

**2025 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
Wave 180 POLITICS SURVEY
September 22-28, 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**-----

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

TXT:

[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF EMTREP AND EMTDEM SHOWN ON DIFFERENT SCREENS;
 INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

BAT: EMTREP

ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):

[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS IN SAME ORDER AS EMTDEM; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA
 FILE]

[PN: IF WEB] Does the Republican Party make you feel...

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR FIRST ITEM:**] Does the Republican Party make you feel...
 (INSERT ITEM)? **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY)**

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:**] Next, (INSERT ITEM)?
(READ AS NECESSARY: Does the Republican Party make you feel (INSERT ITEM)? **(READ
 LIST IF NECESSARY)**

BATTERY ITEMS:

FRUST Frustrated

ANGR Angry

HOPE Hopeful

PROU Proud

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

- 1 [PN: IF WEB] Yes, makes me feel this way [PN: IF CATI:] Yes, makes you feel
 this way
- 2 [PN: IF WEB] No, does not make me feel this way [PN: IF CATI:] No, does not
 make you feel this way
- 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 EMTREP AND EMTDEM SHOWN ON DIFFERENT SCREENS;
INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

BAT: EMTDEM

ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):

[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS IN SAME ORDER AS EMTREP; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA
FILE]

[PN: IF WEB:] Does the Democratic Party make you feel...

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR FIRST ITEM:**] Does the Democratic Party make you feel...
(INSERT ITEM)? (**READ LIST IF NECESSARY**)

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:**] Next, (INSERT ITEM)?
(**READ AS NECESSARY:** Does the Democratic Party make you feel (INSERT ITEM)? (**READ
LIST IF NECESSARY**)

BATTERY ITEMS:

FRUST Frustrated
ANGR Angry
HOPE Hopeful
PROU Proud

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

- 1 [PN: IF WEB:] Yes, makes me feel this way [PN: IF CATI:] Yes, makes you feel
this way
 - 2 [PN: IF WEB:] No, does not make me feel this way [PN: IF CATI:] No, does not
make you feel this way
 - 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: ASK EMTREP_FRUST_OE AND EMTDEM_FRUST_OE IN SAME ORDER AS EMTREP AND
EMTDEM; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

QUE: EMTREP_FRUST_OE

ASK IF FRUSTRATED WITH THE REPUBLICAN PARTY (EMTREP_FRUST=1):

What about the Republican Party most frustrates you?

- ___ [PN: PROGRAM OPEN END TEXT BOX WITH NO CHARACTER LIMIT]
- 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: ASK EMTREP_FRUST_OE AND EMTDEM_FRUST_OE IN SAME ORDER AS EMTREP AND EMTDEM; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

QUE: EMTDEM_FRUST_OE

ASK IF FRUSTRATED WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY (EMTDEM_FRUST=1):

What about the Democratic Party most frustrates you?

___ [PN: PROGRAM OPEN END TEXT BOX WITH NO CHARACTER LIMIT]
 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
 99 [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank / [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused

QUE: DIFFPARTY

ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):

Thinking about the Democratic and Republican parties, would you say there is...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

1 A great deal of difference in what they stand for
 2 A fair amount of difference in what they stand for
 3 Hardly any difference at all in what they stand for
 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
 99 [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank / [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused

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

[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF SCREEN 1 AND SCREEN 2; RANDOMIZE ITEMS WITHIN EACH SCREEN; ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-4/4-1 WITH 5, 98, AND 99 ALWAYS LAST; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATIONS AND ROTATION 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:] Which party would you say you agree with on each of the following policy areas?

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:] Which party would you say you agree with on each of the following policy areas? First, (INSERT ITEM). Would you say you... (READ LIST)?

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

BATTERY ITEMS:**[PN: SHOW ON SCREEN 1]**

IMM	Immigration policy
DEBT	Policies to deal with the budget deficit
HC	Health care policy
GUNS	Gun policy
LGT	Policies related to people who are gay, lesbian or transgender
UKRRU	Policies related to Russia's invasion of Ukraine

[PN: SHOW ON SCREEN 2]

CRIME	Policies to deal with crime
ABPOL	Abortion policy
RACE	Policies that deal with race in this country
ECON	Policies to deal with the economy
ENV	Policies related to the environment and climate
ISRLHM	Policies related to the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

1	Strongly agree with the Republican Party
2	Somewhat agree with the Republican Party
3	Somewhat agree with the Democratic Party
4	Strongly agree with the Democratic Party

[PN: INSERT A LINE OF SPACE]

5	[PN: IF WEB:] Don't agree with either party [PN: IF CATI:] Or don't you agree with either party?
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 PTYIDEADEM AND PTYIDEAREP SHOWN ON SAME SCREEN;
INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

QUE: PTYIDEADEM**ASK ALL:**

Overall, would you say the Democratic Party has...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 A lot of good ideas
- 2 Some good ideas
- 3 A few good ideas
- 4 Almost no good ideas
- 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank / [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused

QUE: PTYIDEAREP**ASK ALL:**

Overall, would you say the Republican Party has...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 A lot of good ideas
- 2 Some good ideas
- 3 A few good ideas
- 4 Almost no good ideas
- 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 REPPTYTRAIT AND DEMPTYTRAIT SHOWN ON DIFFERENT SCREENS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

BAT: REPPTYTRAIT**ASK ALL:**

[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS IN SAME ORDER AS DEMPTYTRAIT; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

[PN: IF WEB:] How well do each of the following phrases describe the Republican Party?

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR FIRST ITEM:**] How well do each of the following phrases describe the Republican Party? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. Would you say this describes the Republican Party... **(READ LIST)**?

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:**] What about **(INSERT ITEM)**? **(READ AS NECESSARY:** Would you say this describes the Republican Party... **(READ LIST)?**)

BATTERY ITEMS:

EXTR Too extreme in its positions
 TOL Respectful and tolerant of different types of people
 TRADS Respects the country's democratic institutions and traditions
 INTF Supports policies that interfere too much in people's lives
 HON Governs in an honest and ethical way

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

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

TXT:

[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF REPPTYTRAIT AND DEMPTYTRAIT SHOWN ON DIFFERENT SCREENS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

BAT: DEMPTYTRAIT**ASK ALL:**

[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS IN SAME ORDER AS REPPTYTRAIT; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

[PN: IF WEB:] How well do each of the following phrases describe the Democratic Party?

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR FIRST ITEM:**] How well do each of the following phrases describe the Democratic Party? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. Would you say this describes the Democratic Party... **(READ LIST)**?

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:**] What about **(INSERT ITEM)**? **(READ AS NECESSARY:** Would you say this describes the Democratic Party... **(READ LIST)?**)

BATTERY ITEMS:

EXTR Too extreme in its positions
 TOL Respectful and tolerant of different types of people
 TRADS Respects the country's democratic institutions and traditions
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RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

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

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

TXT:

[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF REPRSNTREP AND REPRSNTDEM SHOWN ON DIFFERENT SCREENS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

QUE: REPRSNTREP**ASK ALL:**

How well does the Republican Party represent the interests of people like you?

[PN: IF CATI:] (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
-

TXT:

[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF REPRSNTREP AND REPRSNTDEM SHOWN ON DIFFERENT SCREENS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

QUE: REPRSNTDEM**ASK ALL:**

How well does the Democratic Party represent the interests of people like you?

[PN: IF CATI:] (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

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

TXT:

[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ELCTRAT1 AND ELCTRAT2; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN MAIN DATA FILE AND ALL-SAMPLE FILE]

BAT: ELCTRAT1**ASK ALL:**

[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS IN SAME ORDER AS ELCTRAT2; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

[PN: IF WEB:] How important is it to you that Republican elected officials...

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR FIRST ITEM:**] How important is it to you that Republican elected officials... **(INSERT ITEM)? (READ LIST)**

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:**] What about **(INSERT ITEM)? (READ AS NECESSARY:** How important is it to you that Republican elected officials... **(INSERT ITEM)? (READ LIST))**

BATTERY ITEMS:

KNOW Are knowledgeable about the issues

COMP Are willing to make compromises with Democratic elected officials to solve important problems

RSPCT Treat Democratic elected officials with respect

WRNG Admit when they are wrong

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

1 Very important

2 Somewhat important

3 Not too important

4 Not at all important

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 ELCTRAT1 AND ELCTRAT2; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN MAIN DATA FILE AND ALL-SAMPLE FILE]

BAT: ELCTRAT2**ASK ALL:**

[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS IN SAME ORDER AS ELCTRAT1; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

[PN: IF WEB:] How important is it to you that Democratic elected officials...

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR FIRST ITEM:**] How important is it to you that Democratic elected officials... **(INSERT ITEM)? (READ LIST)**

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:**] What about **(INSERT ITEM)? (READ AS NECESSARY:** How important is it to you that Democratic elected officials... **(INSERT ITEM)? (READ LIST))**

BATTERY ITEMS:

KNOW Are knowledgeable about the issues

COMP Are willing to make compromises with Republican elected officials to solve important problems

RSPCT Treat Republican elected officials with respect

WRNG Admit when they are wrong

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

1 Very important

2 Somewhat important

3 Not too important

4 Not at all important

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 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

TXT:

[**PN: IF REPUBLICAN/LEAN REPUBLICAN (X_PARTYSUMFINAL=1), ASK REPPTYACC FIRST AND DEMPTYACC SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS; IF DEM/LEAN DEM (X_PARTYSUMFINAL=2), ASK DEMPTYACC FIRST AND REPPTYACC SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE**]

BAT: REPPTYACC

ASK IF PARTISAN (X_PARTYSUMFINAL=1,2):

[**PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE**]

[**PN: IF WEB:**] How accepting, if at all, do you think the Republican Party should be of Republican elected officials who...

[**PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:**] How accepting, if at all, do you think the Republican Party should be of Republican elected officials who **(INSERT ITEM)**? Would you say... **(READ LIST)**?

[**PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:**] What about Republican elected officials who **(INSERT ITEM)**? **(READ AS NECESSARY:** How accepting, if at all, do you think the Republican Party should be of Republican elected officials who **(INSERT ITEM)**? Would you say... **(READ LIST)**?)

BATTERY ITEMS:

CRTDT	Openly criticize Donald Trump
CALLEVL	[PN: ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):] Call Democratic elected officials evil
AGDEM	Agree with the Democratic Party on some important issues
VIOL	[PN: ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):] Support groups who advocate violence against Democrats

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

1	Very accepting
2	Somewhat accepting
3	Not too accepting
4	Not at all accepting
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: IF REPUBLICAN/LEAN REPUBLICAN (X_PARTYSUMFINAL=1), ASK REPPTYACC FIRST AND DEMPTYACC SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS; IF DEM/LEAN DEM (X_PARTYSUMFINAL=2), ASK DEMPTYACC FIRST AND REPPTYACC SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

BAT: DEMPTYACC

ASK IF PARTISAN (X_PARTYSUMFINAL=1,2):

[PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

[PN: IF WEB:] How accepting, if at all, do you think the Democratic Party should be of Democratic elected officials who...

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR FIRST ITEM:**] How accepting, if at all, do you think the Democratic Party should be of Democratic elected officials who **(INSERT ITEM)**? Would you say... **(READ LIST)**?

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:**] What about Democratic elected officials who **(INSERT ITEM)**?

(READ AS NECESSARY: How accepting, if at all, do you think the Democratic Party should be of Democratic elected officials who **(INSERT ITEM)**? Would you say... **(READ LIST)**?)

BATTERY ITEMS:

CRTJB	Openly criticize Joe Biden
CALLEVL	[PN: ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):] Call Republican elected officials evil
AGREP	Agree with the Republican Party on some important issues
VIOL	[PN: ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):] Support groups who advocate violence against Republicans

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

1	Very accepting
2	Somewhat accepting
3	Not too accepting
4	Not at all accepting
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**ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**