

Middle East Scholar Barometer

Co-directed by Shibley Telhami and Marc Lynch

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**A Joint Initiative of the University of Maryland Critical Issues Poll
and the Project on Middle East Political Science
at George Washington University**

Survey Methodology

This survey was carried out March 14-28, 2022, online using the University of Maryland's Qualtrics platform. The poll was distributed to 1729 recipients resulting in 594 responses. Recipients included those who are members of the Middle East and North Africa section of the American Political Science Association (APSA), the Middle East Studies Association (MESA), as well as members of the American Historical Association (AHA) who specialized in the Middle East, and other relevant contacts of the Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS) at George Washington University. The poll was conducted using an anonymous link sent out via email, which did not collect any identifiable information about the respondents. The poll was designed using the University of Maryland's Qualtrics platform, which generated the anonymous link that was sent out, and the data from the responses were also collected on this platform. The questions, some of which were repeat questions from previous polls, were prepared by the two principal investigators in consultation with the academic advisory committee of the Middle East Scholar Barometer.

Note: Percentages may not always add to one-hundred due to rounding

Middle East Scholars Poll

Dear Colleague,

We would like to invite you to take this brief scholars' survey on Middle East politics (Middle East Scholar Barometer). As you may recall, we conducted the first round of these surveys in February 2021 and the second survey in September 2021. This is the third survey, which repeats some of the same questions so we can track shifts over time, as well as some new, timely questions. We kept it short so that the survey should take around 5-7 minutes to complete. Please note that we will make no effort to sell anything to you, your answers will remain confidential, and you will remain anonymous. We will also share the final aggregate results with you. If at any time you find that you do not want to answer a question, feel free to skip it and move on to the next one. Thank you in advance!

Best,

Marc Lynch

Professor of Political Science and International Affairs

Director, Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS)

Shibley Telhami

Anwar Sadat Professor for Peace and Development

Director, University of Maryland Critical Issues Poll

Questions:

1A. This research is being conducted by Dr. Shibley Telhami at the University of Maryland, College Park and Dr. Marc Lynch at George Washington University. We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you are a scholar focusing on the Middle East and North Africa. The purpose of this research project is to gauge expert opinions on Middle East politics.

Below you will find a series of questions on Middle East politics, followed by demographic questions, that should only take you five minutes to complete. As this survey is being conducted using an anonymous link, no identifiable information about you will be collected.

Any potential loss of confidentiality will be minimized by not collecting your email address (through the use of an anonymous link) or any other information that can allow you to be identified. The data from this survey will be securely stored in the principal investigator's password protected accounts.

If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible. Should you need to reach us for any reason regarding this survey, please contact us at sadat@umd.edu

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact the University of Maryland Institutional Review Board at irb@umd.edu.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. By consenting below, you indicate that you are at least 18 years of age.

I acknowledge that I have read the information about the survey above and I give my consent in order to participate: **[FORCE RESPONSE]**

a) I consent	Total
b) I do not consent (if you selected this option, please exit the survey now)	99.7%
	<1

1. Will the Ukraine crisis have any consequences for the future influence of the following parties in the Middle East?

	Increase	Decrease	No impact
Russia	33%	58%	9%
China	63	5	32
The U.S.	40	26	34
The E.U.	38	24	38

2. How will the ongoing Ukraine crisis affect U.S. alliances with the following countries, if at all?

	Strengthen them	Weaken them	No impact
Qatar	50%	10%	41%
The UAE	30	36	34
Turkey	61	15	24
Saudi Arabia	31	36	34
Israel	28	16	56

3. Does the current Ukraine crisis increase, decrease, or make no difference to the likelihood of the successful negotiation and implementation of the U.S. return to the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)?

a) Increase	32%
b) Decrease	42
c) Make no difference	26

4. Would the U.S. returning to the JCPOA as it currently stands: **[RANDOMIZE]**

a) Make it less likely Iran gets a nuclear weapon in the next ten years?	67%
b) Make it more likely Iran gets a nuclear weapon in the next ten years?	5
c) Make no real difference to the likelihood of Iran getting a nuclear weapon in the next ten years?	28

5. How would you describe Biden's overall Middle East policy compared to the previous administration?

a) Much better	12%
b) Somewhat better	44

- c) Not significantly changed 39
- d) Somewhat worse 4
- e) Much worse 2

6. How would you describe your assessment of Biden’s policy on the following Middle East issues?

	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Neither favorable or unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable
Advancing Israeli-Palestinian peace	1%	6%	46%	24%	24%
The Iran Nuclear deal	10	58	16	11	4
The Yemen conflict	1	15	37	25	23
The Syrian conflict	<1	6	50	27	17
Human rights	1	23	36	23	17

7. How would you describe your assessment of Biden’s handling of relations with the following?

	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Neither favorable or unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable
Egypt	0%	17%	52%	23%	9%
Saudi Arabia	2	20	32	32	14
Israel	7	17	32	25	20
Qatar	6	27	52	12	3
United Arab Emirates	4	18	48	23	8
Turkey	1	26	53	17	3
Jordan	4	24	61	8	2
Palestinian Authority	0	12	35	32	21

8. In recent years, has U.S. involvement in the Middle East been:

- a) Increasing 7%
- b) Decreasing 55
- c) Staying at the same level 38

9. How do you describe the current level of stability in following countries?

	Very stable	Somewhat stable	Somewhat unstable	Very unstable
Egypt	10%	56%	31%	3%
Jordan	16	60	24	1
Saudi Arabia	28	55	16	1
Turkey	12	49	36	2
Iran	10	56	31	3

10. How likely is it that each of the following countries experiences regime-threatening instability within the next five years?

	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Somewhat unlikely	Very unlikely
Egypt	6%	39%	44%	11%
Jordan	4	31	49	17
Saudi Arabia	4	23	44	28
Turkey	5	41	44	9
Iran	4	33	49	13

11. Given the events in Tunisia since President Kaes Al-Saeid invoked emergency powers in July of 2021, what is your view on the likely state of democracy in Tunisia 5 years from now?

- a) Likely to be more democratic **5%**
- b) Likely to be less democratic **68**
- c) Likely to be roughly where it is **27**

12. The stated aim of international diplomacy toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been to achieve two states, the state of Israel next to a sovereign state of Palestine established within the territories that Israel occupied in the 1967 war. Which of the following is closer to your view about the likelihood of this outcome? **[RANDOMIZE]**

- a) It's no longer possible **61%**
- b) It's possible and probably within the next 10 years **3**
- c) It's possible, but improbable within the next 10 years **36**

13. In your opinion, which of the following comes closest to describing the current reality in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza: **[RANDOMIZE]**

- a) The state of Israel with temporary occupation of the West Bank and Gaza **2%**
- b) The state of Israel with semi-permanent occupation of the West Bank and Gaza **27**
- c) Two unequal states **1**
- d) A one-state reality with inequality, but not akin to Apartheid **10**
- e) A one-state reality akin to Apartheid **60**

14. If a two-state outcome is, or becomes, no longer possible, which of the following is most likely in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza in the next 10 years? **[RANDOMIZE]**

- a) A single state with equality between Israelis and Palestinians **1%**
- b) A one-state reality with increasing inequality but not akin to Apartheid **18**
- c) A one-state reality akin to Apartheid **77**
- d) A confederation **5**

15. Excluding the occupied West Bank and Gaza, how would you describe the nature of the Israeli state and its relationship with non-Jewish minorities, including the roughly one-fifth of its citizens who are Arab? (Which of the following is closest to your view about the nature of Israel?)

[RANDOMIZE]

- a) A democratic state with full equality **<1%**
- b) A democratic state with some inequality **9**
- c) A democratic state with deep structural inequality **61**
- d) A state akin to apartheid **29**

16. How would you assess the prospect of the following outcomes in Israel/Palestine during the next 5 years?

	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Somewhat unlikely	Very unlikely
Collapse of the Palestinian Authority	9%	57%	33%	1%
A new Palestinian Intifada, perhaps including violent confrontations	18	60	22	1
Israeli expulsion of some/many Palestinians	24	48	24	4
Israeli annexation of some/all of the West Bank	30	50	17	3
Status quo continues with minor changes	31	43	23	4

17. What is your profession? (Please select one)

- a) Tenure-track professor **52%**
- b) Non tenure-track professor **11**
- c) Graduate student **10**
- d) Professor Emeritus **9**
- e) Independent scholar **4**
- f) Retired scholar **6**
- g) Other **8**

18. Are you a member of one of the following?

a) Middle East Studies Association	45%
b) American Political Science Association	36
c) American Historical Association (AHA)	19

(It totals 101 due to rounding)

19. What is your discipline? (Please select one)

a) Political science	43%
b) Not political science	57

20. What is your gender identity? (Please select one)

a) Male	63%
b) Female	32
c) Transgender male	0
d) Transgender female	0
e) Gender variant/non-conforming	<1
f) Other	<1
g) Prefer not to answer	5

21. What is your race/ethnicity? (Select all that apply)

a) White	66%
b) Black or African-American	1
c) American Indian or Alaska Native	1
d) Asian	5
e) Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	0
f) Hispanic or Latino origin	2
g) Middle East origin	29

22. Are you currently located outside or inside of the United States? (Please select one)

a) Outside the United States	22%
b) Inside the United States	78

23. Which Middle East Scholar Barometer surveys have you participated in?

a) February 2021	43%
b) September 2021	45
c) None / this is the first survey I have participated in	19