## AEI PUBLIC OPINION STUDIES

# Attitudes About the Federal Government 

 MAJOR TRENDSCompiled by Karlyn Bowman,<br>Distinguished Senior Fellow Emeritus, AEI and Samantha Goldstein, Research Assistant, AEI

APRIL 2022

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## Attitudes About the Federal Government

## MAJOR TRENDS

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In 2008, AEI released a comprehensive Public Opinion Study on attitudes about the federal government from the earliest days of polling. This new study updates some of the major trends that appeared in the 2008 report. Today, because pollsters are less focused on updating old trends, many important questions in the earlier compilation have not been updated.

## Views of Government in Polling's Early Days

In 1939, Elmo Roper, in his polling for Fortune magazine, asked the public about things the federal government should do. The results are shown below. Of the 16 items the pollster tested, three-providing an army and navy, providing for people with no means of subsistence, and being responsible for seeing that everyone who wanted a job had one-garnered majority support. As government grew and became more involved in everyday life, people developed more reservations about its role and power, although they still wanted the federal government to do many things. In 1959, when Gallup asked whether big business, big labor, or big government represented the biggest threat to the country in the future, 15 percent said big business, 41 percent big labor, and 14 percent big government. In 1965, 17 percent answered big business, 29 percent big labor, and 35 percent big government. The last time Gallup asked this question in 2016, 26 percent said big business, 5 percent big labor, and 67 percent big government.
Q: People feel differently about how far a government should go. Here is a list of things which some people believe in and some don't. Let's take them one at a time. Do you think the government should or should not . . . ?
Mar. 1939

## Roper/Fortune

|  | Government should | Government should not |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Provide an army and navy | 96\% | 2\% |
| Provide for all people who have no other means of subsistence | 69 | 23 |
| Be responsible for seeing to it that everyone who wants to work has a job | 61 | 32 |
| Regulate all public utility rates like electricity, gas, etc. | 49 | 39 |
| Make all decisions in disputes between capital and labor | 35 | 45 |
| Redistribute wealth by heavy taxes on the rich | 35 | 54 |
| Establish a bureau to supervise what should be produced in moving pictures | 32 | 51 |
| Establish a bureau to supervise what should be produced by the radio | 27 | 60 |
| Control the price of farm products by controlling production | 23 | 62 |
| Take over and operate all private, public, and parochial schools for children | 20 | 72 |
| Make every adult male spend at least two years in the army | 18 | 76 |
| Confiscate wealth over what people need to live on decently, and use it for the public good | 16 | 76 |
| Establish a bureau to supervise what should be printed in newspapers and magazines | 15 | 76 |
| Take over and operate all private colleges and institutions of higher learning | 14 | 75 |
| Take over all the present family duties toward children | 5 | 92 |
| Supervise all religious observances by establishing a national church | 4 | 92 |

Note: Interviewers were told to tell respondents that this question was about the federal government, not government in general.

Q: On the following things we have found that people differ as to the degree to which government should function. Do you think that the government should . . . ?

| Mar. 1939 Roper/Fortune | Government should |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | All | Some | None |
| Operate the postal and parcel post services | 89\% | 5\% | 4\% |
| Own and operate the railroads | 22 | 12 | 53 |
| Own and operate the country's natural resources, like mines, forests, water power, etc. | 21 | 34 | 33 |
| Produce and sell the nation's electric power | 20 | 24 | 42 |
| Own and operate the telephone and telegraph systems | 15 | 14 | 58 |
| Own and operate the nation's hospital and medical services | 14 | 59 | 19 |
| Own and operate the insurance companies | 13 | 14 | 61 |
| Own and operate the factories producing the essentials of life, like clothes, food, etc. | 7 | 14 | 70 |

Note: Interviewers were told to tell respondents that this question was about the federal government, not government in general.
Q: In your opinion, which of the following do you think will be the biggest threat to the country in the future-big business, big labor, or big government?

|  |  | _-Biggest threat to country in the future |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Big business | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Big } \\ & \text { labor } \end{aligned}$ | Big government |
| 1959 | Gallup | 15\% | 41\% | 14\% |
| 1960 | Look | 15 | 41 | 14 |
| 1965 | Look | 16 | 28 | 37 |
| 1965 | Gallup | 17 | 29 | 35 |
| 1965 | ORC | 14 | 15 | 35 |
| 1966 | Gallup | 14 | 21 | 48 |
| 1967 | Gallup | 14 | 21 | 49 |
| 1968 | Gallup | 12 | 26 | 46 |
| 1969 | ORC | 12 | 17 | 44 |
| 1969 | Gallup | 19 | 28 | 33 |
| 1974 | ORC | 18 | 12 | 49 |
| 1976 | Harris | 11 | 15 | 33 |
| 1977 | Gallup | 23 | 26 | 39 |
| 1978 | Gallup | 19 | 19 | 47 |
| 1979 | Gallup | 28 | 17 | 43 |
| 1981 | Harris | 21 | 16 | 53 |
| 1981 | Gallup | 22 | 22 | 46 |
| 1981 | Harris | 22 | 15 | 52 |
| 1983 | Gallup | 19 | 18 | 51 |
| 1985 | Gallup | 22 | 19 | 50 |
| 1994 | Roper/UConn | 14 | 5 | 67 |
| 1995 | Gallup | 24 | 9 | 64 |
| 1998 | Kaiser/Harvard/Wash Post | 25 | 11 | 59 |
| 1998 | Gallup | 24 | 7 | 64 |
| 1999 | Gallup | 24 | 8 | 65 |
| 2000 | Gallup | 22 | 7 | 65 |
| 2002 | Gallup | 38 | 10 | 47 |


| 2004 | Gallup | 27 | 11 | 57 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: | :--- |
| 2005 | Gallup | 27 | 8 | 61 |
| 2006 | Gallup | 25 | 9 | 61 |
| 2008 | Gallup | 31 | 11 | 53 |
| 2009 | Gallup | 32 | 10 | 55 |
| 2011 | Gallup | 26 | 8 | 64 |
| 2013 | Gallup | 21 | 5 | 72 |
| 2015 | Gallup | 25 | 6 | 69 |
| 2016 | Gallup | 26 | 5 | 67 |

Note: Question wording varied slightly.

