

Iranian Public Opinion Soon after the Twelve-Day War

Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland (CISSM)

Questionnaire and Results

National Probability Sample Survey

Data Collection: Sep. 13–23 and Oct. 11–13, 2025

Sample Size: 1002

Margin of Error: +/- 3.1%

Q1. In general, to what degree do you use social media applications such as Telegram, WhatsApp, Instagram, Ita, Rubika, or Baleh to get news about domestic and international affairs?

	Oct. 2025
A lot	32.0
Somewhat	32.1
Not much	14.4
Not at all	21.3
DK/NA [vol.]	.2

Q2. In your opinion, how good or bad is our country's general economic situation? Is it:

	May 2015	Jun. 2016	Jun. 2017	Jan. 2018	May 2019	Oct. 2020	Feb. 2021	Jul. 2022	Mar. 2023	Oct. 2024	Oct. 2025
Very good	11.1	3.8	2.5	2.5	2.0	3.3	5.8	3.5	4.5	6.4	4.6
Somewhat good	43.2	35.7	33.1	27.6	23.7	21.1	19.1	19.3	21.3	24.1	24.5
Somewhat bad	22.5	29.4	29.5	28.2	29.8	21.7	20.5	23.9	19.5	24.6	29.2
Very bad	21.2	29.2	33.9	40.7	43.4	52.7	53.0	52.3	53.8	44.5	41.4
DK/NA [vol.]	2.0	2.0	1.1	0.9	1.2	1.2	1.6	1.1	1.0	.3	.3

Q3. Which of the following do you think has had the greatest negative impact on the Iranian economy? [Randomize response options]

	May 2015	Jan. 2018	May 2019	Oct. 2020	Feb. 2021	Jul. 2022	Mar. 2023	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2025
Foreign sanctions and pressures	26.3	32.1	38.4	36.2	35.3	36.7	39.6	36.1	37.6
Domestic economic mismanagement and corruption	64.3	63.3	58.0	56.6	57.9	60.9	57.1	61.4	60.8
DK/NA [vol.]	9.4	4.6	3.6	7.2	6.8	2.4	3.4	2.5	1.6

Q4. 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?

	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021	Oct. 2025
0 – Worst possible life	5.4	5.2	3.6
1	4.4	3.3	2.8
2	8.6	6.7	4.6
3	11.6	13.7	9.9
4	10.6	12.4	10.5
5	25.7	29.1	32.8
6	10.8	9.2	13.0
7	8.9	7.7	13.1
8	6.4	4.7	6.2
9	3.4	3.6	1.9
10 – Best possible life	3.7	4.2	1.6
DK/NA [vol.]	.5	0.3	.1
Mean	4.7	4.75	5.0
Median	4.000	5.000	5.000

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

	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021	Oct. 2025
0 – Worst possible life	4.2	4.4	4.3
1	4.0	4.3	2.2
2	5.8	4.5	3.6
3	6.2	6.4	5.3
4	6.7	6.9	4.0
5	12.7	13.7	17.1
6	7.3	10.8	8.5
7	11.6	13.6	16.3
8	14.0	12.3	17.9
9	6.2	5.3	8.4
10 – Best possible life	15.3	11.1	8.7
DK/NA [vol.]	6.2	6.8	3.9
Mean	5.7	5.85	6.21
Median	6.000	6.000	7.000

Q6. What do you think is the single most important problem or challenge that Iran currently faces? [Open-ended]¹

	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021	Mar. 2023	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2024	Oct. 2025
Inflation and high prices	25.1	22.7	20.6	23.1	22.6	26.8
Poverty and poor living conditions of the people	20.1	19.0	9.3	9.8	14.7	12.2
Economic problems in general	6.9	4.4	11.4	8.2	11.4	13.0
Mismanagement in the country	3.0	2.6	11.8	12.8	9.7	8.4
Unemployment	15.6	12.8	6.9	7.1	9.4	6.0
Economic and administrative corruption	3.6	5.9	6.5	9.2	5.7	3.6
Iran's foreign relations	2.6	3.6	2.3	.3	5.1	2.1
Sanctions	5.0	6.0	10.1	10.6	4.2	9.9
Problems related to the housing sector	1.3	2.0	1.0	2.0	3.9	.5
Social and cultural problems	1.5	0.8	2.3	3.1	2.8	2.7
Incompetence of officials	--	--	3.7	2.8	2.2	2.4
Discrimination and injustice in the country	.9	1.0	0.8	.6	.7	1.5
War/Threat of war	--	--	--	--	--	1.6
Shortage in Water/Gas/Electricity	--	--	--	--	--	4.3
Other	11.1	18.4	9.9	7.5	6.0	3.1
DK/NA	3.3	0.8	3.7	3.0	1.7	2.0

Q7. If you could change one thing about Iran, what would that be? Would you like Iran to become: [Randomize 1-4] [Say:] please pick just the one you find most important.]

	Mar. 2023	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2024	Oct. 2025
More democratic and free	12.8	9.4	6.2	5.1
More economically prosperous	52.8	56.0	48.4	47.6
More stable and orderly	15.9	18.7	17.8	16.7
More safe and secure	16.9	13.6	24.7	28.2
Other	1.4	1.2	2.7	2.0
DK/NA [vol.]	.2	1.1	.2	.4

¹ In Oct. 2024 it was asked “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 Pezeshkian should try to address?”

Q8. I will now read you the names of some prominent political figures in Iran. Please indicate to what degree you have a favorable or an unfavorable view of each.

Q8.1. Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf

	Jul. 2014	Dec. 2016	May 2017	May 2019	Oct. 2020	Sept. 2021	Mar. 2023	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2024	Oct. 2025
Very favorable	21	21.9	18.9	21.1	23.9	21.6	19.4	13.1	14.4	12.6
Somewhat favorable	43	50.7	46.5	38.2	40.2	46.3	38.9	39.1	40.7	43.1
Somewhat unfavorable	12	13.3	15.6	15.4	15.5	12.4	14.4	17.0	17.9	19.4
Very unfavorable	11	6.6	11.5	12.9	12.3	14.9	22.2	25.8	24.6	20.5
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	8	4.2	3.4	3.9	4.1	2.1	3.1	3.1	--	2.1
DK/NA [vol.]	5	3.3	4.0	8.5	4.0	2.8	2.1	1.9	2.4	2.4

Q8.2. Mohammad Javad Zarif

	Jul. 2014	Aug. 2015	Jan. 2016	Jun. 2017	Jan. 2018	May. 2019	Oct. 2020	Sept. 2021	Oct. 2024	Oct. 2025
Very favorable	40	56.0	44.5	42.9	36.3	26.2	19.9	20.1	14.3	10.7
Somewhat favorable	30	33.4	33.0	33.1	32.1	38.9	36.3	38.4	39.9	38.3
Somewhat unfavorable	8	3.3	9.5	11.9	16.0	12.7	16.6	14.9	20.6	18.9
Very unfavorable	8	2.1	7.6	7.4	10.0	16.7	20.8	22.5	21.8	24.5
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	11	3.0	3.6	2.6	2.6	2.0	3.7	1.4	--	4.8
DK/NA [vol.]	3	2.2	1.9	2.2	3.0	3.5	2.7	2.8	3.5	2.9

Q8.3. Abbas Araghchi

	Oct. 2024	Oct. 2025
Very favorable	21.6	20.6
Somewhat favorable	35.4	41.7
Somewhat unfavorable	20.4	19.8
Very unfavorable	13.7	12.2
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	--	3.3
DK/NA [vol.]	8.9	2.5

Q8.4. Ali Larijani

	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021	Mar. 2023	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2025
Very favorable	8.7	4.4	3.8	4.5	8.4
Somewhat favorable	29.3	25.7	24.6	27.9	34.3
Somewhat unfavorable	23.6	28.5	24.9	23.4	23.0
Very unfavorable	29.8	34.7	39.2	37.9	26.8
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	5.1	2.8	4.4	4.2	4.6
DK/NA [vol.]	3.6	4.0	3.2	2.2	2.9

Q8.5. Masoud Pezeshkian

	Oct. 2024	Oct. 2025
Very favorable	30.5	28.3
Somewhat favorable	38.6	36.7
Somewhat unfavorable	20.9	22.2
Very unfavorable	7.7	10.8
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	--	.1
DK/NA [vol.]	2.4	1.9

Q9. Think about the remaining time of President Pezeshkian’s term.² How confident are you that Pezeshkian 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:

[Half Sample]

Q9.1. Significantly lower inflation

	Sept. 2021	Jul. 2022	Mar. 2023	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2024	Oct. 2025
Very confident	21.3	12.9	10.5	6.8	7.0	8.0
Somewhat confident	51.5	36.7	35.8	36.1	37.3	32.5
Not very confident	15.4	28.3	23.9	19.2	23.8	26.1
Not at all confident	10.1	21.1	28.8	37.1	31.1	32.7
DK/NA [vol.]	1.7	1.0	1.0	.8	.8	.6

[Half Sample]

Q9.2 Improve Iran’s relations with neighboring countries

	Sept. 2021	Jul. 2022	Mar. 2023	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2024	Oct. 2025
Very confident	24.6	23.3	27.0	24.8	22.4	19.9
Somewhat confident	52.4	54.0	49.5	48.1	55.2	52.7
Not very confident	12.7	10.7	12.5	14.2	13.3	16.3
Not at all confident	9.5	10.3	10.0	10.7	7.5	10.2
DK/NA [vol.]	0.8	1.8	1.0	2.1	1.6	.9

[Half Sample]

Q9.3. Improve Iran’s relations with Western countries

	Sept. 2021	Jul. 2022	Mar. 2023	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2024	Oct. 2025
Very confident	10.3	5.4	4.5	3.7	9.7	5.6
Somewhat confident	28.5	28.6	25.5	25.3	29.9	23.9
Not very confident	29.1	23.9	27.8	23.4	30.1	33.2
Not at all confident	27.5	39.0	38.6	44.6	29.3	34.6
DK/NA [vol.]	4.6	3.2	3.5	2.9	1.0	2.8

[Half Sample]

Q9.4. Increase Iran’s trade with other countries

	Sept. 2021	Jul. 2022	Mar. 2023	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2025
Very confident	23.8	18.4	17.1	18.4	14.5
Somewhat confident	51.0	48.9	41.4	42.5	44.6
Not very confident	14.3	17.0	20.3	19.2	18.9
Not at all confident	9.7	12.7	18.8	18.4	20.8
DK/NA [vol.]	1.2	2.9	2.3	1.4	1.2

² Until March 2024, this question was asked about President Ebrahim Raisi.

[Half Sample]

Q9.5. Root out corruption

	Sept. 2021	Jul. 2022	Mar. 2023	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2024	Oct. 2025
Very confident	33.9	22.7	20.3	16.9	12.9	9.6
Somewhat confident	40.5	38.4	40.7	37.1	44.2	43.6
Not very confident	9.6	21.3	20.0	25.0	23.2	26.1
Not at all confident	15.1	16.7	18.0	19.2	18.0	19.9
DK/NA [vol.]	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.7	1.7	.8

Q10. In general, how confident are you that Mr. Pezeshkian will be an honest and trustworthy President?

	Oct. 2024	Oct. 2025
Very confident	26.2	24.8
Somewhat confident	44.6	45.0
Not very confident	19.5	20.0
Not at all confident	8.7	9.5
DK/NA [vol.]	1.0	.8

Q11. Which statement comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right. Most government officials care what people like me think [OR] Most government officials DO NOT care what people like me think:

	Mar. 2016	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2024	Oct. 2025
Most government officials care what people like me think	40.1	36.1	37.7	38.2
Most government officials DO NOT care what people like me think	47.9	54.1	52.3	48.9
Neither/Both equally/Other [Vol.]	5.4	4.4	3.7	4.9
DK/NA [vol.]	6.7	5.4	6.2	8.0

Q12. How do you think people in our country feel about voicing their political opinions? Do you think that generally, they feel afraid about it, comfortable about it, or somewhere in between?

	Mar. 2023	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2024	Oct. 2025
Afraid about it	23.5	22.8	20.8	21.6
Comfortable about it	34.0	33.4	36.2	34.6
Somewhere in between	39.5	40.4	41.4	42.7
Other [vol.]	.4	.8	.3	--
DK/NA [vol.]	2.6	2.7	1.3	1.1

Q13. Some say women should have more liberty in what they wear in public, and that women who do not observe the Islamic hijab in public should not be confronted. Others say that while women should observe the Islamic hijab in public, if they do not, it is better not to confront them. Yet others say that women should observe the Islamic Hijab in public, and that those who do not should be confronted. Which of the three is closer to your own opinion?

	Mar. 2023	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2024	Oct. 2025
Women should have more liberty in what they wear in public, and that women who do not observe the Islamic hijab in public should not be confronted	14.5	17.3	20.7	21.4
Women should observe the Islamic hijab in public, but if they do not, it is better not to confront them	41.4	37.9	42.1	43.8
Women should observe the Islamic Hijab in public, and that women who do not should be confronted	39.3	42.0	34.0	30.3
Depends/Other [vol.]	3.1	1.7	2.6	3.8
DK/NA [vol.]	1.7	1.1	.6	.7

Q14. In your opinion, to what degree should our country's policymakers take religious teachings into account when they make decisions?

	July 2014	May 2015	Feb. 2016	Mar. 2016	May 2017	June 2017	Jan. 2018	Sept. 2021	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2025
A lot	44	45.2	45.1	42.5	41.7	46.5	47.2	45.0	42.4	38.4
Somewhat	36	29.5	33.0	33.9	33.1	29.2	29.8	32.8	33.6	36.7
Not much	14	15.5	14.5	14.5	14.6	15.8	12.8	12.0	12.4	14.3
Not at all	5	6.9	4.9	5.6	7.4	6.0	8.0	8.7	10.4	9.7
DK/NA [vol.]	2	2.9	2.6	3.5	3.3	2.5	2.2	1.6	1.3	.9

[LIST EXPERIMENT 1]

[Half of respondents are asked Q15A and half of respondents are asked Q15B]

Q15A. [numeric 0-4; randomize order] Here is a list of four groups. How many of the following do you trust? I will read the groups twice: please listen carefully. You don't need to tell me which ones you trust, just how many. Please let me know if you need me to repeat them.

- Neighbors
- Current or former coworkers or classmates
- Drug addicts
- Journalists

	Oct. 2025
Average number of groups trusted	1.3461
DK/NA [vol.]	.4

Q15B. [numeric 0-5; randomize order] Here is a list of five groups. How many of the following do you trust I will read the groups twice: please listen carefully. You don't need to tell me which ones you trust, just how many. Please let me know if you need me to repeat them.

- Neighbors
- Current or former coworkers or classmates
- Drug addicts
- Journalists
- Authorities of the Islamic Republic

	Oct. 2025
Average number of groups trusted	1.7871
DK/NA [vol.]	.3

Result of LIST EXPERIMENT 1:

	Oct. 2025
Percent who trust "Authorities of the Islamic Republic"	44.1%

[LIST EXPERIMENT 2]

[Only asked if respondent was asked Q15B]

Q16A. control_count_12. [numeric 0-4; randomize order] Here is a list of four groups. How many of the following do you trust? I will read the groups twice: please listen carefully. You don't need to tell me which ones you trust, just how many. Please let me know if you need me to repeat them.

- Doctors
- Teachers or professors
- Bankers
- Heavy drinkers
- Authorities of the Islamic Republic

	Oct. 2025
Average number of groups trusted	2.0080
DK/NA [vol.]	.2

[Only asked if respondent was asked Q15A]

Q16B.treatment_count_12. [numeric 0-5; randomize order] Here is a list of five groups. How many of the following do you trust? I will read the groups twice: please listen carefully. You don't need to tell me which ones you trust, just how many. Please let me know if you need me to repeat them.

- Doctors
- Teachers or professors
- Bankers
- Heavy drinkers

	Oct. 2025
Average number of groups trusted	1.5420
DK/NA [vol.]	.1

Result of LIST EXPERIMENT 2:

	Oct. 2025
Percent who trust "Authorities of the Islamic Republic"	46.5%

Q17. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "I trust the authorities of the Islamic Republic."

	Oct. 2025
Strongly agree	12.3
Somewhat agree	39.2
Somewhat disagree	23.6
Strongly disagree	21.9
DK/NA [vol.]	3.1

Q18. In your view, is climate change, also known as global warming, a very serious problem, somewhat serious, not too serious, or not a problem?

	Oct. 2025
Very serious	68.7
Somewhat serious	24.6
Not too serious	2.5
Not a problem	3.2
DK/NA [vol.]	1.1

Q19. If climate change is left unchecked worldwide, how much do you think climate change will affect each of the following in our country?

Q19.1. Rainfall and available water resources

	Oct. 2025
A lot	74.6
Some	20.4
Not very much	2.0
None at all	2.8
DK/NA [vol.]	.3

Q19.2. The price of food and other essential goods

	Oct. 2025
A lot	70.0
Some	25.9
Not very much	2.2
None at all	1.7
DK/NA [vol.]	.2

Q19.3. The likelihood of natural disasters, like droughts or floods

	Oct. 2025
A lot	72.9
Some	23.1
Not very much	2.5
None at all	1.3
DK/NA [vol.]	.3

Q20. On the subject of climate change, is it your impression that among the scientists of the world:

	Oct. 2025
Most scientists think the problem is urgent and enough is known to take action	48.0
Most think the problem is not urgent, and not enough is known yet to take action	24.8
Views are pretty evenly divided	23.3
DK/NA [vol.]	4.0

Q21. 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?

	Sept. 2021	Oct. 2025
Yes, a lot	46.5	59.3
Yes, a little	29.5	26.1
No	23.8	14.6
DK/NA [vol.]	0.3	--

Q22. 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?

	Sept. 2021	Oct. 2025
The government should allocate less water to farmers	32.4	35.9
The government should allocate more water to farmers	51.8	48.3
Continue current level of allocation [vol.]	1.5	4.0
DK/NA [vol.]	14.3	11.8

Q23. With which of these statements about the environment and the economy do you most agree:

	Jan. 2018	Oct. 2025
The government should put a higher priority on protecting the environment, even if the economy suffers to some extent	66.6	63.6
The government should put a higher priority on economic growth, even if the environment suffers to some extent	23.1	28.6
Depends [vol.]	6.4	7.0
DK/NA [vol.]	4.0	.8

Q24. As you may know, Iran and most other countries around the world made an agreement to cut their air pollution in order to reduce climate change. Have you heard about this agreement before?

	Jan. 2018	Oct. 2025
Yes	24.2	18.3
No	74.6	81.5
DK/NA [vol.]	1.3	.2

Q25. As part of the 2015 Paris Agreement, Iran promised to significantly reduce its air pollution and carbon emissions over the next 15 years, but such steps have costs. Some people approve of Iran taking these steps because they will lead to better air quality in Iran and will reduce global climate change. Others do not approve of Iran taking these steps, because they believe the costs are significant and only wealthier countries who have caused most of the climate change should be required to take such steps. Do you approve or disapprove of Iran’s taking these steps? Strongly or somewhat?

	Jan. 2018³	Oct. 2025
Strongly approve	22.2	22.5
Somewhat approve	42.1	38.2
Somewhat disapprove	19.8	20.9
Strongly disapprove	10.0	15.6
Depends	--	.9
DK/NA [vol.]	6.0	2.0

Q26. Do you think that if our country takes steps to deal with the problem of climate change, other countries would then be more willing to act, or do you think it wouldn’t make much difference?

	Oct. 2025
Other countries would then be more willing to act	42.1
It wouldn’t make much difference	53.2
Depends/Other [vol.]	1.0
DK/NA [vol.]	3.7

³ In Jan. 2018 it was asked: “As part of this agreement, Iran has promised to significantly reduce its air pollution over the next 15 years if it gets some financial assistance to develop cleaner technology. These steps, however, have costs and may increase the price of some products and raise unemployment in the short-term. Some people approve of Iran taking these steps because it will lead to better air quality in Iran and will reduce global climate change. Other people say that Iran should not have made this commitment because efforts to reduce air pollution will hurt Iran’s economy and only the wealthier countries who have caused most of the climate change should be required to take such steps. To what degree do you approve or disapprove of Iran taking these steps?”

Q27. As you may know, there have been numerous military incidents in past months involving Iran, Israel, the United States, and the Persian Gulf countries. Please say which of the following:

	Aug. 2019⁴	Feb. 2021	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2024	Oct. 2025
Whenever there is evidence of a violation of Iranian waters, air space, or of an attack on an Iranian vessel or aircraft, Iran should punish the perpetrators to make such incidents less likely in the future.	76.6	72.3	74.1	71.5	78.7
Iran should primarily be careful to make sure these incidents do not multiply and turn into a bigger conflict, so Iran need not always respond to such incidents.	18.9	23.6	21.6	19.5	18.5
Depend/other [vol.]	2.6	.7	.6	6.6	1.0
DK/NA [vol.]	1.9	3.4	3.8	2.4	1.8

Q28. As you may know, before the recent war, Israel attacked Iran in October 2024 and destroyed some of Iran’s air defense capabilities. Back then, Iran chose not to respond immediately to the attacks. Some say this was a mistake, making Iran look weak and inviting a more significant attack. Others say it was the right thing to do because it showed Iran is not seeking a war, while Israel is the clear aggressor. Which comes closest to your view?

	Oct. 2025
Not responding then was a mistake	54.5
Not responding then was the right thing to do	42.0
Depend/other [vol.]	.6
DK/NA [vol.]	2.9

Q29. As you may know, there are various theories about why Israel launched the 12-day war against Iran. I will read a few of them to you. For each one, please to what degree you feel this was a reason behind Israel’s attack against Iran.

Q29.1. Israel wanted to weaken Iran’s government and military in hopes of sparking a rebellion against the Islamic Republic

	Oct. 2025
Definitely a reason	50.3
Probably a reason	34.0
Probably not a reason	6.1
Definitely not a reason	7.0
DK/NA [vol.]	2.6

⁴ In 2019 it was asked: “As you may know, there have been several incidents in recent months concerning drones, oil tankers and smaller ships, involving Iran, Britain the U.S., and Gulf states. Please say which of the following statements comes closest to your own view:”

Q29.2. Israel feared that the United States and Iran might reach a new nuclear agreement like the JCPOA

	Oct. 2025
Definitely a reason	23.7
Probably a reason	24.4
Probably not a reason	23.5
Definitely not a reason	24.0
DK/NA [vol.]	4.6

Q29.3. Israel attacked because Iran refused to stop enriching uranium and did not take steps needed to prove that its nuclear program is only for peaceful purposes

	Oct. 2025
Definitely a reason	22.8
Probably a reason	28.5
Probably not a reason	18.6
Definitely not a reason	24.9
DK/NA [vol.]	5.3

Q29.4. Israeli intelligence thought Iran's security services were so focused on social issues like hijab that there was an opening to launch a surprise attack

	Oct. 2025
Definitely a reason	24.7
Probably a reason	28.3
Probably not a reason	21.5
Definitely not a reason	22.8
DK/NA [vol.]	2.8

Q30. Some say Israel was encouraged by the United States to attack Iran and that without the encouragement of the United States, Israel would not have attacked Iran. To what degree do you agree or disagree with this statement?

	Oct. 2025
Strongly agree	62.3
Somewhat agree	24.0
Somewhat disagree	6.3
Strongly disagree	5.3
Depends/Other [vol.]	.2
DK/NA [vol.]	2.0

Q31. As you may know, the United States and Israel generally function as allies in conflicts in the Middle East. Which of the following statements do you think best describes their relationship in conflicts in the Middle East?

	Oct. 2024 ⁵	Oct. 2025
The United States makes the important decisions and Israel mostly follows them even if it disagrees	22.8	24.4
While the United States and Israel make the important decisions together, the United States mostly has the final say	39.1	52.1
While the United States and Israel make the important decisions together, Israel mostly has the final say	6.7	4.2
Israel makes the important decisions and the United States mostly supports them even if it disagrees	27.1	16.8
Depends/Other [vol.]	.8	.2
DK/NA [vol.]	3.5	2.4

Q32. As you know, the war with Israel that included the United States lasted only twelve days. Many believed the war would be longer. I am going to read different reasons that may explain why the United States called for a ceasefire after twelve days of war. For each one, please say to what degree you think it was a reason why the war stopped in only twelve days.

Q32.1. The cost Iran was imposing on Israel by firing missiles into Israel was too much for Israel to bear

	Oct. 2025
Definitely a reason	53.3
Probably a reason	30.3
Probably not a reason	6.1
Definitely not a reason	8.0
DK/NA [vol.]	2.3

Q32.2. Neighboring countries, which were alarmed by the war and afraid of it spreading, worked together to urge a cease-fire

	Oct. 2025
Definitely a reason	16.4
Probably a reason	34.9
Probably not a reason	30.7
Definitely not a reason	15.7
DK/NA [vol.]	2.3

⁵ In Oct. 2024 it was asked: “As you may know the United States and Israel generally function as allies. Which of the following statements do you think best describes their relationship as it related to the War in Gaza?”

Q32.3. Israel and the United States achieved all their war goals, so they did not need to continue the war

	Oct. 2025
Definitely a reason	12.0
Probably a reason	24.7
Probably not a reason	22.4
Definitely not a reason	37.9
DK/NA [vol.]	3.1

Q32.4. Iran had the option of closing the Strait of Hormuz, and other countries, including the United States, wanted to avoid this happening

	Oct. 2025
Definitely a reason	38.7
Probably a reason	42.4
Probably not a reason	7.6
Definitely not a reason	8.2
DK/NA [vol.]	3.1

Q32.5. Israel and the United States realized that they could not achieved their objectives through war, so they called for a ceasefire

	Oct. 2025
Definitely a reason	44.2
Probably a reason	30.6
Probably not a reason	15.2
Definitely not a reason	7.8
DK/NA [vol.]	2.2

Q33. After the recent, there has been much discussion about Iran’s response to the attacks. For each of the following, please say how successful or unsuccessful you think it was—very successful, somewhat successful, not very successful, or not at all successful.

Q33.1. The IRGC Aerospace Force’s effort to punish Israeli attacks by firing missiles into Israel

	Oct. 2025
Very successful	57.8
Somewhat successful	31.7
Not very successful	6.0
Not at all successful	3.2
DK/NA [vol.]	1.3

Q33.2. Iran's air defense efforts to defend Iran's air space and prevent Israeli air attacks

	Oct. 2025
Very successful	22.7
Somewhat successful	26.5
Not very successful	28.3
Not at all successful	21.0
DK/NA [vol.]	1.5

Q33.3. Iran's intelligence and security efforts to locate and stop the activities of enemy spies and collaborators within Iran

	Oct. 2025
Very successful	41.8
Somewhat successful	38.5
Not very successful	10.5
Not at all successful	7.6
DK/NA [vol.]	1.6

Q33.4. The Iranian government's ability to provide for the needs of people during the war and prevent shortages in food, fuel, and electricity

	Oct. 2025
Very successful	64.5
Somewhat successful	20.9
Not very successful	8.4
Not at all successful	5.4
DK/NA [vol.]	.9

Q34.1. How likely do you think it is that the war may reignite during the next few weeks?

	Oct. 2025
Very likely [Skip Q34.2]	9.2
Somewhat likely [Skip Q34.2]	42.5
Not very likely	27.8
Not likely at all	18.1
Depend/other [vol.]	.1
DK/NA [vol.]	2.3

Q34.2. How likely do you think it is that the war may reignite over the next twelve months?

	Oct. 2025
Very likely	1.9
Somewhat likely	15.9
Not very likely	55.2
Not likely at all	23.3
Depend/other [vol.]	.2
DK/NA [vol.]	3.5

Q35. I'm going to read two statements about the recent war. Please tell me which one is closest to your own view. [ARO]

	Oct. 2025
The war showed that Iran cannot depend on international law and norms against aggression by other states, so it must become much better armed, even if that might provoke other countries.	72.4
The war showed that Iran's military alone cannot protect it against major aggression from the United States and Israel, so Iran must cooperate more with world powers, even if this would require Iran to sharply limit its nuclear and missile capabilities.	22.7
Depend/other [vol.]	2.0
DK/NA [vol.]	3.0

Q36. Thinking about Iran's negotiations with the United States before the recent war, which of the following two statements about U.S, President Donald Trump is closer to your own opinion? [ARO]

