

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 August 26-September 09, 2021, online using the University of Maryland's Qualtrics platform. The poll was distributed to 1290 recipients resulting in 557 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), 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.

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. This is the second 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 less than 5 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 and Shibley Telhami

Questions:

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 more than 99%
b) I do not consent (if you selected this option, please exit the survey now)	< 1%

1. Which one is closer to your view about the impact of the US military withdrawal from Afghanistan on the credibility of the US in the Middle East? **[RANDOMIZE]**

a) It has undermined it	Total 58%
b) It has neither undermined nor enhanced it	39
c) It has enhanced it	3

2. A year ago, the Abraham Accords were signed, initially between Israel on the one hand, and the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain on the other (later expanded to include Morocco and Sudan). What is your opinion on its impact on the following

Q2A. the prospects of Israeli-Palestinian peace	Total
Very positive	1%
Somewhat positive	5
Neither negative nor positive	22
Somewhat negative	31
Very negative	41

Q2B. advancing democracy / human rights in the Middle East

Very positive	< 1%
Somewhat positive	4
Neither negative nor positive	25
Somewhat negative	27
Very negative	43

Q2C. advancing regional stability

Very positive	4%
Somewhat positive	22

Neither negative nor positive	33
Somewhat negative	22
Very negative	19

Q2D. advancing US interests as you understand them to be

Very positive	11%
Somewhat positive	30
Neither negative nor positive	25
Somewhat negative	20
Very negative	14

3. Tunisia’s President Kaes Al-Saeid recently suspended Parliament and seized emergency powers. Some have described these steps as constituting a coup. Do you agree or disagree?

	Total
a) Agree	58%
b) Disagree	14
c) Don’t know	28

4. In your opinion, have these actions made democracy in Tunisia more or less likely a decade from now?

	Total
a) More	3%
b) Less	76
c) Neither	21%

5. 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]

	Total
a) It’s no longer possible	57%
b) It’s possible and probable within the next ten years	3
c) It’s possible, but improbable within the next ten years	40

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

	Total
a) The state of Israel with temporary occupation of the West Bank and Gaza	1%

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| 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 | 6 |
| e) A one-state reality akin to Apartheid | 65 |
|
 | |
| 7. 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 ten years? [RANDOMIZE] | |
| | Total |
| a) A single state with equality between Israelis and Palestinians | 2% |
| b) A one-state reality with increasing inequality but not akin to Apartheid | 16 |
| c) A one-state reality akin to Apartheid | 80 |
| d) A confederation | 2 |
|
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| 8. Would the U.S. returning to the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) as it currently stands: [RANDOMIZE] | |
| | Total |
| a) Make it less likely Iran gets a nuclear weapon in the next ten years? | 69% |
| b) Make it more likely Iran gets a nuclear weapon in the next ten years? | 3 |
| c) Make no real difference to the likelihood of Iran getting a nuclear weapon in the next ten years? | 28 |
|
 | |
| 9. Which strategy towards Iran is most likely to produce results favorable to U.S. interests? [RANDOMIZE] | |
| | Total |
| a) Pursue "Maximum Pressure" policy | 4% |
| b) Return immediately to the JCPOA before addressing other issues | 65 |
| c) Try to negotiate a grand bargain which includes ballistic missiles, drones, and regional security prior to returning to the JCPOA | 30 |
| d) Take preventive military action against Iran's nuclear program | 1 |
|
 | |
| 10. In comparison to six months ago, is a return to the JCPOA now more or less likely? | |
| | Total |
| a) More | 25% |

b) Less	35
c) Same likelihood	39
11. [Ask to those who answered b) Less to the last question] Who in your assessment is more responsible for the reduced likelihood of returning to the JCPOA:	
	Total
a) The US	46%
b) Iran	18
c) Both equally	33
d) Neither	2
12. What is your profession? (Please select one)	
	Total
a) Tenure-track professor	49%
b) Non tenure-track professor	12
c) Graduate student	14
d) Professor Emeritus	7
e) Independent scholar	6
f) Retired scholar	6
g) Other	6
13. Are you a member of one of the following? (Check all that apply)	
	Total
a) Middle East Studies Association	71%
b) American Political Science Association	29
14. What is your discipline? (Please select one)	
	Total
a) Political science	48%
b) Not political science	52
15. What is your preferred gender identity? (Please select one)	
	Total
a) Male	58%
b) Female	37
c) Transgender male	0
d) Transgender female	0
e) Gender variant/non-conforming	< 1
f) Other	0
g) Prefer not to answer	4
16. Are you currently located outside or inside of the United States? (Please select one)	

- a) Outside the United States
- b) Inside the United States

Total
28%
72

17. Did you participate in first survey in February of 2021?

- a) Yes
- b) No

Total
80%
20