

Iranians' Attitudes Toward the 2024 Snap Presidential Election

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The Group For Analyzing and
Measuring Attitudes in IRAN
(GAMAAN)

Project Coordinator:
AMMAR MALEKI

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Website: www.gamaan.org
WhatsApp: +31644860224
Telegram: [/gamaanresearch](https://t.me/gamaanresearch)

E-mail: info@gamaan.org
Twitter: [@gamaanresearch](https://twitter.com/gamaanresearch)
Instagram: [/gamaanresearch](https://www.instagram.com/gamaanresearch)

SURVEY SUMMARY

- The survey “Iranians’ Attitudes Toward the 2024 Snap Presidential Election” was conducted from June 17 to June 19, 2024, over a period of 3 days. The results are based on a balanced statistical sample of 77,216 respondents from within Iran. The findings reflect the views of literate individuals over the age of 19 residing in Iran (equal to 90% of Iran’s adult population) and can be generalized to this target population with a credibility level of 95% and credibility intervals of 5%.
- According to the survey, with about 10 days remaining until the presidential elections, approximately 22% of the target population stated that they will definitely vote in the election, while about 65% stated that they will not vote; about 12% are still undecided.
- The survey showed that about 34% of the population were unaware of the timing of the presidential election (end of June).
- Comparing the electoral behavior of respondents in the previous elections (March 2024) with their decision for the upcoming election shows that 85% of those who did not vote in last year’s elections do not intend to participate in this year’s election either. In contrast, 6% of those who did not vote in the previous elections stated that they will vote in the presidential election. Also, 48% of first-time voters (those who can vote for the first time in the presidential election) do not intend to participate in the election, while about 34% of them want to vote.
- Among those who intend to vote in the election, Masoud Pezeshkian and Saeed Jalili have more votes compared to other candidates, and Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf is in third place. About 18% of voters are still undecided about whom to vote for. Among those who are still undecided about participating in the elections, Masoud Pezeshkian has more popularity than other candidates. Additionally, about 15% of those undecided about participating in the elections are likely to cast blank (invalid) votes.
- Of those who do not intend to vote in the presidential election or are still undecided, when asked “If you will not vote in the election, what is the main reason for your abstention?,” about 68% stated “opposition to the entire Islamic Republic system” as their reason for not voting; also, 18% of this group cited “the limited powers of the president” and about 8% cited “disqualification of their preferred candidate” as their reasons for not participating in the election.
- Of those who want to vote or are still undecided, when asked “If you will vote in the election, what is your main motivation for voting?,” about 50% stated “political participation, exercising the right to vote, and paving the way for improving conditions” as their motivation for voting. Also, 38% of these

individuals stated “electing the best candidate, supporting the Islamic Republic and the Supreme Leader, and disappointing the enemies” as their main motivation for voting. On the other hand, 8% stated that they vote “out of compulsion or to have a stamp in their ID card.”

- One survey question evaluated people’s views on various speculations in society regarding the cause of the helicopter crash of Ebrahim Raisi and his companions. About 51% believe that “internal power struggles within the regime played a role in this crash.” About 13% think that “natural factors played a role in this crash” and 6% believe in the role of “sabotage by foreign countries” in the helicopter crash.
- In this survey, participants were asked whether they consider participation in protests (such as street protests in past years) or participation in elections (such as presidential elections) as a more effective method for creating change in the country’s conditions. About one-third of the target population (30%) consider participation in protests as a more effective method, while about 19% consider participation in elections as a more effective method. Also, about one-quarter of the population (26%) consider neither of these two methods effective for creating change in the country’s conditions.

SECTION ONE: KEY SURVEY FINDINGS

In this report, all results and tables are calculated based on a “weighted sample” for the domestic sample. The findings of this survey can be generalized to the literate population over 19 years old (i.e., about 90% of Iran’s adult population) with a credibility level of 95% and credibility intervals of 5%, which is equivalent to the confidence level and margin of error for online surveys (complete information on methodology and sample characteristics is provided in Section Two).

1-1 Expected Turnout in Presidential Elections

In this survey, conducted about 10 days before the snap presidential election, respondents were asked whether they would vote in the presidential election to determine the successor to Ebrahim Raisi. According to the results of this survey, about 22% of the target population stated that they will definitely vote in the election, while about 65% stated that they will not vote; about 12% are still undecided (Figure 1). Also, the results of this survey showed that about 34% of the population were unaware of the timing of the presidential elections (end of June) (Figure 2).

Figure 1

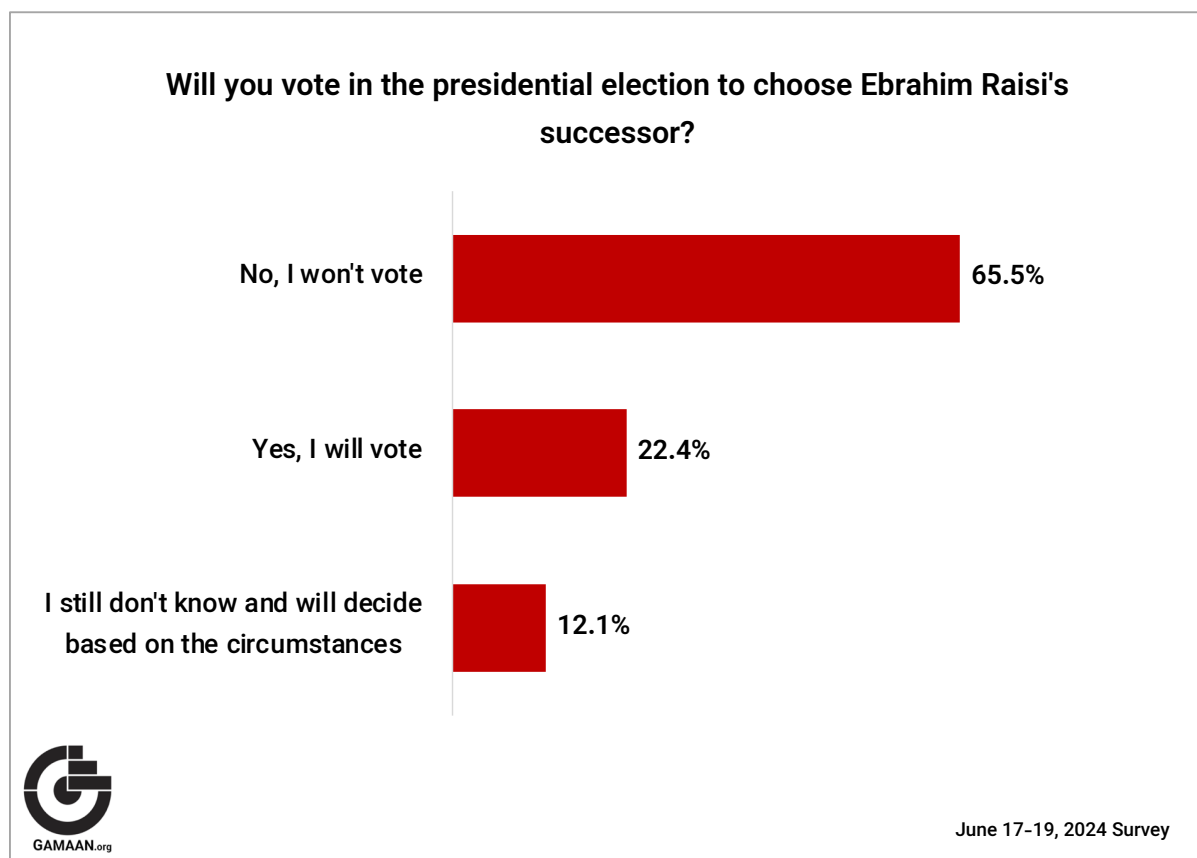
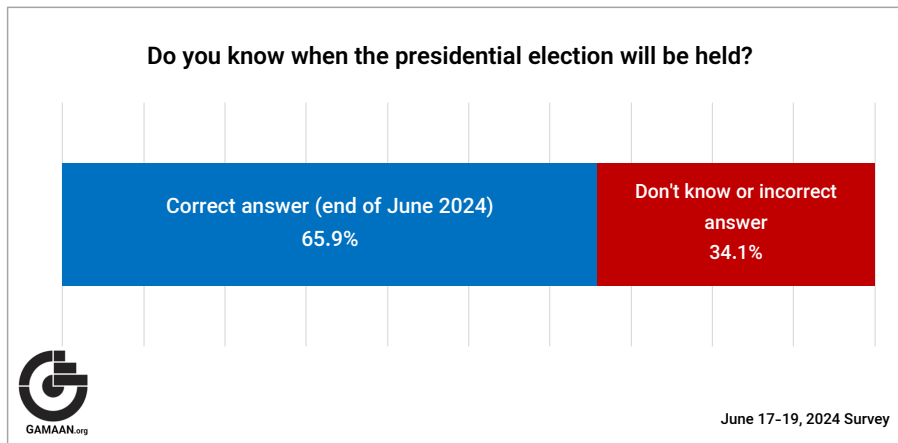
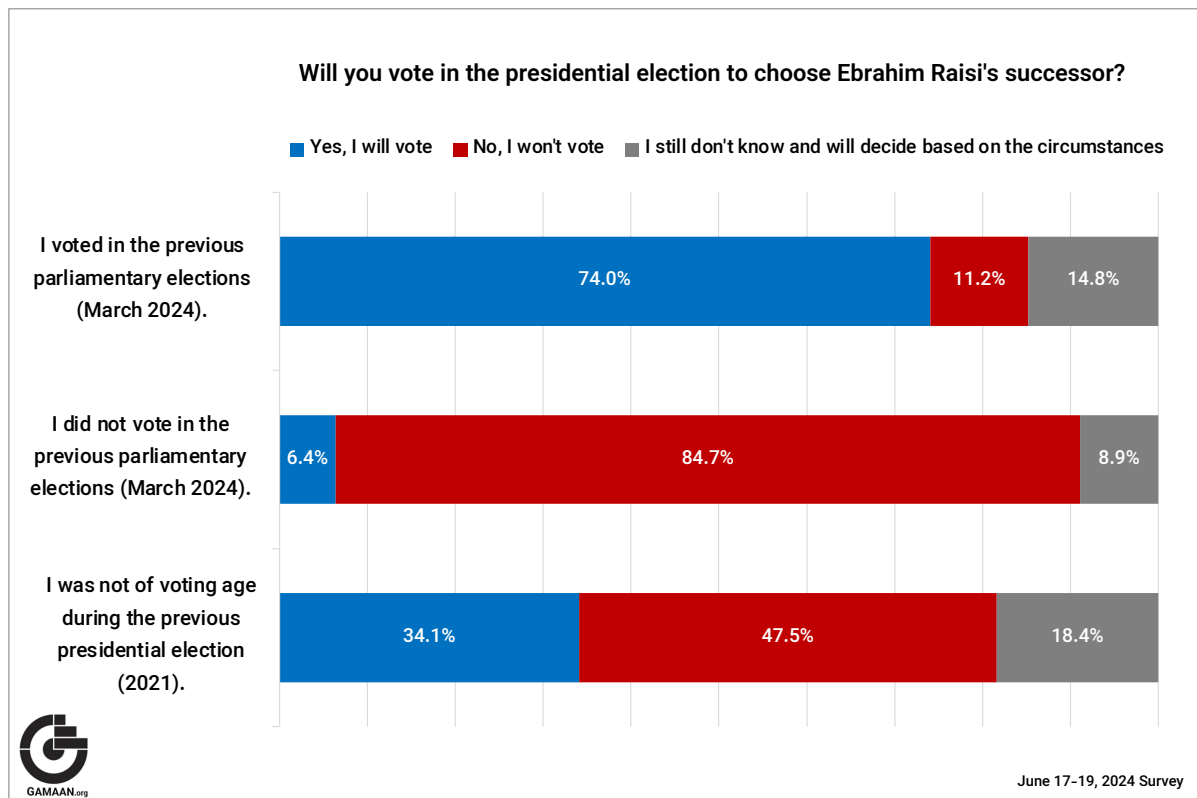


Figure 2



In this survey, participants were also asked whether they participated in last year's Islamic Consultative Assembly elections in March 2024. Comparing the electoral behavior of respondents in the previous elections and their decision for the upcoming elections shows that 85% of those who did not vote in last year's elections do not intend to participate in this year's elections either. In contrast, 6% of those who did not vote in the previous elections stated that they will vote in the presidential elections. Also, about 48% of first-time voters (those who can vote for the first time in the presidential elections) do not intend to participate in the election, while about 34% of them want to vote (Figure 3).

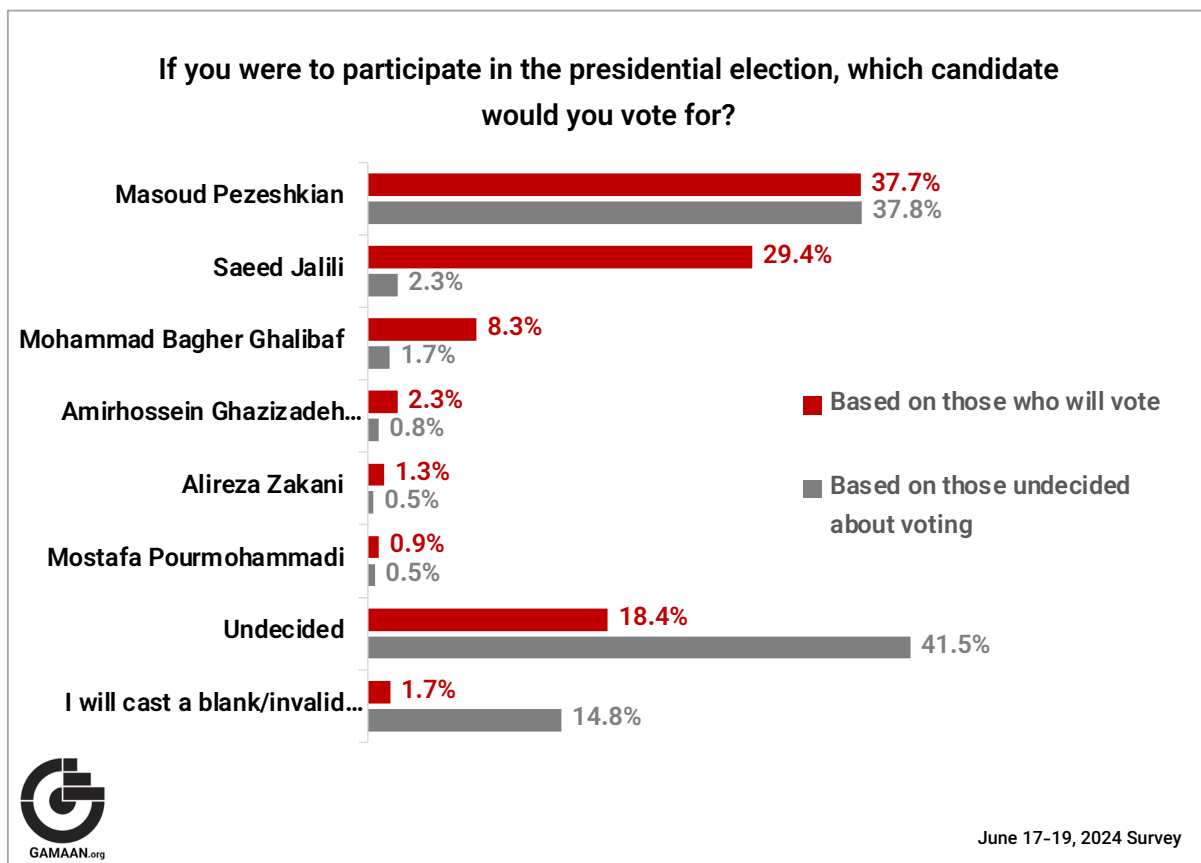
Figure 3



1-2 Popularity of Presidential Candidates

Among those who intend to vote in the elections, Masoud Pezeshkian and Saeed Jalili have more votes compared to other candidates, and Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf is in third place. About 18% of voters are still undecided about whom to vote for. Among those who are still undecided about participating in the election, Masoud Pezeshkian has more popularity than other candidates. Additionally, about 15% of those undecided about participating in the election are likely to cast blank (invalid) votes (Figure 4).

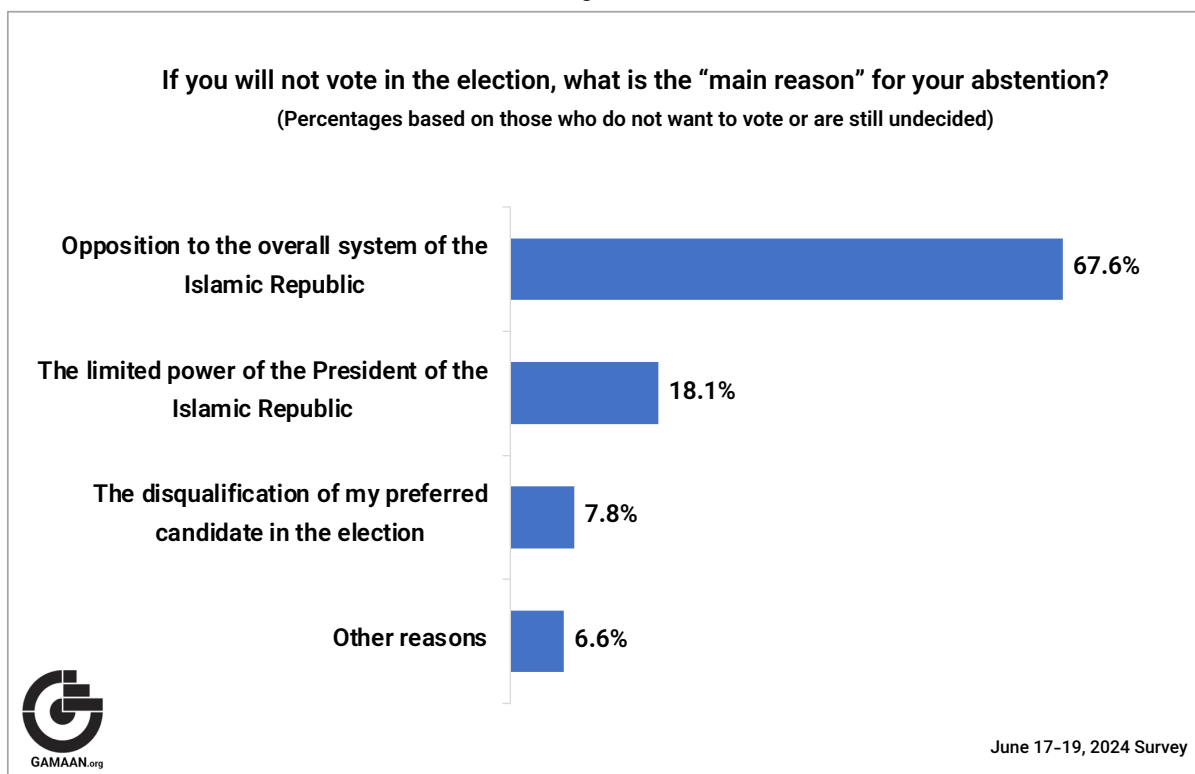
Figure 4



1-3 Reasons for Abstention

In this survey, those who do not intend to vote in the presidential election or are still undecided were asked, “If you will not vote in the election, what is the main reason for your abstention?.” About 68% stated “opposition to the overall system of the Islamic Republic” as their reason for not voting; also, 18% of this group cited “the limited power of the president” and about 8% cited “disqualification of my preferred candidate” as their reasons for not participating in the election (Figure 5).

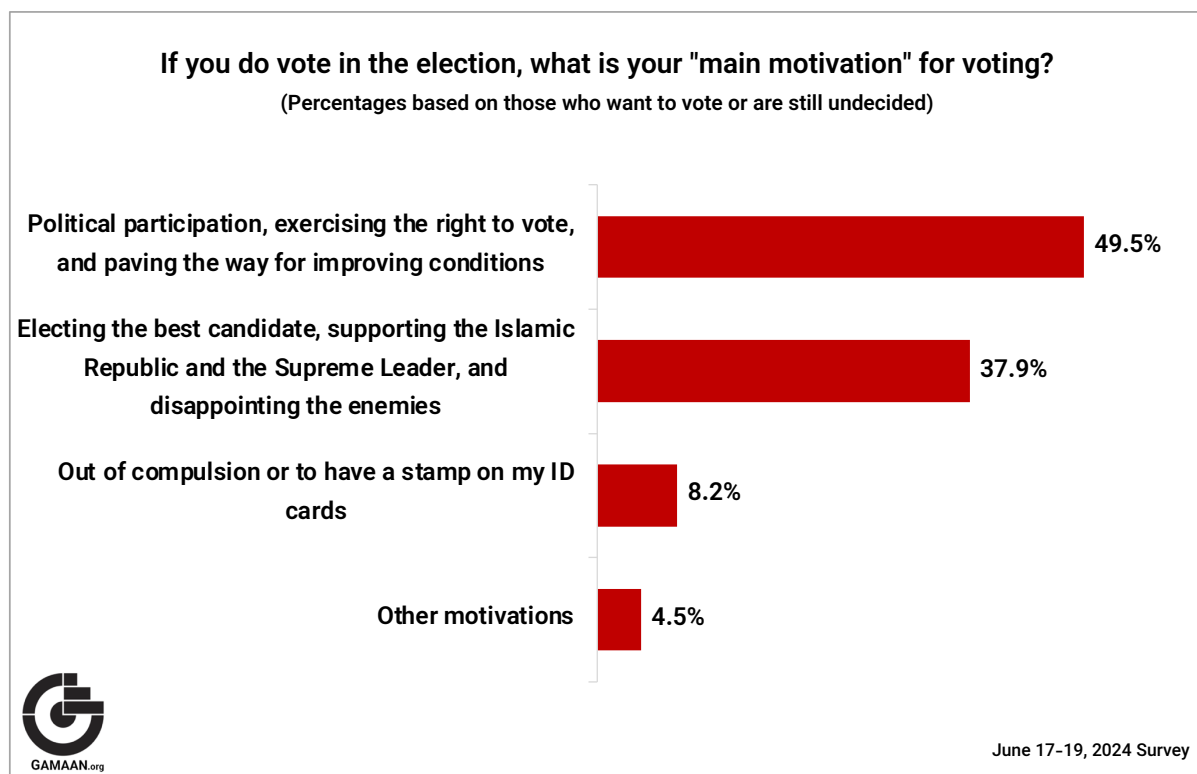
Figure 5



1-4 Motivations for Voting

In this survey, those who want to vote or are still undecided were asked, “If you do vote in the election, what is your main motivation for voting?” About 50% stated “political participation, exercising the right to vote, and paving the way for improving conditions” as their motivation for voting. Also, 38% of these individuals stated “Electing the best candidate, supporting the Islamic Republic and the Supreme Leader, and disappointing the enemies” as their main motivation for voting. On the other hand, 8% stated that they vote “out of compulsion or to have a stamp” in their ID cards (Figure 6).

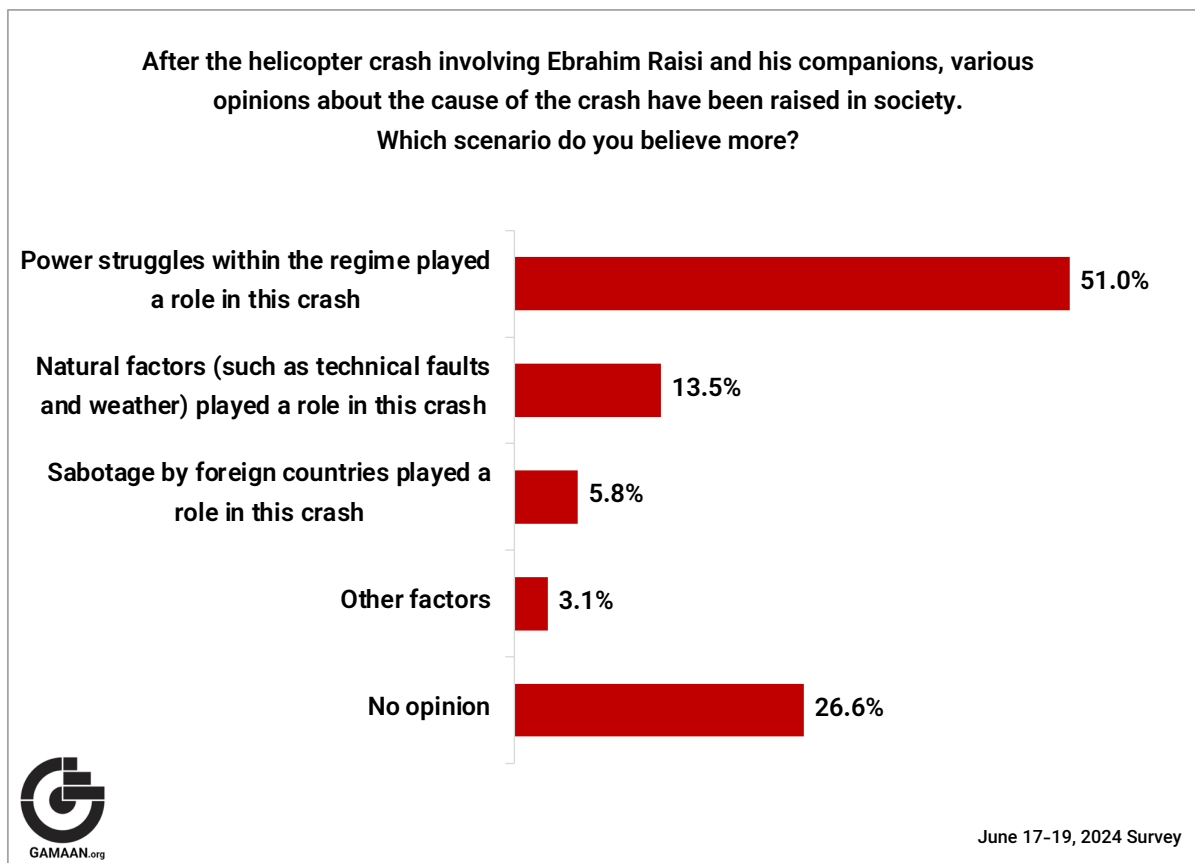
Figure 6



1-5 Ebrahim Raisi’s Helicopter Crash

One survey question measured views on various speculations in society regarding the cause of the helicopter crash of Ebrahim Raisi and his companions. About 51% believe that “power struggles within the regime played a role in this crash.” About 13% think that “natural factors played a role in this crash” and 6% believe in the role of “sabotage by foreign countries” in the helicopter crash (Figure 7).

Figure 7

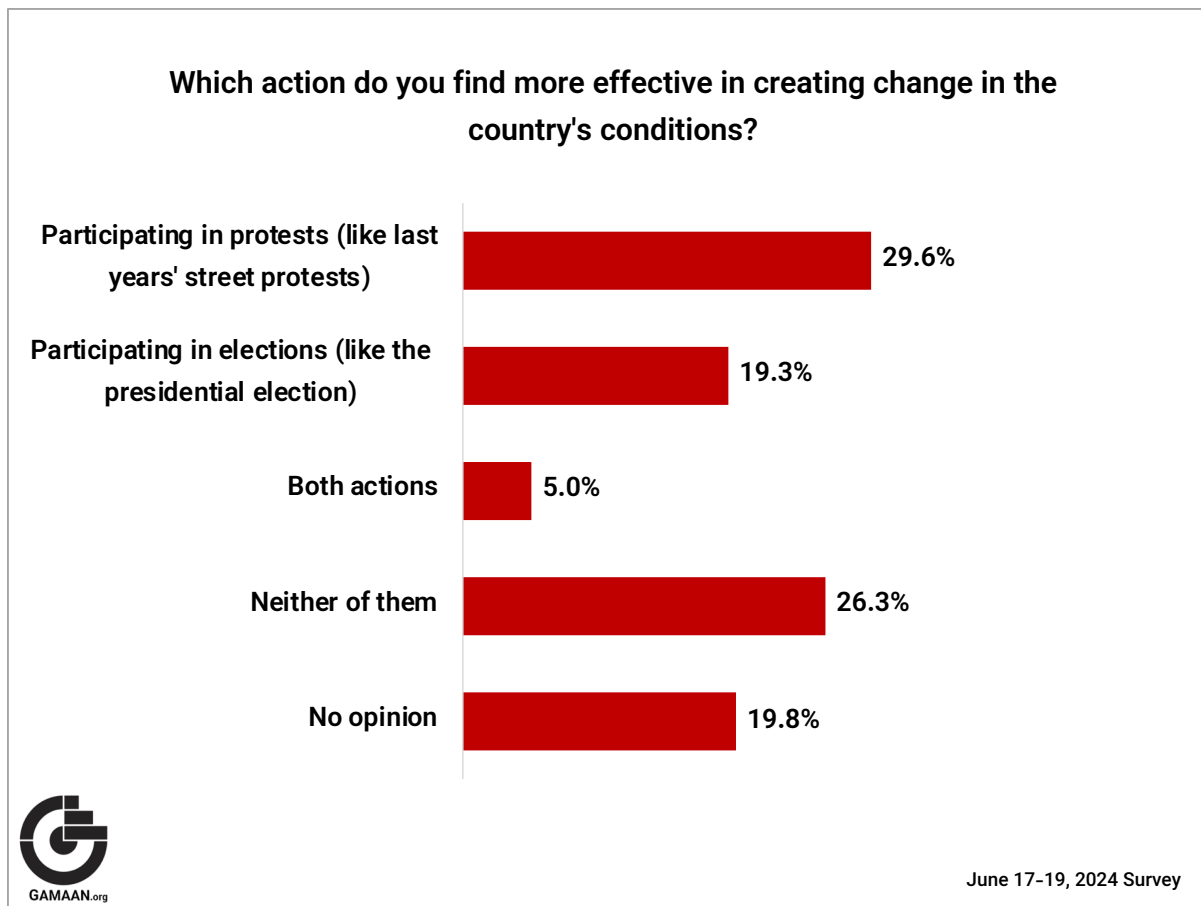


1-6 Creating Change: Elections or Protests?

In this survey, participants were asked whether they consider participation in protests (such as street protests in past years) or participation in elections (such as the presidential election) as a more effective method for creating change in the country's conditions.

About one-third of the target population (30%) consider participation in protests as a more effective method, while about 19% consider participation in elections as a more effective method. Also, about one-quarter of the population (26%) consider neither of these two methods effective for creating change in the country's conditions. About 20% had no opinion on this question (Figure 8).

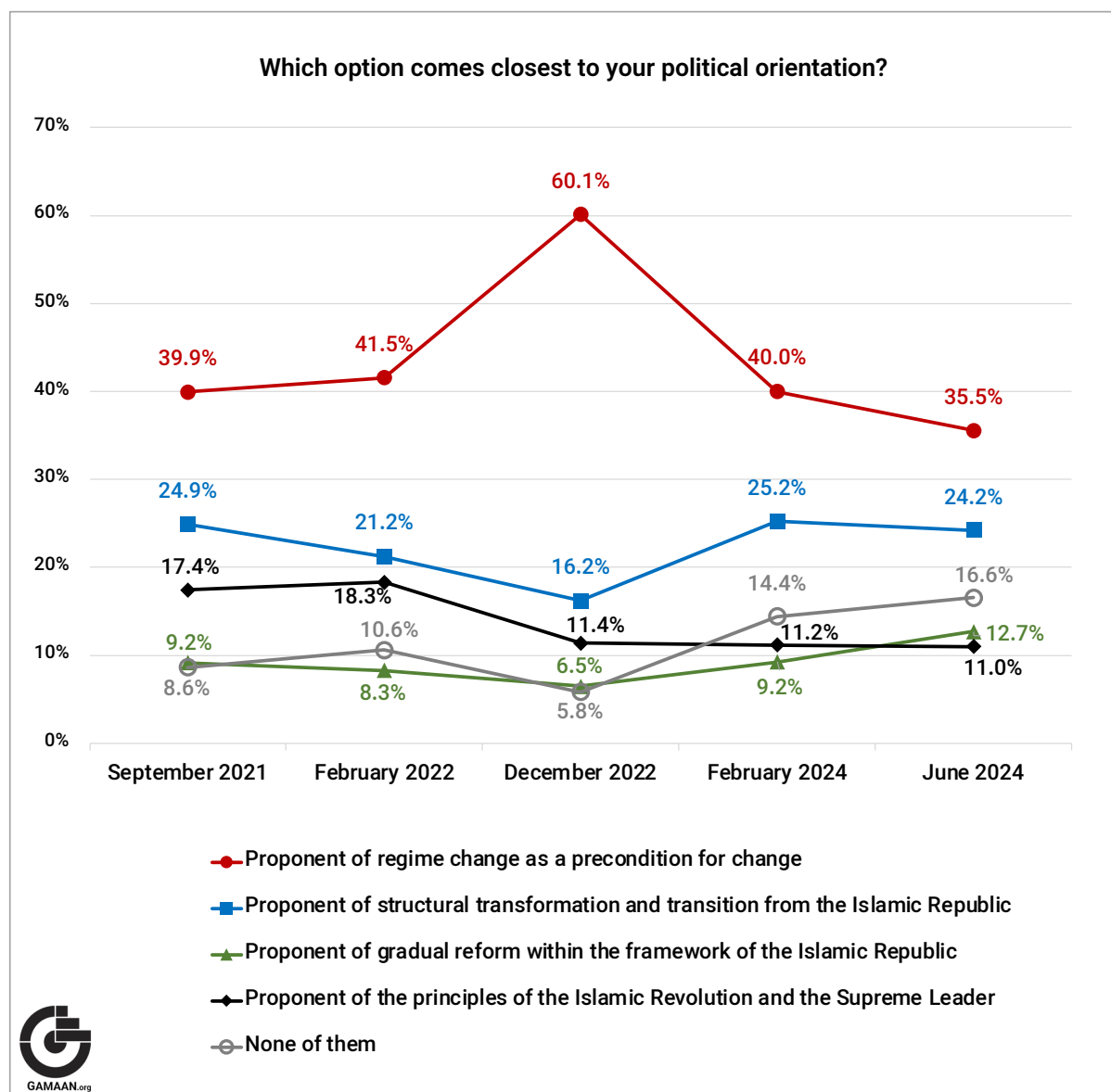
Figure 8



1-7 Political Orientations

In this survey, like previous surveys by GAMAAN, a question was asked about the political orientations of participants. The results of this survey show that about 36% of the population support the overthrow of the Islamic Republic as a precondition for any change, 24% support “structural transformation and transition from the Islamic Republic,” 13% “support gradual reforms within the framework of the Islamic Republic,” and 11% support the principles of the Islamic Revolution and the Supreme Leader. Approximately 17% do not identify with any of these orientations (Figure 9).

Figure 9



SECTION TWO: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2-1 Sampling Method

The survey “Iranians’ Attitudes Toward the 2024 Snap Presidential Election” was conducted by the Group for Analyzing and Measuring Attitudes in Iran (GAMAAN) from June 17th to June 19th, 2024, over a period of 3 days. This survey was carried out online, utilizing a specialized and secure platform for sampling.

GAMAAN has employed innovative methods to systematically and scientifically measure and record viewpoints and opinions that, due to the nature of authoritarian regimes, cannot be measured using conventional survey methods.

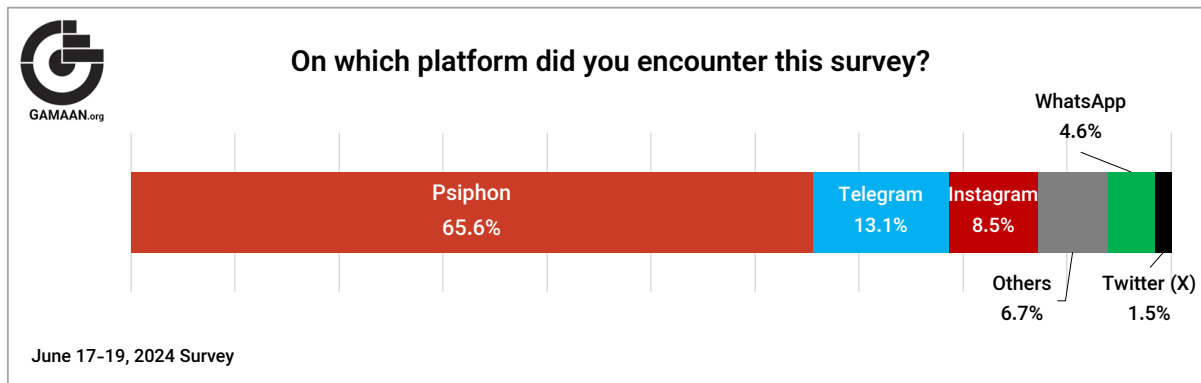
The online questionnaire reached diverse demographic groups across Iran through random sampling via the popular Internet censorship circumvention provider Psiphon VPN, as well as ensuing sharing by respondents on social networks (Telegram, Instagram, WhatsApp, and Twitter).

According to the latest statistics from the [International Telecommunication Union](#), about 82% of Iran’s population are internet users, and [a university research within Iran](#) indicates that 84% of these internet users utilize Internet censorship circumvention tools. Between 5 to 11 million people in Iran use [Psiphon](#) on daily basis. Distributing the survey through random sampling among users connected to Psiphon mitigated network bias (i.e., the likelihood of participants sharing similar views with the organizers).

Moreover, the [International Telecommunication Union data](#) shows that only about 55% Iranian households have a landline telephone. This means that random sampling via the internet and internet censorship circumvention tools can cover a broader segment of society than telephone surveys can (through landlines).

Figure 10 shows the distribution of respondents’ access to the survey questionnaire. One survey question revealed that only 26% of respondents had previously participated in GAMAAN’s surveys, indicating that the random sampling method was effective in distributing the questionnaire among a wide range of demographic groups, reaching far beyond networks familiar with GAMAAN.

Figure 10



2-2 Questionnaire and Sample Characteristics

In this survey, in addition to the main questions, respondents were asked about their demographic characteristics (gender, age group, level of education, province of residence, urban or rural area, employment status, household income level, spoken language at home, type of health insurance); respondents were also asked about their political orientation and past electoral behavior. Since respondents participated in the survey anonymously without questions about personal characteristics, it is estimated that they felt more secure in expressing their genuine opinions.

Over 83,000 respondents from inside and outside the country fully completed the survey questionnaire. Given the distribution of the questionnaire through a circumvention tool that only targeted users inside Iran and based on what respondents have stated about their place of residence, 97% of the respondents were residents of Iran. Iranians inside the country from all 31 provinces and from urban and rural areas participated in this survey (Table 5).

2-3 Sample Refinement

A question was placed to identify random or bot-entered responses. Incorrect responses to this question, as well as contradictory cases were removed from the refined sample (such as those who stated they were not of voting age in 2017 or 2021 but mentioned their age group as over 30 years, or those who said they were not of voting age in 2024 but had voted in 2021). After the refinements, **the final sample size from inside Iran was 77,216 respondents**. In this report, the term “raw sample” refers to the refined sample from within the country. Considering the standard age groups in publicly available census characteristics and statistical data, the final sample used in this analysis only includes respondents above 19 years old.

2-4 Extracting a Representative Sample

Online survey samples usually do not fully match the demographic characteristics of the target population; therefore, various balancing methods such as weighting and the sample matching method are used to balance the raw sample and align it with the main characteristics of the target population. The target population for this survey are literate individuals above 19 years old residing in Iran (those who have the ability to use the internet and read survey questions, covering 90% of the adult population of Iran). In this research, the raking weighting method was used to extract a representative sample from the raw sample. According to the [Pew Research Center](#), this weighting method, considering appropriate demographic variables, is one of the most effective and reliable methods for balancing online survey samples.

To convert the raw sample of respondents within the country into a representative sample of the target population, the raking method was used based on five demographic variables: age group, gender, level of education, residential area (urban or rural), and provincial population.

Also, upon examining the responses to the question about the political orientation of respondents, it was determined that in the sample of this survey, the percentage of those who support “the principles of the Islamic Revolution and the Supreme Leader” was slightly higher than the social base of this group (about 11%) based on the results of [previous GAMAAN surveys](#) and also [recent surveys by other institutions](#). This could be due to their greater motivation to participate in elections and related surveys. Therefore, the variable of political orientations was also considered for weighting to ensure that the social base of different political orientations in the final sample was balanced.

Given that the sampling method using a circumvention tool is similar to random sampling, this survey’s raw sample had a balanced distribution and high quality. After the weighting calculations, the **effective sample size was 20,492**, a very high sample size for a 95% credibility level and a 5% credibility interval. The sample weighting calculations were performed using a specialized tool of the Dutch company [Sample Weighting](#). To determine the most up-to-date demographic characteristics of the Iranian population, GAMAAN relied on the [2022 Labor Force Survey](#).

2-5 Sample Demographics

The tables below depict the distribution of population variables in the raw survey sample, the weighted sample, and the target population. It can be observed that the demographic characteristics of the weighted sample closely match those of the target population.

Table 1: Sex Distribution

Sex	Refined sample (number of samples)	Weighted sample	Literate population above 19 years old (work force statistics 2022)
Female	23.1% (17835)	47.9%	47.9%
Male	76.9% (59381)	52.1%	52.1%

Table 2: Rural/Urban Distribution

Region	Refined sample (number of samples)	Weighted sample	Literate population above 19 years old (work force statistics 2022)
Rural Areas	6.4% (4926)	19.7%	19.7%
Urban Areas	93.6% (72290)	80.3%	80.3%

Table 3: Age Group Distribution

Age groups	Refined sample (number of samples)	Weighted sample	Literate population above 19 years old (work force statistics 2022)
Between 20 and 29 years old	5.6% (4302)	19.9%	19.9%
Between 30 and 49 years old	56.9% (43957)	53.9%	53.9%
At least 50 years old	37.5% (28957)	26.2%	26.2%

Table 4: Education Level Distribution

Education level	Refined sample (number of samples)	Weighted sample	Literate population above 19 years old (work force statistics 2022)
Non-university educated	29.2% (22540)	72.3%	72.3%
University educated	70.9% (54676)	27.7%	27.7%

Table 5: Province Distribution

Province of residence	Refined sample (number of samples)	Weighted sample	Literate population above 19 years old (work force statistics 2022)
East Azerbaijan	4.9% (3789)	4.8%	4.8%
West Azerbaijan	2.2% (1708)	3.7%	3.7%
Ardabil	1.3% (972)	1.4%	1.4%
Isfahan	9.5% (7298)	6.9%	6.9%
Alborz	4.4% (3374)	3.8%	3.8%
Ilam	0.8% (648)	0.7%	0.7%
Bushehr	1.2% (898)	1.4%	1.4%
Tehran	27.7% (21413)	18.7%	18.7%
Chaharmahal and Bakhtiari	1.2% (919)	1.1%	1.1%
South Khorasan	1.1% (863)	0.9%	0.9%
Razavi Khorasan	6.8% (5274)	8.0%	8.0%
North Khorasan	0.8% (586)	0.9%	0.9%
Khuzestan	3.2% (2506)	5.5%	5.5%
Zanjan	1.0% (771)	1.3%	1.3%
Semnan	0.6% (458)	1.0%	1.0%
Sistan and Baluchistan	0.7% (544)	2.4%	2.4%
Fars	8.6% (6624)	6.2%	6.2%
Ghazvin	1.0% (739)	1.6%	1.6%
Qom	1.0% (798)	1.6%	1.6%
Kurdistan	1.8% (1372)	1.8%	1.8%
Kerman	2.0% (1584)	3.9%	3.9%
Kermanshah	2.2% (1690)	2.3%	2.3%
Kohgiluyeh and BoyerAhmad	0.9% (671)	0.8%	0.8%
Golestan	2.2% (1660)	2.1%	2.1%
Gilan	3.1% (2430)	3.4%	3.4%
Lorestan	2.1% (1612)	2.0%	2.0%
Mazandaran	2.6% (2001)	4.5%	4.5%
Markazi	1.3% (1016)	1.8%	1.8%
Hormozgan	1.1% (833)	2.1%	2.1%
Hamadan	1.3% (987)	2.0%	2.0%
Yazd	1.5% (1178)	1.5%	1.5%

2-6 Reliability Checks

2-6-1 Comparison of Economic and Social Statistics

One of the methods that can be used to assess the credibility and representativeness of the weighted sample is to compare the results of the weighted sample with external evidence. Table 6 displays the employment status of individuals in the weighted sample compared to the target population at two levels, urban and rural, for the literate population above 19 years old, based on the annual [labor force report](#). As can be observed, the national employment ratio for the weighted sample is consistent with the target population.

Table 6: Employment Status

Employment status	Refined sample	Weighted sample	Workforce statistics (literate individuals above 19 years old; 2022)
Whole country	56.2%	40.1%	42.2%
Urban areas	57.1%	40.7%	40.8%
Rural areas	43.0%	37.4%	47.8%

In this survey, participants were also asked about their household income status to compare the distribution of economic status in the sample with the target population. Table 7 illustrates the distribution of household income status. According to the definition, ten percent of households in the country are placed in each decile. As can be seen, the distribution of household income status for three groups, low income (comprising the first three deciles), medium income (comprising the middle three deciles), and high income (comprising the top four deciles) in the weighted sample aligns with the recent [official statistics](#) on household income levels in society.

Table 7: Household Income Distribution in Iran (official exchange rate, [1 USD = 285,000 Rials](#))

Income level of different deciles according to the Statistical Center of Iran in 2023	Refined sample	Weighted sample	Distribution in society
First three lower deciles (household monthly income below 7 million Rials)	13.6%	25.8%	30%
Middle three deciles (household monthly income between 7 and 13 million Rials)	32.3%	40.4%	30%
Upper four deciles (household monthly income above 13 million Rials)	54.0%	33.8%	40%

In this survey, participants were also asked about the language spoken at home. As shown in Table 8, the distribution of spoken languages in the weighted sample closely matches the statistics provided by [Ethnologue](#) encyclopedia for Iran.

Table 8: Home Language Distribution in Iran

What language do you normally speak at home?	Refined sample	Weighted sample	Ethnologue statistics (2021, 24th ed.)
Farsi	73.2%	67.1%	60.1%
Azerbaijani/Turkic	10.6%	12.0%	12.9%
Kurdish	4.8%	5.5%	5.7%
Luri	4.4%	4.9%	4.8%
Baluchi	0.4%	1.3%	1.4%
Gilaki	1.3%	1.7%	2.9%
Mazandarani	1.0%	1.7%	2.7%
Arabic	0.5%	1.0%	1.8%
Laki	0.9%	1.1%	1.4%
Qashqai	0.5%	0.4%	1.1%
Turkmeni	0.3%	0.4%	0.9%
Dari (Afghan Persian)	0.1%	0.2%	0.4%
Tati	0.2%	0.3%	0.6%
Lari	0.3%	0.4%	0.1%
Armeni	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%
Other	1.5%	1.9%	3.0%

The distribution of respondents' health insurance types is another external evidence used for the validation of the weighted sample. In this survey, participants were asked about the type of health insurance they have. This question was also asked through a telephone survey by [ISPA in March 2022](#). Since the type of insurance coverage of individuals is considered a non-sensitive question, a comparison with the results can serve as a criterion for validating the weighted sample. As seen in Table 9, the distribution of health insurance coverage in the weighted sample closely aligns with the statistics provided by the ISPA survey.

Table 9: Health Care Insurance Types in Iran

Which health care insurance do you currently have?	Refined sample	Weighted sample	ISPA Survey 2022 (March)
Social Security Organization	52.7%	48.5%	50.7%
Iran Health Insurance Organization	9.2%	10.9%	7.2%
Salamat	15.2%	9.8%	7.8%
Roostaa	2.3%	6.2%	9.8%
Armed Forces Insurance	3.0%	3.1%	3.4%
Other insurance	1.7%	1.3%	2.9%
I am not insured	15.8%	20.2%	17.6%

2-6-2 Validation Using the World Values Survey (WVS)

The [World Values Survey \(WVS\)](#) conducted a survey in Iran using face-to-face interviews in the spring of 2020. In the Iranians' Turnout in the 2024 Elections survey, some questions from the WVS survey were included alongside other questions to compare the results of the two surveys. To this end, a set of non-sensitive questions, alongside one sensitive question, were asked to compare the results of the two surveys.

Table 10: "Importance in Life" in WVS (spring 2020) and GAMAAN (February 28th 2024) Surveys

For each of the following aspects, indicate how important it is in your life.		Very important	Rather important	Not very important	Not at all important	Do not Know
Family	WVS	93.9%	5.2%	0.8%	0.1%	0%
	GAMAAN (weighted)	92.4%	4.7%	0.8%	1.1%	0.9%
Friends	WVS	28.6%	54.4%	11.2%	5.7%	0%
	GAMAAN (weighted)	30.8%	49.9%	12.9%	4.3%	2.0%
Work	WVS	78.0%	18.6%	1.9%	1.3%	0.2%
	GAMAAN (weighted)	86.1%	8.7%	1.5%	1.8%	1.9%
Religion	WVS	69.4%	22.8%	3.5%	4.2%	0.1%
	GAMAAN (weighted)	29.0%	18.4%	15.3%	34.1%	3.2%

As seen in Table 10, the overall importance ratings of non-sensitive topics (family, friends, and work) in both surveys show minor differences, while regarding a sensitive topic, religion, in the political and social context of Iran, the responses in the two surveys are entirely different.

This comparative analysis corroborates the hypothesis that measuring people's real opinions regarding sensitive questions faces serious challenges if based on common survey modes like telephone and face-to-face interviews.

We at the non-profit research foundation GAMAAN would like to express our sincere gratitude to all of those who took the time to contribute to this survey.

We are professionally committed to sparing no effort in collecting the opinions and attitudes of Iranians from all levels of society and all walks of life. GAMAAN commits itself to ethical guidelines with regard to protecting respondents' submitted data and strives to employ scientific methods in extracting representative samples. We pledge to be transparent to the public and in explaining probable error levels.

Our team gladly receives any comments, suggestions, and criticisms. Scientists and scholars working at universities and research institutes can collaborate with us and request survey data, which can be granted upon agreement with GAMAAN's terms.

GAMAAN can be reached at info@gamaan.org.

ABOUT GAMAAN

GAMAAN, the Group for Analyzing and Measuring Attitudes in Iran, is an independent, non-profit research foundation registered in the Netherlands. We study Iranians' attitudes towards different social and political topics.

GAMAAN conducts online surveys to extract the (real) opinions of Iranians about sensitive topics. The rationale for GAMAAN's innovative approach, spreading surveys on a large variety of digital channels and collaborating with VPN-platforms, is the fact that conventional survey modes like face-to-face and telephone interviewing cannot yield valid results in the existing Iranian context. To obtain representative samples, we use matching and weighting methods; we then compare our results with external data and other survey institutes' results for non-sensitive questions. In this way, we strive to understand the extent to which our results can be said to be representative.

GAMAAN's findings have been cited and discussed in many international outlets, including The Economist, The Wall Street Journal, The Guardian, The Conversation, Deutsche Welle, New York Magazine, and Newsweek, and have been widely covered by Persian media. In 2022, GAMAAN was awarded the Market Research Society's President's Medal in London for making an "extraordinary contribution to research."

GAMAAN operates under the supervision of a board including Dr. Ammar Maleki (founder and director), an assistant professor of comparative politics at Tilburg University, and Dr. Pooyan Tamimi Arab, an assistant professor of religious studies at Utrecht University.

