

**2024 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 149 JULY 2024
FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE
JULY 1-7, 2024**

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
ATP source: Randomly assigned for each survey.

X_CITIZEN

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Refused

Note: Flag to identify citizens filtered on VOTEGEN24.
Source: Frame file variable F_CITIZEN.

X_KIDS1

- 1 Parent/guardian of child under age 18
- 2 Not parent/guardian of child under age 18
- 99 Refused

Note: Flag to identify parents of children under 18.
Source: Frame file variable F_KIDS1. Same codes as F_KIDS1.

X_KIDS2

- 1 Parent/guardian of child age 18+
- 2 Not parent/guardian of child 18+
- 99 Refused

Note: Flag to identify parents of children 18 or older.
Source: Frame file variable F_KIDS2. Same codes as F_KIDS2.

[PN: START TIMER]

-----MAIN QUESTIONNAIRE BEGINS HERE-----

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

QUE: DTPRES

ASK IF FORM 1 AND TRUMP SUPPORTER (X_FORM=1 AND (VOTEGEN24=1 OR VOTEGEN24_LEAN=1)):

In your own words, what is the main reason you support or lean toward Donald Trump in the 2024 presidential election?

___ [PN: PROGRAM OPEN END TEXT BOX]

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

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

QUE: JBPRES

ASK IF FORM 1 AND BIDEN SUPPORTER (X_FORM=1 AND (VOTEGEN24=2 OR VOTEGEN24_LEAN=2)):

In your own words, what is the main reason you support or lean toward Joe Biden in the 2024 presidential election?

___ [PN: PROGRAM OPEN END TEXT BOX]

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

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

QUE: RFKPRES

ASK IF FORM 1 AND KENNEDY SUPPORTER (X_FORM=1 AND (VOTEGEN24=3 OR VOTEGEN24_LEAN=3)):

In your own words, what is the main reason you support or lean toward Robert F. Kennedy Jr. in the 2024 presidential election?

___ [PN: PROGRAM OPEN END TEXT BOX]

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

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

QUE: WHYCHANGE24

ASK IF FORM 2 AND NOT CERTAIN (X_FORM=2 AND (VOTEGEN2_TRUMP=2 OR VOTEGEN2_BIDEN=2 OR VOTEGEN2_KENNEDY=2)):

In your own words, what is the main reason you say there is a chance you might change your mind about supporting [**PN: IF VOTEGEN2_TRUMP=2 INSERT** "Donald Trump"; **IF VOTEGEN2_BIDEN=2 INSERT** "Joe Biden"; **IF VOTEGEN2_KENNEDY=2 INSERT** "Robert F. Kennedy Jr."] in the 2024 presidential election?

- ___ [**PN: PROGRAM OPEN END TEXT BOX**]
 98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
 99 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank

QUE: WHYCERTAIN24

ASK IF FORM 2 AND CERTAIN (X_FORM=2 AND (VOTEGEN2_TRUMP=1 OR VOTEGEN2_BIDEN=1 OR VOTEGEN2_KENNEDY=1)):

In your own words, what is the main reason you say you are certain you are supporting [**PN: IF VOTEGEN2_TRUMP=1 INSERT** "Donald Trump"; **IF VOTEGEN2_BIDEN=1 INSERT** "Joe Biden"; **IF VOTEGEN2_KENNEDY=1 INSERT** "Robert F. Kennedy Jr."] in the 2024 presidential election?

- ___ [**PN: PROGRAM OPEN END TEXT BOX**]
 98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
 99 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank

QUE: WHYLEAN24

ASK IF FORM 2 AND LEAN TOWARD A CANDIDATE (X_FORM=2 AND (VOTEGEN24_LEAN=1, 2, OR 3)):

In your own words, what is the main reason you say you are leaning toward supporting [**PN: IF VOTEGEN24_LEAN =1 INSERT** "Donald Trump"; **IF VOTEGEN24_LEAN=2 INSERT** "Joe Biden"; **IF VOTEGEN24_LEAN=3 INSERT** "Robert F. Kennedy Jr."] in the 2024 presidential election?

- ___ [**PN: PROGRAM OPEN END TEXT BOX**]
 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

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

QUE: FREETRADEUS**ASK ALL:**

In general, do you think that free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries have been a...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Good thing for the United States
- 2 Bad thing for the United States
- 98 **[PN: IF CATI:]** (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 **[PN: IF CATI:]** (DO NOT READ) Refused / **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank

ADDITIONAL QUESTION HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

QUE: BILLION**ASK ALL:**

Do you think the fact that there are some people in this country who have personal fortunes of a billion dollars or more is...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 A good thing for the country
- 2 A bad thing for the country
- 3 Neither a good thing or a bad thing
- 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: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF DT_FP AND JB_FP FOR A RANDOM HALF OF RESPONDENTS. RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE**]

BAT: JB_FP**ASK ALL:**

[**PN: RANDOMIZE BATTERY ITEMS; RECORD RANDOMIZATION**]

[**PN: IF WEB:**] Thinking about some foreign policy issues the president may face next year...

How confident are you that Joe Biden would make wise decisions when it comes to...

[**PN: IF CATI: SHOW FOR FIRST ITEM:**] Thinking about some foreign policy issues the president may face next year...

How confident are you that Joe Biden would make wise decisions when it comes to each of the following...? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. Are you...? **(READ LIST)**

[**PN: IF CATI: SHOW FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:**] What about **(INSERT ITEM)**? Are you...? **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY)**

(READ AS NECESSARY: How confident are you that Joe Biden would make wise decisions when it comes to **(INSERT ITEM)**?)

BATTERY ITEMS:

CH	ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1): U.S. policy toward China
ISHM	ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1): The war between Israel and Hamas
ENR	ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1): Global energy and climate issues
WRK	ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1): Working effectively with U.S. allies
NK	ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2): U.S. policy toward North Korea
IRN	ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2): U.S. policy toward Iran
UKR	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 CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank

TXT:

[**PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF DT_FP AND JB_FP FOR A RANDOM HALF OF RESPONDENTS. RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE**]

BAT: DT_FP**ASK ALL:**

[**PN: RANDOMIZE BATTERY ITEMS IN SAME ORDER AS JB_FP; RECORD RANDOMIZATION**]

[**PN: IF WEB:**] Thinking about some foreign policy issues the president may face next year...

How confident are you that Donald Trump would make wise decisions when it comes to...

[**PN: IF CATI: SHOW FOR FIRST ITEM:**] Thinking about some foreign policy issues the president may face next year...

How confident are you that Donald Trump would make wise decisions when it comes to each of the following...? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. Are you...? **(READ LIST)**

[**PN: IF CATI: SHOW FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:**] What about **(INSERT ITEM)**? Are you...? **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY)**

(READ AS NECESSARY: How confident are you that Donald Trump would make wise decisions when it comes to **(INSERT ITEM)**...?)

BATTERY ITEMS:

CH	ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1): U.S. policy toward China
ISHM	ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1): The war between Israel and Hamas
ENR	ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1): Global energy and climate issues
WRK	ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1): Working effectively with U.S. allies
NK	ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2): U.S. policy toward North Korea
IRN	ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2): U.S. policy toward Iran
UKR	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 CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank

QUE: UKRFOL
ASK ALL:

How closely have you been following news about Russia's invasion of Ukraine?

[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

QUE: UKR_SPRT
ASK ALL:

[PN: ROTATE OPTIONS 1 AND 2, HOLDING OPTIONS 3, 4, AND 99 LAST. RECORD 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 CATI:]** (DO NOT READ) Refused / **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank

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

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)**

- 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****

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

[**PN: RANDOMIZE BATTERY ITEMS. RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]**

[**PN: IF WEB:] Do you approve or disapprove of each of the following actions the U.S. is taking in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine?**

[**PN: IF CATI: SHOW FOR FIRST ITEM:] Do you approve or disapprove of each of the following actions the U.S. is taking in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine? First, (**INSERT ITEM**). Do you...? (**READ LIST**)**

[**PN: IF CATI: SHOW FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:] What about (**INSERT ITEM**)? (**READ AS NECESSARY: Do you approve or disapprove of each of the following actions the U.S. is taking in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine? Do you... (READ LIST IF NECESSARY)**)**

BATTERY ITEMS:

- SANC Keeping strict economic sanctions on Russia
- MIL Continuing to send military equipment and weapons to Ukraine
- STRIK Allowing Ukraine to use U.S.-made weapons to strike targets inside Russia

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

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

BAT: UA_CONC**ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):****[PN: RANDOMIZEBATTERY ITEMS. RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]**[**PN: IF WEB:**] How concerned are you about the possibility of each of the following?[**PN: IF CATI: SHOW FOR FIRST ITEM:**] How concerned are you about the possibility of **(INSERT ITEM)**? Are you...? **(READ LIST)**[**PN: IF CATI: SHOW FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:**] What about **(INSERT ITEM)**? **(READ AS NECESSARY:** How concerned are you about the possibility of each of the following? Are you... **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY))****BATTERY ITEMS:**

WARRS	U.S. and NATO support for Ukraine leading to a U.S. war with Russia
DFT	Ukraine being defeated and taken over by Russia
MREYR	The war in Ukraine will continue for many more years
INVD	Russia invading other countries in the region, not just Ukraine

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

QUE: UA_PROG**ASK ALL:****[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5/5-1 WITH 6 AND 99 ALWAYS HELD LAST; RECORD ROTATION IN THE DATA FILE]**

From what you've read and heard about how Ukraine is defending itself against Russia's invasion, would you say that Ukraine's military effort is going...

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

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

[PN: INSERT A LINE OF SPACE]

6	[PN: IF WEB:] Not sure [PN: IF CATI:] Or are you not sure?
99	[PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

QUE: ISGZ_FOL**ASK ALL:**

[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5/5-1 IN THE SAME ORDER AS UA_PROG; RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN THE DATA FILE]

How closely have you been following news about the Israel-Hamas war?

[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
-

TXT:

[PN: RANDOMIZE BIDEN_FAVORISRPAL AND TRUMP_FAVORISRPAL. IF X_FORM=1, ASK BIDEN_FAVORISRPAL FIRST; IF X_FORM=2, ASK TRUMP_FAVORISRPAL FIRST. RECORD RANDOMIZATION]

QUE: BIDEN_FAVORISRPAL**ASK ALL:**

[PN: ROTATE OPTIONS 1-2; HOLD 3, 4, and 99 AT BOTTOM; RECORD ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

Do you think Joe Biden 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 CATI:]** (DO NOT READ) Refused / **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank

TXT:

[PN: RANDOMIZE BIDEN_FAVORISRPAL AND TRUMP_FAVORISRPAL. IF X_FORM=1, ASK BIDEN_FAVORISRPAL FIRST; IF X_FORM=2, ASK TRUMP_FAVORISRPAL FIRST. RECORD RANDOMIZATION]

QUE: TRUMP_FAVORISRPAL**ASK ALL:**

[PN: ROTATE OPTIONS 1-2 IN SAME ORDER AS BIDEN_FAVORISRPAL; HOLD 3, 4, and 99 AT BOTTOM; RECORD ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

If Donald Trump were to win the 2024 presidential election, do you think he would...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Favor the Israelis too much
- 2 Favor the Palestinians too much
- 3 Strike 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 CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

QUE: PARTY**ASK ALL:**

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

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Republican
- 2 Democrat
- 3 Independent
- 4 Something else
- 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank

QUE: PARTYLN**ASK IF INDEPENDENT/SOMETHING ELSE/DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (PARTY=3, 4, 98, OR 99):**

As of today do you lean more to...

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 The Republican Party
 - 2 The Democratic Party
 - 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 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**