

# Middle East Scholar Barometer

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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**

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## **Survey Methodology**

This survey was carried out February 8-15, 2021 online using the University of Maryland's Qualtrics platform. The poll was distributed to 1,293 recipients and 521 consented to the terms of the survey and provided responses. Recipients included those who are members of the Middle East Studies Association (MESA), the Middle East and North Africa section of the American Political Science Association (APSA), 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.

## **Middle East Scholars Poll**

Dear Colleague,

We would like to invite you to take this brief scholars' survey on Middle East politics that we are conducting. This survey should take less than 5 minutes to complete. Please note that we will make no effort to sell anything to you and 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:**

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](mailto: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](mailto: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]**

	<b>Total</b>
a) I consent	<b>99.6%</b>
b) I do not consent (if you selected this option, please exit the survey now)	<b>.4</b>
1. 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? <b>[RANDOMIZE]</b>	
a) It's no longer possible	<b>52%</b>
b) It's possible and probable within the next ten years	<b>6</b>
c) It's possible, but improbable within the next ten years	<b>42</b>
Refused	<b>1</b>
2. In your opinion, which of the following comes closest to describing the current reality in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza: <b>[RANDOMIZE]</b>	
a) The state of Israel with temporary occupation of the West Bank and Gaza	<b>2%</b>
b) The state of Israel with semi-permanent occupation of the West Bank and Gaza	<b>30</b>
c) Two unequal states	<b>1</b>
d) A one-state reality with inequality, but not akin to Apartheid	<b>7</b>
e) A one-state reality akin to Apartheid	<b>59</b>
Refused	<b>1</b>
3. 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? <b>[RANDOMIZE]</b>	
a) A single state with equality between Israelis and Palestinians	<b>1%</b>
b) A one-state reality with increasing inequality, but not akin to Apartheid	<b>17</b>
c) A one-state reality akin to Apartheid	<b>77</b>
d) A confederation	<b>3</b>
Refused	<b>2</b>

4. Reflecting on the Arab uprisings that started a decade ago that some have termed “the Arab Spring”, which of the following is closer to your view: [RANDOMIZE]

	<b>Total</b>
a) The uprisings are over and are unlikely to return	<b>7%</b>
b) The uprisings are likely to return within the next ten years	<b>30</b>
c) The uprisings are likely to return, but it will take more than ten years	<b>17</b>
d) The uprisings never stopped and are still ongoing in different forms	<b>46</b>
Refused	<b>1</b>

5. With a ten year perspective, how would you assess the significance of the Arab uprisings on Arab politics? [RANDOMIZE]

a) Temporary disruption with limited long term impact	<b>17%</b>
b) Significant impact but not transformational	<b>54</b>
c) Transformational impact	<b>29</b>
Refused	<b>&lt;1</b>

6. How would you describe U.S. power in the Middle East right now compared to ten years ago? [RANDOMIZE]

a) Stronger than a decade ago	<b>3%</b>
b) About the same as a decade ago	<b>21</b>
c) Weaker than a decade ago	<b>75</b>
Refused	<b>1</b>

7. What do you expect for U.S. power in the Middle East a decade from now? [RANDOMIZE]

a) Stronger than now	<b>10%</b>
b) About the same as now	<b>41</b>
c) Weaker than now	<b>48</b>
Refused	<b>1</b>

8. How would you describe the current state of global powers' influence in the Middle East?  
**[RANDOMIZE]**

	<b>Total</b>
a) The U.S. remains the most dominant power in Middle East politics	<b>38%</b>
b) Russia and the U.S. are roughly equal competitors in Middle East politics	<b>8</b>
c) There are multiple global powers including the U.S., Russia, China, and Western European powers influencing Middle East politics, with no single dominant power	<b>54</b>
Refused	<b>1</b>

9. Compared to ten years ago, which of the following is closest to your view about the influence of global powers in Middle East politics today: **[RANDOMIZE]**

a. They have more influence	<b>29%</b>
b. They have less influence	<b>28</b>
c. They have about the same level of influence	<b>42</b>
Refused	<b>1</b>

10. 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	<b>75%</b>
b) Make it more likely Iran gets a nuclear weapon in the next ten years	<b>2</b>
c) Make no real difference to the likelihood of Iran getting a nuclear weapon in the next ten years	<b>21</b>
Refused	<b>3</b>

11. Which strategy towards Iran is most likely to produce results favorable to U.S. interests?  
**[RANDOMIZE]**

a) Sustain "Maximum Pressure"	<b>4%</b>
b) Return immediately to the JCPOA before addressing other issues	<b>67</b>
c) Try to negotiate a grand bargain which includes ballistic missiles, drones, and regional security prior to returning to the JCPOA	<b>23</b>
d) Take preventive military action against Iran's nuclear program	<b>1</b>
Refused	<b>5</b>

12. Rank the following Middle Eastern countries in terms of their current regional influence:  
[RANDOMIZE] (to rank these countries, please use your cursor to move them into your preferred order)

**a) The United Arab Emirates**

1. 5%
2. 7
3. 11
4. 16
5. 27
6. 20
7. 11

Refused 3

**b) Saudi Arabia**

1. 23%
2. 24
3. 22
4. 17
5. 7
6. 3
7. 1

Refused 3

**c) Qatar**

1. <1%
2. 2
3. 4
4. 11
5. 19
6. 36
7. 25

Refused 3

**d) Egypt**

1. 1%
2. 1
3. 3
4. 5
5. 16
6. 20
7. 50

Refused 3

**e) Iran**

1. 23%
2. 29
3. 21
4. 12
5. 7
6. 4
7. 1

Refused 3

**f) Turkey**

1. 10%
2. 16
3. 25
4. 24
5. 13
6. 6
7. 3

Refused 3

**g) Israel**

1. 34%
2. 18
3. 11
4. 12
5. 8
6. 9

7. 5

Refused 3

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

	<b>Total</b>
a. Tenure-track professor	<b>49%</b>
b. Non tenure-track professor	<b>9</b>
c. Graduate student	<b>17</b>
d. Professor Emeritus	<b>7</b>
e. Independent scholar	<b>6</b>
f. Retired scholar	<b>6</b>
g. Other	<b>7</b>
Refused	<b>&lt;1</b>

14. Are you a member of one of the following? (Check all that apply)

a. Middle East Studies Association	<b>85%</b>
b. American Political Science Association	<b>42</b>

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

a) Political science	<b>51%</b>
b) Not political science	<b>49</b>
Refused	<b>&lt;1</b>

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

a) Male	<b>57%</b>
b) Female	<b>37</b>
c) Transgender male	<b>0</b>
d) Transgender female	<b>0</b>
e) Gender variant/non-conforming	<b>&lt;1</b>
f) Other	<b>&lt;1</b>
g) Prefer not to answer	<b>5</b>
Refused	<b>&lt;1</b>



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

	<b>Total</b>
a) Outside the United States	<b>28%</b>
b) Inside the United States	<b>71</b>
Refused	<b>&lt;1</b>