**2025 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 166 GLOBAL ATTITUDES SURVEY
FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE
MARCH 24 – 30, 2025**

Note: The questions presented below are part of a larger survey conducted on the American Trends Panel. For all questions, the 98 ("don't know" in phone mode) and 99 (refusal in phone mode and no answer in web mode) codes are combined in the data for analytical purposes.

PN = Programming note

CODEBOOK FOR ATP SAMPLE VARIABLES TO BE USED IN SURVEY PROGRAMMING LOGIC

X_FORM
1   Form 1
2   Form 2
Note: Flag to randomly assign panelists to one of two forms (Form 1, Form 2) and weight within form
ATP source: Randomly assigned for each survey.

---------------------------------**MAIN QUESTIONNAIRE BEGINS HERE**--------------------------------
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ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

BAT: FAV
ASK ALL:
[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; SHOW ITEMS ACROSS TWO SCREENS WITH 6 ITEMS ON EACH SCREEN; ALWAYS SHOW FAV_US FIRST AND ON SCREEN 1; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]
[PN: SHOW "READ FOR FIRST ITEM" AND "READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS" ON THE FIRST SCREEN; ON THE FIRST SCREEN, BETWEEN THE QUESTION TEXT AND THE GRID, INCLUDE AN INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: "[INTERVIEWER NOTE: QUESTION CONTINUES ON NEXT PAGE]"; ONLY SHOW "READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS" ON THE SECOND SCREEN]

> **[PN: IF WEB:]** Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of…

> **[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:]** Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of **(INSERT ITEM)**? **(READ LIST)**

> **[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:]** Next, **(INSERT ITEM)**.
> **(READ AS NECESSARY:** Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of **(INSERT ITEM)**? **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY))**

> **BATTERY ITEMS:**
> US   The U.S.
> CHINA   China
> EU   The European Union
> UN   The United Nations
> NATO   NATO **[PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: NAY-toe)]**, that is, North Atlantic Treaty
> RUSSIA   Russia
> ISRAEL   Israel
> INDIA   India
> CANADA   **[PN: ASK FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):]** Canada
> MEXICO   **[PN: ASK FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):]** Mexico
> IRAN   **[PN: ASK FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):]** Iran **[PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: ee-RON)]**
> FRANCE   **[PN: ASK FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]** France
> GERMANY   **[PN: ASK FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]** Germany
> UK   **[PN: ASK FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]** The United Kingdom
> JAPAN   **[PN: ASK FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):]** Japan
> ITALY   **[PN: ASK FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]** Italy

> **RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**
> 1   Very favorable
> 2   Somewhat favorable
> 3   Somewhat unfavorable
> 4   Very unfavorable
> 98   **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
> 99   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused

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BAT: CONFID
ASK ALL:
[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

[PN: IF WEB:] How much confidence do you have in each of the following leaders to do the right thing regarding world affairs?

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:] How much confidence do you have in each of the following leaders to do the right thing regarding world affairs? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. **(READ LIST)**

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:] Next, **(INSERT ITEM)**.
(READ AS NECESSARY: How much confidence do you have in this leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs? **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY))**

BATTERY ITEMS:
XI   Chinese President Xi Jinping **[PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: Shee Jin-PING)]**
PUTIN   Russian President Vladimir Putin **[PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: Vladda-MEER POO-tin)]**
MACRON   French President Emmanuel Macron **[PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: Eh-MAN-you-el Ma-CROAN)]**
NETANYAHU   Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu **[PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: neh-tuhn-YAA-hoo]**
ZELENSKYY   Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy **[PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: Vuh-Luh-Dih-Mir Zeh-LEN-skee)]**

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:
1   A lot of confidence
2   Some confidence
3   Not too much confidence
4   No confidence at all
[PN: INSERT LINE OF SPACE]
5   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Never heard of this person **[PN: IF CATI:]** Or have you never heard of this person?
98   **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
99   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused

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TXT:
[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ECON_POWER AND MIL_POWER; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

QUE: ECON_POWER
ASK ALL:
[PN: RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS HOLDING 98 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

Today, which one of the following do you think is the world's leading <u>economic</u> power?

