

Middle East Scholar Barometer

Co-directed by Shibley Telhami and Marc Lynch
Karenna Sarney, Project Manager

**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 January 31 – February 19, 2025, online using the University of Maryland's Qualtrics platform. The poll was distributed to 3,165 recipients resulting in 614 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.

Dear Colleague,

We would like to invite you to take this brief scholars' survey on Middle East politics (Middle East Scholar Barometer). In this survey, the eighth since February 2021, we repeat some of the same questions from previous rounds so we can track shifts over time, as well as ask some new, timely questions, especially about the impact of the Israel-Gaza war on regional and global politics, and the climate on university campuses. We kept it short so that the survey should take 8-10 minutes to complete. Please note that 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. We value all feedback on this project, and due to feedback from previous surveys, we have now added a "I don't know" option to all questions that apply.

Thank you in advance!

Best,

Marc Lynch

Shibley Telhami

Professor of Political Science and International
Affairs Director
Director, Project on Middle East Political
Science (POMEPS)

Anwar Sadat Professor for Peace and
Development
Director, University of Maryland Critical Issues
Poll

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 related to Middle East scholarship, followed by demographic questions, which 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 anonymous links) 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 sadatprogram@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: [PN: FORCE RESPONSE]

	Total
1. I consent	100%
2. I do not consent (if you selected this option, please exit the survey now)	0%

Q1. Do you feel the need to self-censor when speaking about the Palestinian-Israeli issue in an academic or professional capacity? [PN: RANDOMIZE]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Yes	76%	78%	71%
No	24%	22%	30%

[PN: ASK Q1A. ONLY IF Q1=1 “Yes”] Q1A. On which issue do you most feel the need to self-censor: [PN: RANDOMIZE]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Criticism of Palestinians	11%	11%	9%
Criticism of Israel	84%	83%	88%
Criticism of U.S. policy	2%	2%	0%
Other	4%	4%	2%

Q2. What are the primary reasons for limiting your speech about the Palestinian-Israeli issue in an academic or professional capacity? (Select all that apply) [PN: RANDOMIZE]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Government legal restrictions on permissible speech	29%	30%	27%

Concerns about discipline from academic administrators at your institution	37%	38%	34%
Concerns about affecting institutional fundraising	13%	12%	18%
Concerns about the campus culture or offending students	44%	47%	35%
Concerns about pressure from external advocacy groups	56%	58%	51%
I do not feel a need to limit my speech	21%	21%	21%

Q3. Have you experienced any greater direct or indirect need to self-censor since the start of the war in Israel and Gaza on October 7, 2023? [PN: RANDOMIZE]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Yes	76%	75%	78%
No	24%	25%	22%

Q4. With the Trump administration in office, do you feel any greater direct or indirect need to self-censor when discussing the Israeli-Palestinian issue? [PN: RANDOMIZE]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Yes	52%	57%	37%
No	48%	43%	63%

Q5. Have you experienced any new pressures or restrictions from your institution on your ability to speak about these issues since the start of the war in Israel and Gaza on October 7, 2023? [PN: RANDOMIZE]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Yes	42%	43%	40%
No	58%	57%	60%

Q6. To what extent are the following sentiments prevalent at your institution? [PN: RANDOMIZE]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Antisemitic			
A lot	4%	4%	3%
Somewhat	15%	17%	10%
A little	28%	29%	24%

Not at all	37%	33%	47%
Does not apply	3%	1%	6%
I don't know	15%	16%	11%
Anti-Muslim	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
A lot	12%	12%	13%
Somewhat	34%	37%	23%
A little	27%	27%	25%
Not at all	16%	12%	28%
Does not apply	3%	2%	6%
I don't know	9%	11%	6%
Anti-Palestinian	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
A lot	23%	25%	18%
Somewhat	30%	32%	23%
A little	19%	20%	18%
Not at all	18%	13%	33%
Does not apply	2%	1%	4%
I don't know	8%	10%	3%
Anti-Israeli	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
A lot	19%	17%	23%
Somewhat	28%	30%	23%
A little	25%	27%	21%
Not at all	20%	18%	26%
Does not apply	2%	2%	3%
I don't know	6%	7%	3%

Q7. How would you compare the challenges you may have faced following October 7th with the other challenges imposed by political events in your academic career? [PN: REVERSE SCALE 1-4]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
The worst	25%	27%	20%
Among the worst	41%	41%	43%
Not among the worst	20%	21%	20%
Not challenging at all	8%	7%	11%

