

**2025 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 180 POLITICS SURVEY SEPTEMBER 2025
FINAL TOPLINE
September 22-28, 2025
N=3,445**

Note: This survey was conducted primarily online, with some interviews conducted by live telephone. This topline shows the programming language for online administration. For details on how questions were slightly modified for phone administration, visit the questionnaire.

American Trends Panel surveys conducted between October 2016 and June 2024 were conducted fully online (with tablets and data plans provided to adults without home internet). American Trends Panel surveys conducted prior to October 2016 were conducted primarily online, with some respondents completing by mail. For additional details, visit the Methodology.

* "No answer" includes web respondents who do not answer the question as well as telephone respondents who refuse to answer or who say that they don't know how to answer. In cases where "not sure" was offered as an explicit option to web and telephone respondents, the "no answer" category includes only web skips and telephone refusals.

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ASK ALL:

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

Sep 22-28 <u>2025</u>		Jan 6-19 <u>2020</u>	July 22- Aug 4 <u>2019</u>
24	Better	44	40
53	Worse	29	33
22	Not had much of an effect	26	27
1	No answer*	1	1

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Since taking office, have Joe Biden's economic policies made economic conditions...

	Jun 27-Jul 4, <u>2022</u>	Sep 13-19, <u>2021</u>
Better	11	26
Worse	56	40
Not had much of an effect	32	33
No answer	1	1

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

ECON1

Thinking about the nation's economy...

How would you rate economic conditions in this country today?

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Only fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
Sep 22-28, 2025	2	23	40	34	*
Apr 7-13, 2025	2	20	42	34	*
Jan 27-Feb 2, 2025	2	22	45	31	*
Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	2	22	37	38	*
May 13-19, 2024	2	21	41	36	1
Jan 16-21, 2024	3	25	41	31	*
Mar 27-Apr 2, 2023	1	18	46	35	1
Jan 18-24, 2023	1	20	47	32	*
Oct 10-16, 2022	2	16	46	36	*
Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	1	12	38	49	*
Jan 10-17, 2022	2	25	47	24	1
Sep 13-19, 2021	2	24	50	24	*
Apr 20-29, 2021	2	35	49	14	*
Mar 1-7, 2021	2	21	53	24	*
Nov 12-17, 2020	5	31	44	20	*
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	4	29	42	25	*
Jun 16-22, 2020	4	22	44	30	1
Apr 7-12, 2020	4	19	38	38	1
Jan 6-19, 2020	16	42	33	9	*
Sep 16-29, 2019	10	46	35	8	*
Jul 22-Aug 4, 2019	14	43	32	11	*
Nov 7-16, 2018	13	46	31	9	1
Sep 24-Oct 7, 2018	12	45	32	11	*
Feb 28-Mar 12, 2017	2	37	43	17	0
Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	2	30	47	21	*
Apr 29-May 27, 2014	1	18	50	30	1

ASK ALL:

ECON1B

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

	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>About the same as now</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
Sep 22-28, 2025	29	46	24	*
Apr 7-13, 2025	36	45	19	1
Jan 27-Feb 2, 2025	40	37	23	*
Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	38	21	39	2
May 13-19, 2024	24	32	43	1
Jan 16-21, 2024	26	33	41	1
Mar 27-Apr 2, 2023	17	46	36	*
Jan 18-24, 2023	23	40	36	1
Oct 10-16, 2022	23	41	35	1
Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	22	47	30	1
Jan 10-17, 2022	27	35	37	1
Sep 13-19, 2021	29	37	34	1
Apr 20-29, 2021	45	28	27	1
Mar 1-7, 2021	44	31	24	*
Nov 12-17, 2020	42	32	24	2
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	52	17	30	1
Jun 16-22, 2020	50	22	27	1
Apr 7-12, 2020	55	22	22	1
Jan 6-19, 2020	29	26	45	1

ECON1B CONTINUED ...

	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>About the same as now</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
Sep 16-29, 2019	20	32	48	*
Jul 22-Aug 4, 2019	28	28	44	*

ASK IF FORM 1 AND ANSWERED ECON1 (X_FORM=1 AND ECON1=1,2,3,4) [N=1,715]:

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

BASED ON THOSE WHO SAID EXCELLENT OR GOOD (ECON1=1,2) [N=439]

Sep 22-28,

2025

22	General mentions of economic growth or improvement
9	Inflation is down
8	Positive mentions of the stock market
6	Positive mentions of Trump/Republican Policies
5	Low unemployment
5	Negative mentions of Trump/Republican Policies
3	Tariffs, negative
3	Negative mentions of Biden/Democratic Policies
3	High inflation
3	Mentions of wage growth
2	The U.S. is outperforming expectations / other countries
1	Blaming politicians
1	High cost of living
1	Wealth inequality
1	Lower gas prices
1	National debt / Government spending
1	People are lazy / Don't want to work
1	Illegal immigration
4	Other, mixed responses
3	Other, positive responses
1	Other, negative responses
34	No answer

Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses

ECONOE CONTINUED ...**BASED ON THOSE WHO SAID ONLY FAIR OR POOR (ECON1=3,4) [N=1,276]**

Sep 22-28,

2025

17	High inflation
16	Negative mentions of Trump/Republican Policies
12	Negative mentions of Tariffs
9	High cost of living
8	Wealth inequality
6	High cost of food and groceries
6	Lack of good paying jobs
4	High cost of housing
3	High health care costs
3	High gas prices
2	General mentions of economic growth or improvement
2	Blaming politicians
2	Mentions of layoffs
1	High interest rates
1	U.S. is isolating itself
1	Corporations or corporate greed
1	Negative mentions of Biden/Democratic Policies
1	Low unemployment
1	High taxes
3	Other, mixed responses
2	Other, negative responses
29	No answer

Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,727]:

ECONCONC How concerned, if at all, are you personally about each of the following economic issues in the country today? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

		<u>Very concerned</u>	<u>Somewhat concerned</u>	<u>Not too concerned</u>	<u>Not at all concerned</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
UNEM	People who want to work being unable to find jobs					
	Sep 22-28, 2025	42	33	19	6	*
	Apr 7-13, 2025	41	33	19	7	*
	Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	40	35	19	5	*
	Jan 16-21, 2024	31	35	25	8	*
	Mar 27-Apr 2, 2023	27	34	27	11	*
	Jan 18-24, 2023	30	34	26	10	*
	Oct 10-16, 2022	29	31	28	11	1
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	27	32	28	12	1
	Sep 13-19, 2021	29	32	23	15	*
PRICE	The price of food and consumer goods					
	Sep 22-28, 2025	65	27	7	2	*
	Apr 7-13, 2025	67	25	6	2	*
	Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	74	20	4	1	*
	Jan 16-21, 2024	72	21	5	1	*
	Mar 27-Apr 2, 2023	72	22	4	1	*
	Jan 18-24, 2023	75	20	4	1	*
	Oct 10-16, 2022	73	22	4	1	*
	TREND FOR COMPARISON: <i>Rising prices for food and consumer goods</i>					
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	75	21	3	1	*
	Sep 13-19, 2021	63	30	6	1	*
REAL	The cost of housing					
	Sep 22-28, 2025	61	27	9	2	*
	Apr 7-13, 2025	61	26	10	3	*
	Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	69	22	6	2	*
	Jan 16-21, 2024	64	25	9	1	1
	Mar 27-Apr 2, 2023	61	27	9	2	*
	Jan 18-24, 2023	60	27	10	2	*
	Oct 10-16, 2022	60	27	10	3	*
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	60	27	10	3	*
STCK	How the stock market is doing					
	Sep 22-28, 2025	19	35	32	13	1
	Apr 7-13, 2025	36	34	21	8	1
	Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	24	38	28	10	*
	Jan 16-21, 2024	18	38	32	11	1
	Mar 27-Apr 2, 2023	24	41	25	10	1
	Jan 18-24, 2023	26	38	26	9	1
	Oct 10-16, 2022	32	37	21	9	1
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	31	36	22	10	1

ECONCONC CONTINUED ...

		<u>Very concerned</u>	<u>Somewhat concerned</u>	<u>Not too concerned</u>	<u>Not at all concerned</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
ENG2	The price of gasoline and energy					
	Sep 22-28, 2025	45	37	15	3	*
	Apr 7-13, 2025	46	35	16	3	*
	Jan 16-21, 2024	51	34	13	2	*
	Jan 18-24, 2023	60	30	8	1	*
	Oct 10-16, 2022	69	24	6	1	*

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

*Rising prices for gasoline
and energy*

Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	75	19	4	2	*
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ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED****ASK ALL:**

ISGZ_FOL How closely have you been following news about the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza? **[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5 AND 5-1]**

	<u>Extremely closely</u>	<u>Very closely</u>	<u>Somewhat closely</u>	<u>Not too closely</u>	<u>Not at all closely</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
Sep 22-28, 2025	7	15	35	24	18	1
Jul 1-7, 2024 ¹	9	15	35	22	20	1
Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023	9	17	37	21	15	*

ASK ALL:

ME_SPPRT Thinking about the situation with Israelis and Palestinians these days, do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each of the following? **[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]**

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			No answer*
		<u>NET</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>NET</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	
[SCREEN 1]								
a.	The Israeli government							
	Sep 22-28, 2025	35	11	24	59	30	29	6
	Feb 13-25, 2024	41	13	28	51	21	30	8
	March 7-13, 2022 ²	47	11	36	43	12	31	10
	April 1-14, 2019	41	14	27	51	17	33	9

¹ In surveys from December 2023 and July 2024, the question asked "How closely have you been following news about the Israel-Hamas war?"

² The 2022 questions were previously reported on using the portion of respondents who received those questions first.

ME_SPPRT CONITNUED ...

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			No
		<u>NET</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>NET</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>answer*</u>
b.	The Palestinian Authority, which controls the West Bank							
	Sep 22-28, 2025	24	3	21	68	27	42	8
	Feb 13-25, 2024	23	3	20	68	25	43	9
c.	Hamas, which has controlled Gaza							
	Sep 22-28, 2025	10	2	8	84	57	27	6
	Feb 13-25, 2024	8	2	6	84	60	24	8
[SCREEN 2]								
d.	The Israeli people							
	Sep 22-28, 2025	56	20	36	38	13	25	6
	Feb 13-25, 2024	64	23	41	28	7	20	8
	March 7-13, 2022	67	20	47	25	5	20	8
	April 1-14, 2019	64	20	44	28	6	22	8
e.	The Palestinian people							
	Sep 22-28, 2025	52	14	38	41	13	28	7
	Feb 13-25, 2024	50	12	38	41	11	30	8
	March 7-13, 2022	53	10	43	39	8	31	8
	April 1-14, 2019	46	7	39	45	12	34	8

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,718]:

TRUMP_FAVORISRPAL Do you think Donald Trump is... **[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2 AND 2-1]**

Sep 22-28, <u>2025</u>		Mar 24-30, <u>2025</u>	Jul 1-7, <u>2024</u> ³
36	Favoring the Israelis too much	31	26
2	Favoring the Palestinians too much	3	3
23	Striking about the right balance	29	28
38	Not sure	37	42
1	No answer*	1	1

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Do you think Donald Trump is...

	Apr 1-14, <u>2019</u>
Favoring the Israelis too much	34
Favoring the Palestinians too much	6
Striking about the right balance	50
No answer	10

³ In the July 2024 survey, question asked 'If Donald Trump were to win the 2024 presidential election, do you think he would...?'

TRUMP_FAVORISRPAL CONTINUED ...**BIDEN TREND FOR COMPARISON:***Do you think Joe Biden is...*

	Jul 1-7 <u>2024</u>	Feb 13-25, <u>2024</u>	Nov 27-Dec 3 <u>2023</u>	Mar 21-27, <u>2022</u>
Favoring the Israelis too much	21	22	21	8
Favoring the Palestinians too much	20	16	16	13
Striking about the right balance	18	21	25	16
Not sure	40	40	38	62
No answer*	1	1	1	1

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,727]:

ISGZ_TRMP Do you approve or disapprove of the Trump administration's response to the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza? **[RANDOMIZE RESPONSES 1-4 AND 4-1 FOR RANDOM HALF OF RESPONDENTS WITH OPTION 5 ALWAYS LAST]**

	-----Approve-----			-----Disapprove-----			Not	No
	<u>NET</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>NET</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>sure</u>	<u>answer*</u>
Sep 22-28, 2025	30	11	19	42	27	15	27	1

TREND FOR COMPARISON:*Do you approve or disapprove of the Biden administration's response to the Israel-Hamas war?*

	-----Approve-----			-----Disapprove-----			Not	No
	<u>NET</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>NET</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>sure</u>	<u>answer</u>
Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023	35	9	26	41	21	20	24	1

ASK ALL:

ISGZ_RESPNS Thinking about Israel's current military operation against Hamas, is Israel... **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 WITH OPTIONS 3 AND 4 ALWAYS LAST]**

	Going <u>too far</u>	Not going <u>far enough</u>	Taking about <u>the right approach</u>	Not <u>sure</u>	No <u>answer*</u>
Sep 22-28, 2025	39	10	16	33	1
Sep 16-22, 2024	31	12	20	36	1
Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023	27	16	25	32	*

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF FUNDISRMOD AND AIDGZMOD. SHOW ON SEPARATE SCREENS]**ASK ALL:**

FUNDISRMOD When it comes to Israel's conflict with Hamas, do you think the U.S. is providing... **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 IN SAME ORDER AS AIDGZMOD, HOLDING OPTIONS 3 AND 4 ALWAYS LAST]**

	<u>Too much military assistance to Israel</u>	<u>Not enough military assistance to Israel</u>	<u>About the right amount of military assistance to Israel</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
Sep 22-28, 2025	33	8	23	35	1

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Do you favor or oppose the U.S. providing military aid to Israel to help in its war against Hamas?

Feb 13-25,
2024

17	Strongly favor
19	Somewhat favor
14	Neither favor nor oppose
16	Somewhat oppose
19	Strongly oppose
15	Not sure
1	No answer

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF FUNDISRMOD AND AIDGZMOD. SHOW ON SEPARATE SCREENS]**ASK ALL:**

AIDGZMOD When it comes to the situation in Gaza, do you think the U.S. is providing... **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 IN SAME ORDER AS FUNDISRMOD, HOLDING OPTIONS 3 AND 4 ALWAYS LAST]**

	<u>Too much humanitarian aid to Palestinian civilians</u>	<u>Not enough humanitarian aid to Palestinian civilians</u>	<u>About the right amount of humanitarian aid to Palestinian civilians</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
Sep 22-28, 2025	9	35	20	35	1

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Do you favor or oppose the U.S. providing humanitarian aid to help Palestinian civilians in Gaza?

Feb 13-25,
2024

28	Strongly favor
22	Somewhat favor
16	Neither favor nor oppose
10	Somewhat oppose
10	Strongly oppose
15	Not sure
1	No answer

ASK ALL:

ISGZ_CONC2

How concerned are you about each of the following in the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS; ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5/5-1 IN SAME ORDER AS ISGZ_FOL, HOLDING 98 AND 99 LAST]**

		<u>Extremely concerned</u>	<u>Very concerned</u>	<u>Somewhat concerned</u>	<u>Not too concerned</u>	<u>Not at all concerned</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
HSTG	Remaining Israeli hostages not being returned to Israel Sep 22-28, 2025	25	26	28	9	7	4
STRK	Israeli military strikes killing Palestinian civilians Sep 22-28, 2025	31	22	26	9	7	4
FTATK	Hamas attacking Israel in the future Sep 22-28, 2025	21	24	29	13	9	4
STRV	Starvation among Palestinians in Gaza Sep 22-28, 2025	33	22	25	8	8	4
LVGZ	The Israeli military forcing Palestinians to leave Gaza Sep 22-28, 2025	21	19	29	15	12	4

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**ASK ALL:**

PARTY In politics today, do you consider yourself a...

ASK IF INDEP/SOMETHING ELSE (PARTY=3,4 OR REFUSED):PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to...⁴

<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Something else</u>	<u>No answer*</u>	<u>Lean Rep</u>	<u>Lean Dem</u>
28	28	28	14	2	18	18

⁴ PARTY and PARTYLN asked in a prior survey.