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

1   The U.S.
2   China
3   Japan
4   The countries of the European Union
98   **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
99   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused

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TXT:
[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ECON_POWER AND MIL_POWER; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

QUE: MIL_POWER
ASK ALL:
[PN: RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS HOLDING 98 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

Today, which one of the following do you think is the world's leading <u>military</u> power?

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

1   The U.S.
2   China
3   Russia
98   **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
99   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused

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ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

TXT:
[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ALLIES_OPEN AND THREATS_OPEN/THREAT_TYPE; ALWAYS ASK THREAT_TYPE AFTER THREATS_OPEN; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

QUE: THREATS_OPEN
ASK ALL:
[PN: INSERT PRE-CODED LIST FROM THREATS_OPEN EXCEL FILE FOR AUTOPOPULATING AS R TYPES IN RESPONSE INTO TEXT BOX]
[PN: IF WEB, SOFT PROMPT IF ENTERS ANYTHING IN TEXT BOX BUT DOESN'T SELECT A COUNTRY: "Please select a country from the list. If you would like to skip, clear your response from the box below and then click Next." **ALLOW TO CONTINUE IF SKIP AGAIN WITHOUT SELECTING COUNTRY]**
[PN: IF WEB, IF TEXT DOESN'T MATCH PRE-CODED LIST SHOW ERROR MESSAGE: "Country not found" **]**

What country do you think poses the greatest threat to the U.S.?

[PN: IF WEB:] *Please type in the box below and click the correct country when it shows up in the list.*

[PN: IF CATI:] [INTERVIEWER: TYPE IN COUNTRY RESPONDENT SAYS INTO THE TEXT BOX. AS YOU TYPE COUNTRIES WILL APPEAR BELOW THE TEXT BOX. SELECT THE CORRECT COUNTRY FROM THE LIST WHEN IT APPEARS.]

1	**[PN: INSERT SINGLE LINE TEXT BOX]**
996	No country
998	**[PN: IF WEB:]** Not sure **[PN: IF CATI:]** Or are you not sure?
999	**[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused

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BAT: THREAT_TYPE
ASK THOSE WHO PROVIDED A VERBATIM RESPONSE TO THREATS_OPEN (THREATS_OPEN≠996, 998, 999):
[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

[PN: IF WEB:] To what extent does the country you listed in the previous question pose a threat to…?

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:] To what extent does the country you mentioned in the previous question pose a threat to **(INSERT ITEM)**? **(READ LIST)**

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:] To what extent does the country you mentioned in the previous question pose a threat to **(INSERT ITEM)**? **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY)**

BATTERY ITEMS:
ECON   The U.S. economy
SEC   U.S. national security

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:
1   A great deal
2   A fair amount
3   Not too much
4   Not at all

98   **[PN: IF CATI:]** **(DO NOT READ)** Don't know
99   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:]** **(DO NOT READ)** Refused

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ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

BAT: GROWINFLU1
ASK ALL:
[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS, SHOW COUNTRY ALWAYS LAST FOR X_FORM=1; ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1 HOLDING 3, 98 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION AND ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

     [PN: IF WEB:] For each of the following countries, would you say its influence in the world in recent years has been...

     [PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:] For each of the following countries, would you say its influence in the world in recent years has been... **(READ LIST)**. First, **(INSERT ITEM)**.

     [PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:] Next, **(INSERT ITEM)**.
     (READ AS NECESSARY: Has its influence in the world in recent years been... **(READ LIST)**?**)**

     BATTERY ITEMS:
     CHINA   **[PN: ASK FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):]** China
     RUSSIA   **[PN: ASK FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):]** Russia
     INDIA   **[PN: ASK FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):]** India
     GERMANY   **[PN: ASK FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]** Germany
     ISRAEL   **[PN: ASK FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]** Israel
     UK   **[PN: ASK FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]** The United Kingdom
     IRAN   **[PN: ASK FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]** Iran **[PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: ee-RON)]**
     COUNTRY   **[PN: ASK FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):]** The U.S.