I don't know [PN: FIXED]	5%	4%	6%
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Q8. How would you evaluate the response by campus leadership in American higher education institutions to the following campus events generated by the war in Israel and Gaza? (On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is 'indulgent' and 5 is 'severe') [PN: RANDOMIZE]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Campus Demonstrations			
1 (Indulgent)	7%	8%	3%
2	5%	6%	3%
3	13%	16%	6%
4	21%	22%	18%
5 (Severe)	41%	43%	34%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	13%	4%	36%
Critics of Campus Demonstrations			
1 (Indulgent)	37%	43%	22%
2	15%	16%	14%
3	13%	16%	7%
4	6%	6%	6%
5 (Severe)	12%	12%	14%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	16%	8%	37%

Q9. How do you think your institution has handled the tensions generated by the war in Israel and Gaza in the last year? (On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is 'very well' and 5 is 'very poor') [PN: RANDOMIZE]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Campus Demonstrations			
1 (Very well)	6%	6%	7%
2	14%	15%	13%
3	22%	24%	19%
4	19%	17%	22%
5 (Very poor)	27%	29%	21%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	12%	10%	18%
Critics of Campus Demonstrations			
1 (Very well)	9%	10%	8%
2	14%	15%	11%

3	21%	22%	19%
4	16%	15%	16%
5 (Very poor)	21%	23%	16%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	19%	15%	30%

Q10. Under the Trump administration, do you expect the response by campus leadership in American higher education institutions to the following campus events generated by the war in Israel and Gaza to be more indulgent or more severe? (On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is 'more indulgent' and 5 is 'more severe') [PN: RANDOMIZE]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Campus Demonstrations			
1 (More indulgent)	2%	2%	2%
2	1%	2%	1%
3	5%	5%	4%
4	12%	13%	11%
5 (More severe)	69%	71%	64%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	11%	8%	19%
Critics of Campus Demonstrations			
1 (More indulgent)	48%	51%	39%
2	11%	11%	11%
3	5%	5%	6%
4	4%	5%	2%
5 (More severe)	21%	19%	24%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	12%	8%	20%

Q11. What measures did your institution take to address the tensions generated by the war in Israel and Gaza in the last year? [PN: RANDOMIZE]

		Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Issued new restrictions on campus demonstrations	Yes	55%	59%	44%
	No	31%	28%	38%
	I don't know	14%	13%	17%
Issued new restrictions on speech on campus	Yes	41%	45%	30%
	No	41%	39%	47%
	I don't know	18%	16%	23%

Adopted new definitions of antisemitism and Islamophobia	Yes	17%	17%	15%
	No	59%	56%	68%
	I don't know	24%	27%	17%
Established a task force to deal with both antisemitism and Islamophobia	Yes	13%	14%	10%
	No	63%	59%	74%
	I don't know	24%	27%	16%
Established two separate task forces on antisemitism and Islamophobia	Yes	9%	11%	5%
	No	64%	60%	77%
	I don't know	27%	29%	19%
Established only one task force on antisemitism	Yes	14%	14%	16%
	No	57%	56%	62%
	I don't know	28%	30%	22%
Established only one task force on Islamophobia	Yes	3%	4%	1%
	No	73%	71%	78%
	I don't know	25%	26%	21%
Does not apply [PN: FIXED]	Yes	19%	14%	29%
	No	33%	33%	34%
	I don't know	48%	53%	37%

Q12. To your knowledge, has your institution faced any Title VI formal complaints since October 7 related to campus activism over Gaza or antisemitic/Islamophobic incidents? [PN: RANDOMIZE]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Yes, and the investigation is ongoing	14%	17%	4%
Yes, and the cases have been settled	5%	6%	0%
No	26%	21%	42%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	55%	56%	54%

Q13. To your knowledge, has your institution faced any demands for information or action from the following external or official actors related to campus activism over Gaza or other issues related to the conflict? (Select all that apply) [PN: RANDOMIZE 1-4]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States

Federal government	17%	18%	16%
State/local government	17%	18%	13%
External advocacy groups	37%	43%	22%
Media	23%	24%	22%
None	11%	9%	16%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	43%	40%	52%

