

Revealing the Zone Of Possible Agreement between parties in conflict: an application to peace agreements between Israelis and Palestinians

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After Hamas' attack on October 7, 2023 and Israel's subsequent war, a pressing question is the nature of a post-war peace agreement. Peace negotiations often become deadlocked due to difficulties in identifying mutually advantageous agreements. A large-scale survey task and method is developed to identify the strength of preference for components of potential peace deals and changes to the status quo. Analyzing pre-October 7 representative samples of Israelis and Palestinians reveals a Zone of Possible Agreement, demonstrating shared preferences for deals that improve daily life. Violence exposure hampers compromise among Israelis, emphasizing the importance of abstaining from violence for conflict resolution.

After the trauma inflicted on Israel by Hamas' massacre on October 7, 2023 and the devastation in Gaza resulting from Israel responding with war on Hamas and Islamic Jihad, a key question in the mind of many concerns the 'day after' the war ends: what sort of peace agreement, if any, would Israelis and Palestinians find mutually acceptable? Short of the dream that the diplomatic process that failed for over three decades will suddenly succeed, serious re-thinking about peace agreements that resolve the contentious issues is required and needed more now than ever before.

Designing peace agreements is a complex process, all the more so in intractable conflicts with numerous disputed issues. When parties do negotiate, peace negotiations frequently become deadlocked because the parties aren't able to identify mutually advantageous agreements. Even when such configurations exist, at least in principle, they are often not immediately visible. Finding mutually acceptable agreements requires understanding of the ordering of priorities of one's own group, the acceptable give-and-take one party is willing to engage in to attain a deal, the priorities of the other party and trade-offs they are likely to agree to.

Understanding the acceptability of peace agreements to the public is important for the peace negotiation process. Public opinion matters because it informs political leaders' decisions about the timing of negotiations, their mode (e.g. whether they are held in secret or not, (1)) and the concessions. Leaders who act against strong public opinion risk losing political support. These considerations repeatedly appear in the history of the Middle East peace talks. One famous example comes from the Clinton-led peace talks in late 1999, when Ehud Barak, Israel's Prime Minister at the time, had a change in heart regarding the agreement with Syria despite his reportedly willingness to concede on Israel's withdrawal from the Golan Heights. It is reported he said: "I can't do it. My people won't understand. It's all too quick. I have to prepare my public for a full withdrawal from the Golan and I have to take time." (2, p.78). Knowledge of public opinion on both sides helps negotiators address the core concerns and grievances of the population. This can lead to more effective conflict resolution tactics and trust building techniques (3, 4). By addressing the legitimate concerns of the majority, the agreements can undermine the narratives of those who seek to derail the peace efforts (5, 6).

Public opinion also matters for the outcomes of negotiations and the prospect of success of peace agreements over time. Research shows that negotiations that are more inclusive and take due understanding of public opinions makes peace agreements more effective and sustainable (e.g. 7–9). Public referendums in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland were crucial in legitimizing the

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1 agreement and ensuring broad support across communities (10, 11). Moreover, agreements that are supported by the public
2 are more likely to be implemented effectively (12).

3 Yet, public consultation on the design of prospective peace agreements is fraught with difficulty and traditional ways of
4 gathering public preferences are often inadequate in this context. Public opinion surveys on support for the peace process
5 and acceptability of negotiations play an important role in summarising what people think and want. Yet, traditional public
6 opinion surveys are ill suited to inform about the acceptability of peace deals for several reasons. First, questionnaires that ask
7 whether one supports peace negotiations cannot speak to what compromises are acceptable or unacceptable. Second, even
8 when respondents express acceptance or rejection of a particular peace deal configuration, such as the ‘two state’ solution, it
9 doesn’t necessarily imply that no other configuration is acceptable. Questions on support for specific peace deal configurations
10 need to be carefully worded because details matter and respondents may have different ideas about how details left implicit are
11 resolved. For example, supporting a ‘two-state solution’ doesn’t explicitly outline the type of freedom of movement implied for
12 labor and goods. Thirdly, there could be numerous compensatory combinations between components of peace agreements
13 which result in as many peace deal configurations, making direct survey questions impractical. Lastly, traditional surveys
14 typically struggle to disentangle people’s valuations of the content of an agreement from people’s reactions to the way the
15 negotiation process develops.

16 In this paper we design a task suitable for large surveys that addresses these shortcomings. The task identifies the components
17 of potential peace deals regarded as most important for each side, the relative strength of preferences for them and the strength
18 of support for agreements that deviate from the status quo. The task overcomes the difficulty of traditional questionnaires. We
19 implement it in two nationally representative samples of Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and Israelis
20 living in Israel and the occupied territories. We exploit the bilateral nature of our analysis to visualize the Zone of Possible
21 Agreement (ZOPA): the set of agreements preferred by both groups to the status quo; and the Pareto frontier of peace deals:
22 the set that maximizes the gains achievable by combining concessions and demands on components of a peace deal. We also
23 visualize the zones where unacceptable agreements lie.

24 We then study how the experience of violence among respondents alters support for prospective peace agreements. This
25 information is important to inform campaigns that tries to support peacemaking efforts, and are crucial after the heights of
26 violence on and after October 7th. Previous studies suggest that violence exposure can harden public opinions about the
27 perceived enemy (13), reduce support for peace, at least in the short term (14), and makes retaliatory inclinations more
28 likely (15). However, previous studies lack evidence on why violence exposure makes support for peace more difficult. Are
29 violence-exposed people rejecting compromise altogether? Or do they become more sensitive to certain concessions? The
30 method described here is able to answer these questions.

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32 **Method: Finding the mutually acceptable agreements**

33 In this method individuals are asked to rank hypothetical peace agreements based on their preference. These peace agreements
34 comprise of ‘components’ representing different aspects of the conflict. Each component signifies either maintaining the current
35 situation (the status quo) or introducing a change from the status quo. Consequently, configurations of peace deals are a
36 mix of these binary ‘components’, representing variations from or continuations of the existing status quo. We manipulate
37 these combinations experimentally to ensure that each respondent receives a set of peace deals with orthogonal components.
38 This approach enables the causal assessment of the strength of preference for various components within hypothetical peace
39 agreements and their relative desirability. Preferences for individual components are estimated for Israelis and Palestinians,
40 and these preferences are then aggregated for each potential peace agreement. This aggregation identifies peace agreements
41 that are preferred over the status quo, those mutually acceptable to both parties: the Zone of Possible Agreement (ZOPA),
42 and among them, the ‘best’ agreements that achieve the highest gains for both parties, as well as ‘fairer’ agreements, that
43 distribute gains equally. Agreements acceptable only to one party and those unacceptable to both are also identified.

44 In this application, each peace deal comprises of eight components. The choice of a total number of eight components was
45 driven by methodological considerations of statistical ability to estimate the strength of preference for each component causally
46 (i.e. not confounded), power calculations, and feasibility tests, with the understanding that comparing and ranking multiple
47 deals with 8 components was feasible for respondents based on field tests (details reported in SI sections A and B). These
48 eight dimensions of the conflict were selected based on their significance according to public opinion surveys in the region (e.g.
49 <https://www.pcpsr.org/>, The Peace Index, The Israeli Voice Index, <https://en.idi.org.il>) and interviews with scholars from the region
50 (further details on issue selection are in the SI, section C). The components include important topics such as Jewish settlements,
51 the recognition of Israel as a nation-state for the Jewish people, the existence of an independent Palestinian State, freedom
52 of movement, right to access the holy sites, the location of capital cities, treatment of prisoners, allocation of water rights.
53 Table 1 outlines the specific wording of each component, which can be either a variation from the status quo (left column) or a
54 continuation of the status quo (right column), each of them supplemented with an explanation SI.1. All components can occur
55 together or separately, and the occurrence of one component does not preclude the occurrence of another.

56 All components, whether expressed as a change from the status quo or a continuation, are purposefully described in objective
57 and concrete terms (with explicit descriptions, see Figure SI.1) to avoid the pitfall that support on the broad ‘issue’ masks
58 disagreement on how the issue is resolved in practice. Moreover, we carefully avoided nomenclatures and expressions that,
59 despite being in common usage, can be interpreted differently by different people (such as ‘Two-state solution’, ‘multinational
60 arrangements’, ‘economic peace’).

61 With eight issues in each peace deal, there are $2^8 = 256$ possible deals. Given the impracticality of asking respondents to

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Component	Change from status quo	Status-quo
1	Freezing of all settlement building, evacuation of those inside the West Bank. Settlements adjacent to the 1967 line become part of Israel.	Israel's settlement building continues
2	Palestinians recognise Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish People	Palestinians do not recognise Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish People
3	An independent Palestinian State over the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem with equitable (1:1 in value) land swaps with Israel and no Israeli military presence	The civil and military jurisdiction over Israel, the West Bank and Gaza remains as today
4	Freedom of movement for people (no checkpoints/permits), vehicles and goods between West Bank, Gaza and State of Israel for both Palestinians and Israelis	Current freedom of trade between West Bank, Gaza and State of Israel. Permit system for labour and vehicles
5	Unrestricted right to access to holy sites and freedom of worship for anyone	Current restricted rights to access to holy sites and pray
6	Palestinian capital in Jerusalem's Arab-majority neighbourhoods and Israeli capital in Jewish-majority neighbourhoods. Old City is undivided	Israeli capital in West and East Jerusalem and Palestinian capital de-facto in Ramallah
7	Mutual amnesty and release for an agreed number of current prisoners in Israeli and Palestinian jails	Current practices of imprisonment, pre-trial detention and occasional prisoner release, continue
8	Water rights in proportion to the population: 60% Israel, 40% Palestinian Authority	Oslo II water rights (the same as today): 71% Israel, 29% Palestinian Authority

Table 1. Components of peace agreements: Respondents had access to a more detailed explanation of the components and their levels in the survey itself. These details and the rationale for the selection of components can be found in Section C of the Supplementary Material and Figure SI.1.

rank all 256 possible deals, we employed an orthogonal fractional (block) design (16). This design optimally reduces the 256 possible deals to 8 blocks of 8 peace deals each, allowing respondents to rank a manageable subset of peace agreements while still enabling the reliable estimation of the average causal effects of each component.

In practice, the respondent task proceeds as follows: each respondent is randomly allocated to a block. Each block contains 8 hypothetical deals. The respondent is then shown 4 deals, randomly selected from the 8, and visualized as physical or virtual cards (see SI, section E and Figures therein) with each component explained by a tool-tip or the enumerator: the respondent is asked to compare and rank the deals on a ‘preference rack’ from the most preferred to the least preferred. Then, the remaining deals are shown to them one by one in random order. The respondent is asked to add them to their ranking. The ranking can be modified by moving deals along the rack until the final ordering is confirmed by the respondent. There is no time limit. The sequential way in which deals are shown makes the task easier. When the ranking of the 8 deals is confirmed, the respondent is shown a ninth card, representing the status quo, and asked to add it to their ranking according to their preference.*

The ranking exercise combined with fractional design has a number of features that represent advances on previous conjoint experimental designs and make it particularly suitable for multi-attribute and multi-party applications like ours.

First, the ranking approach provides more information on the structure of preferences compared to ‘pairwise-choice’ designs – which ask respondents to choose (or vote for) one option among two (e.g. 17, 18) – and ‘rating’ designs – which ask respondents to rate one choice against another on a grading scale (e.g. 19). Ranking of all deals in a set, as in this study, provides information on the *relative* preferences over all alternatives. For example, a deal configuration could be a close second best in terms of preferences: a ranking exercise captures that preference structure, while a ‘pairwise-choice’ design provides no information.[†] Second, ranking of all deals in a set explicitly reveals which deal is ‘best’ or ‘worst’ (most preferred or least preferred) for each individual, without requiring modelling assumptions, e.g. on the shape of the utility function, and it allows the study of the positioning of specific deals of interest within the ranking. This is not possible in designs using pairwise comparisons of a random set of deals, in which each respondent sees different sets. Third, ranking, as opposed to rating, only assumes comparability of ordering and not of rating scale values, which can be subject to framing (e.g. 20). Fourth, and unlike previous studies, including the ranking of an explicitly defined status quo for all respondents avoid imposing the assumption that everyone has a preference for an agreement.[‡] The rank position of the status-quo can be interpreted as a stated-preference measure of the desirability of change from the status-quo for each individual. To identify acceptable deals the only requirement is that they are preferred over the status-quo by each party. Since both parties observe and rank the same peace deals and the same status-quo, this also makes possible to compute measures of support for any specific deal in comparison to the status-quo. Fifth, by design, each respondent is presented with a set of deals with uncorrelated components. This allows to study variations of preferences in sub-groups causally since sub-group analysis does not compromise the orthogonality of the design.[§]

We assume that the individual rankings of deals reflect ordinal rankings of preference and the desirability of a peace agreement can be represented by an utility function u_{nj} , for individual n and peace deal j , which depends on a vector of

*A video-demo of the task in English language, using a 16 deals instead of 8, is available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kY2SiCTB2Ec>

[†]A simple example might be that in a set of 3 deals, the binary choice may elicit that A is preferred to B and C, but not the relative preference for B compared to C (unless this specific pair combination is also randomly selected); instead, the ranking approach taken here makes all comparisons within the same set.

[‡]Our design explicitly reveals the percentage of people who consider the no-agreement status-quo a preferable scenario over all other alternatives.

[§]The typical conjoint analysis with options from the full factorial combination selected at random only guarantees orthogonality at the sample level.

249 agreement components x'_j and their desirability. Using the property that the utility distribution of the most preferred choice is
 250 independent of the ordering of the less preferred choices (21, 22), the joint probability of a ranking (i.e. from the top position
 251 $r = 1$ to the last $r = R$) can be written as a product of the logit probabilities and estimated by maximum likelihood.[¶]

$$\begin{aligned} & \Pr[u_{r=1} > u_{r=2} > u_{r=3} > \dots > u_{r=R}] \\ &= \Pr[u_{r=1} > u_{r=2}] \Pr[u_{r=2} > u_{r=3}] \dots \Pr[u_{r=R-1} > u_{r=R}] \\ &= \prod_{j=1}^R \left[\frac{\exp(V_j(x))}{\sum_{m=h}^R \exp(V_m(x))} \right] \end{aligned}$$

261 We assume that preferences for peace deals are linear and additively separable in components. We assume that respondents
 262 are able to make trade-offs between components. The parameters of interest are the vector β in $V_j(x) = x'_j \beta$. Each component
 263 has an associated parameter which can be interpreted as the expected *difference* in utility for Israelis or Palestinians when
 264 a deal's component is changed from the status quo to an alternative arrangement. The size of the coefficients identifies the
 265 relative strength of preferences for the change, with utility as the common metric (the SI, section F discusses methodological
 266 considerations regarding the comparability of preferences between components and between societies). The parameters can be
 267 aggregated to yield the desirability of each deal *compared* to the status quo, for both parties in the conflict. This provides the
 268 'coordinates' to map each agreement on the utility space, with the utility of the status quo normalized at zero. Peace deals
 269 mutually acceptable to both parties are those that yield higher utility compared to the status quo (i.e. are preferred to the
 270 status quo) for both parties. Unacceptable deals are those that yield negative utility to one or both parties.

272 Data

273 We collected data from representative samples of Israelis and Palestinians, during approximately the same period of time
 274 (end of March 2022-May 2022), and using the same design. Due to low levels of education and computer literacy among
 275 the Palestinian population, we adopted an in-person field interview with Palestinians carried out by a professional survey
 276 organization^{||} on a sample representative of the Palestinian population in terms of geographical district of residence, gender
 277 and age distribution ($n=1,197$). Israeli respondents were drawn from the database of an Israeli poll company^{**} and interviewed
 278 via an online interactive web-application we created^{††}. We set quotas on participation and used a greedy algorithm of (23) to
 279 generate a sample of 679 Israelis that matches as close as possible the census statistics on ethnicity (Arab and Jews), district of
 280 residence, gender and age distribution from the Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics. Table SI.3 in SI shows the descriptive
 281 statistics of the samples alongside the benchmark Census statistics of reference.

282 For both samples, we used similar instructions and visual devices to make comparisons and ranking of peace deals intuitive
 283 to respondents and appropriately designed for each implementation mode. We designed physical cards for the on-the-field
 284 application and comparable virtual cards for the online application (see SI, section E). What makes this design compelling is
 285 the collection of arguably complex information using visual instruments that make a quantitative task intuitive and easy to
 286 complete for many. This is confirmed by the small percentages of people who provide invalid responses. We embedded two
 287 neutral quality checks: i) we numbered the cards to check whether individuals rank the cards in a numerical sequence (e.g.
 288 from card 1 to 9 or viceversa) or in the exact (random) order in which they are presented to them. In the Palestinian fieldwork,
 289 plausibly the more complex of the two due to the lower levels of literacy, only 3 respondents have ranking and numerical
 290 sequences that coincide. In the Israeli sample, 12 respondents display this pattern. ii) We consider responses valid if the task
 291 completion time was at least 240 seconds. In pilot testing of the interactive web-application using a larger set (16) of cards it
 292 took 240 seconds to read the instructions and order the cards sequentially. This result informed our choice to consider responses
 293 valid if the task completion time was at least 240 seconds. We excluded responses that did not satisfy points (i) and (ii).

294 Acceptability of deals

295 All respondents ranked the status quo in addition to the 8 peace deals. Therefore, the position of the status quo in the ranking
 296 of deals can serve as a general, unconditional measure of deal acceptability. In Figure 1, it is evident that 75% of Israelis and
 297 95% of Palestinians find at least one deal preferable to the status quo. There is a noticeable difference in the mode of the
 298 distribution of the status quo position in the ranking between the two samples. For Palestinians, 41% rank the status quo as
 299 the least preferred scenario, making it the most frequently chosen position. In contrast, the Israeli sample appears polarized,
 300 with 25% ranking the status quo as the most preferred scenario and 17% ranking it as the least preferred. The demographic
 301 composition of these groups differs significantly. The 25% of Israelis favoring the status quo are predominantly male (60%
 302 compared to the expected 50%), Jewish Israelis (86% compared to the expected 81%), relatively young (median age 37.5 vs.
 303 36.5 years old).

304 [¶]The assumption of Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives is not restrictive in our ranking task, as respondents are permitted to change their ranking multiple times until confirmation, ensuring that the
 305 introduction of additional alternatives does not constrain the relative preferences between two options.

306 ^{||}Palestinian Center for Policy and Social Research

307 ^{**}iPanel, www.ipanel.com

308 ^{††}A demo from pilot testing in English language is available on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uaiO8pO.f3k>

373 expected 43 year old in the sample). On the other hand, the 17% who rank the status quo last are older (median age 44),
374 predominantly female (64%), and include a higher proportion of Arab Israelis (56% instead of expected 19%).
375 In the Palestinian sample, the demographic composition of those who rank the status quo as the most preferred compared
376 to those who rank it as the least preferred scenario is similar in terms of gender composition (gender ratio are equal), mean age
377 (39 years old in both cases: the sample average) and geographical origin of the respondents (as expected in the sample).
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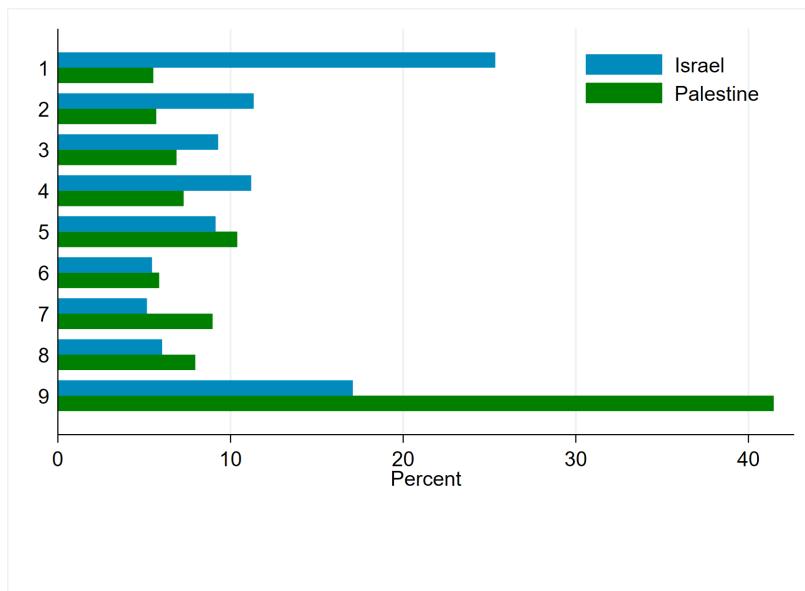


Fig. 1. Ranking position of the status quo scenario: 1 (first)=most preferred to 9 (ninth)= least preferred. The status quo is the same scenario for all respondents and all respondents ranked the status quo.

Visualizing the Zone of Possible Agreements

Figure 2 displays the strength of preferences for Israelis (blue) and Palestinians (green) for each of the eight components of prospective peace agreement. These preferences are visualized as the preference for a *change* from the status quo, which is normalized at zero, and represents the alternative arrangements in column 1 of Table 1. The metric of the x-axis represents the desirability of each component: positive (negative) values indicates that the component being change from the status quo is valued positively (negatively), and thus increase (decrease) the acceptability of a deal. The horizontal lines indicate the 95% confidence interval. For Israelis the most desirable component is ‘Palestinians recognizing Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people’. For Palestinians the most desirable component is the ‘freezing of all settlement building’. Some changes from the status quo are valued in an opposing way, as would be expected among parties in conflict. However, the results show points of compromise: the component ‘unrestricted rights to access holy sites’ is valued positively by Palestinians and is not detrimental for Israelis.

Aggregating the strengths of preference for each component of the peace agreements yields a measure of the acceptability for each one of the 256 prospective peace agreements. Figure 3(a) maps the preferences for peace deals of Israeli and Palestinian people into the space for agreement. The point (0,0) indicates the status-quo. The x-axis measures utility changes arising from each peace agreement compared to the status quo for Israelis. Positive values on the x-axis represents an improvement from the status quo and negative values represents a worsening. The y-axis measures the same for Palestinians. From the status quo, the North-East quadrant of the diagram (i.e., positive x- and y-axis) illustrates the set of peace deals that would be preferred over the status-quo by both parties and, given the estimated preferences, are mutually acceptable to both sides. This is the Zone of Possible Agreement (ZOPA). The ZOPA between the two people is populated by 55 deals out of the 256 deal configurations that our design considers: these deals are preferable over the status-quo for both parties. All other areas of the diagram contain deals that are unacceptable to at least one party.

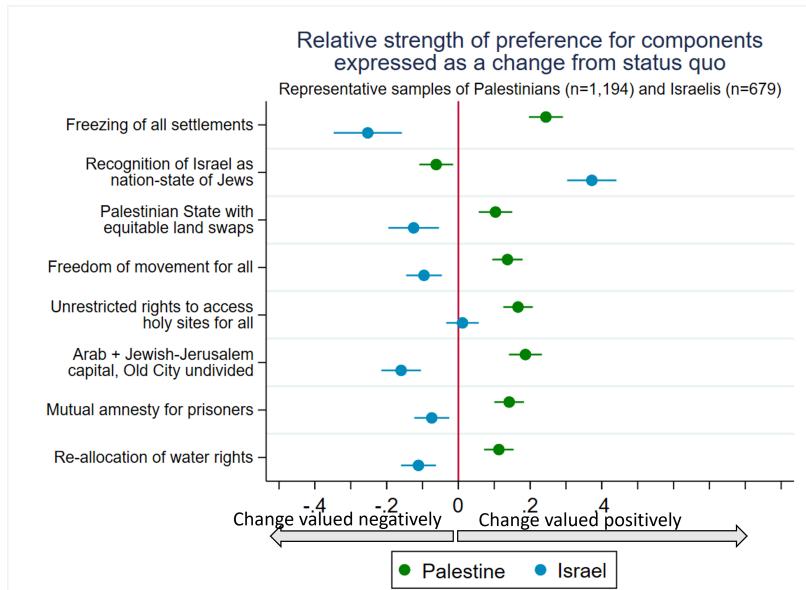


Fig. 2. Strength of preferences for Israelis (blue) and Palestinians (green) for each of the eight components of prospective peace agreement expressed as the preference for a change from the status quo (zero).

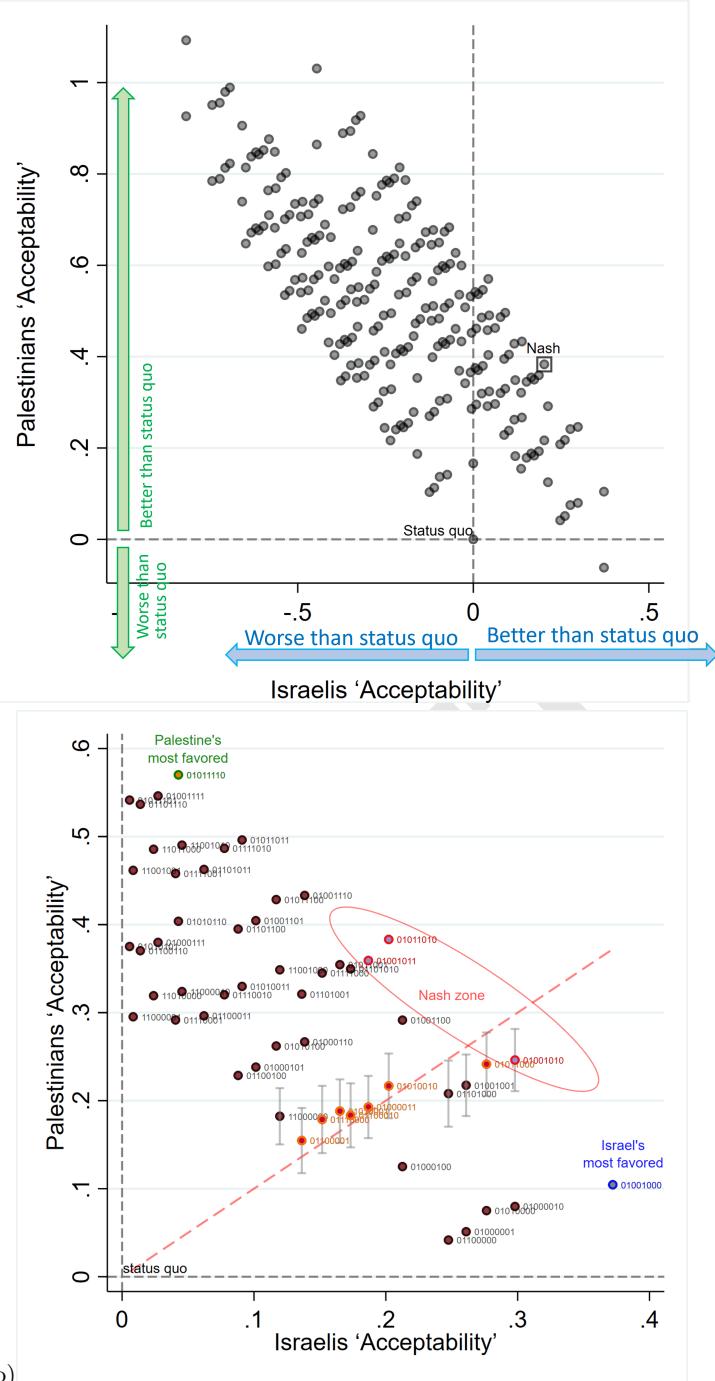


Fig. 3. (a) Acceptability of 256 prospective peace agreements for Israelis (x-axis) and Palestinians (y-axis). Point (0,0) is the status quo. (b) Deals in the ZOPA. Labels indicates whether a component is changed from the status quo with '1' and a continuation of the status quo with '0'. The Nash zone groups the three deals with highest joint utility gains, $\Delta u_{Pj}^{0.5} \cdot \Delta u_{Ij}^{0.5}$ (red dots). The deals in orange are 'fair' deals that share utility gains equally.

Figure 3(b) provides a focused view of the ZOPA with each deal labelled as a sequence of '1's and '0's indicating that the relevant component is a change from the status quo ('1') or a continuation of the status quo ('0') ordered as in Table 1. Deals furthest away from the status quo increase the acceptability for both parties.

Within the ZOPA, theoretical solutions suggest deals of interest as focal points embodying principles of efficiency and fairness. The Nash solution with equal bargaining power maximizes efficiency (i.e. maximizing the joint utility gain, $\Delta u_{Pj}^{0.5} \cdot \Delta u_{Ij}^{0.5}$) and represents a mutually desirable deal in the ZOPA that exhausts the 'integrative potential' gains over the status quo. In our empirical application, we refer to deals closely approximating this solution as the 'Nash zone'. In Figure 3(b), the three red-marked deals exemplify these options. As an illustration, the highest gains for both parties are achieved by a deal in the Nash Zone that has four components changed from the status quo: 'Palestinians recognize Israel as a nation-state of the

745 Jewish people', 'freedom of movement for people, vehicles and goods between the West Bank, Gaza and the State of Israel
746 for both Palestinians and Israelis', 'unrestricted right to access the holy sites and freedom of worship for anyone', 'mutual
747 amnesty and release for an agreed number of current prisoners' and the remaining components unchanged from the status quo:
748 settlements building continues, the civil and military jurisdiction is like today, the Israeli capital in East and West Jerusalem
749 and the Palestinian capital de-facto in Ramallah, today's unequal distribution of water rights. These components made up a
750 deal configuration reminiscent of the confederal model as a framework for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (24).
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751 Assuming the metric of acceptability are comparable between Israelis and Palestinians, deals that lie close to the 45 degree
752 line of the ZOPA are all characterized by the property of fairness: these deals share gains from compromise evenly among
753 the two parties.^{††} We consider deals 'close' if the 45 degree line is less than 1 standard error from the location of the deal
754 in the ZOPA.^{§§} Figure 3(b) shows them in orange. These deals have two or three components changed from the status-quo.
755 Among these deals, the deal displaying 'An independent Palestinian state with equitable land swaps' and 'per capita water
756 rights' alongside 'Palestinians recognizing Israel as a nation-state of the Jewish people' (and all other issues unchanged from
757 the status quo, deal 01100001) is less preferred by *both* parties compared to an agreement in which 'Palestinians recognize
758 Israel as a nation-state of the Jewish people' and the 'freedom of movement between Gaza, West Bank and Israel for everyone'
759 and 'unrestricted right to access holy sites for anyone' are guaranteed (deal 01011000).
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760 All deals in the ZOPA include 'Palestinians recognizing Israel as a nation-state of the Jewish people'. Deals that include
761 'freezing of all settlement building' are favored by Palestinians and lie above the 45 degree line; while deals favored by Israel
762 and below the 45 line have at most one concession to Palestinians.
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763 Does violence facilitate or hinder compromise? 764

765 In an ongoing conflict, understanding how direct or indirect experiences of violence influence the perspectives of individuals on
766 prospective peace agreements is crucial. To capture these individual experiences, we crafted a bespoke questionnaire tailored
767 to discern whether the respondent, any of their family members, friends or acquaintances were victim of an incidence of
768 violence related to the conflict, the timeline of the incident, and its outcomes (e.g. whether a person died, remained physically
769 impaired, remained traumatized, or recovered). We were able to collect this information exclusively on the Israeli sample due
770 to contractual constraints on the length of the survey on the Palestinian side. For Palestine, we use the geographical residence
771 of the respondent, the Gaza Strip or West Bank, to distinguish different levels of exposure to violence related to the conflict.
772 Gaza has 4 times the number of casualties compared to the West Bank in the period 2008-2022^{¶¶}: this means that, once the
773 population count is taken into account, there is roughly a 6 times higher probability of casualties in Gaza compared to the
774 West Bank.
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775 Approximately 6.2% of the Israeli sample report being victim of an incident of violence related to the conflict with the
776 Palestinians. A total of 30% report knowing someone who was a victim. Out of this 30% nearly half of the incidents (42%)
777 concerned a person who died. Reported incidents occurred between 1986 and 2022 (up to the time of the data collection),
778 with the highest number of violent events recorded in 2022 (11%), 2021 (9%) and cumulatively during the years of the second
779 Intifada (20% between 2000-2005, see Figure SI.4). The victimized group is, as expected, demographically different from the
780 non victimized: it includes more men, a higher proportion of residents in the Jerusalem district (which border the West Bank)
781 and the Judea and Samaria area (i.e. Israeli settlements) and younger respondents (Table SI.4). Figure 4(a) shows a reduced
782 ZOPA for victimized Israelis (black dots): only 23 deals are acceptable for this group, compared to 99 for the non-victimized
783 (hollow dots). The analysis of preferences (Figure SI.5(a)) reveals that the deviation into non-ZOPA quadrants is primarily
784 influenced by two components: the freezing of settlements and the arrangement over the capital. Victimized individuals express
785 a significantly stronger aversion to these changes from the status quo compared to their non-victimized counterparts, six
786 times and twice as much, respectively. These differences are not explained away when we control for additional demographic
787 heterogeneity by gender, age and Jerusalem and Judea and Samaria districts (Table ??) Wald tests reported in Table ?? show
788 the differences in valuations of peace deals' components by exposure to violence remain jointly significant across specifications.
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789 Within the group of victimized people, those who report knowing someone who died tend to have stronger aversion to peace
790 deals than the average individual (Figure SI.5(b)). These latter results should be interpreted with caution because standard
791 errors are large due to the small sample size of the sub-group who knows a casualty (n=85). Yet, the result is replicated in a
792 larger (n=392) yet non-representative sample of Israeli citizens (Figure SI.5(c)). With these limitations duly noted, the results
793 suggests violence negatively influences the willingness to compromise, with most traumatic experiences reducing it most.
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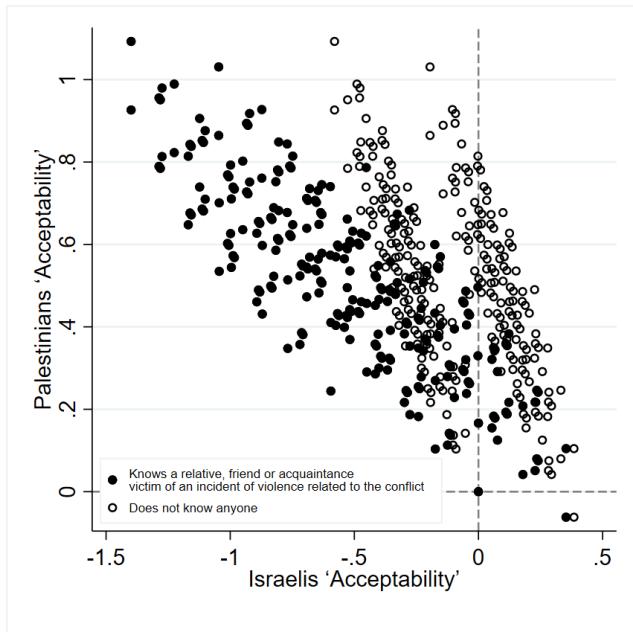
794 For Palestinians, Figure 4(b) shows the ZOPA is almost equally populated for Gaza and West Bankers, with 56 and 53
795 deals respectively. This is explained by the analysis of preferences: Gazans value all changes from the status quo positively,
796 including the 'recognition of Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people', albeit with significantly smaller strengths of
797 preferences compared to West Bankers for 'freezing of all settlement building', 'freedom of movement for people, vehicles and
798 goods between the West Bank, Gaza and the State of Israel for both Palestinians and Israelis' and 'Palestinian capital in
799 Jerusalem's Arab-majority neighbourhoods and Israeli capital in Jewish-majority neighbourhoods'. These results chime with
800 the finding from Palestinian polls, which find Gazans historically being more supporting of permanent peace settlements and
801 more critical of Hamas than West Bankers (28, Figure 13).
864

802 ^{††}Identification of fair deals as those along the 45 degree lines relies on the assumption of inter-group comparability between utilities of Israelis and Palestinians. Assumptions on inter-personal comparability
803 of utility are commonly made in the egalitarian solution by (25), as explained in (26) and (27). For further discussion, see SI. section F.
865

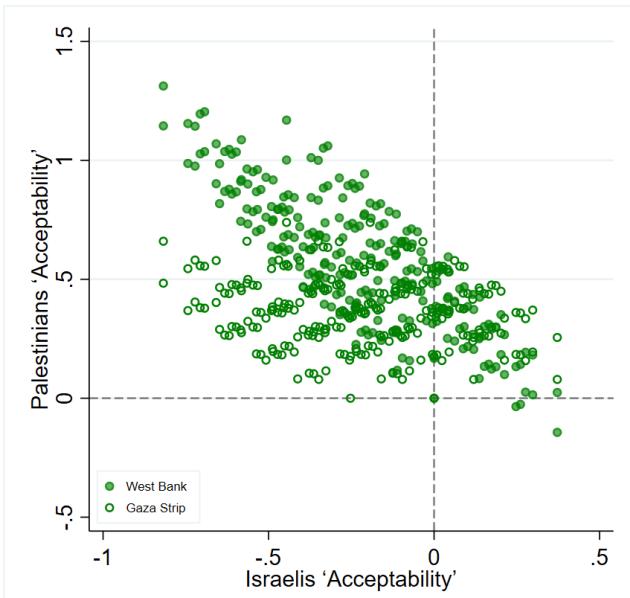
804 ^{§§}Figure 3(b) shows confidence intervals using the standard errors from the point of view of Palestinians (y-axis). One could use the standard errors from the point of view of Israelis (x-axis). It makes no
805 difference in our case.
866

806 ^{¶¶}<https://www.ochaopt.org/data/casualties>
867

868



(a) Israelis



(b) Palestinians

Fig. 4. ZOPA by exposure to violence in (a) Israel and (b) Palestine

Conclusions

This study develops a method to reveal the Zone of Possible Agreement (ZOPA) between parties in conflict. Using representative samples of Israelis and Palestinians we show that a ZOPA existed: out of 256 potential deals considered, 55 are valued superior to the status quo by both groups. The most favored deals by both parties include changes from the status quo that hold tangible benefits for the daily lives of the people involved. Elements such as freedom of movement for everyone, unrestricted access to holy sites for all, prisoner releases, and recognition of Israel as a nation state for the Jewish people emerge as common ground. Deals that include these components are generally valued more favorably than deals advocating the constitution of an independent Palestinian state with territorial gains. The ZOPA that we identify is conditional on the component levels that were presented to the respondents. It may be possible to find a larger or smaller ZOPA if different levels for the components were used, for example if fractional components, such as freedom of movement for a proportion of people rather than all people, were used. Whether the ZOPA would increase or decrease in size at these different levels, compared to the ZOPA in this study, would require an understanding of how utilities change on each side in response to changes in the component levels. Undoubtedly, this would be a fruitful extension of our work.

The findings also reveal that exposure to violence hampers the prospects of achieving compromise among Israelis, reducing the ZOPA to 29 deals. For Palestinians, people from Gaza, where historically violence has been higher, appear to value positively all changes from the status quo, including the recognition of Israel as a nation state for the Jewish people. It is difficult to say if or how preferences may have changed in the aftermath of October 7th, but one message prevails from these findings: at the time of the study, Palestinians and Israelis harbored a genuine desire for peace and constructive steps towards a permanent resolution of the conflict involve abstaining from violence.

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1124	Informed consent was obtained from all participants. The study was pre-registered AEARCTR-0008259. BG would like to	1186
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1130		1192
1131	Author contribution. Conceptualization: EC, BG	1193
1132	Data curation: EC	1194
1133	Design: EC, GS	1195
1134	Power calculations: BG	1196
1135	Implementation (fieldwork instruments): EC	1197
1136	Software: EC (and Research Assistant Alex Burtusel)	1198
1137	Formal Analysis: EC	1199
1138	Visualization: EC	1200
1139	Funding acquisition: EC, BG	1201
1140	Project administration: EC	1202
1141	Supervision: EC	1203
1142	Writing – original draft: EC	1204
1143	Writing – review editing: EC, BG, GS	1205
1144		1206
1145	Competing interests. The authors have no competing interests.	1207
1146		1208
1147	Data and materials availability. : All data and codes used in the analysis will be deposited in a public repository and be available	1209
1148	to any researcher for purposes of reproducing the analysis.	1210
1149		1211
1150	Supporting Information Appendix (SI). Supplementary material includes:	1212
1151	Sections A to F	1213
1152	Figs. SI.1 to SI.5	1214
1153	Tables SI.1 to SI.5	1215
1154		1216
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SUPPORTING INFORMATION

1241		1303
1242		1304
1243	Article: "Revealing the Zone Of Possible Agreement between parties in conflict: an application to peace agreements between Israelis and Palestinians"	1305
1244	by Elisa Cavatorta, Ben Groom and Gilead Sher	1306
1245		1307
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DRAFT

1365 **A. Reasons for choosing 8 binary components.** The choice of 8 binary components is a trade-offs between the ability to 1427
 1366 estimate the desirability of each component separately and unconfounded, and feasibility tests with respondents on the field. 1428
 1367 Using a fractional design in 8 blocks of 8 deals, each with 8 binary components, allows to achieve Resolution IV in which no 1429
 1368 main effects are confounded with any other main effect or 2-factor interactions. Four main effects are potentially confounded 1430
 1369 with 3-factor interactions, the effect of which is commonly assumed null. These components are: right to access the holy sites, 1431
 1370 the location of capital cities, treatment of prisoners and allocation of water rights. Adding a ninth component would have 1432
 1371 compromised identification: some main effects which would have been confounded with 2-factor interactions. Opting for a 1433
 1372 design in which main effects are confounded with 3-factor interactions (Resolution IV) is typically preferable compared to 1434
 1373 selecting a design where main effects are confounded with 2-factor interactions (Resolution III). 1435

1374 Moving from binary components to 3 (or more) category components rapidly increases the total number of peace deals and 1436
 1375 thus it increases the sample requirements and the number of deals each respondent is required to rank, increasing cognitive 1437
 1376 burden and time of task completion. As an example, if we were to include 3 categories, instead of two, for only two components 1438
 1377 the total number of potential peace deals would more than double: $2^6 \times 3^2 = 576$ instead of 256. If we had 8 blocks, each 1439
 1378 respondent would have been required to rank 18 deals. While the number of blocks could have, in principle, been increased to 1440
 1379 reduce the number of deals each respondent faced, using random blocks was already considered a significant complication by 1441
 1380 the enumerators on the field. Using a large number of blocks would have been impractical and posed the risk of jeopardising 1442
 1381 the quality of data with mistakes. 1443

1382 **B. Power analysis.** For the purpose of the power calculations, the ranking task can be seen as an ‘exploded’ choice experiment 1444
 1383 in which the ranking of the 8 peace deals consists of a number of decisions between different alternatives. (21) This allows us 1445
 1384 to calculate the power according to the approach outlined in (29, Section 4) for binary choice experiments. If a respondent has 1446
 1385 to rank n cards, there are $(n(n - 1))/2$ pairwise comparisons possible and all of these would be required in order to reveal 1447
 1386 the complete ordering of the n cards. This means that 36 pairwise comparisons would be required to be equivalent to our 1448
 1387 ranking task of 9 deals. Table SI.1 shows the sample size calculation for an orthogonal design with 36 pairwise comparisons of 1449
 1388 peace deals. This might be an overestimate of the required number of paired comparisons if preference transitivity is assumed. 1450
 1389 Therefore Table SI.2 shows the power calculation for an orthogonal design where each person faces 18 pairwise choices. In the 1451
 1390 former case the sample size required to be able to detect an effect size of 0.05 (0.1, 0.15) at 5% significance level in at least 80% 1452
 1391 of the cases is 289 (73, 33). In the latter the sample sizes are 583 (148, 67). Our sample sizes are therefore sufficiently powered 1453
 1392 for these effect sizes. 1454

α	$1 - \beta$	ES = 0.05	ES = 0.1	ES = 0.15	ES = 0.2	ES = 0.3
0.10	0.8	211	54	24	14	7
0.10	0.7	152	39	18	10	5
0.10	0.6	110	28	13	7	4
0.05	0.8	289	73	33	19	9
0.05	0.7	220	56	25	15	7
0.05	0.6	168	43	19	11	6
0.01	0.8	469	119	54	32	15
0.01	0.7	380	96	44	26	12
0.01	0.6	311	79	36	21	10

1404
 1405 **Table SI.1. Minimum sample size to obtain power $1 - \beta$ when testing at significance level $1 - \alpha$ from an orthogonal design with 36 pairwise 1446**
 1406 choices 1447

α	$1 - \beta$	ES = 0.05	ES = 0.1	ES = 0.15	ES = 0.2	ES = 0.3
0.10	0.8	425	108	49	28	14
0.10	0.7	307	78	35	21	10
0.10	0.6	222	56	26	15	7
0.05	0.8	583	148	67	39	19
0.05	0.7	444	112	51	30	14
0.05	0.6	340	86	39	23	11
0.01	0.8	946	240	109	63	31
0.01	0.7	766	194	88	51	25
0.01	0.6	627	159	72	42	20

1420
 1421 **Table SI.2. Minimum sample size to obtain power $1 - \beta$ when testing at significance level $1 - \alpha$ from an orthogonal design with 18 pairwise 1448**
 1422 choices 1449

1489 **C. Reasons for choosing the components' topics and levels.** Since the focus was on citizens preferences, the components' 1551
1490 reflect a selection of issues 'on the ground' that are considered important by Palestinians and Israelis themselves. For this 1552
1491 reason, we prioritize issues perceived as important for the quality of citizens' daily life over issues related to the diplomatic 1553
1492 process or international politics (e.g. the role of international mediators, external guarantees, membership of international 1554
1493 organizations, ending of Israel boycott, etc.). 1555

1494 The selection of issues was guided by available data in the Peace Index and the priorities identified in the Palestinian-Israeli 1556
1495 Pulse data: a joint poll conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research and the Evens Program in 1557
1496 Mediation and Conflict Management at Tel Aviv University. For example, in September 2018, the Peace Index found that 83% 1558
1497 of Jewish-Israelis think "the Palestinians must recognize Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people before peace talks with 1559
1498 them can be revived".⁽³⁰⁾ The changes from the status quo on settlements, borders and access to holy sites was informed by 1560
1499 past peace proposals and consultation with negotiators. The water distribution issues was informed by research in warfare 1561
1500 ecology and consultation with Prof Michael Mason.⁽³¹⁾ 1562

1501 The choice of levels and related wording was also guided by experts' comment we received, the opinion of one of the authors, 1563
1502 who has been an official peace negotiator, methodological reasons and clarity of the wording for respondents. For example, for 1564
1503 the component related to the issue on Israeli settlements, we use a pragmatic resolution frequently considered in previous 1565
1504 peace proposals: 'freezing the construction of new Israeli settlements, settlements adjacent to the 1967 line will become part of 1566
1505 Israel and West Bank east of the wall/fence will be evacuated'. For some components we used limiting levels: e.g. freedom 1567
1506 of movement for *all* people rather than a given proportion of people. This choice, in addition of helping with respondents' 1568
1507 comprehension, provides an interesting upper bound of the like (or dislike) of that component. 1569

1508 Two notable issues were not included among the list of eight components: a resolution on the (over 6 millions) Palestinian 1570
1509 refugees living abroad and the issue is Israeli security. The decision regarding the situation of Palestinian refugees was guided 1571
1510 by the results of Palestinian surveys which shows that the Palestinian refugee issue is not among the top-priorities in the mind 1572
1511 of the people. In a 2018 survey of conditions required by Palestinians to support a peace agreement with Israel, the condition 1573
1512 that 'Israel acknowledges responsibility for refugee problem' ranked last out of 10 conditions.⁽³²⁾ p.8). In 2020, studying the 1574
1513 hierarchy of priorities of demands on each sides, the survey findings show again that only between 6-7% of Palestinians selected 1575
1514 the request to 'allow Palestinian citizens, such as refugees, to live in Israel without becoming Israeli citizens' in exchange for 1576
1515 various Israelis demands.⁽³³⁾ p.21). 1577

1516 The exclusion of a component focusing on Israeli security was methodological. At the time of the survey, the Palestinian-Israeli 1578
1517 security cooperation was in place and Israel controlled border crossings, airspace and sea waters. This security cooperation 1579
1518 arrangements and Israel control represents the status quo. Looking at previous peace proposals, the most reasonable expectation 1580
1519 in any peace agreement proposal is that Israel would continue to maintain its security apparatus and a security cooperation 1581
1520 with any future Palestinian State. In our design, unless the attribute on security could be conjugated as a change different 1582
1521 from the status quo, the valuation of security would not have been an identifiable parameter. 1583

1522 Our design also omits the monetary dimension, which removes one common source of incommensurability of strength of 1584
1523 preferences and potential taboo.⁽³⁴⁾ 1585

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1613	Freezing of all settlement building, evacuation of those inside the West Bank. Settlements adjacent to the 1967 line become part of Israel. Explanation: The expansion of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem will cease. Settlement adjacent to the 1967 line will be part of Israel. West Bank settlements east of wall/fence will be evacuated.	1675
1614		1676
1615		1677
1616	Israel's settlement building continues. Explanation: Building of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem continues at the same rate as in recent years.	1678
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1627	Freedom of movement for people (no checkpoints/permits), vehicles and goods between West Bank, Gaza and State of Israel for both Palestinians and Israelis. Explanation : Free movement means removal of work permit system, checkpoints and other movement restrictions to allow people to work, travel and trade between the current territories of the West Bank, Gaza, Jerusalem and State of Israel.	1689
1628		1690
1629		1691
1630	Current freedom of trade between West Bank, Gaza and State of Israel. Permit system for labour and vehicles. Explanation : Goods are free to move between Israel and the West Bank, there are restrictions of trade of goods to and from Gaza; work permit regime for labour movement (as of today).	1692
1631		1693
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1634		1696
1635	Current restricted rights to access to holy sites and pray. Explanation : Access and right to pray as today: e.g. Haram al-Sharif/Temple Mount: Muslims can pray and non-Muslims allowed to visit but not pray.	1697
1636		1698
1637	Palestinian capital in Jerusalem's Arab - majority neighbourhoods and Israeli capital in Jewish - majority neighbourhoods. Old City is undivided. Explanation : The Arab majority neighbourhoods in Jerusalem will be under Palestinian control and form the capital of Palestine; Jewish-majority neighbourhoods in Jerusalem will be under Israeli control and be the capital of Israel. The Old city administered by a council representing Christians, Muslims and Jews.	1699
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1645	Mutual amnesty and release for an agreed number of current prisoners in Israeli and Palestinian jails. Explanation : An agreed number of Palestinian prisoners held by Israel and Israelis prisoners held by Palestinians will receive amnesty and be released.	1707
1646		1708
1647	Current practices of imprisonment, pre-trial detention and occasional prisoner release continue. Explanation : The use of imprisonment, administrative (pre-trial) detention and prisoner release and prisoner exchanges continues as seen in recent years.	1709
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1653	Water rights in proportion to the population: 60% Israel, 40% Palestinian Authority. Explanation: The water from the aquifers is allocated proportional to the current population in the Palestinian territories (approx. 5m people) and Israel (approx. 9m).	1715
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1674		1736

Fig. SI.1. Components and related descriptors given to respondents.

1737 **D. Data and national representativeness.** Table SI.3 shows the descriptive statistics of the Israeli and Palestinian samples
 1738 alongside the benchmark Census statistics of reference. 1799

	Sample of Israeli citizens (n=679)	Population Statistics from CBS	Sample of Palestinians (n=1,197)	Population Statistics from PCBS	
Population group (%)					
Arab Israelis	19.0	19.0			1815
District of residence (%)					
Jerusalem	10.7	11.2			1816
Northern	19.7	16.2			1817
Haifa	15.0	12.2			1818
Central	23.1	25.1			1819
Tel Aviv	15.0	17.4			1820
Southern	13.4	13.9			1821
Judea and Samaria	3.0	3.6			1822
West Bank			65.83	61.91	1823
Gaza Strip			34.17	38.09	1824
Sex (%)					
Male	46.5	48.7	49.83	50.50	1825
Female	53.5	51.3	50.17	49.50	1826
Age (%)					1827
Age (mean years of age)	42.9	44.7	37.46	36.54	1828
Between 18-29 yrs old	26.8	25.5	35.93	41.94	1829
Between 30-39 yrs old	21.8	19.6	24.29	21.98	1830
Between 40-49 yrs old	17.5	17.5	16.67	16.01	1831
Between 50-59 yrs old	13.4	13.6	13.32	10.95	1832
Between 60-69 yrs old	11.1	12.1	6.70	5.51	1833
Equal and above 70 yrs old	9.4	11.6	3.10	3.61	1834

1772 **Table SI.3. Sample statistics and target population statistics.** The table shows the descriptive statistics for the Israeli citizens sample (column
 1773 1) and target population statistics from the Central Bureau of Statistics of Israel (2019 data, column 2), available on <https://www.cbs.gov.il/en/publications/Pages/2020/Statistical-Abstract-of-Israel-2020-No-71.aspx>. We use table 2.3a (sex and age), table 2.19 (district), and table 28
 1774 (education). The table also shows the descriptive statistics for the Palestinian sample (column 3) and target population statistics from the
 1775 Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (column 4), available on https://www.pcbs.gov.ps/pcbs_2012/Publications.aspx. We use table 2 (sex and
 1776 age), table 20, and 21 (education) from the Census Final Results - Detailed Report Palestine 2017 (the latest Census data available), and table 2
 1777 from Census Final Results - Detailed Report West Bank 2017 and Census Final Results - Detailed Report Gaza Strip 2017. 1835

1778 **E. Task and application interface.** The Palestinian sample was collected via in-person interviews conducted in Arabic by trained
 1779 enumerators hired by a professional poll company. The fieldwork used a nationally representative sampling frame. The task
 1780 was implemented using physical cards, like the one in Figure SI.2. 1841

1781 To collect the data on the Israeli sample we designed a bespoke interactive online application. Two versions of the application
 1782 were made available: one in Hebrew for Jewish-Israeli respondents and one in Arabic for Arab(Palestinian)-Israeli respondents.
 1783 The data collection used the database of respondents of an Israeli poll company. The task interface looks like the one in Figure
 1784 SI.3. Respondents were given written instructions to complete the ranking exercise and instruction videos always available to
 1785 them throughout the task. 1842

1861	المستوطنات: يتم تجريد بناء المستوطنات ويتم إخلاء الضفة الغربية، ولكن تصبح المستوطنات المجاورة لخط 1967 جزءاً من إسرائيل.	1923
1862	يهودية إسرائيل: يعترف الفلسطينيون بـ إسرائيل كدولة قومية للشعب اليهودي.	1924
1863	الولاية: تقوم دولة فلسطينية مستقلة في الضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة والقدس الشرقية مع تبادل أرضي عادل (1:1 من حيث القيمة) مع إسرائيل ينتهي الوجود العسكري الإسرائيلي.	1925
1864	النقل: يكون هناك حرية في النقل للأفراد (بدون نقاط تفتيش / تنصاريح) والمركبات والبضائع بين الضفة الغربية وغزة ودولة إسرائيل لكل من الفلسطينيين والإسرائيليين.	1926
1865	الأماكن المقدسة: يكون هناك حق غير مقيد في الوصول إلى الأماكن المقدسة وحرية العبادة لأي شخص.	1927
1866	القدس: تكون عاصمة إسرائيل في القدس الغربية والشرقية وتكون عاصمة فلسطين يحكم الأمر الواقع هي رام الله.	1928
1867	الأسرى: الغفو المتتبادل والإفراج عن جميع الأسرى الحالين في السجون. الإسرائيلية والفلسطينية.	1929
1868	المياه: حقوق المياه في اتفاقية أوسلو الثانية (كما هي اليوم): 71٪ إسرائيل ، 29٪ السلطة الفلسطينية.	1930
1869		1931
1870		1932
1871		1933
1872		1934
1873		1935
1874		1936
1875		1937
1876		1938
1877		1939
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1879		1941
1880		1942
1881		1943
1882		1944
1883		1945
1884		1946
1885		1947
1886		1948
1887		1949
1888	لchez על הרטיס לкриיאת התוכן. גורר ושרהר כל כרטיס לסדרת הרטיסים אחר כדי להשוות ביניהם. גלוש מעל הטקסט לкриיאת פרטיטים נוספים.	1950
1889		1951
1890		1952
1891		1953
1892		1954
1893		1955
1894		1956
1895		1957
1896	כידן משתקין	1958
1897	דורה 3 8	1959
1898		1960
1899		1961
1900		1962
1901		1963
1902		1964
1903		1965
1904		1966
1905		1967
1906		1968
1907		1969
1908		1970
1909		1971
1910		1972
1911		1973
1912		1974
1913		1975
1914		1976
1915		1977
1916		1978
1917		1979
1918		1980
1919		1981
1920		1982
1921		1983
1922		1984

Fig. SI.2. An example of the cards representing peace agreements for the in-person fieldwork in Arabic language.

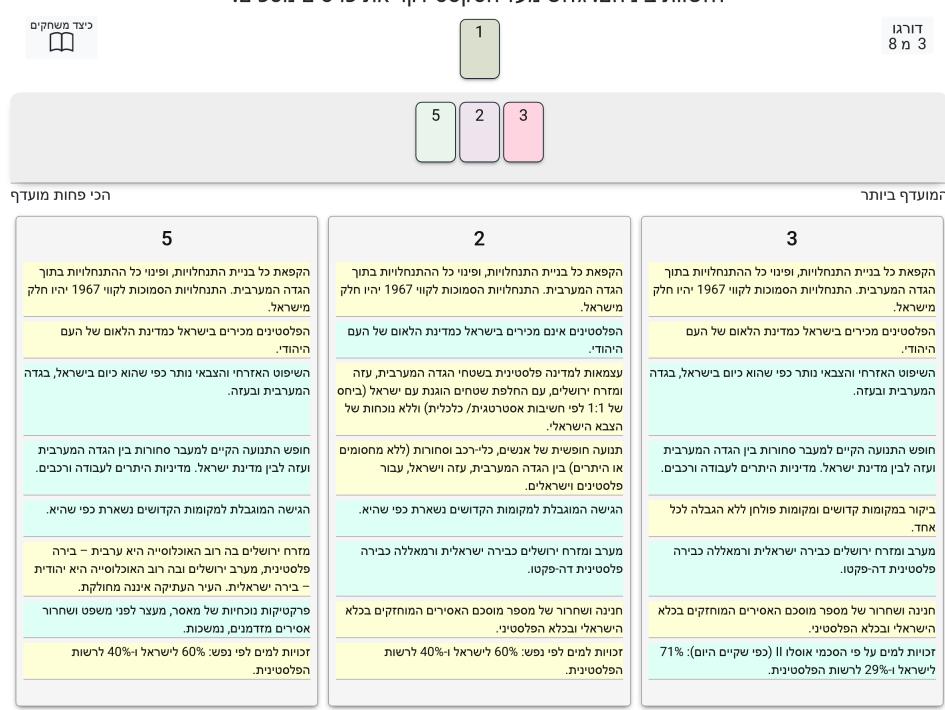


Fig. SI.3. An example of the user interface of the online application in Hebrew language.

1985	F. Considerations on the comparability of preferences. The model assumes that the individual rankings of peace agreements reflect ranking of preference/utility from peace agreements as in a Random Utility model. Utility of a deal j is assumed linear, $V_j(x) = x'_j \beta$, where x'_j is a vector of the agreement (binary) components – and separable in the contributions of each component. In the empirical model, the joint probability of a ranking is estimated as the product of logit probabilities: the estimated vector of parameters β s in the rank-ordered logit model can be interpreted as the expected <i>change</i> in utility for Israelis or Palestinians when a deal's component is changed from the status quo to an alternative arrangement.	2047
1986		2048
1987		2049
1988		2050
1989		2051
1990		2052
1991	Two linear utility functions are estimated, one for Israelis and one for Palestinians, and the two vectors of estimated β s are plotted in Figure 2 using a single metric: utility changes from the status quo. This process gives rise to two sets of considerations of commensurability/comparability of preferences: i) Between components; and, ii) Between Israelis and Palestinians.	2053
1992		2054
1993		2055
1994		2056
1995	Commensurability/comparability between components. Comparability between components means that if $\beta_m = 2\beta_k$, a change away from the status quo on component m is worth twice as much or is twice as desirable as a change from k . Under the assumptions made above, this statement is possible and components can be evaluated in the same metric. When preferences for components are aggregated into preferences for deals, commensurability between components implies that a deal that changes component m from the status quo compensates for the absence of a change from the status quo on component k if changes from the status quo in both m and k are valued positively.	2057
1996		2058
1997		2059
1998		2060
1999		2061
2000		2062
2001	The concern on commensurability/comparability between components arises when trade-offs between components cannot be done, for example because some component is considered a taboo (35) or an inviolable principle (36). It is worth noting that trade-offs among different dimensions of peace deals are an inevitable part of the process of negotiation. However, to shed light on the potential commensurability problem, we ask Israeli respondents to indicate whether conceding on the list of agreement's components (e.g. giving up the recognition of Israel as a Jewish state, conceiving the re-allocation of water rights between Israel and Palestinians under some mutually agreed criterion, etc.) was a list of 'inviolable principles, meaning that they can never be justified or be permissible under any circumstance, no matter what the material or human benefits, costs or consequences (e.g. no matter the monetary implications, efforts and resources required etc.)'. Only 2.5% of respondents indicated that the actions underpinning concessions on the eight components could never be justified.	2063
2002		2064
2003		2065
2004		2066
2005		2067
2006		2068
2007		2069
2008		2070
2009		2071
2010		2072
2011	Comparability between Israelis and Palestinians. It is known that utility functions are equivalent under positive affine transformation, that is $u'(x) = au(x) + b$, where a is a positive scale parameter and b is a translation/shift constant, and $u(x)$ reflect the same preferences. This implies that statements like 'Israelis prefer component X twice as much as Palestinians' are impossible to make because a and b for each group remain unidentified. As a result, mere differences in utility of a single deal between Palestinians and Israelis cannot be pinned down, because of scale, but differences in utility of a deal from a commonly valued deal, e.g. the status quo, can. We are merely concerned with these differences, hence the shift constant can be ignored. The differences in utility between each deal and the status quo are what is estimated by the rank-ordered logit model and then plotted in Figure 3. To identify the mutually acceptable deals and Pareto efficient deals in the sense of a Nash bargaining solution all that is required is the comparison of the utility of the peace deal with the utility of the status quo for each party. Ratios of differences in utility for Palestinians (P) and Israelis (I) can also be evaluated: $\frac{u^P(j)-u^P(sq)}{u^I(j)-u^I(sq)}$, for deal j and status quo sq , meaning that statements saying: 'it is X times as good to go from the status quo to deal j for Palestinians as to go from the status quo to deal j for Israelis' are reasonable.	2073
2012		2074
2013		2075
2014		2076
2015		2077
2016		2078
2017		2079
2018		2080
2019		2081
2020		2082
2021		2083
2022		2084
2023	Identification of fair deals as those along the 45 degree line in the sense that they achieve an egalitarian split of utility gains (25) rely on stronger inter-group comparability between Israelis and Palestinians, namely that the positive scale parameter a for each group is identical.	2085
2024		2086
2025		2087
2026		2088
2027	G. Heterogeneity by violence exposure (Israeli sample).	2089
2028		2090
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2038		2100
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2044		2106
2045		2107
2046		2108



Fig. SI.4. Timeline of reported violent incidents, Israeli sample.

Demographic profile of Israelis exposed and not exposed to violence

	Know someone victim of an incidence of violence	Does not know anyone
Male (%)	52.76	43.96
Age (mean)	38.41	44.79
Aged 25 (%)	23.10	16.04
Arab (%)	16.58	20.00
Jerusalem (%)	18.09	7.71
Northern (%)	18.59	20.21
Haifa (%)	13.57	15.63
Central (%)	19.10	24.79
Tel Aviv (%)	13.07	15.83
Southern (%)	12.56	13.75
Judea and Samaria (%)	5.03	2.08

Table SI.4. Demographic characteristics of Israeli respondents who report knowing someone who was victim of an incident of violence related to the conflict with the Palestinians and those who did not know any victim.

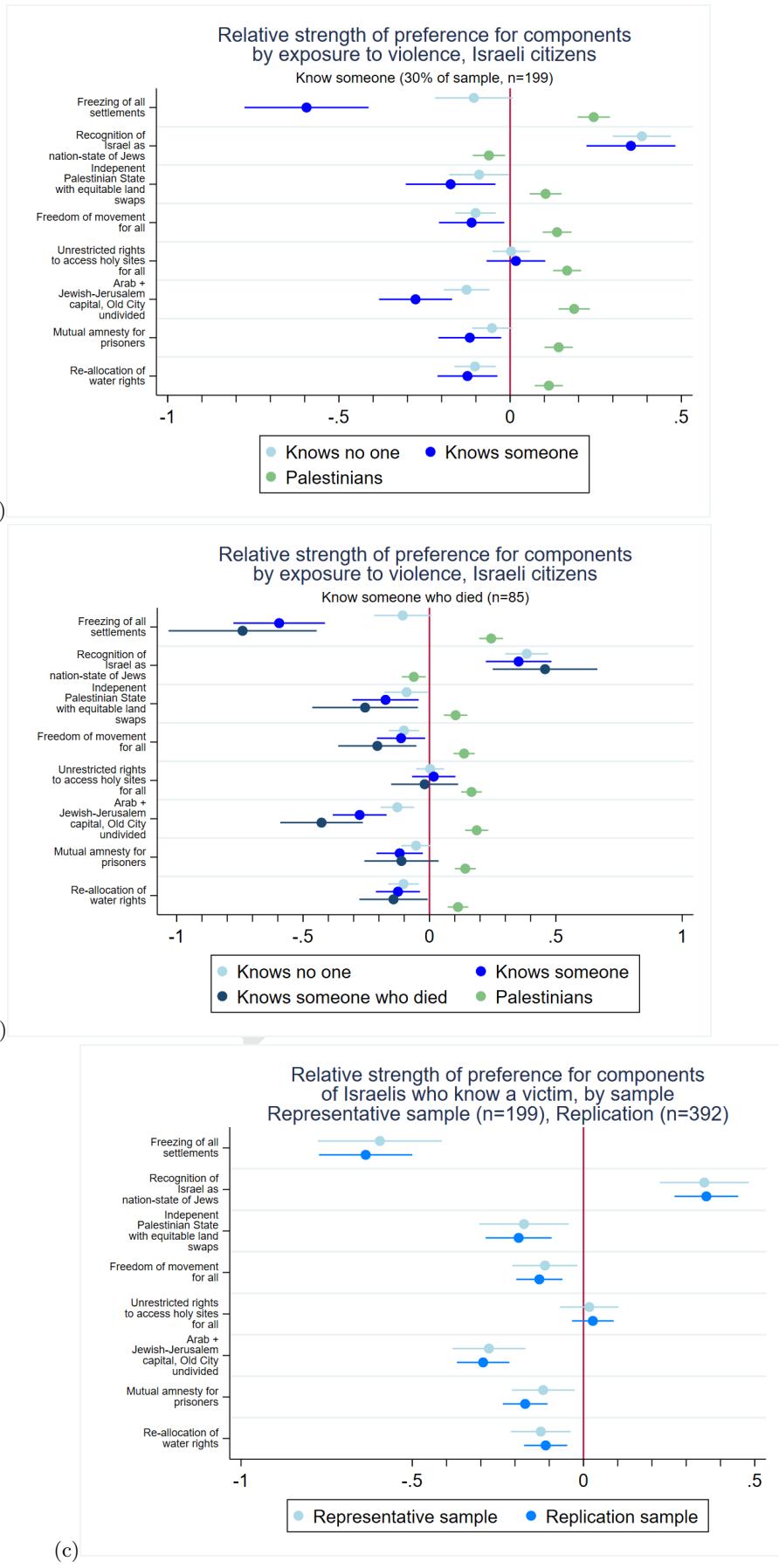


Fig. SI.5. Relative strengths of preference for components in sub-groups of (a) Israelis who know a victim or don't; (b) Israelis who know a victim, a victim who died or don't know anyone; (c) Replication of results in (b) using a non-representative sample of Israeli respondents.

Robustness of heterogeneity results by Exposure to Violence (EtV)							
	Exposure to Violence heterogeneity	Additional controls (interacted with components)			Age	Gender	
		J+J&S district	J+J&S district	J+J&S district	Age	Gender	
2357	(a) Freezing of all settlements	-0.1151** (0.057)	-0.0645 (0.058)	-0.3162** (0.142)	-0.1586 (0.151)	-0.2511* (0.149)	2419
2358	(b) Recognition of Israel as nation state of Jews	0.3847*** (0.042)	0.3915*** (0.043)	0.1568 (0.108)	0.2151* (0.114)	0.2088* (0.112)	2420
2359	(c) Palestinian state with equitable land swaps	-0.1024** (0.043)	-0.0917** (0.045)	-0.2881** (0.113)	-0.2469** (0.118)	-0.2635** (0.115)	2421
2360	(d) Freedom of movement for all	-0.0922*** (0.030)	-0.0952*** (0.031)	-0.2533*** (0.078)	-0.2295*** (0.082)	-0.2306*** (0.080)	2422
2361	(e) Unrestricted rights to access holy sites for all	0.0105 (0.027)	0.0128 (0.028)	-0.1223* (0.073)	-0.0976 (0.076)	-0.0957 (0.074)	2423
2362	(f) Arab + Jewish Jerusalem Old City undivided	-0.1168*** (0.033)	-0.1074*** (0.035)	-0.2343*** (0.086)	-0.1927** (0.089)	-0.2075** (0.086)	2424
2363	(g) Mutual amnesty for prisoners	-0.0575* (0.030)	-0.0584* (0.031)	-0.1598** (0.079)	-0.1511* (0.083)	-0.1478* (0.082)	2425
2364	(h) Re-allocation of water rights	-0.1140*** (0.030)	-0.1072*** (0.031)	-0.1252* (0.074)	-0.1027 (0.077)	-0.1137 (0.075)	2426
2365	EtV#(a)	-0.4794*** (0.108)	-0.4134*** (0.110)	-0.3827*** (0.111)	-0.3480*** (0.112)	-0.4046*** (0.110)	2427
2366	EtV#(b)	-0.0319 (0.078)	-0.0255 (0.081)	0.001 (0.082)	0.0126 (0.082)	0.0097 (0.081)	2428
2367	EtV#(c)	-0.0713 (0.080)	-0.0677 (0.082)	-0.0444 (0.083)	-0.0273 (0.083)	-0.0303 (0.082)	2429
2368	EtV#(d)	-0.0202 (0.057)	-0.0118 (0.059)	0.0039 (0.059)	0.0066 (0.060)	0.001 (0.059)	2430
2369	EtV#(e)	0.0064 (0.052)	0.0091 (0.052)	0.0284 (0.053)	0.0282 (0.054)	0.0279 (0.053)	2431
2370	EtV#(f)	-0.1593*** (0.064)	-0.1461** (0.064)	-0.1305** (0.065)	-0.1127* (0.066)	-0.1240* (0.066)	2432
2371	EtV#(g)	-0.0603 (0.055)	-0.0596 (0.056)	-0.0435 (0.057)	-0.0508 (0.058)	-0.0503 (0.058)	2433
2372	EtV#(h)	-0.0107 (0.054)	-0.0007 (0.055)	0.0111 (0.055)	0.0083 (0.056)	-0.0006 (0.056)	2434
2373	Assumption of constant valuation weights: Wald test's p-value of null of no heterogeneity by						
2374	Exposure to Violence	0.0041	0.0246	0.0509	0.123	0.0446	2435
2375	Jerusalem district & Settlements		0.0919	0.1404	0.1369		2436
2376	Years of age			0.0041	0.003	0.0018	2437
2377	Gender				0.004	0.0041	2438

Table S1.5. Robustness of Exposure to Violence differences in preferences for deals' components controlling for heterogeneity in components by demographic characteristics listed at the top of each column: Jerusalem and Judea and Samaria district (J+J&S district), age (in years) and gender. Characteristics of the individual do not vary between alternatives and the average additive effect of these characteristics on the valuation of alternative deals cannot be identified, but interactions with components can. The panel at the bottom of the table reports the p-values of Wald test statistics of the null hypothesis that valuations of components do not vary (that is, there is no heterogeneity) by each characteristic (row) across the various specification (column).

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