

**2025 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 176 POLITICS SURVEY
FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE
AUGUST 4-10, 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: SATIS**ASK ALL:**

All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

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

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: PRES_WASH_EXP

ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):

All in all, what effect is Donald Trump having on the way the federal government works in Washington? Is he making things...

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

- 1 Better
- 2 Worse
- 3 About equally better and worse
- 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_SUPP

ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):

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

How many of Donald Trump's policies and plans would you say you support?

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

- 1 All of them
- 2 Most of them
- 3 Some of them
- 4 Only a few of them
- 5 None of them
- 98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] **(DO NOT READ)** Don't know
- 99 [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank / [**PN: IF CATI:**] **(DO NOT READ)** Refused

BAT: DTCONF**ASK ALL:**

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

[PN: IF WEB:] Thinking about Donald Trump's ability to handle a number of things, how confident are you that Donald Trump can do each of the following?

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:] Thinking about Donald Trump's ability to handle a number of things, how confident are you that Donald Trump can do each of the following? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. Are you **(READ LIST)**?

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:] What about **(INSERT ITEM)**? **(READ AS NECESSARY: How confident are you that Donald Trump can (INSERT ITEM)? Are you (READ LIST)?)**

BATTERY ITEMS:

ECON **[PN: ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):]** Make good decisions about economic policy
 IMMI **[PN: ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):]** Make good decisions about immigration policy
 TRAD **[PN: ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):]** Negotiate favorable trade agreements with other countries
 MIL **[PN: ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):]** Use military force wisely
 CLSR **[PN: ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):]** Bring the country closer together
 EXEC **[PN: ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):]** Manage the Executive Branch effectively
 HCP **[PN: ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]** Make good decisions about health care policy
 FRGN **[PN: ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]** Make good decisions about foreign policy
 TAX **[PN: ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]** Make good decisions about tax policy
 CRIM **[PN: ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]** Effectively handle law enforcement and criminal justice issues
 WRK **[PN: ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]** Work well with Democratic elected officials
 DIS **[PN: ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]** Respond effectively to a natural disaster

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

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

BAT: TRUMPDESC**ASK ALL:**

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

[PN: IF WEB:] How well does each of the following describe Donald Trump?

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR FIRST ITEM:**] How well does each of the following describe Donald Trump? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. Does it describe him **(READ LIST)**?

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:**] What about **(INSERT ITEM)**? **(READ AS NECESSARY: Does (INSERT ITEM) describe Donald Trump (READ LIST)?)**

BATTERY ITEMS:

HNST	Honest
ORD	Cares about the needs of ordinary people
KPR	Keeps his promises
MDL	A good role model
MNSHRP	Mentally sharp
STND	Stands up for what he believes in

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

1	Very well
2	Fairly 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 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**QUE: OBBBA_APP****ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):**

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

Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the budget and tax law passed by Congress and signed into law by Donald Trump last month?

[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: OBBBA_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 this budget and tax law on you and your family over the coming years will be...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Mostly positive
- 2 Mostly negative
- 3 **[PN: IF WEB:]** About equally positive and negative **[PN: IF CATI:]** Or would it be about equally positive and negative?
- 98 **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
- 99 **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused

QUE: OBBBA_TAX_US**ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):****[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1 IN SAME ORDER AS OBBBA_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 this budget and tax law on the country as a whole over the coming years will be...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Mostly positive
- 2 Mostly negative
- 3 **[PN: IF WEB:]** About equally positive and negative **[PN: IF CATI:]** Or would it be about equally positive and negative?
- 98 **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
- 99 **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank / **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused

QUE: TARIFF_APP**ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):****[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-4/4-1 HOLDING 98 AND 99; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE]**

Do you approve or disapprove of the Trump administration substantially increasing tariffs on goods imported from most countries that trade with the U.S.?

[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

TXT:

[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TARIFFS_COUNTRY2 AND TARIFFS_INDIV2 SHOWN ON SAME SCREEN; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

QUE: TARIFFS_COUNTRY2

ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):

[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1 HOLDING 3, 98, AND 99 LAST IN SAME ORDER AS TARIFFS_INDIV2; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

From what you have heard or read, do you think the overall effect of the Trump administration's tariff policies on the country as a whole over the coming years will be...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Mostly positive
- 2 Mostly negative
- 3 [PN: IF WEB:] About equally positive and negative [PN: IF CATI:] Or would they be about equally positive and negative?
- 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank / [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused

QUE: TARIFFS_INDIV2

ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):

[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1 HOLDING 3, 98, AND 99 LAST IN SAME ORDER AS TARIFFS_COUNTRY2; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

From what you have heard or read, do you think the overall effect of the Trump administration's tariff policies on you and your family over the coming years will be...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Mostly positive
- 2 Mostly negative
- 3 [PN: IF WEB:] About equally positive and negative [PN: IF CATI:] Or would they be about equally positive and negative?
- 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: EPST_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 Trump administration's handling of information related to the government's investigation into Jeffrey Epstein **[PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: ep-steen)]**?

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

QUE: EPST_TRUMP_ATT**ASK ALL:**

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

Do you approve or disapprove of the way the Trump administration is handling information related to the government's investigation into Jeffrey Epstein **[PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: ep-steen)]**?

[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

QUE: EPST_ADMTRUST**ASK ALL:**

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

How much do you trust what the Trump administration is saying about information related to the government's investigation into Jeffrey Epstein **[PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: ep-steen)]?**

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 A great deal
- 2 A fair amount
- 3 Some
- 4 Not too much
- 5 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

QUE: PREZFP**ASK ALL:**

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

Right now, which is more important for President Trump to focus on?

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

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

BAT: DT_FP

ASK ALL:

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

[PN: IF WEB:] Thinking about some foreign policy issues facing the country...

[PN: IF WEB:] How confident are you that Donald Trump can make wise decisions when it comes to...

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:] Thinking about some foreign policy issues facing the country, how confident are you that Donald Trump can make wise decisions when it comes to **(INSERT ITEM)**? Are you... **(READ LIST)**

[PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:] What about **(INSERT ITEM)**? **(READ AS NECESSARY: How confident are you that Donald Trump can make wise decisions when it comes to (INSERT ITEM)? Are you... (READ LIST))**

BATTERY ITEMS:

CH **[PN: ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):]** U.S. policy toward China
 ISRL **[PN: ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):]** The relationship between the U.S. and Israel
 CAN **[PN: ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):]** The relationship between the U.S. and Canada
 ENR **[PN: ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):]** Global energy and climate issues
 WRK **[PN: ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]** Working effectively with U.S. allies
 NK **[PN: ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]** U.S. policy toward North Korea
 IRN **[PN: ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]** U.S. policy toward Iran **[PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: ee-RON)]**
 UKR **[PN: ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]** The war between Ukraine and Russia

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

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

QUE: UKR_SPRT

ASK ALL:

[PN: ROTATE OPTIONS 1-2/2-1 HOLDING 3, 4, AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

When it comes to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, do you think the U.S. is providing...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Too much support to Ukraine
- 2 Not enough support to Ukraine
- 3 About the right amount of support to Ukraine

[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: RU_UKN_THRT2

ASK ALL:

How much of a threat to U.S. interests is Russia's invasion of Ukraine?

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 A major threat
- 2 A minor threat
- 3 Not a threat

[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: 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

QUE: TRUMP_RUSUKR

ASK ALL:

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

Thinking about the war between Russia and Ukraine, do you think Donald Trump is...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Favoring Russia too much
- 2 Favoring Ukraine 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
-

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE