

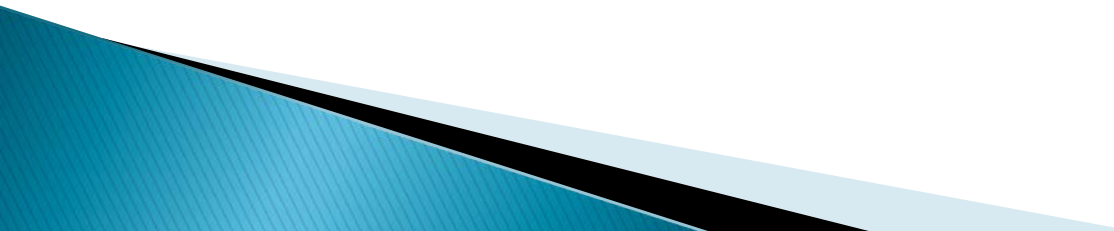
# Iran's Presidential Election and Its Domestic and International Ramifications

Ebrahim Mohseni

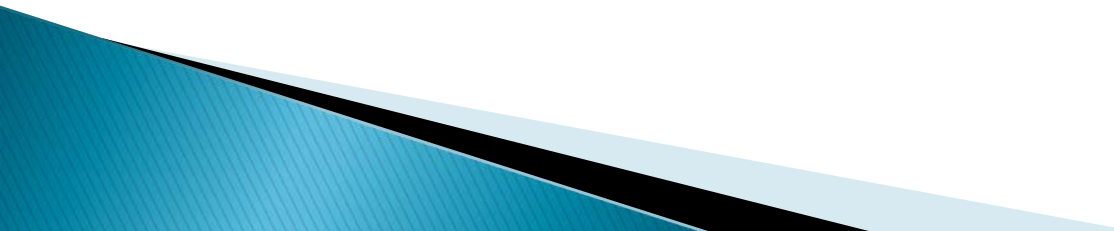
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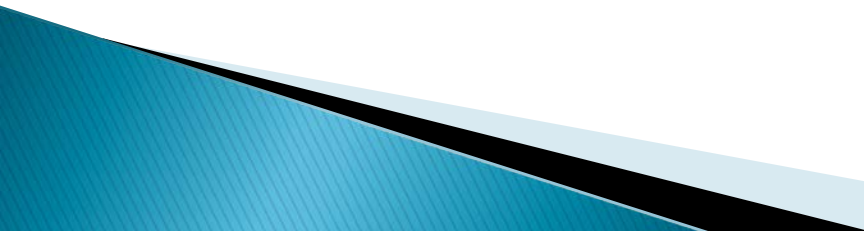
# Main Questions

- ▶ How did Rowhani win Iran's Eleventh presidential elections?
  - ▶ Who voted for Rowhani and why?
  - ▶ What do Iranians expect Rowhani to do:
    - Domestically?
    - Internationally?
    - Regarding the nuclear issue?
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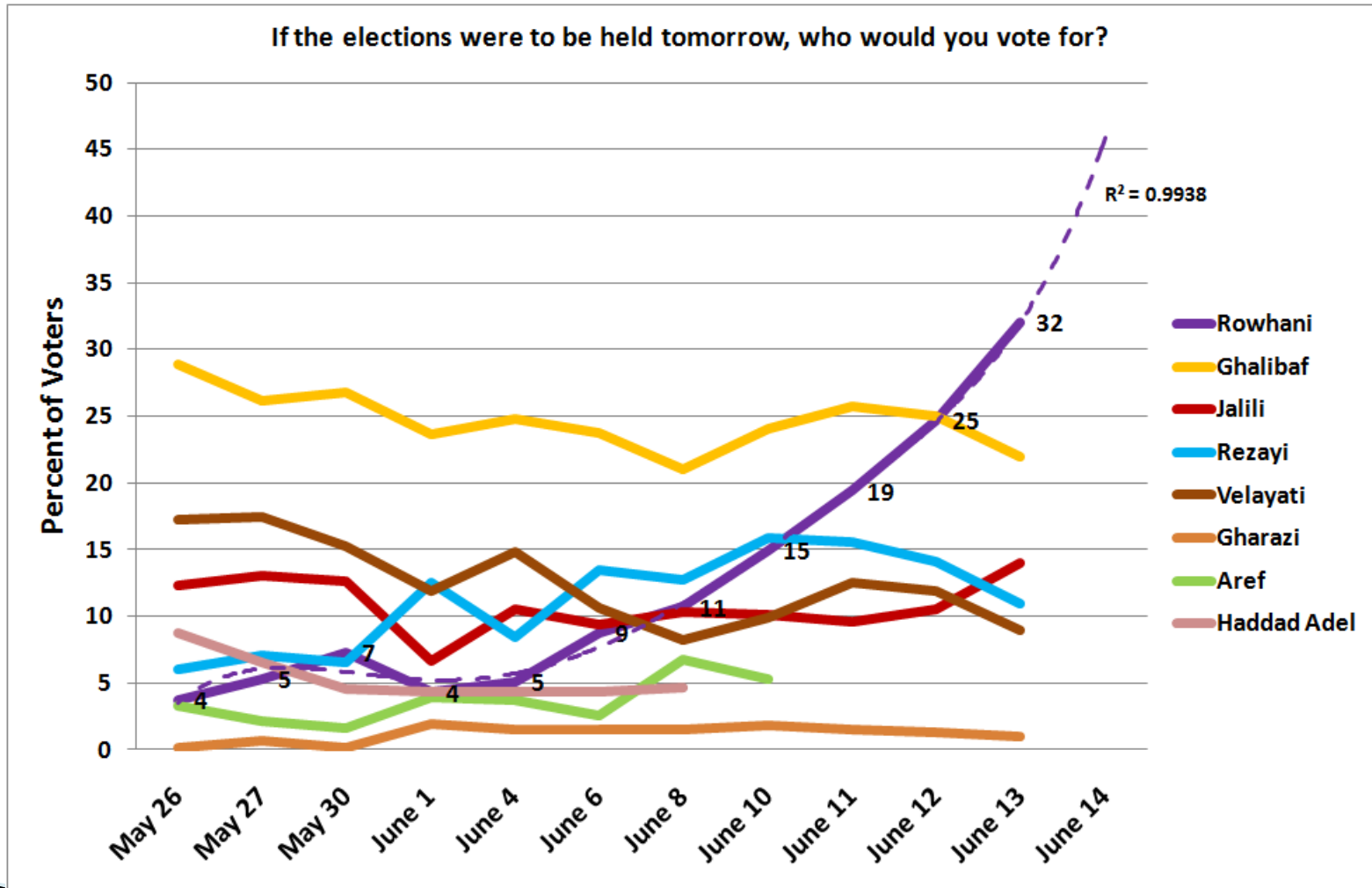
# Data

- ▶ 13 Cross-sectional National Probability sample Surveys (May 10 – June 23, 2013)
  - ▶ 1 Panel (June 17, 2013)
  - ▶ Sample size: 709 – 2000
  - ▶ Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI)
  - ▶ Fixed Landline Only
  - ▶ Margin of Error:  $\pm 2.2\% - 3.7\%$
  - ▶ University of Tehran (pilot project)
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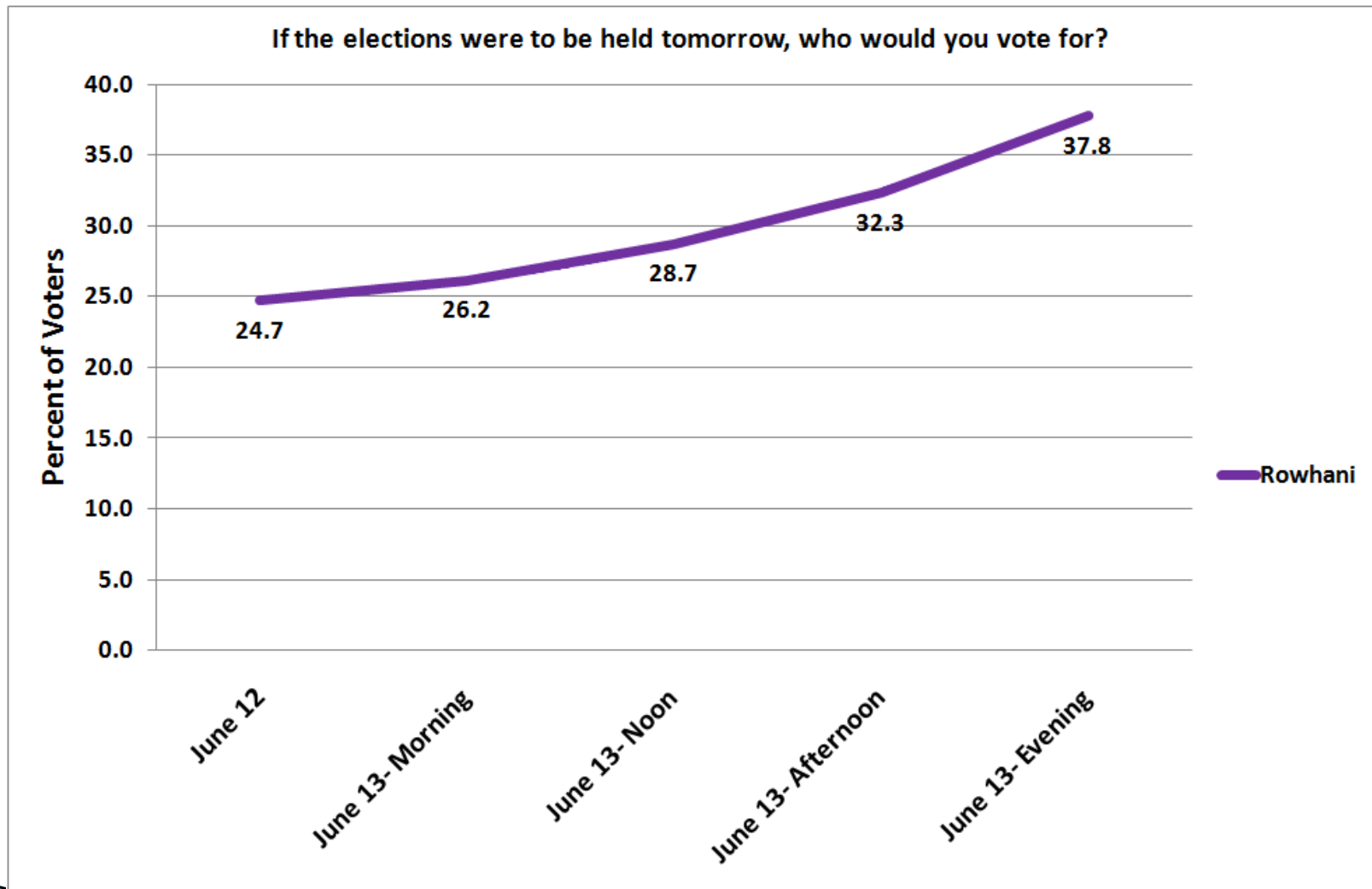
# How Did Rowhani Win?

- ▶ Rowhani's surge began after the third debate, which was on domestic and foreign policy issues, and continued to the day of election
  - ▶ Ghalibaf was the front runner until 2 days before the election
  - ▶ The general belief among the public and experts was that the election was going to go to the second round, with someone competing against Ghalibaf
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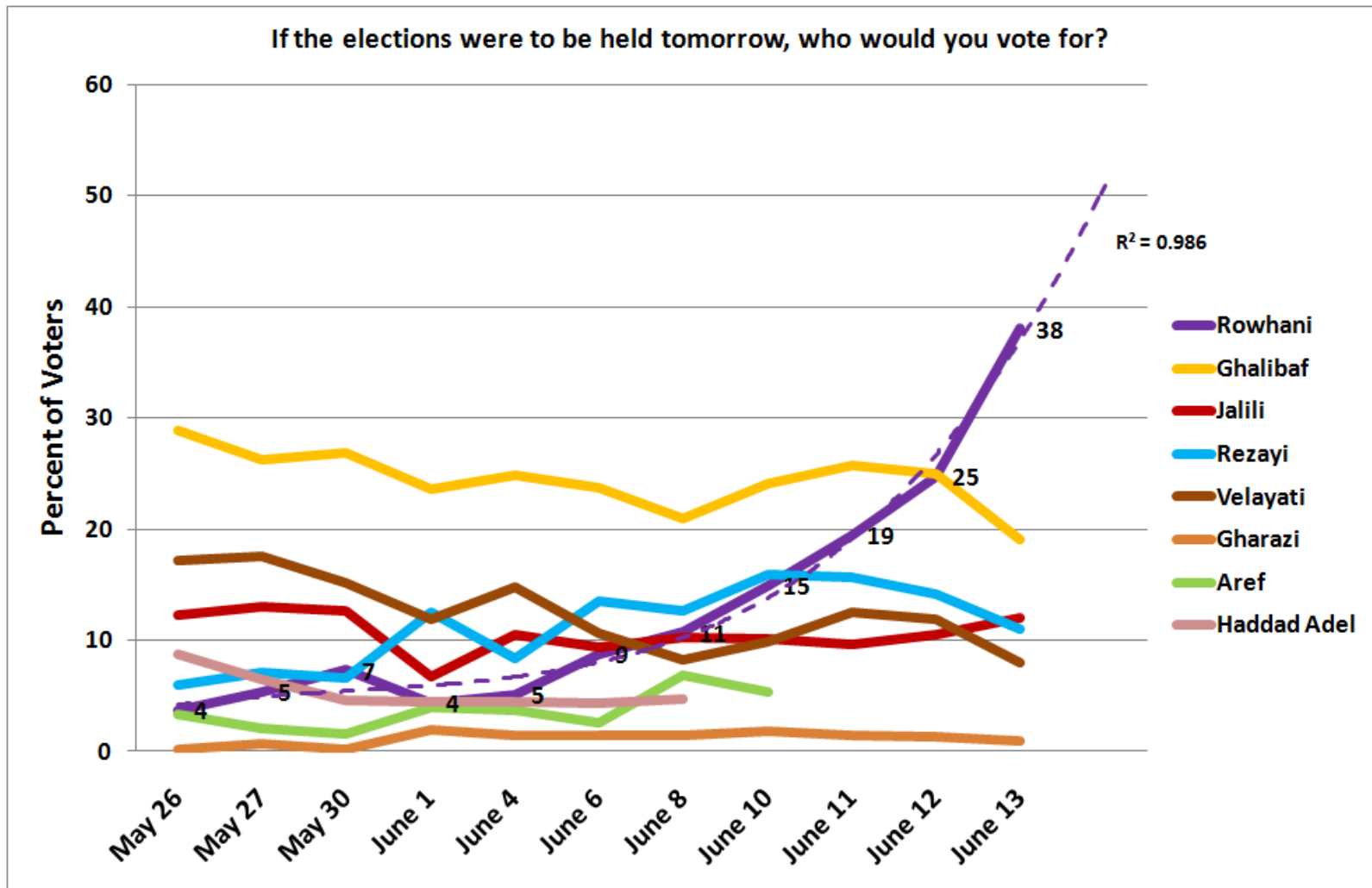
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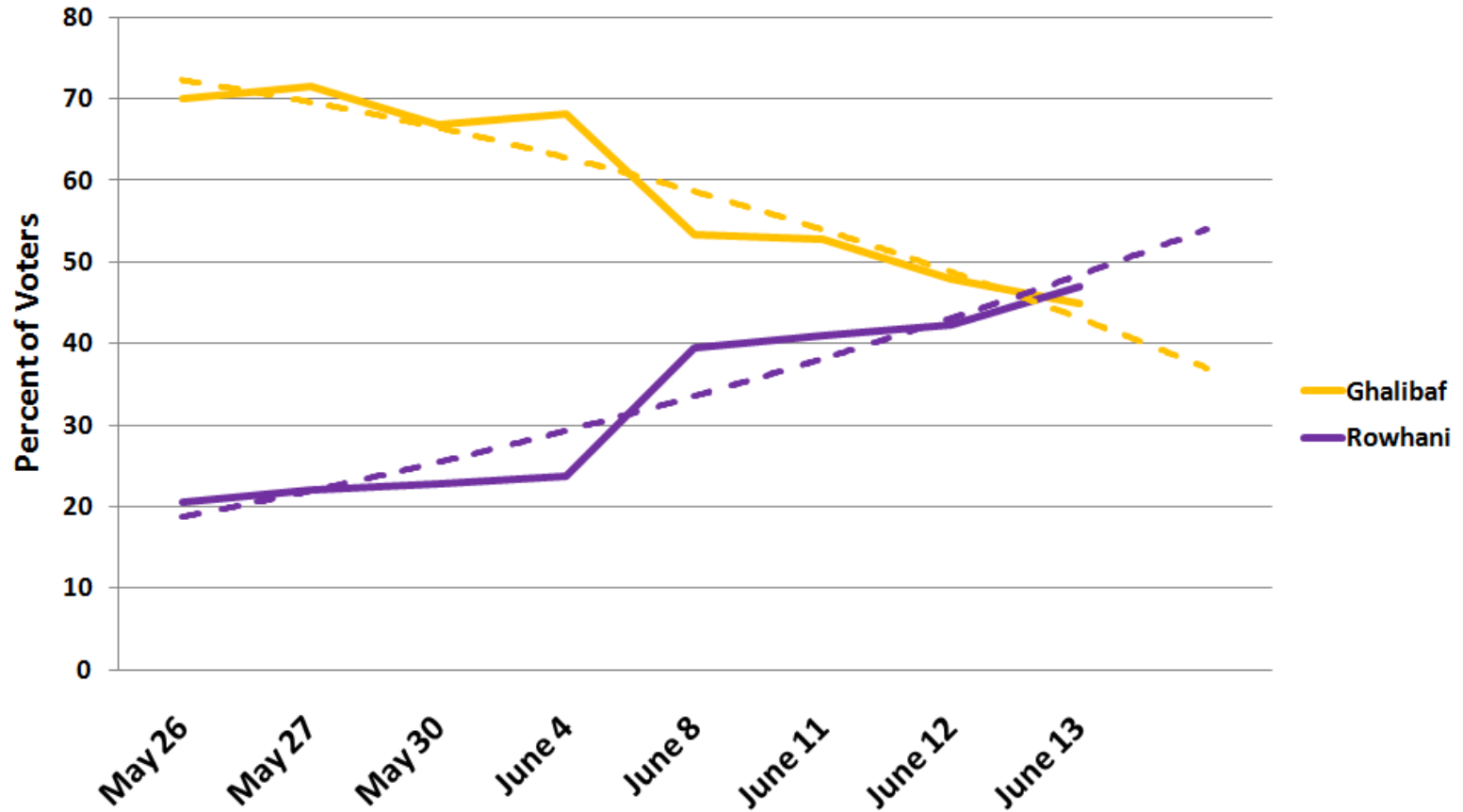


# How Did Rowhani Win?



# How Did Rowhani Win?

Assume that Ghalibaf and Rowhani went into the second round. In that case, who would you vote for?

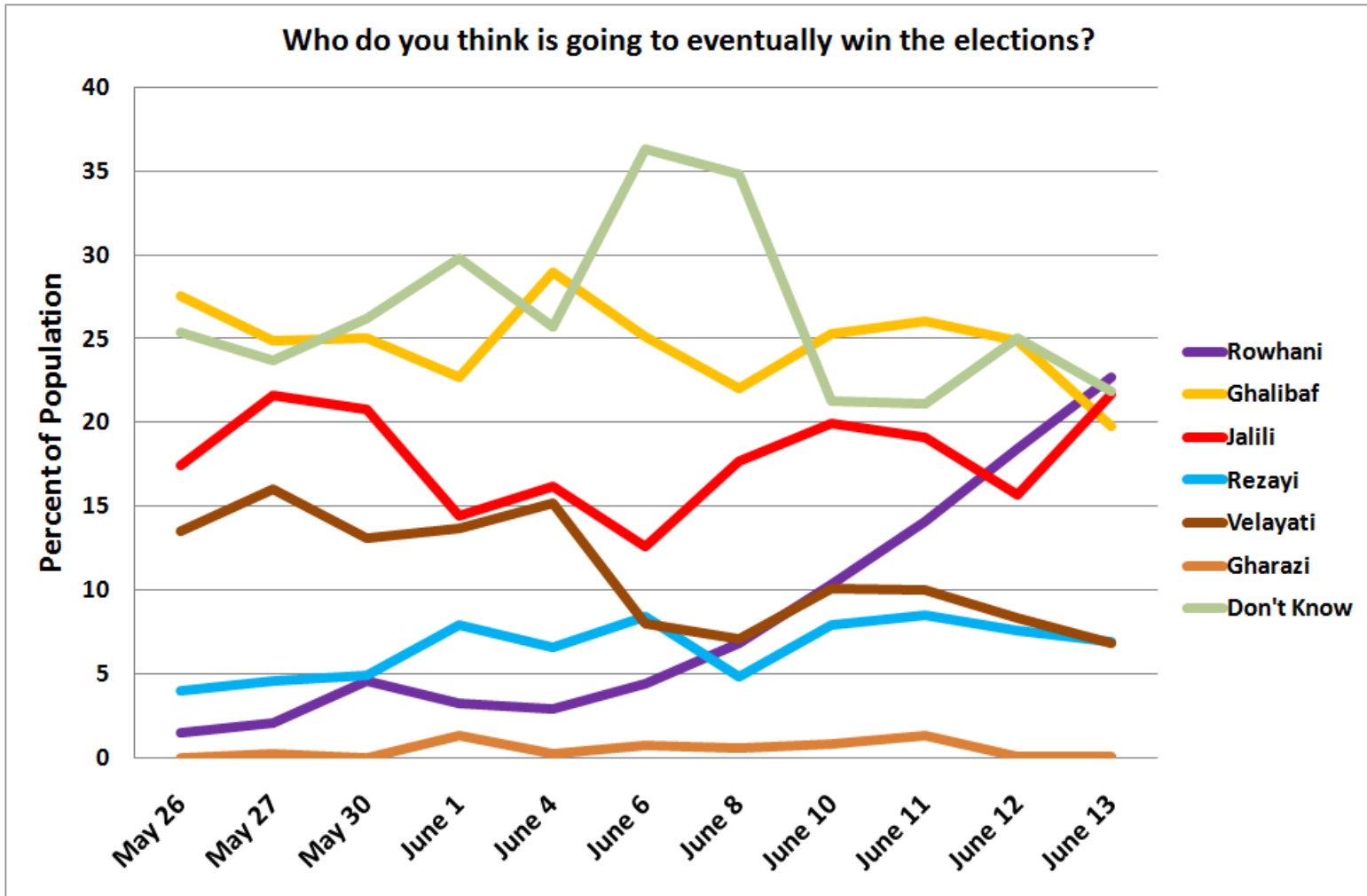




# How Did Rowhani Win?

- ▶ Aref's withdrawal in favor of Rowhani
- ▶ Endorsements of Rafsanjani and Khatami
- ▶ Infighting among principlists and their inability to form a coalition
- ▶ The public belief that the election was going to go into the second round
- ▶ Ghalibaf's ineffectual attack against Velayati
- ▶ Ghalibef's ineffectual attack against Rowhani
- ▶ Velyati's attacks against Jalili
  - Significant effect on public opinion regarding Iran's nuclear diplomacy
  - Corroborated Rowhani's claims and exonerated him

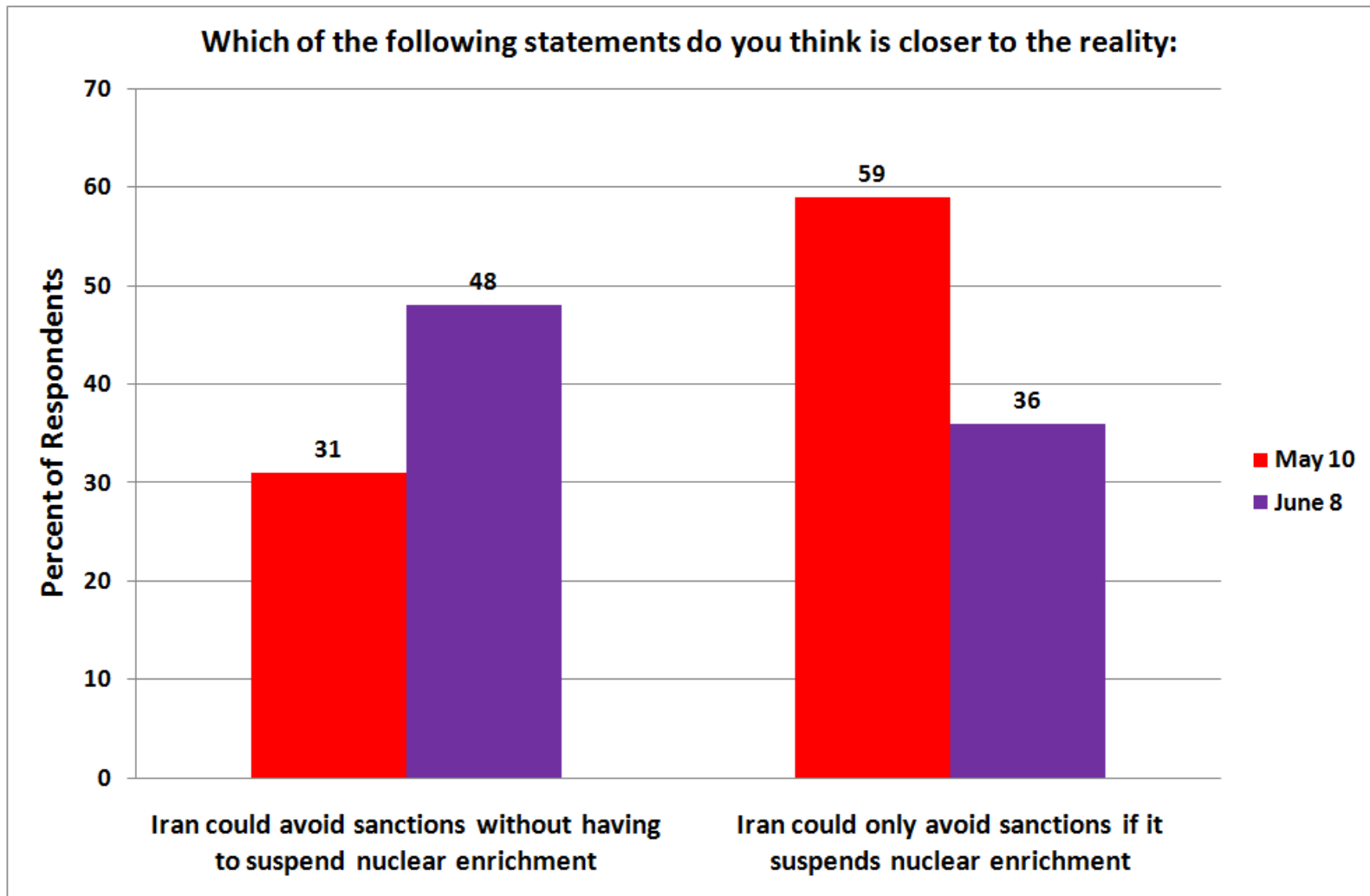
# How Did Rowhani Win?




# How Did Rowhani Win?

PANEL			June 17 (After Elections)					
			Who did you vote for?					
			Rezayi	Velayati	Gharazi	Jalili	Rowhani	Ghalibaf
June 13 (Before Elections)	Assume that Ghalibaf and Rowhani went into the second round. In that case, who would you vote for?	Ghalibaf	53	63	56	69	24	90
		Rowhani	36	25	22	27	69	5
		Neither	6	4	22	3	2	1
		Don't Know	6	9		1	5	3
Total			100	100	100	100	100	100

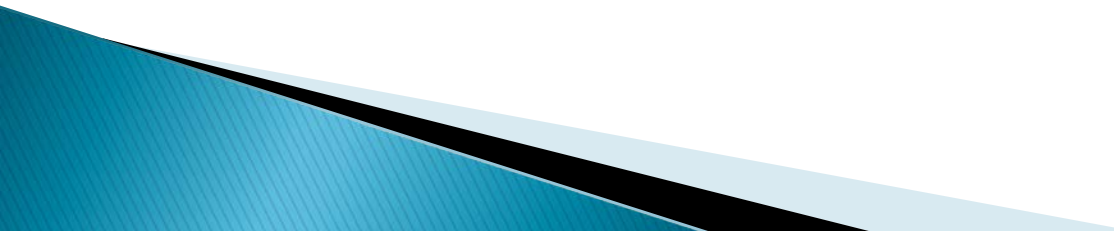
# How Did Rowhani Win?



# Who Voted for Rowhani?

- ▶ In general, Rowhani was able to win the support of **ALL** segments of the Iranian Society
  - ▶ Kurds and Baluchs (predominantly Sunni) voted disproportionately in favor of Rowhani
  - ▶ Lurs voted disproportionately in favor of Rezayi (and hence against Rowhani)
  - ▶ Those living in smaller cities and rural areas were slightly more likely to vote for Rowhani
  - ▶ Votes for Rowhani were roughly proportionate in all other ways (gender, age, education, socioeconomic status...)
  - ▶ Currently one of the most popular figures in Iran
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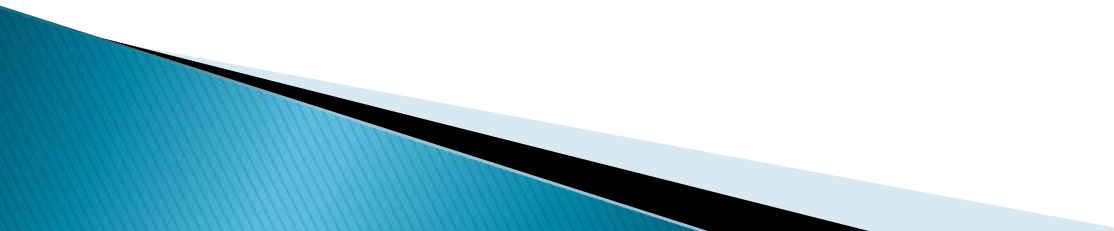
# Why Rowhani?

- ▶ Those who voted for Rowhani, give a wide variety of different and sometime conflicting reasons for picking Rowhani
  - ▶ 89% picked Rowhani mainly for the qualities he had
  - ▶ 6% voted for Rowhani mainly to prevent another candidate (Majority of whom named Jalili) from winning
  - ▶ 5% said both
- 

# Why Rowhani? (1)

- ▶ Of the 89% (open-ended):
  - ❖ Being in agreement with his program and statements: 18%
  - ❖ Having a fitting track record and past experiences: 11%
  - ❖ Having the ability to fix the economy: 7%
  - ❖ Being a centrist: 5%
  - ❖ Honesty and being true to his promises: 5%
  - ❖ Being a seasoned politician: 4%
  - ❖ Being a clergy: 4%
  - ❖ Paying attention to the people's needs: 3%
  - ❖ His education and expertise: 3%
  - ❖ His ability to improve Iran's relations with other countries: 3%

# Why Rowhani? (2)

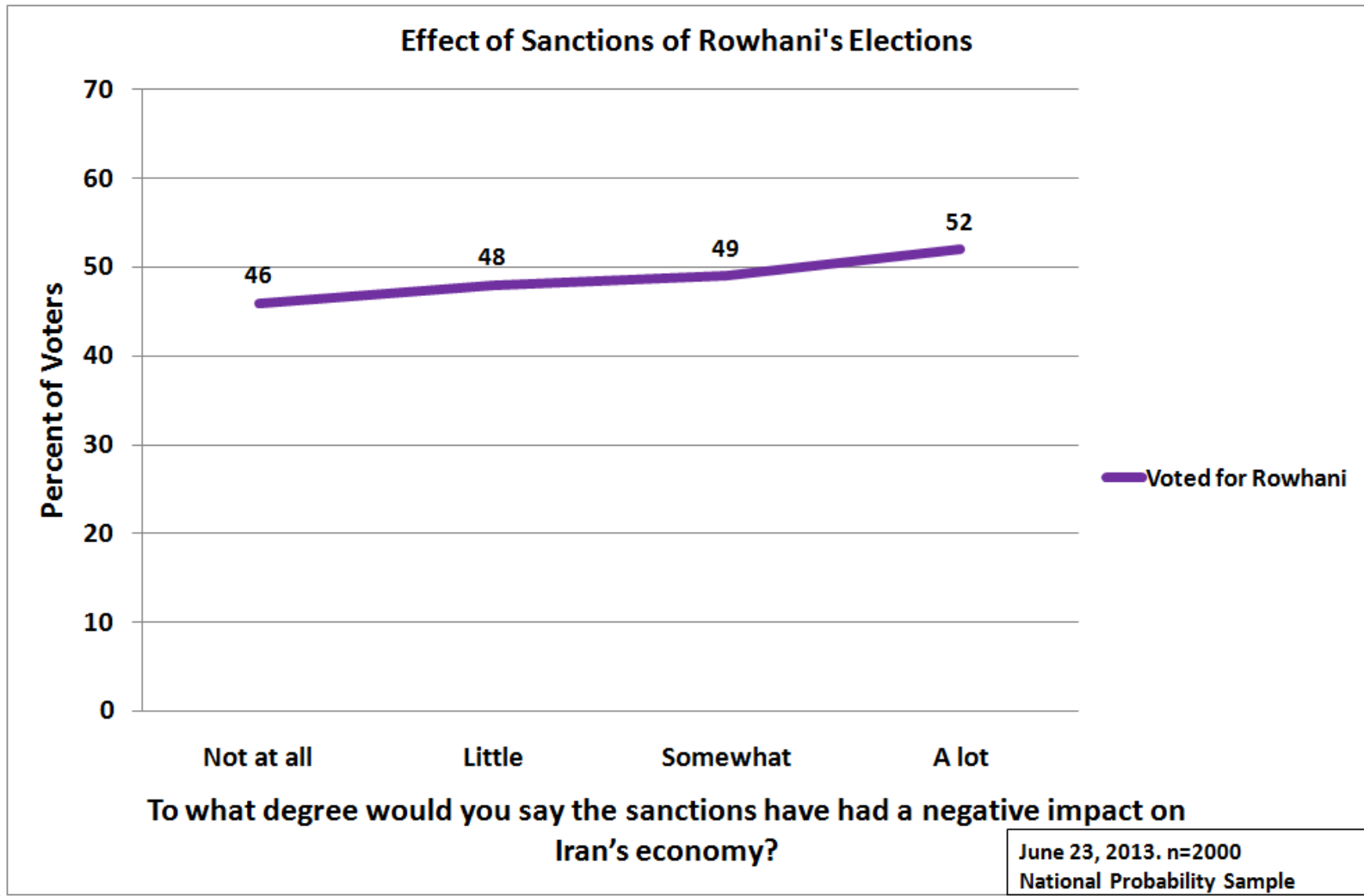
- ❖ Being a Reformist: 3%
  - ❖ The recommendation of friends and family: 3%
  - ❖ His ability to mitigate sanctions: 2%
  - ❖ His attention to the youth's problems: 2%
  - ❖ Being endorsed by Rafsanjani: 2%
  - ❖ His performance in the debates: 2%
  - ❖ His experience as a nuclear negotiator: 2%
  - ❖ Having good ethics: 2%
  - ❖ Being religious / having the support of religious leaders: 2%
  - ❖ Being an agreeable person: 1.4%
  - ❖ Being calm and logical: 1.2%
  - ❖ Being endorsed by Khatami: 1%
- 




# Why Rowhani? (3)

- ❖ Participating in Iran–Iraq war: 1%
- ❖ His support for civil liberties: 1%
- ❖ His performance during the campaign: 0.6%
- ❖ Being an independent politician: 0.4%
- ❖ His revolutionary credentials: 0.4%
- ❖ His attention to the rural places and agriculture: 0.2%
- ❖ His attention toward the poor: 0.2%
- ❖ Being down to earth: 0.2%
- ❖ Other: 3.1%
- ❖ No response: 6.3%

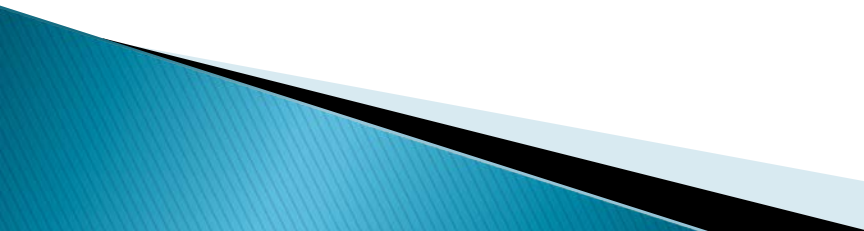
# The Role of Sanctions



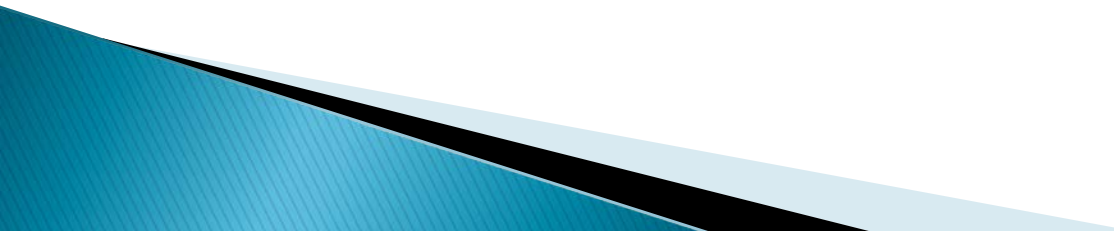
# Why Rowhani? (Domestic Policy)

- ❖ The public becoming more pragmatic and centrist both in their approach and in their demands
  - ❖ Public frustration with factional gridlocks both during Khatami and Ahmadinejad's Presidency
  - ❖ Rowhani's effective campaign emphasizing:
    - ❖ That he is not a Reformist or a Conservative but a pragmatist moderate
    - ❖ On his ability to unite the country and work with everyone and across the political divides to bring about solutions to the country's problems
    - ❖ His familiarity with power dynamics in Iran
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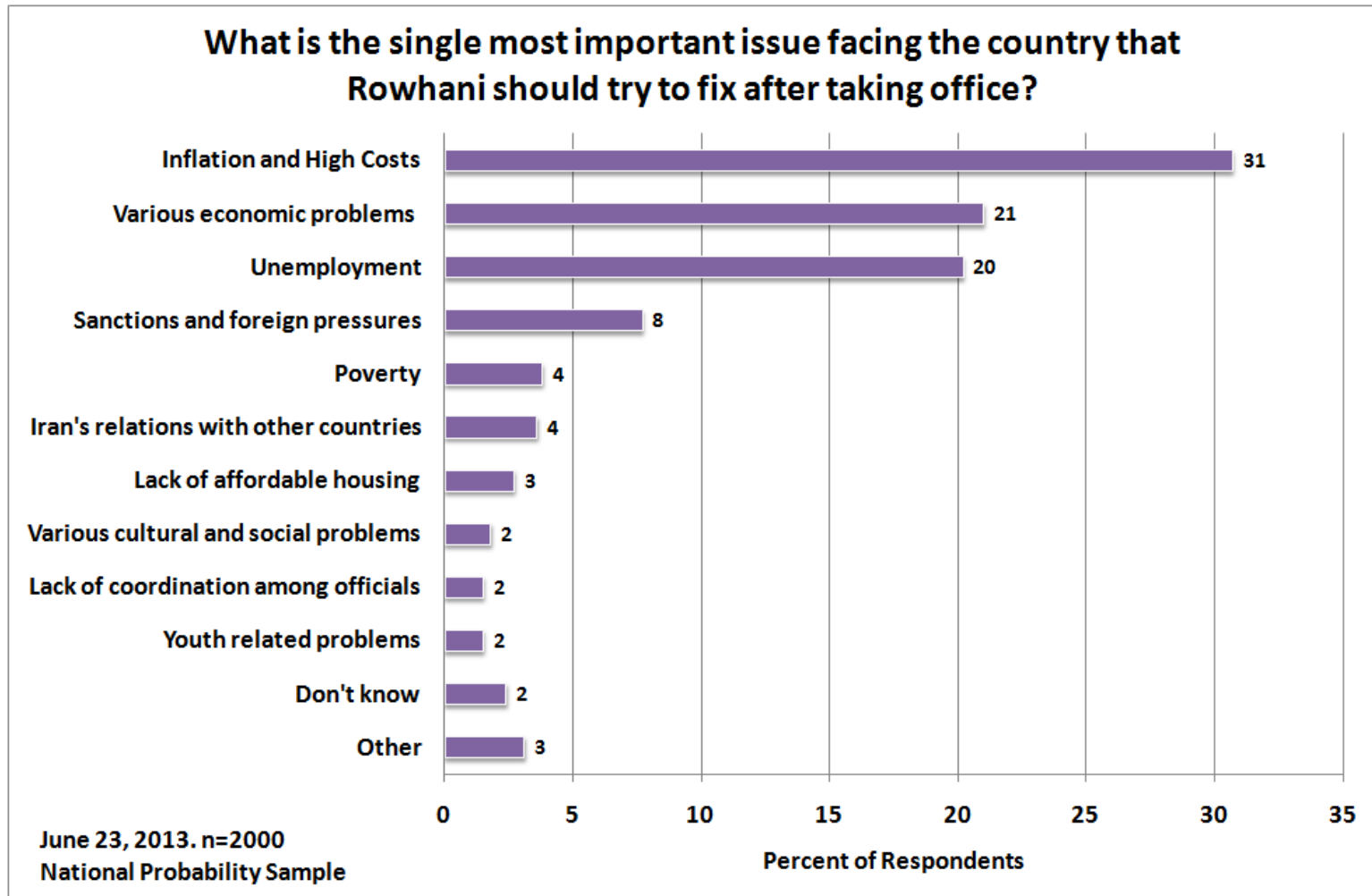
# Why Rowhani? (Foreign Policy)

- ❖ Public desire for a more pragmatic foreign policy
  - ❖ A change in public belief that is possible to avoid sanctions without having to suspend the nuclear program and enrichment
  - ❖ A change in public attitude toward Rowhani's track record as Iran's chief nuclear negotiator
    - ❖ The Smart way vs. The Unintelligent way
    - ❖ Rowhani's emphasis that he is the one who made the current nuclear progresses possible
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# Expectations of Rowhani

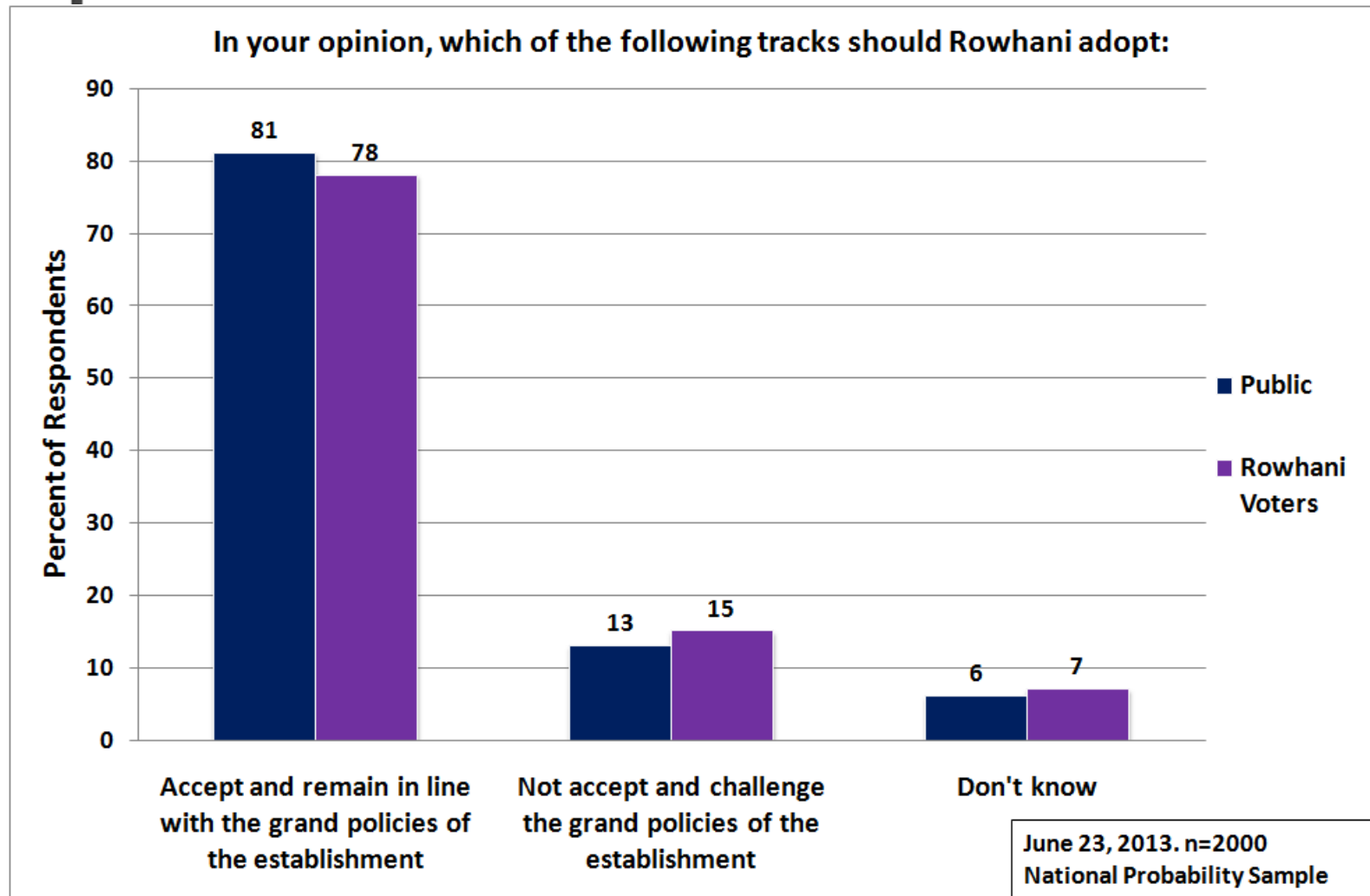
- ❖ Fixing the economy
  - ❖ To Unite the country and avoid factionalism
  - ❖ To work within the system
    - ❖ Ideological
    - ❖ Pragmatic
  - ❖ To observe religious tenets
  - ❖ To make enhancing Iran's security his utmost priority
  - ❖ To continue with the nuclear program
  - ❖ To mitigate sanctions
  - ❖ To improve Iran's relation with countries in the region and beyond
- 

# Expectations of Rowhani



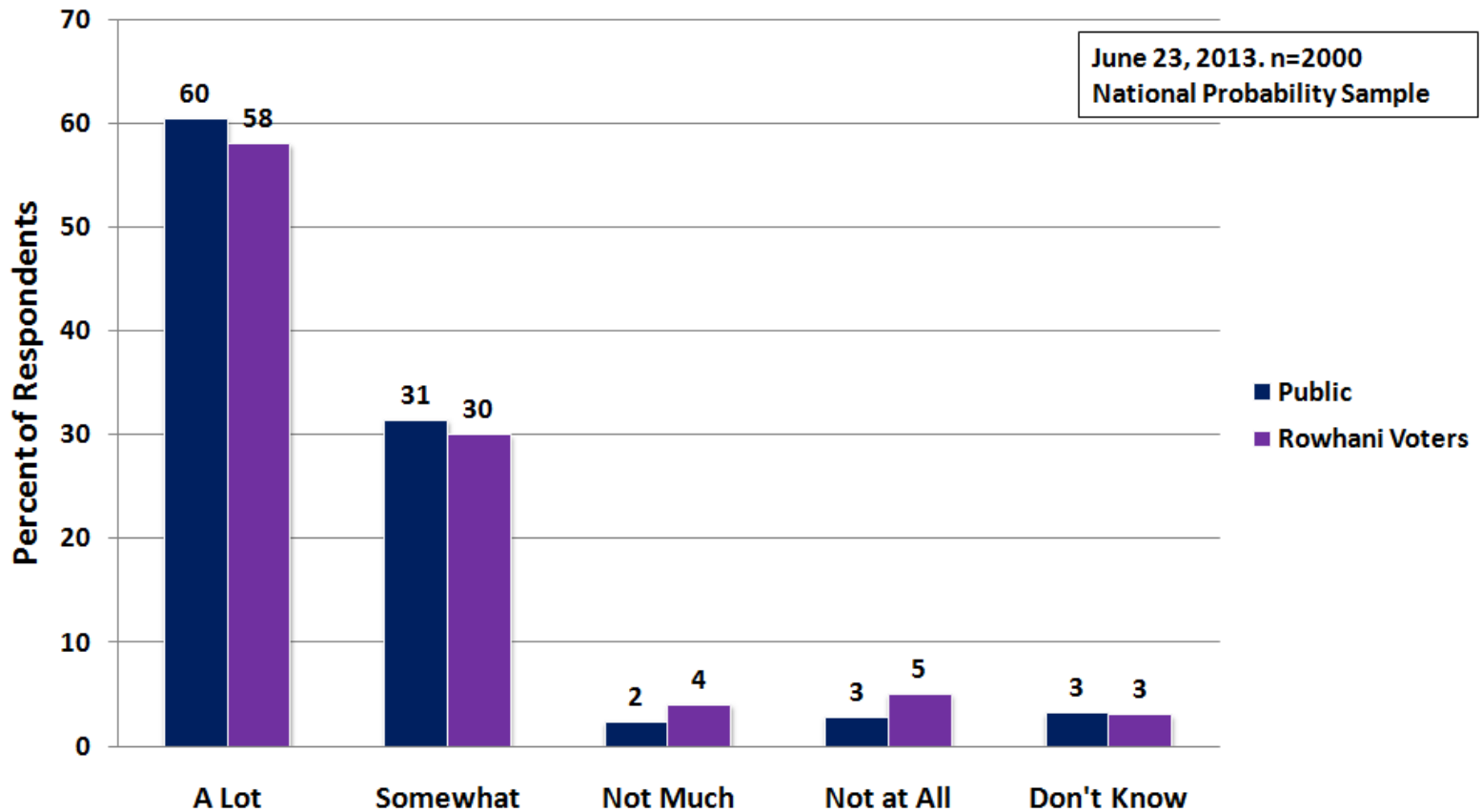
Open-ended

# Expectations of Rowhani



# Expectations of Rowhani

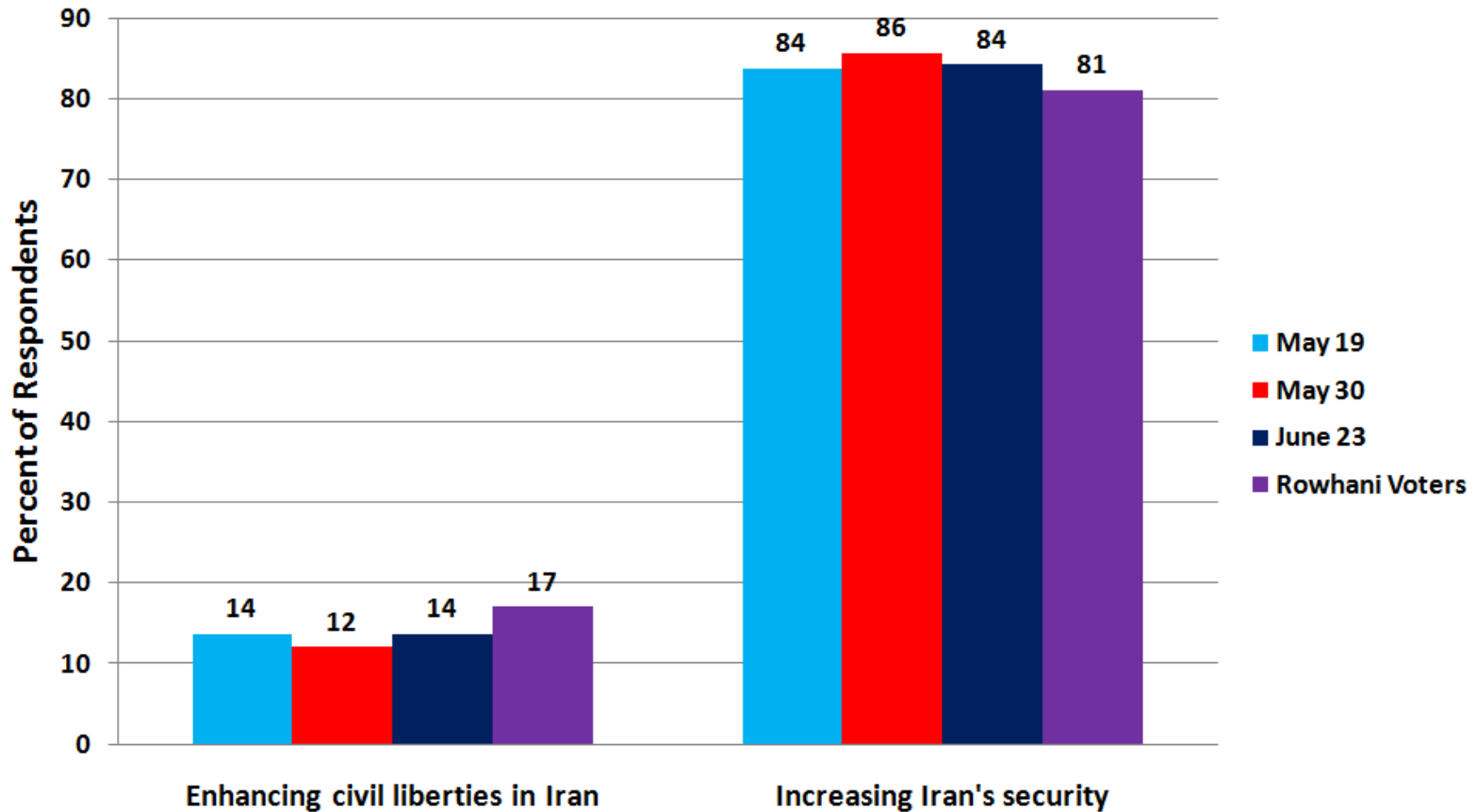
To what degree to you think Rowhani should rely on religious tenets in his decisions?





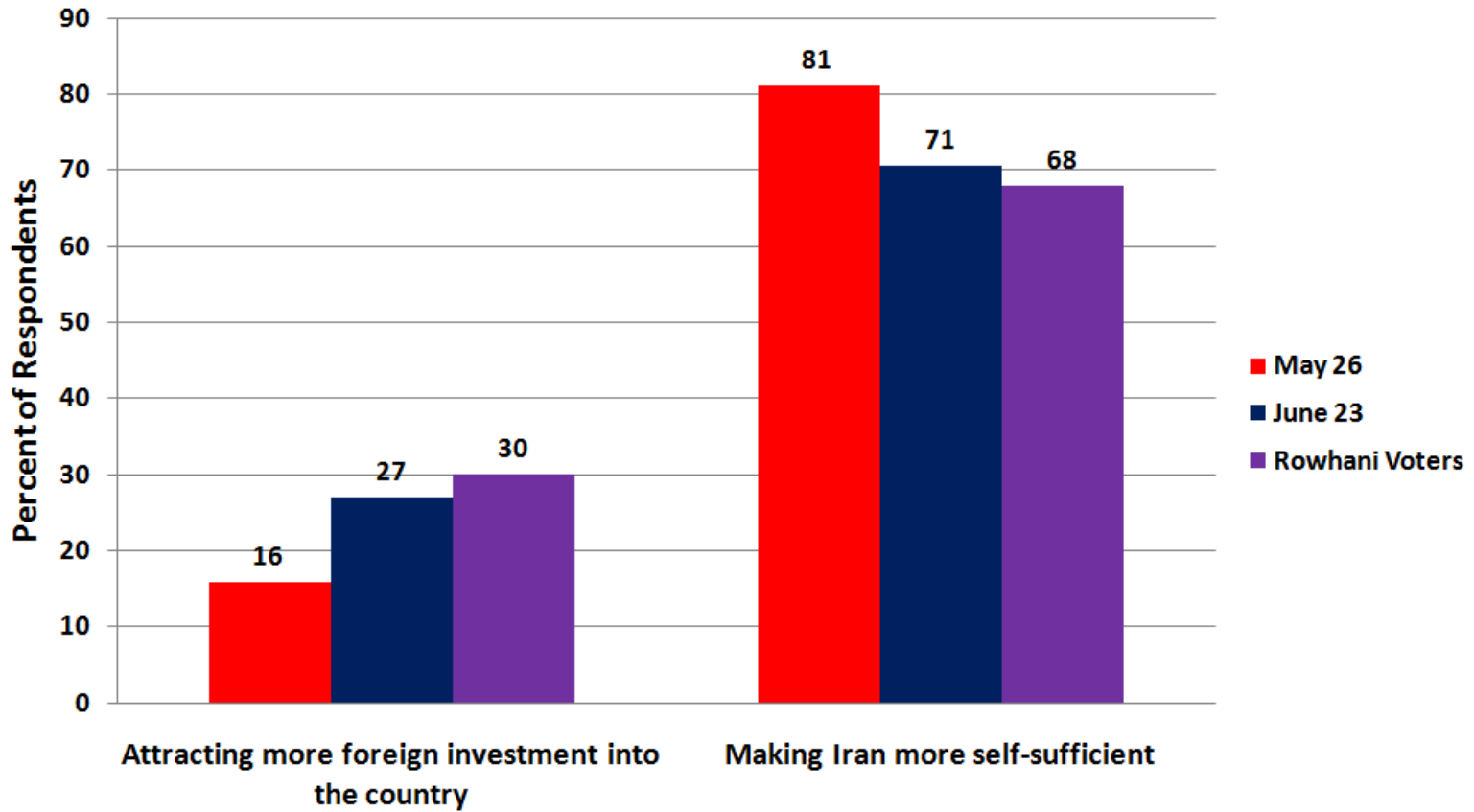
# Expectations of Rowhani

Which of the following two courses of action do you think [the next president/Rowhani] should focus more on?



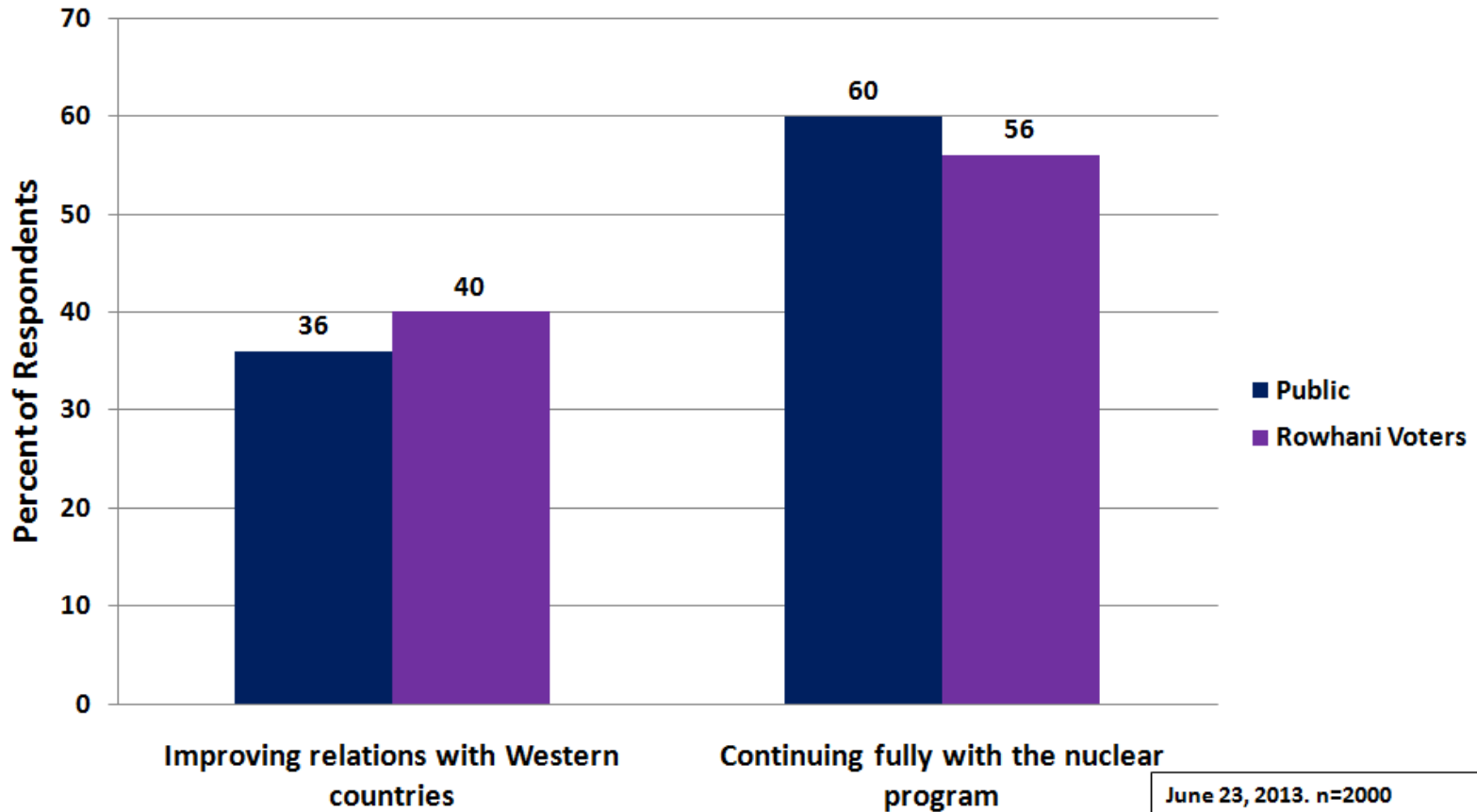
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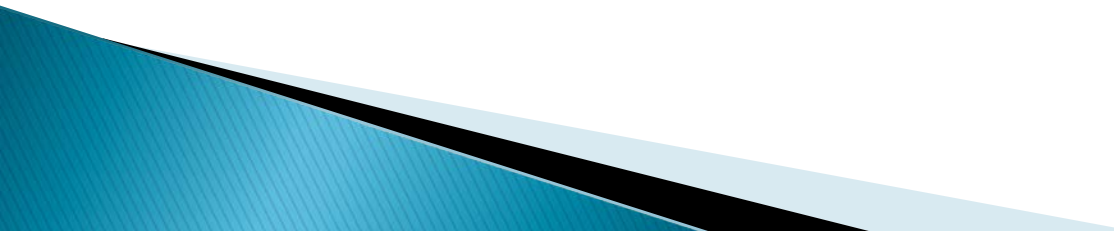
# Expectations of Rowhani

Which of the following two courses of action do you think Rowhani should focus more on?



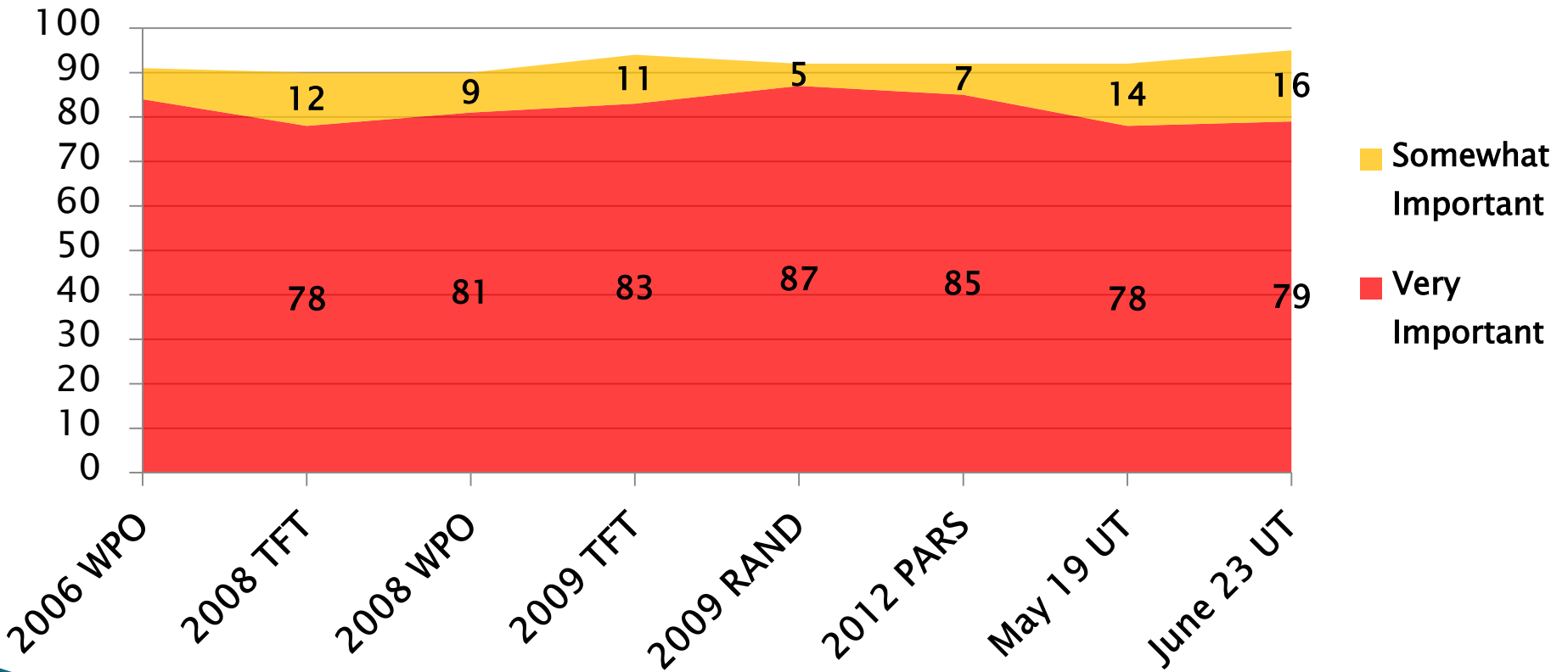
June 23, 2013. n=2000  
National Probability Sample

# Attitudes Toward the Nuclear Program

- ❖ Overwhelming majority of Iranians continue to believe that it is very important for Iran to have civilian nuclear program.
  - ❖ While an increasing majority of Iranians think that the sanctions are hurting, and while they expect the sanctions to increase if Iran continues with its nuclear program, they would oppose a deal that would require Iran to forgo enrichment.
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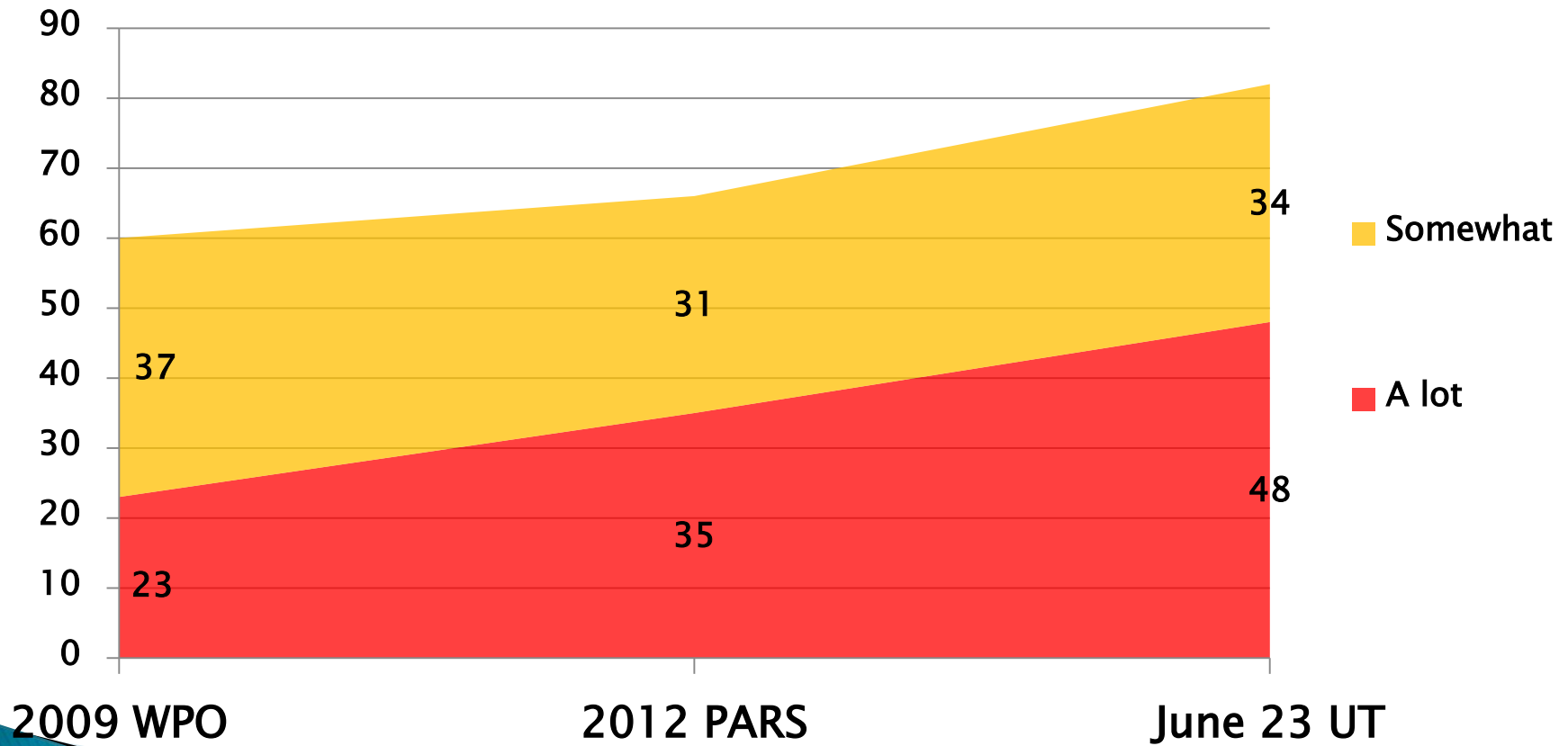
# Attitudes Toward the Nuclear Program

How important do you think it is for Iran to have a civilian nuclear program?



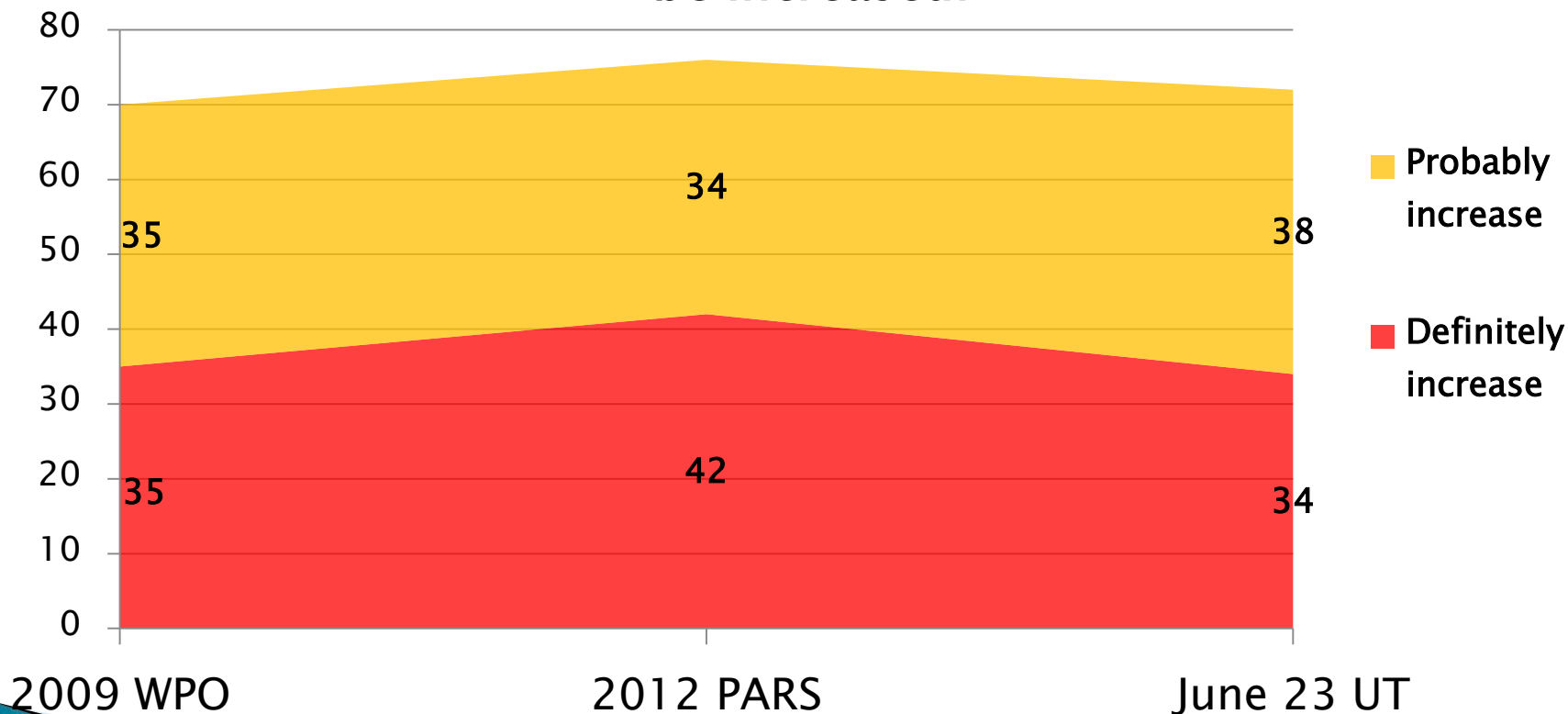
# Attitudes Toward the Nuclear Program

To what degree would you say the sanctions have had a negative impact on Iran's economy?



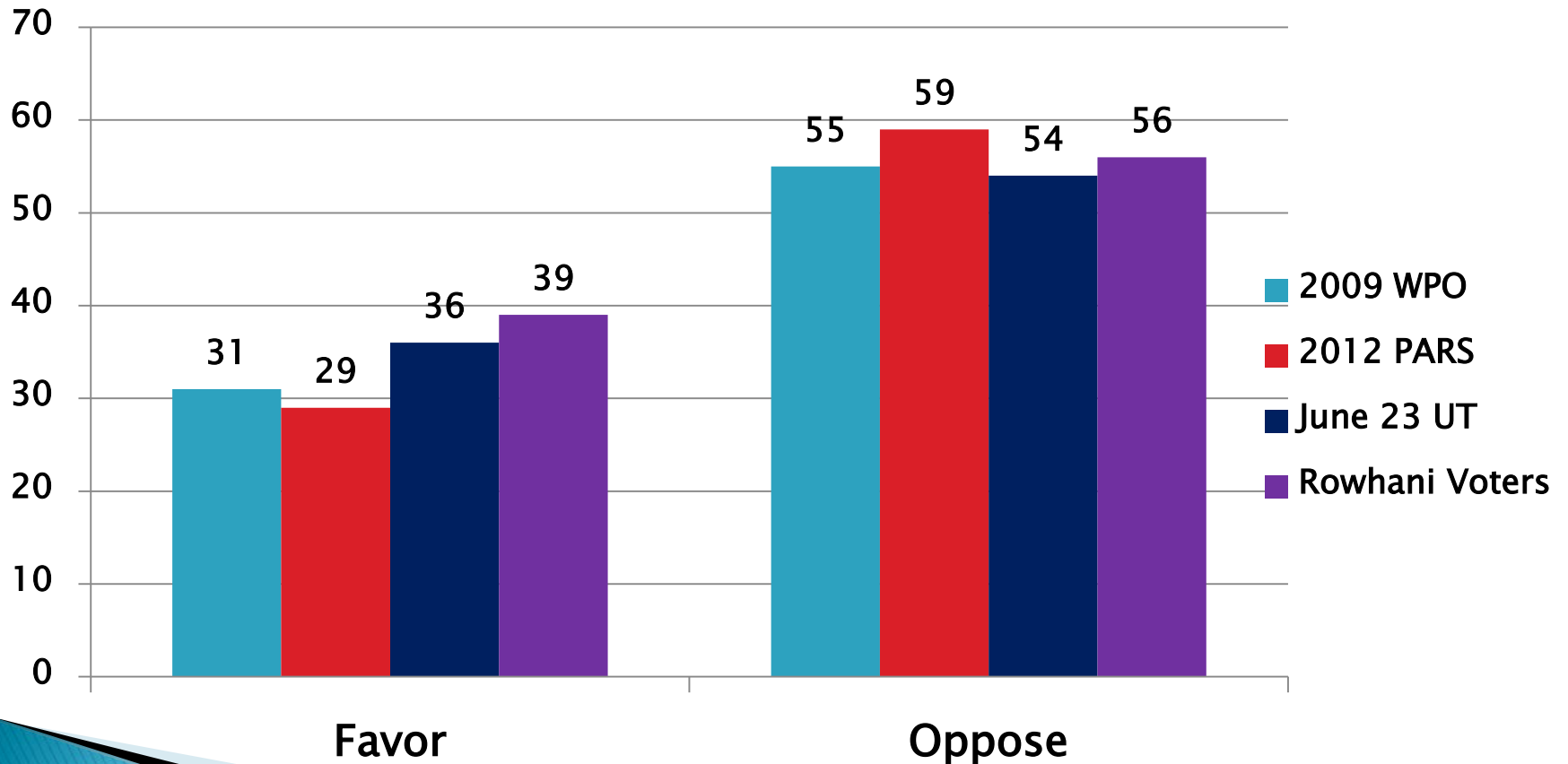
# Attitudes Toward the Nuclear Program

If Iran continues enriching uranium, how likely do you think it is that the current sanctions against Iran will be increased?



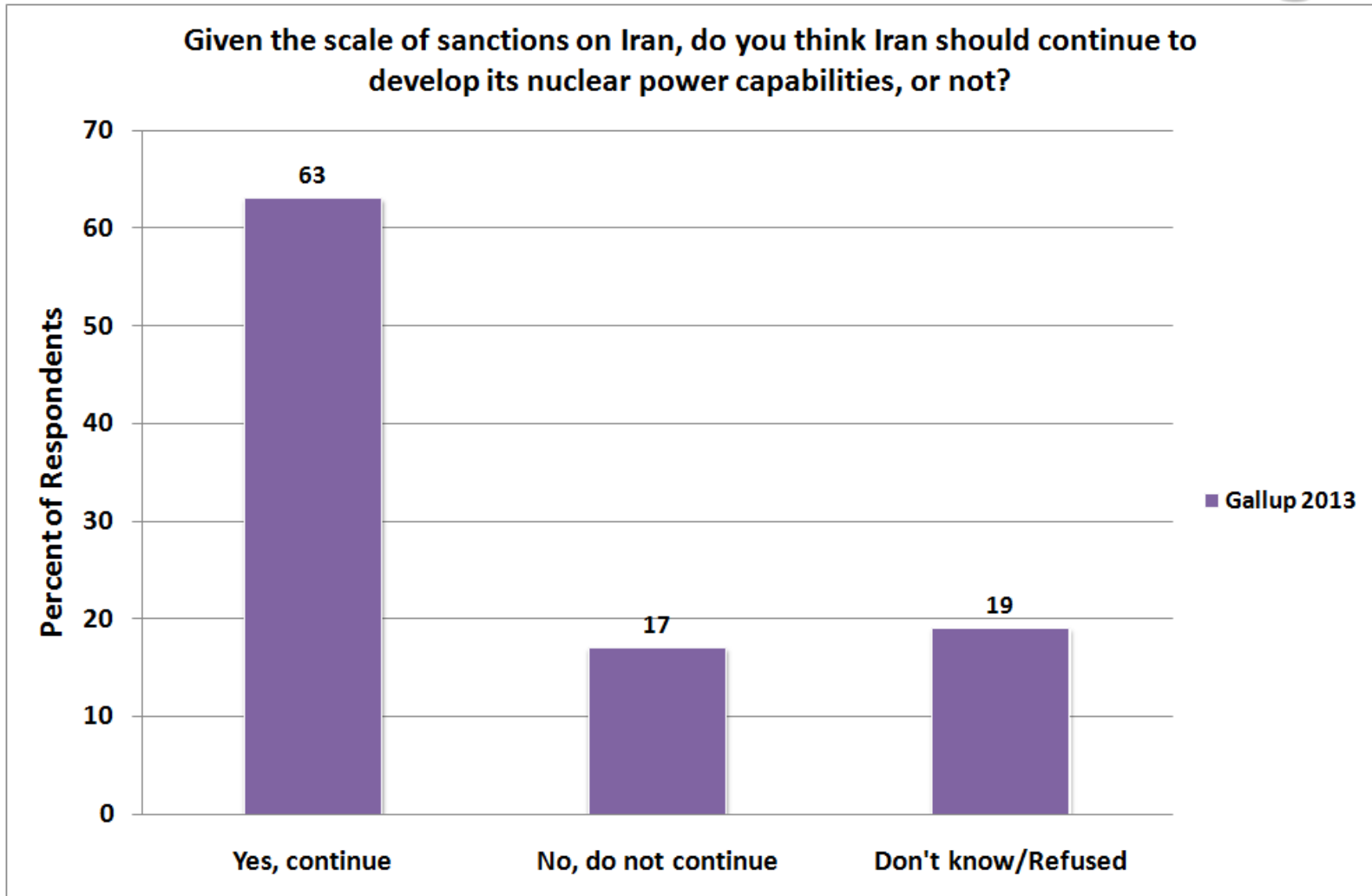
# Attitudes Toward the Nuclear Program

Would you favor or oppose an agreement whereby all current sanctions against Iran would be removed and Iran would continue its nuclear energy program, except that it would agree not to enrich uranium?

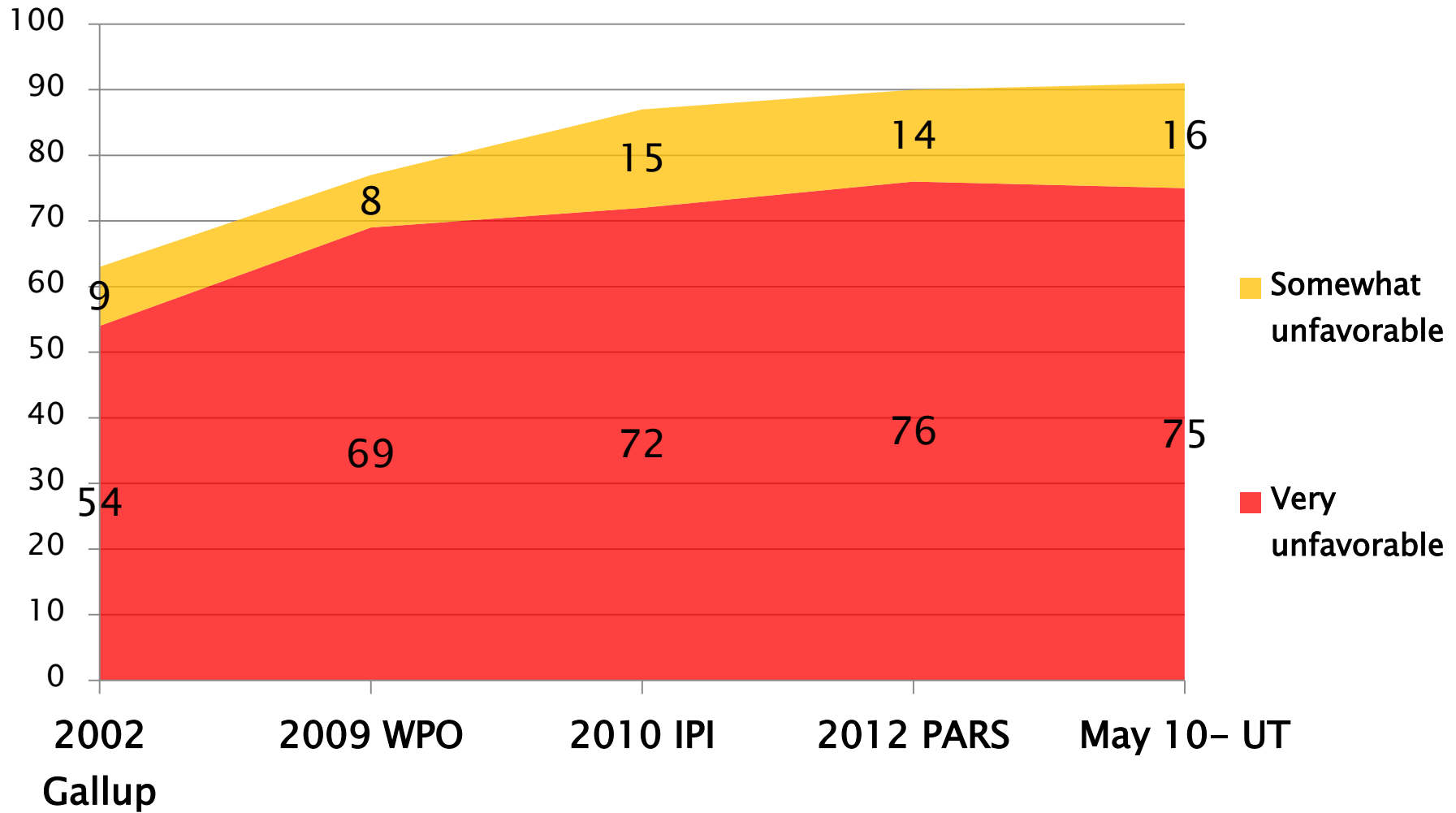




# Attitudes Toward the Nuclear Program



# Opinion of the United States



# Thank You

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