

Iranian Public Opinion under “Maximum Pressure”

Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland (CISSM) and IranPoll

Questionnaire and Results

- October 2019 National Probability Sample Survey
 Fielded: October 1-8, 2019
 Sample Size: 1,004
 Margin of Error: +/- 3.1%

- August 2019 National Probability Sample
 Fielded: August 25-29, 2019
 Sample Size: 1,009
 Margin of Error: +/- 3.1%

- April/May 2019 National Probability Sample
 Fielded April 17-May4, 2019
 Sample Size: 1,004
 Margin of Error: +/- 3.1%

October 2019 National Probability Sample Survey

Q1. In your opinion, how good or bad is our country's general economic situation? Is it:

	May 2015	Jan. 2016	Jun. 2016	May 2017	Jun. 2017	Jan. 2018	Apr. 2018	Dec. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019	Oct. 2019
Very good	11.1	8.4	3.8	3.4	2.5	2.5	1.7	1.9	2.0	2.7	2.8
Somewhat good	43.2	40.9	35.7	29.8	33.1	27.6	22.3	26.8	23.7	26.0	28.2
Somewhat bad	22.5	24.2	29.4	28.4	29.5	28.2	26.5	27.9	29.8	30.2	27.3
Very bad	21.2	24.4	29.2	36.6	33.9	40.7	45.2	42.9	43.4	40.0	40.3
DK/NA [vol.]	2.0	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.1	.9	4.3	.4	1.2	1.1	1.4

Q2. Right now, do you think economic conditions in Iran, as a whole, are getting better or getting worse?

	May 2015	Jan. 2016	Jun. 2016	May 2017	Jun. 2017	Jan. 2018	Apr. 2018	Dec. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019	Oct. 2019
Getting better	49.3	47.4	42.2	40.2	39.1	31.3	27	33.2	26.6	28.7	30.5
Getting worse	37.1	41.0	43.4	52.4	50.2	58.4	64	59.5	56.9	55.0	53.6
Staying the same [vol.]	9.7	6.1	9.2	4.1	7.7	6.2	5	4.1	8.7	8.0	9.7
DK/NA [vol.]	4.0	5.4	5.2	3.3	3.0	4.1	4	3.2	7.9	8.2	6.3

Q3. As compared to about a year ago, has the economic condition of your family improved, remained roughly unchanged, or has it worsened? [If improved or worsened ask:] A lot or somewhat?

	May 2019	Oct. 2019
Improved a lot	1.1	1.4
Improved somewhat	6.5	9.1
Remained roughly the same	35.6	37.0
Worsened somewhat	32.4	28.7
Worsened a lot	24.2	23.5
DK/NA [vol.]	.2	.4

Q4. Which of the following do you think has the greatest negative impact on the Iranian economy? [Randomize response options]

	May 2015	Jan. 2018	Dec. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019	Oct. 2019
Foreign sanctions and pressures	26.3	32.1	36.2	38.4	37.7	37.5
Domestic economic mismanagement and corruption	64.3	63.3	59.1	58.0	55.3	54.5
DK/NA [vol.]	9.4	4.6	4.8	3.6	7.0	8.0

Q6. As you may know, the United States has withdrawn from the JCPOA nuclear agreement and has reimposed sanctions on Iran. In your opinion, to what degree have these sanctions had a negative impact on our country's economy?¹

	Jul. 2014	Oct. 2019
Have had great negative impact	51	47.7
Have had some negative impact	34	31.8
Have had little negative impact	7	9.5
Have had no negative impact	4	10.4
DK/NA [vol.]	4	.7

Q7. How about on the lives of ordinary people of our country? In your opinion, to what degree have these sanctions had a negative impact on the lives of ordinary people of our country?

	Jul. 2014	Oct. 2019
Have had great negative impact	61	57.1
Have had some negative impact	30	25.8
Have had little negative impact	5	9.4
Have had no negative impact	2	7.2
DK/NA [vol.]	2	.6

¹ In July 2014 it was asked: "As you may know, Iran is currently under sanctions for activities relating to nuclear enrichment. In your opinion, to what degree have these sanctions had a negative impact on our country's economy?"

Q8. Some say that by reimposing sanctions, the United States seeks to prevent all foreign goods from reaching Iran, including humanitarian-related products, such as medicines or spare parts needed for the safe operation of Iran’s civilian airplanes. Others say that the United States does not want to prevent humanitarian-related products from reaching Iran. As far as you know, does the US seek to prevent humanitarian-related products from reaching Iran or not? Definitely or probably?

	May 2019	Oct. 2019
The US is definitely seeking to prevent humanitarian-related products from reaching Iran	47.0	52.9
The US is probably seeking to prevent humanitarian-related products from reaching Iran	21.7	16.7
The US is probably Not seeking to prevent humanitarian-related products from reaching Iran	14.0	11.1
The US is definitely Not seeking to prevent humanitarian-related products from reaching Iran	9.0	13.1
DK/NA [vol.]	8.4	6.2

Q9. Now assume that our country could only adopt one of these policies. In your opinion is it better for Iran to:

	Jul. 2014	Feb. 2016	Mar. 2016	May 2017	Jun. 2017	Jan. 2018	Dec. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019	Oct. 2019
Strive to achieve economic self-sufficiency	53	57.3	58.4	63.1	65.1	67.3	69.0	68.8	68.4	69.3
Strive to increase its trade with other countries	43	39.1	36.4	33.7	33.3	29.4	27.9	28.4	29.7	28.0
DK/NA [vol.]	4	3.6	5.2	3.3	1.6	3.3	3.1	2.9	1.9	2.7

Q10. Under current international circumstances, how likely do you think it is that Iran could actually increase its trade relations with other countries if it makes a major effort?

	Oct. 2019
Very likely	33.1
Somewhat likely	35.7
Not very likely	15.5
Not likely at all	12.9
DK/NA [vol.]	2.8

Q11. Do you think Iran should try more to strengthen its diplomatic and trade relations with European countries such as Germany, France, and the United Kingdom, or should it try more to strengthen its diplomatic and trade relations with Asian countries like Russia, China, and India?

	May 2019	Aug. 2019	Oct. 2019
Iran should try more to strengthen its relations with European countries	42.2	45.0	42.4
Iran should try more to strengthen its relations with Asian countries	48.6	47.7	48.8
Both equally [vol.]	3.3	3.5	2.7
Neither [vol.]	.2	.9	.8
Depends/Other [vol.]	.6	.5	1.8
DK/NA [vol.]	5.2	2.5	3.5

Q12. Here is a statement about Iran’s economic situation. Please say how much you agree or disagree with it: “While it’s unfortunate that some outside powers are still blocking Iran’s participation in the world economy, we can use current circumstances to build up our domestic industries to meet our own needs. This will reduce unemployment and make our society more resilient.”

	Oct. 2019
Agree strongly	35.0
Agree somewhat	46.1
Disagree somewhat	9.3
Disagree strongly	7.9
DK/NA [vol.]	1.8

Q13. As you may know, in July 2015, Iran and the P5+1 countries reached a comprehensive agreement in regard to Iran’s nuclear program, which is also known as the JCPOA. In general and based on what you know about the JCPOA, to what degree do you approve or disapprove of this agreement? Do you:

	Aug. 2015	Jan. 2016	Mar. 2016	Jun. 2016	Jun. 2017	Jan. 2018	Apr. 2018	Dec. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019	Oct. 2019
Strongly approve	42.7	30.4	26.5	22.3	30.7	26.0	19.1	22.8	19.7	15.2	12.3
Somewhat approve	32.8	41.4	45.0	40.3	36.4	29.1	32.9	28.3	27.5	30.3	30.0
Somewhat disapprove	13.9	13.2	13.3	16.5	15.9	21.7	22.3	22.9	24.7	26.4	31.6
Strongly disapprove	6.7	8.3	8.0	8.0	11.6	12.1	13.5	16.4	18.3	19.2	20.1
DK/NA [vol.]	3.9	6.6	7.3	12.8	5.5	11.1	12.2	9.6	9.9	8.9	6.1

Q14. As you may know the United States has withdrawn from the JCPOA nuclear agreement and has reimposed its sanctions on Iran. How confident are you that other P5+1 countries besides the U.S. will live up to their obligations toward the nuclear agreement? Are you:²

	Jun. 2016	Dec. 2016	May 2017	Jan. 2018	Apr. 2018	Dec. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019	Oct. 2019
Very confident	5.8	3.2	5.9	6.5	54	7.2	3.0	3.1	4.1
Somewhat confident	55.0	48.2	47.5	53.5		36.7	37.7	27.1	25.6
Not very confident	21.4	27.2	24.0	22.6	42	28.0	30.0	32.6	32.3
Not confident at all	13.5	16.0	16.7	13.4		19.7	24.6	34.4	36.9
DK/NA [vol.]	4.4	5.4	5.9	4.1	4	8.4	4.8	2.9	1.2

Q15. As you may know, European countries are stating that they are taking steps to protect companies that engage in some types of trade with Iran from facing U.S. sanctions. What do you think about these efforts? Do you think they are:

	Aug. 2019	Oct. 2019
An important development.	7.7	6.8
A small step in the right direction.	18.4	16.8
Too little, too late.	20.8	24.8
The Europeans are not taking such steps	43.7	45.5
DK/NA [vol.]	9.3	6.1

Q16. Now that the United States has withdrawn from the JCPOA agreement and reimposed its sanctions on Iran, if other P5+1 countries remain committed to the agreement and try to maintain their trade relations with Iran despite US sanctions, what do you think Iran should do?

	Jan. 2018³	May 2019	Aug. 2019	Oct. 2019
Iran should withdraw from the JCPOA	52.8	60.3	57.8	58.9
Iran should remain committed to the JCPOA	39.0	28.7	30.4	32.0
Other [vol.]	1.0	1.7	2.0	1.1
DK/NA [vol.]	7.2	9.4	9.8	8.1

² Until August 2019 it was asked: “How confident are you that other P5+1 countries besides the U.S. will live up to their obligations toward the nuclear agreement?”

³ In Jan. 2018 it was asked: If the United States decides to withdraw from the JCPOA agreement and reimpose sanctions on Iran, but other P5+1 countries remain committed to the agreement and do not reimpose sanctions, what do you think Iran should do?

Q17. As you may know, in retaliation for US withdrawal from the JCPOA agreement and reimposition of the sanctions, our government has exceeded some limits it accepted under the JCPOA and threatened to withdraw unless the other P5+1 countries do more to allow Iran to benefit from the agreement. The other P5+1 countries have responded that Iran's recent actions make it more difficult for them to take the steps Iran is demanding. With this in mind, to what degree do you support or oppose our government's recent decision?

	Aug. 2019	Oct. 2019
Strongly support	39.0	41.4
Somewhat support	33.2	32.9
Somewhat oppose	13.1	12.8
Strongly oppose	7.3	6.8
Depends [vol.]	1.7	1.8
DK/NA [vol.]	5.6	4.3

Q18. If the European countries that signed the JCPOA offered to make specific commitments to increase trade and investment with Iran if Iran would agree to again fully comply by the terms of the JCPOA, would you:

	Oct. 2019
Strongly support such an agreement	16.9
Somewhat support	28.4
Somewhat oppose	22.0
Strongly oppose such an agreement	29.9
Depends [vol.]	.7
DK/NA [vol.]	2.1

[Question 19 was only asked from those who said somewhat oppose, strongly oppose, Depends or DK/NA in Q18]:

Q19. What if European leaders also convinced the United States to allow Iran's main oil customers to resume purchasing oil from Iran if Iran would agree to again fully comply by the terms of the JCPOA, would you:

	Oct. 2019
Strongly support such an agreement	12.6
Somewhat support	31.1
Somewhat oppose	22.0
Strongly oppose such an agreement	32.1
Depends [vol.]	.7
DK/NA [vol.]	1.5

Q20. In Europe there has been talk of trying to negotiate an agreement with Iran that would be broader than the JCPOA and would cover Iran’s nuclear program, its ballistic missile development, and its military activities in the Middle East in return for the lifting of all current sanctions on Iran. Let’s suppose that Germany, France, and Britain, with no U.S. participation, proposed such negotiations to Iran. What would you think would be best for Iran to do?

	Oct. 2019
Start negotiations with Germany, France and Britain	4.7
Say such negotiations would only be possible after Europe fully complies by the terms of the JCPOA agreement and significantly increases its investment and trade with Iran	12.9
Say such negotiations would only be possible after both the United States and Europe fully comply by the terms of the JCPOA agreement and lift all sanctions that should be lifted according to the JCPOA	35.7
Iran should not negotiate about its missile program and military activities in the Middle East	44.7
Depends [vol.]	.6
DK/NA [vol.]	1.4

Q21. Here are some possible conditions that might arise in the future, in which our government would have to decide whether it is willing or not to hold talks with the Trump administration. For each condition that I will read to you, please say the degree to which you would support or oppose Iran agreeing to hold talks with the Trump administration. Here’s the first one:

Q21.1. If the United States returns to the JCPOA, lifts all sanctions related to Iran’s nuclear program, and is willing to talk in a forum that includes all the P5+1 countries. Under such a condition, to what degree would you support or oppose Iran agreeing to hold talks with the Trump administration? Would you:

	Oct. 2019
Strongly support	38.6
Somewhat support	35.9
Somewhat oppose	9.5
Strongly oppose	14.4
Depends [vol.]	.5
DK/NA [vol.]	1.1

Q21.2. If the United States returns to the JCPOA and lifts all U.S. sanctions related to Iran’s nuclear program, but wants to talk bilaterally with Iran only. Under such a condition, to what degree would you support or oppose Iran agreeing to hold talks with the Trump administration? Would you:

	Oct. 2019
Strongly support	21.0
Somewhat support	30.7
Somewhat oppose	19.0
Strongly oppose	27.3
Depends [vol.]	.5
DK/NA [vol.]	1.5

Q21.3. If only some U.S. sanctions are lifted, but the United States agrees to talks in a forum that includes all the P5+1 countries? Under such a condition, to what degree would you support or oppose Iran agreeing to hold talks with the Trump administration? Would you:

	Oct. 2019
Strongly support	15.4
Somewhat support	24.0
Somewhat oppose	22.5
Strongly oppose	36.6
Depends [vol.]	.5
DK/NA [vol.]	1.0

Q21.4. If only some U.S. sanctions are lifted, and the United States wants bilateral talks with Iran, without the other P5+1 countries participating? Under such a condition, to what degree would you support or oppose Iran agreeing to hold talks with the Trump administration? Would you:

	Oct. 2019
Strongly support	10.7
Somewhat support	24.7
Somewhat oppose	24.0
Strongly oppose	39.2
Depends [vol.]	.4
DK/NA [vol.]	1.0

Q22. What do you think should be Iran’s response if the United States proposed an agreement, as follows: the United States would lift the sanctions that the US was required to lift under the JCPOA agreement, if Iran would also agree to permanently refrain from nuclear enrichment on its soil? Do you think:

	Aug. 2019	Oct. 2019
Iran should accept such an agreement	7.8	3.7
Iran should accept such an agreement only as part of a deal that would require the US to lift more sanctions	22.1	19.4
Iran should not accept such an agreement under any circumstances	67.6	74.7
DK/NA [vol.]	2.5	2.2

Q23. How about if the United States proposed an agreement, as follows: the United States would again lift the sanctions that the US was required to lift under the JCPOA agreement, and Iran would return to the JCPOA’s nuclear limits and would only agree to increase the duration of those limits? Do you think:

	Oct. 2019
Iran should accept such an agreement	4.1
Iran should accept such an agreement only as part of a deal that would require the US to lift more sanctions	34.8
Iran should not accept such an agreement under any circumstances	57.9
DK/NA [vol.]	3.3

Q24. Some say if the United States wants, it can increase its sanctions on Iran and that would greatly worsen Iran's economy, even beyond the current difficult situation. Others say that the United States has already sanctioned Iran to the fullest degree possible and it cannot make Iran’s economic conditions more difficult than current conditions even if it tries. Which of these two views is closer to yours?

	Oct. 2019
If the United States wants, it can increase its sanctions on Iran and that would greatly worsen Iran's economy, even beyond the current difficult situation	34.9
The United States has already sanctioned Iran to the fullest degree possible and it cannot make Iran’s economic conditions more difficult than current conditions even if it tries	63.3
Depends/Other [vol.]	.5
DK/NA [vol.]	1.3

Q25. As you may know, recently two major Saudi refineries were partly destroyed by an attack that used drones and possibly missiles. Houthi forces in Yemen have declared they launched the attack. There is an international dispute over whether this is the case or not. Whether or not the Houthi forces acted on their own, some say the attack was justified because of Saudi Arabia's frequent air strikes in Yemen. Others say it was not justified, because damaging Saudi Arabia's oil refineries is a dangerous escalation that could lead to a wider war and conflict in the region. Do you think the attack on Saudi Arabia's oil refineries were:

	Oct. 2019
Very justified	42.6
Somewhat justified	31.2
Not very justified	9.3
Not justified at all	12.1
DK/NA [vol.]	4.9

Q26. As you may know, our country has many differences with the United States, including about the activities of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps in countries like Iraq and Syria. In your opinion, if Iran were to accept US demands and stop the activities of IRGC in Iraq and Syria, would that more likely:

	May 2019	Oct. 2019
Make the United States more accommodating in other areas of contention	13.5	10.8
Make the United States rely on pressures and sanctions to extract more concessions from Iran in other areas	54.1	59.5
Not have much of an effect on other issues between the two countries	23.4	21.2
DK/NA [vol.]	9.0	8.6

Q27. In general, do you think the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps' activities in the Middle East region have made Iran more or less secure? A lot or somewhat?

	May 2019	Aug. 2019	Oct. 2019
A lot more secure	50.2	53.7	52.6
Somewhat more secure	25.1	26.8	28.8
Somewhat less secure	10.7	9.3	7.9
A lot less secure	9.4	7.5	6.2
Depends/Other [vol.]	1.1	.4	.8
DK/NA [vol.]	3.5	2.3	3.8

D7. Do you follow the news programs of BBC or VOA?

	Aug. 2015	Jan. 2016	Feb. 2016	Mar. 2016	Jun. 2016	Jan. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019	Oct. 2019
Yes	28.0	26.1	28.1	29.5	31.0	22.5	20.2	19.3	21.8
No	68.9	73.1	70.1	69.9	68.5	76.9	79.1	79.8	77.3
DK/NA [vol.]	3.1	.8	1.8	.7	.5	.6	.7	.9	.9

August 2019 National Probability Sample Survey
(Questions that were not asked in the October 2019 survey)

Q1. What do you think is the single most important problem or challenge that Iran currently faces? [Open-ended]

	Jan. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019
Inflation and high costs of living	12.5	34.2	36.4
Unemployment	40.1	14.5	15.0
Youth unemployment	9.4	9.3	10.2
Mismanagement of the country's affairs	5.7	7.9	8.7
Bad economic condition of the country	5.2	5.9	4.2
Sanctions	2.7	5.8	3.9
Low income of people	6.9	4.3	6.1
Poverty	1.7	3.3	2.4
Financial corruption & embezzlements	6.0	2.5	2.5
Natural disasters	--	1.7	--
Foreign relations related problems	--	1.6	1.7
Discrimination and Injustice	1.4	1.3	.3
Lack of civil liberties	.3	.3	.9
Other	5.5	4.6	5.1
DK/NA	2.7	3.0	2.8

Q. I will now read you the names of some prominent political figures in Iran. Please indicate to what degree you have a favorable or an unfavorable view of each?

Q5. Mohammad Javad Zarif

	Jul. 2014	Aug. 2015	Jan. 2016	Jun. 2016	Dec. 2016	Jun. 2017	Jan. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019
Very favorable	40	56.0	44.5	41.4	37.9	42.9	36.3	26.2	26.6
Somewhat favorable	30	33.4	33.0	35.9	32.8	33.1	32.1	38.9	40.4
Somewhat unfavorable	8	3.3	9.5	12.0	15.2	11.9	16.0	12.7	12.2
Very unfavorable	8	2.1	7.6	6.3	7.9	7.4	10.0	16.7	15.7
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	11	3.0	3.6	3.0	3.9	2.6	2.6	2.0	3.1
DK/NA [vol.]	3	2.2	1.9	1.4	2.3	2.2	3.0	3.5	2.1

Q6. General Qasem Soleymani

	Jan. 2016	Jun. 2016	Dec. 2016	May 2017	Jun. 2017	Jan. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019
Very favorable	52.1	54.1	56.1	54.9	61.0	64.7	62.3	58.6
Somewhat favorable	20.6	21.4	18.2	19.3	17.2	18.0	19.9	23.0
Somewhat unfavorable	4.7	4.9	4.0	5.8	5.9	4.5	4.8	4.4
Very unfavorable	5.1	3.8	5.1	7.0	4.6	5.3	6.8	7.9
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	15.1	13.7	13.4	10.2	10.2	5.3	3.1	4.3
DK/NA [vol.]	2.4	2.1	3.2	2.8	1.2	2.3	3.2	1.9

Q7. Hassan Rouhani

	Jul. 2014	Aug. 2015	Jan. 2016	Mar. 2016	Jun. 2016	Dec. 2016	May 2017	Jun. 2017	Jan. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019
Very favorable	51	61.2	42.1	40.4	37.8	28.3	27.1	38.7	23.5	14.9	11.4
Somewhat favorable	34	27.9	40.0	43.3	44.1	40.4	38.4	37.5	42.0	31.7	30.9
Somewhat unfavorable	7	4.7	6.8	6.4	8.8	15.6	12.9	7.6	12.7	22.5	20.8
Very unfavorable	6	4.3	8.4	6.7	7.6	12.7	18.7	14.6	19.0	29.3	34.3
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	0	.3	.7	.1	.2	.4	.5	.1	.2	.1	.1
DK/NA [vol.]	2	1.6	2.0	3.2	1.4	2.6	2.4	1.4	2.7	1.5	2.5

Q8. Seyyed Ebrahim Raisi

	May 2017	Jun. 2017	Jan. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019
Very favorable	17.4	22.6	19.1	21.5	28.0
Somewhat favorable	30.9	34.0	34.7	34.7	35.6
Somewhat unfavorable	15.1	13.5	15.1	14.7	13.8
Very unfavorable	20.5	20.9	19.3	16.8	14.0
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	12.6	5.1	7.6	7.3	5.9
DK/NA [vol.]	3.5	3.9	4.3	5.0	2.7

Q9. In your opinion, to what degree is Rouhani's Administration trying to fight economic corruption in our country? Is it:

	May 2019	Aug. 2019
Tying a lot	12.5	11.3
Trying somewhat	31.6	31.4
Trying only a little	30.7	28.0
Not trying at all	21.5	25.8
Rouhani's administration is corrupt itself [vol]	.5	.4
Depends/Other [vol]	--	.6
DK/NA[vol]	3.1	2.5

Q10. As compared to last year, would you say the Rouhani Administration's efforts against economic corruption in Iran have increased, decreased, or remained roughly unchanged? [If increased or decreased, ask:] A lot or somewhat?

	May 2019	Aug. 2019
Increased a lot	10.3	7.2
Increased somewhat	21.8	21.2
Remained unchanged	48.0	49.5
Decreased somewhat	7.3	10.6
Decreased a lot	8.3	8.3
Depends/Other [vol]	--	.4
DK/NA[vol]	4.4	2.8

Q11. In your opinion, to what degree is the Judiciary trying to fight economic corruption in our country? Is it:

	May 2019	Aug. 2019
Trying a lot	22.8	30.3
Trying somewhat	38.5	42.8
Trying only a little	21.7	12.8
Not trying at all	10.6	9.3
The Judiciary is corrupt itself [vol]	.6	.4
Depends/Other [vol]	.4	.2
DK/NA[vol]	5.4	4.2

Q12. As compared to last year, would you say the Judiciary's efforts against economic corruption in Iran have increased, decreased, or remained roughly unchanged?

	May 2019	Aug. 2019
Increased a lot	16.3	25.4
Increased somewhat	36.2	34.9
Remained unchanged	33.7	28.5
Decreased somewhat	4.6	5.5
Decreased a lot	2.6	2.1
Depends/Other [vol]	.1	--
DK/NA[vol]	6.5	3.7

Q19. Thinking about how the JCPOA has worked out so far, which view is closer to yours?

	Jan. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019
The JCPOA experience shows that it is worthwhile for Iran to make concessions because through compromise Iran can negotiate mutually beneficial agreements with world powers.	21.9	20.6	21.0
The JCPOA experience shows that it is not worthwhile for Iran to make concessions, because Iran cannot have confidence that if it makes a concession world powers will honor their side of an agreement.	67.4	70.5	71.6
It is too early to tell [vol.]	.1	.2	.9
Other/Depends [vol.]	1.1	.5	6.5
DK/NA [vol.]	9.6	8.2	

Q20. How much have you heard or read about the United Nations nuclear agency called the International Atomic Energy Agency, also known as the IAEA? Have you heard or read:

	Dec. 2006	Aug. 2019
A lot	9	17.0
Some	41	49.9
A little	27	12.3
Nothing at all	17	19.9
DK/NA [vol.]	7	.9

[Not asked from those who have not heard or read about the IAEA at all]

Q21. Please tell me if you think The International Atomic Energy Agency or IAEA is having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world:

	Dec. 2006	Aug. 2019
Mainly positive	54	51.6
Mainly negative	10	31.4
Depends (vol.)	18	5.9
Neither (vol.)	2	
DK/NA [vol.]	15	11.1

Q22. Do you favor or oppose the idea of having a nuclear weapons free zone in the Middle East that would include both Islamic countries and Israel? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

	Dec. 2006	Aug. 2019
Favor strongly	50	45.1
Favor somewhat	21	22.3
Oppose somewhat	5	14.9
Oppose strongly	13	13.4
DK/NA [vol.]	11	4.4

Q23. As you may know, Iran and most of the world's countries have signed a treaty called the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty or NPT. According to this treaty, the countries that have nuclear weapons have agreed to actively work together toward eliminating their nuclear weapons. The countries that do not have nuclear weapons, including Iran, have agreed not to try to acquire them. Were you aware that Iran has agreed to this?

	Dec. 2006	Aug. 2019
Yes	69	54.7
No	21	44.4
DK/NA [vol.]	11	.9

Q24. Do you think it was a good idea or a bad idea for Iran to agree to be part of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty?

	Dec. 2006	Aug. 2019
Good idea	66	74.3
Bad idea	10	15.7
DK/NA [vol.]	24	10.0

Q25. Do you favor or oppose the goal of eventually eliminating all nuclear weapons, which is stated in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)?

	Dec. 2006	Aug. 2019
Favor	68	72.5
Oppose	18	24.2
DK/NA [vol.]	14	3.3

Q26. As you may know, there have been several incidents in recent months concerning drones, oil tankers and smaller ships, involving Iran, Britain the U.S., and Gulf states. Please say which of the following statements comes closest to your own view:

	Aug. 2019
Whenever there is evidence of a violation of Iranian waters, air space, or of an attack on an Iranian vessel or aircraft, Iran should punish the perpetrators to make such incidents less likely in the future.	76.6
Iran should primarily be careful to make sure these incidents do not multiply and turn into a bigger conflict, so Iran need not always respond to such incidents.	18.9
Depend/other [vol.]	2.6
DK/NA [vol.]	1.9

Q28. If the United States were to attack Iran's nuclear facilities, do you think Iran should:

	Aug. 2019
Expand its nuclear activities	61.8
Rebuild its nuclear program to the current level	16.0
Reduce its nuclear activities	9.5
Completely stop its nuclear activities	7.8
DK/NA [vol.]	4.9

Q. Now I am going to read to you names of some countries and organizations. Please indicate to what degree you have a favorable or an unfavorable view of each?

Q29. China

	Jul. 2014	May 2015	Aug. 2015	Jan. 2016	Jun. 2016	Dec. 2016	Jan. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019
Very favorable	13	9.4	14.2	8.4	10.1	10.4	14.7	13.4	14.2
Somewhat favorable	38	38.9	38.9	45.8	48.1	45.2	39.3	40.3	44.1
Somewhat unfavorable	21	16.7	18.9	17.8	16.3	17.4	14.6	15.8	14.6
Very unfavorable	25	31.0	21.8	22.8	23.1	22.6	28.8	26.8	24.8
DK/NA [vol.]	3	3.9	6.2	5.1	2.4	4.4	2.6	3.7	2.4

Q30. Russia

	Jul. 2014	May 2015	Aug. 2015	Jan. 2016	Jun. 2016	Dec. 2016	Jan. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019
Very favorable	14	10.3	13.3	15.3	14.2	16.8	18.6	15.8	15.8
Somewhat favorable	37	33.0	38.8	42.0	39.7	38.8	39.9	39.4	41.3
Somewhat unfavorable	21	21.1	17.2	15.7	17.4	16.5	15.9	15.9	15.9
Very unfavorable	26	32.2	26.6	23.1	25.5	23.3	22.5	25.6	24.4
DK/NA [vol.]	3	3.4	4.1	3.9	3.2	4.6	3.2	3.3	2.7

Q31. Germany

	Jul. 2014	May 2015	Aug. 2015	Jan. 2016	Jun. 2016	Dec. 2016	Jan. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019
Very favorable	13	13.6	17.0	17.6	18.3	18.8	22.5	20.7	18.7
Somewhat favorable	31	34.6	36.4	36.6	38.9	33.2	39.2	36.8	35.7
Somewhat unfavorable	25	21.1	17.0	18.7	17.6	17.6	14.6	17.6	18.3
Very unfavorable	28	27.1	22.6	20.8	22.2	24.5	20.7	21.6	23.9
DK/NA [vol.]	3	3.7	7.0	6.3	3.0	5.9	3.1	3.3	3.4

Q32. France

	Jul. 2014	May 2015	Aug. 2015	Jan. 2016	Jun. 2016	Dec. 2016	Jan. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019
Very favorable	7	10.1	13.4	10.5	11.4	10.8	18.6	13.2	10.8
Somewhat favorable	30	30.9	31.8	33.2	33.3	30.6	37.0	31.1	30.4
Somewhat unfavorable	26	20.4	19.6	21.5	21.0	22.9	20.3	23.2	24.8
Very unfavorable	33	35.0	29.4	29.0	31.2	30.7	20.6	29.4	31.5
DK/NA [vol.]	4	3.6	5.8	5.8	3.2	5.0	3.6	3.1	2.5

Q33. United Kingdom

	Jul. 2014	May 2015	Aug. 2015	Jan. 2016	Jun. 2016	Dec. 2016	Jan. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019
Very favorable	6	5.6	7.1	5.2	6.2	6.2	9.4	6.9	6.1
Somewhat favorable	18	22.6	22.5	20.7	19.7	16.9	21.0	20.1	18.4
Somewhat unfavorable	22	15.9	18.1	18.7	20.5	21.2	22.6	24.1	21.5
Very unfavorable	52	53.0	47.0	51.6	51.1	51.4	44.4	46.4	51.0
DK/NA [vol.]	3	2.9	5.3	3.9	2.6	4.3	2.7	2.6	2.9

Q34. The United Nations

	Jun. 2016	Dec. 2016	Jan. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019
Very favorable	12.1	10.4	9.9	8.2	9.6
Somewhat favorable	35.0	35.0	41.9	36.0	34.6
Somewhat unfavorable	19.4	19.7	19.3	23.8	25.9
Very unfavorable	28.3	27.1	23.2	27.3	26.6
DK/NA [vol.]	5.3	7.8	5.8	4.8	3.4

Q35. Japan

	Aug. 2019
Very favorable	21.8
Somewhat favorable	48.4
Somewhat unfavorable	12.4
Very unfavorable	14.9
DK/NA [vol.]	2.6

Q36. The United States

	Jul. 2014	May 2015	Aug. 2015	Jan. 2016	Jun. 2016	Dec. 2016	Jan. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019
Very favorable	9	7.9	8.6	7.8	5.5	4.7	3.4	3.6	3.4
Somewhat favorable	19	20.4	22.6	20.5	21.1	18.0	15.0	12.8	9.9
Somewhat unfavorable	13	16.9	14.3	16.5	14.2	15.8	12.9	11.4	12.8
Very unfavorable	58	53.2	52.3	54.2	58.7	59.8	66.9	71.3	73.0
DK/NA [vol.]	2	1.5	2.2	1.0	.6	1.7	1.9	.8	.9

Q37. Which of the following statements is closer to your view about the United States:

	Zogby May 2005	Aug. 2019
America is a model country for its values and freedoms	36.6	11.9
America is dangerous country that seeks confrontation and control	45.9	66.2
America is no better or worse than any other country	14.2	19.6
DK/NA [vol.]	3.2	2.3

Q38. Do you think it will be best for the future of the country if we take an active part in world affairs or if we stay out of world affairs?

	Dec. 2006	Aug. 2019
Take active part	86	89.6
Stay out	9	9.2
DK/NA [vol.]	5	1.2

April/May 2019 National Probability Sample

(Questions that were not asked in the August or October 2019 surveys)

Q. To what degree do you use each of the following media to get news about domestic and international affairs?

Q1. Domestic television channels

	Jan. 2018	May 2019
A lot	35.6	35.9
Somewhat	47.1	41.1
Not much	9.2	9.8
Not at all	8.1	12.8
DK/NA [vol.]	0	.4

Q2. Newspaper

	Jan. 2018	May 2019
A lot	6	2.6
Somewhat	22.8	17.6
Not much	18	13.0
Not at all	53.1	66.4
DK/NA [vol.]	0.2	.4

Q3. Satellite television channels

	Jan. 2018	May 2019
A lot	10.3	7.9
Somewhat	16	17.7
Not much	8.8	8.0
Not at all	65	66.2
DK/NA [vol.]	0	.3

Q4. Internet

	Jan. 2018	May 2019
A lot	29.1	31.5
Somewhat	29.3	34.9
Not much	10.2	7.4
Not at all	31.3	25.8
DK/NA [vol.]	0	.4

Q5. Social networking applications like Telegram and Instagram

	Jan. 2018	May 2019
A lot	31.9	30.6
Somewhat	33.6	33.9
Not much	10.5	8.7
Not at all	23.9	26.4
DK/NA [vol.]	0.1	.4

Q8. As far as you know, as compared to about a year ago, has the availability of most foreign-made medicine and medical equipment:

	May 2019
Increased a lot	5.6
Increased somewhat	9.8
Stayed about the same	13.2
Decreased somewhat	30.1
Decreased a lot	26.9
DK/NA [vol.]	14.4

Q12. When children today in Iran grow up, do you think they will be better off or worse off financially than their parents?

	January 2018	May 2019
Better off	48.5%	43.7
Worse off	43.4	44.2
Same [vol.]	2.6	2.0
DK/NA [vol.]	5.5	10.1

Q13. As you may know, some say that that privatization of state-owned enterprises would improve our country's economy by increasing efficiency and competition. Others say the government should not transfer state-owned enterprises to the private sector, because private companies only pursue their own interests and do not care about the interests of their workers and the country when making decisions. In general, do you favor or oppose privatizing some state-owned enterprises? Strongly or somewhat?

	May 2019
Strongly favor	9.9
Somewhat favor	26.0
Somewhat oppose	25.2
Strongly oppose	33.5
DK/NA [vol.]	5.5

Q14. Do you think the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, in addition to fulfilling its security and military responsibilities, should or should not also be involved in construction projects and other economic matters?

	May 2019
IRGC should be involved in construction projects and other economic matters	62.9
IRGC should not be involved in construction projects and other economic matters	30.6
Depends/Other [vol.]	1.3
DK/NA [vol.]	5.2

Q15. As you may know, the value of the rial in comparison to the U.S. dollar has significantly decreased and is now less than half of what it was about a year ago. Do you think this drop in the value of the rial was primarily due to: *[Randomize response options 1 and 2]*

	May 2019
Faulty economic policies and mismanagement of President Rouhani's administration	41.5
Foreign sanctions and pressures on Iran's economy	47.5
Or some other reason	6.0
DK/NA [vol.]	5.1

Q16. Over the last year, has your household purchased gold coins or foreign currencies, such as the dollar or euro, in order to preserve the value of its wealth and savings?

	May 2019
Yes, it has purchased gold coins or foreign currency	8.1
No, it has not purchased gold coins or foreign currency	89.9
DK/NA [vol.]	2.1

Q17. How concerned are you, if at all, that global climate change will harm you personally at some point in your lifetime? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned or not at all concerned?

	Jan. 2018	May 2019
Very concerned	64.6	66.3
Somewhat concerned	27.5	21.9
Not too concerned	3.2	6.1
Not at all concerned	3.8	4.7
DK/NA [vol.]	.9	1.1

Q18. With which of these statements about the environment and the economy do you most agree:

	Jan. 2018	May 2019
The government should put a higher priority on protecting the environment, even if the economy suffers to some extent	66.6	63.5
The government should put a higher priority on economic growth, even if the environment suffers to some extent	23.1	27.3
Depends [vol.]	6.4	6.6
DK/NA [vol.]	4.0	2.7

Q. As you know, several provinces were affected by extensive floods over the last months. How do you rate the overall performance of each of the following entities in dealing the floods and their aftermath – very well, somewhat well, somewhat poor, or very poor?

Q19. President Rouhani

	May 2019
Very well	10.6
Somewhat well	28.0
Somewhat poor	29.2
Very poor	25.7
Played no role [vol]	.6
DK/NA [vol]	6.0

Q20. The Red Crescent Society

	May 2019
Very well	52.6
Somewhat well	38.0
Somewhat poor	4.6
Very poor	2.2
Played no role [vol]	--
DK/NA [vol]	2.6

Q21. National Disaster Management Organization

	May 2019
Very well	16.9
Somewhat well	33.0
Somewhat poor	24.4
Very poor	17.9
Played no role [vol]	.3
DK/NA [vol]	7.5

Q22. The Military

	May 2019
Very well	58.0
Somewhat well	31.7
Somewhat poor	3.4
Very poor	1.9
Played no role [vol]	--
DK/NA [vol]	5.0

Q23. The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) and Basij

	May 2019
Very well	60.9
Somewhat well	28.4
Somewhat poor	4.2
Very poor	2.5
Played no role [vol]	--
DK/NA [vol]	4.1

Q24. Imam Khomeini Relief Fund

	May 2019
Very well	31.4
Somewhat well	37.4
Somewhat poor	9.5
Very poor	6.9
Played no role [vol]	.8
DK/NA [vol]	14.0

Q25. The Iranian people

	May 2019
Very well	84.5
Somewhat well	12.5
Somewhat poor	1.8
Very poor	.6
Played no role [vol]	--
DK/NA [vol]	.6

Q26. International Organizations

	May 2019
Very well	6.2
Somewhat well	28.1
Somewhat poor	20.3
Very poor	16.7
Played no role [vol]	7.7
DK/NA [vol]	21.1

Q. I will now read you the names of some prominent political figures in Iran. Please indicate to what degree you have a favorable or an unfavorable view of each?

Q31. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad

	Jul. 2014	Aug. 2015	Jan. 2016	Jun. 2016	Dec. 2016	May 2017	Jan. 2018	May 2019
Very favorable	34	27.5	24.2	28.0	27.2	22.9	18.9	23.1
Somewhat favorable	33	33.5	32.8	37.3	33.6	31.7	28.2	28.6
Somewhat unfavorable	14	13.0	15.0	14.9	13.9	15.1	16.8	16.4
Very unfavorable	16	22.8	23.9	16.1	19.5	26.2	31.2	27.1
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	1	.2	.4	.4	.4	.8	.4	.2
DK/NA [vol.]	3	3.0	3.7	3.3	5.4	3.3	4.5	4.7

Q32. Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf

	Jul. 2014	Jan. 2016	Jun. 2016	Dec. 2016	Apr. 2017	May 2017	Jun. 2017	May 2019
Very favorable	21	21.5	21.6	21.9	19	18.9	21.6	21.1
Somewhat favorable	43	46.0	51.6	50.7	48	46.5	43.3	38.2
Somewhat unfavorable	12	11.2	12.6	13.3	13	15.6	16.8	15.4
Very unfavorable	11	8.7	7.1	6.6	12	11.5	11.8	12.9
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	8	9.5	3.6	4.2	8	3.4	1.9	3.9
DK/NA [vol.]	5	3.1	3.4	3.3		4.0	4.6	8.5

Q33. Mohammad Javad Azari Jahromi

	May 2019
Very favorable	8.3
Somewhat favorable	25.1
Somewhat unfavorable	17.4
Very unfavorable	13.1
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	31.6
DK/NA [vol.]	4.5

Q34. As you may know, in February 2020 there will be a Majlis election. How likely is it that you will vote in that election?

	Jan. 2016	Feb. 2016⁴	May 2019
Very likely	66.9	68.0	57.3
Somewhat likely	20.3	18.6	23.4
Not very likely	4.7	4.6	8.2
Not likely at all	7.1	7.7	10.2
DK/NA [vol.]	1.0	1.1	.9

⁴ In Jan and Feb 2016, the question asked about voting in the Feb. 2016 Majlis Elections.

Q36. Generally speaking, would you say our country’s economy is currently mostly run by a few big influential people and organizations who are only looking out for themselves or that it is mostly run for the benefit of all the people?

	May 2019
Run by a few big interests	56.8
Run for all the people	31.0
DK/NA[vol]	12.1

[Ask only of those who said “withdraw” to Q15 in October section]

Q45. So far, our government has continued to fulfill its commitments under the JCPOA and is assessing to what degree other P5+1 countries fulfill their commitments. To what degree do you support or oppose this decision?

	May 2019
Strongly support	7.9
Somewhat support	32.7
Somewhat oppose	28.9
Strongly oppose	28.7
DK/NA [vol.]	1.8

Q47. As you may know, the United States will have a presidential election in 2020. If someone else besides Donald Trump is elected U.S. president in 2020, how likely do you think it is that the United States will return to the JCPOA and take up its obligations under the nuclear agreement? Is it:

	May 2019
Very likely	10.7
Somewhat likely	30.6
Not very likely	23.4
Not at all likely	24.6
Depends/Other [vol]	2.2
DK/NA[vol]	8.5

Q48. As far as you know, before Donald Trump became the President of the United States, to what degree was the US fulfilling its obligation under the JCPOA nuclear agreement? Was it:

	May 2019
Fulfilling all of its obligations	6.1
Fulfilling some of its obligations	32.2
Fulfilling only a little of its obligations	30.4
Was not fulfilling any of its obligations	25.8
DK/NA[vol]	5.5

Q51. Thinking about how the JCPOA has worked out so far, which view is closer to yours?

	May 2019
Iran should not have signed the JCPOA agreement because it could have gotten better terms	21.0
Iran made the right decision at the time because Iran was NOT in a position to get a better agreement	39.3
Iran should not have negotiated about its nuclear program at all	32.0
Other/Depends [vol.]	.1
DK/NA [vol.]	7.6

Q52. In your opinion, how important is it for our country to develop its missile program? Is it:

	Jan. 2018	May 2019
Very important	73.8	72.0
Somewhat important	21.1	19.7
Not very important	1.7	3.6
Not important at all	2.3	3.2
DK/NA [vol.]	1.2	1.5

Q53. Some say one of the reasons why no country has attacked Iran in the last thirty years is because Iran is deterring such attacks by developing advanced missiles. Others say that pressure of some countries on Iran's missile program is increasing, and if Iran continues developing advanced missiles, it is likely that some countries like the US or Israel will attack Iran. Do you think that developing advanced missiles increases, decreases, or does not affect the likelihood that other countries will attack Iran?

	May 2019
Developing missiles decreases the likelihood of other countries attacking Iran	61.2
Developing missiles increases the likelihood of other countries attacking Iran	13.0
Developing missiles does not affect the likelihood of other countries attacking Iran	21.8
Other [vol.]	.5
DK/NA [vol.]	3.5

Q54. As you may know, the United Nations Security Council has urged Iran not to develop missiles designed to be capable of delivering nuclear weapons. Over the last few years, the IRGC has tested several missiles. The United States and some European countries demand that Iran stop testing missiles, and because of this are threatening to impose new sanctions on Iran. Iran, however, insists that none of its missiles are specifically designed to deliver nuclear weapons and has refused to stop the development and testing of its missiles. With this in mind, which of the following positions do you think Iran should adopt?

	Jun. 2017	Jan. 2018	May 2019
Iran should continue testing ballistic missiles and insist this issue is not negotiable	54.8	56.7	58.4
Iran should continue testing ballistic missiles but make an offer to negotiate on ways Iran could create confidence that the missiles are not produced to carry nuclear weapons	31.3	28.5	29.2

Iran should halt ballistic missile testing until after confidence is created that it missiles are not produced to carry nuclear weapons	12.7	10.6	8.5
DK/NA [vol.]	1.2	4.2	4.0

Q55. As you may know, one reason why Iran has been developing advanced missiles is that because of the sanctions, Iran cannot purchase military aircraft like other countries in the region can. To what degree would you support or oppose an agreement whereby Iran would agree not to make advanced missiles, and in return world powers would lift some of the current sanctions against Iran and allow it to purchase military aircraft? Would you:

	May 2019
Strongly support such an agreement	4.3
Somewhat support such an agreement	22.3
Somewhat oppose such an agreement	32.6
Strongly oppose such an agreement	34.8
Other/Depends [vol.]	.2
DK/NA [vol.]	5.8

[Asked from those who said “oppose” in Q55]

Q56. Why would you oppose such an agreement? [Open-ended]

	May 2019
Cannot trust world powers to fulfill their promise	25.1
It would make Iran dependent on other countries	22.0
It would diminish Iran's defense capabilities	20.6
Missiles are better than military aircrafts	13.6
Iran can build military aircraft itself	8.0
It would inhibit Iran's scientific advancement	4.3
Other	2.5
DK/NA	4.0

Q57. In your opinion should Iran seek to increase the role it plays in this region, decrease it, or maintain it at the current level?

	Mar. 2016	Jun. 2016	May 2019
Increase it	66.8	67.6	65.6
Decrease it	7.4	7.2	11.3
Maintain it at the current level	19.3	20.1	17.9
Other/Depends [vol.]	1.1	.3	.7
DK/NA [vol.]	5.5	4.8	4.5

Q58. As a general rule, what do you think is the better approach for Iran to pursue in trying to solve the problems it is facing in the region:

	Jan. 2018	May 2019
Seeking to become the most powerful country in the region	46.2	47.8
Seeking to find mutually acceptable solutions with other countries through negotiations	49.4	41.5
Both [vol.]	1.4	5.0
DK/NA [vol.]	3.0	5.8

Q59.1. Some say that Iran should keep military personnel in Syria to help the government of Bashar Assad in its fight against armed Syrian rebels, including ISIS, so that these rebels would not be able to threaten Iran's interests and security in the region. Others argue that Iran should withdraw military personnel from Syria, because keeping troops there would increase Iran's enemies in the region and beyond. Which of these views is closer to your opinion?

	Jan. 2016⁵	May 2019
Iran should keep military personnel in Syria	62.7	61.0
Iran should withdraw military personnel from Syria	30.8	32.2
DK/NA [vol.]	6.4	6.8

Q69. I would like to get your impression of roughly how much money Iran's government earns each year through the sale of oil. If the government were to distribute all money it earned through oil sales last year equally among all Iranians, which of the following amounts do you think would be the share of each Iranian:

	May 2019
Less than 1 million tomans	3.0
Between 1 and 4 million tomans	15.5
Between 5 and 10 Million tomans	17.4
Between 11 and 15 million tomans	9.4
Between 16 and 20 million tomans	10.0
Between 21 and 25 million tomans	7.6
More than 20 million tomans	20.4
DK/NA [vol.]	16.8

⁵ In January 2016 the question asked: Some say that Iran should send military personnel to Syria to help the government of Bashar Assad in its fight against armed Syrian rebels, including ISIS, so that these rebels would not be able to threaten Iran's interests and security in the region. Others argue that Iran should not send military personnel to Syria because this would increase Iran's enemies in the region and beyond. Which of these views is closer to your opinion?