

2012

NATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

of

IRANIAN AMERICANS

regarding

Potential Military Strike Against Iran

Commissioned by

Public Affairs Alliance of
Iranian Americans (PAAIA)

&

Conducted by

Zogby Research Services



Publication of the
Public Affairs Alliance of Iranian Americans

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In October of 2011, the Public Affairs Alliance of Iranian Americans (PAAIA) commissioned Zogby Research Services to conduct its third national public opinion survey of Iranian Americans to gather accurate attitudinal and demographic information about the Iranian American community. The 2011 survey followed similar surveys commissioned by PAAIA in 2008 and 2009, which are an integral component of better understanding our community and having our voice heard through the availability of on-going accurate scientific data.

With the increased prospect of a U.S. or Israeli military strike against Iran in 2012, PAAIA again commissioned Zogby Research Services to conduct a follow-up national survey of Iranian Americans to gauge their perception and views on this important matter. The 2012 follow-up survey, presented here, specifically explores the attitudes and views of Iranian Americans towards the possible U.S. or Israeli military action against Iran's nuclear sites or other facilities as well as their concerns on how such hostilities with Iran may impact the lives of Iranian Americans in the United States. This survey's margin of error is +/- 5 percentage points.

PAAIA 2012 SURVEY HIGHLIGHTS

The results of the 2012 survey indicate that **two-thirds (66%)** of Iranian Americans are worried that a U.S. or Israeli military attack against Iran is now more likely than ever before.

The survey shows that Iranian Americans continue to retain strong ties with the people of Iran. A total of **eighty-four percent 84%** of Iranian Americans have family currently living in Iran -- consistent with PAAIA's three previous survey results. Furthermore, **fifty five percent (55%)** of Iranian Americans believe that increased American hostilities with Iran could increase discrimination as well as heightening the U.S. government's scrutiny and surveillance against them.

Almost **two-thirds (63%)** of Iranian Americans oppose military action against Iran's nuclear sites or other facilities. In contrast **thirteen percent (13%)** indicated that they would support such an action while **sixteen percent 16%** might support it under some circumstances. Those who do not have family in Iran are less likely to oppose a U.S. bombing (only **44%** oppose it).

PAAIA's survey results show that Iranian

General Impressions from the Survey

Most Iranian Americans (66%) are worried that an Israeli or U.S. military attack against Iran is now more likely than not.



Almost two third (63%) of Iranian Americans oppose military action against Iran.



The majority of Iranian Americans (61%) believe that a military strike on Iran is not in the political or economic interest of the United States.



More than half (53%) of Iranian Americans believe that a military strikes could actually strengthen the government of Iran.



The majority of Iranian Americans (55%) believe increased hostilities with Iran will increase discrimination and also heighten the U.S. government's scrutiny and surveillance against Iranian Americans.



American opposition to military strikes against Iran does not correlate to support of the Iranian government. The 2011 PAAIA/ Zogby survey showed that Iranian Americans want the Iranian regime to change with **sixty seven percent (67%)** preferring a secular democratic Iran compared to only **two percent (2%)** preferring the current Islamic Republic. Instead, opposition to military action is rooted in their concerns for the people of Iran as well as what they believe to be in the best interest of United States. When asked for their reasons for opposition to a possible U.S. bombing of Iran, **eight in ten (80%)** of respondents cited their concern for potential civilian casualties while **seventy percent (70%)** indicated that it is not in the best political or economic interests of the United States (*similar to results of other public opinion surveys, which show that a majority of Americans prefer to give sanctions and diplomacy time to work over immediate military action*). In addition, more than **six in ten** respondents felt that military strikes would strengthen the Iranian government (**63%**) and would be ineffective and encourage Iran to develop nuclear weapons (**62%**).

Opposition to a possible Israeli military action against Iran's nuclear sites or other facilities is even stronger, with **seventy percent (70%)** of Iranian Americans opposed to such a scenario. Again, the survey found that those who do not have family in Iran are less likely to oppose an Israeli bombing (only **49%** oppose it).

When asked under what circumstances they are most likely to support a U.S. military strike against Iran, a majority of **fifty seven percent (57%)** of Iranian Americans indicated that they would support military action if the Iranian government were to commit mass murder of its civilian populations. In contrast, only **twenty six percent (26%)** of Iranian Americans would not support U.S. military strikes against Iran under any circumstances.



II. KEY FINDINGS

Publicly launched in April of 2008, PAAIA is a national organization aspiring to build on the tremendous individual achievements of Iranian Americans across all walks of life in the United States and to create a truly representative, nationally recognized voice to further empower Iranian Americans in the public arena. Since its inception, PAAIA has attracted a membership base of over 6,500 individuals from across the United States.

To truly represent the community, however, it is important that we move past personal opinions and establish the facts as to who Iranian Americans are, what issues are important to them, and explore their prevailing views on domestic and other issues that impact their day to day lives and success in the United State.

To that end, PAAIA has, to date, commissioned Zogby Research Services to conduct three nationwide public opinion surveys of Iranian Americans. To our knowledge, these are the first national scientific surveys that are focused on Iranian Americans, shedding much needed light on the demographics and attitudes of our community. PAAIA's 2008, 2009, and 2011 surveys have been presented to the United States Congress, the U.S. Department of State, media, and the general public to wide acclaim.

In continuing to serve as an accurate source of information about the Iranian American community, PAAIA, through Zogby Research Services, has once again taken the lead by conducting its fourth nationwide scientific survey of Iranian Americans. The 2012 survey explores attitudes and views of Iranian Americans towards a possible U.S. or Israeli military action against Iran's nuclear sites or other facilities as well as their concerns on how such hostilities with Iran may impact their lives in America. This is follow-up to the broader 2011 survey covering a wider array of issue facing the Iranian American community.

KEY FINDINGS

The key findings of PAAIA's 2012 public opinion survey of Iranian Americans are as follows:

1. LINKS TO IRAN

A total of eighty-four percent (84%) of Iranian Americans have family in Iran, while only sixteen percent (16%) of those surveyed have no family living in Iran. These figures are consistent with the results found in PAAIA's 2008, 2009, and 2011 surveys. The 2011 survey results also indicate that six in ten Iranian Americans communicate with their family and friends in Iran at least several times a month.



2. CONCERNS REGARDING STRIKE AGAINST IRAN

Overall, two-thirds (66%) of all respondents are worried that an Israeli or U.S. military attack against Iran is now more likely than not. This concern is basically equal among Democrats (70%) and Republicans (65%). Women are slightly more concerned than men (74% vs. 60%), as are those who have moved to the United States since 1990 (80% vs. 63% of those who emigrated before 1990) and those with family in Iran (67% vs. 59% of those without family in Iran).

Most Iranian Americans (66%) are worried about a U.S. or Israeli attack against Iran.

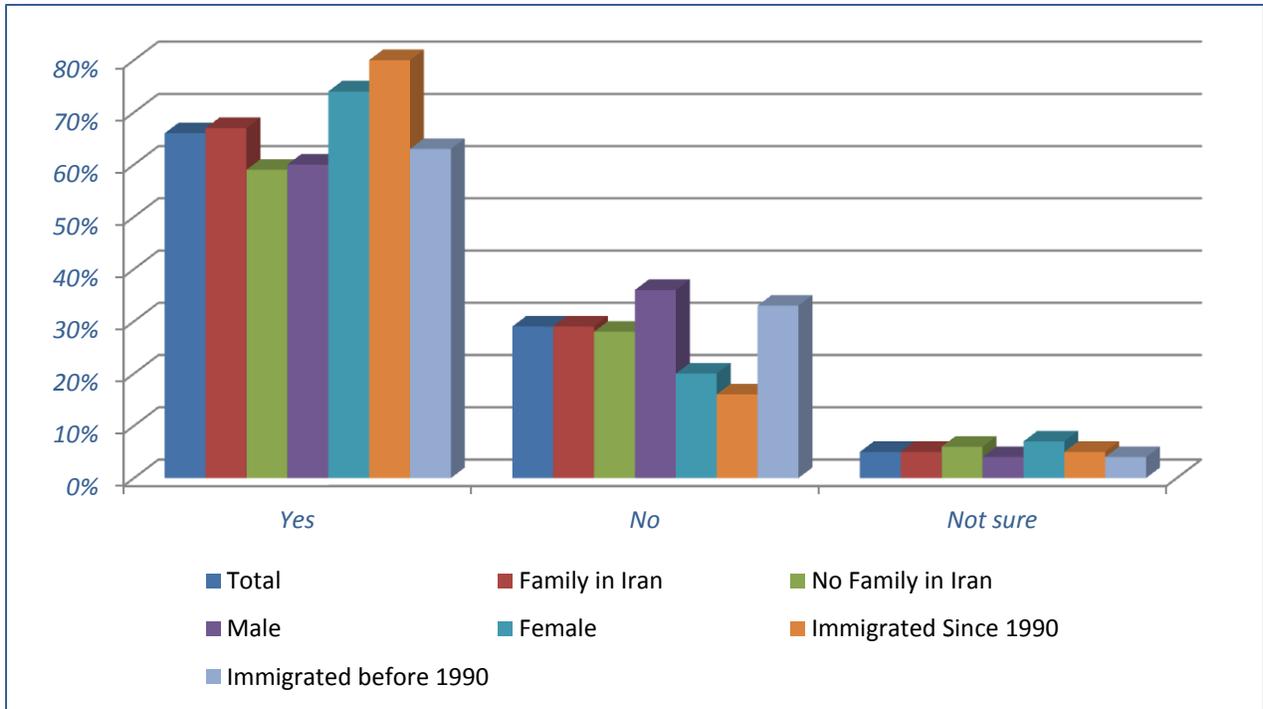


FIGURE 1 - IRANIAN AMERICAN CONCERNS REGARDING U.S. OR ISRAELI MILITARY ATTACK AGAINST IRAN

3. ATTITUDE TOWARDS POSSIBLE U.S. ATTACK ON IRAN

Almost two-thirds (63%) of Iranian Americans would oppose a possible U.S. bombing of Iran’s nuclear sites or other facilities. Sixteen percent (16%) of Iranian Americans might support such military action under some circumstances while thirteen percent (13%) support a U.S. bombing. Eight percent (8%) remain unsure. Republicans are more likely to support such an action than Democrats (41% vs. 25%). Those who do not have family in Iran are less likely to oppose a U.S. bombing (only 44% oppose it).

Most Iranian Americans (63%) oppose a U.S. attack on Iran.



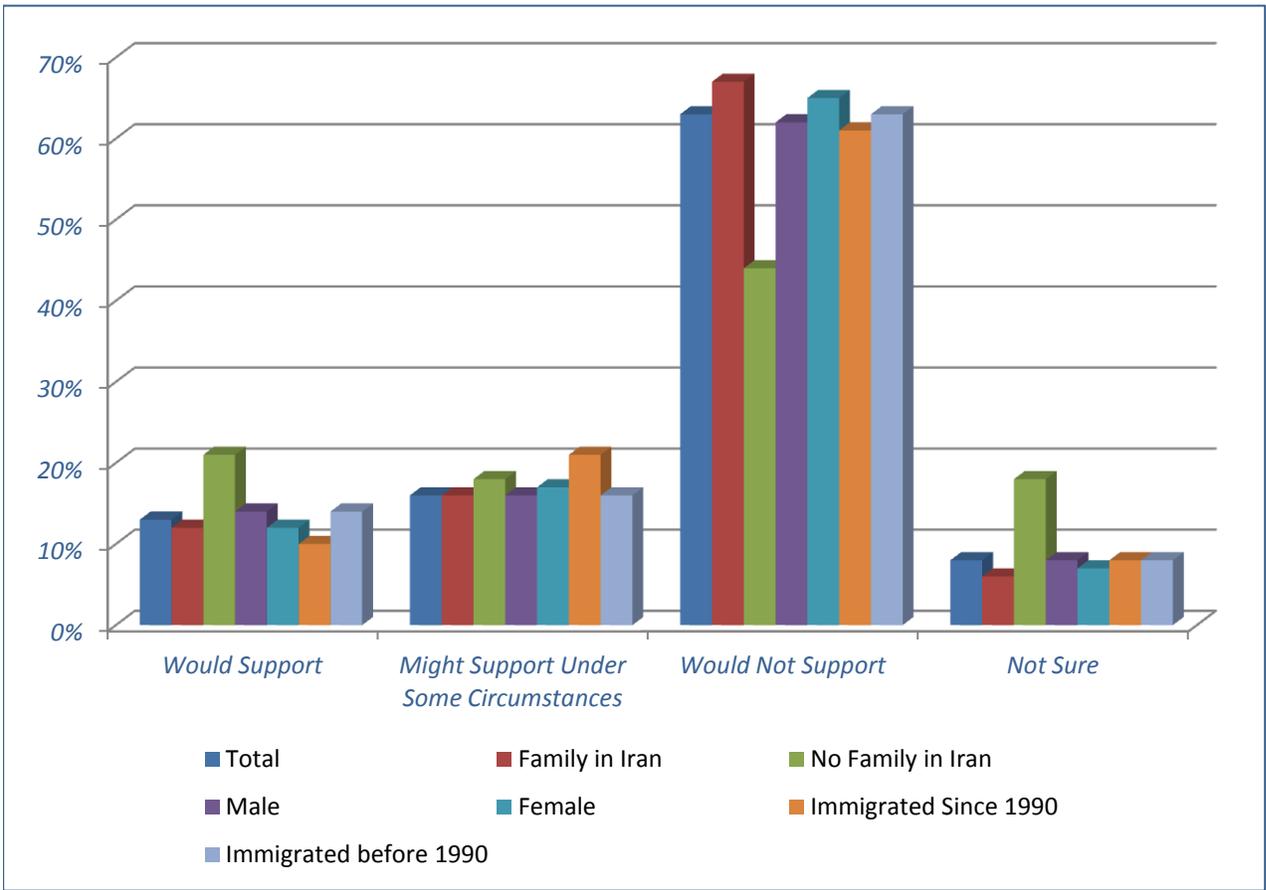


FIGURE 2 - IRANIAN AMERICANS ATTITUDE TOWARDS POSSIBLE U.S. BOMBING OF IRAN

4. ATTITUDE TOWARDS POSSIBLE ISRAELI ATTACK ON IRAN

Opposition is stronger against possible Israeli bombing of Iran’s nuclear sites with seventy percent (70%) of Iranian Americans opposed to such as scenario compared to sixty three percent (63%) opposing an American strike. Opposition is least intense among Republicans and those without family in Iran; among these groups, about one-half of respondents are opposed to Israeli military strikes, while four in ten would support it depending on the circumstances.

Most Iranian Americans (70%) oppose an Israeli attack on Iran.



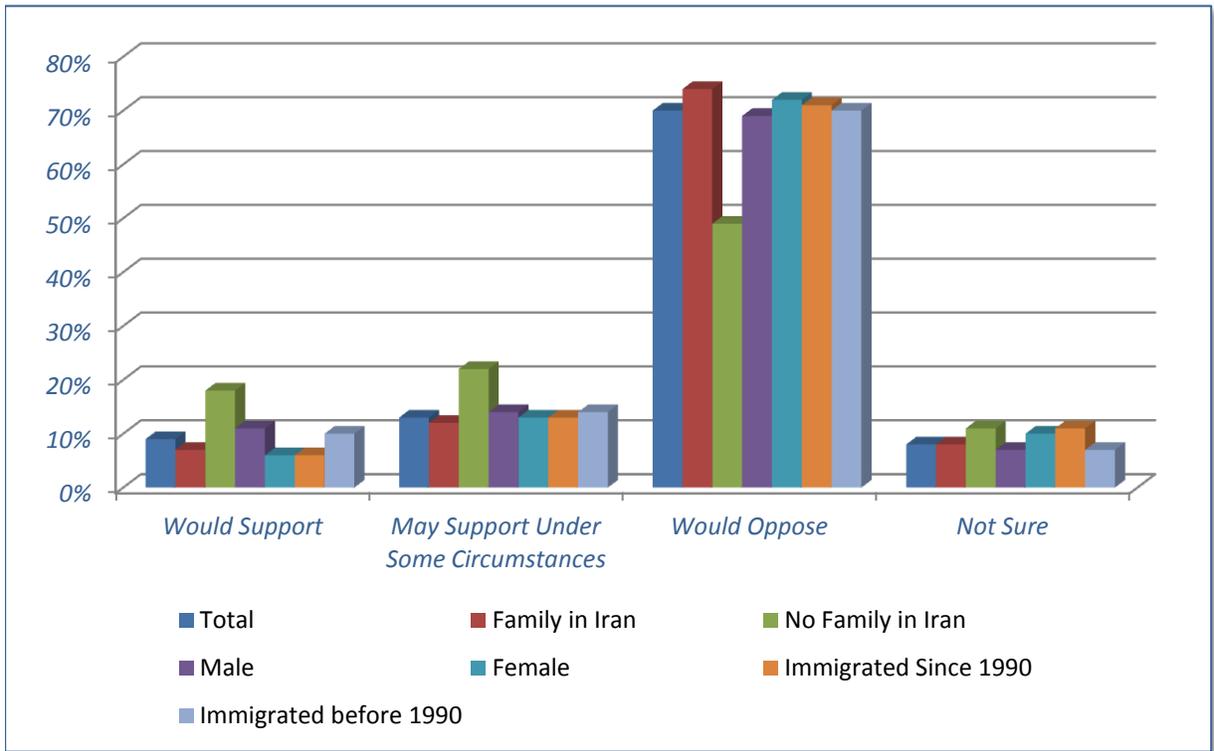


FIGURE 3 - IRANIAN AMERICANS ATTITUDE TOWARDS POSSIBLE ISRAELI BOMBING OF IRAN

5. REASONS WHY IRANIAN AMERICANS OPPOSE A POSSIBLE U.S. BOMBING OF IRAN

As noted in Figures 4 – 7 on page 8, when asked about their reasons for opposing a possible U.S. bombing of Iranian nuclear sites, eight in ten (80%) of Iranian Americans agree that their opposition is rooted in concern for the potential for substantial civilian casualties from bombing sites that are in population centers and the likely radioactive contamination resulting from bombing such nuclear sites. This concern is widely shared among all demographic groups.

Iranian Americans oppose a possible U.S. bombing of Iran for the following primary reasons:

- *Concern for civilian casualties (80%)*
- *Not in political or economic interest of the United States (70%)*
- *Will strengthen the Iranian government (63%)*

The second most frequently cited reason for opposition to a U.S. military strike is that such action is not in the political or economic self-interest of the United States. Overall, seventy percent (70%) of respondents express this view, with broad agreement across demographic groups, including Democrats and Republicans. Those without family in Iran are slightly less concerned about this reason (56% agree vs. 73% among those with family in Iran).

Finally, more than six in ten respondents agree that their opposition to a U.S. bombing is because bombing Iran would strengthen the Iranian government (63%) and because strikes would be ineffective and encourage the development of an Iranian nuclear program (62%). A significant partisan divide is evident here; sixty-nine percent (69%) of Democrats say bombing Iran would strengthen the Iranian government, while only forty-nine percent (49%) of Republicans agree. Similarly, sixty-six percent (66%) of Democrats think strikes would be ineffective and



counterproductive, while only forty-four percent (44%) of Republicans agree. Concern about a bombing campaign strengthening the Iranian regime is also more prevalent among those with family in Iran (65% vs. 52% without family in Iran) and among men (68% vs. 55% of women).

Note: Asked only of those who in Question 3 or 4 responded oppose, not sure, or might support military strikes under certain circumstances.

6. CIRCUMSTANCES FOR SUPPORTING POSSIBLE U.S. MILITARY STRIKE ON IRAN

As noted in Figures 8 - 11 on page 9, Iranian Americans are most likely to support a U.S. military strike against Iran if the Iranian government were to commit mass murder of civilian populations, with fifty-seven percent (57%) agreeing that this circumstance would lead them to support such an action. Other possible circumstances that would sway Iranian Americans include a first strike by Iran against U.S. military forces in the Persian Gulf (47%), a proven Iranian terrorist attack on the United States (46%), and UN authorization of military strikes (41%). Less than three in ten respondents would support U.S. military strikes even if it is proven that Iran is developing nuclear weapons (29%) or if Iran closed the Straits of Hormuz (28%). Those with family in Iran are less inclined to support strikes in each of the circumstances described. Republicans are more inclined than Democrats to support U.S. military action in almost every case by an average of 20 points. Twenty-six percent (26%) of Iranian Americans say they would not support U.S. military strikes under any circumstances.

Iranian Americans would support a U.S. military strike against Iran if the Iranian government were to commit mass murder of civilian populations.



Reasons Why Iranian Americans Oppose a Possible US Bombing of Iran

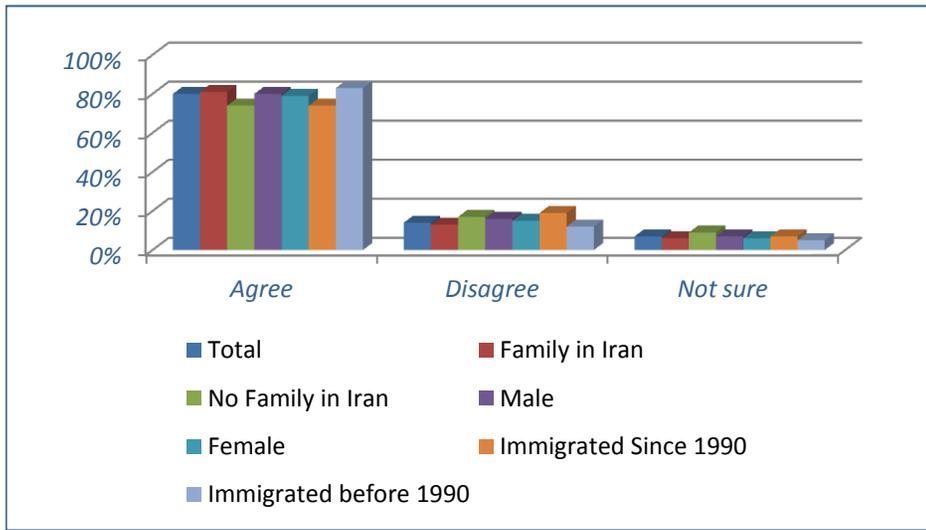


FIGURE 4 - IRANIAN AMERICANS ATTITUDE TOWARDS U.S. BOMBING OF IRAN BASED ON CONCERN FOR POTENTIAL CIVILIAN CASUALTIES & RADIOACTIVE CONTAMINATION

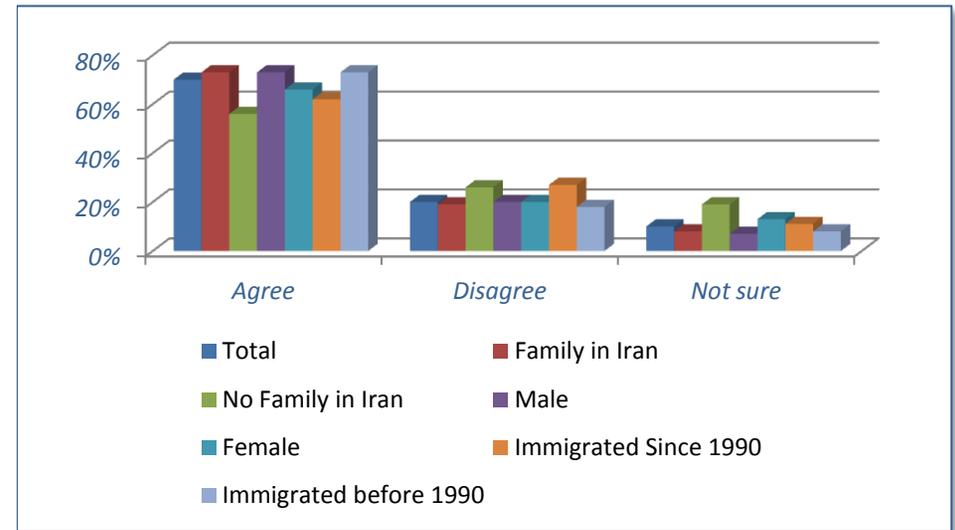


FIGURE 5 - IRANIAN AMERICANS ATTITUDE TOWARDS U.S. BOMBING OF IRAN BASED ON THE ACTION NOT BEING IN THE POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC SELF-INTEREST OF THE U.S.

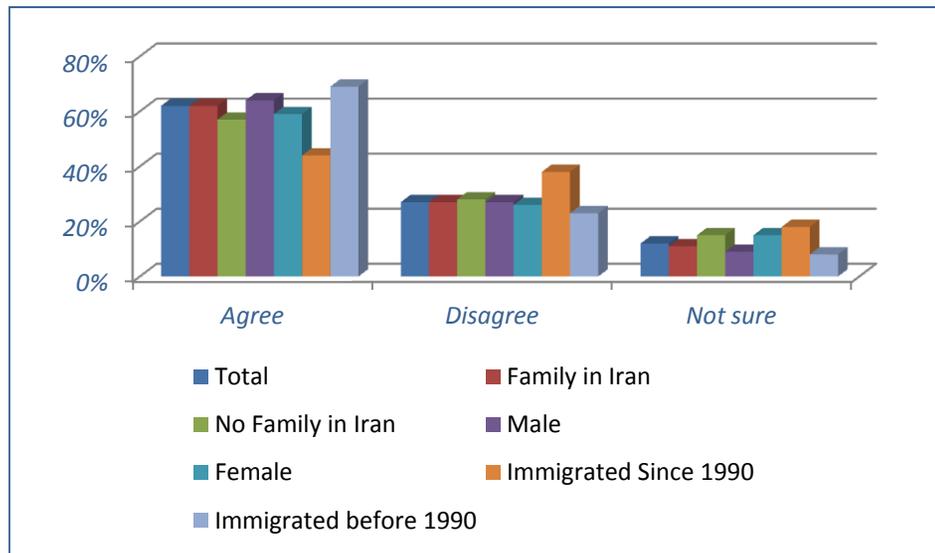


FIGURE 6 - IRANIAN AMERICANS ATTITUDE TOWARDS U.S. BOMBING OF IRAN BASED ON CONCERN THAT THE STRIKES WOULD STRENGTHEN THE GOVERNMENT IN IRAN

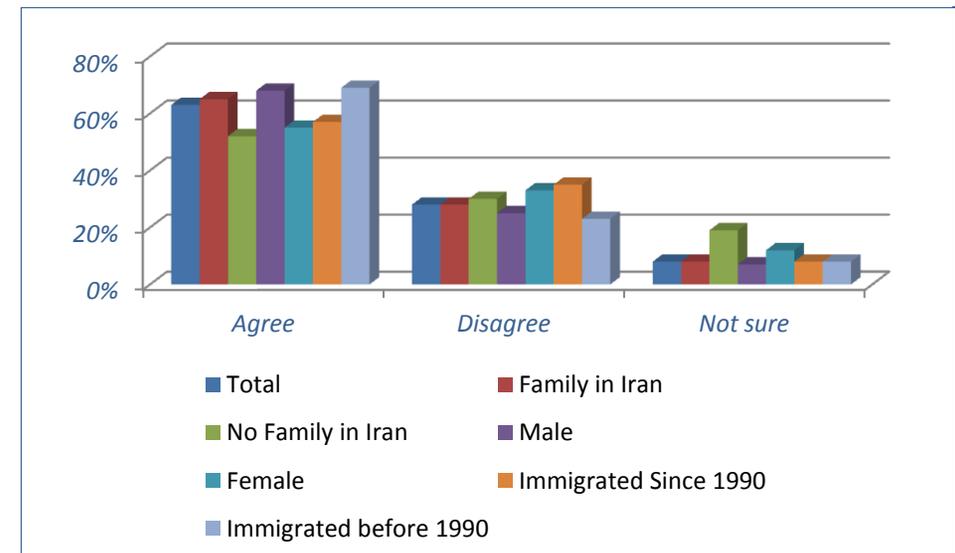


FIGURE 7 - IRANIAN AMERICANS ATTITUDE TOWARDS U.S. BOMBING OF IRAN BASED ON CONCERN THAT STRIKES WOULD BE INEFFECTIVE & ENCOURAGE IRAN TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS



Reasons Why Iranian Americans Would Support a Possible US Bombing of Iran

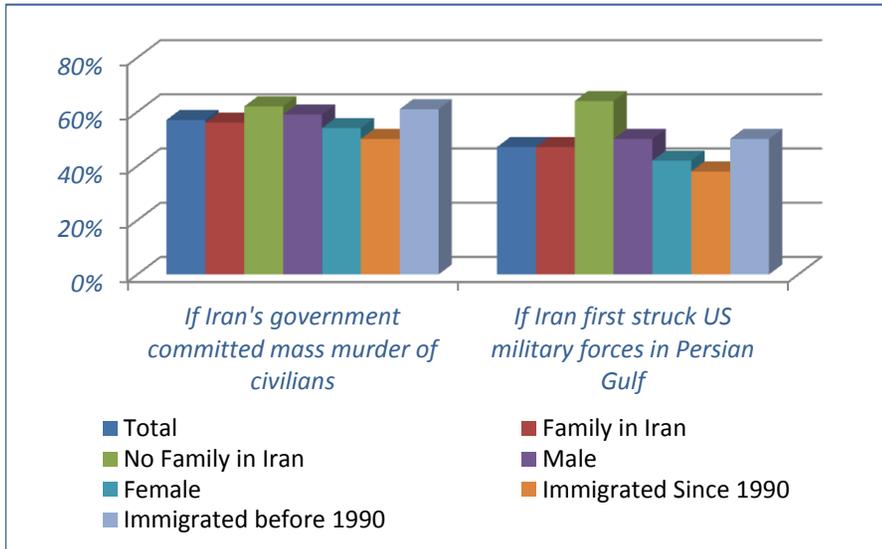


FIGURE 8

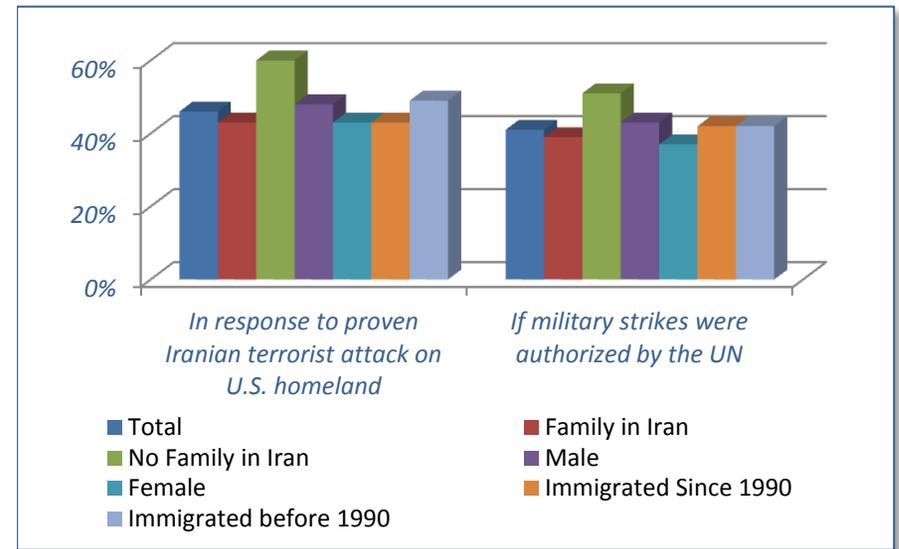


FIGURE 9

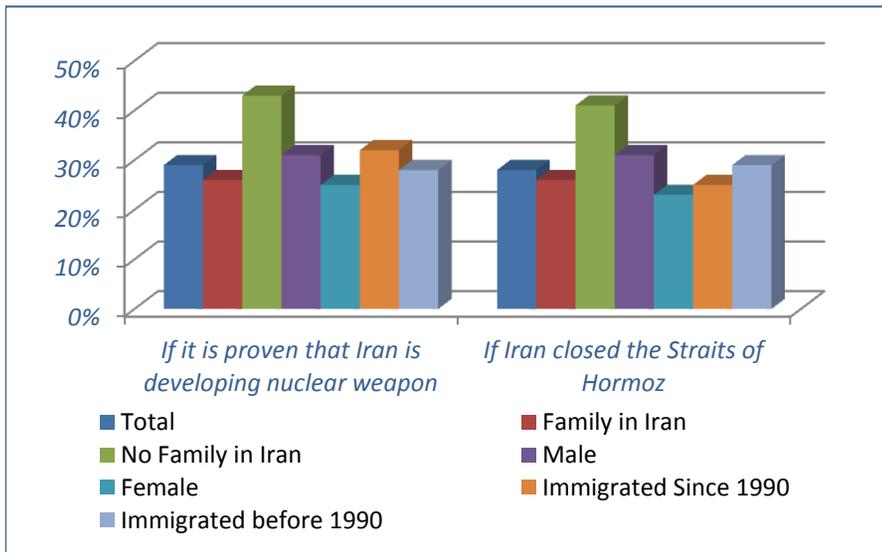


FIGURE 10

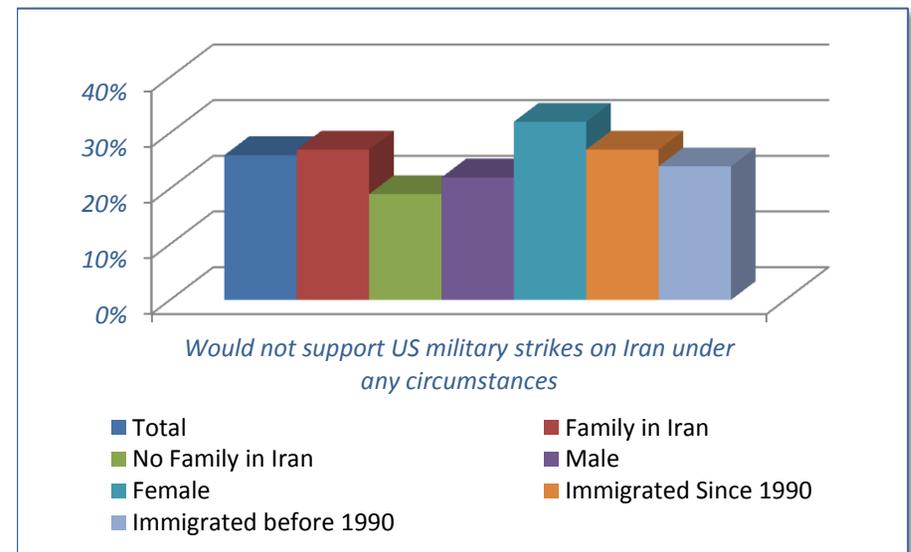


FIGURE 11



7. CONCERNS OVER DISCRIMINATION AND HEIGHTENED SCRUTINY RESULTING FROM U.S. HOSTILITIES TOWARD IRAN

About four in ten (40%) Iranian Americans say they have experienced discrimination or know of another Iranian American who has experienced discrimination because of their ethnicity or country of origin, while 58% say they have not experienced this type of discrimination – consistent with 2008 survey. This response is fairly evenly distributed among all demographic groups.

There is concern among fifty five percent (55%) of the respondents that U.S. hostilities with Iran have the potential for increasing discrimination against Iranian Americans. This view is almost the same amongst all demographic groups, but is slightly more prevalent among those with family in Iran (56% vs. 46% of those without family in Iran) and among those whose families moved to the United States since 1990 (64% vs. 52% of those whose families arrived before 1990). More than half of all respondents (55%) are concerned that U.S. hostilities with Iran could lead to the targeting of Iranian Americans by U.S. law enforcement agencies. This view is fairly consistent among all demographic groups.

Nearly half of Iranian Americans reported that they have either experienced or know someone who has been discriminated against because of their ethnicity or country of origin.

Over half of Iranian Americans are concerned about increased scrutiny as a result of any escalating U.S. hostilities towards Iran.

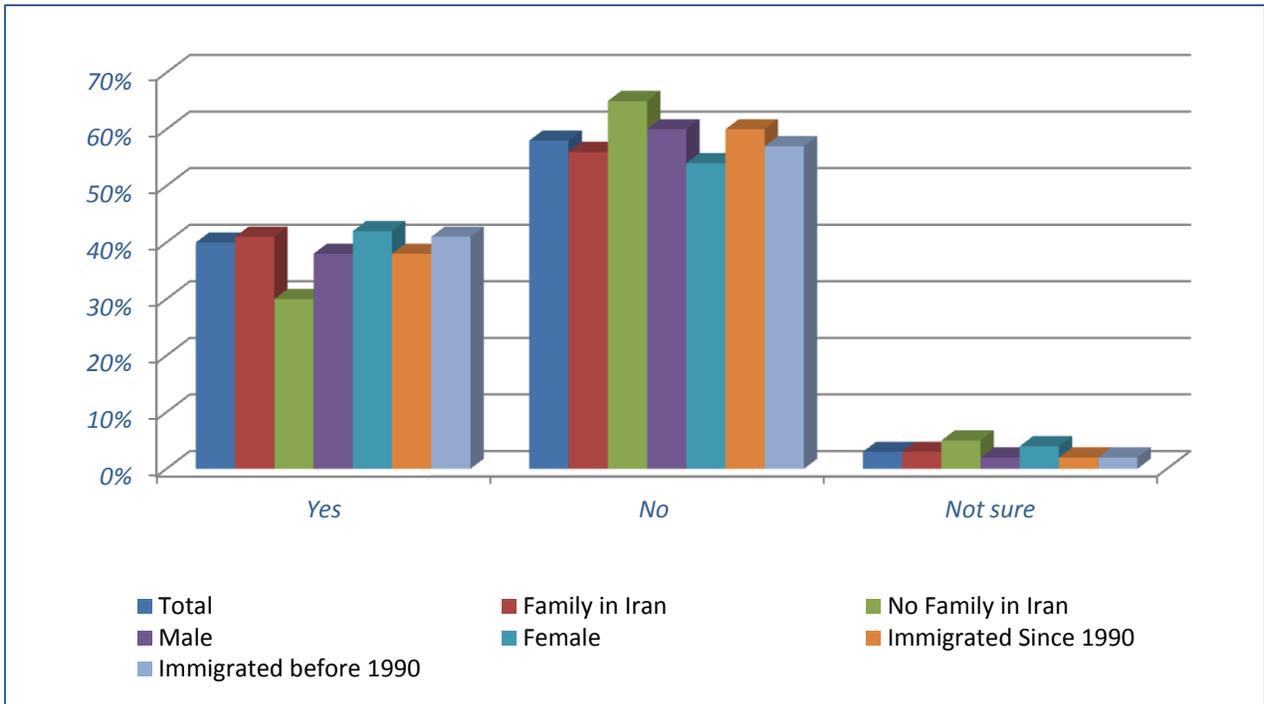


FIGURE 12 – IRANIAN AMERICANS WHO HAVE OR KNOW SOMEONE WHO HAS BEEN DISCRIMINATED AGAINST IN PAST BECAUSE OF ETHNICITY OR RACE



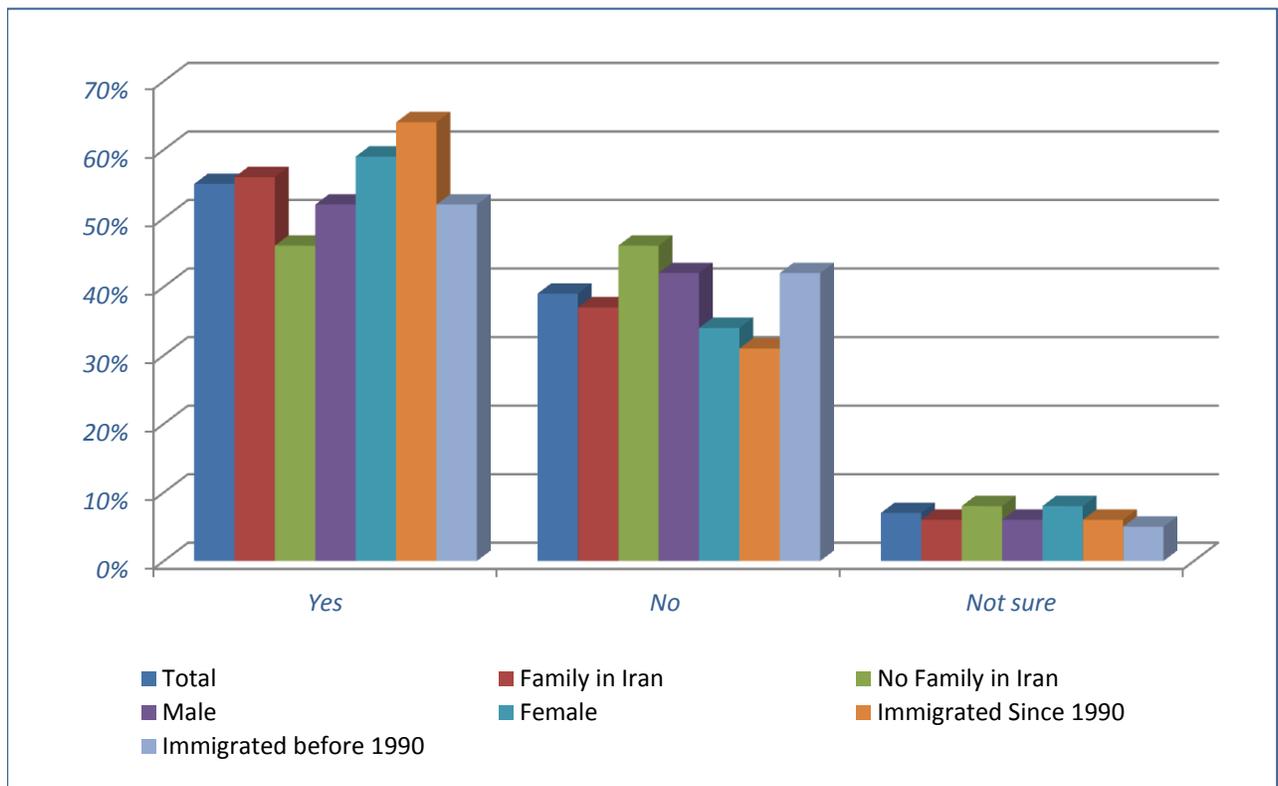


FIGURE 13 - IRANIAN AMERICANS WHO ARE CONCERNED THAT U.S. HOSTILITIES WITH IRAN WILL RESULT IN INCREASED SURVEILLANCE OR SCRUTINY BY U.S. LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

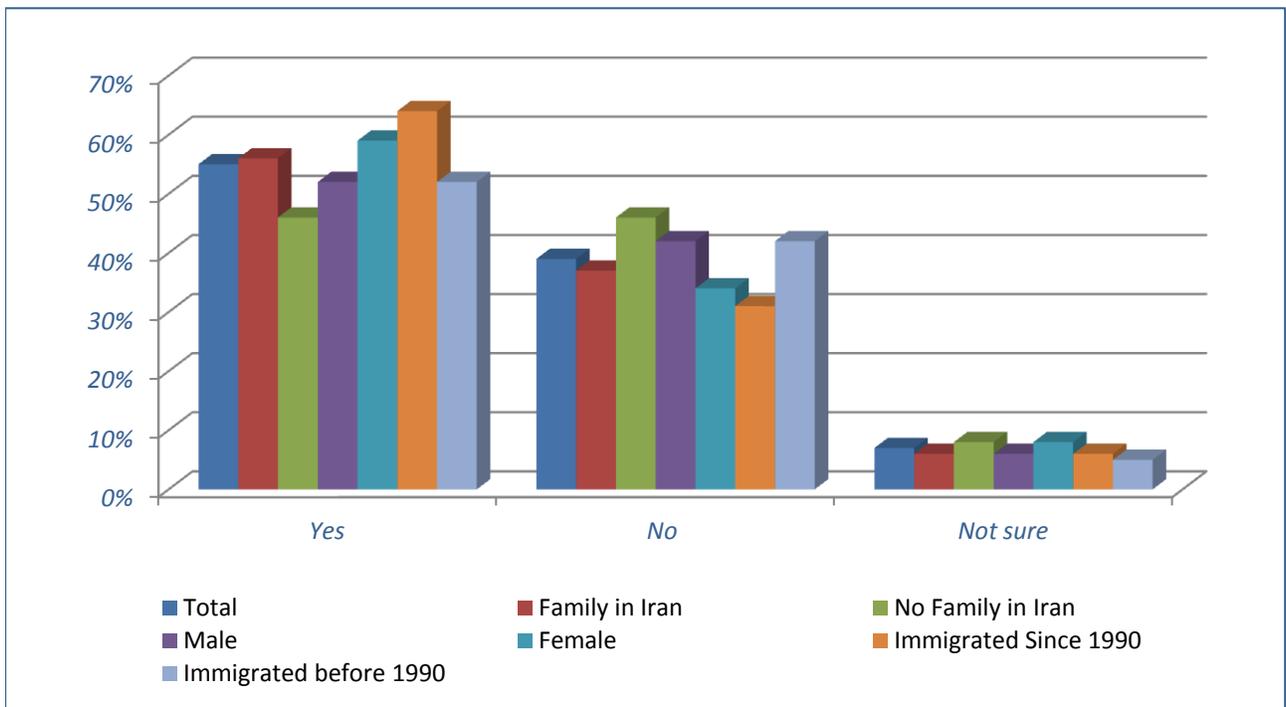


FIGURE 14 - IRANIAN AMERICANS WHO ARE CONCERNED THAT U.S. HOSTILITIES WITH IRAN WILL POTENTIALLY INCREASE DISCRIMINATION AGAINST IRANIAN AMERICANS



III. ORGANIZATIONAL INFORMATION

PUBLIC AFFAIRS ALLIANCE OF IRANIAN AMERICANS (PAAIA)



PAAIA is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, nonsectarian, independent organization that represents the domestic interests of the Iranian American community before U.S. policymakers, opinion makers, and the American public at large. PAAIA seeks to achieve its mission by focusing on three major areas of activities: Community Building, Image Building, and Influence Building. For more information about

PAAIA, you can visit our website at www.paaia.org.

For more information about or questions regarding this survey and its content, please contact PAAIA at info@paaia.org or at (202) 828-8370.

ZOGBY RESEARCH SERVICES



Zogby Research Services (formerly Zogby International) is a pre-eminent polling firm that has been tracking public opinion throughout the world since 1984, and has a particular expertise in polling ethnic communities in the United States.

For more information about and questions regarding the methodology for conducting this survey, please contact James Zogby at Zogby Research Services at jameszogby@yahoo.com or Chad Bonhert at chad@jzanalytics.com.

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IV. APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

DEMOGRAPHICS

Sample Characteristics	Frequency	Valid Percent*
Sample Size	400	100
East	71	18
South	94	24
Central/Great Lakes	46	12
West	161	40
Democrat	154	39
Republican	51	13
Independent	122	31
Minor	3	1
No Party	70	18
18-29	42	11
30-49	120	30
50-64	173	43
65+	55	14
No Response: Age Group A	10	3
18-24	23	6
25- 34	32	8
35 - 54	188	47
55-69	117	29
70+	30	8



Sample Characteristics	Frequency	Valid Percent*
No response: Age Group B	10	3
< College	51	13
College +	328	82
No response: Education	21	5
Muslim	123	31
Roman Catholic	6	2
Protestant	20	5
Atheist/Realist/Humanist	45	11
Zoroastrian	8	2
Baha'i	26	7
Jewish	21	5
Agnostic	31	8
Other	59	15
No Response: Religion	61	15
Male	236	59
Female	164	41
< \$25,000	39	10
\$25-35K	22	6
\$35-50K	26	7
\$50-75K	46	12
\$75-100K	56	14
\$100K+	136	34



Sample Characteristics	Frequency	Valid Percent*
No response: Income	75	19

APPENDIX 2. METHODOLOGY

Zogby Research Services was commissioned by PAAIA to conduct a telephone survey of Iranian American adults. The survey was conducted between March 5th – 6th, 2012 and is based on successful interviews in English with a representative sample of 400 Iranian American respondents. Zogby Research Services working with jzanalytics, conducted the survey employing sampling strategies in which selection probabilities are proportional to population size within area codes and exchanges. Up to four calls are made to reach a sampled phone number. Cooperation rates are calculated using one of the methodologies that are approved by the American Association for Public Opinion Research and are comparable to other professional public-opinion surveys conducted using similar sampling strategies. Cooperation rates (in this case, 31.2%) are calculated using one of AAPOR's approved methodologies. The margin of error for the results of this survey is +/- 5 percentage points, which is an acceptable margin of error for a survey of this type. Margins of error are higher in sub-groups. Based on a confidence interval of 95%, the margin of error for 400 is +/- 5.0 percentage points. This means that all other things being equal, the identical survey repeated will have results within the margin of error 95 times out of 100

APPENDIX 3. QUESTIONNAIRE AND RESULTS

1. Do you have family in Iran?

Yes	84%
No	16%

2. Are you worried that an Israeli or U.S. military attack against Iran is now more likely than not?

Response	Total	Family in Iran?		Gender		Years Immigrated	
		Yes	No	Male	Female	Since 1990	1990 or before
Yes	66	67	59	60	74	80	63
No	29	28	35	36	20	16	33
Unsure	5	5	6	4	7	5	4



3. Which of the following best describes your attitude toward a possible U.S. bombing of Iran's nuclear sites or other facilities?

Response	Total	Family in Iran?		Gender		Years Immigrated	
		Yes	No	Male	Female	Since 1990	1990 or before
I would support this	13	12	21	14	12	10	14
I might support this under some circumstances	16	16	18	16	17	21	16
I would oppose this	63	67	44	62	65	61	63
Not sure	8	6	18	8	7	8	8

4. Which of the following best describes your attitude toward a possible Israeli bombing of Iran's nuclear sites for other facilities?

Response	Total	Family in Iran?		Gender		Years Immigrated	
		Yes	No	Male	Female	Since 1990	1990 or before
I would support this	9	7	18	11	6	6	10
I might support this under some circumstances	13	12	22	14	13	13	14
I would oppose this	70	74	49	69	72	71	70
Not sure	8	8	11	7	10	11	7



5 - 8. Reasons for opposition to a possible U.S. bombing of Iran (Agree/Disagree).

Note: if response to Question 3 and 4 are answers 2, 3, or 4 then ask Questions 5, 6, 7 and 8.

Response	Concern for potential civilian casualties and radioactive contamination							Not in the political or economic self-interest of the United States						
	Total	Family in Iran		Gender		Years immigrated		Total	Family in Iran		Gender		Years immigrated	
		Yes	No	Male	Female	Since 1990	1990 or before		Yes	No	Male	Female	Since 1990	1990 or before
Agree	80	81	74	80	79	74	83	70	73	56	73	66	62	73
Disagree	14	13	17	13	15	19	12	20	19	26	20	20	27	18
Not sure	7	6	9	7	6	7	5	10	8	19	7	13	11	8
Response	Strikes would strengthen the government of Iran							Strikes would be ineffective and encourage Iran to develop nuclear weapons						
	Total	Family in Iran		Gender		Years immigrated		Total	Family in Iran		Gender		Years immigrated	
		Yes	No	Male	Female	Since 1990	1990 or before		Yes	No	Male	Female	Since 1990	1990 or before
Agree	62	62	57	64	59	44	69	63	65	52	68	55	57	69
Disagree	27	27	28	27	26	38	23	28	28	30	25	33	35	23
Not sure	12	11	15	9	15	8	9	9	8	19	7	12	8	8



9. Circumstances for possible support of U.S. military strikes against Iran

Response	Total	Family in Iran		Gender		Years immigrated	
		Yes	No	Male	Female	Since 1990	1990 or before
If the Iranian government were to commit mass murder of civilian populations	57	56	62	59	54	50	61
If Iran first struck U.S. military forces in the Persian Gulf	47	47	64	50	42	38	50
In response to a proven Iranian terrorist attack on the United States homeland	46	43	60	48	43	43	49
If the military strike were authorized by the United Nations	41	39	51	43	37	42	42
If Iran closed the Straits of Hormoz	28	26	41	31	23	25	29
I would not support U.S. military strikes on Iran under any circumstances	26	27	19	22	32	27	24

10. Have you or another Iranian American you know personally experienced discrimination in the past because of your or their ethnicity or country of origin?

Response	Total	Family in Iran		Gender		Years immigrated	
		Yes	No	Male	Female	Since 1990	1990 or before
Yes	40	41	30	38	42	38	41
No	58	56	64	60	54	60	57
Not Sure	3	3	5	2	4	2	2



11. Are you concerned that U.S. hostilities with Iran have the potential for increasing discrimination against Iranian Americans?

Response	Total	Family in Iran		Gender		Years immigrated	
		Yes	No	Male	Female	Since 1990	1990 or before
Yes	55	56	46	52	59	64	52
No	39	37	46	42	34	31	42
Not Sure	7	6	8	6	8	6	5

12. Are you concerned that U.S. hostilities with Iran could result in Iranian Americans being targeted for surveillance or increased scrutiny by U.S. law enforcement agencies?

Response	Total	Family in Iran		Gender		Years immigrated	
		Yes	No	Male	Female	Since 1990	1990 or before
Yes	55	58	43	57	53	60	55
No	34	32	44	34	33	27	36
Not Sure	11	10	13	9	14	11	8





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