Trends in National Spending Priorities, 1973-2018

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#### Introduction:

With the United States government facing continuing deficits and disagreements over the mix of taxes and spending in the budget, it is valuable to consider what the American people think governmental spending priorities should be and how their preferences have changed over the last four decades.

Since 1973 the General Social Surveys (GSSs) conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago have asked people whether government spending in various areas from health to foreign aid is too much, too little, or about right. Table 1 presents the spending preferences of the American public for all areas across all years. (The question wording is given in Table 1 and details on the GSSs appear in the Technical Appendix.) Eleven spending topics have been covered in the 31 GSSs between 1973 and 2018, 20 spending areas from 1984-1998, 21 in 2000, 22 in 2002-2008, and 23 in 2010-2018.

To help distill this crunch of numbers, public support for spending is summarized in net spending scores. Net spending is the % saying that "too little" is being spent minus the % saying "too much" is being spent. For example, in 2018 71.6% said that "too little" was spent on the health and 7.1% said "too much" was spent for a net spending score of +64.5 (i.e. 71.6% - 7.1 = +64.5 percentage points). If everyone favored more spending for an area, the maximum net spending score would be +100.0 and if everyone wanted less spending, the net spending score would -100.0. Positive scores indicate that more people want to increase spending than to decrease it and negative scores mean that the cutters outnumber the adders.

#### Long-term Trends and Current Priorities:

Education had generally led spending priorities in recent years, topping the list in 1996-2002 and 2006-2018. In absolute terms support for educational spending has been very high and changed little since 1989 (with net spending scores ranging from +65.8 to +71.8). In 2018, it scored its record high of +71.8.<sup>1</sup>

In second place at +66.0, Assistance to the Poor has strongly rebounded from a 10th place showing in 1996. Its  $2^{nd}$  place positions in 2010, 2012, 2016, and 2018 were its top finishes ever and it had its best ever net spending score (+66.0) in 2018.

Health had a strong rebound in 2018. After a first-place rank in 2004 with a record high of +72.4, Health finished second in 2006-2008 with net spending scores of +66-68, but then slipped to eighth place in 2010 and ninth in 2016 with a score of +50.7 in 2016. The drop seems to be associated with the passage of the Affordable Care Act in March 2010. But in 2018, it rose to +64.5, its highest rank since finishing  $2^{nd}$ in 2008 and +23.1-23.7 points above its post Obamacare lows.

Dealing with Drug Addiction hit its record high of +66.8 and ranked 2nd in 1988, but slid back to a 7th place position with +57.7 by 1990. Support then tended to weaken further and reached a record low of +43.5 in 2012. In 2016, it rebounded to fourth place which it again held in 2018 with +63.6 (up 20.1 points from 2012).

Now in fifth place, Halting Crime was the perennial top choice from 1974 to 1988 and even regained first place in 1993 and 1994. But after 1994 net spending dropped from +71.4 to +50.6 in 2002, the lowest support for Halting Crime ever recorded. Its second-place finish in 2014 was its best rank since 1996. Since then its ranking has slipped to third in 2016 and fifth in 2018, but its level of absolute support actual rose to +62.5 in 2018, its highest level since 1994.

Support for environmental spending rose from +35.8 in 1980 to +70.4 and a first-place rank in 1989. But then after its record score of +71.2 in 1990, backing for the Environment declined to +51.3 and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Table 2 shows the rank and net spending scores for the eleven areas consistently covered from 1973 to 2018, Table 3 shows the same for the areas covered in 1984-2018, and Table 4 for the areas covered in 2002-2018. Rankings in the text reflect Table 4 plus the addition of the Alternative Energy item in 2010-2018.

a 7th place position in 1993. Then the Environment nudged upwards in both its net spending score and its relative rank, reaching 4th place in 2006, 2008, and 2014. By 2018, it had slipped to sixth position, but its score rose to +60.4, its highest level since 2006.

Social Security gained major ground in the 1990s rising from 10th place in 1993 and 1994 to 9th in 1996, and 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> position from 1998 to 2014. In 2018, its rank slipped to seventh place, but its net spending score increased to +55.3.

Drug Rehabilitation came in eighth place in 2018 with a score of +55.1, its highest score since 1990. It rebounded from a drop in both rank and absolute score in 2012. Support for spending on Drug Rehabilitation has almost always been lower than support for Dealing with Drug Addiction (see above), but support for both climbed in 2018 and have shown major increases in net spending support between 2012 and 2018 (+ 26.5 points for Drug Rehabilitation and +20.1 points for Drug Addiction).

From its high point 2000 when Assistance for Childcare ranked third and scored +59.1, support decreased to a score of +38.1 and a ninth-place ranking in 2012. In 2018, it was still in ninth place, but had risen to +54.3.

Developing Alternative Energy Sources was added to the list in 2010 and finished fourth in 2010 and 2012. In 2014 it slipped to seventh place and in 2016-18 down to 10th place. The net spending scores however changed little over the years and stood at +50.6 in 2018.

In 11<sup>th</sup> place was Improving the Condition of Blacks with a net spending score of +49.7. This is by far its top placement having usually been in 17<sup>th</sup> place and its highest net spending score. Heightened attention to conditions in the African American community and altercations between the police and Blacks may have triggered this surge in support for more spending.

In 12th place came Highways and Bridges with a score of +44.4 in 2018. This is the highest net spending score recorded and well above its  $17^{\text{th}}$  place finish and +16.9 score in 2004.

In 13th place in 2018 was Solving the Problems of Big Cities with a score of +43.6. In both rank and absolute score, support for Solving the Problems of Big Cities is up notably from a near all-time low in 2010 at +22.9.

Law Enforcement was in 14th place with a score of +43.3 in 2018. Its ranking fell in 2018, but its net spending score was virtually unchanged, Support for spending on Law Enforcement has always trailed support for Halting Crime because people are attracted to the results-oriented action promised in the latter case.

Supporting Scientific Research is 15th in 2018 with a score of +37.4. This is its highest net spending score obtained, but its rank has changed little from 2002 to the present.

Assistance to Blacks was in 16<sup>th</sup> position in 2018. While its rank changed little from 2004 to 2018, its score leaped from +3.6 in 2014 to its record high of +35.5 in 2018. As noted above, Support for Improving the Condition of Blacks was at +49.7 versus +35.5 for the less results-promising Assistance to Blacks. Support for Improving Condition rose from +17.4 in 2014 to +49.7 in 2018, a gain of 32.3 points and net spending for Assistance climbed from +3.6 in 2014 to +35.5 in 2018, an increase of 31.9 points.

Parks and Recreation was in 17th place with a score of +31.1 in 2018. Support for Parks and Recreation peaked in 2000 and its rank and score have been pretty stable from 2004 to 2018.

Mass Transportation was at 18th place in 2018 with a score of +30.6. While higher than in the early 2000s, support has slipped from its all-time best  $10^{\text{th}}$  place finish in 2008 with a score of +40.8.

Defense was in 19th place in 2018 with a net spending score of +2.2. While low on the priority list, support rose appreciably from a low of -33.5 in 1993 to a recent high of +12.8 in 2002 in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Support then ebbed to a low of -14.4 in 2008, but moved back into positive scores in 2014-2018.

Ranking 20th was Space Exploration with a score of -2.3 in 2018. It is the first topic on the list to show a negative, net-spending score meaning that more people want to make cuts than to increase funding. Space has always finished close to the bottom, but its -2.3 score in 2018 is the highest it has ever achieved.

In 21st place came Assistance to Big Cities at -12.1 in 2018. While not rising in rank, this is an increase from its all-time low of -23.4 in 2012. It finishes much worse than Solving the Problems of Big Cities (see above) because it does not promise positive results. It has shown little change in its rank over the years. It is one of only four areas that has always had negative scores.

Welfare in 22th place in 2018 with a score of -15.3 has regained considerable ground from a near record low of -49.3 in 1994. (Its low point was -49.6 in 1977.) However, support for Welfare in 2010-2018 was still below its pre-Great Recession rankings and scores. Welfare has always been favored much less than Assistance to the Poor. People favor the idea of the government helping those with low-incomes, but many consider Welfare a failed program. Part of the rise in support for Welfare in the late 1990s reflects a positive response to the welfare reforms of the mid-1990s.

