

# Iranian Public Opinion at the Start of the Raisi Administration

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

## Questionnaire and Results

Data Collection: August 30 – September 9, 2021

Sample Size: 1,001

Margin of Error: +/- 3.1

### September 2021 National Probability Sample Survey

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

	May 2015	Jun. 2016	Jun. 2017	Jan. 2018	Dec. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019	Oct. 2019	Oct. 2020	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021
Very good	11.1	3.8	2.5	2.5	1.9	2.0	2.7	2.8	3.3	5.8	4.2
Somewhat good	43.2	35.7	33.1	27.6	26.8	23.7	26.0	28.2	21.1	19.1	21.2
Somewhat bad	22.5	29.4	29.5	28.2	27.9	29.8	30.2	27.3	21.7	20.5	19.7
Very bad	21.2	29.2	33.9	40.7	42.9	43.4	40.0	40.3	52.7	53.0	54.3
DK/NA [vol.]	2.0	2.0	1.1	0.9	0.4	1.2	1.1	1.4	1.2	1.6	.6

#### [Half Sample A.]

Q2.1 Which of the following do you think has had the greatest negative impact on the Iranian economy? [Randomize response options]

	May 2015	Jan. 2018	Dec. 2018	May 2019	Aug. 2019	Oct. 2019	Oct. 2020	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021
Foreign sanctions and pressures	26.3	32.1	36.2	38.4	37.7	37.5	36.2	35.3	34.4
Domestic economic mismanagement and corruption	64.3	63.3	59.1	58.0	55.3	54.5	56.6	57.9	63.0
DK/NA [vol.]	9.4	4.6	4.8	3.6	7.0	8.0	7.2	6.8	2.6

#### [Half Sample B]

Q2.2 Which of the following do you think has had the greatest negative impact on the Iranian economy? [Randomize response options]

	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021
Foreign sanctions and pressures	24.6	26.5
The coronavirus pandemic	19.8	22.2
Domestic economic mismanagement and corruption	52.1	50.3
DK/NA [vol.]	3.5	1.0

Q3. In your opinion is it better for Iran to:

	<b>Jul. 2014</b>	<b>Mar. 2016</b>	<b>Jun. 2017</b>	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>Dec. 2018</b>	<b>May 2019</b>	<b>Aug. 2019</b>	<b>Oct. 2019</b>	<b>Oct. 2020</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Strive to achieve economic self-sufficiency	53	58.4	65.1	67.3	69.0	68.8	68.4	69.3	67.1	64.6
Strive to increase its trade with other countries	43	36.4	33.3	29.4	27.9	28.4	29.7	28.0	28.5	31.6
DK/NA [vol.]	4	5.2	1.6	3.3	3.1	2.9	1.9	2.7	4.5	3.8

Q4. As compared to now, do you think three years from now, the living condition of ordinary Iranians will be:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Much better	11.3
Somewhat better	42.9
Somewhat worse	19.4
Much worse	17.1
Roughly the same as now [vol.]	6.0
DK/NA [vol.]	3.4

Q5.1. Please imagine a ladder with steps numbered from zero at the bottom to ten at the top. The top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom of the ladder represents the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder would you say you personally feel you stand at this time?

	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
0 – Worst possible life	5.4	5.2
1	4.4	3.3
2	8.6	6.7
3	11.6	13.7
4	10.6	12.4
5	25.7	29.1
6	10.8	9.2
7	8.9	7.7
8	6.4	4.7
9	3.4	3.6
10 – Best possible life	3.7	4.2
DK/NA [vol.]	0.5	0.3
Mean	4.7	4.75
Median	4.000	5.000

Q5.2. On which step do you think you will stand about five years from now?

	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
0 – Worst possible life	4.2	4.4
1	4.0	4.3
2	5.8	4.5
3	6.2	6.4
4	6.7	6.9
5	12.7	13.7
6	7.3	10.8
7	11.6	13.6
8	14.0	12.3
9	6.2	5.3
10 – Best possible life	15.3	11.1
DK/NA [vol.]	6.2	6.8
Mean	5.7	5.85
Median	6.000	6.000

Q6. How would you rate the performance of public healthcare system in Iran? Would you say it is:

	<b>Oct. 2020</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very good	37.6	16.9
Somewhat good	47.1	55.1
Somewhat poor	9.0	14.9
Very poor	6.0	12.9
Depends [vol.]	--	--
DK/NA [vol.]	0.4	0.2

Q7. All in all, compared with other countries that are similar to Iran, would you say Iran's response to the spread of the coronavirus has been:

	<b>Oct. 2020</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
More effective than similar countries	30.2	22.4
Less effective than similar countries	25.0	41.9
about as effective as similar countries	40.0	33.6
DK/NA [vol.]	4.8	2.2

Q8. If a coronavirus vaccine that's been approved by Iran's Health Ministry is made available to you, would you take it, not take it, or are you not sure?<sup>1</sup>

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Would take the vaccine	47.9
Would not take the vaccine	6.0
Not sure	14.5
I have already received at least one dose [Vol.]	30.4
Depends [vol.]	1.1
DK/NA [vol.]	0.2

Q9. As you may know, the speed of vaccination against coronavirus in Iran has been slower than many other countries. What do you think is the primary reason why Iran has not been able to vaccinate its people as fast as many other countries? [Open-ended]

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Mismanagement and lack of planning	19.7
Sanctions against Iran	14.4
Foreign countries not selling vaccines to Iran	12.4
Incompetence of officials	8.9
Not allowing foreign produced vaccines into the country	5.8
Lack of necessary budget for vaccination	4.7
People not having trust in vaccines	3.7
Incompetence of Iran's Ministry of Health	3.7
Delays in producing vaccines in Iran	3.4
Lack of vaccines in Iran	3.2
Corruption in Iran's pharmaceutical sector	2.0
Officials not caring for people's health	1.5
Lack of trust in foreign produced vaccines	1.2
Over-reliance on domestically produced vaccines	1.2
Other	7.6
DK/NA	6.7

<sup>1</sup> QQ. If a coronavirus vaccine becomes available in Iran and is approved by Iran's Ministry of health, would you:

	<b>Oct. 2020</b>	<b>Feb. 2021</b>
Definitely get yourself vaccinated	62.0	59.4
Probably get yourself vaccinated	24.7	23.1
Probably refuse to get vaccinated	4.9	6.5
Definitely refuse to get vaccinated	5.3	7.9
Depends [vol.]	2.6	2.6
DK/NA [vol.]	.6	.4

Q10. As far as you know, as compared to about a year ago, has the availability of most foreign-made medicine and medical equipment in Iran:

	May 2019	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021
Increased a lot	5.6	3.1	4.0
Increased somewhat	9.8	5.0	24.0
Stayed about the same	13.2	13.4	26.4
Decreased somewhat	30.1	31.9	21.4
Decreased a lot	26.9	32.3	19.2
DK/NA [vol.]	14.4	14.3	5.1

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

Q11.1. Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf

	Jul. 2014	Jan. 2016	Jun. 2016	Dec. 2016	May 2017	Jun. 2017	May 2019	Oct. 2020	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021
Very favorable	21	21.5	21.6	21.9	18.9	21.6	21.1	23.9	25.0	21.6
Somewhat favorable	43	46.0	51.6	50.7	46.5	43.3	38.2	40.2	41.7	46.3
Somewhat unfavorable	12	11.2	12.6	13.3	15.6	16.8	15.4	15.5	11.6	12.4
Very unfavorable	11	8.7	7.1	6.6	11.5	11.8	12.9	12.3	15.7	14.9
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	8	9.5	3.6	4.2	3.4	1.9	3.9	4.1	3.1	2.1
DK/NA [vol.]	5	3.1	3.4	3.3	4.0	4.6	8.5	4.0	3.0	2.8

Q11.2. Hassan Rouhani

	Jul. 2014	Aug. 2015	Jan. 2016	Dec. 2016	Jun. 2017	Jan. 2018	May. 2019	Aug. 2019	Oct. 2020	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021
Very favorable	51	61.2	42.1	28.3	38.7	23.5	14.9	11.4	8.1	7.6	4.6
Somewhat favorable	34	27.9	40.0	40.4	37.5	42.0	31.7	30.9	28.7	28.1	15.9
Somewhat unfavorable	7	4.7	6.8	15.6	7.6	12.7	22.5	20.8	27.1	20.3	18.1
Very unfavorable	6	4.3	8.4	12.7	14.6	19.0	29.3	34.3	36.1	41.8	58.9
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	0	.3	.7	.4	.1	.2	.1	.1		.3	.4
DK/NA [vol.]	2	1.6	2.0	2.6	1.4	2.7	1.5	2.5	.1	1.9	2.1

Q11.3. Seyyed Ebrahim Raisi

	May. 2017	Jun. 2017	Jan. 2018	May. 2019	Aug. 2019	Oct. 2020	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021
Very favorable	17.4	22.6	19.1	21.5	28.0	42.2	41.8	45.4
Somewhat favorable	30.9	34.0	34.7	34.7	35.6	34.6	32.9	32.6
Somewhat unfavorable	15.1	13.5	15.1	14.7	13.8	9.8	10.7	9.2
Very unfavorable	20.5	20.9	19.3	16.8	14.0	10.0	9.6	9.6
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	12.6	5.1	7.6	7.3	5.9	2.0	2.8	.1
DK/NA [vol.]	3.5	3.9	4.3	5.0	2.7	1.4	2.2	3.2

Q11.4. Ali Larijani

	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very favorable	8.7	4.4
Somewhat favorable	29.3	25.7
Somewhat unfavorable	23.6	28.5
Very unfavorable	29.8	34.7
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	5.1	2.8
DK/NA [vol.]	3.6	4.0

Q11.5. Seyyed Mohammad Khatami

	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very favorable	13.3	15.6
Somewhat favorable	30.8	30.6
Somewhat unfavorable	18.0	17.5
Very unfavorable	29.1	28.5
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	4.9	3.6
DK/NA [vol.]	4.1	4.3

Q11.6. Alireza Zakani

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very favorable	14.5
Somewhat favorable	29.6
Somewhat unfavorable	15.3
Very unfavorable	21.0
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	16.0
DK/NA [vol.]	3.7

Q11.7. Saeed Jalili

	<b>Jul. 2014</b>	<b>Aug. 2015</b>	<b>Oct. 2020</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very favorable	16	16.6	10.2	13.2
Somewhat favorable	28	26.2	29.4	30.9
Somewhat unfavorable	17	14.4	13.5	22.6
Very unfavorable	12	14.8	17.5	14.8
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	23	23.1	25.4	11.8
DK/NA [vol.]	5	4.9	4.0	6.8

Q11.8. Mohammad Javad Zarif

	<b>Jul. 2014</b>	<b>Aug. 2015</b>	<b>Jan. 2016</b>	<b>Jun. 2017</b>	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>May. 2019</b>	<b>Aug. 2019</b>	<b>Oct. 2020</b>	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very favorable	40	56.0	44.5	42.9	36.3	26.2	26.6	19.9	23.4	20.1
Somewhat favorable	30	33.4	33.0	33.1	32.1	38.9	40.4	36.3	37.8	38.4
Somewhat unfavorable	8	3.3	9.5	11.9	16.0	12.7	12.2	16.6	17.5	14.9
Very unfavorable	8	2.1	7.6	7.4	10.0	16.7	15.7	20.8	16.9	22.5
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	11	3.0	3.6	2.6	2.6	2.0	3.1	3.7	2.5	1.4
DK/NA [vol.]	3	2.2	1.9	2.2	3.0	3.5	2.1	2.7	2.0	2.8

Q12. In talking to people about elections, we sometimes find that people were not able to vote because they were sick or they did not have the opportunity or ability or decided not to vote for whatever the reason. We want to ask you about voting in the recent presidential election. Which of the following best describes what you did on the day of the election?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
I voted on the day of the election	52.9
I went to a polling station to vote but was not able to vote	4.0
I did not try to vote	42.3
Other [vol.]	0.1
DK/NA [vol.]	0.7

**[Only asked if 1 or 2 in Q12]**

Q13. As you may remember, in the recent election period, there were at least two elections conducted for different offices, and in many areas there were three or four on the same day. Some Iranian voters have indicated that this made the voting process difficult and confusing for the voters. How about you? Did you find:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
The voting process to be very difficult and confusing	7.9
The voting process to be somewhat difficult and confusing	21.6
The voting process to be somewhat easy and clear	32.5
The voting process to be very easy and clear	37.4
Other/Depends [vol.]	0.4
DK/NA [vol.]	0.4

**[Only asked if 1 in Q12]**

Q14. As best you remember, how long did it take from the time you went to the polling station until you were able to cast your ballot?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Less than 30 minutes,	62.3
30 minutes to 1 hour	29.4
1 hour to 2 hours	5.8
More than 2 hours	2.3
I do not remember [vol.]	0.2
DK/NA [vol.]	--

**[Only asked if 1 in Q12]**

Q15. For whom did you vote? Did you vote for: [Randomize order]

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Raisi	66.0
Hemmati	7.9
Rezaei	12.1
Ghazizadeh Hashemi	3.0
or did you cast a blank or an invalid ballot	8.9
I may have cast an invalid ballot, but I'm not sure [vol.]	--
DK/NA [vol.]	2.1

**[Only asked if 3 in Q12]**

Q16. What was your primary reason for not voting? [open-ended]

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Previous presidents not keeping their promises	13.9
Being concerned about contracting Covid-19 at the polling stations	12.5
Protesting bad economic condition of the country	12.1
The winner was obvious from the beginning	10.4
Distrust in all of the candidates	8.3
Things would not improve regardless of who gets elected	8.0
None of the candidates were qualified	6.6
Disqualifications	6.1
People's votes not mattering	5.2
Being ill on the day of the election	4.7
Not knowing much about the candidates	2.8
Candidates not being honest with people	1.2
Other	7.3
DK/NA	0.7

**[Only asked if 5 in Q12]**

Q17. What was your primary reason for casting a blank or an invalid ballot? [open-ended]

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Not liking any of the candidates	55.3
Not having confidence in officials	14.9
Not knowing much about the candidates	8.5
Fearing the ramifications of not voting	4.3
Other	10.6
DK/NA	6.4



Q18. As you may know, during the election the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Health reassured the public that they had taken all the necessary steps to prevent the spread of the coronavirus at the polling stations. Do you think that the steps they took were:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Fully sufficient	16.2
Somewhat sufficient	29.2
Not very sufficient	30.2
Not sufficient at all	18.1
DK/NA [vol.]	6.4

**[Only asked if 3 in Q12]**

Q19. Some people did not vote in the election because they were concerned that they would contract the coronavirus at the polling station. To what degree was this a reason why you did not vote in the recent election?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Major reason	13.5
Minor reason	21.7
Not a reason at all	64.1
DK/NA [vol.]	0.7

**[Only asked if 3 in Q12]**

Q20. Some people did not vote in this election because they were sure Raisi would be the winner of the election. To what degree was this a reason why you did not vote in the recent election?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Major reason	25.1
Minor reason	22.9
Not a reason at all	51.1
DK/NA [vol.]	0.9

Q21. Do think Iran's election law and the process by which authorities are elected in Iran should or should not be changed?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Should be changed	57.8
Should not be changed	30.9
Depends [vol.]	0.7
DK/NA [vol.]	10.6

**[Only asked if 1 in Q21]**

Q22. If you could change one aspect of Iran's election law and the process by which authorities are elected in Iran, what would that be? [Open-ended]

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Make attaining qualification easier	18.5
Make voting electronic	12.3
Ensure that disqualifications are not politically motivated	9.3
Make attaining qualification more difficult	7.9
Make elections more democratic and free	6.7
Ensure that debates become more informative	5.0
Ensure more diverse list of final candidates	4.8
Hold candidates accountable for their promises	4.5
Make voting less time consuming	4.5
Not holding multiple elections on a single day	3.8
Allow younger candidates to run	3.3
Have people choose between parties instead of individuals	2.9
Make elections more transparent	2.9
Make fraud and other election irregularities more difficult	2.2
Allow women to become candidates in presidential elections	1.7
Other	0.9
DK/NA	8.6

Q23. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the outcome of the election?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very satisfied	31.4
Somewhat satisfied	41.0
Not very satisfied	12.8
Not at all satisfied	10.8
DK/NA [vol.]	4.1

Q24. How satisfied were you with the final list of candidates for President?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very satisfied	19.0
Somewhat satisfied	33.9
Not very satisfied	26.6
Not at all satisfied	16.7
DK/NA [vol.]	3.9

Q25. As you may know, the Guardian Council reviews the qualifications of people who register to run for president, and those who are judged to be unqualified cannot be on the final list of candidates. Please pick which statement about the candidates who were deemed unqualified in the recent presidential election comes closest to describing your views.

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
None of the candidates who were judged unqualified were ones I would have voted for	31.9
While one candidate who was judged unqualified would have probably gotten my vote, there was someone among the final list of candidates that I liked as well	28.7
One candidate who was judged unqualified would probably have gotten my vote and no one on the final list of candidates interested me	16.0
None of the candidates who were judged unqualified or qualified interested me	19.6
DK/NA [vol.]	3.9

Q26.1. As you may recall, Larijani was judged unqualified to run for president. If Larijani had been in the race, do you think Raisi would have probably won or no?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Yes, Raisi would have probably won	82.3
No, Raisi probably would not have won	11.9
DK/NA [vol.]	5.8

Q26.2 What about Ahmadinejad? If Ahmadinejad had been in the race, do you think Raisi would have probably won or not?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Yes, Raisi would have probably won	58.2
No, Raisi probably would not have won	35.2
DK/NA [vol.]	6.6

Q26.3. What about Zarif? If Zarif had chosen to run and had been in the race, do you think Raisi would have probably won or not?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Yes, Raisi would have probably won	72.9
No, Raisi probably would not have won	22.8
DK/NA [vol.]	4.3

Q27. In general, how fair and impartial do you think the Guardian Council was as it fulfilled its election related responsibilities? Was it:

	<b>June 2017</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very fair and impartial	48.9	24.3
Somewhat fair and impartial	33.5	34.9
Not very fair or impartial	6.0	20.2
Not fair or impartial at all	4.0	15.5
DK/NA[vol.]	7.7	5.2

Q28. Now, regardless of what you think about the recent presidential election, what do you think is the single most important issue and challenge that our country faces that President Raisi should try to address? [Open-ended]

	<b>Feb. 2021<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Inflation and high prices	25.1	22.7
Poverty and poor living conditions of the people	20.1	19.0
Covid-19 related issues	1.1	13.8
Unemployment	15.6	12.8
Sanctions	5.0	6.0
Economic and administrative corruption	3.6	5.9
Economic problems in general	6.9	4.4
Improving Iran's foreign relations	2.6	3.6
Mismanagement in the country	3.0	2.6
Problems related to the housing sector	1.3	2.0
Reducing discrimination and injustice in the country	0.9	1.0
Depreciation of the national currency	1.7	0.9
Social and cultural problems	1.5	0.8
Insecurity in the country	.9	--
Making Iran self-sufficient	2.8	--
Attending to the needs of the poor and the needy	1.6	--
Other	3.2	3.8
DK/NA	3.3	0.8

Q29. In your opinion, to what degree should our country's policymakers take religious teachings into account when they make decisions?

	<b>July 2014</b>	<b>May 2015</b>	<b>Jan. 2016</b>	<b>Feb. 2016</b>	<b>Mar. 2016</b>	<b>June 2016</b>	<b>May 2017</b>	<b>June 2017</b>	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
A lot	44	45.2	44.0	45.1	42.5	41.3	41.7	46.5	47.2	45.0
Somewhat	36	29.5	32.2	33.0	33.9	34.2	33.1	29.2	29.8	32.8
Not much	14	15.5	16.3	14.5	14.5	16.2	14.6	15.8	12.8	12.0
Not at all	5	6.9	5.4	4.9	5.6	6.2	7.4	6.0	8.0	8.7
DK/NA [vol.]	2	2.9	2.1	2.6	3.5	2.2	3.3	2.5	2.2	1.6

<sup>2</sup> In Feb. 2021 it was asked: “What do you think is the single most important issue and challenge that our country faces that the next president should try to address? [Open-ended]”

Q30. 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?

	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very concerned	64.6	62.1
Somewhat concerned	27.5	25.8
Not too concerned	3.2	6.0
Not at all concerned	3.8	5.7
DK/NA [vol.]	0.9	0.4

Think about the next four years of Raisi's term. How confident are you that Raisi will be able to do each of the following things that I will read to you? For each one, please say whether you are very confident, somewhat confident, not very confident or not at all confident that he can do it. Here's the first one:

Q31.1. Significantly lower inflation

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very confident	21.3
Somewhat confident	51.5
Not very confident	15.4
Not at all confident	10.1
DK/NA [vol.]	1.7

Q31.2. Significantly lower unemployment

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very confident	16.8
Somewhat confident	50.5
Not very confident	18.0
Not at all confident	13.0
DK/NA [vol.]	1.7

**[Half Sample A]**

Q31.3. Improve Iran's relations with neighboring countries

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very confident	24.6
Somewhat confident	52.4
Not very confident	12.7
Not at all confident	9.5
DK/NA [vol.]	0.8

**[Half Sample B]**

## Q31.4. Improve Iran's relations with the West

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very confident	10.3
Somewhat confident	28.5
Not very confident	29.1
Not at all confident	27.5
DK/NA [vol.]	4.6

## Q31.5. Root out corruption

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very confident	33.9
Somewhat confident	40.5
Not very confident	9.6
Not at all confident	15.1
DK/NA [vol.]	1.0

## Q31.6. Control the coronavirus pandemic

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very confident	29.6
Somewhat confident	53.2
Not very confident	10.9
Not at all confident	5.3
DK/NA [vol.]	1.0

**[Half Sample A]**

## Q31.7. Increase Iran's trade with other countries

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very confident	23.8
Somewhat confident	51.0
Not very confident	14.3
Not at all confident	9.7
DK/NA [vol.]	1.2

**[Half Sample B]**

## Q31.8. Protect people's rights and freedoms

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very confident	23.0
Somewhat confident	40.8
Not very confident	19.2
Not at all confident	14.9
DK/NA [vol.]	2.2

Q32. In general, how confident are you that President Raisi will fulfill his promises?

	Sept. 2021
Very confident	34.7
Somewhat confident	40.8
Not very confident	13.9
Not at all confident	9.7
DK/NA [vol.]	1.0

**[List Experiment]**

Now I will read to you some statements that some people believe and others do not. After I have finished reading all of them, please tell me in how many of them do you believe?

**Q33.1. [Sample A]**

[Randomize order]

- A- President Raisi will be successful in fulfilling his promises
- B- Sanctions have hurt the livelihood of ordinary Iranians
- C- Iran will never run out of petroleum
- D- Iranian youth are more religious than the elderly

**Q33.2. [Sample B]**

[Randomize order]

- A- President Raisi will be successful in fulfilling his promises
- B- Sanctions have hurt the livelihood of ordinary Iranians
- C- Iran will never run out of petroleum
- D- Iranian youth are more religious than the elderly
- E- Iran’s constitution and system of government will significantly change in less than 10 years

	Sept. 2021
Mean Sample A	2.0020
Mean Sample B	2.1580
Percent who believe: “Iran’s constitution and system of government will significantly change in less than 10 years”	15.6%

Q34. As you may know, during the past 10 years, many protest demonstrations have taken place across Iran. Do you think the objective of most of these demonstrations has mostly been to:

	Sept. 2021
Demand change of a particular policy or law	5.1
Demand officials to pay greater attention to people’s problems	67.6
Demand greater freedoms	7.2
Demand replacement of a particular official	4.3
To bring about change in Iran’s constitution and system of government	9.4
Or something else	3.7
DK/NA [vol.]	2.7

Q35. Over the past 10 years, do you think the frequency of these protest demonstrations has:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Increased a lot	21.1
Increased somewhat	32.2
Remained roughly the same	18.0
Decreased somewhat	17.7
Decreased a lot	8.3
DK/NA [vol.]	2.8

Q36. Over the past 10 years, do you think these protest demonstrations has:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Become a lot more widespread	16.6
Become somewhat more widespread	34.7
Remained as widespread as before	19.5
Become somewhat less widespread	17.6
Become a lot less widespread	8.8
DK/NA [vol.]	2.9

Q37. Over the next 5 years, do you think the frequency of these protest demonstrations will:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Increase a lot	10.8
Increase somewhat	14.2
Remain roughly the same	14.9
Decrease somewhat	35.5
Decrease a lot	18.9
DK/NA [vol.]	5.8

Q38. Over the next 5 years, do you think these demonstrations will:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Become a lot more widespread	8.3
Become somewhat more widespread	16.2
Remain as widespread as before	19.1
Become somewhat less widespread	32.9
Become a lot less widespread	19.5
DK/NA [vol.]	4.1



Q39. As you may know, on occasion Iran's government has closed down the Internet social networks like Telegram, Instagram, and Whatsapp, saying that this is necessary to avoid the spread of unrest and violence. How do you feel about this? Do you think:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
The government should never close down social networks	32.9
The government should only close down social networks when there is widespread unrest and violence	20.8
The government should close down social networks when there is a chance that unrest and violence may erupt	18.6
Social networks are creating too many problems in Iran and should only operate under strict government supervision and control	24.5
DK/NA [vol.]	3.3

Q40. As you may know, Iran has had some water shortages recently that affect farming and electricity production. Have you been personally affected by water shortages this year?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Yes, a lot	46.5
Yes, a little	29.5
No	23.8
DK/NA [vol.]	0.3

Q41. Some people say that the water shortages in Iran are occurring in many countries as well and it is primarily due to global warming and climate change, while others say that the water shortages in Iran are mainly due to government mismanagement and bad policies. Which opinion is closer to yours? Are the water shortage in Iran:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Mainly due to global warming and climate change	35.2
Mainly due to mismanagement and bad policies	60.5
Both Equally [vol.]	3.2
Other / Depends [vol.]	0.1
DK/NA [vol.]	1.0

Q42. How do you think the government should deal with problems caused by water shortages in the short term? Should it allocate less water to farmers so there is more water available for people in the cities and for production of electricity even if that would lead to farmers leaving their farms and less food being produced? Or should it allocate more water to farmers so that they could remain in their farms and produce food even if that would lead to a shortage of electricity and water for people in the cities?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
The government should allocate less water to farmers	32.4
The government should allocate more water to farmers	51.8
Continue current level of allocation [vol.]	1.5
DK/NA [vol.]	14.3

Now, I'm going to read you a list of different kinds of authorities in different areas. For please say whether you have a great deal, some, not much, or almost no trust that they will do their best to take care of problems that affect ordinary people. Here's the first one:

Q43.1. Current members of the City/Village Council of your area

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
A great deal of trust	17.0
Some trust	44.1
Not much trust	17.8
Almost no trust	18.0
DK/NA [vol.]	3.2

Q43.2. Member of Majlis from your area

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
A great deal of trust	16.2
Some trust	44.3
Not much trust	18.0
Almost no trust	19.2
DK/NA [vol.]	2.4

Q43.3. The courts in the area you live

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
A great deal of trust	15.1
Some trust	54.9
Not much trust	13.1
Almost no trust	11.7
DK/NA [vol.]	5.2

Q43.4. The Police in the area you live

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
A great deal of trust	41.5
Some trust	42.6
Not much trust	7.9
Almost no trust	6.8
DK/NA [vol.]	1.3

Q43.5. The regular military (Artesh)

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
A great deal of trust	69.2
Some trust	22.8
Not much trust	3.6
Almost no trust	2.4
DK/NA [vol.]	2.0

Q43.6. *Held for future release*

Q43.7. The Judiciary

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
A great deal of trust	44.7
Some trust	37.9
Not much trust	6.8
Almost no trust	8.4
DK/NA [vol.]	2.3

Q43.8. The President

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
A great deal of trust	47.2
Some trust	34.8
Not much trust	7.2
Almost no trust	9.0
DK/NA [vol.]	1.9

Q43.9. The Majlis

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
A great deal of trust	26.4
Some trust	47.1
Not much trust	12.3
Almost no trust	12.8
DK/NA [vol.]	1.5

Q44. As you may know, a bill regarding violence against women is going to be considered by the Majles later this year. How much have you heard or read about this bill?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
A great deal	1.7
Some	19.7
Not very much	13.2
Nothing at all	65.1
DK/NA [vol.]	.3

**[Only asked if 1 or 2 in Q44]**

Q45. Based on what you know so far, to what degree do you support or oppose this bill?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Strongly support	43.5
Somewhat support	42.1
Somewhat oppose	8.4
Strongly oppose	3.3
Other/Depends[vol.]	1.9
DK/NA [vol.]	.9

**[Only asked if 1 or 2 in Q44]**

Q46. Do you think of the bill would probably:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Significantly reduce violence against women	14.5
Somewhat reduce violence against women	61.7
Reduce violence against women only a little	12.1
Not reduce violence against women	9.3
Increase violence against women [vol.]	--
Other/Depends [vol.]	0.9
DK/NA [vol.]	1.4

Q47. As you may know, some sanctions against Iran have been imposed because the United States and some European countries object to various Iranian government actions, saying they violate human rights. Regardless of whether you agree with this assessment, in general do you think such sanctions have done more to improve human rights in Iran, have done more to hurt the situation of human rights in Iran, or have had no effect on the situation of human rights in Iran?

	<b>June 2017</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Such sanctions have done more to improve human rights in Iran	8.4	7.3
Such sanctions have done more to hurt the situation of human rights in Iran	36.3	33.0
Such sanctions have had no effect on the situation of human rights in Iran	52.0	56.4
98. DK/NA	3.4	3.3

Q48. In your opinion, how important is it for our country to develop its nuclear program? Is it:

	<b>Dec. 2009</b>	<b>Oct. 2014</b>	<b>Aug. 2015</b>	<b>Jan. 2016</b>	<b>Jun. 2016</b>	<b>Dec. 2016</b>	<b>May 2017</b>	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very important	87	84	84.6	82.2	80.6	80.0	79.2	75.3	72.4
Somewhat important	5	7	8.6	10.6	9.5	12.6	11.6	10.5	13.2
Not very important	1	3	2.8	3.0	4.2	2.5	2.7	5.1	6.9
Not important at all	2	2	1.8	2.4	2.3	1.7	2.7	4.5	5.6
DK/NA [vol.]	5	4	2.2	1.9	3.4	3.2	3.8	4.6	1.9

Q49. 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:

	<b>Aug. 2015</b>	<b>Jan. 2016</b>	<b>Mar. 2016</b>	<b>Jun. 2017</b>	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>Dec. 2018</b>	<b>May 2019</b>	<b>Aug. 2019</b>	<b>Oct. 2020</b>	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Strongly approve	42.7	30.4	26.5	30.7	26.0	22.8	19.7	15.2	13.3	16.3	13.5
Somewhat approve	32.8	41.4	45.0	36.4	29.1	28.3	27.5	30.3	30.7	34.7	34.0
Somewhat disapprove	13.9	13.2	13.3	15.9	21.7	22.9	24.7	26.4	27.5	19.9	20.2
Strongly disapprove	6.7	8.3	8.0	11.6	12.1	16.4	18.3	19.2	20.4	21.3	26.8
DK/NA [vol.]	3.9	6.6	7.3	5.5	11.1	9.6	9.9	8.9	8.1	7.7	5.6

Q50. 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?

	Jul. 2014 <sup>3</sup>	Oct. 2019	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021
Have had great negative impact	51	47.7	44.5	42.3
Have had some negative impact	34	31.8	33.1	35.3
Have had little negative impact	7	9.5	13.9	14.2
Have had no negative impact	4	10.4	6.7	7.3
DK/NA [vol.]	4	.7	1.7	1.0

Q51. 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	Oct. 2020	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021
The US is definitely seeking to prevent humanitarian-related products from reaching Iran	47.0	52.9	51.7	44.7	45.5
The US is probably seeking to prevent humanitarian-related products from reaching Iran	21.7	16.7	20.6	24.8	27.1
The US is probably Not seeking to prevent humanitarian-related products from reaching Iran	14.0	11.1	14.8	16.8	14.0
The US is definitely Not seeking to prevent humanitarian-related products from reaching Iran	9.0	13.1	7.4	8.0	9.8
DK/NA [vol.]	8.4	6.2	5.5	5.7	3.7

Q52. 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	Sept. 2021
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	36.6
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	60.9
Depends/Other [vol.]	0.5	0.7
DK/NA [vol.]	1.3	1.8

<sup>3</sup> 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?"

Q53. As you may know, after the United States withdrew from the JCPOA and began reimposing sanctions on Iran, Iran started exceeding some JCPOA limits and reducing cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency, the international organization that monitors Iran’s nuclear activities. For the last few months, negotiators have been working on a plan for the United States and Iran to both return to full compliance with the JCPOA. They have agreed on many points, but there are still some disagreements. Which view is closest to yours?

	Sept. 2021
Both sides, including Iran, should show flexibility and get the JCPOA restored soon	26.7
Iran should let the Europeans keep trying to get the United States to show flexibility, while holding firm to our own position	51.7
Iran’s new government should not try to have the JCPOA be restored	15.9
DK/NA [vol.]	5.7

**Statement:** One of Iran’s main demands in talks to restore the JCPOA has been for the United States to make meaningful assurances that Iran will get all the promised benefits of this agreement if Iran fulfills its own obligations.

Q54. If the United States committed not to interfere in a European system set up for Iran to conduct trade using euros and also committed not to impose sanctions on companies or countries using this payment system, would you see that as:

	Sept. 2021
A very meaningful assurance	22.0
Somewhat meaningful	46.6
Not very meaningful	12.3
Not meaningful at all	12.1
DK/NA [vol.]	7.1

Q55. What if the United States agreed with Iran on ways for JCPOA member states to monitor how well all of them, not just Iran, are honoring their commitments, including penalties for non-fulfillment? Would you see this as:

	Sept. 2021
A major improvement to the agreement	32.1
A minor improvement	33.1
Not much of an improvement	15.7
Not an improvement at all	12.4
DK/NA [vol.]	6.8

Q56. Let’s think about what might happen if the United States does not provide reliable assurances the Iran will get all the promised benefits from the JCPOA if it resumes full compliance. What do you think the Raisi administration should do in that circumstance?

	Sept. 2021
1. Formally withdraw from the JCPOA	27.7
2. Remain in the JCPOA, but do not fulfill all of Iran’s obligations	36.1
3. Remain in the JCPOA and gradually move back into compliance	31.1
98. DK/NA [vol.]	5.2

I would like you to think about what might happen if, for whatever reason, the JCPOA is not restored and the Raisi administration continues to expand Iran's civil nuclear program. For each of the following, please say whether you think the situation would get better, stay about the same, or get worse if Iran expands its civil nuclear program without regard to JCPOA limits.

Q57.1. Do you think Iran's economy:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Would get better	35.7
Would stay about the same	27.9
Would get worse	32.0
DK/NA [vol.]	4.5

Q57.2. How about Iran's international trade with other countries?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Would get better	22.0
Would stay about the same	34.9
Would get worse	39.9
DK/NA [vol.]	3.3

Q57.3. How about Iran's standing in the world?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Would get better	43.4
Would stay about the same	23.3
Would get worse	28.8
DK/NA [vol.]	4.6

Q57.4. How about Iran's security?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Would get better	45.2
Would stay about the same	32.0
Would get worse	19.5
DK/NA [vol.]	3.4

Q57.5. How about Iran's ability to negotiate a better deal with world powers?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Would get better	55.7
Would stay about the same	24.0
Would get worse	16.2
DK/NA [vol.]	4.1

Q58. If the U.S. does not return to the JCPOA, what relationship should Iran have with the International Atomic Energy Agency (or IAEA)? Should Iran:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Increase its cooperation somewhat, to prove to the world that Iran's nuclear program is peaceful, regardless of what some other countries might say	26.2
Continue its cooperation at current levels, providing inspectors some information but not all the access stated in the JCPOA	37.0
Lower its cooperation to the minimum the Non-Proliferation Treaty requires of its member countries, in order to develop Iran's nuclear program as before	22.8
Leave the Non-Proliferation Treaty and stop cooperation with the IAEA	8.4
DK/NA [vol.]	5.7

If Iran and the United States do agree to restore the JCPOA and both begin to fulfill their obligations, to what degree do you think that would help to improve:

Q59.1. Iran's economy

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
A lot	34.8
Somewhat	45.2
Not very much	13.4
Not at all	5.2
DK/NA [vol.]	1.5

Q59.2. The economic condition of ordinary Iranians

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
A lot	25.1
Somewhat	48.0
Not very much	17.8
Not at all	7.7
DK/NA [vol.]	1.5

Q59.3. Iran's relations with other countries

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
A lot	46.0
Somewhat	43.0
Not very much	5.4
Not at all	3.6
DK/NA [vol.]	2.1



Q60. How likely do you think it is that the United States and Iran will agree on how both will resume fulfilling all of their JCPOA commitments? <sup>4</sup>

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very likely	6.3
Somewhat likely	44.2
Not very likely	27.8
Not at all likely	19.5
DK/NA [vol.]	2.3

Q61. If the United States rejoins the JCPOA, how likely do you think it is that the United States will live up to its obligations under the nuclear agreement? Is it:

	<b>Oct. 2020<sup>5</sup></b>	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very likely	1.6	4.9	4.6
Somewhat likely	28.1	32.8	28.1
Somewhat unlikely	27.2	27.4	27.4
Very unlikely	34.2	32.8	37.3
DK/NA [vol.]	9.0	2.1	2.7

Q62. How confident are you that other P5+1 countries besides the U.S. will live up to their obligations under the nuclear agreement? Are you:

	<b>Jun. 2016</b>	<b>Dec. 2016</b>	<b>May 2017</b>	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>Dec. 2018</b>	<b>May 2019</b>	<b>Aug. 2019</b>	<b>Oct. 2019</b>	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very confident	5.8	3.2	5.9	6.5	7.2	3.0	3.1	4.1	6.0	6.5
Somewhat confident	55.0	48.2	47.5	53.5	36.7	37.7	27.1	25.6	37.1	41.9
Not very confident	21.4	27.2	24.0	22.6	28.0	30.0	32.6	32.3	33.2	29.5
Not confident at all	13.5	16.0	16.7	13.4	19.7	24.6	34.4	36.9	21.0	20.3
DK/NA [vol.]	4.4	5.4	5.9	4.1	8.4	4.8	2.9	1.2	2.7	1.9

<sup>4</sup> QQ. How likely do you think it is that the United States will return to the JCPOA under the Presidency of Joe Biden? (in Oct. 2020 it was asked: "...if Biden is elected president?")

	<b>Oct. 2020</b>	<b>Feb. 2021</b>
Very likely	6.2	9.0
Somewhat likely	38.3	48.9
Somewhat unlikely	18.8	18.3
Very unlikely	26.1	21.4
DK/NA [vol.]	10.6	2.4

<sup>5</sup> In Oct. 2020 it was asked "If Biden is elected president, how likely do you think it is that the United States would begin to uphold its obligations under the nuclear agreement? Is it:"

Q63. Thinking about how the JCPOA has worked out so far, which view is closer to yours?

	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>May. 2019</b>	<b>Aug. 2019</b>	<b>Oct. 2020</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
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	22.6	21.3
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	71.2	73.1
It is too early to tell [vol.]	.1	.2	--	--	--
Other/Depends [vol.]	1.1	.5	.9	1.0	0.3
DK/NA [vol.]	9.6	8.2	6.5	5.2	5.3

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.

#### Q64.1. France

	<b>Jul. 2014</b>	<b>May. 2015</b>	<b>Aug. 2015</b>	<b>Jan. 2016</b>	<b>Dec. 2016</b>	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>May. 2019</b>	<b>Aug. 2019</b>	<b>Oct. 2020</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very favorable	7	10.1	13.4	10.5	10.8	18.6	13.2	10.8	9.9	7.9
Somewhat favorable	30	30.9	31.8	33.2	30.6	37.0	31.1	30.4	29.1	30.4
Somewhat unfavorable	26	20.4	19.6	21.5	22.9	20.3	23.2	24.8	21.2	22.7
Very unfavorable	33	35.0	29.4	29.0	30.7	20.6	29.4	31.5	36.0	36.7
DK/NA [vol.]	4	3.6	5.8	5.8	5.0	3.6	3.1	2.5	3.9	2.4

#### Q64.2. Russia

	<b>Jul. 2014</b>	<b>May. 2015</b>	<b>Aug. 2015</b>	<b>Jan. 2016</b>	<b>Dec. 2016</b>	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>May. 2019</b>	<b>Aug. 2019</b>	<b>Oct. 2020</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very favorable	14	10.3	13.3	15.3	16.8	18.6	15.8	15.8	13.3	14.7
Somewhat favorable	37	33.0	38.8	42.0	38.8	39.9	39.4	41.3	42.6	41.4
Somewhat unfavorable	21	21.1	17.2	15.7	16.5	15.9	15.9	15.9	17.7	18.0
Very unfavorable	26	32.2	26.6	23.1	23.3	22.5	25.6	24.4	22.8	24.3
DK/NA [vol.]	3	3.4	4.1	3.9	4.6	3.2	3.3	2.7	3.6	1.7

#### Q64.3. China

	<b>Jul. 2014</b>	<b>May. 2015</b>	<b>Aug. 2015</b>	<b>Dec. 2016</b>	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>May. 2019</b>	<b>Aug. 2019</b>	<b>Oct. 2020</b>	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very favorable	13	9.4	14.2	10.4	14.7	13.4	14.2	12.2	11.6	13.7
Somewhat favorable	38	38.9	38.9	45.2	39.3	40.3	44.1	27.3	37.1	43.7
Somewhat unfavorable	21	16.7	18.9	17.4	14.6	15.8	14.6	20.1	21.1	17.9
Very unfavorable	25	31.0	21.8	22.6	28.8	26.8	24.8	36.8	28.5	23.9
DK/NA [vol.]	3	3.9	6.2	4.4	2.6	3.7	2.4	3.6	1.7	0.9

Q64.4. Saudi Arabia

	May 2015	Jan. 2016	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021
Very favorable	8.3	2.7	3.5	1.6
Somewhat favorable	18.6	7.5	6.4	8.4
Somewhat unfavorable	12.2	9.0	8.5	10.4
Very unfavorable	59.1	79.4	80.6	78.4
DK/NA [vol.]	1.8	1.4	1.0	1.2

Q64.5. The Taliban in Afghanistan

	Sept. 2021
Very favorable	1.1
Somewhat favorable	6.6
Somewhat unfavorable	16.2
Very unfavorable	72.3
DK/NA [vol.]	3.8

Q64.6. The Houthis in Yemen

	Jan. 2018	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021
Very favorable	26.6	24.9	22.4
Somewhat favorable	23.3	25.0	26.2
Somewhat unfavorable	15.4	13.6	16.5
Very unfavorable	22.6	24.3	24.3
DK/NA [vol.]	12.2	12.2	10.7

Q64.7. Hizbollah of Lebanon

	Jan. 2016	Jun. 2016	Jan. 2018	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021
Very favorable	33.9	32.4	34.7	33.6	31.6
Somewhat favorable	40.2	40.3	30.0	34.6	35.9
Somewhat unfavorable	7.5	7.5	10.6	10.1	16.1
Very unfavorable	15.5	15.7	19.4	17.6	13.2
DK/NA [vol.]	2.9	4.1	5.3	4.1	3.3

Q64.8. Popular Mobilization Forces in Iraq

	Sept. 2021
Very favorable	28.5
Somewhat favorable	35.4
Somewhat unfavorable	11.1
Very unfavorable	18.4
DK/NA [vol.]	6.7

Q64.9. The United States

	<b>Jul. 2014</b>	<b>May. 2015</b>	<b>Aug. 2015</b>	<b>Jan. 2016</b>	<b>Dec. 2016</b>	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>Aug. 2019</b>	<b>Oct. 2020</b>	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very favorable	9	7.9	8.6	7.8	4.7	3.4	3.4	3.0	4.8	3.2
Somewhat favorable	19	20.4	22.6	20.5	18.0	15.0	9.9	9.3	10.3	10.8
Somewhat unfavorable	13	16.9	14.3	16.5	15.8	12.9	12.8	10.1	11.2	9.4
Very unfavorable	58	53.2	52.3	54.2	59.8	66.9	73.0	77.1	72.7	75.9
DK/NA [vol.]	2	1.5	2.2	1.0	1.7	1.9	0.9	0.5	1.0	0.7

Q65. How would you rate American President Joe Biden’s policies toward Iran on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means completely hostile, 5 means neither hostile nor friendly, and 10 means completely friendly?

	<b>Feb. 2021<sup>6</sup></b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
0) Completely hostile	28.7	33.5
1	4.8	7.4
2	6.4	7.5
3	6.1	9.7
4	6.3	8.7
5) Neither hostile nor friendly	28.0	26.1
6	3.1	1.5
7	2.9	1.4
8	2.2	1.0
9	0.4	0.2
10) Completely friendly	3.0	0.5
98) DK/NA[vol.]	8.3	2.6
Mean	2.91	2.57
Median	3.0000	3.000

There is discussion about positive steps the Biden administration could take toward Iran. Some steps might be viewed by Iranians as meaningful, while others might not be. For each of the following actions, please say whether you feel it would be very meaningful, somewhat meaningful, not that meaningful, or not meaningful at all.<sup>7</sup>

Q66.1. Remove all obstacles to Iran purchasing vaccines, or the ingredients needed to make vaccines

	<b>Feb. 2021<sup>8</sup></b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very meaningful	36.5	49.7
Somewhat meaningful	20.2	20.4
Not that meaningful	21.6	15.7
Not meaningful at all	20.4	13.2
DK/NA [vol.]	1.2	1.1

<sup>6</sup> In Feb. 2021 it was asked: “How do you think Joe Biden’s policies toward Iran will be?”

<sup>7</sup> In Feb. 2021 it was asked: “There is discussion about positive steps the Biden administration could take toward Iran soon after taking office...”

<sup>8</sup> In Feb. 2021 it was asked: “Remove all obstacles to Iran purchasing vaccines against covid-19”

Q66.2. Release Iranians in prison in the United States in exchange for Americans in prison in Iran

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very meaningful	38.9
Somewhat meaningful	33.0
Not that meaningful	16.7
Not meaningful at all	8.9
DK/NA [vol.]	2.6

Q66.3. Condemn assassinations of Iranian scientists as violations of international law

	<b>Feb. 2021<sup>9</sup></b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very meaningful	68.6	57.0
Somewhat meaningful	16.0	19.3
Not that meaningful	4.6	14.8
Not meaningful at all	5.6	6.0
DK/NA [vol.]	5.4	2.9

Q66.4. Stop blocking Iran's application for a loan from the International Monetary Fund

	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very meaningful	34.2	31.1
Somewhat meaningful	20.2	23.0
Not that meaningful	16.7	18.2
Not meaningful at all	18.2	17.0
DK/NA [vol.]	10.7	10.8

Q66.5. Lift sanctions on the Central Bank of Iran

	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very meaningful	81.0	82.7
Somewhat meaningful	10.8	13.3
Not that meaningful	2.6	1.0
Not meaningful at all	3.4	1.6
DK/NA [vol.]	2.3	1.4

Q66.6. Return and fully adhere to the terms of the JCPOA

	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very meaningful	64.9	56.9
Somewhat meaningful	16.3	19.4
Not that meaningful	5.9	8.9
Not meaningful at all	10.2	11.3
DK/NA [vol.]	2.8	3.5

<sup>9</sup> In Feb. 2021 it was asked: "Condemn the assassination of scientist Mohsen Fakhrizadeh as a violation of international law."

Q67. 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	Oct. 2020	Sept. 2021
Iran should try more to strengthen its relations with European countries	42.2	45.0	42.4	37.0	39.1
Iran should try more to strengthen its relations with Asian countries	48.6	47.7	48.8	50.3	54.1
Both equally [vol.]	3.3	3.5	2.7	3.6	1.2
Neither [vol.]	.2	.9	.8	1.0	
Depends/Other [vol.]	.6	.5	1.8	2.7	
DK/NA [vol.]	5.2	2.5	3.5	5.4	5.6

Q68. As you may know, Iran and China are currently working on a large-scale agreement for increasing the trade and other cooperation between the two countries over the next twenty-five years. How much have you heard or read about this issue? Have you heard or read:

	Oct. 2020	Sept. 2021
A lot	7.5	9.6
Somewhat	49.0	48.8
Not much	20.7	18.5
Not at all	21.6	22.9
DK/NA [vol.]	1.3	0.3

**[Was not asked if 4 or 98 in Q68]**

Q69. Based on everything you have heard or read about this agreement, do you think it would or would not be in Iran's interests? Definitely or probably?

	Oct. 2020	Sept. 2021
Would definably be in Iran's interest	23.1	28.9
Would probably be in Iran's interest	32.4	30.0
Would probably NOT be in Iran's interest	11.5	12.5
Would definably NOT be in Iran's interest	12.5	16.1
Depends/Other [vol.]	2.0	3.3
DK/NA [vol.]	18.4	9.2

**[Only asked if 1 or 2 in Q69]**

Q70. What if China requested an exclusive agreement in the oil sector? This would mean, for example, that Iran would accept only Chinese foreign investment in its oil fields from China for 25 years, but China would guarantee to make the needed investments in that sector for that period. Do you think this would or would not be in Iran's interests? Definitely or probably?

	Sept. 2021
Would definitely be in Iran's interests	15.7
Would probably be in Iran's interests	25.8
Would probably not be in Iran's interests	31.8
Would definitely not be in Iran's interests	20.1
DK/NA [vol.]	6.6

Q71. Some say that if Iran expands its trade relations with China, China will start intervening in Iran's domestic affairs. Others say that China has no interest in intervening in Iran's domestic affairs. Which of these statements is closer to your own opinion?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
If Iran expands its trade relations with China, China will start intervening in Iran's domestic affairs.	44.0
China has no interest in intervening in Iran's domestic affairs.	48.9
Other/Depends [vol.]	0.7
DK/NA [vol.]	6.5

Q72. Some also say that if Iran expands its trade relations with China, China will start influencing Iran's foreign policy. Others say that China has no interest in influencing Iran's foreign policy. Which of these statements is closer to your own opinion?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
If Iran expands its trade relations with China, China will start influencing Iran's foreign policy	48.0
China has no interest in influencing Iran's foreign policy	41.6
Other/Depends [vol.]	3.9
DK/NA [vol.]	6.6

Q73. 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:

	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Seeking to become the most powerful country in the region	46.2	46.2	42.8
Seeking to find mutually acceptable solutions with other countries through negotiations	49.4	51.5	53.8
Both [vol.]	1.4	1.0	2.5
DK/NA [vol.]	3.0	1.3	0.9

Q74. In your opinion, how important is it for our country to develop its missile program? Is it:

	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>May 2019</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Very important	73.8	72.0	70.8
Somewhat important	21.1	19.7	18.2
Not very important	1.7	3.6	5.0
Not important at all	2.3	3.2	4.6
DK/NA [vol.]	1.2	1.5	1.4

Q75. Some say one of the reasons why no country has gone to war against Iran in the last thirty years is because Iran is deterring such attacks by developing advanced missiles.<sup>10</sup> Others say that pressure of some countries on Iran's missile program is increasing, and if Iran continues developing advanced missiles, it is more likely that some countries like the US or Israel will

<sup>10</sup> Prior to Sept. 2021 it was asked: "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..."

attack Iran. Do you think that developing advanced missiles increases, decreases, or does not affect the likelihood that other countries will attack Iran?

	<b>May 2019</b>	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Developing missiles decreases the likelihood of other countries attacking Iran	61.2	66.2	62.1
Developing missiles increases the likelihood of other countries attacking Iran	13.0	12.3	13.0
Developing missiles does not affect the likelihood of other countries attacking Iran	21.8	18.8	21.3
Other [vol.]	0.5	0.3	0.1
DK/NA [vol.]	3.5	2.5	3.5

Q76. As you may know, Iran has had diplomatic discussions with other Middle Eastern countries about de-escalating tensions in the region. The idea has been to develop common understandings, so that certain provocative actions are avoided by all parties. Which of the following is closer to your views about such efforts?

	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
They are worthwhile and should be expanded.	46.5	48.2
They should continue, but are not likely to do much.	34.6	35.0
They are a waste of time and should be ended.	13.0	11.5
Other/Depends [vol.]	0.8	0.1
DK/NA [Vol.]	5.1	5.3

Q77. Which of these is closer to your view about the situation in Yemen?

	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Iran should help the Houthis defeat their opponents	29.9	24.3
Iran should use its influence in the region to encourage a diplomatic resolution to the conflict	44.3	42.1
Iran should not get involved in Yemen's domestic conflict	20.2	25.0
Depends [vol.]	0.7	0.1
DK/NA [vol.]	4.9	8.6

Q78. As you may know, Iran has had different levels of military involvement with Iraq over the last few years. Thinking about Iran's current military involvement in Iraq, which of these four best describes your impression of that involvement?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Iran does not have any military involvement in Iraq	6.9
Iran only provides weapons to Iraq	7.1
Iran provides weapons, advisors, and some volunteers to Iraq	59.7
Iran is helping Iraq by sending its own military forces into Iraq	16.3
Other/Depends [vol.]	0.9
DK/NA [vol.]	9.1



Q79. Which of these do you think Iran should be doing considering current circumstances?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Iran should not have any military involvement in Iraq	18.3
Iran should only provide weapons to Iraq	11.1
Iran should provide weapons, advisors, and some volunteers to Iraq	51.0
Iran should help Iraq by sending its own military forces into Iraq	12.4
Other/Depends [vol.]	1.0
DK/NA [vol.]	6.2

There are some objectives for which it may be justified for Iran to use its own military forces. I will now read to you some of these objectives. For each, please tell me whether you think use of Iran's own military forces would be Fully justified, somewhat justified, somewhat unjustified, or completely unjustified?

Q80.1. Do you think using Iran's own military forces to protect Shi'a sites and pilgrims would be:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Fully justified	40.2
Somewhat justified	42.5
Somewhat unjustified	6.4
Completely unjustified	7.8
DK/NA [vol.]	3.2

Q80.2. Do you think using Iran's own military forces to reduce the threat of foreign terrorist groups like ISIS to Iran would be:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Fully justified	65.8
Somewhat justified	20.0
Somewhat unjustified	3.4
Completely unjustified	7.6
DK/NA [vol.]	3.2

Q80.3. Do you think using Iran's own military forces to reduce the threat of MEK to Iran would be:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Fully justified	62.1
Somewhat justified	25.7
Somewhat unjustified	3.9
Completely unjustified	3.1
DK/NA [vol.]	5.2

Q80.4. Do you think using Iran’s own military forces to increase the costs to the US for its staying in the region would be:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Fully justified	23.2
Somewhat justified	34.5
Somewhat unjustified	22.4
Completely unjustified	13.8
DK/NA [vol.]	6.2

**Statement:** Let me ask you about some events that have taken place in Iran and other countries. Some think that the United States was not aware of these events until they happened. Others think that the United States did have prior knowledge about these events before they happened. Here are several such events. For each one please tell me whether you think the US did know about it in advance.

Q81. Do you think the United States had prior knowledge about the recent explosions that took place at the Natanz nuclear enrichment facility or not?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Yes, the United States did have prior knowledge	75.6
No, the United States did not know have prior knowledge	13.6
Have not heard of the event [vol.]	1.4
DK/NA [vol.]	9.4

Q82. Do you think the United States had prior knowledge about the assassination of Iran’s nuclear scientists or not?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Yes, the United States did have prior knowledge	85.5
No, the United States did not know have prior knowledge	7.7
Have not heard of the event [vol.]	0.5
DK/NA [vol.]	6.3

Q83. Do you think the United States had prior knowledge about the 2017 terrorist attacks that happened in Tehran against Majlis and Mausoleum of Ayatollah Khomeini or not?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Yes, the United States did have prior knowledge	73.2
No, the United States did not know have prior knowledge	16.6
Have not heard of the event [vol.]	0.5
DK/NA [vol.]	9.7

Q84. Do you think the United States had prior knowledge about the surprise ISIS takeover of territories in Iraq?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Yes, the United States did have prior knowledge	83.1
No, the United States did not know have prior knowledge	9.3
Have not heard of the event [vol.]	0.4
DK/NA [vol.]	7.2

Q85. Do you think the United States had prior knowledge about Saddam Hussein's plan to invade Iran?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Yes, the United States did have prior knowledge	91.1
No, the United States did not know have prior knowledge	5.3
Have not heard of the event [vol.]	--
DK/NA [vol.]	3.6

**[Only asked if Yes in Q81]**

Q81.1 Do you think the U.S. could have helped Iran prevent the recent explosions that took place at the Natanz nuclear enrichment facility?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Yes, it could have	58.8
No, it could not have	12.3
The U.S. itself was behind the explosions [vol.]	25.5
DK/NA [vol.]	3.4

**[Only asked if Yes in Q82]**

Q82.2 Do you think the U.S. could have helped Iran prevent the assassination of Iranian nuclear scientists?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Yes, it could have	58.5
No, it could not have	19.0
The U.S. itself was behind the assassination [vol.]	20.8
DK/NA [vol.]	1.6

**[Only asked if Yes in Q83]**

Q83.3 Do you think the U.S. could have helped Iran prevent the 2017 terrorist attacks that happened in Tehran against Majlis and Mausoleum of Ayatollah Khomeini?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Yes, it could have	58.4
No, it could not have	28.8
The U.S. itself was behind the attacks [vol.]	10.5
DK/NA [vol.]	2.3

**[Only asked if Yes in Q84]**

Q84.4 Do you think the U.S. could have helped Iraq prevent ISIS takeover of territories in Iraq?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Yes, it could have	69.1
No, it could not have	21.0
The U.S. itself was behind the ISIS takeover [vol.]	8.4
DK/NA [vol.]	1.4

**[Only asked if Yes in Q85]**

Q85.5 Do you think the U.S. could have helped Iran prevent Saddam Hussein's invasion of Iran?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Yes, it could have	70.8
No, it could not have	6.3
The U.S. itself was behind the invasion [vol.]	21.5
DK/NA [vol.]	1.4

Q86. As you may know, the United States has withdrawn its military forces from Afghanistan. Do you think this is a good thing or a bad thing for Iran?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Good thing for Iran	63.9
Bad thing for Iran	21.2
Neither good nor bad [vol.]	6.6
DK/NA [vol.]	8.3

Q87. Thinking about security for the eastern part of Iran, do you think the U.S. withdrawal will be good for our security, bad for our security, or make no difference?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Good for our security	51.4
Bad for our security	13.4
Will make no difference	31.3
DK/NA [vol.]	3.9

Q88. Do you think now that the United States has left Afghanistan, will the flow of Afghan refugees into Iran will increase, decrease, or stay about the same?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Will increase	62.3
Will decrease	15.0
Will stay about the same	18.6
DK/NA [vol.]	4.1

Q89. How about the amount of drug traffic across the border?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Will increase	21.0
Will decrease	40.2
Will stay about the same	31.8
DK/NA [vol.]	7.1

Q90. Now that the U.S. forces have left Afghanistan, what do you think would be best? Should Iran:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Seek to increase its influence inside Afghanistan	47.4
Mostly avoid getting involved in Afghanistan	40.3
DK/NA [vol.]	12.4

**Demographics:**

D1. Sex:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Male	49.1
Female	50.9

D2. Age:

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Under 25	16.2
25 - 34	20.5
35 - 44	24.7
45 - 54	18.5
55 - 64	10.8
Over 64	9.4

D3. What is your level of education?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Illiterate	4.6
Less than high school diploma	24.1
High school diploma	35.4
Associates degree / University Student seeking Associates or Bachelor's degree	12.6
Bachelor's degree	16.5
Masters or PhD	6.9
DK/NA [vol.]	--

D4. Which of the following describes your employment status?

Working full-time	21
Working part-time	17.7
Not employed	15.9
Student	8
Housewife	27.9
Retired/ Disables	9.2
NA	0.4

D5. What is your ethnicity?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Fars	49.7
Turk/Azeri	20.1
Kurd	8.3
Lur	7.1
Arab	1.0
Baluch	.3
Mazani/Gilak/Shomali	9.4
Other	3.4
DK/NA [vol.]	0.8

D6. What is your household's average monthly income?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Under 1 million tomans	8.8
Between 1- 2 million tomans	11.5
Between 2- 4 million tomans	26.7
Between 4 - 6 million tomans	25.1
Between 6 - 8 million tomans	14.0
Between 8 - 10 million tomans	7.3
Over 10 million tomans	5.1
DK/NA	1.6

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

D7.1 Domestic television channels

	<b>July 2014</b>	<b>June 2016</b>	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>May 2019</b>	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
A lot	73	65.2	35.6	35.9	33.0	30.1
Somewhat	19	22.7	47.1	41.1	42.1	44.4
Not much	5	7	9.2	9.8	10.9	11.9
Not at all	3	4.8	8.1	12.8	13.7	13.0
DK/NA [vol.]	0	.3	0	0.4	0.3	0.7

D7.2. Satellite television channels

	<b>July 2014</b>	<b>June 2016</b>	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>May 2019</b>	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
A lot	13	18.2	10.3	7.9	6.3	6.5
Somewhat	11	9.7	16	17.7	18.5	19.6
Not much	7	5.9	8.8	8.0	10.7	12.1
Not at all	69	66	65	66.2	64.4	61.2
DK/NA [vol.]	0	.2	0	.3	.2	0.6

D7.3. Social networking applications like Telegram, Instagram, and Whatsapp

	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>May 2019</b>	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
A lot	31.9	30.6	33.2	35.1
Somewhat	33.6	33.9	30.2	29.5
Not much	10.5	8.7	8.2	11.3
Not at all	23.9	26.4	28.3	23.5
DK/NA [vol.]	0.1	.4	.1	.7

D8. Do you follow the news programs of BBC or VOA?

	<b>June 2016</b>	<b>Jan 2018</b>	<b>May 2019</b>	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Yes	31	22.5	20.2	21.1	19.8
No	68.5	79.6	79.1	78.2	79.5
DK/NA	.5	.6	.1	0.7	0.7

**[Only asked if 1 in D8]**

D8.1. Would you say you follow mostly BBC, mostly VOA, or that you follow both?

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Mostly BBC	61.1
Mostly VOA	4.0
Both equally	33.8
DK/NA	1.0

Just from your impressions, how accurate are the news and information provided by each of the following sources:

D9.1.BBC

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Accurate almost all the time	2.7
Accurate most of the time	11.1
Accurate only some of the time	31.8
Hardly ever accurate	38.8
DK/NA [vol.]	15.7

D9.2.VOA

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Accurate almost all the time	1.6
Accurate most of the time	5.2
Accurate only some of the time	26.1
Hardly ever accurate	45.7
DK/NA [vol.]	21.5

D9.3. Social networks like Telegram, Instagram, and Whatsapp

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Accurate almost all the time	3.5
Accurate most of the time	18.2
Accurate only some of the time	54.4
Hardly ever accurate	12.9
DK/NA [vol.]	11.0

D9.4. Domestic television channels

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>
Accurate almost all the time	11.9
Accurate most of the time	37.7
Accurate only some of the time	38.0
Hardly ever accurate	9.5
DK/NA [vol.]	3.0

D10. Settlement Size

Over 1m	27.8
500k – 1m	5.1
100k – 500k	20.8
Under 100k	21.4
Rural	25