     RESPONSE CATEGORIES:
     1   Getting stronger
     2   Getting weaker
     3   Staying about the same
     98   **[PN: IF CATI:]** **(DO NOT READ)** Don't know
     99   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:]** **(DO NOT READ)** Refused

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BAT: BENEFITORG
ASK ALL:
[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

     [PN: IF WEB:] How much, if at all, do you think the U.S. benefits from being a member of each of the following organizations?

     [PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:] How much, if at all, do you think the U.S. benefits from being a member of each of the following organizations? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. **(READ LIST)**

     [PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:] Next, **(INSERT ITEM)**.
     (READ AS NECESSARY: How much, if at all, do you think the U.S. benefits from being a member of this organization? **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY))**

BATTERY ITEMS:
NATO   North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or NATO **[PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: NAY-toe)]**
UN   The United Nations

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:
1   A great deal
2   A fair amount
3   Not too much
4   Not at all
98   **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
99   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused

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ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED OR HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

TXT:
[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF CHINA_TRADE, CANADA_TRADE, AND MEXICO_TRADE; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

QUE: CHINA_TRADE
ASK ALL:
[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1 HOLDING 3, 4, 5 AND 99 LAST IN SAME ORDER AS CANADA_TRADE AND MEXICO_TRADE; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION AND ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

When it comes to trade between the U.S. and <u>China</u>, would you say...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

1   China benefits more than the U.S.
2   The U.S. benefits more than China
3   Both countries benefit equally
4   Neither country benefits
[PN: INSERT LINE OF SPACE]
5   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Not sure **[PN: IF CATI:]** Or are you not sure?
99   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused

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ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

TXT:
DISPLAY IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):
As you may know, the Trump administration has increased tariffs on China, which are fees on imported goods or products. In response, China has increased tariffs on American goods.

TXT:
[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TARIFFS_COUNTRYNS AND TARIFFS_INDIVNS SHOWN ON SAME SCREEN; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

QUE: TARIFFS_COUNTRYNS
ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):
[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1 HOLDING 3, 4 AND 99 LAST IN SAME ORDER AS TARIFFS_INDIVNS; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

      Overall, do you think these increased tariffs will be...

      [PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

      1   Good for the U.S.
      2   Bad for the U.S.
      3   No real effect either way
      [PN: INSERT LINE OF SPACE]
      4   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Not sure **[PN: IF CATI:]** Or are you not sure?
      99   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused

QUE: TARIFFS_INDIVNS
ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):
[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1 HOLDING 3, 4 AND 99 LAST IN SAME ORDER AS TARIFFS_COUNTRYNS; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

      Overall, do you think these increased tariffs will be...

      [PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

      1   Good for you personally
      2   Bad for you personally
      3   No real effect either way
      [PN: INSERT LINE OF SPACE]
      4   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Not sure **[PN: IF CATI:]** Or are you not sure?
      99   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused

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BAT: CONFPERS
ASK ALL:
[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

[PN: IF WEB:] How important would you say each of the following is to you personally?

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:] How important would you say each of the following is to you personally? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. **(READ LIST)**

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:] Next, **(INSERT ITEM)**.
(READ AS NECESSARY: How important is this to you personally? **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY))**

BATTERY ITEMS:
a   The war between Israel and Hamas
b   The war between Russia and Ukraine
c   The tensions between China and Taiwan

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:
1   Very important
2   Somewhat important
3   Not too important
4   Not at all important
[PN: INSERT LINE OF SPACE]
5   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Not sure **[PN: IF CATI:]** Or are you not sure?
99   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:]** **(DO NOT READ)** Refused

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BAT: CONFGEO
ASK ALL:
[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS IN SAME ORDER AS CONFPERS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

[PN: IF WEB:] Regardless of how important they are to you personally, how important is each of the following for the U.S.'s national interests?

