

**2025 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 172 POLITICS SURVEY
FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE
JUNE 2-8, 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
Source: Randomly assigned for each survey.

 -----**MAIN QUESTIONNAIRE BEGINS HERE**-----

QUE: POL1DT
ASK ALL:

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as president?

[**PN: IF CATI:] [INTERVIEWER: IF R SAYS "It Depends", PROBE ONCE WITH:**
 Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as
 President? **IF STILL DEPENDS, ENTER AS "Don't know".]**

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

QUE: POL1DTSTR
ASK IF APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF TRUMP (POL1DT=1 OR 2):

Do you [**PN: IF POL1DT=1 INSERT "approve"; IF POL1DT=2 INSERT "disapprove"] of
 the way Donald Trump is handling his job as president...**

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

- 1 Very strongly
- 2 Not so strongly
- 98 [**PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
- 99 [**PN: IF WEB:] Web blank / [**PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused**

QUE: NEWPRES_ACTNS

ASK ALL:

[**PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5/5-1, HOLDING 98 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE
 ROTATION IN DATA FILE]**

Would you say the Trump administration's actions so far have been...

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

- 1 A lot better than you expected
- 2 A little better than you expected
- 3 About what you expected
- 4 A little worse than you expected
- 5 A lot worse than you expected
- 98 [**PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
- 99 [**PN: IF WEB:] Web blank / [**PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused**

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

QUE: LGLSTATUS**ASK ALL:**

[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1, HOLDING 98 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

Which comes closer to your view about how to handle undocumented immigrants who are now living in the U.S.?

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 They should not be allowed to stay in the country legally
 - 2 There should be a way for them to stay in the country legally, if certain requirements are met
 - 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
 - 99 [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank / [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused
-

QUE: NATLDPRT

ASK IF NOT ALLOWED TO STAY IN COUNTRY LEGALLY (LGLSTATUS=1):

Do you think there should be a national law enforcement effort to deport all immigrants who are now living in the U.S. illegally?

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 [PN: IF WEB:] Should be national law enforcement effort to deport [PN: IF CATI:] There should be a national law enforcement effort to deport all immigrants who are now living in the U.S. illegally
 - 2 [PN: IF WEB:] Should not be national law enforcement effort to deport [PN: IF CATI:] There should not be a national law enforcement effort to deport all immigrants who are now living in the U.S. illegally
 - 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
 - 99 [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank / [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused
-

QUE: LGL_CITIZPRENSHIP

ASK IF A WAY FOR THEM TO STAY LEGALLY (LGLSTATUS=2):

[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1, HOLDING 98 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

And do you think immigrants who are in the U.S. illegally and meet the requirements should...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Be eligible to apply for U.S. citizenship
- 2 Be eligible to apply for permanent residency, but not U.S. citizenship
- 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank / [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused

QUE: WALL**ASK ALL:**

Do you favor or oppose substantially expanding the wall along the U.S. border with Mexico?

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

- 1 Strongly favor
- 2 Somewhat favor
- 3 Somewhat oppose
- 4 Strongly oppose
- 98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank / [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Refused

QUE: OBBB_FAV**ASK ALL:**

[**PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-4/4-1, HOLDING 5 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE**]

As you may know, Donald Trump and Republicans in Congress have proposed a budget and tax bill that includes changes to the country's tax system, as well as changes to Medicaid and some other programs.

Overall, would you say you favor or oppose this proposed bill?

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

- 1 Strongly favor
- 2 Somewhat favor
- 3 Somewhat oppose
- 4 Strongly oppose
- [**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

QUE: OBBB_UND**ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):**

[**PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-4/4-1, HOLDING 98 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE**]

How well do you feel you understand how the proposed budget and tax bill might affect you and your family?

[**PN: IF CATI:**] Do you feel you understand it (READ LIST)

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

QUE: OBBB_TAX_FAMILY**ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):****[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1, HOLDING 3, 98 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE]**

From what you have heard or read, do you think the overall effect of the budget and tax bill on you and your family over the coming years would be...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Mostly positive
- 2 Mostly negative
- 3 **[PN: IF WEB:]** Not much of an effect **[PN: IF CATI:]** Or would it not have much of an effect?
- 98 **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
- 99 **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused

QUE: OBBB_TAX_USA**ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):****[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1 IN SAME ORDER AS OBBB_TAX_FAMILY, HOLDING 3, 98 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE]**

From what you have heard or read, do you think the overall effect of the budget and tax bill on the country as a whole over the coming years would be...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Mostly positive
- 2 Mostly negative
- 3 **[PN: IF WEB:]** Not much of an effect **[PN: IF CATI:]** Or would it not have much of an effect?
- 98 **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
- 99 **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused

BAT: OBBB_BENEF**ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):****[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS HOLDING OBBB_BENEF_YOU ALWAYS LAST; ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5/5-1, HOLDING 98 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION AND ROTATION IN DATA FILE]**

[**PN: IF WEB:**] From what you have heard or read, do you think the budget and tax bill would help or hurt each of the following groups?

