

**2025 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL  
Wave 180 POLITICS SURVEY  
FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE  
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**

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**\*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.

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**MAIN QUESTIONNAIRE BEGINS HERE**

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**ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**

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**QUE: DTECON**  
**ASK ALL:**

Since taking office, have Donald Trump's economic policies made economic conditions...

[ PN: IF CATI: ] (READ LIST)

1 Better

2 Worse

3 Not had 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

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**ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

**QUE: ECON1****ASK ALL:**

Thinking about the nation's economy...

How would you rate economic conditions in this country today?

[ PN: IF CATI: ] (READ LIST)

- 1      Excellent
- 2      Good
- 3      Only fair
- 4      Poor
- 98    [ PN: IF CATI: ] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99    [ PN: IF WEB: ] Web blank / [ PN: IF CATI: ] (DO NOT READ) Refused

**QUE: ECON1B****ASK ALL:**

A year from now, do you expect that economic conditions in the country as a whole will be...

[ PN: IF CATI: ] (READ LIST)

- 1      Better
- 2      Worse
- 3      About the same as now
- 98    [ PN: IF CATI: ] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99    [ PN: IF WEB: ] Web blank / [ PN: IF CATI: ] (DO NOT READ) Refused

**QUE: ECONOE****ASK IF FORM 1 AND ANSWERED ECON1 (X\_FORM=1 AND ECON1=1,2,3,4):**

In a few words, what are the main reasons why you think economic conditions in the country are [ PN: INSERT IF ECON1=1: "excellent"; INSERT IF ECON1=2 "good"; INSERT IF ECON1=3: "only fair"; INSERT IF ECON1=4: "poor" ]?

- \_\_\_\_ [ 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

**BAT: ECONCONC****ASK IF FORM 2 (X\_FORM=2):****[ PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE ]**

**[ PN: IF WEB: ]** How concerned, if at all, are you personally about each of the following economic issues in the country today?

**[ PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM: ]** How concerned, if at all, are you personally about each of the following economic issues in the country today? First, **(INSERT ITEM)? (READ LIST)**

**[ PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS: ]** What about **(INSERT ITEM)? (READ AS NECESSARY: How concerned, if at all, are you personally about (INSERT ITEM)? (READ LIST IF NECESSARY))**

**BATTERY ITEMS:**

UNEM People who want to work being unable to find jobs

PRICE The price of food and consumer goods

REAL The cost of housing

STCK How the stock market is doing

ENG2 The price of gasoline and energy

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1 Very concerned

2 Somewhat concerned

3 Not too concerned

4 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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**ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE****ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**

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

How closely have you been following news about the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza?

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

- 1 Extremely closely
- 2 Very closely
- 3 Somewhat closely
- 4 Not too closely
- 5 Not at all closely

98 **[ PN: IF CATI: ] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know99 **[ PN: IF WEB: ]** Web blank / **[ PN: IF CATI: ] (DO NOT READ)** Refused

**BAT: ME\_SPPRT**

**ASK ALL:**

[ PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF SCREEN 1 AND SCREEN 2; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A AND C ON SCREEN 1 ALWAYS HOLDING B IN MIDDLE; WHEN A IS FIRST ON SCREEN 1, D IS FIRST ON SCREEN 2 AND VICE VERSA IF SCREEN 2 APPEARS FIRST; 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: ] Thinking about the situation with Israelis and Palestinians these days, do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each of the following?

[ PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM: ] Thinking about the situation with Israelis and Palestinians these days, do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each of the following? First, (INSERT ITEM)? Is that... (READ LIST)

[ PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS: ] What about (INSERT ITEM)? (READ AS NECESSARY: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of (INSERT ITEM)? (READ LIST))

**BATTERY ITEMS:**

[ PN: SHOW ON SCREEN 1 ]

- a The Israeli government
- b The Palestinian Authority, which controls the West
- c Hamas, which has controlled Gaza

[ PN: SHOW ON SCREEN 2 ]

- d The Israeli people
- e The Palestinian people

**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

**QUE: TRUMP\_FAVORISRPAL****ASK IF FORM 1 (X\_FORM=1):****[ PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1 HOLDING 3, 4, AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE ]**

Do you think Donald Trump is...

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

- 1 Favoring the Israelis too much
- 2 Favoring the Palestinians too much
- 3 Striking about the right balance

**[ PN: INSERT A 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: ISGZ\_TRMP****ASK IF FORM 2 (X\_FORM=2):****[ PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-4/4-1 HOLDING 5 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE ]**

Do you approve or disapprove of the Trump administration's response to the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza?

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

- 1 Strongly approve
- 2 Somewhat approve
- 3 Somewhat disapprove
- 4 Strongly disapprove

**[ PN: INSERT A 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: ISGZ\_RESPNS****ASK ALL:****[ PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1 HOLDING 3, 4 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE ]**

Thinking about Israel's current military operation against Hamas, is Israel...

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

- 1 Going too far
- 2 Not going far enough
- 3 Taking about the right approach

**[ PN: INSERT A 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

**TXT:**

**[ PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF FUNDISRMOD AND AIDGZMOD; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE ]**

**QUE: FUNDISRMOD**

**ASK ALL:**

**[ PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1 IN SAME ORDER AS AIDGZMOD, HOLDING 3, 4 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE ]**

When it comes to Israel's conflict with Hamas, do you think the U.S. is providing...

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

- 1 Too much military assistance to Israel
- 2 Not enough military assistance to Israel
- 3 About the right amount of military assistance to Israel

**[ PN: INSERT A 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

**TXT:**

**[ PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF FUNDISRMOD AND AIDGZMOD ; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE ]**

**QUE: AIDGZMOD**

**ASK ALL:**

**[ PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1 IN SAME ORDER AS FUNDISRMOD, HOLDING 3, 4 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE ]**

When it comes to the situation in Gaza, do you think the U.S. is providing...

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

- 1 Too much humanitarian aid to Palestinian civilians
- 2 Not enough humanitarian aid to Palestinian civilians
- 3 About the right amount of humanitarian aid to Palestinian civilians

**[ PN: INSERT A 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



**BAT: ISGZ\_CONC2****ASK ALL:**

[ **PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5/5-1 IN SAME ORDER AS ISGZ\_FOL, HOLDING 98 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION AND ROTATION IN DATA FILE** ]

[ **PN: IF WEB:** ] How concerned are you about each of the following in the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza?

[ **PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:** ] How concerned are you about each of the following in the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. Are you **(READ LIST)**?

[ **PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:** ] Next, how concerned are you about **(INSERT ITEM)**? **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY)**

**BATTERY ITEMS:**

HSTG Remaining Israeli hostages not being returned to Israel  
 STRK Israeli military strikes killing Palestinian civilians  
 FTATK Hamas attacking Israel in the future  
 STRV Starvation among Palestinians in Gaza  
 LVGZ The Israeli military forcing Palestinians to leave Gaza

**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

**ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**