

**2025 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL  
WAVE 166 GLOBAL ATTITUDES SURVEY  
FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE  
MARCH 24 – 30, 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  
ATP source: Randomly assigned for each survey.

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 -----**MAIN QUESTIONNAIRE BEGINS HERE**-----  
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**ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

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**BAT: FAV**

**ASK ALL:**

[ **PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; SHOW ITEMS ACROSS TWO SCREENS WITH 6 ITEMS ON EACH SCREEN; ALWAYS SHOW FAV\_US FIRST AND ON SCREEN 1; 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:** ] Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of...

[ **PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:** ] Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of **(INSERT ITEM)**? **(READ LIST)**

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

**BATTERY ITEMS:**

US	The U.S.
CHINA	China
EU	The European Union
UN	The United Nations
NATO	NATO [ <b>PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: NAY-toe)</b> ], that is, North Atlantic Treaty
RUSSIA	Russia
ISRAEL	Israel
INDIA	India
CANADA	[ <b>PN: ASK FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):</b> ] Canada
MEXICO	[ <b>PN: ASK FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):</b> ] Mexico
IRAN	[ <b>PN: ASK FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):</b> ] Iran [ <b>PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: ee- RON)</b> ]
FRANCE	[ <b>PN: ASK FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):</b> ] France
GERMANY	[ <b>PN: ASK FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):</b> ] Germany
UK	[ <b>PN: ASK FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):</b> ] The United Kingdom
JAPAN	[ <b>PN: ASK FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):</b> ] Japan
ITALY	[ <b>PN: ASK FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):</b> ] Italy

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1	Very favorable
2	Somewhat favorable
3	Somewhat unfavorable
4	Very unfavorable
98	[ <b>PN: IF CATI:</b> ] <b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't know
99	[ <b>PN: IF WEB:</b> ] Web blank / [ <b>PN: IF CATI:</b> ] <b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Refused

**BAT: CONFID****ASK ALL:**

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

[ **PN: IF WEB:** ] How much confidence do you have in each of the following leaders to do the right thing regarding world affairs?

[ **PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:** ] How much confidence do you have in each of the following leaders to do the right thing regarding world affairs? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. **(READ LIST)**

[ **PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:** ] Next, **(INSERT ITEM)**. **(READ AS NECESSARY:** How much confidence do you have in this leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs? **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY))**

**BATTERY ITEMS:**

XI Chinese President Xi Jinping [ **PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: Shee Jin-PING)** ]  
 PUTIN Russian President Vladimir Putin [ **PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: Vladda-MEER POO-tin)** ]  
 MACRON French President Emmanuel Macron [ **PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: Eh-MAN-you-el Ma-CROAN)** ]  
 NETANYAHU Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu [ **PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: neh-tuhn-YAA-hoo)** ]  
 ZELENSKYY Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy [ **PN: IF CATI: (PRONO: Vuh-Luh-Dih-Mir Zeh-LEN-skee)** ]

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1 A lot of confidence  
 2 Some confidence  
 3 Not too much confidence  
 4 No confidence at all  
 [ **PN: INSERT LINE OF SPACE** ]  
 5 [ **PN: IF WEB:** ] Never heard of this person [ **PN: IF CATI:** ] Or have you never heard of this person?  
 98 [ **PN: IF CATI:** ] **(DO NOT READ)** Don't know  
 99 [ **PN: IF WEB:** ] Web blank / [ **PN: IF CATI:** ] **(DO NOT READ)** Refused

**QUE: EXPAND\_GAZA****ASK IF FORM 1 (X\_FORM=1):****[ PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5/5-1 HOLDING 6 AND 99 LAST; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE ]**

Donald Trump has mentioned an interest in the U.S. taking over Gaza. How likely do you think it is that Donald Trump will pursue this?

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

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

**[ PN: INSERT LINE OF SPACE ]**

- 6 **[ 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: EXPAND2\_GAZA****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 ]**

Do you favor or oppose the U.S. taking over Gaza, as Donald Trump has proposed?

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

- 1 Strongly favor
- 2 Somewhat favor
- 3 Somewhat oppose
- 4 Strongly oppose

**[ PN: INSERT 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

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

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**BAT: CONFPERS****ASK ALL:****[ PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE ]****[ PN: IF WEB: ]** How important would you say each of the following is to you personally?**[ PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM: ]** How important would you say each of the following is to you personally? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. **(READ LIST)****[ PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS: ]** Next, **(INSERT ITEM)**.  
**(READ AS NECESSARY: How important is this to you personally? (READ LIST IF NECESSARY))****BATTERY ITEMS:**

- a The war between Israel and Hamas
- b The war between Russia and Ukraine
- c The tensions between China and Taiwan

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

- 1 Very important
- 2 Somewhat important
- 3 Not too important
- 4 Not at all important

**[ PN: INSERT 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

**BAT: CONFGEO****ASK ALL:**

[ **PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS IN SAME ORDER AS CONFPERS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE** ]

[ **PN: IF WEB:** ] Regardless of how important they are to you personally, how important is each of the following for the U.S.'s national interests?

[ **PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:** ] Regardless of how important they are to you personally, how important is each of the following for the U.S.'s national interests? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. **(READ LIST)**

[ **PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:** ] Next, **(INSERT ITEM)**. **(READ AS NECESSARY:** Regardless of how important they are to you personally, how important is this for the U.S.'s national interests? **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY))**

**BATTERY ITEMS:**

- a The war between Israel and Hamas
- b The war between Russia and Ukraine
- c The tensions between China and Taiwan

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

- 1 Very important
- 2 Somewhat important
- 3 Not too important
- 4 Not at all important

**[ PN: INSERT 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

**ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED OR HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE****QUE: COEX****ASK ALL:**

Do you think a way can be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully with each other, or not?

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

- 1 Yes, can coexist peacefully
- 2 No, cannot coexist peacefully
- 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 ALL:**

**[ 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 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

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**ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

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