

## **October 2024 National Probability Sample Survey**

### **Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland (CISSM)**

#### **Questionnaire and Results**

Data Collection: October 10 - 16, 2024

Sample Size: 1,011

Margin of Error: +/- 3.1%

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

	<b>May 2015</b>	<b>Jun. 2016</b>	<b>Jun. 2017</b>	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>May 2019</b>	<b>Oct. 2020</b>	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Jul. 2022</b>	<b>Mar. 2023</b>	<b>Mar. 2024</b>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Very good	11.1	3.8	2.5	2.5	2.0	3.3	5.8	3.5	4.5	5.4	6.4
Somewhat good	43.2	35.7	33.1	27.6	23.7	21.1	19.1	19.3	21.3	24.9	24.1
Somewhat bad	22.5	29.4	29.5	28.2	29.8	21.7	20.5	23.9	19.5	17.8	24.6
Very bad	21.2	29.2	33.9	40.7	43.4	52.7	53.0	52.3	53.8	51.6	44.5
DK/NA [vol.]	2.0	2.0	1.1	0.9	1.2	1.2	1.6	1.1	1.0	.3	.3

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

	<b>May 2015</b>	<b>Jun. 2016</b>	<b>Jun. 2017</b>	<b>Dec. 2018</b>	<b>May 2019</b>	<b>Oct. 2020</b>	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Jul. 2022</b>	<b>Mar. 2023</b>	<b>Mar. 2024</b>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Getting better	49.3	42.2	39.1	33.2	26.6	22.1	25.8	28.3	25.0	28.6	30.3
Getting worse	37.1	43.4	50.2	59.5	56.9	71.5	68.0	65.0	69.4	67.0	61.5
Staying the same [vol.]	9.7	9.2	7.7	4.1	8.7	.9	2.2	3.1	1.9	2.3	5.6
DK/NA [vol.]	4.0	5.2	3.0	3.2	7.9	5.5	4.1	3.6	3.7	2.1	2.6

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

	<b>Jul. 2014</b>	<b>Mar. 2016</b>	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>May 2019</b>	<b>Oct. 2020</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>	<b>Jul. 2022</b>	<b>Mar. 2023</b>	<b>Mar. 2024</b>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Strive to achieve economic self-sufficiency	53	58.4	67.3	68.8	67.1	64.6	54.6	52.4	47.5	46.4
Strive to increase its trade with other countries	43	36.4	29.4	28.4	28.5	31.6	42.8	44.2	49.3	51.6
DK/NA [vol.]	4	5.2	3.3	2.9	4.5	3.8	2.6	3.4	3.2	2.0

Q4. 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	Jul. 2022	Mar. 2023	Oct. 2024
Iran should try more to strengthen its relations with European countries	42.2	45.0	42.4	37.0	39.1	44.7	43.6	47.6
Iran should try more to strengthen its relations with Asian countries	48.6	47.7	48.8	50.3	54.1	41.9	44.1	42.7
Both equally [vol.]	3.3	3.5	2.7	3.6	1.2	3.4	3.6	
Neither [vol.]	.2	.9	.8	1.0		1.2	1.0	
Depends/Other [vol.]	.6	.5	1.8	2.7		1.0	1.4	6.7
DK/NA [vol.]	5.2	2.5	3.5	5.4	5.6	7.9	6.3	3.0

Q5. In your opinion should Iran seek to increase the role it plays in this region, decrease it, or maintain it at the current level?

	Mar. 2016	Jun. 2016	May 2019	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2024
Increase it	66.8	67.6	65.6	51.3	55.7
Decrease it	7.4	7.2	11.3	13.3	15.1
Maintain it at the current level	19.3	20.1	17.9	30.3	26.3
Other/Depends [vol.]	1.1	.3	.7	.9	1.0
DK/NA [vol.]	5.5	4.8	4.5	4.3	1.9

Q6. 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.

Q6.1. Masoud Pezeshkian

	Oct. 2024
Very favorable	30.5
Somewhat favorable	38.6
Somewhat unfavorable	20.9
Very unfavorable	7.7
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	
DK/NA [vol.]	2.4

Q6.2. Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf

	Jul. 2014	Dec. 2016	May 2017	May 2019	Oct. 2020	Feb. 2021	Sept. 2021	Mar. 2023	Mar. 2024	Oct. 2024
Very favorable	21	21.9	18.9	21.1	23.9	25.0	21.6	19.4	13.1	14.4
Somewhat favorable	43	50.7	46.5	38.2	40.2	41.7	46.3	38.9	39.1	40.7
Somewhat unfavorable	12	13.3	15.6	15.4	15.5	11.6	12.4	14.4	17.0	17.9
Very unfavorable	11	6.6	11.5	12.9	12.3	15.7	14.9	22.2	25.8	24.6
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	8	4.2	3.4	3.9	4.1	3.1	2.1	3.1	3.1	
DK/NA [vol.]	5	3.3	4.0	8.5	4.0	3.0	2.8	2.1	1.9	2.4

### Q6.3. 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>Oct. 2020</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>	<b>Mar. 2024</b>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Very favorable	40	56.0	44.5	42.9	36.3	26.2	19.9	20.1	16.1	14.3
Somewhat favorable	30	33.4	33.0	33.1	32.1	38.9	36.3	38.4	35.3	39.9
Somewhat unfavorable	8	3.3	9.5	11.9	16.0	12.7	16.6	14.9	19.9	20.6
Very unfavorable	8	2.1	7.6	7.4	10.0	16.7	20.8	22.5	22.5	21.8
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	11	3.0	3.6	2.6	2.6	2.0	3.7	1.4	4.5	
DK/NA [vol.]	3	2.2	1.9	2.2	3.0	3.5	2.7	2.8	1.7	3.5

### Q6.4. Saeed Jalili

	<b>Jul. 2014</b>	<b>Aug. 2015</b>	<b>Oct. 2020</b>	<b>Sept. 2021</b>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Very favorable	16	16.6	10.2	13.2	14.7
Somewhat favorable	28	26.2	29.4	30.9	32.6
Somewhat unfavorable	17	14.4	13.5	22.6	21.9
Very unfavorable	12	14.8	17.5	14.8	25.9
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	23	23.1	25.4	11.8	
DK/NA [vol.]	5	4.9	4.0	6.8	4.8

### Q6.1. Abbas Araghchi

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Very favorable	21.6
Somewhat favorable	35.4
Somewhat unfavorable	20.4
Very unfavorable	13.7
Don't recognize the name [vol.]	
DK/NA [vol.]	8.9

Q7. As you know, after the passing of President Raisi, the process of selecting a new president was orderly and rapid. Despite Iran's other problems, dealing with the passing of President Raisi did not add to them, and the country as a whole was stable. I will read you the names of some officials and institutions. Please tell me to what the degree you think each was the reason for the stability of the country during that period.

### Q7.1. Ayatollah Khamenei

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
A lot	61.2
Somewhat	27.4
Not much	4.1
Not at all	4.5
Played a negative role [vol.]	--
DK/NA [vol.]	2.8

Q7.2. Mohammad Mokhber, the first Vice President of Mr. Raisi

	Oct. 2024
A lot	32.9
Somewhat	37.7
Not much	12.3
Not at all	10.1
Played a negative role [vol.]	.5
DK/NA [vol.]	6.5

Q7.3. The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran

	Oct. 2024
A lot	44.9
Somewhat	34.5
Not much	9.0
Not at all	9.0
Played a negative role [vol.]	--
DK/NA [vol.]	2.6

Q7.4. The people

	Oct. 2024
A lot	60.9
Somewhat	27.0
Not much	5.6
Not at all	4.8
Played a negative role [vol.]	--
DK/NA [vol.]	1.6

Q8. In talking to people about elections, we sometimes find that people were not able to vote because they were sick or 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 [second round of the] recent presidential election. Which of the following best describes what you did on the day of the election?

	Oct. 2024
I voted on the day of the election	51.1
I went to a polling station to vote but was not able to vote	2.7
I did not try to vote	45.4
DK/NA [vol.]	.8

Q9. If you can remember, please tell me whether or not you voted in the first round of the presidential election?

	Oct. 2024
Yes, I did vote	42.2
No, I did not vote	56.9
Other [vol.]	--
DK/NA [vol.]	.9

[Only asked if 1 in Q8]

Q10. For whom did you vote in the second round of the presidential election?