## Government: Bigger or Smaller?

Below are some of the major questions that have been asked over time about public preferences for a bigger or smaller government. There are two main types of these questions. One asks people if they favor a smaller government providing fewer services or a larger government providing more services. The lowest percentage favoring a smaller government providing fewer services in the ABC News/Washington Post trend that began in 1978 was 40 percent; the highest was 67 percent in 1993. In April 2021, 48 percent said they favored a smaller government, while 45 percent favored a larger one. In a July 2021 Pew poll, those responses were 48 and 50 percent, respectively.

In many askings, Americans said they preferred a smaller government providing fewer services (in some years by a 20-point margin) over a bigger one with more services. However, in late 2020 and early 2021, this gap narrowed significantly, and some polls showed bigger government surpassing smaller government (see Pew data below). This may have been a consequence of the COVID-19 pandemic, with the rising demand for tests, stimulus checks, and rental assistance from the federal government.

When Fox pollsters introduce the idea of taxes, more people say they would rather pay lower taxes and have a smaller government that provides fewer services than pay more in taxes for a larger government with more services. In Fox's most recent poll from April 2021, 56 percent said they would rather pay lower taxes with a smaller government and fewer services, while 36 percent said they would rather pay higher taxes for a larger government with more services.

The second kind of question in this area asks whether government should do more to solve problems and help meet people's needs or whether government is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals. In NBC News/Wall Street Journal questions from 2014 on, half or more have said government should be doing more to solve problems. In Gallup's trend, with one exception, adults say government is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals.

Q: Would you say you favor smaller government with fewer services, or larger government with many services?

|  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Smaller govt./ Favor <br> Fewer services | Larger govt./ <br> Many services |
| Jan. 1978 | Wash Post | $40 \%$ | $39 \%$ |
| Jul. 1984 | ABC/Wash Post | 49 | 43 |
| Jul. 1988 | ABC/Wash Post | 49 | 45 |
| Jul. 1992 | ABC/Wash Post | 55 | 38 |
| Feb. 1993 | ABC/Wash Post | 67 | 30 |
| Aug. 1996 | ABC/Wash Post | 63 | 32 |
| Jul.-Aug. 1998 | Kaiser/Harvard/Wash Post | 59 | 35 |
| Jun.-Aug. 1999 | Kaiser/Harvard/Wash Post | 58 | 36 |
| Mar.-Apr. 2000 | ABC/Wash Post | 56 | 38 |
| Jul. 2000\# | ABC/Wash Post | 59 | 34 |
| Oct. 2000* | ABC/Wash Post | 58 | 32 |
| Oct. 2000 | Kaiser/Harvard/Wash Post | 60 | 32 |
| Sep.-Oct. 2000* | ABC | 58 | 33 |
| Nov.-Dec. 2000 | Kaiser/Harvard | 42 | 47 |
| Jan. 2002 | ABC/Wash Post | 54 | 41 |
| Jul. 2002 | ABC/Wash Post | 53 | 42 |
| Aug.-Sep. 2002 | Kaiser/Harvard/Wash Post | 46 | 47 |
| Sep. 2002 | Wash Post | 54 | 39 |
| Oct.-Nov. 2002+ | ABC | 62 | 34 |
| Oct.-Nov. 2002+ | ABC | 60 | 35 |


| Jun. 2004 | ABC/Wash Post | 50 | 46 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Oct.-Nov. 2007 | $\mathrm{ABC} /$ Wash Post | 50 | 44 |
| Jun. 2008 | $\mathrm{ABC} /$ Wash Post | 50 | 45 |
| Jan. 2009 | $\mathrm{ABC} /$ Wash Post | 53 | 43 |
| Jun. 2009 | $\mathrm{ABC} /$ Wash Post | 54 | 41 |
| Jan. 2010 | $\mathrm{ABC} /$ Wash Post | 58 | 38 |
| Apr. 2010 | $\mathrm{ABC} /$ Wash Post | 56 | 40 |
| Oct. 2010* | $\mathrm{ABC} /$ Wash Post | 57 | 37 |
| Aug.-Sep. 2011 | $\mathrm{ABC} /$ Wash Post | 56 | 38 |
| Jul.-Aug. 2012 | Kaiser/Wash Post | 55 | 40 |
| Aug. 2012 | $\mathrm{ABC} /$ Wash Post | 56 | 38 |
| Apr. 2021 | $\mathrm{ABC} /$ Wash Post | 48 | 45 |

Note: Question wording varied slightly. *Question asked registered voters. \#Question asked of a half sample. +Question asked of likely voters.

Q: If you had to choose, would you rather have a smaller government providing fewer services, or a bigger government providing more services?

## Pew

Jan. 2007
Nov. 2007

|  |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| Smaller govt./ | Larger govt./ |
| Fewer services | Many services |

Oct. 2008
45\%
Many services

Mar. 20094840
Sep.-Oct. $2009 \quad 51$
Feb. $2010 \quad 50 \quad 40$
Apr. $2010 \quad 50 \quad 39$
Aug.-Sep. $2010 \quad 50 \quad 42$
Feb.-Mar. 201142
Sep.-Oct. 201148
Jan. $2012 \quad 52 \quad 39$
Jan.-Mar. 20124943
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { Sep. } 2012 & 51 & 40\end{array}$
Feb.-Jun. $2013 \quad 38 \quad 54$
Apr. $2013 \quad 43$
Sep. $2013 \quad 5140$
Sep. 201450
Feb.-Apr. $2015 \quad 5245$
Sep. $2015 \quad 53 \quad 38$
Apr. 2017\# 45
Jun.-Jul. $2017 \quad 45 \quad 48$
Apr.-May $2018 \quad 45$
Mar. $2019 \quad 4747$
Sep. 20194846
Jul.-Aug. 2020\# 45
Jul. 202148
50
Note: Question wording varied slightly. \#Question asked of a half sample.

Q: Would you say you favor smaller government with fewer services, or larger government with many services?

| Jun. 1993 | LAT |
| :--- | :--- |
| Jan. 1995 | LAT |
| Sep. 1995 | LAT |
| Oct. 1995 | LAT |
| Apr. 1996 | LAT |
| Sep. 2000+ | LAT |
| Mar. 2001 | LAT |
| Nov. 2001 | LAT |
| Jan. 2005 | LAT |
| Jan. 2006 | LAT/Bloomberg |
| Aug. 2007+ | Zogby |
| Aug.-Sep. 2008 | PRRI |
| Feb. 2009 | Fox |
| Mar. 2009 | PSRA/Newsweek |
| Oct.-Nov. 2009 | AP/GFK |
| Feb. 2010 | Fox |
| Aug.-Sep. 2010 | AP/GFK |
| Apr.-May 2011 | PRRI |
| May 2012 | Fox |
| Aug.-Sep. 2012 | AP/GFK |
| Oct. 2013 | AP/GFK |
| Aug. 2014 | Reason/Rupe |
| Apr. 2021 | Ipsos |
| Oct. 2021 | AP/NORC |
| Note: Question wording varied slightly. +Question asked of likely voters. |  |


|  |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| Smaller govt./ |  |
| Fewer services | Larger govt./ <br> Many services |
| $60 \%$ | $29 \%$ |
| 63 | 27 |
| 62 | 27 |
| 68 | 23 |
| 62 | 28 |
| 59 | 26 |
| 59 | 29 |
| 48 | 41 |
| 52 | 36 |
| 49 | 38 |
| 57 | 31 |
| 45 | 49 |
| 50 | 38 |
| 44 | 44 |
| 55 | 39 |
| 58 | 35 |
| 55 | 42 |
| 41 | 50 |
| 37 | 53 |
| 53 | 39 |
| 60 | 35 |
| 54 | 42 |
| 51 | 46 |
| 47 | 52 |

Note: Question wording varied slightly. +Question asked of likely voters.

Q: If you had to choose, would you rather have a smaller government providing fewer services, or a bigger government providing more services?

Apr. 1976
CBS/NYT
May 1976
Jun. 1976
Sep. 1976
Oct. 1976
Nov. 1976
Jun. 1978
Mar. 1980
May 1988
Oct. 1988
Jan. 1989
Oct. 1991
Feb. 1996
Sep. 1999
Oct. 2000

## CBS/NYT

CBS/NYT
CBS/NYT
CBS/NYT
CBS/NYT
CBS/NYT
CBS/NYT
CBS/NYT
CBS/NYT
CBS/NYT
CBS/NYT
CBS/NYT
CBS
CBS

| Rather have - |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| Smaller govvt./ | Larger govt./ |
| Fewer services | More services |
| $40 \%$ | $44 \%$ |
| 41 | 43 |
| 42 | 43 |
| 48 | 38 |
| 48 | 41 |
| 44 | 44 |
| 53 | 36 |
| 54 | 32 |
| 43 | 44 |
| 45 | 38 |
| 41 | 48 |
| 42 | 43 |
| 61 | 30 |
| 46 | 43 |
| 57 | 32 |


| Nov. 2000 | CBS/NYT | 55 | 32 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Jan. 2001 | CBS | 51 | 36 |
| Oct. 2001 | CBS/NYT | 48 | 39 |
| Jan. 2002 | CBS/NYT | 46 | 40 |
| Jul. 2003 | CBS/NYT | 48 | 40 |
| Nov. 2003 | CBS/NYT | 45 | 42 |
| Mar.-Apr. 2008 | CBS/NYT | 43 | 43 |
| Apr. 2009 | CBS/NYT | 48 | 41 |
| Feb. 2010 | CBS/NYT | 56 | 34 |
| Apr. 2010 | CBS/NYT | 50 | 37 |
| Sep. 2010 | CBS/NYT | 53 | 34 |
| Apr. 2011 | CBS/NYT | 55 | 33 |
| Aug. 2012 | CBS/NYT | 50 | 37 |
| Jul.-Aug. 2014 | CBS | 56 | 35 |
| Oct. 2016 | CBS | 46 | 42 |
| Note: Question wording varied slightly. |  |  |  |

Q: Which of the following statements do you agree with more? I'd rather pay higher taxes to support a larger government that provides more services, or I'd rather pay lower taxes and have a smaller government that provides fewer services?
Fox

Jun. 1997
Apr. 1998

|  | Rather pay |
| :---: | :---: |
| Lower taxes/ | Higher taxes/ <br> Smaller govt./ |
| Fewer services | Larger govt./ |
| More services |  |

Note: Question asked of registered voters.

Q: I'm going to read you two statements about the role of government, and I'd like to know which one comes closer to your point of view. Government should do more to solve problems and help meet the needs of people, or government is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals.

Jul.-Aug. 1995
Dec. 1995
Dec. 1997
Jan. 2002
Mar. 2007
Sep. 2007
Jul. 2008*
Sep. 2008*
Oct. 2008*
Feb.-Mar. 2009
Apr. 2009
Sep. 2009
Oct. 2009
Dec. 2009
Jan. 2010
Jun. 2010
Aug. 2010
Oct. 2010*
Feb. 2011
Jun. 2011
Jun. 2012
Jun. 2013
Oct. 2013
Jun. 2014
Nov. 2014
Jul. 2015
Apr. 2017
Jan. 2018
Feb. 2019
May-Jun. 2020*
Apr. 2021

NBC/WSJ
NBC/WS
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WS
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WS
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WS
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WS
NBC/WSJ
NBC/WSJ
NBC

Note: *Question asked of registered voters.
\(\left.$$
\begin{array}{cc}\begin{array}{c}\text { Govt. should do more } \\
\text { to solve problems } \\
\text { and help meet the } \\
\text { needs of people }\end{array} & \begin{array}{c}\text { Govt. is doing too many } \\
\text { things better left to } \\
\text { businesses and } \\
\text { individuals }\end{array}
$$ <br>

25 \% \& 68 \%\end{array}\right]\)| 32 | 51 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 41 | 43 |
| 45 | 40 |
| 52 | 38 |
| 55 | 42 |
| 53 | 42 |
| 48 | 45 |
| 47 | 40 |
| 51 | 46 |
| 47 | 49 |
| 45 | 48 |
| 46 | 47 |
| 44 | 48 |
| 43 | 49 |
| 47 | 47 |
| 47 | 50 |
| 45 | 46 |
| 51 | 46 |
| 51 | 47 |
| 49 | 48 |
| 48 | 44 |
| 52 | 50 |
| 46 | 46 |
| 52 | 46 |
| 50 | 39 |
| 57 | 38 |
| 58 | 41 |
| 55 | 41 |
| 57 |  |

Q: Some people think the government is trying to do too many things that should be left to individuals and businesses. Others think that the government should do more to solve our country's problems. Which comes closer to your own view?

Gallup
Aug.-Sep. 1992*
Sep. 1992
Oct. 1992* 44
Mar. 199349
Apr. $1993 \quad 45$
Dec. $1993 \quad 38$
Jan. 199439
Oct. 199437
Nov. 1994
Dec. 1995
Jan. 1996
Jan.-Feb. 1997
Apr. 1998
Oct. 1998
Sep. 1999
Aug. 2000
Sep. 2000
Sep. 2001
Oct. 2001
Sep. 2002
Sep. 2003
Oct. 2003
Sep. 2004
Nov. 2004
Sep. 2005
Sep. 2006
Sep. 2007
Jun. 2008
Sep. 2008
Mar. 2009\#
Mar. 2009
Aug.-Sep. 2009
Jun. 2010
Sep. 2010
Sep. 2011
Jul. 2012
Sep. 2012
Sep. 2012
Sep. 2013
Sep. 2014
Sep. 2015
Sep. 2016
Sep. 2017
Sep. 2018
Sep. 2019
Aug.-Sep. 2020
Sep. 2021
43\%
47
44
45
38

37
32
35
33
33
38
39
38
37
36
50
43
43

Govt. should do more

37 - - -

- 55
$40 \quad 52$
$41 \quad 49$
$36 \quad 55$
$44 \quad 50$
$44 \quad 47$
$43 \quad 49$
43 50
$41 \quad 53$
$42 \quad 47$
$42 \quad 50$
38 57
$39 \quad 53$
$36 \quad 58$
$39 \quad 56$
$34 \quad 61$
$39 \quad 54$
$34 \quad 57$
$40 \quad 53$
$41 \quad 54$
$40 \quad 55$
$41 \quad 54$
$45 \quad 50$
$44 \quad 50$
$47 \quad 49$
54 41
$43 \quad 52$

Note: *Question asked of registered voters. \#Question asked of a half sample.

Q: Overall, do you feel like the government is doing too much and is too involved in things better left to individuals and businesses, or should the government do more to solve the problems facing the country today?

Fox
Oct. 2010
Oct. 2012
Dec. 2016
Nov. 2021

Govt. should do more 40\%
37
44
49

Govt. is doing
too much and is
too involved
50\%
49
43
34

Note: Question asked of registered voters.

## Exit Polls of Voters

Q: Would you rather have: government provide more services but cost more in taxes, government cost less in taxes but provide fewer services?

Nov. 1992
Voter Research Service (VRS)

| Rather have government |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| Provide more services | Cost less in taxes but |
| but cost more in taxes | provide fewer services |
| $36 \%$ | $55 \%$ |

Q: Which comes closer to your view: Government should do more to solve national problems or government is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals?

| Nov. 1994 | Voter News Service (VNS) | $42 \%$ | $59 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Nov. 1996 | VNS | 44 | 56 |
| Nov. 2000 | VNS | 43 | 52 |
| Nov. 2002 | VNS | 47 | 53 |
| Nov. 2004 | National Election Pool (NEP) | 46 | 49 |
| Nov. 2008 | NEP | 51 | 43 |
| Nov. 2012 | NEP | 44 | 51 |
| Nov. 2016 | NEP | 45 | 50 |

Note: The name of the exit poll consortium of the networks changed over time. These are all polls of the consortium.

Q: Which comes closer to your views? The government should do more to solve problems, the government is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals

Nov. 2018 AP VoteCast
Govt. should do more

Govt. is doing 54\% too many things

Nov. 2020
AP VoteCast
57
44\%
No. Sample is selfidenifed votrs from online and tephone then
41
Note: Sample is self-identified voters from online and telephone polls taken in the lead up to the election and on Election Day.

In the Roper/Fortune question from 1939 shown above, 69 percent said government should provide for all people who have no other means of subsistence. In the questions below, people are asked whether it is the government's responsibility to take care of people who can't take care of themselves. Majorities agree with this proposition, with around two in 10 agreeing completely.

Q: Please tell me if you agree with the following statement, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it, or completely agree with it. It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves.

|  |  | agree | agree | disagree | disagree |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Apr.-May 1987 | Gallup | $21 \%$ | $50 \%$ | $20 \%$ | $4 \%$ |
| May 1988 | Gallup | 26 | 48 | 17 | 6 |
| May 1990 | PSRA | 23 | 44 | 23 | 6 |
| May-Jun. 1992 | PSRA | 28 | 41 | 20 | 8 |
| May 1993 | PSRA | 19 | 43 | 26 | 9 |
| Jul. 1994 | PSRA | 20 | 37 | 26 | 15 |
| May-Jun. 1996 | Gallup | 20 | 40 | 24 | 13 |
| Nov. 1997 | Pew | 23 | 38 | 26 | 11 |
| Sep.-Oct. 1999 | Pew | 20 | 42 | 21 | 14 |
| Jul.-Oct. 2002 | Pew | 22 | 39 | 24 | 11 |
| Jul.-Aug. 2003 | Pew | 25 | 41 | 20 | 11 |
| Dec. 2006-Jan. 2007 | Pew | 27 | 42 | 20 | 8 |
| Jan.-Feb. 2008 | Pew | 19 | 38 | 27 | 12 |
| Mar.-Apr. 2009 | Pew | 24 | 39 | 22 | 11 |
| Aug. 2011 | PRRI | 20 | 40 | 27 | 10 |
| Sep. 2011 | Pew | 23 | 33 | 26 | 15 |
| Apr. 2012 | Pew | 26 | 33 | 24 | 12 |
| May-Jun. 2013 | PRRI | 20 | 42 | 23 | 12 |
| Note: Question wording varied slightly. |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |

Q: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves.

Dec. 1994
Feb. 1995
Apr. 1995
Oct. 1995
Oct.-Nov. 1995
Dec. 1995
Dec. 1995
Aug. 1996
Aug. 1996*
Sep. 1996*
Oct. 1996
Sep. 1999
Oct. 2010

CBS/NYT
CBS/NYT
CBS/NYT
CBS/NYT
CBS/NYT
NYT
CBS/NYT
CBS/NYT
CBS
CBS/NYT
CBS
CBS
CBS

It is the responsibility of the govt. to take care - of people who can't take care of themselves Agree Disagree
65\%
63
61
63
62
64
63
61
60
56
64
69
54

29\%
30
30
30
32
30
29
32
33
35
30
26
39

Note: *Question asked of registered voters. Question wording varied slightly.

## Concerns About Federal Government Size and Power

Using a variety of different question wordings, Gallup has asked people about their views of the federal government's size and power. The high levels of overall satisfaction at the beginning of this century reflect, in part, good economic times. Attitudes soured at the time of the financial crisis. Since 2005, half or more have said the federal government has too much power.

Q: Do you think the federal government today has too much power, has about the right amount of power or has too little power?

Gallup

Sep. 2002
Sep. 2003
Sep. 2004
Sep. 2005
Sep. 2006
Sep. 2007
Sep. 2008
Aug.-Sep. 2009^
Mar. 2009
Sep. 2010
Sep. 2011
Sep. 2012
May 2013^
Sep. 2013
Sep. 2014
Sep. 2015
Sep. 2016
Sep. 2018
Sep. 2019
Sep. 2021

|  | Federal government today has |
| :---: | :---: |
| Too much | About the right |
| power | amount of power |

Too little power
52\% 7\%
49 7
49
43
40
36
40
39
42
33
35
40
36
32
30
32

- 7

32
38
38
36

7

6
6
6

6
8
7
8
8

8
8
7
9
7
8
8
6
9

Note: ^Question asked of a half sample.
Q: Next, I am going to read a list of problems facing the country. For each one, please tell me if you personally worry about this problem a great deal, a fair amount, only a little or not at all? How much do you personally worry about the size and power of the federal government?
Gallup

Mar. 2011
Mar. 2012
Mar. 2013
Mar. 2014\#
Mar. 2015
Mar. 2018

| Worry a | Worry a | Worry only | Doesn't |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| great deal | fair amount | a little | worry at all |
| 48\% | 24\% | 17\% | 11\% |
| 46 | 25 | 18 | 11 |
| 49 | 21 | 19 | 11 |
| 48 | 20 | 20 | 11 |
| 46 | 25 | 16 | 12 |
| 40 | 29 | 19 | 11 |

Note: \#Question asked of a half sample.

Q: When the government in Washington decides to solve a problem, how much confidence do you have that the problem will actually be solved: a lot, some, just a little, or none at all?

Oct. 1991
Apr. 1992
Feb. 1993
Jan. 1994
May 1994
Nov.-Dec. 1995
Jan.-Apr. 1996
May-Jun. 2000
Jan. 2002
Sep. 2002\#
Oct.-Nov. 2005
Jun. 2006
May 2010
ABC/Wash Post
ABC
ABC/Wash Post
ABC/Wash Post
ABC/Wash Post
Kaiser/Harvard/Wash Post
UVA
Kaiser/Harvard/NPR
ABC/Wash Post
Wash Post
ABC/Wash Post
ABC/Wash Post
Hart/CAP

| Confidence in Washington to solve problems |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| A lot | Some | Just a little | None at all |
| $7 \%$ | $31 \%$ | $38 \%$ | $23 \%$ |
| 4 | 46 | 38 | 12 |
| 5 | 46 | 37 | 12 |
| 4 | 39 | 40 | 16 |
| 4 | 31 | 42 | 22 |
| 4 | 35 | 38 | 23 |
| 4 | 35 | 39 | 21 |
| 8 | 43 | 35 | 13 |
| 14 | 52 | 27 | 7 |
| 8 | 45 | 38 | 9 |
| 7 | 38 | 36 | 18 |
| 8 | 38 | 33 | 21 |
| 4 | 29 | 35 | 31 |

Note: Question wording varied slightly. \#Question asked of a half sample.

## Trust in Government

In 1958, pollsters at the University of Michigan started asking Americans how much they trusted the government in Washington. Sixteen percent trusted Washington just about always, 57 percent most of the time, and 23 percent some of the time. The last time the American National Election Studies included this identical question in 2012, the responses were 2 percent, 20 percent, and 76 percent, respectively. Over the years, some people volunteered "none of the time." This response never exceeded 4 percent. Other pollsters have also asked the question for a long time.

CBS News and the New York Times began asking it in 1976. The "only some of the time" response was generally near 50 or 60 percent until 1990, when it hit 70 percent. It has been high ever since, except at the turn of the century, when people felt a lot better about the country's economic health.
"Never" has consistently been a volunteered response in Pew's long trend. Since 2015, it has been in the low double digits.

For many years, Gallup also asked a question about trust in Washington. In 1972, the organization started asking about trust in the government in Washington in domestic and, separately, international problems. Confidence in the government to handle international problems typically surpasses domestic ones. These questions are not shown here.

## Q: How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right-just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

University of Michigan/ANES*


| 2012 | 2 | 20 | 76 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $2016^{\wedge}$ | 2 | 10 | 43 |
| $2020^{\wedge}$ | 2 | 14 | 44 |

Note: *In 1977, this series became the National Election Studies with a grant from the National Science Foundation. The current American National Election Studies was established in 2005 as a collaborative effort between the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan and the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences at Stanford University." None of the time" was volunteered as a response in all askings; it never exceeded 4 percent. ^Question askings for these years added two additional categories, "about half the time" and "never." The responses for 2016 were 33 percent and 13 percent, respectively. For 2020, they were 31 percent and 10 percent.

Q: How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right - just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?


| Oct.-Nov. 1998 | CBS | 3 | 21 | 70 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Jan. 1999 | CBS | 4 | 30 | 64 |
| Jan. 1999 | CBS | 4 | 33 | 59 |
| Sep. 1999 | CBS | 4 | 34 | 59 |
| Oct. 1999 | CBS | 3 | 27 | 66 |
| Oct. 2000* | CBS | 5 | 35 | 57 |
| Jan. 2001 | CBS | 3 | 28 | 64 |
| Oct. 2001 | CBS/NYT | 10 | 45 | 42 |
| Dec. 2001 | CBS | 5 | 42 | 49 |
| Jan. 2002 | CBS/NYT | 5 | 41 | 51 |
| Jul. 2002 | CBS/NYT | 5 | 33 | 57 |
| Sep. 2002 | CBS/NYT | 5 | 33 | 57 |
| Jul. 2003 | CBS/NYT | 4 | 32 | 60 |
| Jul. 2004 | CBS/NYT | 4 | 36 | 56 |
| Sep. 2005 | CBS/NYT | 3 | 26 | 63 |
| Dec. 2005 | CBS/NYT | 2 | 30 | 65 |
| Jan. 2006 | CBS/NYT | 5 | 27 | 63 |
| Sep. 2006 | CBS/NYT | 1 | 26 | 65 |
| Oct. 2006 | CBS/NYT | 2 | 26 | 66 |
| Jul. 2007 | CBS/NYT | 2 | 22 | 71 |
| Oct. 2008 | CBS/NYT | 1 | 16 | 74 |
| Jun. 2009 | CBS/NYT | 3 | 17 | 73 |
| Feb. 2010 | CBS/NYT | 3 | 16 | 74 |
| Apr. 2010 | CBS/NYT | 4 | 16 | 70 |
| Oct. 2010 | CBS | 1 | 17 | 73 |
| Oct. 2010 | CBS/NYT | 2 | 19 | 67 |
| Oct. 2011 | CBS/NYT | 1 | 9 | 77 |
| Feb. 2013 | CBS | 3 | 17 | 70 |
| May-Jun. 2013 | CBS/NYT | 3 | 17 | 70 |
| Nov. 2013 | CBS | 3 | 14 | 73 |
| Oct. 2014 | CBS | 3 | 13 | 73 |
| Mar. 2016 | CBS/NYT | 3 | 15 | 70 |

Note: "Never" or "none of the time" was volunteered as a response in most askings; it never exceeded 12 percent. *Question asked of registered voters. ^Question askings for these years included the response, "never" or "none of the time"-the responses never exceeded 13 percent. \&Question asked of those who had voted in that election.

Q: How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right-just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

Pew


Note: ^"Never" was volunteered as a response. \#Question asked of a half-sample.

## Government's Impact

The last time CBS asked the first question below was more than two decades ago. CBS asked first whether the government could have a positive impact on people's lives and then whether it actually was doing so. Large majorities believed government could have a positive impact. Only in November 2001, in a separate question asked after the 9/11 attacks, did a majority believe it was actually doing so. Unfortunately, these questions have not been updated recently.

The rest of the questions in this section provide an assessment of how the government is doing its job. The questions go back roughly 20 years. At the turn of the century, as suggested above, people were positive, and strong majorities expressed satisfaction with our system of government and how well it works. In 2008, in a poll taken before the financial crash, 53 percent told Gallup they were satisfied. Confidence dropped to 42 percent when Gallup next asked the question in 2011. In Gallup's January 2022 question, it was 30 percent.

## Q: Do you think the government can have a positive impact on people's lives, or not?

|  | Govt. can have <br> positive impact | Govt. cannot have <br> positive impact |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Feb. 1995 | CBS | $89 \%$ | $10 \%$ |
| Jan. 1996^ | CBS | 85 | 11 |
| Feb. 1996 | CBS/NYT | 87 | 10 |
| Aug. 1996^ | CBS | 89 | 8 |
| Sep.-Oct. 1996 | CBS | 88 | 9 |
| Jan.-Feb. 1997 | CBS | 88 | 9 |
| Jan. 1998 | CBS | 87 | 11 |
| Sep. 1999^ | CBS | 75 | 22 |
| May 2000^ | CBS/NYT | 83 | 15 |

Note: *Question asked of registered voters. ^Question wording read, ". . . positive impact on your own life?" \&Question wording read, ". . . the government in Washington can . . ."

