for Israelis.

New page

Here too, we would like to learn only about your **wishes.** How much do you **wish** the following propositions to materialize? (1= have no specific wish, 6= wish very much).

1 I have no such wish	2	3	4	5	6 I Wish very much	
1	2	3	4	5	6	An agreement respected by Israelis and Palestinians that will result in one state for Palestinians and Jews sharing equal rights.
1	2	3	4	5	6	An agreement respected by Israelis and Palestinians that will result in one state for the Palestinians and one for the Jews.

New page

Now, we are interested to learn only about your **expectations** pertaining to the future of the conflict.

How much do you **expect** the following proposition to **actually materialize**?

(1 = no likelihood whatsoever to 6 = very high likelihood)

1 Very Unlikely	2	3	4	5	6 Very Likely	
1	2	3	4	5	6	Achieving peace (as you define and understand it).

New page

Now, we want to learn more about your expectations for the future.

Please indicate how much you **expect** the following proposition to **actually materialize**?

(1 = no likelihood whatsoever to 6 = very high likelihood)

1 Very Unlikely	2	3	4	5	6 Very Likely	
1	2	3	4	5	6	Ending the conflict in a way that addresses the core needs of both peoples.
1	2	3	4	5	6	Ending the conflict in a way that assures independence and freedom for Palestinians and security and safety for Israelis.

New page

Here too, we would like to learn only about your **expectations.** How much do you **expect** the following propositions to **actually materialize**?

(1 = no likelihood whatsoever to 6 = very high likelihood)

1 Very unlikey	2	3	4	5	6 Very likely	
1	2	3	4	5	6	An agreement respected by Israelis and Palestinians that will result in one state for Palestinians and Jews sharing equal rights.
1	2	3	4	5	6	An agreement respected by Israelis and Palestinians that will result in one state for the Palestinians and one for the Jews .

New Page

Now, we are interested in your perceptions about what **Jews wish** for the future.

To the best of your knowledge, how much do Israelis **wish** to… (1= They have no such wish, 6= They wish very much, 0 = I don't know).

0 I Don't know	1 They have no such wish	2	3	4	5	6 They Wish very much	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	End the conflict in a way that addresses the core needs of both peoples.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	End the conflict in a way that assures independence and freedom for Palestinians and security and safety for Israelis.

New Page

We are also interested in your perceptions about what **Jews expects** for the future.

To the best of your knowledge, how much do Israelis expect that the following propositions **will actually materialize**. (1 = They think it is very unlikely to 6 = They think it is very likely, 0 = I don't know)

0 I Don't know	1 They think it is very unlikely	2	3	4	5	6 They think it is very likely	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ending the conflict in a way that addresses the core needs of both peoples.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ending the conflict in a way that assures independence and freedom for Palestinians and security and safety for Israelis.

New page

Now we are interested in learning about your willingness to act.

Please rate the extent you'll be willing to do the following things if you could (1= completely unwilling, 5 = completely willing):

1 Completely Unwilling	2 Somewhat Unwilling	3 Neutral	4 Somewhat willing	5 Completely Willing	
1	2	3	4	5	Join non-violent demonstrations of Palestinians and Israelis calling for justice, peace, and security for all.
1	2	3	4	5	Support a team of Palestinian and Israeli ex-diplomats that are working to draft a just and sustainable solution to the conflict.
1	2	3	4	5	Share land for peace

New page

The next question is about associations.

The following words are often associated with the concept of peace. For some people, the following words are highly associated with peace and for some not at all. How much do you personally associate the following words with the concept of peace?

1 No association with peace	2 Some association with peace	3 Moderate association with peace	4 Strong association with peace	5 Very strong association with peace	
1	2	3	4	5	Justice
1	2	3	4	5	No war
1	2	3	4	5	Harmony
1	2	3	4	5	Liberty
1	2	3	4	5	No bloodshed
1	2	3	4	5	Partnership
1	2	3	4	5	Life
1	2	3	4	5	Equality
1	2	3	4	5	Agreement

New page

The next sentences are about national beliefs. Some people agree with these beliefs and some people disagree. please mark the extent that you agree or disagree with the following sentences:

1	2	3	4	5	
Completely dissagree	Somewhat disagree	Neutral	Somewhat agree	Completely agree	
1	2	3	4	5	The Palestinians have an exclusive claim to the land of Palestine as it has been their homeland for generations.
1	2	3	4	5	Palestinians have always aspired for peace
1	2	3	4	5	One can find broad moderate segments among the Jewish-Israelis that wish to end the conflict in a just and fair way
1	2	3	4	5	Palestinians have always been subjected to disproportionate aggression from the side of the Israelis
1	2	3	4	5	I do not believe in the peaceful intentions of the Israelis.
1	2	3	4	5	In times of threat for the Palestinians it is important to take armed action, even if it means harming civilians from the opposing side.

New page

It has been suggested that if a future agreement will be drafted, Palestinians would be invited to vote on the items in a public referendum. Please rate the extent you will **personally object or support** these items in a referendum by marking 1 (surely object) to 7 (surely support)

1 Surely object	2 Probably object	3 Neutral	4 Probably support	5 Surely support	
					A peace agreement that would establish **East-Jerusalem as the Palestinian capital and West-Jerusalem as the Israeli capital.**
					A peace agreement that would include **Israel's formal apology and acknowledgement of its responsibility to the refugee issue.**

New page

How likely do you think the following saddening events can occur?

1 **Very Unlikely**	2	3	4	5 **Very Likely**	
1	2	3	4	5	A large-scale military attack against Palestinians, including air-strikes, incursion into cities etc.?
1	2	3	4	5	Me or one of my family members will be a victim of Israeli forces

When you imagine the following events happening, how much do they scare you?

1 Not at all	2	3	4	5 Very Much	
1	2	3	4	5	A large-scale military attack against Palestinians, including air-strikes, incursion into cities etc.?
1	2	3	4	5	Me or one of my family members is a victim of Israeli forces

New page

Please specify:

Age ____

Gender:

☐ Female

☐ Male

Education. I have completed (check all that apply):

☐ Elementary + Middle School

☐ High School

☐ Undergraduate (B.A) or equivalent

☐ Graduate (M.A) or higher

In terms of Palestinian political parties, how will you define your political affiliation?

☐ Fatah

☐ Hamas

☐ Islamic Jihad

☐ DFLP

☐ PFLP

☐ Fida, Mubadara,

☐ Others

☐ Unaffiliated

In terms of religious observance, how will you define yourself?

☐ Not religious

☐ Somewhat Religious

☐ Religious

☐ Very religious

Region

West Bank / Gaza

Place of residence

City, village, refugee camp

New page: You have participated in a study initiated by the School of Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University, Virginia. We thank you for your contribution.