[**PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:**] From what you have heard or read, do you think the budget and tax bill would help or hurt each of the following groups? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. **(READ LIST)**

[**PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:**] What about **(INSERT ITEM)**? **(READ AS NECESSARY:** From what you have heard or read, do you think the budget and tax bill would help or hurt this group of people? **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY)**)

BATTERY ITEMS:

HIGH High-income people
 MID Middle-income people
 LOW Lower-income people
 YOU People like you

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

1 Help a lot
 2 Help a little
 3 Neither help nor hurt
 4 Hurt a little
 5 Hurt a lot
 98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] **(DO NOT READ)** Don't know
 99 [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank / [**PN: IF CATI:**] **(DO NOT READ)** Refused

QUE: OBBB_CHANGEDEF**ASK ALL:****[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1, HOLDING 3, 98, AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE]**

In your opinion, do you think this budget and tax bill would...

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

1 Reduce the budget deficit
 2 Increase the budget deficit
 3 Not have much of an effect on the budget deficit
 98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] **(DO NOT READ)** Don't know
 99 [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank / [**PN: IF CATI:**] **(DO NOT READ)** Refused

BAT: OBBBPOL_FAV**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:] Would you favor or oppose each of the following?

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:] Would you favor or oppose each of the following? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. **(READ LIST)**

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:] What about **(INSERT ITEM)**? **(READ AS NECESSARY: Would you favor or oppose this? (READ LIST IF NECESSARY))**

BATTERY ITEMS:

MEDWORK	Establishing work requirements for most adults who get health insurance through Medicaid
SALT	Increasing the amount of state and local taxes that can be deducted from federal taxes
IMMIG	Providing additional funding for detaining and deporting immigrants currently in the country illegally
TAXCOL	Increasing taxes on colleges and universities with large endowments
TAXCUT	Extending the 2017 tax cuts that were set to expire at the end of the year
EV	[PN: ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):] Ending federal tax credits for people who buy electric vehicles
GRNENG	[PN: ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):] Ending federal tax credits for companies that produce wind, solar or nuclear power

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

- 1 Strongly favor
- 2 Somewhat favor
- 3 Somewhat oppose
- 4 Strongly oppose

[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

QUE: IMM_APP**ASK ALL:****[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5/5-1, HOLDING 98 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE]**

In general, do you approve or disapprove of the Trump administration's approach to immigration?

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Strongly approve
 - 2 Somewhat approve
 - 3 Neither approve nor disapprove
 - 4 Somewhat disapprove
 - 5 Strongly disapprove
 - 98 **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
 - 99 **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused
-

TXT:**[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF DT_IMM_MONEY, DT_IMM_SAFE, AND DT_IMM_ECON; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]****QUE: DT_IMM_MONEY****ASK ALL:****[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1, HOLDING 3, 98, AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE]**

Overall, do you think the Trump administration's immigration policies will...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Save American taxpayers money
- 2 Cost American taxpayers money
- 3 Not have much of an impact on American taxpayers
- 98 **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
- 99 **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused

TXT:

[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF DT_IMM_MONEY, DT_IMM_SAFE, AND DT_IMM_ECON;
INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

QUE: DT_IMM_SAFE**ASK ALL:**

[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1, HOLDING 3, 98, AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE
ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

Overall, do you think the Trump administration's immigration policies will...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Lead to more crime in the U.S.
- 2 Lead to less crime in the U.S.
- 3 Not have much of an impact on crime in the U.S.
- 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank / [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused

TXT:

[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF DT_IMM_MONEY, DT_IMM_SAFE, AND DT_IMM_ECON;
INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

QUE: DT_IMM_ECON**ASK ALL:**

[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1, HOLDING 3, 98, AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE
ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

Overall, do you think the Trump administration's immigration policies will...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Make the U.S. economy stronger
- 2 Make the U.S. economy weaker
- 3 Not have much of an impact on the U.S. economy
- 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank / [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused

QUE: DT_IMM_CARE**ASK ALL:**

[**PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1, HOLDING 3, 98, AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE**]

When it comes to deporting immigrants who are living in the U.S. illegally, do you think the administration's approach is...

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

- 1 Too careful
- 2 Too careless
- 3 About right
- 98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank / [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Refused

BAT: IMMIG_DT_APP**ASK ALL:**

[**PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-4/4-1, HOLDING 98 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION AND ROTATION IN DATA FILE**]

[**PN: IF WEB:**] Thinking about the Trump administration's approach to immigration, do you approve or disapprove of each of the following?

[**PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:**] Thinking about the Trump administration's approach to immigration, do you approve or disapprove of each of the following? First, (INSERT ITEM). (READ LIST)

[**PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:**] What about (INSERT ITEM)? (READ AS NECESSARY: Do you approve or disapprove of the Trump administration (INSERT ITEM)? (READ LIST IF NECESSARY)) (INTERVIEWER PROBE: Would that be strongly or somewhat (approve/disapprove)?)

BATTERY ITEMS:

- DETAIN [**PN: ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):**] Significantly increasing the number of government facilities for holding immigrants who are in the U.S. illegally and are waiting for a decision about whether they will be deported
- SLFDPRT [**PN: ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):**] Offering money and travel funds to immigrants who are in the U.S. illegally if they voluntarily leave the country
- LOCSTATE [**PN: ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):**] Using state and local law enforcement to help with federal efforts to deport people who are in the U.S. illegally
- ASYLUM [**PN: ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):**] Suspending most applications for asylum [**PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: uh-SEYE-luhm)**] from people seeking to live in the U.S.
- AGENTS [**PN: ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):**] Significantly increasing the number of federal employees working on efforts to detain and deport people who are living in the U.S. illegally
- FRGNPRIS [**PN: ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):**] Deporting some immigrants who are in the U.S. illegally to a prison in El Salvador
- WRKPLC [**PN: ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):**] [**PN: IF WEB:**] ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement) conducting more raids on workplaces where people who are in the U.S. illegally may be working [**PN: IF CATI:**] ICE, or Immigration and Customs Enforcement, conducting more raids on workplaces where people who are in the U.S. illegally may be working

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

- 1 Strongly approve
- 2 Somewhat approve
- 3 Somewhat disapprove
- 4 Strongly disapprove
- 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank / [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused

BAT: IMMIG_ACCEPT**ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):**

[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-4/4-1, HOLDING 98 AND 99 LAST;
INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION AND ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

[PN: IF WEB:] Would each of the following be acceptable or unacceptable?

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:] Would each of the following be acceptable or unacceptable? First, (INSERT ITEM). (READ LIST)

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:] What about (INSERT ITEM)?
(READ AS NECESSARY: Would you say this acceptable or unacceptable? (READ LIST IF NECESSARY))

BATTERY ITEMS:

- SANCCIT A city or state not helping with federal efforts to deport people in their communities who are in the U.S. illegally
- RELIGSANC A church or other religious organization not helping with federal efforts to deport people in their communities who are in the U.S. illegally
- NOTHOME Deporting an immigrant in the U.S. illegally to a different country if they cannot return to their home country

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

- 1 Definitely acceptable
- 2 Probably acceptable
- 3 Probably unacceptable
- 4 Definitely unacceptable
- 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank / [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused

BAT: IMMIGCHNGE**ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):**

[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5/5-1, HOLDING 98 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION AND ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

[PN: IF WEB:] Compared with last year, do you think there is more, less, or about the same of each of the following?

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:] Compared with last year, do you think there is more, less, or about the same of each of the following? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. **(READ LIST)**

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:] What about **(INSERT ITEM)**? **(READ AS NECESSARY: Compared with last year, do you think there is more, less, or about the same of this? (READ LIST IF NECESSARY))**

BATTERY ITEMS:

FENT Fentanyl **[PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: FEN-tuh-nuhl)]** and other illegal drugs entering the U.S.
 DEP Deportations of immigrants living in the U.S. illegally
 ASYL Migrants crossing the border to request asylum **[PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: uh-SEYE-luhm)]**
 CFT Counterfeit goods entering the U.S.

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

1 A lot more
 2 A little more
 3 About as much
 4 A little less
 5 A lot less
 98 **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
 99 **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused

QUE: TPSCHNG_APP**ASK ALL:**

[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-4/4-1 IN SAME ORDER AS IMMIG_DT_APP, HOLDING 98 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

[PN: IF WEB:] As you may know, the U.S. has a program called Temporary Protected Status (TPS) that allows immigrants from countries experiencing wars or natural disasters the ability to legally live and work in the U.S. temporarily.

[PN: IF WEB:] The Trump administration has announced that it will be ending TPS for at least 500,000 immigrants that previously had this protected status.

[PN: IF WEB:] Do you approve or disapprove of this decision?

[PN: IF CATI:] As you may know, the U.S. has a program called Temporary Protected Status, also known as TPS, that allows immigrants from countries experiencing wars or natural disasters the ability to legally live and work in the U.S. temporarily. The Trump administration has announced that it will be ending TPS for at least 500,000 immigrants that previously had this protected status. Do you approve or disapprove of this decision?

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

1 Strongly approve

2 Somewhat approve

3 Somewhat disapprove

4 Strongly disapprove

98 **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know

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

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE