

**2025 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 161 POLITICS SURVEY
FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE
JAN. 27 – FEB. 2, 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 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

X_PARTYSUMFINAL

- 1 Rep/Lean Rep
- 2 Dem/Lean Dem
- 9 DK/Refused/No lean

Note: Flag to identify republicans, republican leaners and non-leaners.

-----**MAIN QUESTIONNAIRE BEGINS HERE**-----
-----**QUE: SATIS****ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):**

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

QUE: YEARAHEAD**ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM = 2):****[PN: RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]**

Looking ahead, as far as you are concerned, do you think that 2025 will be...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Better than 2024
- 2 Worse than 2024
- 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank

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

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

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

Would you say Donald Trump has clear goals for where he wants to lead the country?

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

- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
 - 98 [**PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
 - 99 [**PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused / [**PN: IF WEB:] Web blank**
-

QUE: DTSUCCESS**ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):**

[**PN: RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 HOLDING 3, 98 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE**]

In the long run, do you think Donald Trump will be...

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

- 1 A successful president
 - 2 An unsuccessful president
 - 3 Too early to tell
 - 98 [**PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
 - 99 [**PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused / [**PN: IF WEB:] Web blank**
-

BAT: QUALPRES_TRMP**ASK ALL:**

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

[PN: IF WEB:] Thinking about the qualities needed to effectively serve another term as president, how confident are you that Donald Trump...

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR FIRST ITEM:**] Thinking about the qualities needed to effectively serve another term as president, how confident are you that Donald Trump **(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 **(INSERT ITEM)**? Are you **(READ LIST)**?)

BATTERY ITEMS:

MF Has the mental fitness needed to do the job
PHY Has the physical fitness needed to do the job
ADV Picks good advisors
ETH Acts ethically in office
RSP Respects the country's democratic values
FIRM Has the leadership skills needed to do the job

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

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

QUE: PRIPRES_OE**ASK ALL:**

In your view, what should the Trump administration's top priorities be this year?

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

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

All in all, what effect will Donald Trump have on the way the federal government works in Washington? Will he...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Make things better
 - 2 Make things worse
 - 3 Not have much of an effect
 - 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
 - 99 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank
-

QUE: PRES_WASH_EXP**ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):**

All in all, what effect will Donald Trump have on the way the federal government works in Washington? Will he make 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 CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank
-

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

So far, would you say you approve or disapprove of Donald Trump's cabinet choices and other high-level appointments?

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

QUE: VP2PRES**ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):**

As you may know, JD Vance is Vice President. Do you think that JD Vance is...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Qualified to be president
 - 2 Not qualified to be president
 - 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
 - 99 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank
-

QUE: VP_INFL

ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):

[PN: RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 HOLDING OPTIONS 3, 98 AND 99 ALWAYS LAST. INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN THE DATA FILE.]

How much influence do you think JD Vance will have within the Trump administration?

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Too much influence
- 2 Too little influence
- 3 About the right amount of influence
- 98 **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
- 99 **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused / **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank

QUE: ETHICSDJT

ASK ALL:

[PN: RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 HOLDING OPTIONS 3, 98 AND 99 ALWAYS LAST. INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN THE DATA FILE.]

With Trump as president, do you think the overall level of ethics and honesty in the federal government will...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Rise
- 2 Fall
- 3 Stay the same
- 98 **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
- 99 **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused / **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

TXT:

[PN: DISPLAY NEWSPRES_ACCOMP AND NEWSPRES_SUPP ON SAME PAGE]

QUE: NEWPRES_ACCOMP**ASK ALL:**

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

Thinking about Donald Trump's policies and plans for his presidency...

How much of his agenda do you think he will be able to accomplish over the next four years?

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

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

QUE: NEWPRES_SUPP**ASK ALL:**

[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5/5-1 IN SAME ORDER AS NEWPRES_ACCOMP 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 CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank

QUE: NEWPRES_ACTNS**ASK ALL:**

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

TXT:

[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF PRESWITHOP AND OPWITHPRES SUCH THAT FORM 1 (X_FORM=1) GETS PRESWITHOP FIRST AND OPWITHPRES SECOND WHILE FORM 2 (X_FORM=2) GETS OPWITHPRES FIRST AND PRESWITHOP SECOND; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

QUE: PRESWITHOP**ASK ALL :**

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

This year, do you think Donald Trump should...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Try as best he can to work with Democratic congressional leaders to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing people who voted for him
- 2 Stand up to Democratic congressional leaders on issues that are important to people who voted for him, even if it means it's harder to address critical problems facing the country
- 98 **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
- 99 **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused / **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank

TXT:

[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF PRESWITHOP AND OPWITHPRES SUCH THAT FORM 1 (X_FORM=1) GETS PRESWITHOP FIRST AND OPWITHPRES SECOND WHILE FORM 2 (X_FORM=2) GETS OPWITHPRES FIRST AND PRESWITHOP SECOND; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

QUE: OPWITHPRES**ASK ALL:**

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

This year, do you think Democratic congressional leaders should...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Try as best they can to work with Donald Trump to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing people who voted for them
- 2 Stand up to Donald Trump on issues that are important to people who voted for them, even if it means it's harder to address critical problems facing the country
- 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

BAT: FAVPOL**ASK ALL:**

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

[PN: IF WEB:] What is your overall opinion of...

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR FIRST ITEM:**] What is your overall opinion of **(INSERT ITEM)?**
(READ LIST)

[PN: IF CATI: **READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:**] What about **(INSERT ITEM)?**
(READ AS NECESSARY: What is your overall opinion of (INSERT ITEM)? (READ LIST IF NECESSARY))

BATTERY ITEMS:

TRUMP Donald Trump

ASK FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):

VANCE JD Vance

MJOHNSON Mike Johnson

JEFFRIES [PN: IF WEB:] Hakeem Jeffries [PN: IF CATI:] Hakeem **(PRONO: Ha-key-m)** Jeffries

ZUCKERBERG [PN: IF WEB:] Mark Zuckerberg [PN: IF CATI:] Mark Zuckerberg
(PRONO: Zuh-kr-brg)

ASK FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):

THUNE [PN: IF WEB:] John Thune [PN: IF CATI:] John Thune **(PRONO: THOON)**

SCHUMER [PN: IF WEB:] Chuck Schumer [PN: IF CATI:] Chuck Schumer **(PRONO: SHOE-MER)**

MUSK [PN: IF WEB:] Elon Musk [PN: IF CATI:] Elon Musk **(PRONO: EE-LAAN MUH-SK)**

RFKJR Robert F. Kennedy, Jr.

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

1 Very favorable

2 Mostly favorable

3 Mostly unfavorable

4 Very unfavorable

[PN: INSERT A LINE OF SPACE]

5 [PN: IF CATI:] Or have you never heard of this person? [PN: IF WEB:] Never heard of this person

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

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

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

QUE: REPWORKTRMP**ASK IF REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS (X_PARTYSUMFINAL=1):****[PN: RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 HOLDING 98 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]**

Which comes closer to your view, even if neither is exactly right?

Republicans in Congress...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Have an obligation to support Donald Trump's policies and programs because he is a Republican president
- 2 Do not have an obligation to support Donald Trump's policies and programs if they disagree with him
- 98 **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Don't know
- 99 **[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ)** Refused / **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank

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

As you may know, the Trump administration has issued a number of executive orders and actions since taking office. Would you say you have followed these executive actions...

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

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

BAT: IMMIG_DT_APP**ASK ALL:**

[**PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-4/4-1 IN SAME ORDER AS BIRTHCIT_APP, HOLDING 98 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION AND ROTATIONS IN THE DATA FILE**]

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

MILBRD	Sending additional U.S. military forces to the U.S. border with Mexico
ASYLUM	Suspending applications for asylum from people seeking to live in the U.S.
DEPORT	Increasing efforts to deport people who are living in the U.S. illegally
CUTFND	Cutting federal funds for cities and states if they do not help federal efforts to deport people in their communities who are in the U.S. illegally

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

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

QUE: DEPRT_DEG**ASK ALL:**

[**PN: RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2, HOLDING OPTION 3, 98, AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN THE DATA FILE**]

When it comes to deporting immigrants who are living in the U.S. illegally, would you say the Trump administration is doing...

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

1	Too much
2	Too little
3	About the right amount
98	[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
99	[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank

TXT:

As you may know, one of Donald Trump's first executive actions was to issue pardons to people who were convicted of crimes related to the events at the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021.

From what you have read and heard...

[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF JAN6PARDAPP_NONVIOL AND JAN6PARDAPP_VIOL; DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE; INCLUDE ORDER IN DATA FILE]

QUE: JAN6PARDAPP_NONVIOL**ASK ALL:**

[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-4/4-1 HOLDING 98 AND 99 LAST IN SAME ORDER AS BIRTHCIT_APP. RECORD ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

Do you approve or disapprove of Donald Trump pardoning people who were convicted of nonviolent crimes related to the events at the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021?

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

QUE: JAN6PARDAPP_VIOL**ASK ALL:**

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

Do you approve or disapprove of Donald Trump pardoning people who were convicted of violent crimes related to the events at the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021?

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

TXT:

[PN: DISPLAY JAN6PARDAPP_JB AND JAN6CONFCM ON SAME PAGE AND DO NOT ROTATE]

QUE: JAN6PARDAPP_JB

ASK ALL:

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

As you may know, one of Joe Biden's last executive actions was to issue pardons to members of Congress and congressional staff who worked on the U.S. House committee that investigated the events at the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021, as well as to police officers who testified before that committee.

From what you have read and heard, do you approve or disapprove of Joe Biden pardoning these committee members, staff, and police officers?

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

QUE: JAN6CONFCM_MOD

ASK ALL:

And thinking back to the U.S. House committee's investigation, how confident are you that the committee's investigation into the events at the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021, was fair and reasonable?

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

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

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE
