Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS) IDC Herzliya

IPS Survey of Iranian Public Opinion on its Nuclear Program, Recognition of Israel, Relations with the US, and the Removal of Sanctions

Prof. Alex Mintz Head, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS) & Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC

Recipient of the 2005 distinguished scholar award of the International Studies Association, in Foreign Policy Analysis

June 2014

AN ISRAELI RESEARCH CENTER CONDUCTED A SURVEY IN IRAN

The Institute for Policy and Strategy --IPS, at IDC Herzliya, Israel, has conducted a public opinion poll in Iran. The phone survey, conducted recently as a scientific study, aimed at understanding what the Iranian public thinks about the nuclear talks of their country with the P5+1, the international sanctions, a potential recognition of Israel, the relations of Iran with the United States, and Iran's allies and adversaries in the region and in the world.

The purpose of the study: we hear a lot about the Iranian leadership's views about these issues, but know very little about what the Iranian people think about these key topics.

The poll was conducted in May-June 2014, included nine questions on variety of topics, and 529 respondents.

The response rate of 27 percent was surprisingly high.

The survey included both landline and cell phones.

Key findings:

- 1) 70 percent of Iranians strongly support, or support to some extent the current talks with the West on the nuclear program. Only 11 percent oppose it.
- 2) Whereas the US is still perceived as the number 1 enemy of Iran in the world (Israel is a distant second), there is a very strong support among the Iranians for establishing diplomatic and trade relations with the US. 74 percent of Iranian supports this.
- 3) Almost 40 percent of the Iranian public agree that their country should recognize Israel, if Israel signs a peace treaty with the Palestinian and withdraws from Palestinian areas.

This finding is sensational and counter intuitive, given the Iranian leadership's position on Israel during the **Ahmadinejad** regime.

4) A majority of respondents! (54 percent) agrees to give up their nuclear program, including the ability to produce nuclear weapons in the future

(45 percent), for the full removal of sanctions. Only about 1 in 10 is willing to give up the civilian component of the nuclear program.

- 5) A very large number of Iranians (81 percent), state that the removal of the sanctions on Iran will make their life easier.
- 6) Syria is by far the biggest ally of Iran in the Middle East (more than 35 percent). Lebanon is second (14 percent). This reflects the Iranian-Syrian-Lebanese/Hezbollah coalition, and the Iranian leadership's geo-strategic position on key allies in the region. The Palestinians are not mentioned by the respondents.
- 7) The biggest enemy of Iran in the world is the US (40 percent), followed by Israel (32 percent). This reflects the big Satan, little Satan argument of the Iranian leadership in reference to the US and Israel.
 Five percent say that Iran has no enemies;
 Six percent refer to Iran itself...
- 8) Domestic politics:

63 percent of Iranians currently support the moderates (motadel-ha) in Iran

The most important finding:

As pointed out above, in return for the full removal of sanctions, 40 percent of Iranians are willing to give up the ability of Iran to produce nuclear weapons in the future, in addition to 9 percent who agree to give up the civilian component of the nuclear program, and 5 percent who are willing to give up the entire nuclear program. In other words, **45** percent, are now willing to give up their nuclear military program for the full removal of sanctions, and a majority of Iranians-- more than 54 percent, agree to give up the entire nuclear program, or the civilian component of it, or the ability to produce nuclear military weapons in the future.

The sample: 529 respondents. Landline and cell phone.

50 percent male/female

5 Member polling team led by Eli Mograbi, an MA student at the Lauder School of Government at the IDC.

Interpretation:

The survey shows that animosity towards the West and Israel, is not as widely shared in the opinion of the Iranian public as commonly perceived. There is convergence between the leadership and the public on such issues as Iran's key allies, its biggest enemies, and the talks on the nuclear program, but Iranians are eager to establish diplomatic and trade relations with the US, recognize Israel (although not a majority of Iranians), and greatly support the current talks with the P5+1 on the nuclear program. Given the domestic political power struggle in Iran, where Conservatives push for one direction and Moderates for cooperation, these results, which largely support the moderates' position, are not trivial.

Results

מגדר Gender									
		Frequency	Percent	Valid	Cumulative				
				Percent	Percent				
	female	256	48.4	49.1	49.1				
Valid	male	265	50.1	50.9	100.0				
	Total	521	98.5	100.0					
Missing	9.00	8	1.5						
Total		529	100.0						

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
				Percent	Percent
	Strong support	242	45.7	47.5	47.5
	Yes to some extent	111	21.0	21.8	<mark>69.4</mark>
Valid	I am neutral	102	19.3	20.0	89.4
Valid	NO, I OPPOSE TO SOME EXTENT	12	2.3	<mark>2.4</mark>	91.7
	NO, I STRONGLY OPPOSE	42	7.9	<mark>8.3</mark>	100.0
	Total	509	96.2	100.0	
Missing	9.00	20	3.8		
Total		529	100.0		

1. DO YOU SUPPORT THE CURRENT TALKS WITH THE WEST ON THE NUCLEAR PROGRAM?

2. Do you agree that our country should establish full trade and

		Frequency	Percent	Valid	Cumulative		
				Percent	Percent		
	yes	377	71.3	74.2	<mark>74.2</mark>		
Valid	no	131	24.8	25.8	100.0		
	Total	508	96.0	100.0			
Missing	9.00	21	4.0				
Total		529	100.0				

diplomatic relations with the U.S.?

3. Do you agree that our country should recognize Israel if it reaches a peace deal with the

Palestinians

FaleStillialis							
		Frequenc	Percent	Valid	Cumulative		
		у		Percent	Percent		
	Yes	81	15.3	<mark>16.1</mark>	16.1		
Valid	Yes, if Israel withdraw	110	20.8	<mark>21.9</mark>	<mark>38.0</mark>		
valid	No	311	58.8	62.0	100.0		
	Total	502	94.9	100.0			
Missing	9.00	27	5.1				
Total		529	100.0				

		Frequency	Percent	Valid	Cumulative
				Percent	Percent
	yes	418	79.0	80.7	<mark>80.7</mark>
Valid	no	100	18.9	19.3	100.0
	Total	518	97.9	100.0	
Missing	9.00	11	2.1		
Total		529	100.0		

Г

4. Will the removal of the sanctions on Iran make your life easier

5.	Who is our	biggest ally	biggest ally in the middle eas			
		Frequency	Percent	hile//		

Т

		Frequency	Percent	Valid	Cumulative
				Percent	Percent
	Afghanistan	1	.2	.2	.2
	All muslims	1	.2	.2	.4
	Arab countries	4	.8	.8	1.2
	Armenia	1	.2	.2	1.4
	Bahrain	1	.2	.2	1.6
	China	1	.2	.2	1.8
	don't know	43	8.1	8.7	10.5
	Everyone	6	1.1	1.2	11.7
	Gulf States	1	.2	.2	11.9
	Iraq	48	9.1	9.7	21.6
	Iraq & Syria	1	.2	.2	21.8
Valid	Iraq, Oman	1	.2	.2	22.0
valiu	Iraq, Syria	3	.6	.6	22.6
	Kuweit	1	.2	.2	22.8
	Lebanon	66	12.5	<mark>13.3</mark>	36.2
	Lebanon (Hizballah)	1	.2	<mark>.2</mark>	36.4
	Lebanon & Syria	1	.2	<mark>.2</mark>	36.6
	Lebanon, Iraq	1	.2	<mark>.2</mark>	36.8
	Lebanon, Syria	3	.6	<mark>.6</mark>	37.4
	Lebanon, Syria, Iraq	1	.2	<mark>.2</mark>	37.6
	Many	1	.2	.2	37.8
	Neighbors	1	.2	.2	38.0
	No one	74	14.0	<mark>14.9</mark>	52.9
	Oman	5	.9	1.0	53.9

	-				
	Oman, Syria	1	.2	.2	54.1
	Palestine	1	.2	<mark>.2</mark>	54.3
	Palestine, Iraq	1	.2	.2	54.5
	Palestine, Syria	1	.2	.2	54.7
	Qatar	2	.4	.4	55.2
	Russia	2	.4	.4	55.6
	Saudi-Arabia	6	1.1	1.2	56.8
	Syria	175	33.1	<mark>35.4</mark>	92.1
	Syria & Lebanon	2	.4	.4	92.5
	Syria & Palestine	1	.2	.2	92.7
	Syria, Iraq	5	.9	1.0	93.7
	Syria, Lebanon	7	1.3	1.4	95.2
	Turkey	17	3.2	<mark>3.4</mark>	98.6
	Turkey, Iraq	1	.2	.2	98.8
	Turkey, Pakistan	1	.2	.2	99.0
	Turkey, Syria, Iraq	1	.2	.2	99.2
	UAE	4	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	495	93.6	100.0	
Missing	9	34	6.4		
Total		529	100.0		

6. Who is our biggest enemy

		Frequency	Percent	Valid	Cumulative
				Percent	Percent
	Arab countries	2	.4	.4	.4
	don't know	9	1.7	1.8	2.2
	every dangerous one	1	.2	.2	2.4
	everyone	4	.8	.8	3.1
	Iran	29	5.5	<mark>5.7</mark>	8.9
Valid	Iraq	1	.2	.2	9.1
valiu	Israel	160	30.2	<mark>31.5</mark>	40.6
	Israel & Saudi-Arabi	1	.2	.2	40.7
	Israel & USA	1	.2	.2	40.9
	Israel, USA	10	1.9	2.0	42.9
	Israel, USA, UK	1	.2	.2	43.1
	Lebanon & Syria	1	.2	.2	43.3

	-		1	1	
	Many	1	.2	.2	43.5
	No one	27	5.1	<mark>5.3</mark>	48.8
	opposed to interests	1	.2	.2	49.0
	Russia	5	.9	1.0	50.0
	Saudi-Arabia	7	1.3	1.4	51.4
	Syria	1	.2	.2	51.6
	UK	12	2.3	2.4	53.9
	UK & USA	1	.2	.2	54.1
	UK, Israel, USA	1	.2	.2	54.3
	UK, Russia	1	.2	.2	54.5
	UK, USA	1	.2	.2	54.7
	USA	200	37.8	<mark>39.4</mark>	94.1
	USA & Israel	8	1.5	1.6	95.7
	USA & UK	2	.4	.4	96.1
	USA, Israel	15	2.8	3.0	99.0
	USA, Russia	1	.2	.2	99.2
	USA, UK	2	.4	.4	99.6
	USA, UK, Israel	1	.2	.2	99.8
	world powers	1	.2	.2	100.0
	Total	508	96.0	100.0	
Missing	9	21	4.0		
Total		529	100.0		

7. In our economy political scene, do you support the conservatives (Osul-Garayan)/reformists (Eslahtalaban) or moderates (motadel-ha) in Iran

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Conservatives	77	14.6	20.3	20.3
	reformists	64	12.1	16.8	37.1
Valid	moderates	239	45.2	<mark>62.9</mark>	100.0
	Total	380	71.8	100.0	
Missing	9.00	149	28.2		
Total		529	100.0		

8. For the full removal of sanctions, will you be willing to give up

		Frequenc	Percent	Valid	Cumulative
		У		Percent	Percent
	Entire nuclear program	25	4.7	<mark>5.3</mark>	5.3
	The civilian part of the nuclear program	43	8.1	<mark>9.1</mark>	14.4
	The ability of Iran to produce nuclear weapons in	189	35.7	<mark>40.0</mark>	<mark>54.3</mark>
Valid	the future				
	I am not willing to give up any part of the nuclear	216	40.8	45.7	100.0
	program				
	Total	473	89.4	100.0	
Missing	9.00	56	10.6		
Total		529	100.0		