

Middle East Scholar Barometer

Co-directed by Shibley Telhami and Marc Lynch
Kirsten Langlois, 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 May 23 – June 6, 2024, online using the University of Maryland's Qualtrics platform. The poll was distributed to 3,076 recipients resulting in 758 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 seventh 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 ongoing war in Israel and Gaza and the climate on university campuses. We kept it short so that the survey should take 7-10 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. We value all feedback on this project. Should you need to reach us for any reason regarding this survey, please contact us at sadatoffice@umd.edu.

Thank you in advance!

Best,

Marc Lynch

Professor of Political Science and International
Affairs Director
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:

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, 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 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 sadatoffice@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?

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
No	25%	17%	33%
Yes	75%	83%	68%

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)

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Government legal restrictions on permissible speech	20%	18%	24%
Concerns about discipline from academic administrators at your institution	41%	46%	35%
Concerns about affecting institutional fundraising	16%	16%	16%
Concerns about the campus culture or offending students	42%	54%	28%
Concerns about pressure from external advocacy groups	51%	56%	49%
I do not feel a need to limit my speech	21%	15%	29%

[PN: ASK Q3. ONLY IF Q1=1 “Yes”] Q3. 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	10%	11%	7%
Criticism of Israel	81%	80%	86%
Criticism of U.S. policy	4%	4%	4%
Other	6%	6%	3%

Q4. 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?

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Yes	71%	76%	64%
No	30%	24%	36%

Q6. 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?

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Yes	36%	39%	32%
No	65%	61%	68%

Q8. To what extent are the following sentiments prevalent at your institution?

Antisemitic	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
A lot	4%	4%	2%
Somewhat	11%	12%	9%
A little	30%	34%	24%
Not at all	39%	35%	46%
Does not apply	4%	3%	7%
I don't know	12%	12%	11%
Anti-Muslim	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
A lot	13%	15%	10%

Somewhat	30%	34%	20%
A little	24%	24%	25%
Not at all	20%	15%	30%
Does not apply	3%	2%	7%
I don't know	10%	10%	9%
Anti-Palestinian	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
A lot	24%	29%	13%
Somewhat	27%	30%	23%
A little	21%	20%	24%
Not at all	17%	12%	26%
Does not apply	3%	2%	6%
I don't know	8%	8%	7%
Anti-Israeli	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
A lot	25%	26%	23%
Somewhat	25%	28%	21%
A little	21%	18%	26%
Not at all	19%	19%	18%
Does not apply	3%	2%	5%
I don't know	7%	8%	6%

Q9. How would you compare the challenges you may have faced following October 7th with 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	22%	26%	16%
Among the worst	43%	45%	39%
Not among the worst	21%	19%	24%
Not challenging at all	7%	4%	13%
I don't know	7%	6%	8%

Q10. On a scale on 1 to 5, where 1 is 'indulgent' and 5 is 'severe,' how would you evaluate the response by your institution's leadership to the following campus events generated by the war in Israel and Gaza:

Campus Demonstrations	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the
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			United States
1 (Indulgent)	10%	8%	15%
2	13%	13%	17%
3	24%	26%	21%
4	18%	19%	15%
5 (Severe)	18%	21%	11%
I don't know	18%	14%	25%
Critics of Campus Demonstrations	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
1 (Indulgent)	26%	28%	23%
2	18%	19%	18%
3	19%	21%	16%
4	56%	6%	5%
5 (Severe)	7%	8%	5%
I don't know	24%	18%	33%

Q11. On a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 is 'indulgent' and 5 is 'severe,' how would you evaluate the response by campus leadership in American high education institutions to the following campus events generated by the war in Israel and Gaza:

		Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Campus Demonstrations	Total		
1 (Indulgent)	5%	6%	4%
2	5%	5%	5%
3	10%	10%	10%
4	20%	23%	14%
5 (Severe)	49%	54%	40%
I don't know	11%	3%	27%
Critics of Campus Demonstrations	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
1 (Indulgent)	35%	39%	26%
2	16%	18%	13%
3	11%	12%	11%
4	8%	10%	4%
5 (Severe)	16%	16%	15%
I don't know	14%	6%	31%