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:] Regardless of how important they are to you personally, how important is each of the following for the U.S.'s national interests? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. **(READ LIST)**

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:] Next, **(INSERT ITEM)**.
(READ AS NECESSARY: Regardless of how important they are to you personally, how important is this for the U.S.'s national interests? **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY))**

BATTERY ITEMS:
a   The war between Israel and Hamas
b   The war between Russia and Ukraine
c   The tensions between China and Taiwan

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:
1   Very important
2   Somewhat important
3   Not too important
4   Not at all important
[PN: INSERT LINE OF SPACE]
5   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Not sure **[PN: IF CATI:]** Or are you not sure?

99   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:]** **(DO NOT READ)** Refused

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QUE: USUK_RESP
ASK ALL:

Does the U.S. have a responsibility to help Ukraine defend itself from Russia's invasion?

[PN: IF CATI:] **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY)**

1   Yes
2   No
98   **[PN: IF CATI:]** **(DO NOT READ)** Don't know
99   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:]** **(DO NOT READ)** Refused

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ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

BAT: UA_CONC
ASK ALL:
[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

[PN: IF WEB:] How concerned are you about the possibility of each of the following?

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:] How concerned are you about the possibility of **(INSERT ITEM)**? Are you **(READ LIST)**?

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:] What about **(INSERT ITEM)**?
(READ AS NECESSARY: How concerned are you about the possibility of each of the following? Are you **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY))**

BATTERY ITEMS:
DFT   Ukraine being defeated and taken over by Russia
INVD   Russia invading other countries in the region, not just Ukraine

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:
1   Extremely concerned
2   Very concerned
3   Somewhat concerned
4   Not too concerned
5   Not at all concerned
98   **[PN: IF CATI:]** **(DO NOT READ)** Don't know
99   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:]** **(DO NOT READ)** Refused

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BAT: UKRCOMMIT
ASK ALL:
[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-4/4-1 HOLDING 5 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION AND ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

[PN: IF WEB:] How committed do you think each of the following leaders are to lasting peace between Russia and Ukraine?

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:] How committed do you think each of the following leaders are to lasting peace between Russia and Ukraine? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. **(READ LIST)**

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:] Next, **(INSERT ITEM)**.
(READ AS NECESSARY: How committed do you think this leader is to lasting peace between Russia and Ukraine? **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY))**

BATTERY ITEMS:
PUTIN   Russian President Vladimir Putin **[PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: Vladda-MEER POO-tin)]**
ZELENSKYY   Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy **[PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: Vuh-Luh-Dih-Mir Zeh-LEN-skee)]**
TRUMP   U.S. President Donald Trump
MACRON   French President Emmanuel Macron **[PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: Eh-MAN-you-el Ma-CROAN)]**

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:
1   Very committed
2   Somewhat committed
3   Not too committed
4   Not at all committed
[PN: INSERT LINE OF SPACE]
5   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Not sure **[PN: IF CATI:]** Or are you not sure?
99   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused

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ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

TXT:
[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF CHINA_US_ENEMY AND RUSSIA_US_ENEMY; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

QUE: CHINA_US_ENEMY
ASK ALL:

On balance, do you think of China as a partner of the U.S., a competitor of the U.S. or an enemy of the U.S.?

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST IF NECESSARY)

1   Partner
2   Competitor
3   Enemy
98   **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
99   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused

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TXT:
[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF CHINA_US_ENEMY AND RUSSIA_US_ENEMY; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

RUSSIA_US_ENEMY
ASK ALL:

On balance, do you think of <u>Russia</u> as a partner of the U.S., a competitor of the U.S. or an enemy of the U.S.?

[PN: IF CATI:] **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY)**

1   Partner
2   Competitor
3   Enemy
98   **[PN: IF CATI:]** **(DO NOT READ)** Don't know
99   **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:]** **(DO NOT READ)** Refused

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ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE