

Embargoed Until 10 am, March 31, 2016.

Iranian Attitudes Before & After Parliamentary Elections

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

Questionnaire

Pre-Election Survey:

Date: Feb 15 – 24, 2016

Sample Size: 1016

Margin of Error: +/- 3.2%

National Probability Sample

Post-Election Survey

Date: March 5 – 13, 2016

Sample Size: 1005

Margin of Error: +/- 3.2%

National Probability Sample

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

	July 2014	May 2015	January 2016	February 2016	March 2016
Very good	8%	11.1%	8.4%	7.9%	5.3%
Somewhat good	45	43.2	40.9	41.1	40.3
Somewhat bad	24	22.5	24.2	25.2	26.3
Very bad	20	21.2	24.4	23.5	25.7
DK/NA [vol.]	2	2.0	2.1	2.3	2.5

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

	Gallup – Nov. 2014	May 2015	August 2015	January 2016	March 2016
Getting better	40%	49.3%	57.4%	47.4%	52.4%
Getting worse	41	37.1	28.5	41.0	33.3
Staying the same [vol.]	8	9.7	8.7	6.1	8.3
DK/NA [vol.]	11	4.0	5.4	5.4	6.0

Q3- Now assume that our country could only adopt one of these policies. In your opinion is it better for Iran to:

	July 2014	February 2016	March 2016
Strive to achieve economic self-sufficiency	53%	57.3%	58.4%
Strive to increase its trade with other countries	43	39.1	36.4
DK/NA [vol.]	4	3.6	5.2

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Q4- In your opinion is it better for Iran to increase its economic engagement with the western countries, decrease it, or maintain it at the current level?

	March 2016
Increase it	64.3%
Decrease it	6.9
Maintain it at the current level	21.5
Other/Depends [vol.]	2.2
DK/NA [vol.]	5.2

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

	March 2016
Increase it	66.8%
Decrease it	7.4
Maintain it at the current level	19.3
Other/Depends [vol.]	1.1
DK/NA [vol.]	5.5

Q6- In your opinion should Iran increase its support of groups fighting ISIS, decrease it, or maintain it at the current level?

	March 2016
Increase it	62.8%
Decrease it	13.1
Maintain it at the current level	19.5
Other/Depends [vol.]	.5
DK/NA [vol.]	4.1

Q7- In your opinion should Iran increase its support for the government of Bashar Assad in Syria, decrease it, or maintain it at the current level?

	March 2016
Increase it	51.3%
Decrease it	13.6
Maintain it at the current level	23.5
Other/Depends [vol.]	1.3
DK/NA [vol.]	10.2

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Q8- In your opinion, to what degree should our country's policymakers take religious teachings into account when they make decisions?

	July 2014	May 2015	January 2016	February 2016	March 2016
A lot	44%	45.2%	44.0%	45.1%	42.5%
Somewhat	36	29.5	32.2	33.0	33.9
Not much	14	15.5	16.3	14.5	14.5
Not at all	5	6.9	5.4	4.9	5.6
DK/NA [vol.]	2	2.9	2.1	2.6	3.5

Q9- Do you think people in Iran have too much, too little, or just about the right amount of freedom?

	January 2016	March 2016
Too much	14.1%	15.9%
Too little	12.9	12.1
About right	69.0	68.3
DK/NA [vol.]	4.0	3.7

Q10- 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:

	February 2016	March 2016
Most government officials care what people like me think	37.7%	40.1%
Most government officials DO NOT care what people like me think	49.1	47.9
Neither/Both equally [vol]	5.2	5.4
DK/NA [vol.]	8.0	6.7

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Q11- If you had to name a current or past Iranian official who you think most cares about what people like you think, who would you name? [Open]

	March 2016
Ayatollah Khamenei	20.1%
Rouhani	12.2
Ahmadinejad	11.9
Khatami	8.1
Rafsanjani	7.6
Ayatollah Khomeini	4.4
Zarif	3.5
Rajayi	1.0
Other	6.2
No one	3.5
DK/NA [vol]	21.6

Q12- As you may know Iran and the P5+1 countries reached a comprehensive agreement in regard to Iran's nuclear program in July 2015, which is also known as JCPOA. In general and based on what you know about JCPOA, to what degree do you approve or disapprove of this agreement? Do you:

	August 2015	January 2016	February 2016	March 2016
Strongly approve	42.7%	30.4%	28.3%	26.5%
Somewhat approve	32.8	41.4	45.5	45.0
Somewhat disapprove	13.9	13.2	12.5	13.3
Strongly disapprove	6.7	8.3	5.3	8.0
DK/NA [vol.]	3.9	6.6	8.4	7.3

Q13- How confident are you that the United States will live up to its obligations toward the nuclear agreement? Are you:

	Gallup Sept. 2015	January 2016	March 2016
Very confident	5%	4.1%	3.2%
Somewhat confident	40	29.8	25.9
Not very confident	18	28.1	29.5
Not confident at all	23	33.9	36.5
DK/NA [vol.]	14	4.2	5.0

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Q14- Now that nuclear sanctions on Iran have been lifted, which of the following are you most eager to see happen:

	March 2016
Iran using its unfrozen funds to create jobs	53.7%
Iranian companies selling their products abroad	15.7
More foreign companies investing in Iran	15.1
Iran being able to import specialized products like airplane parts and industrial machinery	8.8
Iranian people gaining a greater access to Western consumer products	2.5
DK/NA [vol.]	4.2

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about the [upcoming / recent] Majlis elections:

Q15- Did you vote in the recent Majlis elections?

	March 2016
Yes	67.7%
No [Skip 16-20]	32.0
DK/NA [Skip 16-20]	.3

Feb-Q6 - As you may know, in February 2016 there will be a Majlis election. How likely is it that you will vote in that election?

	January 2016	February 2016
Very likely	66.9%	68.0%
Somewhat likely	20.3	18.6
Not very likely	4.7	4.6
Not likely at all	7.1	7.7
DK/NA [vol.]	1.0	1.1

Feb- Q7- To what degree do you follow the news regarding the upcoming Majlis election and its candidates? Do you follow them:

	February 2016
A lot	30.7%
Somewhat	42.2
A little	11.8
Not at all	14.6
DK/NA [vol.]	.7

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Q17- In general, did [the candidate / most of the candidates] you voted for identify [him/her/themselves] as:

	March 2016
Supporters of President Rouhani	63.4% ¹
Critics of President Rouhani	22.4
Other/depends/neither/Mixed [vol]	6.8
DK/NA [vol.]	7.5

Feb-Q12- Would you prefer most of the Majlis to be composed of the:

	May 2015	August 2015	January 2016	February 2016
Supporters of President Rouhani	49.8%	60.1%	58.9%	61.4%
Critics of President Rouhani	24.4	21.9	24.6	27.2
Other/depends/neither [vol]	7.7	6.8	7.7	5.4
DK/NA [vol.]	18.1	11.2	8.8	6.0

Q18 - To which of the following prominent individuals would you say [the candidate / most of the candidates] you voted for [is/are] closest?

	March 2016
Saeed Jalili	4.3% ²
Gholam Ali Haddad Adel	12.8
Ali Larijani	9.4
Hasan Rouhani	38.7
Seyyed Mohammad Khatami	15.7
Mixed [vol]	1.0
None [vol]	5.1
DK/NA [vol.]	12.9

Feb-Q15- Thinking about the candidates you would like to win most of the seats in the upcoming Majlis election, to which of the following prominent individuals would you say your preferred candidates are closest and most similar:

	February 2016
Saeed Jalili	4.2%
Gholam Ali Haddad Adel	13.1
Ali Larijani	8.0
Hasan Rouhani	44.6
Seyyed Mohammad Khatami	17.0
DK/NA [vol.]	13.1

¹ % of those who voted.

² % of those who voted.

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Q19- As far as you know, to which of the following political groups do[es] [the candidate / most of the candidates] you voted for belong?

	March 2016
The Principlists	24.0% ³
The Reformists	21.5
The supporters of Rouhani, aka Moderates [Ask 20]	23.8
Independent	13.2
Mixed [vol]	1.0
Other/None [vol] [Ask 20]	2.1
DK/NA [vol.] [Ask 20]	14.4

Q20- Did [he/she/most of them] lean more toward the Principlists, the Reformist, or the Independents?

	March 2016
The Principlists	27.0% ⁴
The Reformists	28.5
Independents	26.6
Mix [vol]	1.5
Other/None [vol]	4.0
DK/NA [vol.]	12.4

Q19 & 20 combined- Do[es] [the candidate / most of the candidates] you voted lean more toward the Principlists, the Reformist, or the Independents?

	March 2016
The Principlists	34.7 ⁵
The Reformists	32.8
Independents	23.9
Mix	1.6
Other/None	1.6
DK/NA	5.4

Feb-Q26- All in all, which candidates **do you prefer** to win most of the seats in the upcoming Majlis election? Ones that are close to:

	February 2016
The Principlists	17.9%
The Reformists	20.1
The supporters of Rouhani, aka Moderates	40.1
The steadfast Front	5.7
Other/None [vol]	1.9
DK/NA [vol.]	14.4

³ % of those who voted.

⁴ % of those who answered Q20.

⁵ % of those who voted.

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Feb-Q16- Now I will read to you the names of different political groups in our country. As I read the name of each, please say how likely it is that you would vote for candidates who are close to each? First, “the Principlists.” How likely is it that you would vote for candidates who are close to the Principlists?

	February 2016
Very likely	19.2%
Somewhat likely	38.2
Not very likely	7.6
Not likely at all	13.8
Don't recognize [vol]	9.1
DK/NA [vol]	12.2

Feb-Q17- How about candidates who are close to the Reformists?

	February 2016
Very likely	20.7%
Somewhat likely	36.3
Not very likely	8.0
Not likely at all	12.0
Don't recognize [vol]	10.2
DK/NA [vol]	12.8

Feb-Q18- How about candidates who are close to the supporters of Rouhani, aka Moderates?

	February 2016
Very likely	32.8%
Somewhat likely	37.5
Not very likely	5.1
Not likely at all	8.1
Don't recognize [vol]	6.8
DK/NA [vol]	9.7

Feb-Q19- How about candidates who are close to the Steadfast Front?

	February 2016
Very likely	13.5%
Somewhat likely	24.1
Not very likely	10.3
Not likely at all	14.5
Don't recognize [vol]	22.6
DK/NA [vol]	14.9

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Feb-Q20- Now I will read to you some of the measures the next Majlis could pursue. As I read each measure, please indicate candidates who are close to which of these political groups can better pursue that measure. First, “reducing unemployment.” In your opinion, candidates who are close to which of the following political groups can better pursue reduction of unemployment in the country?

	February 2016
The Principlists	13.9%
The Reformists	18.0
The supporters of Rouhani, aka the Moderates	36.5
The steadfast Front	6.0
Other/None [vol]	3.8
DK/NA [vol]	21.8

Feb-Q21- How about attending to the problems of the poor?

	February 2016
The Principlists	16.5%
The Reformists	17.7
The supporters of Rouhani, aka the Moderates	34.3
The steadfast Front	5.2
Other/None [vol]	4.4
DK/NA [vol]	21.9

Feb-Q22- How about increasing civil liberties?

	February 2016
The Principlists	15.1%
The Reformists	21.6
The supporters of Rouhani, aka the Moderates	25.4
The steadfast Front	7.3
Other/None [vol]	2.4
DK/NA [vol]	28.3

Feb-Q23- How about improving Iran’s relations with other countries?

	February 2016
The Principlists	13.2%
The Reformists	24.4
The supporters of Rouhani, aka the Moderates	40.7
The steadfast Front	4.7
Other/None [vol]	1.8
DK/NA [vol]	15.2

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Feb-Q24- How about improving Iran's security?

	February 2016
The Principlists	27.6%
The Reformists	14.0
The supporters of Rouhani, aka the Moderates	34.3
The steadfast Front	8.8
Other/None [vol]	1.9
DK/NA [vol]	13.6

Feb-Q25- How about improving Iran's scientific standing?

	February 2016
The Principlists	18.1%
The Reformists	18.4
The supporters of Rouhani, aka the Moderates	29.1
The steadfast Front	7.0
Other/None [vol]	2.3
DK/NA [vol]	25.1

Q21- In general, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the Guardian Council's performance in vetting the qualifications of the candidates for the recent Majlis election? Are you:

	February 2016	March 2016
Very satisfied	32.8%	34.7%
Somewhat satisfied	39.0	38.7
Somewhat dissatisfied	14.1	10.2
Very Dissatisfied	5.9	6.3
DK/NA [vol]	8.3	10.0

Feb-Q10- As you may know, the Guardian Council ultimately did not endorse the qualifications of some of the individuals who had registered to become a candidate in the upcoming Majlis election and these individuals were not permitted to run. Can you name an individual from amongst these individuals who you wanted to vote for had his/her qualifications been endorsed?

	February 2016
Yes	13.8%
No	79.8
DK/NA [vol]	6.4

Q22- In general, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the final makeup of candidates for whom you could vote?

	February 2016	March 2016
Very satisfied	28.9%	31.1%
Somewhat satisfied	44.1	48.3
Somewhat dissatisfied	9.2	9.0
Very Dissatisfied	5.8	4.4
DK/NA [vol]	12.0	7.3

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Q23- In general, how free and fair do you think this Majlis election [will be/was]? Do you think it [will be/was]:

	January 2016	February 2016	March 2016
Very free and fair	40.6%	38.2%	43.7%
Somewhat free and fair	39.6	41.1	39.0
Not very free and fair	10.2	9.5	7.1
Not free and fair at all	3.5	5.0	4.3
DK/NA	6.1	6.1	6.0

Q24- As far as you know, the candidates associated with which of the following political groups won the most seats in the Majlis election?

	March 2016
The Principlists	25.4%
The Reformists	24.7
The supporters of Rouhani, aka Moderates	26.4
Independent	9.3
Other/None [vol]	1.5
DK/NA [vol.]	12.8

Feb-Q27- In the upcoming Majlis election, candidates close to which of the following political groups **do you predict will** win most of the seats?

	February 2016
The Principlists	19.5%
The Reformists	17.5
The supporters of Rouhani, aka Moderates	41.5
The steadfast Front	4.5
Other/None [vol]	.7
DK/NA [vol.]	16.2

Q25- In general, how confident are you that the next Majlis will help Iran move in the right direction? Are you:

	March 2016
Very confident	25.0%
Somewhat confident	49.7
Not very confident	15.0
Not confident at all	5.1
DK/NA [vol]	5.3

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[This is an open-ended question]

Feb-Q13- In your opinion, what is the most important challenge or issue that our country faces that the next Majlis should try to address?

	January 2016	February 2016
Youth unemployment	13.2%	15.5%
Unemployment in general	26.0	38.8
Inflation and high costs	3.9	6.2
Economic sanctions	4.4	1.1
Recession and low economic productivity	1.3	1.7
Economic problems of families	11.5	8.8
Other economic problems	10.7	9.5
Problems related to the agriculture sector	.4	1.0
Environmental problems	.2	.2
Nonobservance of religious teachings	2.2	.9
Lack of political and civil liberties	.6	1.3
Disunity and partisanship	1.1	1.1
Security problems	2.8	3.0
Iran's credibility in the region and the world	.7	.3
Problems relating to Iran's foreign policy and relations	4.6	2.3
Financial and bureaucratic corruption	-	.5
Other	3.9	2.7
DK/NA	12.6	5.4

Q26- Now I will read to you some of the measures the next Majlis could pursue. Out of these measures, which one do you think the next Majlis should focus on the most?

	February 2016	March 2016
Reducing unemployment	52.5%	51.3%
Attending to the problems of the poor	18.1	22.1
Increasing civil liberties	2.4	2.9
Improving Iran's relations with other countries	8.5	6.8
Improving Iran's security	11.0	11.1
Improving Iran's scientific standing	5.3	3.8
Other/None [vol]	.4	.4
DK/NA [vol.]	1.9	1.6

Q27- In general, how successful or unsuccessful do you think the next Majlis will be in reducing unemployment?

	March 2016
Very successful	27.9%
Somewhat successful	42.8
Somewhat unsuccessful	13.1
Very unsuccessful	9.7
DK/NA [vol.]	6.6

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Q28 – How about in improving Iran’s relations with other countries?

	March 2016
Very successful	34.9
Somewhat successful	50.1
Somewhat unsuccessful	5.9
Very unsuccessful	1.4
DK/NA [vol.]	7.7

Q29- How about in increasing civil liberties?

	March 2016
Very successful	28.1%
Somewhat successful	43.6
Somewhat unsuccessful	9.3
Very unsuccessful	3.9
DK/NA [vol.]	15.2

Q30- How about in improving Iran’s security?

	March 2016
Very successful	54.3%
Somewhat successful	34.8
Somewhat unsuccessful	3.9
Very unsuccessful	2.1
DK/NA [vol.]	4.9

Q- 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?

Q31- Hassan Rouhani

	July 2014	August 2015	January 2016	March 2016
Very favorable	51%	61.2%	42.1%	40.4%
Somewhat favorable	34	27.9	40.0	43.3
Somewhat unfavorable	7	4.7	6.8	6.4
Very unfavorable	6	4.3	8.4	6.7
Don’t recognize the name [vol]	0	.3	.7	.1
DK/NA [vol.]	2	1.6	2.0	3.2

Q32- Ali Larijani

	January 2016	March 2016
Very favorable	19.1%	19.9%
Somewhat favorable	43.0	42.9
Somewhat unfavorable	14.5	14.2
Very unfavorable	14.3	12.6
Don’t recognize the name [vol]	5.1	4.8
DK/NA [vol.]	4.0	5.6

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Q33- Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani

	January 2016	March 2016
Very favorable	19.0%	26.2%
Somewhat favorable	38.7	42.9
Somewhat unfavorable	17.3	11.9
Very unfavorable	19.3	13.7
Don't recognize the name [vol]	1.6	.3
DK/NA [vol.]	4.2	5.0

Q34- Gholam Ali Haddad Adel

	January 2016	March 2016
Very favorable	18.7%	21.1%
Somewhat favorable	45.9	40.7
Somewhat unfavorable	12.9	12.9
Very unfavorable	13.0	13.0
Don't recognize the name [vol]	6.2	6.9
DK/NA [vol.]	3.2	5.4

Q35- Mohammad Reza Aref

	January 2016	March 2016
Very favorable	10.6%	14.5%
Somewhat favorable	30.6	33.9
Somewhat unfavorable	13.1	10.1
Very unfavorable	7.7	8.7
Don't recognize the name [vol]	34.3	28.1
DK/NA [vol.]	3.7	4.7

Q36- Ali Motahari

	March 2016
Very favorable	20.9%
Somewhat favorable	34.2
Somewhat unfavorable	8.4
Very unfavorable	7.7
Don't recognize the name [vol]	23.6
DK/NA [vol.]	5.3

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Now I would like to ask you a few questions regarding the conflict in Syria and Iraq:

Q37- As you may know, ISIS has brought under its control large sections of Iraq's territory. Iran and the United States have both declared that they will support the government of Iraq in order to preserve Iraq's territorial integrity and counter ISIS. To what degree would you approve or disapprove Iran and the United States collaborating with one another to help the government of Iraq and counter ISIS?

	July 2014	August 2015	January 2016	March 2016
Strongly approve	20%	24.4%	22.3%	23.0%
Somewhat approve	28	34.9	28.4	23.7
Somewhat disapprove	19	11.8	13.0	16.4
Strongly disapprove	27	25.7	30.3	32.6
DK/NA [vol.]	6	3.2	5.9	4.3

Q38- Do you mostly approve or mostly disapprove of Iran participating in international negotiations over the future of Syria?

	January 2016	March 2016
Mostly Approve	80.4%	81.7%
Mostly Disapprove	13.3	13.9
DK/NA [vol.]	6.2	4.4

Q39- Do you mostly approve or mostly disapprove of Iran collaborating with other countries to end the conflict in Syria?

	March 2016
Mostly Approve	86.5%
Mostly Disapprove	9.3
DK/NA [vol]	4.3

Q40- Do you follow the news programs of BBC Farsi or VOA?

	Sept. 2009	August 2015	January 2016	February 2016	March 2016
Yes	20%	28.0%	26.1%	28.1%	29.5%
No	80	68.9	73.1	70.1	69.9
DK/NA [vol.]	--	3.1	.8	1.8	.7