

**2023 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 139 POLITICS SURVEY
NOV. 27 – DEC. 3, 2023¹**

ASK ALL:

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

- 1 Satisfied
- 2 Dissatisfied

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

☐ Satisfied

☐ Dissatisfied

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ASK ALL:

POL1JB Do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president?

- 1 Approve
- 2 Disapprove

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president?

☐ Approve

☐ Disapprove

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ASK IF POL1JB=1,2:

POL1JBSTR Do you [**IF POL1JB=1:** approve; **IF POL1JB=2:** disapprove] of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president...

- 1 Very strongly
- 2 Not so strongly

Do you approve of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president...

☐ Very strongly

☐ Not so strongly

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¹ Open-end responses are excluded from public datasets to protect the confidentiality of ATP panelists.

Do you disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president...

- ☐ Very strongly
- ☐ Not so strongly

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ASK ALL:

INSTFAV

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each of the following?

[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]

ASK FORM 1 ONLY (XFORM=1):

- a. The Republican Party
- b. The Democratic Party
- c. Congress

ASK FORM 2 ONLY (XFORM=2):

FED The federal government in Washington

STAT Your STATE government

LOC Your LOCAL government

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

- 1 Very favorable
- 2 Mostly favorable
- 3 Mostly unfavorable
- 4 Very unfavorable

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each of the following?

The Democratic Party

- ☐ Very favorable
- ☐ Mostly favorable
- ☐ Mostly unfavorable
- ☐ Very unfavorable

The Republican Party

- ☐ Very favorable
- ☐ Mostly favorable
- ☐ Mostly unfavorable
- ☐ Very unfavorable

Congress

- ☐ Very favorable
- ☐ Mostly favorable
- ☐ Mostly unfavorable
- ☐ Very unfavorable

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Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each of the following?

Your LOCAL government

☐ Very favorable

☐ Mostly favorable

☐ Mostly unfavorable

☐ Very unfavorable

Your STATE government

☐ Very favorable

☐ Mostly favorable

☐ Mostly unfavorable

☐ Very unfavorable

The federal government in Washington

☐ Very favorable

☐ Mostly favorable

☐ Mostly unfavorable

☐ Very unfavorable

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ASK ALL:

JBCONF Thinking about Joe Biden's ability to handle a number of things, how confident are you that Joe Biden can do each of the following? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

ECON Make good decisions about economic policy

CRIS Handle an international crisis

IMMI Make wise decisions about immigration policy

CONG Work effectively with Congress

CLSR Bring the country closer together

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

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

Thinking about Joe Biden's ability to handle a number of things, how confident are you that Joe Biden can do each of the following?

Bring the country closer together

- ☐ Very confident
- ☐ Somewhat confident
- ☐ Not too confident
- ☐ Not at all confident

Work effectively with Congress

- ☐ Very confident
- ☐ Somewhat confident
- ☐ Not too confident
- ☐ Not at all confident

Make good decisions about economic policy

- ☐ Very confident
- ☐ Somewhat confident
- ☐ Not too confident
- ☐ Not at all confident

Make wise decisions about immigration policy

- ☐ Very confident
- ☐ Somewhat confident
- ☐ Not too confident
- ☐ Not at all confident

Handle an international crisis

- ☐ Very confident
- ☐ Somewhat confident
- ☐ Not too confident
- ☐ Not at all confident

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ASK ALL:

ISGZ_BDN

Do you approve or disapprove of the Biden administration's response to the Israel-Hamas war? **[RANDOMIZE RESPONSES 1-4 AND 4-1 FOR RANDOM HALF OF RESPONDENTS WITH OPTION 5 ALWAYS LAST]**

- 1 Strongly approve
- 2 Somewhat approve
- 3 Somewhat disapprove
- 4 Strongly disapprove
- [SPACE]**
- 5 Not sure **[ANCHOR]**

Do you approve or disapprove of the Biden administration's response to the Israel-Hamas war?

- ☐ Strongly disapprove
- ☐ Somewhat disapprove
- ☐ Somewhat approve
- ☐ Strongly approve
- ☐ Not sure

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ASK ALL:

REPFIELD

Overall, what's your impression of the candidates running for the Republican presidential nomination? AS A GROUP, would you say the candidates are...

- 1 Excellent
- 2 Good
- 3 Only fair
- 4 Poor

Overall, what's your impression of the candidates running for the Republican presidential nomination? AS A GROUP, would you say the candidates are...

- ☐ Excellent
- ☐ Good
- ☐ Only fair
- ☐ Poor

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ASK ALL REPUBLICAN/LEAN REPUBLICAN OR NO LEAN (XPARTYSUMFINAL=1,9):

REPNOE

Thinking about the 2024 presidential election, who would be your first choice for the Republican nomination for president?

[PROGRAMMING NOTE: SINGLE LINE TEXT BOX; PROMPT IF LEFT BLANK]

Thinking about the 2024 presidential election, who would be your first choice for the Republican nomination for president?

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ASK ALL REPUBLICAN/LEAN REPUBLICAN OR NO LEAN REGISTERED VOTERS

(XPARTYSUMFINAL=1,9 & XREG=1):

PRICANDSAT_R Now thinking about some of the candidates running for the Republican nomination for president...

Regardless of who your first choice is, how would you feel if each of the following became the Republican nominee in 2024? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS; RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-4 AND 4-1 WITH 5 ALWAYS LAST; SHOW RESPONSE OPTIONS IN THE SAME ORDER FOR EACH RESPONDENT]**

DT Donald Trump
RDS Ron DeSantis
CC Chris Christie
VR Vivek Ramaswamy
NH Nikki Haley

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

- 1 Very satisfied
- 2 Somewhat satisfied
- 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
- 4 Very dissatisfied
- [SPACE]**
- 5 Have not heard enough to say **[ANCHOR]**

Now thinking about some of the candidates running for the Republican nomination for president...

Regardless of who your first choice is, how would you feel if each of the following became the Republican nominee in 2024?

Donald Trump

- ☐ Very dissatisfied
- ☐ Somewhat dissatisfied
- ☐ Somewhat satisfied
- ☐ Very satisfied

- ☐ Have not heard enough to say

Vivek Ramaswamy

- ☐ Very dissatisfied
- ☐ Somewhat dissatisfied
- ☐ Somewhat satisfied
- ☐ Very satisfied

- ☐ Have not heard enough to say

Nikki Haley

- ☐ Very dissatisfied
- ☐ Somewhat dissatisfied
- ☐ Somewhat satisfied
- ☐ Very satisfied

- ☐ Have not heard enough to say

Ron DeSantis

- ☐ Very dissatisfied
- ☐ Somewhat dissatisfied
- ☐ Somewhat satisfied
- ☐ Very satisfied

- ☐ Have not heard enough to say

Chris Christie

- ☐ Very dissatisfied
- ☐ Somewhat dissatisfied
- ☐ Somewhat satisfied
- ☐ Very satisfied

- ☐ Have not heard enough to say

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ASK ALL REPUBLICAN/LEAN REPUBLICAN OR NO LEAN (XPARTYSUMFINAL=1,9):

REPDEALFGHT Which is more important to you in a Republican presidential candidate?

Someone who, if elected president, will focus on... **[RANDOMIZE]**

- 1 Finding common ground with Democrats on policies, even if it means giving up some things Republicans want
- 2 Pushing hard for policies Republicans want, even if it makes it much harder to get some things done

Which is more important to you in a Republican presidential candidate?

Someone who, if elected president, will focus on...

☐ Pushing hard for policies Republicans want, even if it makes it much harder to get some things done

☐ Finding common ground with Democrats on policies, even if it means giving up some things Republicans want

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ASK ALL REPUBLICAN/LEAN REPUBLICAN OR NO LEAN (XPARTYSUMFINAL=1,9):

PRMRYSYT Overall, how good a job do you think next year's caucuses and primaries will do at selecting the best Republican candidate for the general election?

- 1 Very good job
- 2 Somewhat good job
- 3 Somewhat bad job
- 4 Very bad job

Overall, how good a job do you think next year's caucuses and primaries will do at selecting the best Republican candidate for the general election?

☐ Very good job

☐ Somewhat good job

☐ Somewhat bad job

☐ Very bad job

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RANDOMIZE ORDER OF REPPRI_FCS AND REPRIMINT

ASK ALL:

REPPRI_FCS So far, would you say the campaign for the Republican nomination has been... **[RANDOMIZE]**

- 1 Focused on the right issues
- 2 Not focused on the right issues

So far, would you say the campaign for the Republican nomination has been...

- ☐ Focused on the right issues
- ☐ Not focused on the right issues

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RANDOMIZE ORDER OF REPPRI_FCS AND REPRIMINT

ASK ALL :

REPPRIMINT So far, would you say the campaign for the Republican nomination has been...
[RANDOMIZE]

- 1 Interesting
- 2 Dull

So far, would you say the campaign for the Republican nomination has been...

- ☐ Dull
- ☐ Interesting

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ASK ALL:

REPPRIMCOMP From what you've read or heard, do you think the competition for the Republican nomination in 2024 will be... **[RANDOMIZE]**

- 1 A close race
- 2 Not a close race

From what you've read or heard, do you think the competition for the Republican nomination in 2024 will be...

- ☐ A close race
- ☐ Not a close race

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ASK ALL:

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

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

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

☐ Extremely closely
☐ Very closely
☐ Somewhat closely
☐ Not too closely
☐ Not at all closely

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ASK ALL:

JB_RUSUKR_APP

Do you approve or disapprove of the Biden administration's response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine?

- 1 Strongly approve
- 2 Somewhat approve
- 3 Somewhat disapprove
- 4 Strongly disapprove
- [SPACE]**
- 5 Not sure

Do you approve or disapprove of the Biden administration's response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine?

☐ Strongly approve
☐ Somewhat approve
☐ Somewhat disapprove
☐ Strongly disapprove
☐ Not sure

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ASK ALL:

UKR_SPRT

When it comes to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, do you think the U.S. is providing...
[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2; ALWAYS ASK OPTIONS 3 AND 4 LAST]

- 1 Too much support to Ukraine
- 2 Not enough support to Ukraine
- 3 About the right amount of support to Ukraine **[ANCHOR]**
- [SPACE]**
- 4 Not sure **[ANCHOR]**

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

- ☐ Too much support to Ukraine
- ☐ Not enough support to Ukraine
- ☐ About the right amount of support to Ukraine
- ☐ Not sure

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ASK ALL:

RU_UKN_THRT2 How much of a threat to U.S. interests is Russia's invasion of Ukraine?

- 1 A major threat
- 2 A minor threat
- 3 Not a threat
- [SPACE]**
- 4 Not sure

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

- ☐ A major threat
- ☐ A minor threat
- ☐ Not a threat
- ☐ Not sure

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ASK ALL:

PARTYTRAITH2H Thinking about the Republican and Democratic parties...

Which party do you think is better described by each of the following phrases? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS; RANDOMIZE 1 AND 2 WITH OPTION 3 ALWAYS LAST; PRESERVE SAME ORDER (1 AND 2) FOR RESPONDENTS]**

ASK FORM 1 ONLY (XFORM=1):

- FED Can effectively manage the federal government
- WORK Is willing to work with political leaders from the other party
- PLM Is concerned with the needs of people like me
- SEL Selects good candidates for office

ASK FORM 2 ONLY (XFORM=2):

- HON Governs in an honest and ethical way
- UNI Tries to unite the country
- LEAD Has effective leaders in Congress
- MID Is concerned with the needs of middle-class people

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

- 1 The Republican Party
- 2 The Democratic Party
- 3 No difference between the parties **[ANCHOR]**

Thinking about the Republican and Democratic parties...

Which party do you think is better described by each of the following phrases?

Is concerned with the needs of people like me

- ☐ The Democratic Party
- ☐ The Republican Party
- ☐ No difference between the parties

Is willing to work with political leaders from the other party

- ☐ The Democratic Party
- ☐ The Republican Party
- ☐ No difference between the parties

Selects good candidates for office

- ☐ The Democratic Party
- ☐ The Republican Party
- ☐ No difference between the parties

Can effectively manage the federal government

- ☐ The Democratic Party
- ☐ The Republican Party
- ☐ No difference between the parties

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Thinking about the Republican and Democratic parties...

Which party do you think is better described by each of the following phrases?

Tries to unite the country

- ☐ The Republican Party
- ☐ The Democratic Party
- ☐ No difference between the parties

Governs in an honest and ethical way

- ☐ The Republican Party
- ☐ The Democratic Party
- ☐ No difference between the parties

Has effective leaders in Congress

- ☐ The Republican Party
- ☐ The Democratic Party
- ☐ No difference between the parties

Is concerned with the needs of middle-class people

- ☐ The Republican Party
- ☐ The Democratic Party
- ☐ No difference between the parties

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ASK ALL:

ISGZ_FOL

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

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5 AND 5-1]

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

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

- ☐ Extremely closely
- ☐ Very closely
- ☐ Somewhat closely
- ☐ Not too closely
- ☐ Not at all closely

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ASK ALL:

ISGZ_RESPNSBL

How much responsibility do each of the following have for Israel and Hamas currently being at war? **[SHOW ALL ITEMS ON SAME SCREEN; RANDOMIZE ITEMS, GROUPING ISRGOV AND HMS ITEMS TOGETHER (SEEN ONE AFTER ANOTHER) AND ISRPPPL, PLS ITEMS TOGETHER]**

ISRGOV	Israeli government
HMS	Hamas, the militant Palestinian group
ISRPPPL	Israeli people
PLS	Palestinian people

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

- 1 A lot
- 2 A little
- 3 None
- [SPACE]**
- 4 Not sure **[ANCHOR]**

How much responsibility do each of the following have for Israel and Hamas currently being at war?

Israeli government

☐ A lot

☐ A little

☐ None

☐ Not sure

Hamas, the militant Palestinian group

☐ A lot

☐ A little

☐ None

☐ Not sure

Israeli people

☐ A lot

☐ A little

☐ None

☐ Not sure

Palestinian people

☐ A lot

☐ A little

☐ None

☐ Not sure

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ASK FORM 2 ONLY (XFORM=2):

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]

- 1 Going too far
- 2 Not going far enough
- 3 Taking about the right approach **[ANCHOR]**
- [SPACE]**
- 4 Not sure **[ANCHOR]**

Thinking about Israel's current military operation against Hamas, is Israel...

☐ Not going far enough

☐ Going too far

☐ Taking about the right approach

☐ Not sure

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ASK FORM 1 ONLY (XFORM=1):

BIDEN_FAVORISRPAL Do you think Joe Biden is... **[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2, OPTIONS 3 AND 4 ALWAYS LAST]**

- 1 Favoring the Israelis too much
- 2 Favoring the Palestinians too much
- 3 Striking about the right balance **[ANCHOR]**
- [SPACE]**
- 4 Not sure **[ANCHOR]**

Do you think Joe Biden is...

☐ Favoring the Palestinians too much

☐ Favoring the Israelis too much

☐ Striking about the right balance

☐ Not sure

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ASK ALL:

ISGZ_CONC Thinking about the war between Israel and Hamas, how concerned are you about the possibility of each of the following? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS; RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5 AND 5-1 IN SAME ORDER AS ISGZ_FOL]**

- | | |
|----------|--|
| BIG | The war expanding to other countries in the region |
| TERR | The war leading to a terrorist attack in the United States |
| RSLV | The war going on for a very long time |
| VLC_JW | Increasing violence against Jewish people in the U.S. |
| VLC_MSLM | Increasing violence against Muslim people in the U.S. |

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

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

Thinking about the war between Israel and Hamas, how concerned are you about the possibility of each of the following?

The war going on for a very long time

- ☐ Extremely concerned
- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Somewhat concerned
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

The war expanding to other countries in the region

- ☐ Extremely concerned
- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Somewhat concerned
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

Increasing violence against Muslim people in the U.S.

- ☐ Extremely concerned
- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Somewhat concerned
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

Increasing violence against Jewish people in the U.S.

- ☐ Extremely concerned
- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Somewhat concerned
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

The war leading to a terrorist attack in the United States

- ☐ Extremely concerned
- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Somewhat concerned
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

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ASK ALL:

COEX Now, thinking about the future, and not just the current conflict...

Do you think a way can be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully with each other?

- 1 Yes, can coexist peacefully
- 2 No, cannot coexist peacefully

Now, thinking about the future, and not just the current conflict...

Do you think a way can be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully with each other?

- ☐ Yes, can coexist peacefully
- ☐ No, cannot coexist peacefully

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DISPLAY TO ALL:

On a different topic...

ASK ALL:

COLGJOB How important do you think it is for someone to have a four-year college degree in order to get a well-paying job in today's economy? **[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5 OR 5-1 IN SAME ORDER AS ISGZ_FOL]**

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

On a different topic...

How important do you think it is for someone to have a four-year college degree in order to get a well-paying job in today's economy?

- ☐ Extremely important
- ☐ Very important
- ☐ Somewhat important
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Not at all important

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ASK ALL:

COLGIMP

Compared to 20 years ago, how important would you say it is for someone to have a four-year college degree in order to get a well-paying job? **[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2, WITH 3 ALWAYS LAST]**

1 More important today than 20 years ago

2 Less important today than 20 years ago

[SPACE]

3 About as important **[ANCHOR]**

Compared to 20 years ago, how important would you say it is for someone to have a four-year college degree in order to get a well-paying job?

☐ More important today than 20 years ago

☐ Less important today than 20 years ago

☐ About as important

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ASK ALL:

EDUCJOB

Overall, how useful was your education in giving you the skills and knowledge you needed to get a well-paying job? **[SHOW RESPONSE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS ISGZ_FOLWITH 6 ALWAYS LAST]**

1 Extremely useful

2 Very useful

3 Somewhat useful

4 Not too useful

5 Not at all useful

[SPACE]

6 Not applicable **[ANCHOR]**

Overall, how useful was your education in giving you the skills and knowledge you needed to get a well-paying job?

☐ Extremely useful

☐ Very useful

☐ Somewhat useful

☐ Not too useful

☐ Not at all useful

☐ Not applicable

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ASK ALL:

DEGR COST

Thinking about the cost of getting a four-year college degree today, would you say it is... **[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-3 or 3-1]**

1 Worth it, even if someone has to take out loans in order to attend

2 Worth it, but only if someone doesn't have to take out loans in order to attend

3 Not worth it

Thinking about the cost of getting a four-year college degree today, would you say it is...

- ☐ Not worth it
- ☐ Worth it, but only if someone doesn't have to take out loans in order to attend
- ☐ Worth it, even if someone has to take out loans in order to attend

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ASK ALL:

NDEGRJOB

How likely is it that someone who does not have a four-year college degree could get a well-paying job in today's economy? **[SHOW RESPONSE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER ASISGZ_FOL]**

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

How likely is it that someone who does not have a four-year college degree could get a well-paying job in today's economy?

- ☐ Extremely likely
- ☐ Very likely
- ☐ Somewhat likely
- ☐ Not too likely
- ☐ Not at all likely

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ASK ALL REPUBLICAN/LEAN REPUBLICAN OR NO LEAN (XPARTYSUMFINAL=1,9):

DTREPPTY

Finally...

Since he entered politics, has Donald Trump's impact on the Republican Party been... **[RANDOMIZE ORDER 1-5 OR 5-1 FOR RANDOM HALF OF RESPONDENTS]**

- 1 Very positive
- 2 Somewhat positive
- 3 Neither positive nor negative
- 4 Somewhat negative
- 5 Very negative

Finally...

Since he entered politics, has Donald Trump's impact on the Republican Party been...

☐ Very positive

☐ Somewhat positive

☐ Neither positive nor negative

☐ Somewhat negative

☐ Very negative

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CODEBOOK FOR ATP SAMPLE VARIABLES TO BE USED IN SURVEY PROGRAMMING LOGIC

XFORM

- 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.

XPARTYSUMFINAL

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

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

Source: Frame file variable F_PARTYSUM_FINAL. Same codes as F_PARTYSUM_FINAL.

XREG

- 1 Registered to vote (as of W133)
- 2 Not registered to vote (as of W133)

Note: Flag to identify registered voters.

Source: Frame file variable F_REG. If F_REG=1, XREG=1. All else XREG=2.