Q: These days, what kind of impact do you think government has on most people's lives - a positive impact, a negative impact, or doesn't the government have much impact on most people's lives?
\(\left.$$
\begin{array}{llll} & & \begin{array}{c}\text { Positive } \\
\text { impact }\end{array} & \begin{array}{c}\text { Govt. impact on most people's } \\
\text { Doesn't have } \\
\text { much impact }\end{array}\end{array}
$$ \begin{array}{c}Negative <br>

impact\end{array}\right]\)| Aug. 1996* | CBS | $33 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |

Q: Next, I'm going to read some aspects of life in America today. For each one, please say whether you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied. How about our system of government and how well it works?

| Gallup | $\begin{array}{c}\text { Very } \\ \text { satisfied }\end{array}$ |  |  | $\begin{array}{c}\text { System of govt. and the way it works } \\ \text { Somewhat } \\ \text { satisfied }\end{array}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | \(\left.\begin{array}{c}Somewhat <br>


dissatisfied\end{array}\right) ~\)| Very |
| :---: |
| 2001 |

Q: Now thinking about some groups and organizations...is your overall opinion of the federal government in Washington very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

| Pew | Very <br> favorable |  |  | Opinion of the federal govt. in Washington <br> Mostly <br> favorable |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Oct. 1997 | $4 \%$ | $34 \%$ | Mostly <br> unfavorable | Very <br> unfavorable |
| Oct. 2000* | 7 | 47 | $41 \%$ |  |

Note: *Question asked of registered voters.

## Anger with Government

Starting in 1992, ABC News and the Washington Post began to ask a different kind of question about satisfaction with the government in Washington. They asked people which of four phrases they thought best described their feelings about how government worked. The categories were enthusiastic, satisfied but not enthusiastic, dissatisfied but not angry, and angry. Other pollsters picked up the question. Seven percent or less have ever been enthusiastic, and in recent years, more than two in 10 (and in a few cases, three in 10) have said they were angry. The responses seem generally consistent across pollsters. A plurality usually suggests they are dissatisfied but not angry, although anger has also inched up. Pew offers three response categories, and in its most recent askings, around two in 10 say they are angry. Majorities say they are frustrated, and nearly 30 percent are basically content.

In exit polls of voters conducted in 1994, 2010, 2016, and 2020, between 20 and 26 percent said they were angry.

Q: Overall, which comes closest to your feelings about the way the federal government is working? Would you say you feel . . . ?

Fox

|  | -The way the federal govt. is working |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Enthusiastic | Satisfied, but not enthusiastic | Dissatisfied, but not angry | Angry |
| Oct. 2010 | 2\% | 22\% | 51\% | 25\% |
| Oct. 2014 | 3 | 25 | 46 | 23 |
| Jan. 2016 | 2 | 22 | 47 | 27 |
| Sep. 2016 | 2 | 25 | 46 | 26 |
| Oct. 2016 | 3 | 21 | 50 | 26 |
| Nov. 2016 | 3 | 23 | 46 | 27 |
| Feb. 2018 | 5 | 25 | 41 | 26 |
| Sep. 2018 | 7 | 25 | 37 | 25 |
| Sep. 2019 | 7 | 24 | 36 | 29 |
| Oct. 2021 | 7 | 27 | 37 | 27 |

Note: Question asked of registered voters.

Q: I am going to mention four phrases and ask you which one best describes how you feel about the way the federal government works. Do you feel enthusiastic, satisfied but not enthusiastic, dissatisfied but not angry, or angry?

Mar. 1992
Mar. 1992
Apr. 1992
Jun. 1992
Jul. 1992
Oct. 1992*
Feb. 1993
Mar. 1994
Sep. 1994

## ABC

ABC/Wash Post
ABC
ABC/Wash Post
ABC/Wash Post
ABC/Wash Post
ABC/Wash Post
ABC/Wash Post
ABC

| The way the federal govt. works <br> Satisfied, but |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Enthusiastic | Dissatisfied, <br> not enthusiastic <br> but not angry | Angry |  |
| $1 \%$ | $17 \%$ | $51 \%$ | $25 \%$ |
| 1 | 21 | 54 | 23 |
| 1 | 20 | 55 | 24 |
| 1 | 20 | 58 | 21 |
| 1 | 22 | 53 | 23 |
| 1 | 16 | 56 | 25 |
| 4 | 29 | 50 | 16 |
| 1 | 29 | 48 | 20 |
| 2 | 25 | 53 | 20 |


| Oct. 1994 | ABC | 2 | 24 | 53 | 19 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Oct. 1994 | ABC/Wash Post | 2 | 26 | 52 | 20 |
| Oct. 1994 | ABC/Wash Post | 1 | 25 | 55 | 18 |
| Nov. 1994* | ABC | 2 | 26 | 50 | 21 |
| Jan. 1995 | ABC/Wash Post | 2 | 27 | 53 | 16 |
| May 1995 | ABC/Wash Post | 3 | 45 | 41 | 9 |
| Mar. 1996 | ABC/Wash Post | 2 | 28 | 54 | 16 |
| Aug. 1997 | ABC | 2 | 33 | 52 | 11 |
| Jan. 1998 | ABC/Wash Post | 2 | 43 | 45 | 8 |
| Jul.-Aug. 1998 | Kaiser/Harvard/Wash Post | 2 | 39 | 46 | 11 |
| Sep. 1998 | ABC/Wash Post | 4 | 46 | 36 | 12 |
| Dec. 1998 | Wash Post | 3 | 41 | 40 | 14 |
| Feb. 1999 | Wash Post | 3 | 48 | 35 | 12 |
| Dec. 2000 | ABC/Wash Post | 4 | 55 | 34 | 6 |
| Feb. 2002 | Wash Post | 7 | 49 | 36 | 7 |
| Oct. 2002 | ABC | 4 | 47 | 42 | 7 |
| Oct. 2002^ | ABC | 6 | 45 | 40 | 9 |
| Oct.-Nov. 2002^ | ABC | 5 | 45 | 40 | 9 |
| Oct. 2003 | ABC/Wash Post | 2 | 41 | 42 | 15 |
| Feb. 2010 | ABC/Wash Post | 4 | 29 | 48 | 19 |
| Apr. 2010 | ABC/Wash Post | 4 | 26 | 51 | 18 |
| Jun. 2010 | ABC/Wash Post | 2 | 28 | 45 | 25 |
| Jul. 2010 | ABC/Wash Post | 4 | 32 | 43 | 21 |
| Aug.-Sep. 2010 | ABC/Wash Post | 2 | 20 | 52 | 25 |
| Sep.-Oct. 2010 | ABC/Wash Post | 4 | 25 | 46 | 25 |
| Oct. 2010 | ABC/Wash Post | 4 | 23 | 51 | 21 |
| Jun. 2011 | ABC/Wash Post | 3 | 27 | 44 | 25 |
| Jul. 2011 | ABC/Wash Post | 2 | 18 | 54 | 25 |
| Oct. -Nov. 2011 | ABC/Wash Post | 2 | 18 | 49 | 31 |
| Feb. 2012 | ABC/Wash Post | 2 | 22 | 49 | 26 |
| Sep. 2012* | ABC/Wash Post | 4 | 25 | 44 | 27 |
| Oct. 2013 | ABC/Wash Post | 2 | 1 | 29 | 47 |
| Sep. 2014 | ABC/Wash Post | 1 | 23 | 49 | 25 |
| Aug. 2015* | Quinnipiac | 2 | 21 | 49 | 25 |
| Jan. 2016 | ABC/Wash Post | 2 | 25 | 47 | 27 |
| Mar. 2016 | ABC/Wash Post | 4 | 25 | 48 | 21 |
| Jan. 2018* | Quinnipiac | 2 | 19 | 45 | 32 |
| Jan. 2019* | Quinnipiac | 3 | 18 | 48 | 29 |

Note: *Question asked of registered voters. ^Question asked of likely voters. \#Question asked of a half sample.

Q: Some people say they are basically content with the federal government, others say they are frustrated, and others say they are angry. Which of these best describes how you feel?

|  |  | Feelings toward federal govt. |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Basically content | Frustrated | Angry |
| Sep.-Oct. 1997 | Pew | $29 \%$ | $56 \%$ | $12 \%$ |
| Feb. 2000 | Pew | 33 | 54 | 10 |
| Jun. 2000 | Pew | 28 | 54 | 13 |
| Jun. 2000 | Pew | 28 | 53 | 13 |
| Nov. 2001 | Pew | 53 | 34 | 8 |
| Mar. 2004 | Pew | 32 | 52 | 13 |


| Sep.-Oct. 2006 | Pew | 21 | 54 | 20 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Dec. 2006-Jan. 2007 | Pew | 21 | 58 | 16 |
| Mar. 2010 | Pew | 19 | 56 | 21 |
| Apr. 2010 | Pew | 23 | 52 | 21 |
| Jun. 2010 | Newsweek | 21 | 52 | 24 |
| Aug.-Sep. 2010 | Pew | 21 | 52 | 23 |
| Sep. 2010* | Newsweek | 20 | 54 | 23 |
| Feb.-Mar. 2011 | Pew | 22 | 59 | 14 |
| Aug. 2011 | Pew | 11 | 60 | 26 |
| Sep.-Oct. 2011 | Pew | 17 | 58 | 21 |
| Jan. 2013 | Pew | 20 | 58 | 19 |
| Sep. 2013 | Pew | 17 | 26 |  |
| Oct. 2013 | Pew | 12 | 30 |  |
| Jan.-Mar. 2014 | Pew | 17 | 55 | 19 |
| Aug.-Oct. 2015 | Pew | 18 | 62 | 22 |
| Mar. 2016\# | Pew | 20 | 57 | 21 |
| Mar. 2016\# | Pew | 13 | 57 | 21 |
| Oct. 2016 | Pew | 23 | 64 | 19 |
| Feb.-Mar. 2017 | Pew | 18 | 55 | 21 |
| Apr. 2017 | Pew | 19 | 60 | 22 |
| Nov.-Dec. 2017 | Pew | 17 | 55 | 24 |
| Mar. 2019 | Pew | 18 | 55 | 21 |
| Jul.-Aug. 2020 | Pew | 18 | 57 | 24 |
| Apr. 2021 | Pew | 29 | 57 | 17 |

Note: *Question asked of registered voters. \#Question asked of a half sample.

## Exit Polls of Voters

Q: Which of these best describes your feelings about the way the federal government is working . . . Enthusiastic, satisfied, but not enthusiastic, dissatisfied, but not angry, angry?

|  | The way the federal govt. works |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Satisfied, but |  |  |  | Dissatisfied, |
| Nov. 1994 | Enthusiastic | $4 \%$ | $25 \%$ | $51 \%$ |  |  |

Note: The responses for the 2018 online and telephone pre-election and Election Day AP VoteCast poll were 5, 25, 46, and 24 percent, respectively.

## Acknowledgments

We are particularly grateful to our designer, Claude Aubert, who has assisted us with formatting and typesetting our public opinion studies for the past 17 years. We are also thankful to AEI's editing team, especially Rachel Hershberger, whose keen eye always catches things we do not. Thanks also go to our intern, Patryk Laska, for number-checking and editing.

An older AEI Public Opinion Study looks at a related topic: government regulation.