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Mr. Pezeshkian	54.7
Mr. Jalili	42.2
Casted a blank ballot	.8
DK/NA [vol.]	2.3

[Only asked if 1 in Q10]

Q11. Did you vote for Mr. Pezeshkian because you thought he would be a good president for Iran or mostly because you did not want his opponent to win?

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Mostly because I thought he would be a good president for Iran	74.9
Mostly because you did not want his opponent to win	21.9
Both [vol.]	--
Neither/Other [vol.]	3.2
DK/NA [vol.]	--

[Only asked if 2 in Q10]

Q12. Did you vote for Mr. Jalili because you thought he would be a good president for Iran or mostly because you did not want his opponent to win?

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Mostly because I thought he would be a good president for Iran	89.9
Mostly because you did not want his opponent to win	6.4
Both [vol.]	--
Neither/Other [vol.]	2.3
DK/NA [vol.]	1.4

[Only asked if 2 or 3 in Q8]

Q13. What was your primary reason for not voting? [Open-ended]

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Did not regard any of the candidates to be competent	20.6
Personal problems such as being ill, traveling, not having time	18.7
Dissatisfaction with the economy	17.9
Having lost hope in things getting improved	11.1
Lacking trust in Iranian politicians, officials and authorities	10.5
Politicians do not keep their promises	6.4
Elections not being free/real	6.0
Presidents in Iran do not have much power	2.5
Not being interested in politics	1.6
Being Against the Islamic Republic	.8
Other	2.9
DK/NA	1.0

Q14. 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>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Should be changed	57.8	54.4
Should not be changed	30.9	41.4
Depends [vol.]	.7	.5
DK/NA [vol.]	10.6	3.7

Q15. 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? [Open-ended] <sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> In the previous rounds it was asked: "What do you think is the single most important problem or challenge that Iran currently faces? [Open-ended]"

Q16. Regardless of how you feel about Pezeshkian and his election as Iran's next president, please tell me what you think is the main message and meaning of Pezeshkian's election?  
[Open-ended]

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
People hoping for improvements in the situation of the country	16.8
People hoping for better economic situation	13.0
Shows national unity	9.9
People's unwillingness to see Mr. Jalili becoming president	8.8
People having trust that he will serve the people	6.2
People's desire to improve Iran's relations with the world	4.5
People wanting change	3.7
People being dissatisfied with Iran's political situation	2.7
People's desire for more social freedoms	2.7
People's dislike for Principlists	2.6
Mention some of his positive characteristics	2.2
People having hope that he would keep his promises	2.0
Elections being real in Iran	1.9
People's need for security and peace	1.8
The system wanted him to win	1.4
People believe that he is truthful	1.3
Had no message	1.2
Mention some of his negative characteristics	1.0
Tribalism of Iranian Turks	.6
Other	4.4
DK/NA	11.6

Q17. 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.]

	<b>Mar. 2023</b>	<b>Mar. 2024</b>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
More democratic and free	12.8	9.4	6.2
More economically prosperous	52.8	56.0	48.4
More stable and orderly	15.9	18.7	17.8
More safe and secure	16.9	13.6	24.7
Other	1.4	1.2	2.7
DK/NA [vol.]	.2	1.1	.2

Q18. Some say in the next 10 years, Iran's constitution and system of government will probably significantly change, while others think in the next 10 years Iran's constitution and system of government will probably be similar to how things are today. What do you think?

	<b>Mar. 2023</b>	<b>Mar. 2024</b>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
In the next 10 years, Iran's constitution and system of government will probably significantly change	14.4	13.4	12.8
In the next 10 years, Iran's constitution and system of government will probably be similar to today	73.0	74.8	76.3
DK/NA [vol.]	12.6	11.9	11.0

Q19. Think about the next four years of Pezeshkian's term.<sup>2</sup> 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]**

Q19.1 Improve Iran's relations with neighboring countries

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

**[Half Sample]**

Q19.2. Improve Iran's relations with the West

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

**[Half Sample]**

Q19.3. Significantly lower inflation

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

**[Half Sample]**

Q19.4. Significantly lower unemployment

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>	<b>Jul. 2022</b>	<b>Mar. 2023</b>	<b>Mar. 2024</b>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Very confident	16.8	11.2	12.2	12.8	9.7
Somewhat confident	50.5	43.8	42.3	40.2	45.5
Not very confident	18.0	25.2	20.3	24.4	23.1
Not at all confident	13.0	19.3	24.2	21.9	20.8
DK/NA [vol.]	1.7	.4	.9	.8	1.0

<sup>2</sup> Until March 2024, this question was asked about President Ebrahim Raisi.



Q19.5. Protect people's rights and freedoms

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>	<b>Mar. 2023</b>	<b>Mar. 2024</b>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Very confident	23.0	19.0	16.1	16.2
Somewhat confident	40.8	43.2	41.7	52.6
Not very confident	19.2	21.7	20.8	15.8
Not at all confident	14.9	15.4	18.4	14.1
DK/NA [vol.]	2.2	.6	2.9	1.2

Q19.6. Root out corruption

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

Q19.7. Reduce the gap between officials and the people

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Very confident	11.0
Somewhat confident	48.2
Not very confident	21.7
Not at all confident	18.2
DK/NA [vol.]	1.0

Q19.8. Spread fairness and justice in Iran

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Very confident	11.7
Somewhat confident	42.3
Not very confident	26.6
Not at all confident	19.0
DK/NA [vol.]	.4

Q19.9. Improve women's rights

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Very confident	13.4
Somewhat confident	52.4
Not very confident	18.0
Not at all confident	14.4
DK/NA [vol.]	1.8

Q20. In general, how confident are you that Mr. Pezeshkian will be an honest and trustworthy President?

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Very confident	26.2
Somewhat confident	44.6
Not very confident	19.5
Not at all confident	8.7
DK/NA [vol.]	1.0

Q21. Do you favor or oppose the continuation of the limits and filters that the government has imposed on messaging apps like WhatsApp and Telegram and social networks such as Instagram? Strongly or somewhat?

	<b>Mar. 2023<sup>3</sup></b>	<b>Mar. 2024</b>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Strongly favor	5.8	6.4	4.3
Somewhat favor	10.3	9.3	8.2
Somewhat oppose	18.5	14.8	13.5
Strongly oppose	59.5	63.3	64.6
Other/Depends [vol.]	1.0	2.0	3.2
DK/NA [vol.]	4.9	4.3	6.3

Q22. Considering the current changes in the world, do you think Iran needs a President who will mostly:<sup>4</sup>

	<b>Dec. 2016</b>	<b>May 2017</b>	<b>Jun. 2017</b>	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Focus on negotiating and finding common ground with other countries	33.6	39.0	32.5	35.4	39.1
Stand up for Iran's rights and refuse to compromise on Iran's rights	57.1	52.3	62.3	59.9	58.1
Neither/Both [vol.]	1.2	2.7	1.9	1.5	1.6
DK/NA[vol.]	8.1	6.0	3.4	3.2	1.3

<sup>3</sup> In 2023 it was asked: "Do you favor or oppose the continuation of the limits and filters that the government imposed on messaging apps like WhatsApp and social networks such as Instagram during the recent protests? Strongly or somewhat?"

<sup>4</sup> In Feb. 2021 it was asked "Q46. Considering the current changes in the world, including Donald Trump/Joe Biden becoming US President, do you think Iran now needs a President who will mostly:"

**[Half Sample]**

Q23.1. 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:

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

**[Half Sample]**

Q23.2 Which statement comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right. Most government officials appointed by President Pezeshkian care what people like me think [OR] Most government officials appointed by President Pezeshkian DO NOT care what people like me think:

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Most government officials appointed by President Pezeshkian care what people like me think	43.3
Most government officials appointed by President Pezeshkian DO NOT care what people like me think	48.5
Neither/Both equally/Other [Vol.]	3.4
DK/NA [vol.]	4.8

Q24. 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?

	<b>Mar. 2023</b>	<b>Mar. 2024</b>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
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
Women should observe the Islamic jihat in public, but if they do not, it is better not to confront them	41.4	37.9	42.1
Women should observe the Islamic Hijab in public, and that women who do not should be confronted	39.3	42.0	34.0
Depends/Other [vol.]	3.1	1.7	2.6
DK/NA [vol.]	1.7	1.1	.6

**[List Experiment]**

Q25. Now I will read to you some statements that some people believe and others do not. After I finish reading all of them, please tell me, how many of them do you believe? Please just tell me how many of them you believe, and not which ones.

**Q25a. [Sample A]**

[Randomize order]

- A- President Pezeshkian<sup>5</sup> 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

**Q25b. [Sample B]**

[Randomize order]

- A- President Pezeshkian<sup>6</sup> 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

	<b>Sept. 2021</b>	<b>Mar. 2023</b>	<b>Mar. 2024</b>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Mean Sample A	2.0020	1.7276	1.8074	1.8547
Mean Sample B	2.1580	1.9470	1.9794	2.0143
Percent who believe: "Iran's constitution and system of government will significantly change in less than 10 years"	15.6%	21.9%	17.2%	16.0%

Q26. 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:

	<b>Aug. 2019<sup>7</sup></b>	<b>Feb. 2021</b>	<b>Mar. 2024</b>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
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
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
Depend/other [vol.]	2.6	.7	.6	6.6
DK/NA [vol.]	1.9	3.4	3.8	2.4

<sup>5</sup> Before Oct. 2024, this item said "President Raisi."

<sup>6</sup> Before Oct. 2024, this item said "President Raisi."

<sup>7</sup> 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:"

Q27. 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?

	<b>Mar. 2023</b>	<b>Mar. 2024</b>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Afraid about it	23.5	22.8	20.8
Comfortable about it	34.0	33.4	36.2
Somewhere in between	39.5	40.4	41.4
Other [vol.]	.4	.8	.3
DK/NA [vol.]	2.6	2.7	1.3

Q28. As you may know, the United States will hold a presidential election in less than a year. How closely, if at all, are you following the news regarding that election?

	<b>Mar. 2024</b>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Very closely	8.4	9.8
Somewhat closely	34.0	40.0
Not very closely	17.4	15.6
Not closely at all	40.0	34.6
DK/NA[vol.]	.2	--

Q29. In that election, Americans will be choosing between the current vice-president Kamala Harris<sup>8</sup> and the past president Donald Trump. Who do you think is more likely to win?

	<b>Mar. 2024</b>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
1. Kamala Harris	20.6	41.4
2. Donald Trump	58.0	45.1
97. Other/Depends [vol.]	2.5	.9
98. DK/NA [Vol.]	18.9	12.6

---

<sup>8</sup> In March 2024, this question asked about Joe Biden and Donald Trump.

Q30. How do you think Kamala Harris's policies toward Iran will be if she becomes the next US President on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means completely hostile, 5 means neither hostile nor friendly, and 10 means completely friendly?

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
0) Completely hostile	24.3
1	6.6
2	7.7
3	6.6
4	5.7
5) Neither hostile nor friendly	24.7
6	5.1
7	5.0
8	3.5
9	.4
10) Completely friendly	4.7
98) DK/NA[vol.]	5.4
Mean	3.53
Median	4.00

Q31. How do you think Donald Trump's policies toward Iran will be if he becomes the next US President on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means completely hostile, 5 means neither hostile nor friendly, and 10 means completely friendly?

	<b>Dec. 2016<sup>9</sup></b>	<b>Jan. 2018</b>	<b>Feb. 2021<sup>10</sup></b>	<b>Mar. 2024</b>	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
0) Completely hostile	49.6	69.2	70.4	62.4	64.1
1	5.8	4.5	3.1	7.3	7.3
2	4.8	5.7	4.1	4.3	5.5
3	4.4	3.5	5.4	5.5	5.4
4	3.8	1.9	3.7	3.8	1.5
5) Neither hostile nor friendly	15.5	11.3	9.3	10.0	11.1
6	.8	.6	.8	1.3	.6
7	1.0	.3	.3	1.6	.7
8	.4	.3	.7	1.0	.7
9	.1	.1	.4	.1	0
10) Completely friendly	.7	.5	.8	.4	.9
98) DK/NA[vol.]	13.1	2.2	1.1	2.4	2.2
Mean	1.66	1.05	1.13	1.32	1.22
Median	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000

<sup>9</sup> In Dec. 2016 it was asked: "How do you think Donald Trump's policies toward Iran will be?"

<sup>10</sup> In Jan 2018 and Feb. 2021 it was asked: "How would you rate American President Donald Trump's policies toward Iran?"

Q32. One way to end the stalemate that happened between Iran and the United States after the United States pulled out of the JCPOA and Iran stopped implementing some elements of the JCPOA would be for both sides to take smaller steps to build confidence in each other. For example, Iran would resume allowing the IAEA fuller access to confirm that Iran's nuclear program is purely peaceful, / while / The United States and Europe would let Iran recover its frozen money held in foreign countries. [ARO these phrases.] Would you approve or disapprove of this exchange?

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Approve strongly	18.3
Approve somewhat	25.6
Disapprove somewhat	27.9
Disapprove strongly	24.2
DK/NA [vol.]	4.0

Q33. Would you approve or disapprove of a new agreement between Iran and the United States, in which Iran would accept limitations and greater transparency in its nuclear program, and in return would gain the ability to sell its oil abroad with full access to the proceeds?

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Approve strongly	31.7
Approve somewhat	29.0
Disapprove somewhat	21.1
Disapprove strongly	16.4
DK/NA [vol.]	1.9

Q34. How likely do you think it is that Iran and the United States could reach such a new agreement over the next few years?

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Very likely	5.2
Somewhat likely	38.3
Somewhat unlikely	28.6
Very unlikely	26.3
DK/NA [vol.]	1.6

Q35. If such a new agreement did come about, how likely is it that the US would fulfil its side of the agreement?

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Very likely	4.8
Somewhat likely	28.9
Somewhat unlikely	36.1
Very unlikely	28.6
DK/NA [vol.]	1.6

Q36. Regarding Iran's nuclear program, please tell me which of the following courses of action you prefer for Iran:

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

Q37. 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?

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
The United States makes the important decisions and Israel mostly follows them even if it disagrees	22.8
While the United States and Israel make the important decisions together, the United States mostly has the final say	39.1
While the United States and Israel make the important decisions together, Israel mostly has the final say	6.7
Israel makes the important decisions and the United States mostly supports them even if it disagrees	27.1
Depends/Other [vol.]	.8
DK/NA [vol.]	3.5

Q38. As you may know, Iran and Hamas generally function as allies. Which of the following statements do you think best describes their relationship as it related to the War in Gaza?

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Iran makes the important decisions and Hamas mostly follows them even if it disagrees	12.4
While Iran and Hamas make the important decisions together, Iran mostly has the final say	22.8
While the Iran and Hamas make the important decisions together, Hamas mostly has the final say	17.4
Hamas makes the important decisions and Iran mostly supports them even if it disagrees	32.5
Depends/Other [vol.]	7.0
DK/NA [vol.]	7.8



## Demographics:

### D1. Sex:

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Male	47.9
Female	52.1
DK/NA [vol.]	--

### D2. What is your year of birth?

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Under 25	12.5
25 - 34	21.1
35 - 44	23.9
45 - 54	17.3
55+	25.2
DK/NA [vol.]	--

### D3. What is your level of education?

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Less than secondary degree	30.3
Secondary degree	33.0
Higher than secondary degree	36.7

### D4. Settlement Size (population):

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Over 1 million (urban)	26.9
500 thousand to 1 million (urban)	8.5
100 to 500 thousand (urban)	18.0
Under 100 thousand (urban)	22.0
Rural	24.6

## D5. Province

	<b>Oct. 2024</b>
Alborz	3.4
Ardabil	1.6
Bushehr	1.5
Chaharmahal Bakhtiari	1.1
East Azerbaijan	4.8
Esfahan	6.5
Fars	6.2
Golestan	2.5
Guilan	3.4
Hamadan	2.3
Hormozgan	2.5
Ilam	.7
Kerman	4.0
Kermanshah	2.8
Khorasan Razavi	8.6
Khuzestan	5.2
Kohgilouye and Boyer Ahmad	.7
Kordestan	2.0
Lorestan	2.4
Markazi	2.0
Mazandaran	4.1
North Khorasan	1.1
Qazvin	1.6
Qom	1.6
Semnan	.9
Sistan and Baluchistan	2.6
South Khorasan	1.1
Tehran	16.4
West Azerbaijan	4.1
Yazd	1.5
Zanjan	1.2