Q14. Has your institution adopted the IHRA definition of antisemitism, in which some forms of criticism of Israel are considered antisemitic, in response to campus activism over Gaza or other issues related to the conflict? [PN: RANDOMIZE]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Yes	14%	14%	12%
No	48%	44%	59%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	39%	42%	30%

Q15. How do you believe that your research or teaching would be impacted if your institution adopted the IHRA definition of antisemitism, in which some forms of criticism of Israel are considered antisemitic? [PN: RANDOMIZE]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Positively	1%	1%	2%
Negatively	71%	73%	67%
Not affected	17%	19%	13%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	10%	7%	19%

Q16. Is it your impression that the Gaza related protests in your institution have noticeably subsided in the fall semester of 2024 compared with the spring semester of 2024? If so, what do you think explains it most? They have subsided due to... [PN: RANDOMIZE 1-4]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Fatigue	28%	26%	33%
Reduced media coverage	5%	5%	3%
Actions undertaken by your institution	27%	30%	18%
Legal or career concerns by protesters	11%	13%	6%
Other / I don't know	23%	20%	31%
They have not significantly subsided	7%	6%	9%

Q17. Which of the following is closest to your view regarding the encampments protesting the war in Israel and Gaza which have appeared on many American college and university campuses? [PN: REVERSE SCALE 1-4]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Support the protests and their primary goals	67%	70%	60%
Support the protests but not their primary goals	13%	13%	12%
Oppose the protest but support their primary goals	5%	6%	3%
Oppose the protests and oppose their primary goals	7%	7%	6%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	8%	5%	19%

Q18. How would you define Israel's military campaign in Gaza? [PN: REVERSE SCALE 1-5]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Genocide	46%	45%	46%
Major war crimes akin to genocide	36%	36%	35%
Major war crimes but not akin to genocide	9%	8%	12%
Unjustified actions but not major war crimes	4%	4%	2%
Justified actions under the right to self-defense	4%	4%	3%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	2%	2%	2%

Q19. How would you assess the prospect of the following outcomes in Israel/Palestine during the Trump administration? (On a scale of 1 to 4, where 1 is 'very likely and 4 is 'not at all') [PN: RANDOMIZE]

		Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Collapse of the Palestinian Authority	Very likely	17%	17%	17%
	Somewhat likely	51%	51%	50%
	Not very likely	27%	27%	25%
	Not at all	1%	1%	1%
	I don't know	5%	5%	7%
A broader and more violent Palestinian Intifada	Very likely	15%	13%	20%
	Somewhat likely	47%	49%	43%
	Not very likely	29%	29%	28%
	Not at all	2%	3%	1%
	I don't know	7%	7%	8%

Israeli expulsion of some/many Palestinians from Gaza	Very likely	55%	52%	63%
	Somewhat likely	32%	33%	28%
	Not very likely	10%	11%	6%
	Not at all	2%	2%	3%
	I don't know	1%	2%	1%
Israeli expulsion of some/many Palestinians from the West Bank and East Jerusalem	Very likely	47%	46%	49%
	Somewhat likely	37%	38%	33%
	Not very likely	12%	13%	12%
	Not at all	3%	2%	4%
	I don't know	1%	1%	2%
Israeli annexation of some/all of the West Bank	Very likely	54%	54%	54%
	Somewhat likely	37%	37%	37%
	Not very likely	7%	8%	4%
	Not at all	1%	0%	2%
	I don't know	2%	1%	3%
Israeli annexation of some/all of Gaza	Very likely	42%	39%	51%
	Somewhat likely	38%	38%	37%
	Not very likely	17%	20%	8%
	Not at all	3%	3%	3%
	I don't know	1%	1%	1%
Status quo continues with minor changes	Very likely	15%	17%	11%
	Somewhat likely	30%	31%	26%
	Not very likely	41%	38%	50%
	Not at all	11%	11%	11%
	I don't know	3%	3%	3%
The creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza	Very likely	0%	0%	0%
	Somewhat likely	3%	2%	3%
	Not very likely	30%	31%	28%
	Not at all	66%	66%	67%
	I don't know	1%	1%	2%

Q20. 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? [PN: REVERSE SCALE 1-3]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
It's no longer possible	54%	56%	49%

It's possible and probable within the next ten years	5%	4%	7%
It's possible but improbable within the next ten years	39%	38%	42%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	3%	3%	3%