Q12. In your opinion, what is the PRIMARY reason for people participating in Pro-Palestinian campus demonstrations? [PN: RANDOMIZE]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Protesting Israeli actions in Gaza	52%	51%	55%
Protesting American support for Israeli actions in Gaza	28%	31%	22%
Protesting continued Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza	11%	8%	16%
Protesting the nature of Israel as a Jewish state	4%	5%	2%
Antisemitism	1%	1%	2%
Other	2%	2%	1%
I don't know	2%	2%	2%

Q13. In your opinion, what is the PRIMARY reason for people participating in Pro-Israeli campus demonstrations? [PN: RANDOMIZE]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Protesting Hamas' October 7th attack	6%	6%	5%
Showing support for Israel's response	30%	30%	31%
Protesting anti-Israeli sentiments on campus	25%	27%	22%
Protesting antisemitism on campus	7%	7%	7%
Protesting anti-Zionism on campus	12%	13%	10%
Prejudice against Muslims, Arabs, and/or Palestinians	8%	7%	9%
Other	3%	2%	3%
I don't know	10%	8%	13%

Q14. 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	71%	69%	75%
Support the protests but not their primary goals	12%	14%	9%
Oppose the protest but support their primary goals	6%	6%	5%
Oppose the protests and oppose their primary goals	4%	5%	4%
I don't know	6%	6%	6%

Q15. How do you believe each of the following groups in your own institution feel about the encampments protesting the war in Israel and Gaza?

		Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Faculty	Total		
Mostly supportive	39%	38%	42%
About equally divided	37%	39%	32%
Mostly opposed	7%	7%	7%
I don't know	17%	16%	18%
Administration	Total		
Mostly supportive	7%	4%	13%
About equally divided	16%	17%	15%
Mostly opposed	56%	61%	46%
I don't know	21%	18%	27%
Staff	Total		
Mostly supportive	21%	16%	30%
About equally divided	26%	28%	23%
Mostly opposed	12%	13%	10%
I don't know	41%	43%	37%
Students	Total		
Mostly supportive	54%	51%	60%
About equally divided	21%	23%	18%
Mostly opposed	6%	8%	3%
I don't know	19%	18%	19%

Q16. What is your position on the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement aimed at Israel?

		Inside the United States	Outside the United States
	Total		
I support it unconditionally	33%	32%	36%
I support it under certain conditions	51%	51%	49%
I oppose it unconditionally	13%	13%	12%
I don't know	3%	4%	3%

Q17. Regardless of your position on BDS, do you support or oppose boycotts of Israel?

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
I support all boycotts of Israel	31%	29%	35%
I support some boycotts of Israel	56%	57%	54%
I oppose all boycotts of Israel	10%	10%	10%
I don't know	3%	4%	1%

Q18. Would you support academic boycotts of Israeli academic institutions? [PN: REVERSE SCALE 1-3]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
I support it unconditionally	25%	23%	29%
I support it under certain conditions	43%	41%	46%
I oppose it unconditionally	29%	32%	23%
I don't know	4%	5%	2%

Q19. What do you think is Israel's PRIMARY goal in Gaza? [PN: RANDOMIZE]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Destroy Hamas	15%	18%	11%
Deter attacks by its enemies	3%	3%	4%
Make Gaza uninhabitable so as to force Palestinians out	57%	57%	57%
Sustain occupation of Gaza and its population	6%	5%	8%
Create conditions for a two-state solution	0%	0%	0%
To keep the Israeli government in power	15%	15%	16%
Other	2%	2%	3%
I don't know	1%	2%	1%

Q20. How would you define Israel's current military actions in Gaza? [PN: REVERSE SCALE 1-5]

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Genocide	34%	32%	38%
Major war crimes akin to genocide	41%	42%	40%
Major war crimes but not akin to genocide	16%	17%	15%
Unjustified actions but not major war crimes	4%	4%	3%
Justified actions under the right to self-defense	4%	4%	3%

I don't know	2%	2%	1%
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Q21. How do you assess the implications of Biden's response to the war in Israel and Gaza for the following:

		Inside the United States	Outside the United States
American interests in the Middle East	Total		
Positive	7%	7%	6%
Neither positive nor negative	12%	13%	11%
Negative	79%	78%	79%
I don't know	2%	2%	4%
American standing in the world	Total		
Positive	3%	3%	2%
Neither positive nor negative	10%	9%	10%
Negative	86%	87%	85%
I don't know	2%	1%	2%
Advancing peace in the Israel/Palestine	Total		
Positive	4%	5%	4%
Neither positive nor negative	13%	14%	12%
Negative	80%	80%	80%
I don't know	3%	2%	4%

Q22. How do you assess the effect of Biden's response to the campus protests on each of the following:

		Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Advancing free speech on campus	Total		
Positive	4%	4%	3%
Neither positive nor negative	16%	19%	10%
Negative	73%	74%	73%
I don't know	7%	3%	13%
Advancing healthy campus environments	Total		
Positive	3%	4%	2%
Neither positive nor negative	17%	20%	13%

Negative	71%	72%	70%
I don't know	8%	5%	15%
Protecting Jewish students on campus	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Positive	15%	16%	13%
Neither positive nor negative	37%	39%	33%
Negative	38%	38%	37%
I don't know	10%	6%	17%
Protecting Muslim and Arab students on campus	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Positive	5%	6%	2%
Neither positive nor negative	19%	21%	16%
Negative	69%	70%	68%
I don't know	7%	4%	15%

Q23. What do you think is the likely consequence of the current war in Israel and Gaza for the prospects of violence involving Israel in the following arenas:

The West Bank	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Substantially reduced	1%	1%	0%
Somewhat reduced	1%	1%	0%
Status Quo	2%	2%	1%
Somewhat increased	16%	16%	17%
Substantially increased	80%	80%	81%
I don't know	1%	1%	1%
Lebanon	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Substantially reduced	1%	1%	0%
Somewhat reduced	1%	1%	1%
Status Quo	4%	4%	4%
Somewhat increased	33%	33%	31%
Substantially increased	60%	60%	62%
I don't know	2%	2%	1%
Iran	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States

Substantially reduced	1%	1.0%	0%
Somewhat reduced	<1%	1%	0%
Status Quo	19%	20%	16%
Somewhat increased	44%	44%	44%
Substantially increased	33%	32%	37%
I don't know	3%	3%	2%

Q24. How likely do you think the war in Israel and Gaza is to lead to the following:

		Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Sustained equitable peace in Israel/Palestine	Total		
Very likely	<1%	<1%	0%
Somewhat likely	5%	5%	5%
Not very likely	26%	26%	26%
Not at all likely	6%	65%	66%
I don't know	3%	3%	3%
Effective US diplomacy in Israel/Palestine	Total		
Very likely	1%	1%	1%
Somewhat likely	9%	8%	10%
Not very likely	34%	35%	33%
Not at all likely	55%	54%	55%
I don't know	2%	3%	1%

Q25. 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?

		Inside the United States	Outside the United States
	Total		
It's no longer possible	45%	46%	44%
It's possible and probable within the next ten years	7%	6%	9%
It's possible, but improbable within the next ten years	43%	43%	41%
I don't know	5%	5%	6%

Q26. In your opinion, which of the following comes closest to describing the current reality in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza:

		Inside the United States	Outside the
	Total		

			United States
The state of Israel with temporary occupation of the West Bank and Gaza	2%	2%	1%
The state of Israel with semi-permanent occupation of the West Bank and Gaza	22%	23%	21%
Two unequal states	2%	2%	2%
A one-state reality with inequality, but not akin to Apartheid	6%	5%	9%
A one-state reality akin to Apartheid	66%	66%	65%
I don't know	2%	2%	2%

Q27. Do you expect the war in Israel and Gaza to lead to new large-scale, long-term displacement of Palestinians outside Gaza and/or the West Bank?

	Total	Inside the United States	Outside the United States
Yes	72%	70%	74%
No	13%	13%	12%
I don't know	15%	16%	14%