	Oct. 2025
Trump genuinely wanted to negotiate and reach a new nuclear agreement with Iran	21.3
Trump used negotiations to buy time while Israel and the United States prepared for the war	75.0
Depends/Other [vol.]	.6
DK/NA [vol.]	3.2

Q37. Now that active hostilities have stopped, which of the following do you think would be the best position for Iran to take on negotiating with the United States? [ARO]

	Oct. 2025
Iran should be willing to resume negotiations now that the war is over	9.4
Iran should be willing to resume negotiations only after some time has elapsed without an attack on Iran from any source	7.1
Iran should not be willing to resume negotiations unless it receives credible assurance that it won't be attacked again.	29.7
Iran should not be willing to resume negotiations until it becomes confident that the United States really seeks to reach a mutually beneficial negotiated agreement	51.3
Depend/other [vol.]	1.4
DK/NA [vol.]	1.1

Q38. Let us imagine negotiations between Iran and the United States were to take place in the future. I am going to read some possible U.S. demands that might come up in such negotiations. For each please indicate whether you think the demand is acceptable, the demand is unacceptable, or that the demand could be acceptable depending on other conditions of the agreement, in return for the lifting of sanctions on Iran.

Q38.1. A new set of limits and transparency requirements on Iran’s nuclear program similar to those in the JCPOA that would expire in a given number of years.

	Oct. 2025
Is acceptable	20.5
Is unacceptable	20.7
Could be acceptable depending on the circumstances	55.6
DK/NA [vol.]	3.3

Q38.2. Making permanent those limits and transparency requirements on Iran’s nuclear program.

	Oct. 2025
Is acceptable	6.8
Is unacceptable	57.2
Could be acceptable depending on the circumstances	32.9
DK/NA [vol.]	3.1

Q38.3. Permanently ending uranium enrichment in Iran

	Oct. 2025
Is acceptable	3.5
Is unacceptable	74.6
Could be acceptable depending on the circumstances	19.6
DK/NA [vol.]	2.4

Q38.4. Reducing the range of Iranian ballistic missiles, which is currently above 2000km, to about 500km

	Oct. 2025
Is acceptable	2.3
Is unacceptable	83.4
Could be acceptable depending on the circumstances	12.3
DK/NA [vol.]	2.0

Q38.5. Ending support for groups such as Hamas and Hezbollah of Lebanon

	Oct. 2025
Is acceptable	15.4
Is unacceptable	46.9
Could be acceptable depending on the circumstances	34.4
DK/NA [vol.]	3.3

Q39. As you may know, in the negotiations before the war, there were a number of things Iran’s government said that it wanted from the United States in return for agreeing to limitations on Iran’s nuclear program. I will read you some of them. Please say for each whether, if Iran enters negotiations with the United States in the future, would you see it as a requirement that must be in the agreement for Iran to be willing to make concessions in exchange; important, but not an a requirement; worth discussion; or not worth much.

Q39.1. A commitment not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Islamic Republic or take military action against it that violates international law.

	Oct. 2025
Must be part of agreement	64.2
Important but not a requirement	10.0
Worth discussion	14.5
Not worth much	8.9
DK/NA [vol.]	2.5

Q39.2. A commitment not to support other countries who interfere in the internal affairs of the Islamic or take military action that violates international law.

	Oct. 2025
Must be part of agreement	56.2
Important but not a requirement	15.3
Worth discussion	16.2
Not worth much	9.1
DK/NA [vol.]	3.3

Q39.3. A step-for-step structure to the deal, to ensure that Iran gets benefits in return for the concessions that it makes

	Oct. 2025
Must be part of agreement	72.0
Important but not a requirement	9.2
Worth discussion	9.8
Not worth much	5.9
DK/NA [vol.]	3.2

Q39.4. Sanctions relief that results in clear and tangible improvement in the living condition of Iranian people

	Oct. 2025
Must be part of agreement	83.6
Important but not a requirement	4.4
Worth discussion	6.6
Not worth much	3.9
DK/NA [vol.]	1.5

Q40. 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	Oct. 2025
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	47.9
The United States has already sanctioned Iran to the fullest degree possible and it cannot make Iran's economic conditions more difficult than current conditions even if it tries	63.3	45.2
Depends/Other [vol.]	.5	.4
DK/NA [vol.]	1.3	6.5

Q41. In your opinion, to what degree have current U.S. sanctions on Iran had a negative impact on our country's economy?

	Jul. 2014⁶	Oct. 2019	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021	Mar. 2023⁷	Mar. 2024⁸	Oct. 2025
Have had great negative impact	51	47.7	44.5	42.3	51.0	53.6	56.2
Have had some negative impact	34	31.8	33.1	35.3	32.6	34.7	31.7
Have had little negative impact	7	9.5	13.9	14.2	10.4	7.8	7.6
Have had no negative impact	4	10.4	6.7	7.3	3.7	3.2	4.2
DK/NA [vol.]	4	.7	1.7	1.0	2.3	.8	.3

⁶ 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?"

⁷ From 2019 to 2023 it was asked: "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?"

⁸ In March 2024 it was asked: "In your opinion, to what degree have sanctions had a negative impact on our country's economy?"

Q42. In general, how confident are you that if Iran and the United States were to reach an agreement, the United States would live up to its side of that agreement? Are you:

	Oct. 2020⁹	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021	Jul. 2022¹⁰	Oct. 2024¹¹	Oct. 2025
Very confident	1.6	4.9	4.6	5.5	4.8	3.7
Somewhat confident	28.1	32.8	28.1	26.6	28.9	23.8
Not very confident	27.2	27.4	27.4	23.9	36.1	25.1
Not Confident at all	34.2	32.8	37.3	41.3	28.6	46.2
DK/NA [vol.]	9.0	2.1	2.7	2.7	1.6	1.2

Q43. How would you describe Iran’s current relationship with China? Do you think that Iran and China are currently allies, friends, rivals, or enemies?

	Mar. 2023	Oct. 2025
Allies	12.1	14.4
Friends	34.6	37.5
Neither friends nor rivals	31.1	34.6
Rivals	8.1	6.1
Enemies	4.7	3.5
None [vol.]	.3	.5
Other [vol.]	.3	.2
DK/NA [vol.]	8.8	3.2

Q44. How about Iran’s current relationship with Russia? Do you think that Iran and Russia are currently allies, friends, rivals, or enemies?

	Mar. 2023	Oct. 2025
Allies	13.4	12.4
Friends	33.6	30.5
Neither friends nor rivals	28.6	38.4
Rivals	6.8	7.5
Enemies	8.9	5.0
None [vol.]	.1	.3
Other [vol.]	.3	.4
DK/NA [vol.]	8.3	5.5

⁹ 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:” and response options were from very likely to very unlikely.

¹⁰ In Feb. 2021, Sept. 2021, and July 2022, it was asked: “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:” and response options were from very likely to very unlikely.

¹¹ In Oct. 2024 it was asked: “If such a new [nuclear] agreement did come about, how likely is it that the US would fulfil its side of the agreement?” and response options were from very likely to very unlikely.

Q45. During the recent war, what was your reaction when Russia and China did not show more interest in helping Iran? Were you surprised, did you expect this, or did you have no expectation either way?

	Oct. 2025
Surprised	18.8
Expected this	38.5
Had no particular expectation	41.0
Other/Depends [vol.]	.6
DK/NA [vol.]	1.1

Q46.1. In your opinion, how important is it for our country to develop its nuclear program? Is it:

	Dec. 2009	Oct. 2014	Aug. 2015	Jan. 2016	May 2017	Jan. 2018	Sept. 2021	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2025
Very important	87	84	84.6	82.2	79.2	75.3	72.4	73.8	72.9
Somewhat important	5	7	8.6	10.6	11.6	10.5	13.2	14.2	17.6
Not very important	1	3	2.8	3.0	2.7	5.1	6.9	5.6	4.2
Not important at all	2	2	1.8	2.4	2.7	4.5	5.6	5.0	4.3
DK/NA [vol.]	5	4	2.2	1.9	3.8	4.6	1.9	1.4	1.1

Q46.2. In your opinion, how important is it for our country to develop its missile program? Is it:

	Jan. 2018	May 2019	Sept. 2021	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2025
Very important	73.8	72.0	70.8	74.2	81.1
Somewhat important	21.1	19.7	18.2	18.4	13.4
Not very important	1.7	3.6	5.0	2.7	2.2
Not important at all	2.3	3.2	4.6	3.5	2.2
DK/NA [vol.]	1.2	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.1

Q47. Now that the United States and Israel have attacked Iran’s nuclear facilities, do you think Iran should:

	Aug. 2019	Mar. 2024¹²	Oct. 2025
Expand its nuclear activities	61.8	62.8	55.7
Rebuild its nuclear program to the current level	16.0	16.7	27.9
Reduce its nuclear activities	9.5	12.6	10.9
Completely stop its nuclear activities	7.8	4.9	2.8
DK/NA [vol.]	4.9	3.1	2.7

¹² In August 2019 and March 2024 it was asked: “If the United States were to attack Iran’s nuclear facilities, do you think Iran should:”

Q48. Regarding Iran’s nuclear program, please tell me which of the following courses of action you prefer for Iran:

	Jul. 2022	Mar. 2023	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2024	Oct. 2025
To develop both atomic bombs and nuclear power	36.1	37.5	41.2	46.5	51.4
To develop only nuclear power	55.7	53.4	52.4	44.8	43.1
To have no nuclear programs	4.3	3.8	3.4	3.7	3.8
Depends/Other [vol.]	.2	.4	--	1.7	.3
DK/NA [vol.]	3.7	4.9	3.1	3.4	1.4

Q49. If Iran were to decide to develop nuclear weapons, how long do you think it would take to acquire them?

	Jul. 2022	Oct. 2025
Less than 6 months	25.0	17.8
6 months to a year	22.3	21.4
1 to 2 years	15.0	27.7
2 to 3 years	8.8	7.4
More than three years	6.1	6.8
Never	6.5	3.8
Depends/Other [vol.]	1.0	.8
DK/NA [vol.]	15.3	14.4

Q50. Let’s assume Iran withdraws from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in order to develop nuclear weapons. Here are three statements about how the rest of the United States and some other countries would then react. Which do you think would be more likely? [ARO]

	Jul. 2022	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2025
The United States and some other countries would take various military and non-military actions against Iran and will ultimately prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons	13.2	12.2	17.5
The United States and some other countries would take various military and non-military actions against Iran, but will not be able to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons	45.1	52.0	60.3
No country would take any serious military actions against Iran and Iran would be able to develop nuclear weapons	34.8	28.9	16.7
DK/NA [vol.]	6.9	6.9	5.6

Q51. There has been a recent proposal that Middle Eastern and North African states form their own regional group for nuclear cooperation. All member states would reject nuclear weapons, share enrichment and research facilities, and jointly verify members are using nuclear technology solely for peaceful purposes. To what degree would you support or oppose Iran becoming one of the founding members of such a regional group?

	Oct. 2025
Support strongly	26.7
Support somewhat	43.2
Oppose somewhat	18.2
Oppose strongly	8.1
Depends [vol.]	.2
DK/NA [vol.]	3.6

Q52. 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?

	Jul. 2014	Nov. 2019	Jul. 2022	Mar. 2023	Oct. 2025
Development of nuclear weapons is against the teachings of Islam	71.2	66.0	54.7	53.5	46.8
Islam does not prohibit the development of nuclear weapons	12.7	16.5	23.4	27.6	36.9
Depends/Other [vol.]	14.4	10.8	8.8	5.8	1.3
DK/NA [vol.]	1.7	6.7	13.1	13.1	15.0

Q53. As you may know, the Majlis has voted to halt international inspectors' access to Iran's nuclear sites until Iran's Supreme National Security Council gains confidence that Iran's nuclear facilities and scientists would not be in danger and Iran's rights under the NPT would be respected. Some say this is an appropriate response, because the IAEA may have provided information that helped Israel and the US attack Iran's nuclear facilities. Others say this is unwise because the more doubts other countries have about Iran's nuclear program, the more justification Israel and the US will claim to attack again. How do you feel about this law that was passed by the Majlis? In general, do you:

	Oct. 2025
Favor it strongly	26.5
Favor it somewhat	40.2
Oppose it somewhat	14.5
Oppose it strongly	12.0
DK/NA [vol.]	6.8

Q54. As you may know, France, Germany and Britain recently started a process that will restore the U.N. sanctions on Iran lifted by the JCPOA at the end of September if Iran does not resume direct talks with the US, restore full cooperation with the UN nuclear watchdog, and disclose where it moved its heavily enriched uranium after the US and Israeli strikes. Here are two statements about what Iran should do. Which comes closer to your own view? [ARO]

	Oct. 2025
Since Iran’s territory was attacked and its nuclear facilities damaged, it should not meet these three demands without assurances that its nuclear program won’t be attacked again.	73.0
Economic conditions in Iran are so bad that we should meet these three demands to avoid the reimposition of UN sanctions.	22.0
DK/NA [vol.]	5.1

Q55. 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?

	Feb. 2021	Oct. 2025
They are worthwhile and should be expanded.	46.5	36.3
They should continue, but are not likely to do much.	34.6	39.1
They are a waste of time and should be ended.	13.0	19.1
Other/Depends [vol.]	.8	.5
DK/NA [Vol.]	5.1	5.0

Q56. As you may know, Arab League countries have proposed an immediate ceasefire in Gaza, withdrawal of Israeli troops, more humanitarian aid, and reconstruction overseen by a Palestinian governing committee in return for Hamas to disarm and relinquish power over Gaza. From what you know, to what degree do you think this is a good or bad proposal? Is it a:

	Oct. 2025
Very good proposal	19.1
Somewhat good proposal	32.3
Somewhat bad proposal	18.6
Very bad proposal	24.3
DK/NA [vol.]	5.8

Demographics:

D1. Sex:

	Oct. 2025
Male	49.2
Female	50.8
DK/NA [vol.]	

D2. What is your year of birth?

	Oct. 2025
18-25	12.8
26-35	19.2
36-45	27.7
46-55	17.4
55+	22.9
DK/NA [vol.]	

D3. What is your level of education?

	Oct. 2025
Illiterate/no formal education but read and write	6.0
Some/finished elementary	10.8
Some/finished intermediate	9.3
Some secondary (did not graduate high school)	4.2
Finished secondary (graduated high school)	29.5
University/college student	5.2
Achieved associate's degree	8.1
Achieved bachelor's degree	20.8
Achieved master's degree or PhD	6.2
Seminary education	--
DK/NA [vol.]	--

D4. What is your ethnicity?

	Oct. 2025
Fars	45.9
Turk/Azeri	22.3
Kurd	7.5
Lur	7.4
Arab	1.4
Baluch	1.6
Mazani/Gilak/Shomali	9.2
Other	2.5
DK/NA [vol.]	2.3

D5. Which of the following best describes your employment status?

	Oct. 2025
Working full time	24.0
Working part-time	16.9
Not employed	14.1
Student	5.9
Homemaker	26.1
Retired/Disabled	10.3
DK/NA [vol.]	2.8

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

	Oct. 2025
1. Under 5 million Tomans	8.5
2. Between 5 -10 million Tomans	12.1
3. Between 11 -15 million Tomans	23.1
4. Between 16 - 20 million Tomans	20.1
5. Between 21 - 25 million Tomans	10.7
6. Between 26 - 30 million Tomans	10.5
7. Over 30 million Tomans	10.4
DK/NA [vol.]	4.8

D7. Do you follow the news programs of BBC¹³?

	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021	Mar. 2023	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2025
Yes	21.1	19.8	21.5	19.6	14.7
No	78.2	79.5	77.3	78.9	82.4
DK/NA	0.7	0.7	1.3	1.5	2.9

D8. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "It is difficult for me to express my opinion if I think others won't agree with what I say."

	Oct. 2025
Strongly agree	7.8
Somewhat agree	26.9
Somewhat disagree	33.5
Strongly disagree	27.7
DK/NA [vol.]	4.0

D9. Settlement Size (population):

	Oct. 2025
Over 1 million (urban)	26.3
500 thousand to 1 million (urban)	8.1
100 to 500 thousand (urban)	19.2
Under 100 thousand (urban)	21.5
Rural	25.0

¹³ Until the current wave, it was asked: "Do you follow the news programs of BBC or VOA?"

D10. Province

	Oct. 2025
Alborz	3.3
Ardabil	1.6
Bushehr	1.3
Chaharmahal and Bakhtiari	1.1
East Azerbaijan	5.0
Fars	6.0
Gilan	3.4
Golestan	2.3
Hamedan	2.2
Hormozgan	2.0
Ilam	.7
Isfahan	6.5
Kerman	4.0
Kermanshah	2.6
Khorasan Razavi	8.0
Khuzestan	5.9
Kohgiluyeh and Boyerahmad	1.0
Kurdistan	2.0
Lorestan	2.4
Markazi	1.8
Mazandaran	4.1
North Khorasan	1.1
Qazvin	1.6
Qom	1.7
Semnan	.9
Sistan and Baluchestan	3.1
South Khorasan	1.0
Tehran	16.7
West Azerbaijan	4.1
Yazd	1.5
Zanjan	1.3