



Iranian Public Opinion Four Decades After the Hostage Crisis

State of Iran Survey Series (Nov 2019 wave), a Joint IranPoll-Chicago Council on Global Affairs Survey

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The completion of this study was supported by funds from
the IranPoll Opinion Research Support Fund in Memory of Professor Thomas Schelling.

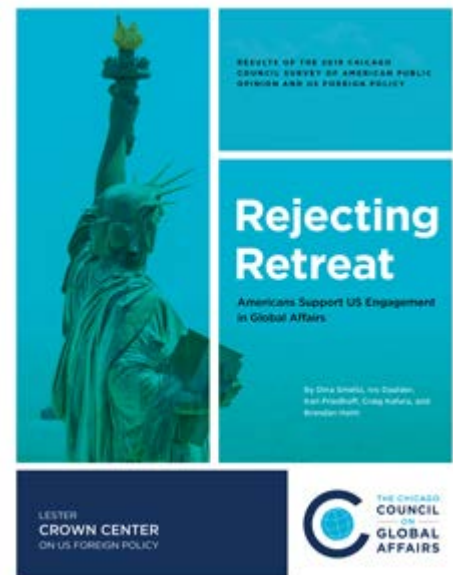
Introduction to The Chicago Council on Global Affairs

The Chicago Council on Global Affairs is an independent, nonpartisan organization that provides insight on critical global issues, advances policy solutions, and fosters dialogue about what is happening in the world and why it matters to people in Chicago, the United States, and around the globe. As the premier, nonpartisan global affairs organization in America's heartland, we believe an informed, engaged public with access to fact-based and balanced views on global issues helps to ensure effective US engagement and supports a more inclusive, equitable, and secure world.

The Chicago Council Survey is a project of the *Lester Crown Center on US Foreign Policy* at the Chicago Council on Global Affairs. Conducted every four years since 1974, biennially since 2002, and now annually, the Survey is a trusted and widely cited source of longitudinal data on American public opinion about a broad range of US foreign policy and international issues. With its combination of time series and comprehensive coverage, the Chicago Council Survey is a valuable resource to policymakers, academics, media, and the general public because of its unique ability to capture the sense of particular eras—post-Vietnam, post-Cold War, post-9/11—and to define critical shifts in American public thinking.

The Chicago Council Surveys are highly respected and widely used in policy circles and academic research both in the United States and abroad. Several scholarly works have drawn on Chicago Council survey data, including *The Foreign Policy Gap* (Page, Bouton), *Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy* (Holsti), *Faces of Internationalism* (Wittkopf), and *The Rational Public* (Page and Shapiro). All of the Chicago Council Survey data sets are available to the public via the Roper Center, ICPSR, or the Council's website at www.thechicagocouncil.org

In addition to the annual Chicago Council Survey of American public opinion and US foreign policy, the Chicago Council's polling has often expanded to international polling in Europe, Russia, Asia, and Mexico. The Council has also reintroduced a leaders' survey as an important component of the 2014 and 2016 and 2018 Chicago Council Surveys. Besides these comprehensive reports, the Chicago Council Survey team publishes and disseminates short opinion briefs on topical issues such as international trade, immigration, North Korea's nuclear program, China, and Iran. These short reports can be found on the Council's website and on the Chicago Council Survey blog www.RunningNumbers.org



Introduction to IranPoll®

IranPoll® is an independent full-service opinion research firm focusing exclusively on Iran. Believing in the scientific method, IranPoll provides its clients with tailored research services, evidence-led counsel, and a dispassionate understanding of the Iranian people that is based on empirical evidence and sound scientific methods. It is directed by Dr. Amir Farmanesh, an Iranian/Canadian scholar, with a doctoral degree from University of Maryland School of Public Policy.

A division of People Analytics Inc. and operating from Toronto, Canada, IranPoll conducts research on Iranian public opinion using various modes of data collection including telephone polling (including a monthly Omnibus), in-depth interviews, focus groups, and online panel (B2B and 51k-member B2C).

IranPoll operates multiple polling call centers with 106 active calling stations and conducts over 160,000 interviews per year in Iran. Relying on scientific opinion research methods, IranPoll was able to provide a fully accurate prediction of the outcome of Iran's May 2017 presidential election, which was published by The Economist before the initial official results were declared.

Complementing its extensive field capacity, IranPoll's databank is the single most comprehensive databank of Iranian opinion polls containing more than 3,000 questions on 430 topics and subtopics from more than 350 probability sample surveys conducted from 2006 to present. Through its exclusive access to this databank, IranPoll provides its clients with evidence-based consultancy on issues relating to Iran and the Iranian people.

IranPoll is a member of American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) and World Association for Public Opinion Research (WAPOR) and follows their industry standards.



One of IranPoll's call centers in Toronto

Summary of State of Iran Survey Results

A large majority of Iranians (73%) say their country should reject a deal that would lift most US sanctions on Iran and allow Iran to have a peaceful nuclear energy program in return for Iran agreeing to fully and permanently giving up its right to nuclear enrichment on its soil and to always allow international inspection of its nuclear facilities. While Iranians are almost unanimous (90%) in their belief that Iran should have a peaceful nuclear energy program, a solid majority (59%) of them think that Iran should not develop nuclear weapons and two-in-three (66%) assert that development of nuclear weapons is against the teachings of Islam.

Eighteen months after the United States unilaterally pulled out of the JCPOA nuclear agreements and re-imposed its sanctions on Iran, large majorities of Iranians say US sanctions have negatively affected Iran's economy (76%) and are having a lot (53%) or some (23%) negative influence on the economic situation of their family.

Iranians, however, are not convinced that the United States would take military action against Iran if their country continues to develop its nuclear program. Six in ten (58%) say it is not at all likely and another 16% say it is not much likely that the United States would militarily attack Iran if Iran expands its nuclear program.

Asked what Iran should do if the United States attacks an Iranian nuclear facility, 59% say that Iran should retaliate by attacking US forces. Even larger majorities say that Iran should retaliate militarily if Saudi Arabia or Israel were to launch an attack against Iran's nuclear facilities. Asked what Iran should do if a neighboring country allows the US to use its territory to attack Iran, a clear majority (56%) say Iran should respond by attacking those countries as well.

The findings of this study also suggest that Iranians regard countries that are seen as rivals to the United States, as their own partners. Eight-in-ten (78%) see China as a rival of the United States and 74% say regard Iran and China to be mostly partners. Likewise, three quarters (74%) see Russia as a rival of the United States but call it a partner of Iran (72%). Similarly, Iranians are more likely to see US partners as Iran's rivals. For example, 82% see Saudi Arabia as a partner of the United States and almost the same proportion of Iranians (81%) identify Saudi Arabia as a rival of Iran.

IranPoll, which is an independent Toronto-based polling organization, conducted this wave of *State of Iran* survey series as a joint survey with the *Chicago Council on Global Affairs* benefiting from *IranPoll Opinion Research Support Fund in Memory of Professor Thomas Schelling*.

Methodology

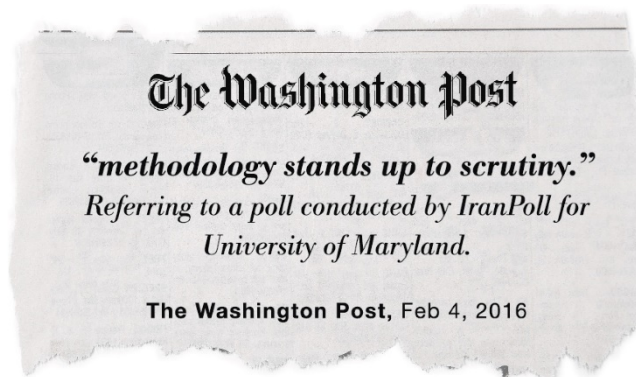
The study presented here is based on a telephone poll conducted from October 25 through November 2, 2019 among a representative sample of 1,000 Iranians. The margin of error is about +/- 3.09%.

The samples were RDD samples drawn from all landline telephones in Iran. The samples were stratified first by Iranian provinces and then in accordance to settlement size and type. All 31 Iranian provinces were represented in proportions similar to their actual populations, as were rural and urban areas. When a residence was reached, an adult was randomly selected from within that household using the random table technique.

An initial attempt and three callbacks were made in an effort to complete an interview with the randomly selected respondents. All of the interviews were conducted using computer-assisted telephone interview (CATI). All interviews were monitored in real-time by call-center supervisors.

For more details on IranPoll's methodology please refer to:

<https://www.iranpoll.com/method>



State of Iran Survey Results

Dates of Survey: October 25 – Nov. 2, 2019

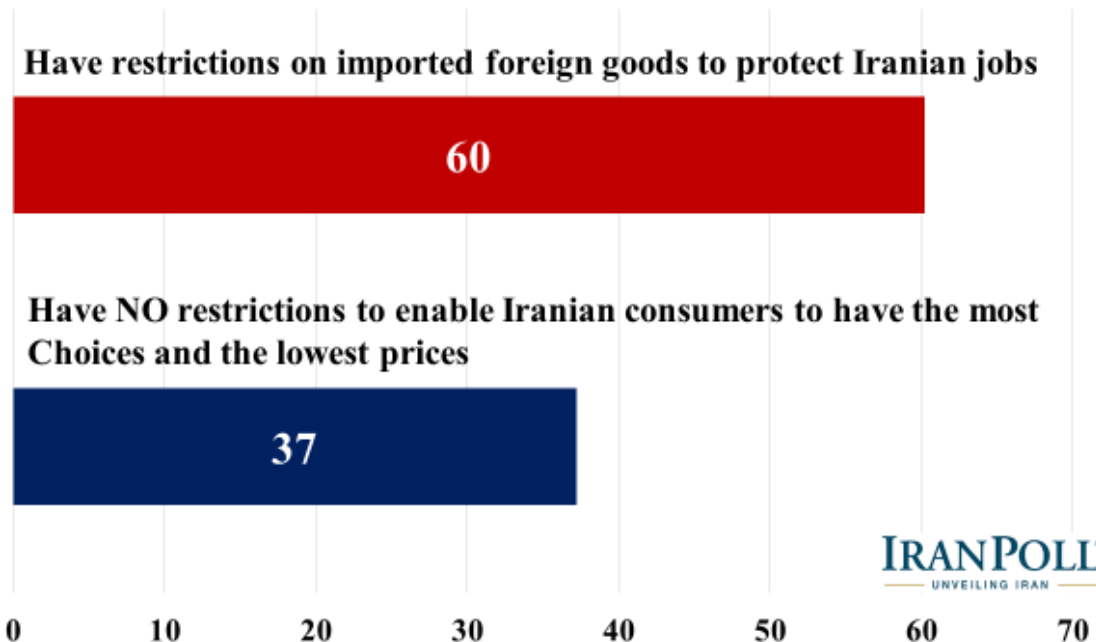
Sample Size: 1,000

Margin of Error: +/- 3.1%

Q1. Generally speaking, do you think Iran's trade policy should have restrictions on imported foreign goods to protect Iranian jobs, or have no restrictions to enable Iranian consumers to have the most choices and the lowest prices?

	Nov. 2019
Iran trade policy should have restrictions on imported foreign goods to protect Iranian jobs	60.2
Iran trade policy should have no restrictions to enable Iranian consumers to have the most choices and the lowest prices	37.2
DK/NA [vol.]	2.6

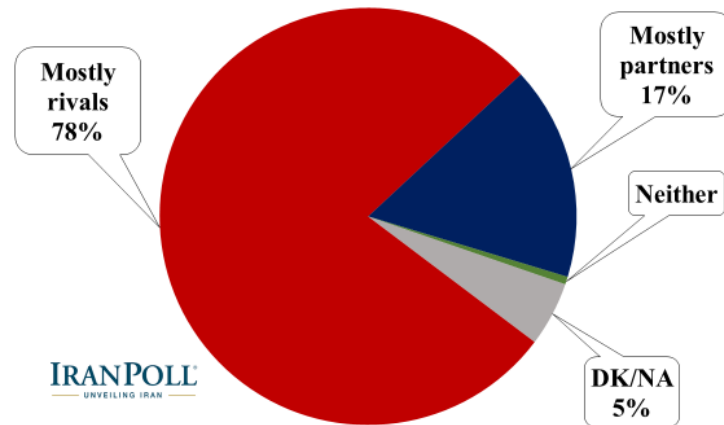
Generally speaking, do you think Iran's trade policy should:



Q2. At present, are the following countries mostly rivals or mostly partners?

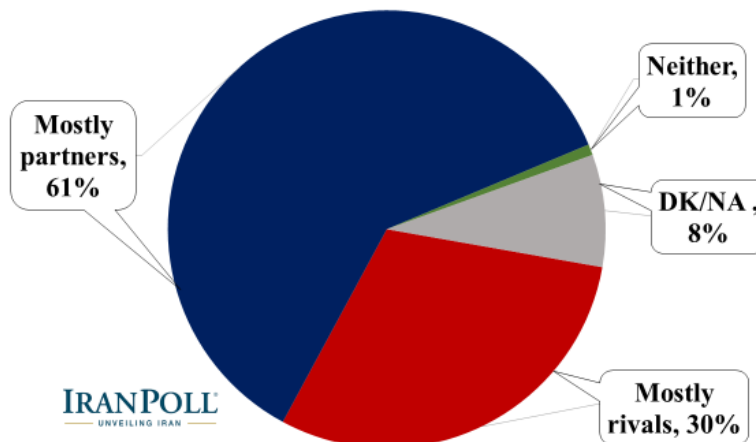
<i>1. The United States and China</i>	Nov. 2019
Mostly rivals	77.8
Mostly partners	16.6
Neither [vol.]	.6
DK/NA [vol.]	5.0

At present, are the following countries mostly rivals or mostly partners? US & China



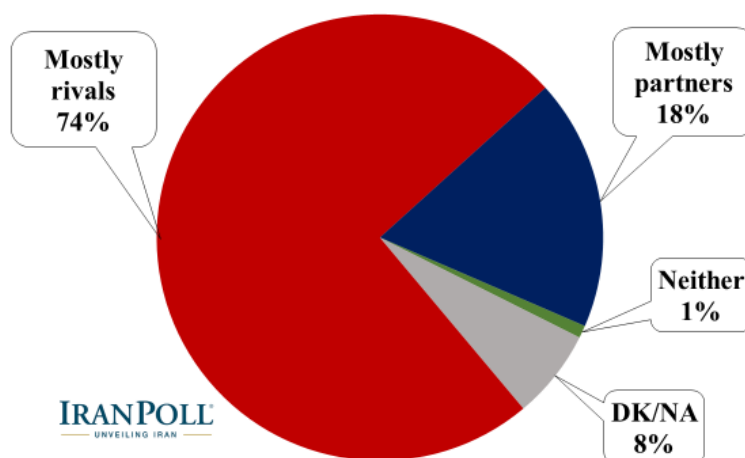
<i>2. The United States and the European Union</i>	Nov. 2019
Mostly rivals	30.1
Mostly partners	60.8
Neither [vol.]	.8
DK/NA [vol.]	8.3

At present, are the following countries mostly rivals or mostly partners? US & EU



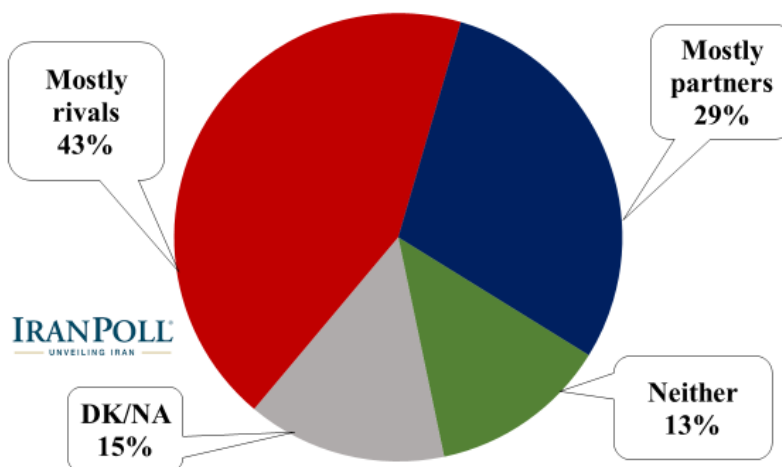
3. The United States and Russia	Nov. 2019
Mostly rivals	74.4
Mostly partners	18.2
Neither [vol.]	.9
DK/NA [vol.]	6.5

At present, are the following countries mostly rivals or mostly partners? US & Russia



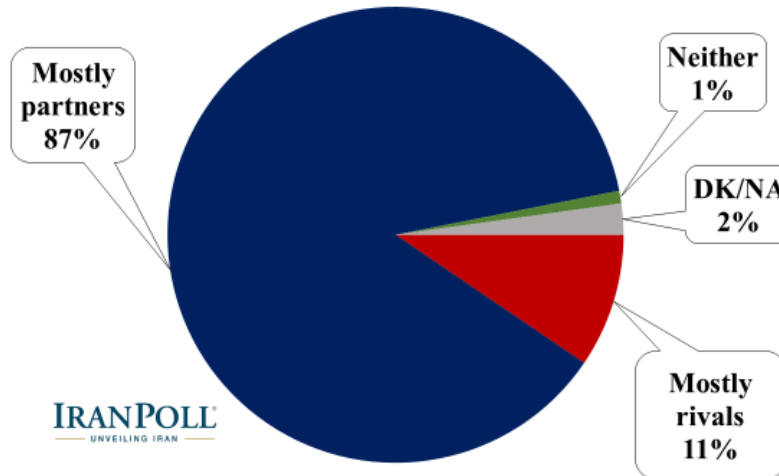
4. Iran and the European Union	Nov. 2019
Mostly rivals	43.4
Mostly partners	29.3
Neither [vol.]	12.9
DK/NA [vol.]	14.4

At present, are the following countries mostly rivals or mostly partners? Iran and EU



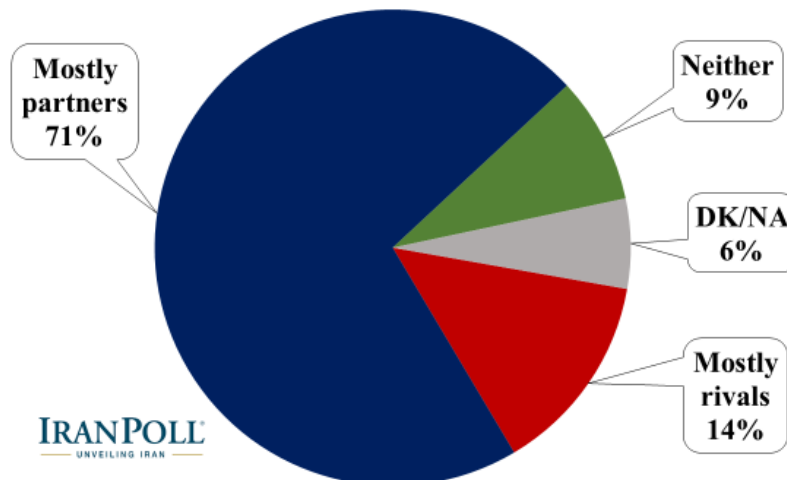
5. Iran and Iraq	Nov. 2019
Mostly rivals	9.5
Mostly partners	87.4
Neither [vol.]	.9
DK/NA [vol.]	2.2

At present, are the following countries mostly rivals or mostly partners? Iran and Iraq



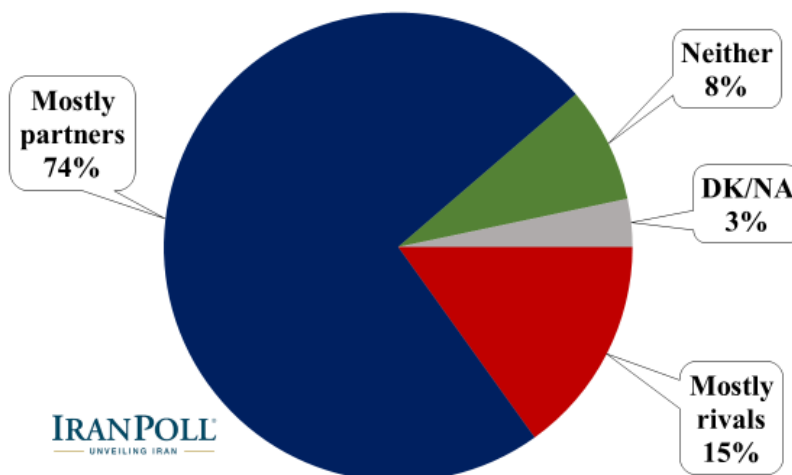
6. Iran and Russia	Nov. 2019
Mostly rivals	13.7
Mostly partners	71.6
Neither [vol.]	8.6
DK/NA [vol.]	6.1

At present, are the following countries mostly rivals or mostly partners? Iran and Russia



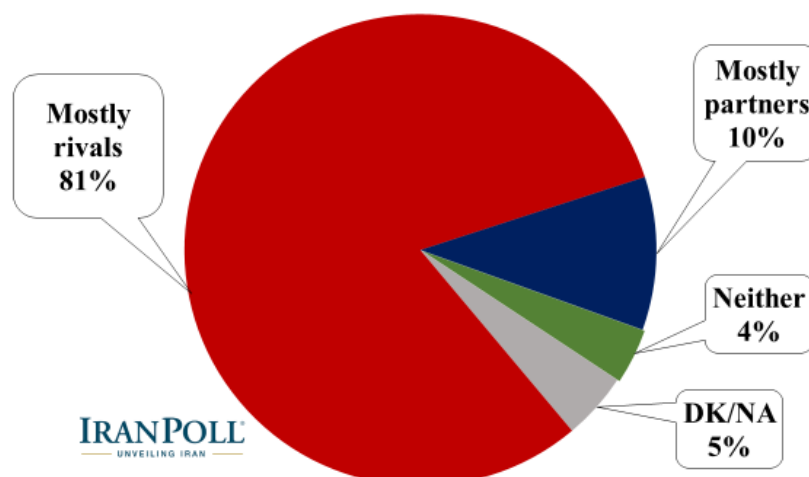
7. Iran and China	Nov. 2019
Mostly rivals	15.1
Mostly partners	73.6
Neither [vol.]	8.0
DK/NA [vol.]	3.3

At present, are the following countries mostly rivals or mostly partners? Iran and China



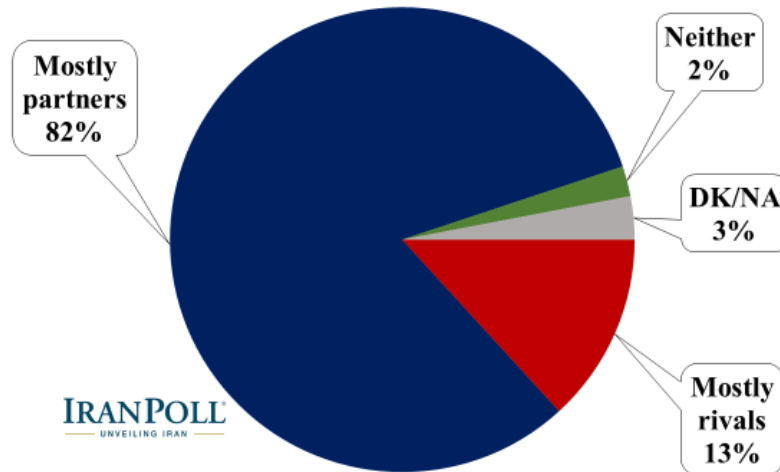
8. Iran and Saudi Arabia	Nov. 2019
Mostly rivals	81.1
Mostly partners	10.5
Neither [vol.]	3.8
DK/NA [vol.]	4.6

At present, are the following countries mostly rivals or mostly partners? Iran and Saudi Arabia

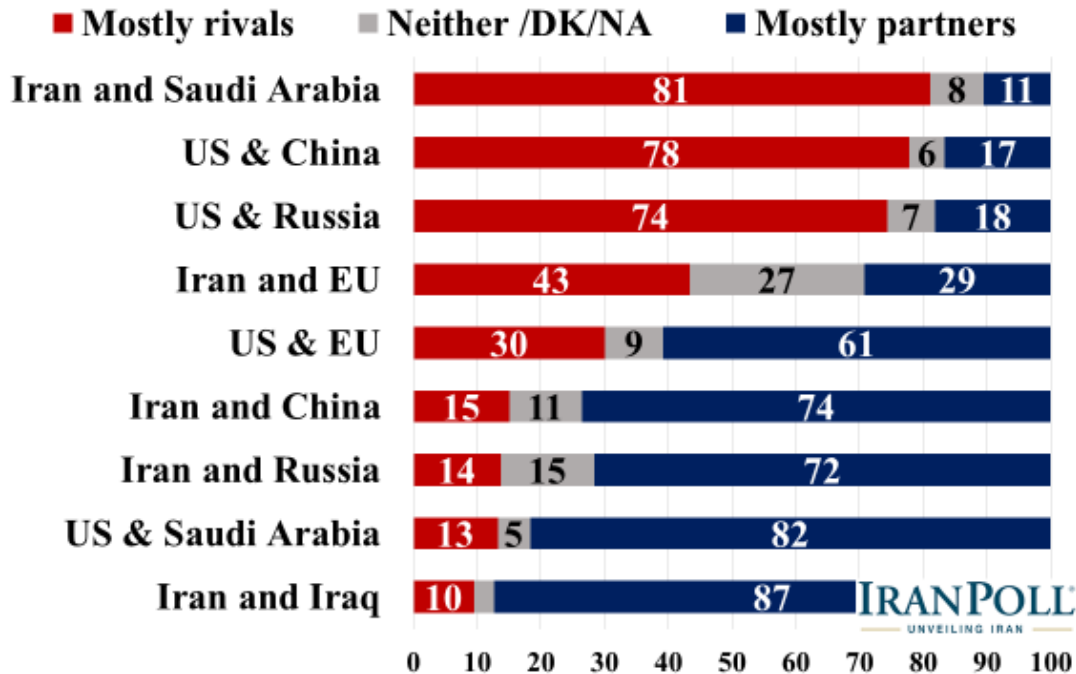


9. The United States and Saudi Arabia	Nov. 2019
Mostly rivals	13.2
Mostly partners	81.7
Neither [vol.]	2.1
DK/NA [vol.]	3.0

At present, are the following countries mostly rivals or mostly partners? US & Saudi Arabia



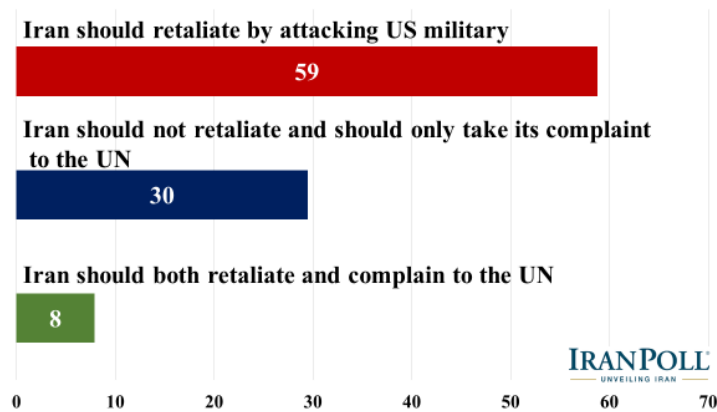
At present, are the following countries mostly rivals or mostly partners?



Q3. If the United States militarily attacks an Iranian nuclear facility, do you think:

	Nov. 2019
Iran should retaliate by attacking US military	58.8
Iran should not retaliate and should only take its complaint to the UN	29.5
Iran should both retaliate and complain to the UN [vol.]	7.9
Depends/Do nothing/Other [vol.]	1.2
DK/NA [vol.]	2.6

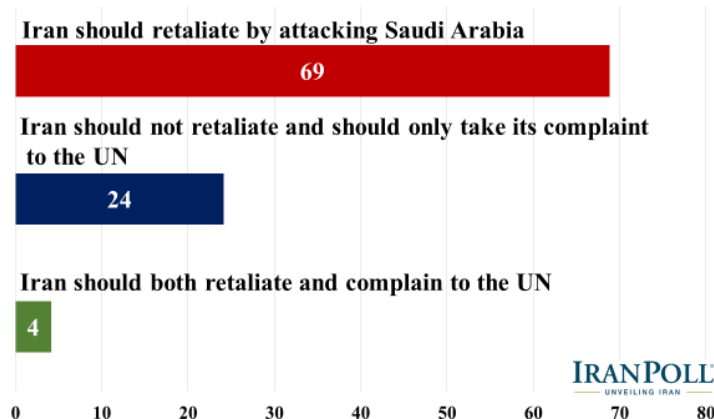
If the United States militarily attacks an Iranian nuclear facility, do you think:



Q4. What if Saudi Arabia militarily attacks an Iranian nuclear facility? In that case do you think:

	Nov. 2019
Iran should retaliate by attacking Saudi Arabia	68.8
Iran should not retaliate and should only take its complaint to the UN	24.1
Iran should both retaliate and complain to the UN [vol.]	4.1
Depends/Do nothing/Other [vol.]	.7
DK/NA [vol.]	2.3

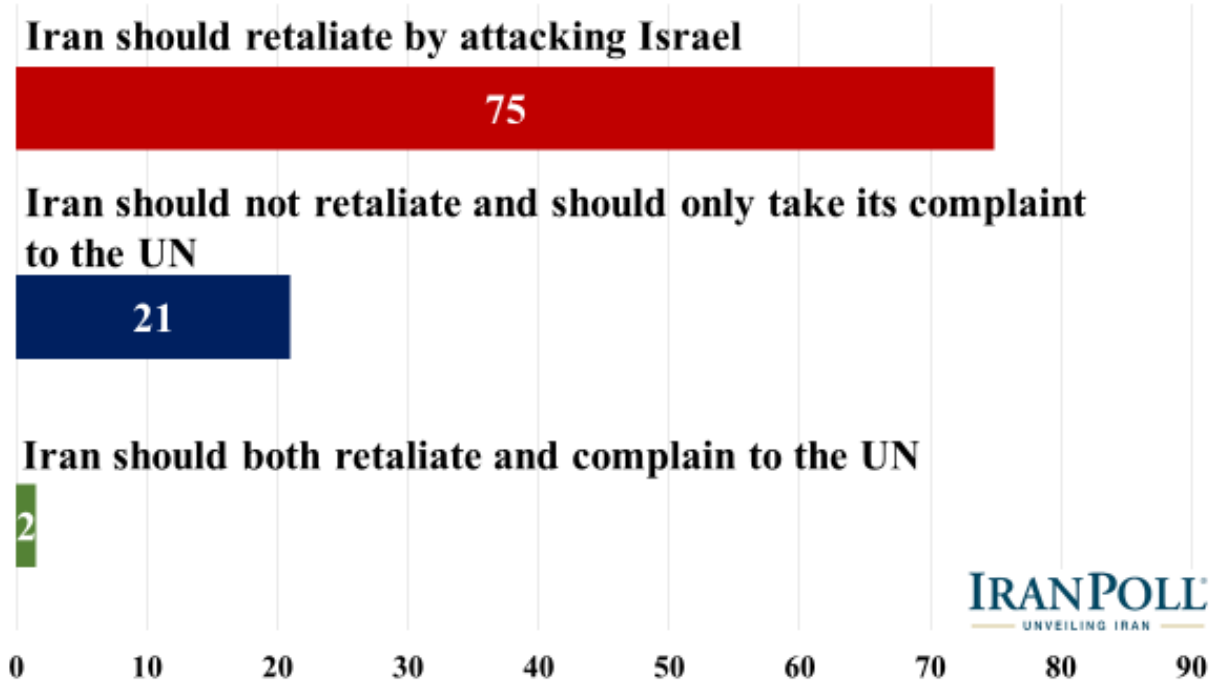
What if Saudi Arabia militarily attacks an Iranian nuclear facility? In that case do you think:



Q5. What if Israel militarily attacks an Iranian nuclear facility? In that case do you think:

	Nov. 2019
Iran should retaliate by attacking Israel	74.9
Iran should not retaliate and should only take its complaint to the UN	21.0
Iran should both retaliate and complain to the UN [vol.]	1.5
Depends/Do nothing/Other [vol.]	.5
DK/NA [vol.]	2.1

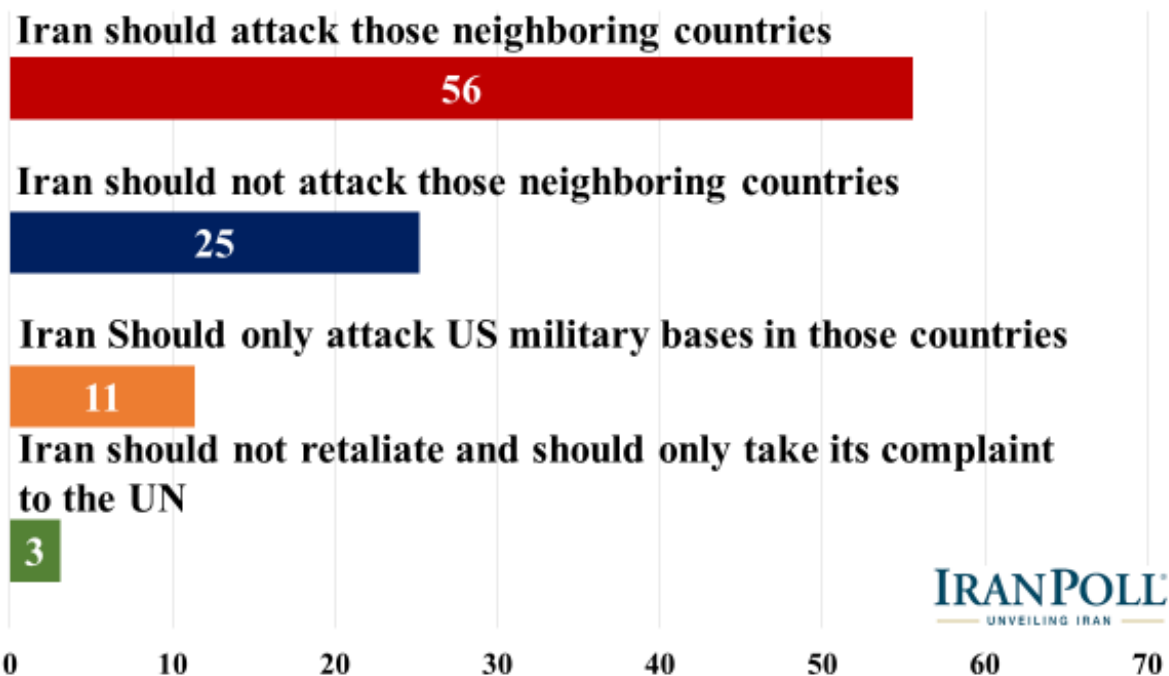
What if Israel militarily attacks an Iranian nuclear facility? In that case do you think



Q6. As you know, the United States has military bases in many of Iran’s neighboring countries. If those countries allow the United States to use its bases in those countries to attack Iran and if the United States uses those bases to militarily attack Iran, do you think:

	Nov. 2019
Iran should attack those neighboring countries	55.6
Iran should not attack those neighboring countries	25.2
Iran Should only attack US military bases in those countries [vol.]	11.4
Iran should not retaliate and should only take its complaint to the UN [vol.]	3.1
Depends/other [vol.]	1.4
DK/NA [vol.]	3.3

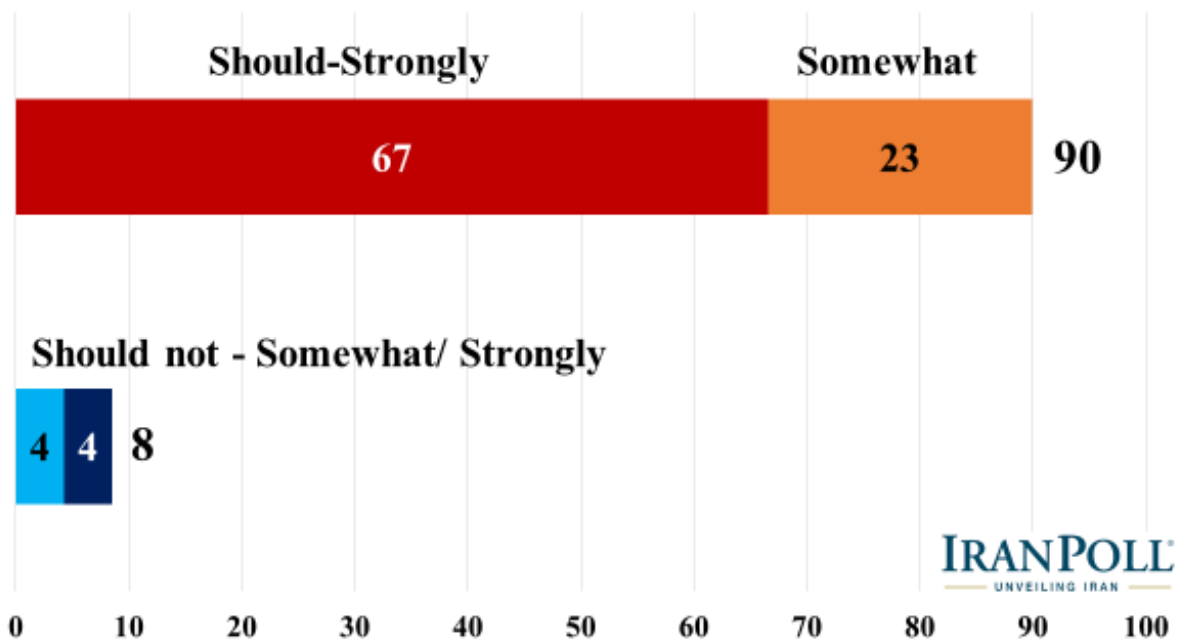
If the United States uses its bases in neighboring countries to militarily attack Iran, do you think:



Q7. Do you think Iran should or should not have a peaceful nuclear energy program? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

	Nov. 2019
Should-Strongly	66.6
Should - Somewhat	23.3
Should not - Somewhat	4.3
Should not - Strongly	4.2
DK/NA [vol.]	1.6

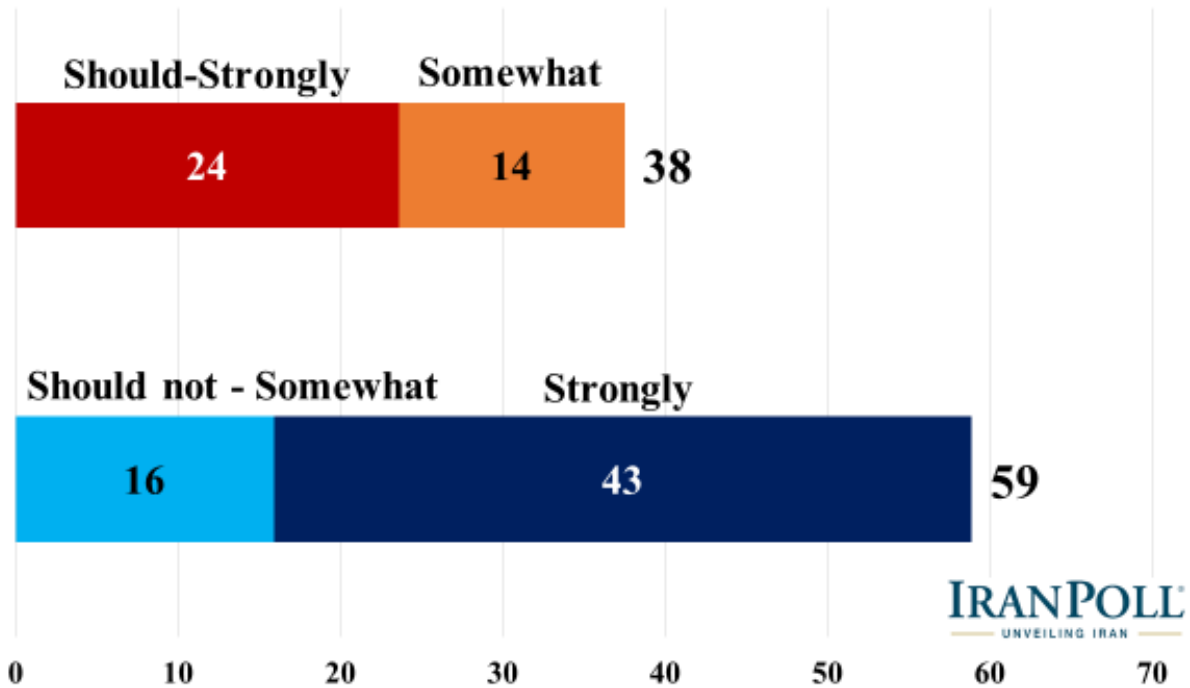
Do you think Iran should or should not have a peaceful nuclear energy program?



Q8. And you think Iran should or should not develop nuclear weapons? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

	Nov. 2019
Should-Strongly	23.6
Should - Somewhat	13.9
Should not - Somewhat	15.9
Should not - Strongly	43.0
DK/NA [vol.]	3.6

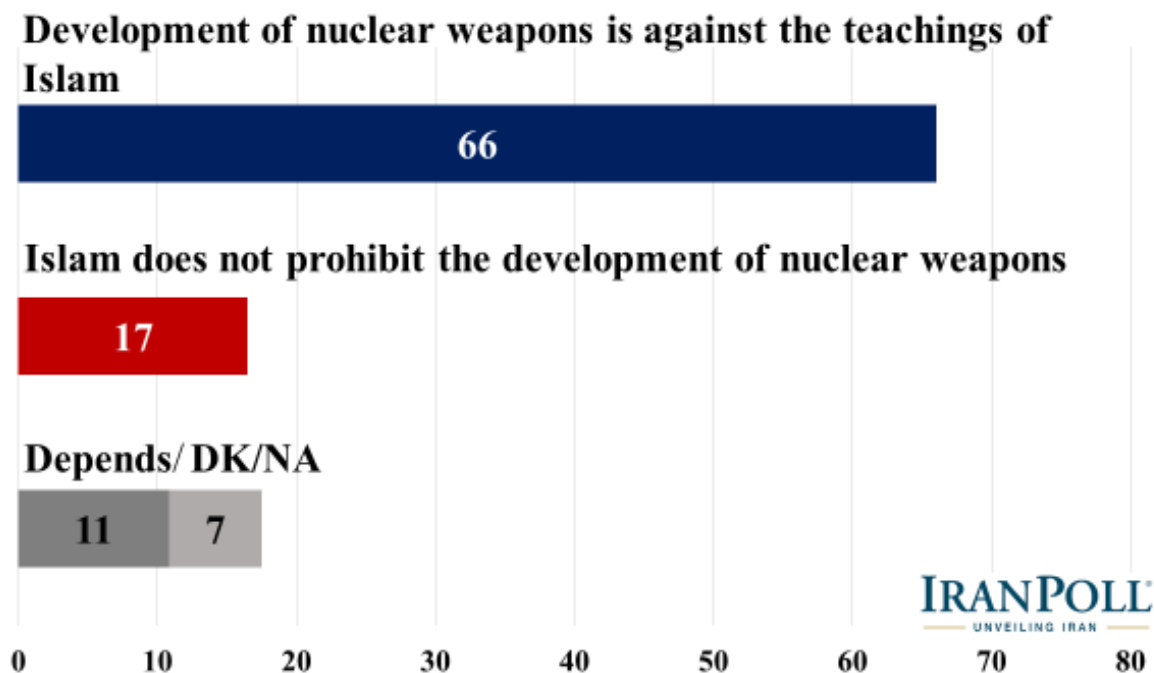
And you think Iran should or should not develop nuclear weapons?



Q9. Some say developing nuclear weapons is against the teachings of Islam and some disagree and say Islam does not prohibit the development of nuclear weapons. Which of these views is closer to yours?

	Nov. 2019
Development of nuclear weapons is against the teachings of Islam	66.0
Islam does not prohibit the development of nuclear weapons	16.5
Depends [vol.]	10.8
DK/NA [vol.]	6.7

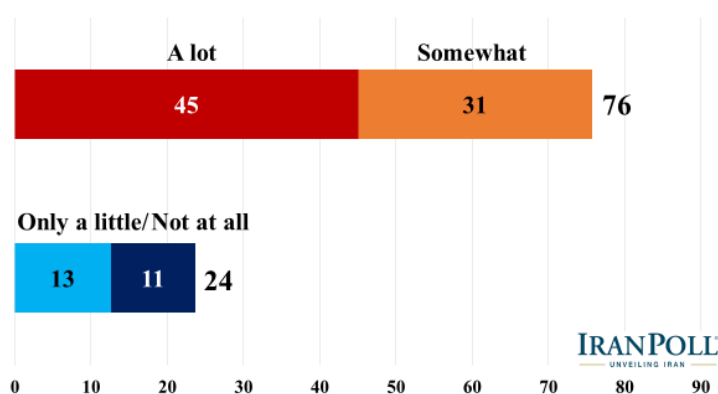
Which of these views is closer to yours?



Q10. How much of a negative influence are the sanctions having on the economic situation of our country?

	Nov. 2019
A lot	45.1
Somewhat	30.6
Only a little	12.6
Not at all	11.1
DK/NA [vol.]	.6

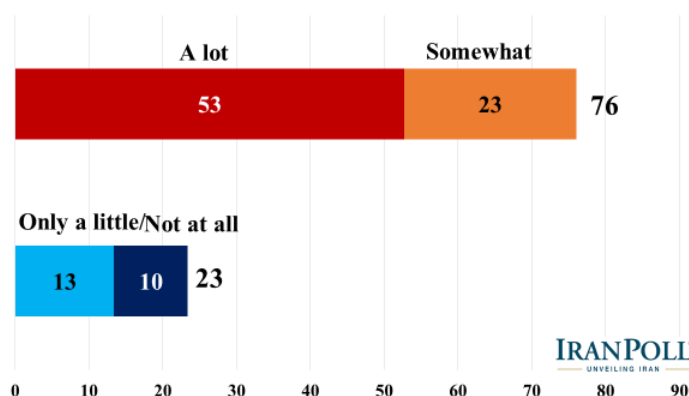
How much of a negative influence are the sanctions having on the economic situation of our country?



Q11. How much of a negative influence are the sanctions having on the economic situation of your family?

	Nov. 2019
A lot	52.7
Somewhat	23.3
Only a little	13.4
Not at all	10.0
DK/NA [vol.]	.6

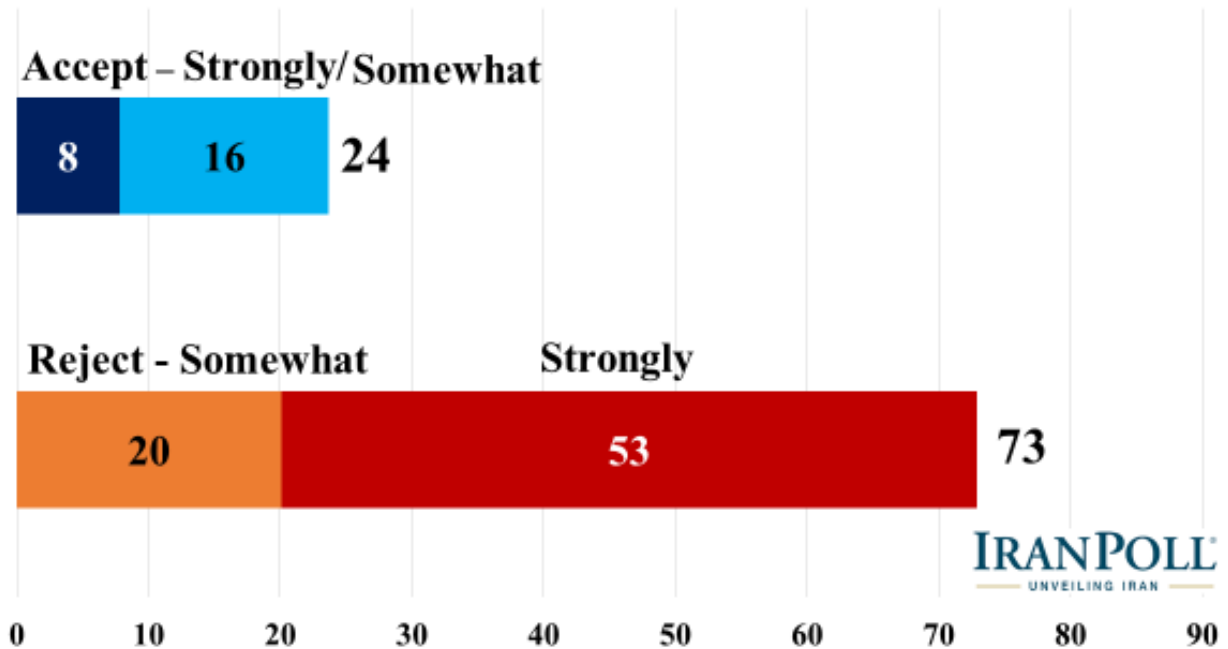
How much of a negative influence are the sanctions having on the economic situation of your family?



Q12. Suppose the United States were to propose a deal whereby most US sanctions on Iran would be gradually lifted and Iran would be able to have a peaceful nuclear energy program in return for agreeing to fully and permanently give up the right to enrich uranium on its soil and to always allow international inspection of its nuclear facilities. Do you think Iran should accept or reject such a deal? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

	Nov. 2019
Accept - Strongly	7.8
Accept - Somewhat	15.9
Reject - Somewhat	20.1
Reject - Strongly	52.8
DK/NA [vol.]	3.4

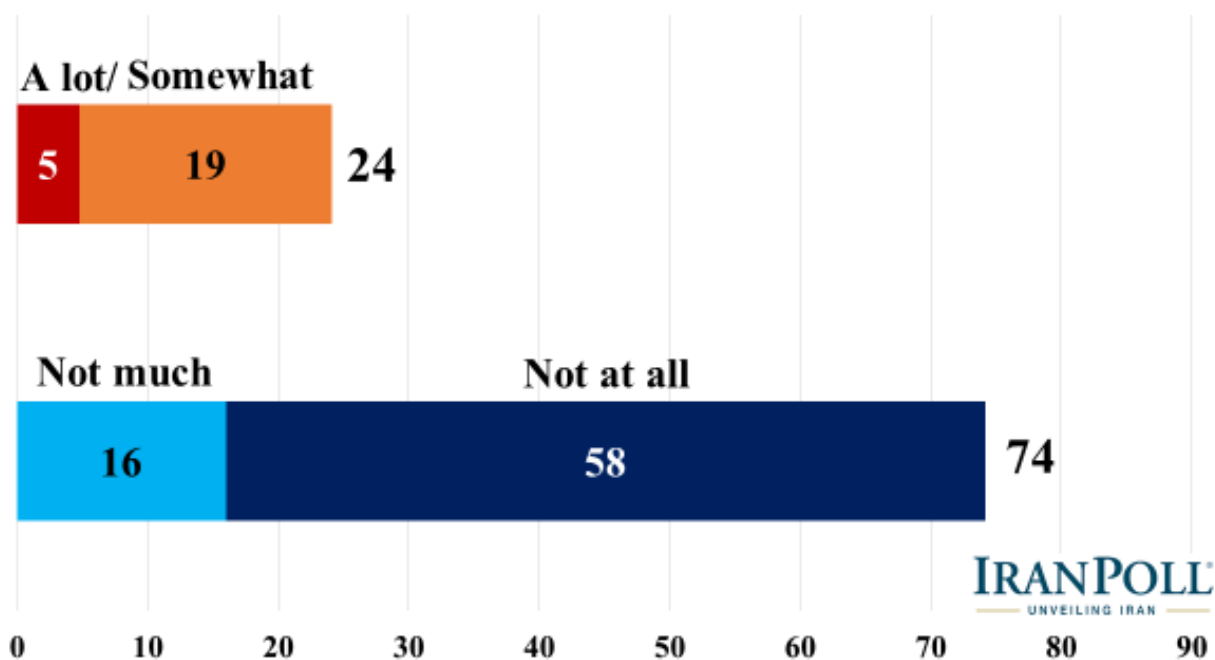
Suppose US proposed a deal: most US sanctions on Iran would be lifted and Iran would have a peaceful nuclear energy program in return for agreeing to fully and permanently give up the right to enrich uranium on its soil and to always allow international inspection of its nuclear facilities. Do you think Iran should accept or reject such a deal?



Q13. How likely do you think it is that the United States would militarily attack Iran if Iran continues to develop its nuclear program?

	Nov. 2019
A lot	4.8
Somewhat	19.3
Not much	16.0
Not at all	58.2
DK/NA [vol.]	1.7

How likely do you think it is that the United States would militarily attack Iran if Iran continues to develop its nuclear program?

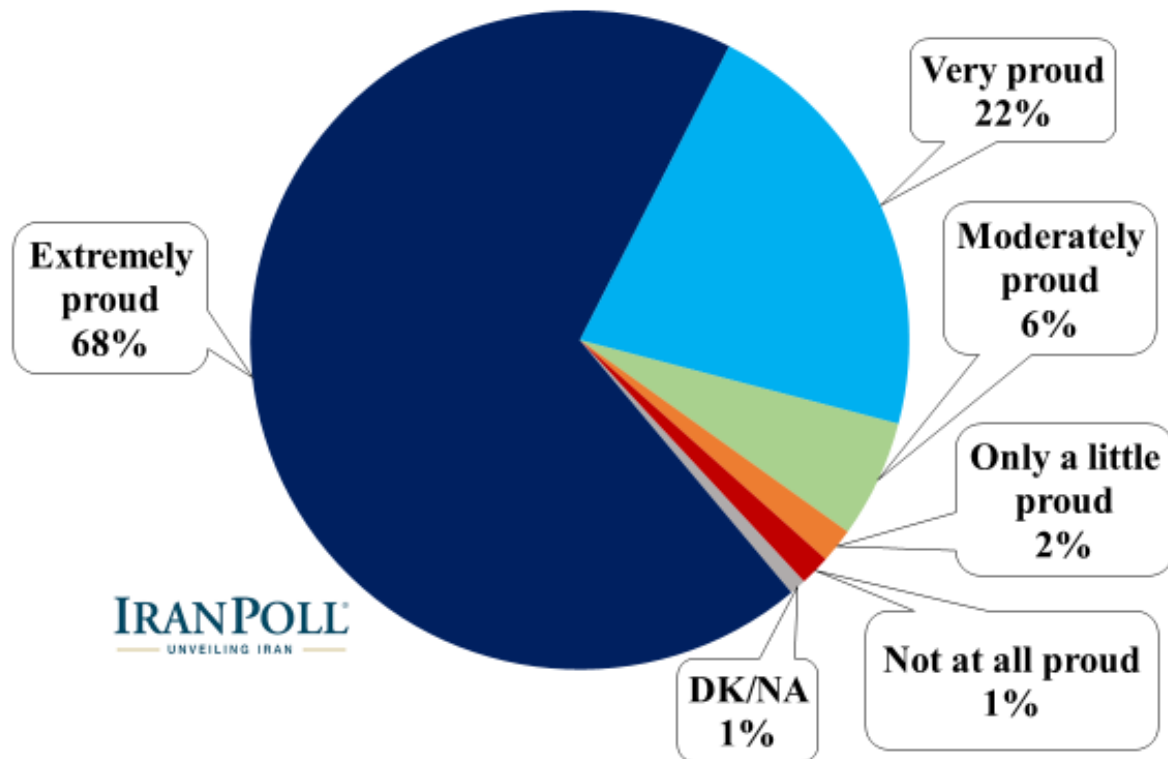


Demographics

D1. How proud are you to be an Iranian?

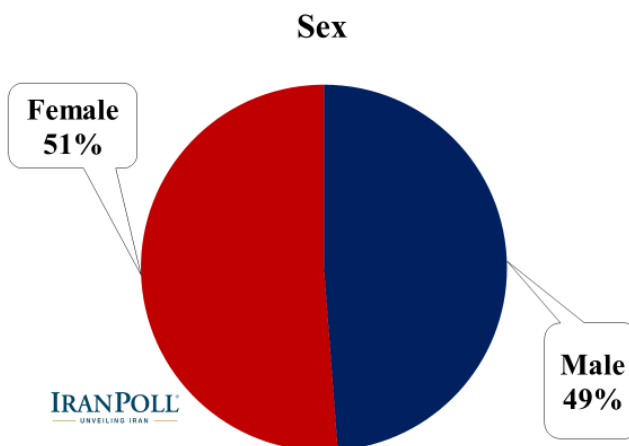
	Nov. 2019
Extremely proud	68.6
Very proud	21.6
Moderately proud	5.8
Only a little proud	1.7
Not at all proud	1.5
DK/NA [vol.]	.8

How proud are you to be an Iranian?