Q21: What sort of governance do you think is most likely to emerge in Gaza over the next two years? [PN: RANDOMIZE 1-5]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Continuation of direct Hamas rule	11%	11%	12%
Indirect Hamas domination with a technocratic government	19%	19%	17%
Return of Palestinian Authority, no Hamas role in government	2%	2%	3%
Direct rule by Israel	23%	23%	21%
A combination of international, Arab, Palestinian, and Israeli control	36%	34%	41%
Other. Specify: [PN: FIXED]	10%	10%	7%

Q22. In your opinion, which of the following comes closest to describing the current reality in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza? [PN: REVERSE SCALE 1-5]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
The state of Israel with temporary occupation of the West Bank and Gaza	2%	1%	4%
The state of Israel with semi-permanent occupation of the West Bank and Gaza	28%	26%	32%
Two unequal states	1%	2%	1%
A one-state reality with inequality, but not akin to Apartheid	4%	5%	3%
A one-state reality akin to Apartheid	62%	64%	58%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	2%	3%	2%

Q23. 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? [PN: RANDOMIZE]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
A single state with equality between Israelis and Palestinians	2%	3%	1%
A one-state reality with increasing inequality but not akin to Apartheid	10%	11%	9%
A one-state reality akin to Apartheid	76%	76%	75%
A confederation	3%	3%	4%

I don't know [PN: FIXED]	9%	8%	11%
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Q24. What is your assessment about the likelihood of a U.S. war with Iran under President Trump's new administration? Would you say the likelihood of war has: [PN: REVERSE SCALE 1-5]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Substantially increased	13%	12%	14%
Somewhat increased	41%	43%	34%
Neither increased nor decreased	29%	28%	32%
Somewhat decreased	10%	10%	11%
Substantially decreased	2%	2%	2%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	5%	4%	7%

Q25. How do you assess the likelihood of a nuclear deal with Iran replacing the JCPOA under the Trump administration? [PN: REVERSE SCALE 1-5]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Very likely	2%	2%	3%
Somewhat likely	13%	13%	12%
Neither likely nor unlikely	14%	14%	14%
Somewhat unlikely	26%	26%	26%
Very unlikely	35%	37%	31%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	10%	9%	15%

Q26. How do you think Israel's actions against Iran and across the region have affected Iranian power? [PN: REVERSE SCALE 1-5]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Major, long-term strategic defeat	17%	17%	18%
Major strategic setback but reversible	58%	59%	57%
Minor setback	14%	14%	14%
No significant effects	5%	5%	4%
More powerful now than before	3%	3%	3%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	4%	4%	3%

Q27. With the fall of the Assad regime in Syria and the emergence of a new regime, what is your view on the sanctions the U.S. had imposed on Syria? [PN: REVERSE SCALE 1-3]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Immediately lift sanctions to address the critical humanitarian needs	74%	75%	72%
Take a wait-and-see attitude before removing the sanctions	22%	21%	23%
Keep sanctions as they are	1%	1%	1%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	3%	3%	4%

Q28. What do you think is the most likely outcome for the new Syrian regime over the next few years? [PN: REVERSE SCALE 1-4]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Establishes a stable, democratic, unitary Syria	5%	6%	5%
Establishes a stable but autocratic Islamist regime in a unitary Syria	44%	45%	42%
Partition of Syria into multiple entities	15%	14%	17%
State failure and civil war	15%	15%	15%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	20%	20%	22%

Q29. Do you think Saudi Arabia will normalize relations with Israel within the next two years? [PN: REVERSE SCALE 1-4]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Yes, with major, credible progress towards a Palestinian state	5%	3%	9%
Yes, with limited progress towards a Palestinian state	26%	27%	24%
Yes, without progress towards a Palestinian state	32%	32%	30%
No	30%	29%	32%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	7%	8%	5%

Q30. How do you think Israel's military actions against Hezbollah and its leadership will affect its position inside of Lebanon? [PN: REVERSE SCALE 1-4]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Major, long-term reduction in its political power	33%	33%	33%

Minor, short-term reduction in its political power	46%	46%	46%
No significant impact on its political power	8%	9%	7%
Increased political power	5%	6%	5%
I don't know [PN: FIXED]	7%	6%	9%

Q31. What do you expect for U.S. power in the Middle East a decade from now? [PN: RANDOMIZE]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Stronger than now	8%	7%	11%
About the same as now	23%	22%	26%
Weaker than now	69%	72%	63%