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  
99.7% 

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
<th>No impact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The U.S.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The E.U.</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Strengthen them</th>
<th>Weaken them</th>
<th>No impact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The UAE</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Very favorable</th>
<th>Somewhat favorable</th>
<th>Neither favorable or unfavorable</th>
<th>Somewhat unfavorable</th>
<th>Very unfavorable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advancing Israeli-Palestinian peace</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Iran Nuclear deal</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Yemen conflict</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Syrian conflict</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human rights</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Very stable</th>
<th>Somewhat stable</th>
<th>Somewhat unstable</th>
<th>Very unstable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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
- b) Likely to be less democratic
- c) Likely to be roughly where it is

### 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
- b) It’s possible and probably within the next 10 years
- c) It’s possible, but improbable within the next 10 years

### 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
- b) The state of Israel with semi-permanent occupation of the West Bank and Gaza
- c) Two unequal states
- d) A one-state reality with inequality, but not akin to Apartheid
- e) A one-state reality akin to Apartheid
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?

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

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%