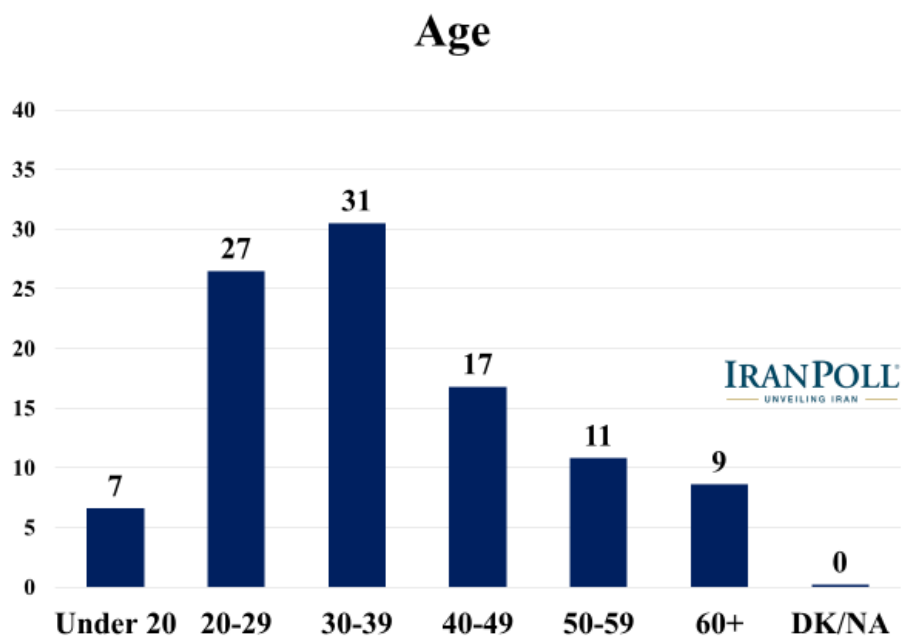
D2. Sex:

	Nov. 2019
Male	48.8
Female	51.2



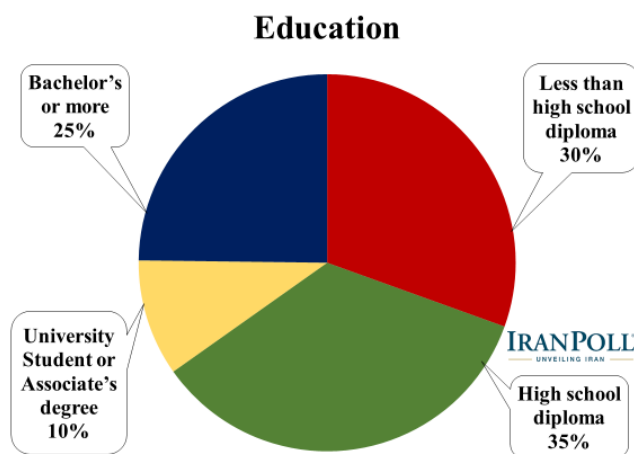
D3. Age:

	Nov. 2019
Under 20	6.6
20-29	26.5
30-39	30.5
40-49	16.8
50-59	10.8
60+	8.6
DK/NA	.2



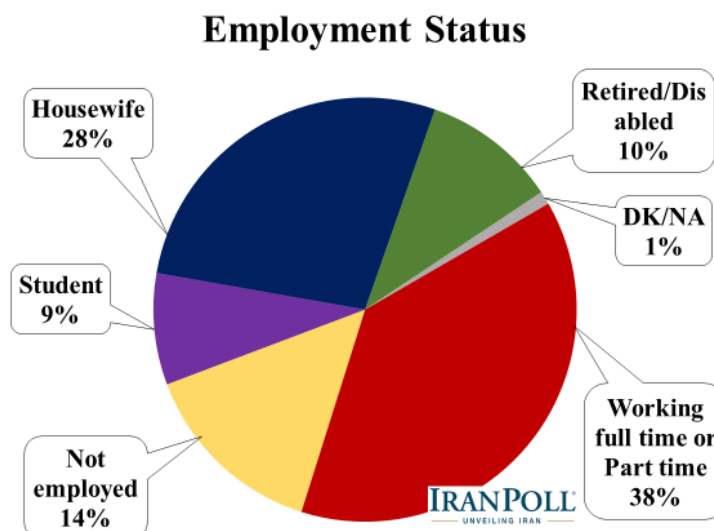
D4. Education:

	Nov. 2019
Less than high school diploma	30.5
High school diploma	34.7
University Student or Associate's degree	10.0
Bachelor's or more	24.8
DK/NA	--



D5. Employment Status:

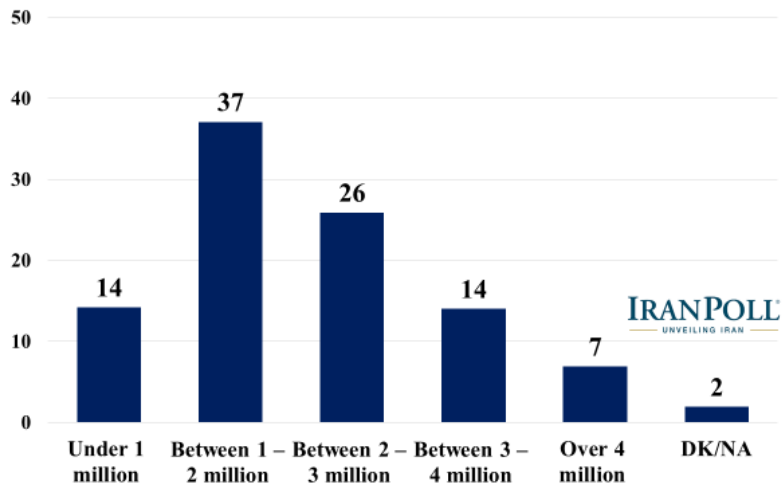
	Nov. 2019
Working full time or Part time	38.2
Not employed	14.4
Student	8.5
Housewife	27.6
Retired/Disabled	10.3
DK/NA	1.0



D6. Monthly Household Income:

	Nov. 2019
Under 1 million Tomans	14.2
Between 1 – 2 million Tomans	37.1
Between 2 – 3 million Tomans	25.9
Between 3 – 4 million Tomans	14.0
Over 4 million Tomans	6.9
DK/NA	1.9

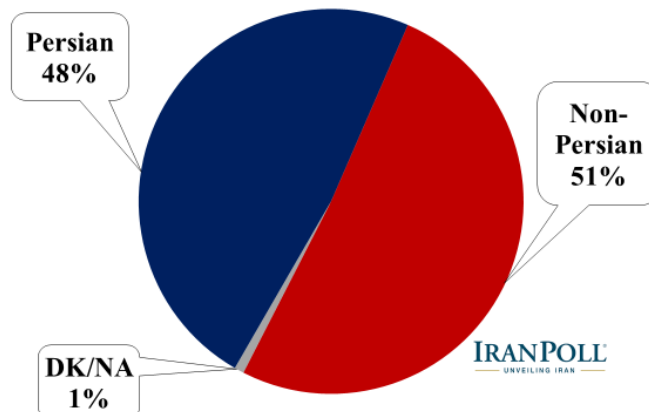
Monthly Household Income



D7. Ethnicity:

	Nov. 2019
Persian	48.2
Non-Persian	51.0
DK/NA	.8

Ethnicity



Survey Questions

Also fielded on CCGA's 2018 Biannual survey:

1. QPATRIOT [S] How proud are you to be an Iranian?

[ANSWERS]

1. Extremely proud
2. Very proud
3. Moderately proud
4. Only a little proud
5. Not at all proud
98. DK/NA [vol.]

2. SAMPLE B: QIBD2 [S] Generally speaking, do you think Iran's trade policy should have restrictions on imported foreign goods to protect Iranian jobs, or have no restrictions to enable Iranian consumers to have the most choices and the lowest prices?

[ANSWERS]

1. Iran trade policy should have restrictions on imported foreign goods to protect Iranian jobs
2. Iran trade policy should have no restrictions to enable Iranian consumers to have the most choices and the lowest prices
98. DK/NA [vol.]

Also fielded on CCGA's US-Russia survey:

3. Q6. At present, are the following countries mostly rivals or mostly partners?

[RANDOMIZE]

1. The United States and China
2. The United States and the European Union
3. The United States and Russia
4. Iran and the European Union
5. Iran and Iraq
6. Iran and Russia
7. Iran and China
8. Iran and Saudi Arabia
9. The United States and Saudi Arabia

[ANSWERS]

1. Mostly rivals
2. Mostly partners
97. Neither [vol.]
98. DK/NA [vol.]

Question newly designed for this survey:

4. If the United States militarily attacks an Iranian nuclear facility, do you think:

[ANSWERS]

1. Iran should retaliate by attacking US military
2. Iran should not retaliate and should only take its complaint to the UN
96. Iran should both retaliate and complain to the UN [vol.]
97. Depends/Do nothing/Other [vol.]
98. DK/NA [vol.]

5. What if Saudi Arabia militarily attacks an Iranian nuclear facility? In that case do you think:

[ANSWERS]

1. Iran should retaliate by attacking Saudi Arabia
2. Iran should not retaliate and should only take its complaint to the UN
96. Iran should both retaliate and complain to the UN [vol.]
97. Depends/Do nothing/Other [vol.]
98. DK/NA [vol.]

6. What if Israel militarily attacks an Iranian nuclear facility? In that case do you think:

[ANSWERS]

1. Iran should retaliate by attacking Israel
2. Iran should not retaliate and should only take its complaint to the UN
96. Iran should both retaliate and complain to the UN [vol.]
97. Depends/Do nothing/Other [vol.]
98. DK/NA [vol.]

7. As you know, the United States has military bases in many of Iran's neighboring countries. If those countries allow the United States to use its bases in those countries to attack Iran and if the United States uses those bases to militarily attack Iran, do you think:

[ANSWERS]

1. Iran should attack those neighboring countries
2. Iran should not attack those neighboring countries
95. Iran Should only attack US military bases in those countries [vol.]
96. Iran should not retaliate and should only take its complaint to the UN [vol.]
97. Depends/other [vol.]
98. DK/NA [vol.]

8. Do you think Iran should or should not have a peaceful nuclear energy program? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

[ANSWERS]

1. Should-Strongly
2. Should - Somewhat
3. Should not - Somewhat
4. Should not - Strongly
98. DK/NA [vol.]

9. And you think Iran should or should not develop nuclear weapons? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

[ANSWERS]

1. Should-Strongly
2. Should - Somewhat
3. Should not - Somewhat
4. Should not - Strongly
98. DK/NA [vol.]

10. Some say developing nuclear weapons is against the teachings of Islam and some disagree and say Islam does not prohibit the development of nuclear weapons. Which of these views is closer to yours?

[ANSWERS]

1. Development of nuclear weapons is against the teachings of Islam
2. Islam does not prohibit the development of nuclear weapons
97. Depends [vol.]
98. DK/NA [vol.]

11. How much of a negative influence are the sanctions having on the economic situation of our country?

[ANSWERS]

1. A lot
2. Somewhat
3. Only a little
4. Not at all
98. DK/NA [vol.]

12. How much of a negative influence are the sanctions having on the economic situation of your family?

[ANSWERS]

1. A lot
2. Somewhat
3. Only a little
4. Not at all
98. DK/NA [vol.]

13. Suppose the United States were to propose a deal whereby most US sanctions on Iran would be gradually lifted and Iran would be able to have a peaceful nuclear energy program in return for agreeing to fully and permanently give up the right to enrich uranium on its soil and to always allow international inspection of its nuclear facilities. Do you think Iran should accept or reject such a deal? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

[ANSWERS]

1. Accept - Strongly
2. Accept - Somewhat
3. Reject - Somewhat
4. Reject - Strongly
98. DK/NA [vol.]

14. How likely do you think it is that the United States would militarily attack Iran if Iran continues to develop its nuclear program?

[ANSWERS]

1. A lot
2. Somewhat
3. Not much
4. Not at all
98. DK/NA [vol.]

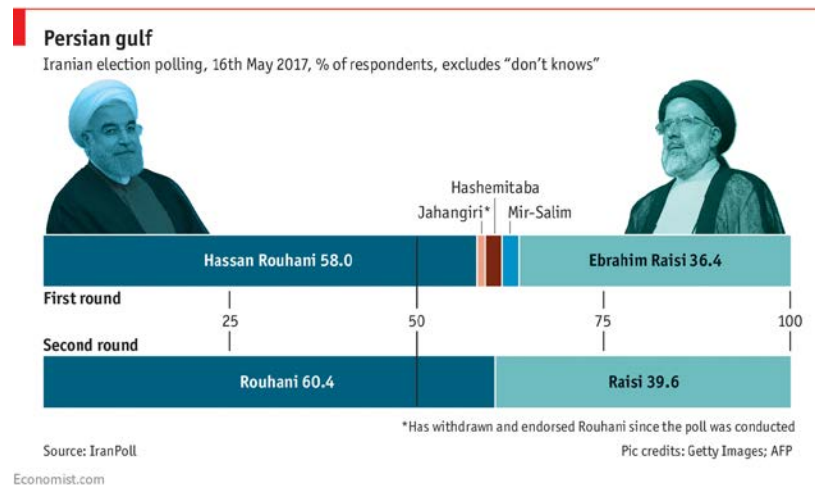
IranPoll's Accuracy, Proven to be Predictive

IranPoll is proud of providing a fully accurate prediction of the outcome of Iran's May 2017 presidential election.

Our prediction from May 16, 2017 (3 days before the election) was published by The Economist about 20 hours before the initial official results were declared. (accessible here: <https://www.economist.com/blogs/graphicdetail/2017/05/daily-chart-14>)

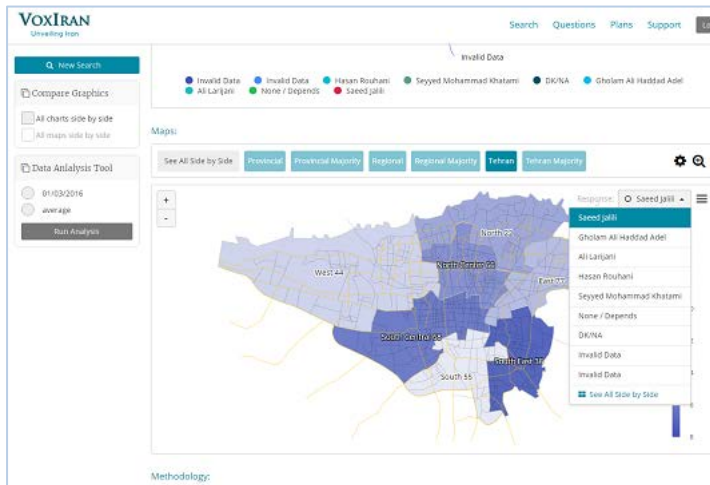
On May 20, 2017, Iran's Ministry of Interior officially declared that Rouhani had won 57% and Raisi had won 38% of the cast ballots. As shown in this image from The Economist, our prediction was less than 2 percentage points away from the officially declared results.

Please find more about our election polls [here](#).

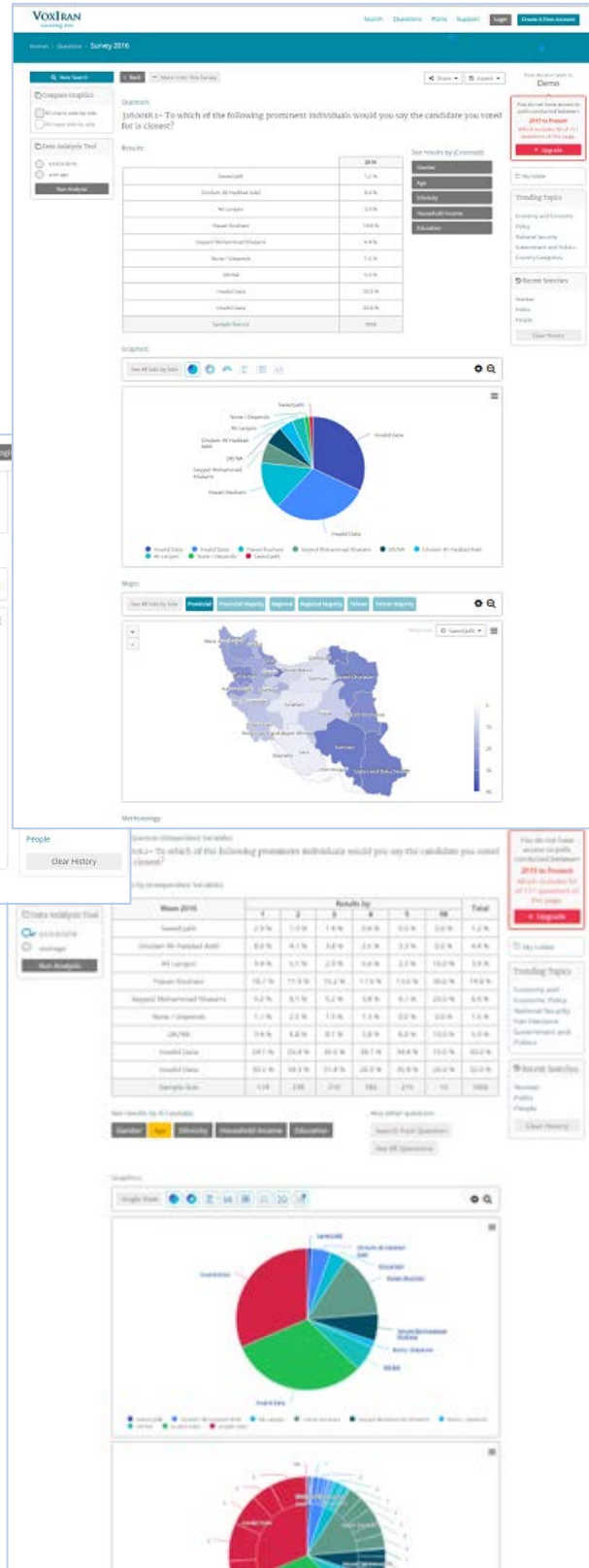


IranPoll's Databank of Iranian Surveys

Complementing its extensive field capacity, IranPoll's databank is the single most comprehensive databank of Iranian opinion polls containing more than 3,000 questions on 430 topics and subtopics from more than 350 probability sample surveys conducted from 2006 to present. Through its exclusive access to its data, IranPoll provides its clients with evidence-based consultancy on issues relating to Iran and the Iranian people.



IranPoll utilizes VoxDash™ to enable its clients to see where Iranian people stand and how their views and opinions have changed and evolved over the past decade on a comprehensive range of issues. VoxDash is a data governance platform for sharing and visualization of proprietary data without allowing access to the raw data itself.





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