

Iranian Attitudes on Iranian-U.S. Relations in the Trump Era

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

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: December 10 - 24, 2016

Sample Size: 1000

Margin of Error: +/- 3.2 %

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

	July 2014	May 2015	Jan. 2016	Feb. 2016	March 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very good	8%	11.1%	8.4%	7.9%	5.3%	3.8%	3.3%
Somewhat good	45	43.2	40.9	41.1	40.3	35.7	31.7
Somewhat bad	24	22.5	24.2	25.2	26.3	29.4	30.3
Very bad	20	21.2	24.4	23.5	25.7	29.2	33.2
DK/NA [vol.]	2	2.0	2.1	2.3	2.5	2.0	1.5

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

	Nov. 2014	May 2015	August 2015	Jan. 2016	March 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Getting better	40%	49.3%	57.4%	47.4%	52.4%	42.2%	41.5%
Getting worse	41	37.1	28.5	41.0	33.3	43.4	51.3
Staying the same [vol.]	8	9.7	8.7	6.1	8.3	9.2	3.5
DK/NA [vol.]	11	4.0	5.4	5.4	6.0	5.2	3.7

Statement: Now I would like to ask you some questions about Iran's nuclear program.

Q3- In your opinion, how important is it for our country to develop its nuclear program? Is it:

	Dec. 2009	Oct. 2014	August 2015	Jan. 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very important	87%	84%	84.6%	82.2%	80.6%	80.0%
Somewhat important	5	7	8.6	10.6	9.5	12.6
Not very important	1	3	2.8	3.0	4.2	2.5
Not important at all	2	2	1.8	2.4	2.3	1.7
DK/NA/Other[vol.]	5	4	2.2	1.9	3.4	3.2

Q4- 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:

	August 2015	Jan. 2016	Feb. 2016	March 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Strongly approve	42.7%	30.4%	28.3%	26.5%	22.3%	21.3%
Somewhat approve	32.8	41.4	45.5	45.0	40.3	34.1
Somewhat disapprove	13.9	13.2	12.5	13.3	16.5	20.4
Strongly disapprove	6.7	8.3	5.3	8.0	8.0	13.2
DK/NA [vol.]	3.9	6.6	8.4	7.3	12.8	11.0

Q5- As a result of the JCPOA, at this point would you say people’s living conditions have or have not improved? [If improved ask: a lot, somewhat, or only a little]

	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Improved a lot	1.5%	1.5%
Improved somewhat	9.9	10.5
Improved only a little	13.2	10.1
Have not improved	73.7	72.6
DK/NA [vol.]	1.7	5.3

Q7 - How about Iran’s relations with the United States? As a result of the nuclear agreement, in general do you think that Iran’s relations with the United States have or have not improved? [If improved ask: a lot, somewhat, or a little]

	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Improved a lot	2.3%	1.9%
Improved somewhat	17.2	16.1
Improved a little	9.3	9.7
Have not improved	55.7	56.6
Have worsened [vol.]	10.2	9.5
DK/NA [vol.]	5.3	6.2

Q8 - In your opinion, which of the following sentences that I will be reading best describes what has happened with the economic benefits of the JCPOA:

	Dec. 2016
Iran has received most of the promised benefits and they are making life better for average Iranians.	6.3%
Iran has received most of the promised benefits but they are making life better only for Iranians with special connections.	21.1
Iran has received most of the promised benefits but they are mostly being used to pay for the costs of Iran's military and foreign allies.	14.9
Iran has not received most of the promised benefits	50.8
None of the above / Other [Vol.]	.5
DK/NA [Vol.]	6.4

Q9- As you may know, Iran plans to purchase tens of passenger airplanes from the United States and the United States has recently announced that it will not prevent Iran from making the purchase. To what degree do you think the purchase of passenger airplanes from the United States will help Iran's economy?

	Dec. 2016
A lot	12.3%
Somewhat	30.0
Only a little	25.5
Not at all	23.6
DK/NA [vol.]	8.6

Q10- How optimistic are you that as a result of the JCPOA people's living conditions will improve going forward? Are you:

	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very optimistic	18.1%	16.6%
Somewhat optimistic	47.9	39.9
Not very optimistic	21.5	24.8
Not optimistic at all	11.4	15.5
DK/NA [vol.]	1.1	3.2

Q11- How confident are you that the United States will live up to its obligations toward the nuclear agreement? Are you:

	Sept. 2015	Jan. 2016	March 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very confident	5%	4.1%	3.2%	3.2%	2.0%
Somewhat confident	40	29.8	25.9	22.7	17.0
Not very confident	18	28.1	29.5	30.3	33.3
Not confident at all	23	33.9	36.5	41.5	44.2
DK/NA [vol.]	14	4.2	5.0	2.3	3.5

Q12- How confident are you that other P5+1 countries will live up to their obligations toward the nuclear agreement? Are you:

	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very confident	5.8%	3.2%
Somewhat confident	55.0	48.2
Not very confident	21.4	27.2
Not confident at all	13.5	16.0
DK/NA [vol.]	4.4	5.4

Q13- Which view is closest to yours in regard to the sanctions on Iran that the United States agreed to lift as part of the JCPOA?

	June 2016	Dec. 2016
The US has lifted the sanctions it agreed to lift in the JCPOA and it is refraining from doing anything that would keep the negative effects of those sanctions	3.8%	2.7%
The US has lifted the sanctions it agreed to lift in the JCPOA, but it is finding other ways to keep the negative effects of those sanctions	66.1	51.7
The US has not lifted all of the sanctions it agreed to lift in the JCPOA.	24.5	38.9
DK/NA [vol.]	5.6	6.7

Q14- As you may also know, according to the JCPOA the P5+1 countries have agreed to refrain from any policy that would prevent other countries from normalizing their trade and economic relations with Iran. As far as you know, in general is the United States allowing other countries to normalize their trade and economic relations with Iran or is the United States trying to prevent such relations?

	June 2016	Dec. 2016
The United States is allowing other countries to normalize their trade and economic relations with Iran	19.2%	11.3%
The United States is trying to prevent such relations	74.7	82.2
DK/NA [vol.]	6.2	6.5

Q-Now I am going to read to you names of some countries and organizations. For the countries and organizations that I am going to read to you, please indicate to what degree you have a favorable or an unfavorable view of each?

Q16- China

	July 2014	May 2015	August 2015	Jan. 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very favorable	13%	9.4%	14.2%	8.4%	10.1%	10.4%
Somewhat favorable	38	38.9	38.9	45.8	48.1	45.2
Somewhat unfavorable	21	16.7	18.9	17.8	16.3	17.4
Very unfavorable	25	31.0	21.8	22.8	23.1	22.6
DK/NA [vol.]	3	3.9	6.2	5.1	2.4	4.4

Q17- Russia

	July 2014	May 2015	August 2015	Jan. 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very favorable	14%	10.3%	13.3%	15.3%	14.2%	16.8%
Somewhat favorable	37	33.0	38.8	42.0	39.7	38.8
Somewhat unfavorable	21	21.1	17.2	15.7	17.4	16.5
Very unfavorable	26	32.2	26.6	23.1	25.5	23.3
DK/NA [vol.]	3	3.4	4.1	3.9	3.2	4.6

Q18- Germany

	July 2014	May 2015	August 2015	Jan. 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very favorable	13%	13.6%	17.0%	17.6%	18.3%	18.8%
Somewhat favorable	31	34.6	36.4	36.6	38.9	33.2
Somewhat unfavorable	25	21.1	17.0	18.7	17.6	17.6
Very unfavorable	28	27.1	22.6	20.8	22.2	24.5
DK/NA [vol.]	3	3.7	7.0	6.3	3.0	5.9

Q19- France

	July 2014	May 2015	August 2015	Jan. 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very favorable	7%	10.1%	13.4%	10.5%	11.4%	10.8%
Somewhat favorable	30	30.9	31.8	33.2	33.3	30.6
Somewhat unfavorable	26	20.4	19.6	21.5	21.0	22.9
Very unfavorable	33	35.0	29.4	29.0	31.2	30.7
DK/NA [vol.]	4	3.6	5.8	5.8	3.2	5.0

Q20- United Kingdom

	July 2014	May 2015	August 2015	Jan. 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very favorable	6%	5.6%	7.1%	5.2%	6.2%	6.2%
Somewhat favorable	18	22.6	22.5	20.7	19.7	16.9
Somewhat unfavorable	22	15.9	18.1	18.7	20.5	21.2
Very unfavorable	52	53.0	47.0	51.6	51.1	51.4
DK/NA [vol.]	3	2.9	5.3	3.9	2.6	4.3

Q21- The United States

	July 2014	May 2015	August 2015	Jan. 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very favorable	9%	7.9%	8.6%	7.8%	5.5%	4.7%
Somewhat favorable	19	20.4	22.6	20.5	21.1	18.0
Somewhat unfavorable	13	16.9	14.3	16.5	14.2	15.8
Very unfavorable	58	53.2	52.3	54.2	58.7	59.8
DK/NA [vol.]	2	1.5	2.2	1.0	.6	1.7

Q22- The United Nations

	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very favorable	12.1%	10.4%
Somewhat favorable	35.0	35.0
Somewhat unfavorable	19.4	19.7
Very unfavorable	28.3	27.1
DK/NA [vol.]	5.3	7.8

Q23- Which position is closer to yours:

- 1) Islamic and Western religious and social traditions are incompatible with each other and conflict between the two is inevitable; or
- 2) Most people in the West and the Islamic world have similar needs and wants, so it is possible to find common ground for peaceful coexistence?

	July 2014	May 2015	August 2015	Jan. 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Conflict is inevitable	30%	35.0%	30.1%	29.2%	29.6%	28.5%
Common ground possible	58	54.5	58.9	58.2	58.9	61.0
DK/NA [vol.]	13	10.5	11.0	12.5	11.5	10.5

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about the United States:

Q24- As you may know, the term of the US President Obama is ending soon and the United States recently held a presidential election. How closely, if at all, did you follow the news regarding that election?

	Dec. 2016
Very closely	24.3%
Somewhat closely	49.8
Not very closely	9.2
Not closely at all	15.5
DK/NA[vol.]	1.2

Q25- Do you know who was elected to become the next US president?

[Pre-coded open-ended]

	Dec. 2016
Donald Trump	69.8%
Hillary Clinton	.5
Other	.5
DK/NA[vol.]	29.2

Q26- How would you rate US President Obama'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?

	Dec. 2016
0) Completely hostile	41.5%
1	6.1
2	3.8
3	4.6
4	4.4
5) Neither hostile nor friendly	24.1
6	1.8
7	3.1
8	1.8
9	.9
10) Completely friendly	4.8
98) DK/NA[vol.]	3.1
Mean	2.7719
Median	2.0000

Q27- Now, how do you think Donald Trump’s policies toward Iran will be? To answer, please use a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means completely hostile, 5 means nether hostile nor friendly, and 10 means completely friendly.

	Dec. 2016
0) Completely hostile	49.6%
1	5.8
2	4.8
3	4.4
4	3.8
5) Neither hostile nor friendly	15.5
6	.8
7	1.0
8	.4
9	.1
10) Completely friendly	.7
98) DK/NA [vol.]	13.1
Mean	1.6594
Median	.0000

Q28- How likely do you think it is that the United States under the presidency of Donald Trump will take measures against Iran that are at odds with the JCPOA agreement?

	Dec. 2016
Very likely	36.7%
Somewhat likely	40.7
Not very likely	10.0
Not likely at all	5.6
DK/NA [vol.]	7.0

Q29- How likely do you think it is that the United States under the presidency of Donald Trump will decide to refuse to abide by the JCPOA agreement?

	Dec. 2016
Very likely	29.2%
Somewhat likely	42.1
Not very likely	12.2
Not likely at all	8.5
DK/NA [vol.]	8.0

Q30- There is some discussion about what Iran should do if the United States takes measures against Iran that are in violation of the JCPOA agreement. Which one of these views is closer to yours? If the United States takes measures against Iran that are in violation of the JCPOA agreement:

	Dec. 2016
Iran should retaliate by restarting the aspects of its nuclear program that it has agreed to suspend under the JCPOA	48.4%
Iran should continue to live by the JCPOA agreement and should seek to resolve the issue by taking its complaints to the UN	39.1
None of the above/ other [vol.]	4.2
DK/NA [vol.]	8.3

Q31- As you may know, during the U.S. presidential campaign, Donald Trump said that he would try to renegotiate the JCPOA.. What do you think should be Iran's response if Trump threatens to re-impose U.S. sanctions lifted under the JCPOA unless Iran agrees to increase the duration of the nuclear limits it has accepted under the JCPOA?

	Dec. 2016
Iran should accept Donald Trump's demand	2.7%
Iran should agree to renegotiate the JCPOA but only accept increasing the duration of the nuclear limits it has accepted under the JCPOA as part of a deal that includes the US lifting more sanctions on Iran	30.0
Iran should not agree to increase the duration of the limits it has accepted under the JCPOA under any circumstances	58.9
DK/NA [vol.]	8.4

Q32- What do you think should be Iran's response if Trump threatens to re-impose U.S. sanctions lifted under JCPOA unless Iran agrees to terminate its nuclear enrichment program?

	Dec. 2016
Iran should accept Donald Trump's demand	.7%
Iran should agree to renegotiate the JCPOA but only accept terminating its nuclear enrichment program as part of a deal that includes the US lifting more sanctions on Iran	20.6
Iran should not agree to terminate its nuclear enrichment program under any circumstances	70.3
DK/NA [vol.]	8.4

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about other issues in this region:

Q33- In your opinion should Iran increase its support of groups fighting ISIS, decrease it, or maintain it at the current level?

	March 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Increase it	62.8%	59.8%	56.2%
Decrease it	13.1	8.1	9.7
Maintain it at the current level	19.5	29.7	29.0
Other/Depends [vol.]	.5	.2	.6
DK/NA [vol.]	4.1	2.2	4.5

Q34- As you may know, ISIS has brought under its control large sections of the territory of Iraq and Syria. 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 of Iran and the United States collaborating with one another to help the government of Iraq counter ISIS?

	July 2014	August 2015	Jan. 2016	March 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Strongly approve	20%	24.4%	22.3%	23.0%	22.3%	22.1%
Somewhat approve	28	34.9	28.4	23.7	21.5	21.8
Somewhat disapprove	19	11.8	13.0	16.4	19.5	18.6
Strongly disapprove	27	25.7	30.3	32.6	34.0	32.9
DK/NA [vol.]	6	3.2	5.9	4.3	2.7	4.6

Statement: Finally, I would like to ask you some question about the domestic affairs of our country:

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?

Q35- Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf

	July 2014	Jan. 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very favorable	21%	21.5%	21.6%	21.9%
Somewhat favorable	43	46.0	51.6	50.7
Somewhat unfavorable	12	11.2	12.6	13.3
Very unfavorable	11	8.7	7.1	6.6
Don't recognize the name [vol]	8	9.5	3.6	4.2
DK/NA [vol.]	5	3.1	3.4	3.3

Q36- Mahmoud Ahmadinejad

	July 2014	August 2015	Jan. 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very favorable	34%	27.5%	24.2%	28.0%	27.2%
Somewhat favorable	33	33.5	32.8	37.3	33.6
Somewhat unfavorable	14	13.0	15.0	14.9	13.9
Very unfavorable	16	22.8	23.9	16.1	19.5
Don't recognize the name [vol]	1	.2	.4	.4	.4
DK/NA [vol.]	3	3.0	3.7	3.3	5.4

Q37- General Qasem Soleymani

	Jan. 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very favorable	52.1%	54.1%	56.1%
Somewhat favorable	20.6	21.4	18.2
Somewhat unfavorable	4.7	4.9	4.0
Very unfavorable	5.1	3.8	5.1
Don't recognize the name [vol]	15.1	13.7	13.4
DK/NA [vol.]	2.4	2.1	3.2

Q38- Saeed Jalili

	July 2014	August 2015	Jan. 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very favorable	16%	16.6%	14.1%	12.6%	15.4%
Somewhat favorable	28	26.2	26.9	25.7	26.8
Somewhat unfavorable	17	14.4	12.2	16.3	13.9
Very unfavorable	12	14.8	16.0	13.2	12.7
Don't recognize the name [vol]	23	23.1	27.5	28.1	26.9
DK/NA [vol.]	5	4.9	3.4	4.1	4.3

Q39- Mohammad Javad Zarif

	July 2014	August 2015	Jan. 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very favorable	40%	56.0%	44.5%	41.4%	37.9%
Somewhat favorable	30	33.4	33.0	35.9	32.8
Somewhat unfavorable	8	3.3	9.5	12.0	15.2
Very unfavorable	8	2.1	7.6	6.3	7.9
Don't recognize the name [vol]	11	3.0	3.6	3.0	3.9
DK/NA [vol.]	3	2.2	1.9	1.4	2.3

Q40- Mohammad Reza Aref

	Jan. 2016	March 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very favorable	10.6%	14.5%	12.3%	11.1%
Somewhat favorable	30.6	33.9	38.0	27.6
Somewhat unfavorable	13.1	10.1	12.8	16.4
Very unfavorable	7.7	8.7	7.5	11.6
Don't recognize the name [vol]	34.3	28.1	24.2	27.8
DK/NA [vol.]	3.7	4.7	5.1	5.5

Q41- Hassan Rouhani

	July 2014	August 2015	Jan. 2016	March 2016	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very favorable	51%	61.2%	42.1%	40.4%	37.8%	28.3%
Somewhat favorable	34	27.9	40.0	43.3	44.1	40.4
Somewhat unfavorable	7	4.7	6.8	6.4	8.8	15.6
Very unfavorable	6	4.3	8.4	6.7	7.6	12.7
Don't recognize the name [vol]	0	.3	.7	.1	.2	.4
DK/NA [vol.]	2	1.6	2.0	3.2	1.4	2.6

Q42) What do you think has been President Rouhani's most important accomplishment in office?

[open-ended]

	Dec. 2016
Nuclear negotiations and agreement (JCPOA)	25.1%
Reducing inflation and stabilizing prices	6.6
Improving Iran's foreign relations	3.8
Creating economic calm	2.8
Freeing Iran from sanctions	2.1
Improving health and healthcare	2.1
Improving Iran's economic situation	1.8
Creating hope in the society	1.0
Improving order and security	1.0
Advancing Iran's nuclear program	.7
Preventing corruption/combating smuggling of goods	.4
Other	2.9
Nothing	17.4
DK/NA	32.3

Q43) And in addition to that, is there a second thing you would name as an important accomplishment? [open-ended]

	Dec. 2016¹
Reducing inflation and stabilizing prices	5.4%
Improving Iran's foreign relations	5.2
Nuclear negotiations and agreement (JCPOA)	3.7
Creating economic calm	2.5
Improving health and healthcare	2.1
Improving Iran's economic situation	1.4
Preventing corruption/combating smuggling of goods	1.1
Freeing Iran from sanctions	.8
Creating hope in the society	.8
Improving order and security	.8
Advancing Iran's nuclear program	0.0
Other	3.0
Nothing	5.6
DK/NA	17.9
Could not name an accomplishment in Q42	49.7

¹ Percent of Total

Statement: Now a few questions about the upcoming presidential election, which will be held in May 2017.

Q44- How likely is it that you will vote in that election?

	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Very likely	65.8%	66.6%
Somewhat likely	15.3	15.8
Not very likely	10.6	8.9
Not likely at all	7.1	7.4
DK/NA[vol.]	1.1	1.3

Q45- Now that Mr. Ahmadinejad has indicated that he will not be running in the May 2017 elections, who do you think is the main political rival of Mr. Rouhani in that election?

[Open-ended]

	Dec. 2016
Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf	16.0%
Mohsen Rezayi	3.5
Saeed Jalili	3.1
Ali Larijani	2.4
Mohammad Javad Zarif	1.7
Hashemi Rafsanjani	1.5
Seyyed Mohammad Khatami	1.4
Mohammad Reza Aref	.8
Qasem Soleymani	.5
Ali Akbar Velayati	.4
Haddad Adel	.3
Ahmad Jannati	.2
Ali Nikzad	.1
Ali Shamkhani	.1
Nategh Noori	.1
Parviz Fattah	.1
No One	3.5
DK/NA	64.3

[Q46-Q48 are only asked of likely voters]

Q46- Now assume that it is May 2017, and Mr. Rouhani and Mr. Ghalibaf are both presidential candidates. In that case, which one of these two would you vote for?

	June 2016	Dec. 2016
Mr. Rouhani	53.6%	48.5%
Mr. Ghalibaf	30.1	31.8
Other/depends/neither [vol]	6.6	10.7
DK/NA [vol.]	9.7	9.0

Q47-What if the candidates were Mr. Rouhani and Mr. Jalili? In that case who would you vote for?

	Dec. 2016
Mr. Rouhani	57.3%
Mr. Jalili	21.8
Other/depends/neither [vol]	8.6
DK/NA [vol.]	12.3

Q48- How about if all three--Mr. Rouhani, Mr. Ghalibaf, and Mr. Jalili--were the candidates. In that case who would you vote for?

	Dec. 2016
Mr. Rouhani	47.2%
Mr. Ghalibaf	25.1
Mr. Jalili	11.3
Other/depends/neither [vol]	6.7
DK/NA [vol.]	9.7

Q49) Considering the current changes in the world, including Donald Trump election as the next US President, do you think Iran needs a President who will mostly:

	Dec. 2016
Focus on negotiating and finding common ground with other countries	33.6%
Stand up for Iran's rights and refuse to compromise on Iran's rights	57.1
Neither/Both [vol.]	1.2
DK/NA[vol.]	8.1

Q50- 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]

	Dec. 2016
Unemployment	31.4%
Youth unemployment	12.8
Bad Economic situation of the country	12.6
Inflation and high costs	7.7
JCPOA not being fully implemented	6.8
Insufficient wages and income of people	6.5
Sanctions remaining in place	3.8
Problems relating to Iran's foreign relations	2.7
Embezzlement and economic corruption	2.6
Lack of affordable housing	1.8
Lack of sufficient security	.8
Discrimination and injustice	.4
Other	1.7
DK/NA	8.4