In last place in this and every year came Foreign Aid with a score of -36.2 in 2018. While this is a record high, up from -61.7 in 2014, it is still by far the least supported spending area.

#### **Overall Spending Trends:**

Support for overall spending (i.e. the average net spending across areas) has always been positive with more people favoring increases than cuts (Table 5). Looking at the 11 items that can be tracked from 1973 to 2018, support declined in the early 1970s to low points in 1976-78 (+11). The public then generally increased its overall support for spending over the next dozen years to highs of +24 to +25 in 1988-90. Then overall spending once again slipped to a moderate level of +16.8 in 1994 before rising again to a near record high of +23.7 in 2006. But it then declined during the recent economic downturn to from +17 to +18 in 2010-2012 before raising to +19.0 in 2014 and then surging to a record high of +33.1 in 2018.

Support for domestic social spending (average net spending for Health, Education, Welfare, Solving the Problems of Big Cities, and Improving the Condition of Blacks) has also always been in the pluses. It fell from an early high of +29.2 in 1974 to a low of +13 to +14 in 1977-78. Support then generally moved up to a high of +39.9 in 1990. Support then slipped to +26.4 in 1994, then rose to +36.7 in 2008 (its third highest point). It was lower immediately after the recent economic downturn (+25-26), but started back up in 2016 and surged to a record high of +42.9 in 2018.

Looking at the broadest index covering all 23 spending areas asked about in 2010-2018, indicates that overall support for spending was stable from 2010 to 2014 and then rose sharply from 2014 to 2018: 2010: +18.2, 2012: +17.4, 2014: +18.6, 2016: +25.9, 2018: +37.2. From 2014 to 2018, support for more spending was up for <u>all</u> of the 23 spending areas.

#### **Conclusion:**

Despite a dislike of taxes (e.g. in 2018, 53.2% said their own federal income tax was too high, 44.3% about right, and 2.5% too low), more people have always favored increases in spending than cuts. In 2018, as in most years since the 1970s, people have backed more spending in about four-fifths of the areas and less spending in only the bottom quintile. Moreover, the number of areas with positive net spending scores not only outnumbered areas with negative scores, but are also larger. In 2018, the largest negative score (-36.2 for Foreign Aid) was bested by the top 15 positive scores led by Education with +71.8. Most other positive scores were also well above the other negative scores.

The level of support has however waxed and waned over the decades. Support for both overall spending and domestic social spending declined from the early 1970s to the early 1980s before rebounding to a peak in 1990. Then support again fell off to lows in 1994-1996. After that support again picked up with overall spending peaking in 2006 and domestic social spending topping off in 2008. Both scales fell in the immediate aftermath of the Great Recession, but in 2016-2018 the overall-spending score and the domestic

social spending score both rose notably. When the index using all 23 items and covering 2010 to 2018 is examined, it shows flat support for 2010-2014 and then a sharp increase in 2016-2018.

Currently Education is clearly the public's top spending priority with a very high score (+72) that is above even other very popular areas like, Assistance to the Poor, Health, Dealing with Drug Addiction, Halting Crime, the Environment, Social Security, Drug Rehabilitation, Childcare, and Alternative Energy (+51 to +66).

## Table 1. Trends in National Spending Priorities, 1973-2018

We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount. First, (READ ITEM A)... are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on (ITEM)?

A. Space Exploration Program/Space Exploration <sup>a</sup>
B. Improving and Protecting the Environment/The Environment
C. Improving and Protecting the Nation's Health/Health
D1. Solving the Problems of the Big Cities
D2. Assistance to Big Cities
E1. Halting the Rising Crime Rate
E2. Law Enforcement
F1. Dealing with Drug Addiction
F2. Drug Rehabilitation
G. Improving the Nation's Education System/Education
H1. Improving the Condition of Blacks
H2. Assistance to Blacks
I. The Military, Armaments, and Defense/National Defense
J. Foreign Aid/Assistance to Other Countries
K1. Welfare
K2. Assistance to the Poor
L. Highways and Bridges
M. Social Security
N. Mass Transportation
O. Parks and Recreation
P. Assistance for Childcare
Q. Supporting Scientific Research
R. Developing Alternative Energy Sources

<sup>a</sup>For explanation of the dual headings see Technical Appendix.

A. Space Explo	A. Space Exploration Program/Space Exploration										
	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982			
Too little	7.5	7.9	8.0	9.0	10.8	12.2	19.7	13.6			
About right	31.1	29.2	32.2	29.4	37.3	37.9	37.7	44.5			
Too much	61.4	62.9	59.8	60.8	51.9	49.9	42.6	41.9			
Net (TL -TM)	-53.9	-55.0	-51.8	-51.8	-41.1	-37.7	-22.9	-28.3			

A. Space Explo	ration Pro	gram/Space	Exploration	1				
	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Too little	14.8	12.1	11.5	10.8	16.9	20.3	16.1	11.4
About right	43.1	43.8	45.7	48.3	43.5	42.6	46.3	46.8
Too much	42.1	44.2	42.8	40.9	39.6	37.1	37.7	41.8
Net (TL -TM)	-27.3	-32.1	-31.3	-30.1	-22.7	-16.8	-21.6	-30.4
	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
Too little	12.9	7.9	9.5	12.7	11.5	14.1	12.4	14.4
About right	48.3	39.7	41.6	44.6	46.9	42.3	49.7	45.5
Too much	38.8	52.4	48.9	42.7	41.6	43.6	38.0	40.1
Net (TL -TM)	-25.9	-44.5	-39.4	-30.0	-30.1	-29.5	-25.6	-25.7
	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	
Too little	14.7	14.4	16.4	23.2	25.5	23.1	23.6	
About right	47.9	46.8	46.2	44.6	44.4	49.0	50.4	
Too much	37.4	38.7	37.4	32.2	30.0	27.8	25.9	
Net (TL – TM)	-22.7	-24.3	-21.0	-9.0	-4.5	-4.7	-2.3	

B. Improving a	B. Improving and Protecting the Environment/The Environment											
	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982				
Too little	64.6	63.7	57.9	58.6	52.1	55.0	51.9	54.4				
About right	27.6	27.9	32.2	32.0	36.3	34.7	32.0	33.4				
Too much	7.7	8.3	9.9	9.4	11.6	10.3	16.1	12.2				
Net (TL -TM)	+56.9	+55.4	+48.0	+49.2	+40.5	+44.7	+35.8	+42.2				
	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990				
Too little	58.1	60.4	62.4	62.4	66.5	68.1	75.0	75.0				
About right	32.5	32.4	29.6	31.3	27.4	27.4	20.4	21.2				
Too much	9.4	7.1	8.0	6.3	6.1	4.6	4.6	3.8				
Net (TL -TM)	+48.7	+53.3	+54.4	+56.1	+60.4	+63.5	+70.4	+71.2				
	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004				
Too little	71.8	60.5	62.7	62.0	64.7	64.3	61.9	64.9				
About right	23.2	30.2	28.2	27.7	27.5	27.7	29.8	28.2				
Too much	5.0	9.2	9.0	10.3	7.8	8.0	8.2	6.8				
Net (TL -TM)	+66.8	+51.3	+53.7	+51.7	+56.9	+56.3	+53.7	+58.1				
	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018					
Too little	68.9	67.4	60.2	57.4	59.9	64.3	67.9					
About right	24.1	23.9	28.1	31.1	29.2	27.1	24.6					
Too much	7.0	8.7	11.7	11.5	10.9	8.6	7.5					
Net (TL -TM)	+61.9	+58.7	+48.5	+45.9	+49.0	+55.7	+60.4					

C. Improving a	nd Protect	ing the Natio	on's Health/I	lealth				
	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982
Too little	63.4	66.9	65.6	63.0	59.2	57.2	57.9	59.3
About right	31.8	28.8	29.1	32.4	34.0	35.9	34.3	33.8
Too much	4.8	4.3	5.4	4.6	6.8	6.9	7.8	6.9
Net (TL -TM)	+58.6	+62.6	+60.2	+58.4	+52.4	+50.3	+50.1	+52.4
	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Too little	59.5	58.8	57.8	60.6	68.5	70.2	70.4	72.2
About right	34.7	33.4	34.5	34.1	25.3	25.5	25.0	24.1
Too much	6.9	5.8	7.8	7.7	5.5	6.1	4.6	3.7
Net (TL -TM)	+52.6	+53.0	+50.0	+52.9	+63.0	+64.1	+65.8	+68.5
	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
Too little	70.7	73.2	66.0	65.6	69.6	71.9	73.7	78.3
About right	26.0	16.2	23.0	24.9	23.5	23.0	20.7	15.8
Too much	3.3	10.7	11.0	9.4	6.9	5.0	5.5	5.9
Net (TL -TM)	+67.4	+62.5	+55.0	+56.2	+62.7	+66.9	+68.2	+72.4
	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	
Too little	73.5	76.2	60.3	61.2	57.6	63.6	71.6	
About right	19.4	15.7	20.8	23.9	25.7	23.6	21.3	
Too much	7.1	8.1	18.9	14.9	16.8	12.9	7.1	
Net (TL -TM)	+66.4	+68.1	+41.4	+46.3	+40.8	+50.7	+64.5	

D1. Solving the	Problems	of the Big (	Cities					
	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982
Too little	55.4	58.6	56.5	48.0	47.7	45.0	45.9	49.8
About right	31.0	29.0	29.5	29.9	29.6	33.6	29.5	26.9
Too much	13.7	12.3	14.0	22.0	22.7	21.5	24.6	23.4
Net (TL -TM)	+41.7	+46.3	+42.5	+26.0	+25.0	+23.5	+21.3	+26.4
	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Too little	47.3	51.9	43.3	49.2	44.4	54.7	53.1	59.0
About right	34.5	33.3	38.0	33.3	39.2	34.4	34.0	30.4
Too much	18.3	14.7	18.8	17.5	16.4	10.9	12.9	10.7
Net (TL -TM)	+29.0	+37.2	+24.5	+31.7	+28.0	+43.8	+40.2	+48.3
	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
Too little	52.5	62.1	60.8	59.1	51.6	51.9	44.7	43.3
About right	33.5	25.3	25.0	25.9	34.5	35.8	40.6	42.5
Too much	13.9	12.5	14.1	14.9	13.9	12.3	14.7	14.2
Net (TL -TM)	+38.6	+49.6	+46.7	+44.2	+37.7	+39.6	+30.0	+29.1
	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	
Too little	48.1	48.6	42.8	42.3	45.7	51.9	54.7	
About right	39.1	38.5	37.3	39.4	38.2	34.5	34.2	
Too much	12.9	12.9	19.9	18.2	16.2	13.6	11.1	
Net (TL -TM)	+35.2	+35.7	+22.9	+24.1	+29.5	+38.3	+43.6	

D2. Assistance	to Big Cit	ies						
	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Too little	19.2	20.5	17.1	22.5	25.3	22.3	24.9	24.2
About right	42.0	37.4	43.4	43.1	40.3	40.1	44.7	39.5
Too much	38.8	42.1	39.5	34.4	34.4	37.6	30.4	36.3
Net (TL -TM)	-19.6	-21.6	-22.4	-11.9	-9.1	-15.3	-5.5	-12.1
	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006
Too little	27.2	27.2	25.6	22.0	26.9	17.2	18.7	21.7
About right	35.9	38.0	37.9	44.8	42.3	47.2	48.7	42.1
Too much	36.9	34.9	36.5	33.2	30.8	35.6	32.6	36.2
Net (TL -TM)	-9.7	-7.7	-10.9	-11.2	-3.9	-18.4	-13.9	-14.5
	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018		
Too little	21.9	19.2	16.8	19.3	22.8	21.7		
About right	45.2	42.4	43.0	42.3	42.6	44.5		
Too much	33.0	38.4	40.2	38.4	34.6	33.8		
Net (TL – TM)	-11.1	-19.2	-23.4	-19.1	-11.8	-12.1		

E1. Halting the	E1. Halting the Rising Crime Rate										
	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982			
Too little	68.3	70.6	69.2	70.0	70.6	67.7	72.2	75.9			
About right	26.9	24.4	25.1	21.8	23.4	25.9	21.7	18.9			
Too much	4.8	5.1	5.7	8.2	6.1	6.4	6.1	5.2			
Net (TL -TM)	+63.5	+65.5	+63.5	+61.8	+64.5	+61.3	+66.1	+70.7			
	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990			
Too little	68.8	71.3	65.1	66.4	72.2	72.4	74.9	70.9			
About right	25.8	23.8	29.0	29.1	22.5	23.4	20.1	24.8			
Too much	5.4	4.9	5.9	4.5	5.3	4.2	4.9	4.3			
Net (TL -TM)	+63.4	+66.4	+59.2	+61.9	+66.9	+68.2	+70.0	+66.9			
	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004			
Too little	68.1	73.7	77.6	69.3	63.7	60.8	57.5	57.7			
About right	26.7	21.1	16.3	23.1	28.9	33.6	35.6	37.0			
Too much	5.2	5.1	6.2	7.6	7.4	5.6	6.9	5.3			
Net (TL -TM)	+62.9	+68.6	+71.4	+61.7	+56.3	+55.2	+50.6	+52.4			
	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018				
Too little	61.2	61.8	59.5	59.0	61.5	67.8	69.3				
About right	32.1	31.4	32.2	33.9	30.1	25.7	23.9				
Too much	6.6	6.8	8.3	7.1	8.4	6.4	6.8				
Net (TL -TM)	+54.6	+55.0	+51.2	+51.9	+53.1	+61.4	+62.5				

E2. Law Enforce	ement							
	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Too little	57.7	58.1	52.8	53.7	56.4	62.3	58.0	56.9
About right	35.3	36.2	40.5	39.8	38.1	30.9	36.4	37.1
Too much	6.9	5.7	6.6	6.5	5.5	6.8	5.7	6.1
Net (TL -TM)	+50.8	+52.4	+46.2	+47.2	+50.9	+55.5	+52.3	+50.8
	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006
Too little	60.4	65.3	59.1	56.8	52.2	48.2	54.1	55.3
About right	33.3	27.8	32.1	35.0	39.4	41.3	36.9	35.2
Too much	6.2	7.0	8.8	8.3	8.3	10.5	9.0	9.5
Net (TL -TM)	+54.2	+58.3	+50.3	+48.5	+43.9	+37.7	+45.1	+45.8
	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018		
Too little	53.9	48.3	49.5	46.8	53.9	54.0		
About right	37.0	39.7	39.7	39.6	35.3	35.2		
Too much	9.1	11.9	10.9	13.6	10.9	10.7		
Net (TL – TM)	+44.8	+36.4	+38.6	+33.2	+43.0	+43.3		

F1. Dealing with	h Drug Ad	diction						
	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982
Too little	70.3	63.6	59.3	63.6	59.5	57.8	64.9	61.2
About right	23.1	29.4	32.3	28.5	31.9	32.7	27.3	29.6
Too much	6.6	7.0	8.5	7.9	8.7	9.5	7.9	9.3
Net (TL -TM)	+63.7	+56.6	+50.8	+55.7	+50.8	+48.3	+57.0	+51.9
	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Too little	62.0	66.2	64.8	60.1	66.4	70.9	73.0	64.6
About right	32.2	27.7	29.6	33.8	28.1	25.0	20.7	28.5
Too much	5.8	6.1	5.6	6.1	5.5	4.1	6.3	6.9
Net (TL -TM)	+56.2	+60.1	+59.2	+54.0	+60.9	+66.8	+66.7	+57.7
	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
Too little	60.3	63.3	63.2	60.4	60.8	62.2	57.8	55.3
About right	31.8	28.7	27.6	27.8	29.5	28.8	31.8	35.0
Too much	7.9	8.1	9.2	11.7	9.7	9.1	10.4	9.7
Net (TL -TM)	+52.4	+55.2	+54.0	+48.7	+51.1	+53.1	+47.4	+45.6
	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	
Too little	62.1	57.3	56.4	55.8	59.5	65.5	70.7	
About right	30.6	32.6	33.2	31.9	28.0	26.4	22.2	
Too much	7.3	10.1	10.4	12.3	12.4	8.1	7.1	
Net (TL – TM)	+54.8	+47.2	+46.0	+43.5	+47.1	+57.4	+63.6	

F2. Drug Rehab	ilitation							
	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Too little	50.7	57.8	55.6	60.8	61.3	62.5	66.7	61.4
About right	39.2	33.9	34.4	31.2	30.4	28.2	25.1	30.8
Too much	10.1	8.3	10.0	8.0	8.2	9.3	8.2	7.8
Net (TL -TM)	+40.6	+49.5	+45.6	+52.8	+53.1	+53.2	+58.5	+53.6
	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006
Too little	57.9	55.5	57.2	56.0	54.8	54.7	52.4	54.9
About right	31.4	32.6	30.7	31.6	34.0	32.6	36.3	33.5
Too much	10.7	11.9	12.1	12.4	11.2	12.7	11.2	11.6
Net (TL -TM)	+47.2	+43.6	+45.1	+43.6	+43.6	+42.0	+41.2	+43.3
	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018		
Too little	49.6	51.6	45.9	52.1	62.2	65.6		
About right	37.5	35.8	36.8	34.4	26.6	23.9		
Too much	12.9	12.5	17.3	13.6	11.3	10.5		
Net (TL – TM)	+36.7	+39.1	+28.6	+38.5	+50.9	+55.1		

G. Improving the	ne Nation's	<b>Education</b>	System/Edu	cation				
	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982
Too little	51.3	53.5	51.8	52.6	50.4	53.3	55.9	57.2
About right	39.4	38.3	36.5	38.1	39.8	34.9	34.3	33.8
Too much	9.3	8.2	11.7	9.3	9.8	11.8	9.9	9.0
Net (TL -TM)	+42.0	+45.3	+40.1	+43.3	+40.6	+41.5	+46.0	+48.2
	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Too little	61.7	64.4	64.9	65.0	65.1	68.5	71.2	74.5
About right	32.2	30.6	28.8	30.4	29.3	27.7	25.5	22.5
Too much	6.1	5.0	6.2	4.7	5.6	3.8	3.3	3.0
Net (TL -TM)	+55.6	+59.4	+58.7	+60.3	+59.5	+64.7	+67.9	+71.5
	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
Too little	70.7	71.4	73.0	73.0	72.9	73.3	75.9	76.0
About right	24.8	23.0	21.5	21.5	20.5	21.8	19.0	19.1
Too much	4.5	5.6	5.5	5.5	6.6	4.9	5.1	4.9
Net (TL -TM)	+66.2	+65.8	+67.5	+67.5	+66.3	+68.4	+70.8	+71.1
	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	
Too little	74.1	73.8	73.9	75.6	73.6	73.4	77.2	
About right	20.4	20.8	20.8	17.2	19.4	20.0	17.4	
Too much	5.4	5.4	5.3	7.2	7.0	6.7	5.4	
Net (TL -TM)	+68.7	+68.4	+68.6	+68.4	+66.6	+66.7	+71.8	

H1. Improving	the Condit	ion of Black	s					
	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982
Too little	35.3	33.4	29.4	29.6	27.5	26.3	26.7	30.2
About right	41.9	44.5	44.4	42.7	46.2	46.9	47.8	48.0
Too much	22.8	22.0	26.3	27.6	26.3	26.8	25.5	21.8
Net (TL -TM)	+12.5	+11.4	+3.1	+2.0	+1.2	-0.5	+1.2	+8.4
	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Too little	31.7	37.7	32.1	37.2	37.4	38.0	37.3	41.1
About right	47.2	46.0	46.3	46.2	46.3	45.3	46.1	42.7
Too much	21.1	16.3	21.6	16.6	16.3	16.6	16.1	15.9
Net (TL -TM)	+10.6	+21.4	+10.5	+20.6	+21.1	+21.4	+21.2	+25.2
	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
Too little	39.0	39.4	34.0	35.4	36.9	38.0	33.0	34.7
About right	45.3	43.6	43.9	43.2	45.2	45.4	48.8	50.1
Too much	15.6	17.0	22.1	21.4	17.9	16.7	18.3	15.2
Net (TL -TM)	+23.4	+22.4	+11.9	+14.0	+19.0	+21.3	+14.7	+19.5
	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	
Too little	37.0	38.2	32.7	36.0	33.8	51.2	56.9	
About right	47.1	47.7	50.2	49.0	49.8	38.0	35.9	
Too much	15.9	14.0	17.1	15.0	16.4	10.8	7.2	
Net (TL -TM)	+21.1	+24.2	+15.6	+21.0	+17.4	+40.4	+49.7	

H2. Assistance	to Blacks							
	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Too little	26.5	28.8	23.5	28.2	29.0	31.3	31.1	34.5
About right	45.9	44.8	47.8	47.6	46.2	44.7	45.7	45.4
Too much	27.6	26.4	28.8	24.2	24.8	24.0	23.2	20.1
Net (TL -TM)	-1.1	+2.4	-5.3	+4.0	+4.2	+7.3	+7.9	+14.4
	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006
Too little	27.2	26.5	25.4	29.3	33.4	25.7	27.9	27.7
About right	44.8	44.1	46.4	45.6	42.5	47.3	51.6	46.5
Too much	28.0	29.4	28.2	25.2	24.1	27.1	20.5	25.7
Net (TL -TM)	-0.8	-2.9	-2.8	+4.1	+9.3	-1.4	+7.4	+2.0
	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018		
Too little	31.1	28.3	25.3	27.5	40.5	48.5		
About right	46.7	49.4	51.4	48.7	42.7	38.6		
Too much	22.2	22.4	23.3	23.9	16.9	13.0		
Net (TL – TM)	+8.9	+5.9	+2.0	+3.6	+23.6	+35.5		

I. The Military,	Armament	s, and Defer	nse/National	Defense				
	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982
Too little	12.1	17.9	17.8	26.2	25.7	29.8	60.9	31.2
About right	47.4	48.5	49.3	45.0	49.4	47.4	27.1	37.2
Too much	40.5	33.6	32.9	28.8	24.8	22.9	12.0	31.6
Net (TL -TM)	-28.4	-15.7	-15.1	-2.6	+0.9	+6.9	+48.9	+0.4
	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Too little	25.5	17.8	15.5	17.1	18.0	17.9	15.8	10.8
About right	40.2	43.0	42.5	44.3	41.3	42.6	42.9	44.9
Too much	34.3	39.1	42.0	38.7	40.8	39.5	41.3	44.3
Net (TL -TM)	-8.8	-21.3	-26.5	-21.6	-22.8	-21.6	-25.5	-33.5
	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
Too little	14.2	11.2	17.3	18.2	18.8	25.8	33.8	34.0
About right	59.1	44.2	49.3	48.9	49.2	48.2	45.2	39.1
Too much	26.8	44.6	33.4	32.9	32.0	26.0	21.0	26.9
Net (TL -TM)	-12.6	-33.4	-16.1	-14.7	-13.2	-0.2	+12.8	+7.1
	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	
Too little	26.8	25.3	25.7	25.3	34.2	38.0	30.6	
About right	33.8	35.0	39.4	43.1	34.6	34.9	41.1	
Too much	39.4	39.7	34.9	31.6	31.2	27.1	28.4	
Net (TL -TM)	-12.6	-14.4	-9.2	-6.3	+3.0	+10.9	+2.2	

J. Foreign Aid/	Assistance	e to Other Co	ountries					
	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982
Too little	4.9	3.2	5.6	2.9	3.7	4.3	5.5	5.6
About right	21.9	18.3	17.8	18.5	25.5	25.3	21.5	19.0
Too much	73.2	78.5	76.7	78.6	70.8	70.4	72.9	75.3
Net (TL -TM)	-68.3	-75.3	-71.1	-75.7	-67.1	-66.1	-67.4	-69.7
	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Too little	4.4	4.4	7.6	5.2	6.3	4.9	5.6	6.2
About right	17.7	19.3	23.6	19.3	21.1	22.3	22.4	23.4
Too much	77.9	76.3	68.8	75.5	72.6	72.8	72.1	70.4
Net (TL -TM)	-73.5	-71.9	-61.2	-70.3	-66.3	-67.9	-66.5	-64.2
	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
Too little	3.7	4.5	4.6	4.2	6.8	8.5	7.8	9.4
About right	21.0	20.9	19.8	20.7	25.3	28.0	24.5	24.1
Too much	75.2	74.6	75.6	75.1	67.9	63.4	67.7	66.6
Net (TL -TM)	-71.5	-70.1	-71.0	-70.9	-61.1	-54.9	-59.9	-57.2
	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	
Too little	10.8	11.0	7.8	7.7	7.2	9.6	15.3	
About right	24.7	25.8	29.3	24.2	23.9	29.2	33.2	
Too much	64.6	63.3	62.9	68.1	68.9	61.1	51.5	
Net (TL -TM)	-53.8	-52.3	-55.1	-60.4	-61.7	-51.5	-36.2	

K1. Welfare								
	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982
Too little	20.9	23.8	24.6	14.1	13.1	13.5	14.3	20.4
About right	25.0	32.8	30.0	22.7	24.2	24.9	26.5	28.4
Too much	54.1	43.4	45.4	63.2	62.7	61.6	59.2	51.2
Net (TL -TM)	-33.2	-19.6	-20.8	-49.1	-49.6	-48.1	-44.9	-30.8
	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Too little	22.1	24.4	18.9	23.4	21.5	24.7	24.2	24.4
About right	28.7	35.9	34.7	34.5	32.6	32.5	32.7	37.1
Too much	49.2	39.8	46.4	42.1	45.9	42.8	43.1	38.4
Net (TL -TM)	-27.1	-15.4	-27.5	-18.7	-24.4	-18.1	-18.9	-14.0
	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
Too little	24.0	17.1	13.1	15.3	16.0	20.8	20.9	23.6
About right	36.7	25.6	24.6	26.6	37.7	39.8	37.8	35.0
Too much	39.3	57.3	62.4	58.1	46.3	39.3	41.3	41.4
Net (TL -TM)	-15.3	-40.2	-49.3	-42.8	-30.3	-18.5	-20.4	-17.8
	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	
Too little	25.1	25.4	23.2	19.1	19.8	22.3	23.6	
About right	36.5	36.4	34.5	33.3	29.6	34.0	37.6	
Too much	38.3	38.2	42.4	47.6	50.6	43.7	38.9	
Net (TL -TM)	-13.2	-12.8	-19.2	-28.5	-30.8	-21.4	-15.3	

K2. Assistance	K2. Assistance to the Poor											
	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991				
Too little	63.2	65.8	63.2	67.3	70.2	68.1	68.7	66.4				
About right	25.6	24.3	28.1	23.3	22.8	23.4	24.5	24.5				
Too much	11.3	9.9	8.7	9.4	6.9	8.5	6.7	9.2				
Net (TL -TM)	+51.9	+55.9	+54.5	+57.9	+63.3	+59.6	+62.0	+57.2				
	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006				
Too little	64.4	59.3	55.1	62.8	64.3	67.3	69.9	69.8				
About right	23.0	25.2	26.3	25.8	24.2	24.5	23.7	22.4				
Too much	12.6	15.5	18.6	11.4	11.5	8.2	6.4	7.8				
Net (TL -TM)	+51.8	+43.8	+36.5	+51.4	+52.8	+59.1	+63.5	+62.0				
	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018						
Too little	70.2	67.5	63.9	63.6	71.9	73.2						
About right	21.7	22.5	26.0	24.2	21.4	19.7						
Too Much	8.1	9.9	10.1	12.1	6.7	7.2						
Net (TL -TM)	+62.1	+57.6	+53.8	+51.5	+65.2	+66.0						

L. Highways an	d Bridges							
	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Too little	49.1	44.0	36.5	36.9	37.4	40.1	47.0	36.4
About right	44.2	48.2	54.8	54.0	54.7	52.4	46.6	52.2
Too much	6.8	7.7	8.6	9.2	7.9	7.5	6.3	11.4
Net (TL -TM)	+42.3	+36.3	+27.9	+27.7	+29.5	+32.6	+40.7	+25.0
	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006
Too little	38.5	40.1	38.1	40.5	35.2	35.7	30.1	35.5
About right	52.4	51.9	52.3	49.4	52.5	51.7	56.7	53.0
Too much	9.1	7.9	9.6	10.1	12.4	12.6	13.2	11.5
Net (TL -TM)	+29.4	+32.2	+28.5	+30.4	+22.8	+23.1	+16.9	+24.0
	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018		
Too little	45.3	44.1	43.0	44.9	48.7	53.3		
About right	45.0	44.7	43.9	42.8	40.7	37.8		
Too much	9.8	11.2	13.1	12.2	10.6	8.9		
Net (TL -TM)	+35.5	+32.9	+29.9	+32.7	+38.1	+44.4		

M. Social Secu	rity							
	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Too little	53.9	54.2	57.3	57.1	55.5	57.1	52.1	55.8
About right	35.9	38.5	36.2	36.1	39.4	37.9	42.2	40.2
Too much	10.2	7.3	6.5	6.8	5.1	5.0	5.8	4.0
Net (TL -TM)	+43.7	+46.9	+50.8	+50.3	+50.4	+52.1	+46.3	+51.8
	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006
Too little	46.0	49.1	51.7	59.8	60.3	61.0	66.0	63.9
About right	46.2	43.6	39.6	33.3	34.5	34.3	28.5	31.4
Too much	7.8	7.3	8.7	6.9	5.1	4.7	5.5	4.7
Net (TL -TM)	+38.2	+41.8	+43.0	+52.9	+55.2	+56.3	+60.5	+59.2
	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018		
Too little	61.6	57.3	55.9	55.4	60.2	60.5		
About right	32.6	34.3	35.8	38.1	34.4	34.3		
Too much	5.9	8.4	8.3	6.5	5.4	5.2		
Net (TL -TM)	+55.7	+48.9	+47.6	+48.9	+54.8	+55.3		

N. Mass Transp	oortation							
	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Too little	37.2	32.1	30.6	32.2	31.7	33.3	37.1	37.2
About right	50.9	54.2	55.3	53.7	57.2	56.3	53.2	53.0
Too much	11.9	13.7	14.1	14.1	11.1	10.3	9.8	9.8
Net (TL -TM)	+25.3	+18.4	+16.5	+18.1	+20.6	+23.0	+27.3	+27.4
	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006
Too little	38.1	38.2	35.0	34.9	39.8	36.0	36.4	41.0
About right	50.9	53.1	53.4	54.7	51.8	53.3	53.0	49.9
Too much	11.0	8.7	11.6	10.4	8.4	10.7	10.6	10.1
Net (TL -TM)	+27.1	+29.5	+23.4	+24.5	+31.4	+25.3	+25.8	+30.9
	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018		
Too little	48.7	42.7	39.9	38.6	37.0	39.4		
About right	43.3	46.5	50.1	52.1	54.1	51.8		
Too much	7.9	10.8	10.1	9.3	8.9	8.8		
Net (TL -TM)	+40.8	+31.9	+29.8	+29.3	+28.1	+30.6		

O. Parks and R	O. Parks and Recreation										
	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991			
Too little	33.9	31.5	30.6	30.2	31.3	35.0	32.7	32.1			
About right	60.5	60.7	63.1	63.2	63.2	59.7	61.3	63.1			
Too much	5.6	7.8	6.4	6.6	5.5	5.3	6.0	4.8			
Net (TL -TM)	+28.3	+23.7	+24.2	+23.6	+25.8	+29.7	+26.7	+27.3			
	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006			
Too little	32.5	31.4	33.5	36.3	36.7	34.5	31.9	33.5			
About right	60.6	62.2	60.2	57.4	57.6	59.9	61.1	60.1			
Too much	6.9	6.4	6.2	6.3	5.7	5.6	7.0	6.4			
Net (TL -TM)	+25.6	+25.0	+27.3	+30.0	+31.0	+28.9	+24.9	+27.1			
	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018					
Too little	31.3	33.9	32.6	30.8	34.0	35.6					
About right	63.3	59.7	61.3	62.9	59.8	59.9					
Too much	5.4	6.4	6.1	6.3	6.2	4.5					
Net (TL -TM)	+25.9	+27.5	+26.5	+24.5	+27.8	+31.1					

P. Assistance f	P. Assistance for Childcare									
	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014		
Too little	64.8	60.0	57.6	55.0	54.4	51.7	48.1	49.8		
About right	29.5	32.5	35.6	37.4	34.6	40.4	41.9	41.1		
Too much	5.7	7.5	6.8	7.6	6.8	7.9	10	9.1		
Net (TL -TM)	+59.1	+52.5	+50.8	+47.4	+47.6	+43.8	+38.1	+40.7		
	2016	2018								
Too little	57.7	59.9								
About right	36.5	34.5								
Too much	5.9	5.6								
Net (TL -TM)	+51.8	+54.3								

Q. Supporting S	Q. Supporting Scientific Research									
	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016		
Too little	36.7	40.2	43.6	40.5	40.6	39.9	41.8	40.4		
About right	48.9	47.3	44.3	48.3	46.6	45.9	46.1	47.9		
Too much	14.4	12.5	12.1	11.2	12.7	14.1	12.1	11.6		
Net (TL -TM)	+22.3	+27.7	+31.5	+29.3	+27.9	+25.8	+29.7	+28.8		
	2018									
Too little	45.4									
About right	46.6									
Too much	8.0									
Net (TL -TM)	+37.4									

R. Developing A	R. Developing Alternative Energy Sources									
	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018					
Too Little	64.1	61.9	57.0	56.9	57.3					
About Right	28.3	27.8	32.4	34.6	35.9					
Too Much	7.6	10.3	10.6	8.5	6.7					
Net (TL -TM)	+56.5	+51.6	+46.4	+48.4	+50.6					

RANK	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982	1983	1984	1985
1	Drugs	Crime									
	+63.7	+65.5	+63.5	+61.8	+64.5	+61.3	+66.1	+70.7	+63.4	+66.4	+59.2
2	Crime	Health	Health	Health	Health	Health	Drugs	Health	Drugs	Drugs	Drugs
	+63.5	+62.6	+60.2	+58.4	+52.4	+50.3	+57.0	+52.4	+56.2	+60.1	+59.2
3	Health	Drugs	Drugs	Drugs	Drugs	Drugs	Health	Drugs	Educ.	Educ.	Educ.
	+58.6	+56.6	+50.8	+55.7	+50.8	+48.3	+50.1	+51.9	+55.6	+59.4	+58.7
4	Envir.	Envir.	Envir.	Envir.	Educ.	Envir.	Defense	Educ.	Health	Envir.	Envir.
	+56.9	+55.4	+48.0	+49.2	+40.6	+44.7	+48.9	+48.2	+52.6	+53.3	+54.4
5	SolCity	SolCity	SolCity	Educ.	Envir.	Educ.	Educ.	Envir.	Envir.	Health	Health
	+41.7	+46.3	+42.5	+43.3	+40.5	+41.5	+46.0	+42.2	+48.7	+53.0	+50.0
6	Educ.	Educ.	Educ.	SolCity	SolCity	SolCity	Envir.	SolCity	SolCity	SolCity	SolCity
	+42.0	+45.3	+40.1	+26.0	+25.0	+23.5	+35.8	+26.4	+29.0	+37.2	+24.5
7	ImpBlks	ImpBlks	ImpBlks	ImpBlks	ImpBlks	Defense	SolCity	ImpBlks	ImpBlks	ImpBlks	ImpBlks
	+12.5	+11.4	+3.1	+2.0	+1.2	+6.9	+21.3	+8.4	+10.6	+21.4	+10.5
8	Defense	Defense	Defense	Defense	Defense	ImpBlks	ImpBlks	Defense	Defense	Welfare	Defense
	-28.4	-15.7	-15.1	-2.6	+0.9	-0.5	+1.2	+0.4	-8.8	-15.4	-26.5
9	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare	Space	Space	Space	Space	Welfare	Defense	Welfare
	-33.2	-19.6	-20.8	-49.1	-41.1	-37.7	-22.9	-28.3	-27.1	-21.3	-27.5
10	Space	Space	Space	Space	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare	Space	Space	Space
	-53.9	-55.0	-51.8	-51.8	-49.6	-48.1	-44.9	-30.8	-27.3	-32.1	-31.3
11	ForAid										
	-68.3	-75.3	-71.1	-75.7	-67.1	-66.1	-67.4	-69.7	-73.5	-71.9	-61.2

Table 2.Rank of Net Spending Priorities, 1973-2018

RANK	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008
1	Crime	Crime	Crime	Envir.	Educ.	Health	Crime	Crime	Educ.	Educ.	Educ.	Educ.	Health	Educ.	Educ.
	+61.9	+66.9	+68.2	+70.4	+71.5	+67.4	+68.6	+71.4	+67.5	+66.3	+68.4	+70.8	+72.4	+68.7	+68.4
2	Educ.	Health	Drugs	Crime	Envir.	Envir.	Educ.	Educ.	Crime	Health	Health	Health	Educ.	Health	Health.
	+60.3	+63.0	+66.8	+70.0	+71.2	+66.8	+65.8	+67.5	+61.7	+62.7	+66.9	+68.2	+71.1	+66.4	+68.1
3	Envir.	Drugs	Educ.	Educ.	Health	Educ.	Health	Health	Health	Envir.	Envir.	Envir.	Envir.	Envir.	Envir.
	+56.1	+60.9	+64.7	+67.9	+68.5	+66.2	+62.5	+55.0	+56.2	+56.9	+56.3	+53.7	+58.1	+61.9	+58.7
4	Drugs	Envir.	Health	Drugs	Crime	Crime	Drugs	Drugs	Envir.	Crime	Crime	Crime	Crime	Drugs	Crime
	+54.0	+60.4	+64.1	+66.7	+66.9	+62.9	+55.2	+54.0	+51.7	+56.3	+55.2	+50.6	+52.4	+54.8	+55.0
5	Health	Educ.	Envir.	Health	Drugs	Drugs	Envir.	Envir.	Drugs	Drugs	Drugs	Drugs	Drugs	Crime	Drugs
	+52.9	+59.5	+63.5	+65.8	+57.7	+52.4	+51.3	+53.7	+48.7	+51.1	+53.1	+42.0	+47.4	+54.6	+47.2
6	SolCity														
	+31.7	+28.0	+43.8	+40.2	+48.3	+38.6	+49.6	+46.7	+44.2	+37.7	+39.6	+30.0	+29.1	+35.2	+35.7
7	ImpBlks														
	+20.6	+21.1	+21.4	+21.2	+25.2	+23.4	+22.4	+11.9	+14.0	+19.0	+21.3	+14.7	+19.5	+21.1	+24.2
8	Welfare	Defense	Space	Welfare	Welfare	Defense	Welfare								
	-18.7	-22.8	-16.8	-18.9	-14.0	-12.6	-33.4	-16.1	-14.7	-13.2	-0.2	+12.8	+7.1	-12.6	-12.8
9	Defense	Space	Welfare	Space	Space	Welfare	Welfare	Space	Space	Space	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare	Defense
	-21.6	-22.7	-18.1	-21.6	-30.4	-15.3	-40.2	-39.4	-30.0	-30.1	-18.5	-20.4	-17.8	-13.2	-14.4
10	Space	Welfare	Defense	Defense	Defense	Space	Space	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare	Space	Space	Space	Space	Space
	-30.1	-24.4	-21.6	-25.5	-33.5	-25.9	-44.5	-49.3	-42.8	-30.3	-29.5	-25.6	-25.7	-22.7	-24.3
11	ForAid														
	-70.3	-66.3	-67.9	-66.5	-64.2	-71.5	-70.1	-71.0	-70.9	-61.1	-54.9	-59.9	-57.2	-53.8	-52.3

Table 2Rank of Net Spending Priorities, 1973-2018 (continued)

RANK	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018
1	Educ.	Educ.	Educ.	Educ.	Educ.
	+68.6	+68.4	+66.6	+66.7	+71.8
2	Crime	Crime	Crime	Crime	Health
	+51.2	+51.9	+53.1	+61.4	+64.5
3	Envir.	Health	Envir.	Drugs	Drugs
	+48.5	+46.3	+49.0	+57.4	+63.6
4	Drugs	Envir.	Drugs	Envir.	Crime
	+46.0	+45.9	+47.1	+55.7	+62.5
5	Health	Drugs	Health	Health	Envir.
	+41.4	+43.5	+40.8	+50.7	+60.4
6	SolCity	SolCity	SolCity	ImpBlks	ImpBlks
	+22.9	+24.1	+29.5	+40.4	+49.7
7	ImpBlks	ImpBlks	ImpBlks	SolCity	SolCity
	+15.6	+21.0	+17.4	+38.3	+43.6
8	Defense	Defense	Defense	Defense	Defense
	-9.2	-6.3	+3.0	+10.9	+2.2
9	Welfare	Space	Space	Space	Space
	-19.2	-9.0	-4.5	-4.7	-2.3
10	Space	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare
	-21.0	-28.5	-30.8	-21.4	-15.3
11	ForAid	ForAid	ForAid	ForAid	ForAid
	-55.1	-60.4	-61.7	-51.5	-36.2

 Table 2.
 Rank of Net Spending Priorities, 1973-2018 (continued)

### Abbreviations/Labels Used in Tables 2-4:

AidBlks=Assistance to Blacks AidCity=Assistance to Big Cities Crime=Halting the Rising Crime Rate Defense=The Military, Armaments, and Defense/National Defense Drugs=Dealing with Drug Addiction Educ.=Improving the Nation's Education System/Education Envir.=Improving and Protecting the Environment/The Environment ForAid=Foreign Aid/Assistance to Other Countries Health=Improving and Protecting the Nation's Health/Health ImpBlks=Improving the Condition of Blacks LawEnf=Law Enforcement Parks=Parks and Recreation Poor=Assistance to the Poor Rehab.=Drug Rehabilitation Roads=Highways and Bridges SocSec=Social Security SolCity=Solving the Problems of the Big Cities Space=Space Exploration Program/Space Exploration Trans.=Mass Transportation Welfare=Welfare

RANK	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006
1	Crime	Crime	Crime	Crime	Crime	Envir.	Educ.	Health	Crime	Crime	Educ.	Educ.	Educ.	Educ.	Health	Educ.
	+66.4	+59.2	+61.9	+66.9	+68.2	+70.4	+71.5	+67.4	+68.6	+71.4	+67.5	+66.3	+68.4	+70.8	+72.4	+68.7
2	Drugs	Drugs	Educ.	Health	Drugs	Crime	Envir.	Envir.	Educ.	Educ.	Crime	Health	Health	Health	Educ.	Health
	+60.1	+59.2	+60.3	+63.0	+66.8	+70.0	+71.2	+66.8	+65.8	+67.5	+61.7	+62.7	+66.9	+68.2	+71.1	+66.4
3	Educ.	Educ.	Envir.	Drugs	Educ.	Educ.	Health	Educ.	Health	LawEnf	Health	Envir.	Envir.	Poor	Poor	Poor
	+59.4	+58.7	+56.1	+60.9	+64.7	+67.9	+68.5	+66.2	+62.5	+58.3	+56.2	+56.9	+56.3	+59.1	+63.5	+62.0
4	Envir.	Poor	Poor	Envir.	Health	Drugs	Crime	Crime	Drugs	Health	Envir.	Crime	SocSec	SocSec	SocSec	Envir.
	+53.3	+55.9	+54.5	+60.4	+64.1	+66.7	+66.9	+62.9	+55.2	+55.0	+51.7	+56.3	+55.2	+56.3	+60.5	+61.9
5	Health	Envir.	Drugs	Educ.	Envir.	Health	Poor	Poor	LawEnf	Drugs	LawEnf	SocSec	Crime	Envir.	Envir.	SocSec
	+53.0	+54.4	+54.0	+59.5	+63.5	+65.8	+62.0	+57.2	+54.2	+54.0	+50.3	+52.9	+55.2	+53.7	+58.1	+59.2
6	Poor	LawEnf	Health	Poor	Poor	Poor	Rehab.	Rehab.	Poor	Envir.	Drugs	Poor	Drugs	Crime	Crime	Drugs
	+51.9	+52.4	+52.9	+57.9	+63.3	+59.6	+58.5	+53.6	+51.8	+53.7	+48.7	+51.4	+53.1	+50.6	+52.4	+54.8
7	LawEnf	Health	SocSec	Rehab.	Rehab.	LawEnf	Drugs	Drugs	Envir.	SolCity	Rehab.	Drugs	Poor	Drugs	Drugs	Crime
	+50.8	+50.0	+50.8	+52.8	+53.1	+55.5	+57.7	+52.4	+51.3	+46.7	+45.1	+51.1	+52.8	+47.4	+45.6	+54.6
8	SocSec	Rehab.	LawEnf	SocSec	LawEnf	Rehab.	LawEnf	SocSec	SolCity	Poor	SolCity	LawEnf	LawEnf	Rehab.	LawEnf	LawEnf
	+43.7	+49.5	+46.2	+50.3	+50.9	+53.2	+52.3	+51.8	+49.6	+43.8	+44.2	+48.5	+43.9	+42.0	+45.1	+45.8
9	Roads	SocSec	Rehab.	LawEnf	SocSec	SocSec	SolCity	LawEnf	Rehab.	Rehab.	SocSec	Rehab.	Rehab.	LawEnf	Rehab.	Rehab.
	+42.3	+46.9	+45.6	+47.2	+50.4	+52.1	+48.3	+50.8	+47.2	+43.6	+43.0	+43.6	+43.6	+37.7	+41.2	+43.3
10	Rehab.	Roads	SolCity	SolCity	SolCity	SolCity	SocSec	SolCity	SocSec	SocSec	Poor	SolCity	SolCity	SolCity	SolCity	SolCity
	+40.6	+36.3	+31.7	+28.0	+43.8	+40.2	+46.3	+38.6	+38.2	+41.8	+36.5	+37.7	+39.6	+30.0	+29.1	+35.2
11	SolCity	SolCity	Roads	Roads	Roads	Roads	Roads	Trans.	Roads	Roads	Roads	Roads	Trans.	Parks	Trans.	Trans.
	+37.2	+24.5	+27.9	+27.7	+29.5	+32.6	+40.7	+27.4	+29.4	+32.2	+28.5	+30.4	+31.4	+28.9	+25.8	+30.9
12	Parks	Parks	Parks	Parks	Parks	Parks	Trans.	Parks	Trans.	Trans.	Parks	Parks	Parks	Trans.	Parks	Parks
	+28.3	+23.7	+24.2	+23.6	+25.8	+29.7	+27.3	+27.3	+27.1	+29.5	+27.3	+30.0	+31.0	+25.3	+24.9	+27.1

Table 3.Rank of Net Spending Priorities, 1984-2018

RANK	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006
13	Trans.	ImpBlks	ImpBlks	ImpBlks	ImpBlks	Trans.	Parks	Roads	Parks	Parks	Trans.	Trans.	Roads	Roads	ImpBlks	Roads
	+25.3	+10.5	+20.6	+21.1	+21.4	+23.0	+26.7	+25.0	+25.6	+25.0	+23.4	+24.5	+22.8	+23.1	+19.5	+24.0
14	ImpBlks	Trans.	Trans.	Trans.	Trans.	ImpBlks	Roads	ImpBlks								
	+21.4	+18.4	+16.5	+18.1	+20.6	+21.2	+25.2	+23.4	+22.4	+11.9	+14.0	+19.0	+21.3	+14.7	+16.9	+21.1
15	AidBlks	Defense	AidBlks	AidBlks												
	-1.1	+2.4	-5.3	+4.0	+4.2	+7.3	+7.9	+14.4	-0.8	-2.9	-2.8	+4.1	+9.3	+12.8	+7.4	+2.0
16	Welfare	AidCity	Welfare	AidCity	Defense	AidBlks	Defense	Defense								
	-15.4	-21.6	-18.7	-11.9	-9.0	-15.3	-5.5	-12.1	-9.7	-7.7	-10.9	-11.2	-0.2	-1.4	+7.1	-12.6
17	AidCity	Defense	Defense	Defense	Space	Welfare	Welfare	Defense	Defense	Defense	Defense	Defense	AidCity	AidCity	AidCity	Welfare
	-19.6	-26.5	-21.6	-22.8	-16.8	-18.9	-14.0	-12.6	-33.4	-16.1	-14.7	-13.2	-3.9	-18.4	-13.9	-13.2
18	Defense	Welfare	AidCity	Welfare	Welfare	Space	Space	Welfare	Welfare	Space	Space	Space	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare	AidCity
	-21.3	-27.5	-22.4	-24.4	-18.1	-21.6	-30.4	-15.3	-40.2	-39.4	-30.0	-30.1	-18.5	-20.6	-17.8	-14.5
19	Space	Space	Space	Space	Defense	Defense	Defense	Space	Space	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare	Space	Space	Space	Space
	-32.1	-31.3	-30.1	-22.7	-21.6	-25.5	-33.5	-25.9	-44.5	-49.3	-42.8	-30.3	-29.5	-25.6	-25.7	-22.7
20	ForAid															
	-71.9	-61.2	-70.3	-66.3	-67.9	-66.5	-64.2	-71.5	-70.1	-71.0	-70.9	-61.1	-54.9	-59.9	-57.2	-53.8

RANK	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018
1	Educ.	Educ.	Educ.	Educ.	Educ.	Educ.
	+68.4	+68.6	+68.4	+66.6	+66.7	+71.8
2	Health	Poor	Poor	Crime	Poor	Poor
	+68.1	+57.6	+53.8	+53.1	+65.2	+66.0
3	Poor	Crime	Crime	Poor	Crime	Health
	+62.1	+51.2	+51.9	+51.5	+61.4	+64.5
4	Envir.	SocSec	SocSec	Envir.	Drugs	Drugs
	+58.7	+48.9	+47.6	+49.0	+57.4	+63.6
5	SocSec	Envir.	Health	SocSec	Envir.	Crime
	+55.7	+48.5	+46.3	+48.9	+55.7	+62.5
6	Crime	Drugs	Envir.	Drugs	SocSec	Envir.
	+55.0	+46.0	+45.9	+47.1	+54.8	+60.4
7	Drugs	Health	Drugs	Health	Rehab	SocSec
	+47.2	+41.4	+43.5	+40.8	+50.9	+55.3
8	LawEnf	Rehab.	LawEnf	Rehab	Health	Rehab
	+44.8	+39.1	+38.6	+38.5	+50.7	+55.1
9	Trans.	LawEnf	Roads	LawEnf	LawEnf	ImpBlks
	+40.8	+36.4	+29.9	+33.2	+43.0	+49.7
10	Rehab.	Roads	Trans	Roads	ImpBlks	Roads
	+36.7	+32.9	+29.8	+32.7	+40.4	+44.4
11	SolCity	Trans	Rehab	SolCity	SolCity	SolCity
	+35.7	+31.9	+28.6	+29.5	+38.3	+43.6
12	Roads	Parks	Parks	Trans	Roads	LawEnf
	+35.5	+27.5	+26.5	+29.3	+38.1	+43.3
13	Parks	SolCity	SolCity	Parks	Trans	AidBlks
4.4	+25.9	+22.9	+24.1	+24.5	+28.1	+35.5
14	ImpBlks	Impblks	ImpBlks	ImpBlks	Parks	Parks
	+24.2	+15.6	+21.0	+17.4	+27.8	+31.1
15	AidBlks	AidBlks	AidBlks	AidBlks	AidBlks	Trans
	+8.9	+5.9	+2.0	+3.6	+23.6	+30.6
16	AidCity	Defense	Defense	Defense	Defense	Defense
	-11.1	-9.2	-6.3	+3.0	+10.9	+2.2
17	Welfare	Welfare	Space	Space	Space	Space
	-12.8	-19.2	-9.0	-4.5	-4.7	-2.3
18	Defense	Aid City	AidCity	AidCity	AidCity	AidCity
	-14.4	-19.2	-23.4	-19.1	-11.8	-12.1
19	Space	Space	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare
	-24.3	-21.0	-28.5	-30.8	-21.4	-15.3
20	ForAid	ForAid	ForAid	ForAid	ForAid	ForAid
	-52.3	-55.1	-60.4	-61.7	-51.5	-36.2

 Table 3.
 Rank of Net Spending Priorities, 1984-2018 (continued)

RANK	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018
1	Educ.	Health	Educ.	Educ.	Educ.	Educ.	Educ.	Educ.	Educ.
	+70.8	+72.4	+68.7	+68.4	+68.6	+68.4	+66.6	+66.7	+71.8
2	Health	Educ.	Health	Health	Poor	Poor	Crime	Poor	Poor
	+68.2	+71.1	+66.4	+68.1	+57.6	+53.8	+53.1	+65.2	+66.0
3	Poor	Poor	Poor	Poor	Crime	Crime	Poor	Crime	Health
	+59.1	+63.5	+62.0	+62.1	+51.2	+51.9	+51.5	+61.4	+64.5
4	SocSec	SocSec	Envir.	Envir.	SocSec	SocSec	Envir.	Drugs	Drugs
	+56.3	+60.5	+61.9	+58.7	+48.9	+47.6	+49.0	+57.4	+63.6
5	Envir.	Envir.	SocSec	SocSec	Envir.	Health	SocSec	Envir.	Crime
	+53.7	+58.1	+59.2	+55.7	+48.5	+46.3.	+48.9	+55.7	+62.5
6	Child	Crime	Drugs	Crime	Drugs +46.0	Envir.	Drugs	SocSec	Envir.
7	+52.5	+52.4	+54.8	+55.0		+45.9	+47.1	+54.8	+60.4
7	Crime +50.6	Child +50.8	Crime +54.6	Child +47.6	Child +43.8	Drugs +43.5	Health +40.8	Child +51.8	SocSec +55.3
8	Drugs	Drugs	Child	Drugs	Health	LawEnf	Child	Rehab	Rehab
Ŭ	+47.4	+45.6	+47.4	+47.2	+41.4	+38.6	+40.7	+50.9	+55.1
9	Rehab.	LawEnf	LawEnf	LawEnf	Rehab.	Child	Rehab	Health	Child
, i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i	+42.0	+45.1	+45.8	+44.8	+39.1	+38.1	+38.5	+50.7	+54.3
10	LawEnf	Rehab.	Rehab.	Trans.	LawEnf	Roads	LawEnf	LawEnf	ImpBlks
	+37.7	+41.2	+43.3	+40.8	+36.4	+29.9	+33.2	+43.0	+49.7
11	SolCity	SolCity	SolCity	Rehab.	Roads	Trans.	Roads	ImpBlks	Roads
	+30.0	+29.1	+35.2	+36.7	+32.9	+29.8	+32.7	+40.4	+44.4
12	Parks	Science	Science	SolCity	Trans.	Rehab.	Science	SolCity	SolCity
	+28.9	+27.7	+31.5	+35.7	+31.9	+28.6	+29.7	+38.3	+43.6
13	Trans.	Trans.	Trans.	Roads	Science	Parks	SolCity	Roads	LawEnf
	+25.3	+25.8	+30.9	+35.5	+27.9	+26.5	+29.5	+38.1	+43.3
14	Roads	Parks	Parks	Science	Parks	Science	Trans	Science	Science
	+23.1	+24.9	+27.1	+29.3	+27.5	+25.8	+29.3	+28.8	+37.4
15	Science	ImpBlks	Roads	Parks	SolCity	SolCity	Parks	Trans	AidBlks
	+22.3	+19.5	+24.0	+25.9	+22.9	+24.1	+24.5	+28.1	+35.5
16	ImpBlks	Roads	ImpBlks	ImpBlks	ImpBlks	ImpBlks	ImpBlks	Parks	Parks
47	+14.7	+16.9	+21.1	+24.2	+15.6	+21.0	+17.4	+27.8	+31.1
17	Defense	AidBlks +7.4	AidBlks	AidBlks	AidBlks +5.9	AidBlks	AidBlks	AidBlks	Trans
18	+12.8 AidBlks	Defense	+2.0 Defense	+8.9		+2.0 Defense	+3.6 Defense	+23.6 Defense	+30.6
10	-1.4	+7.1	-12.6	AidCity -11.1	Defense -9.2	-6.3	+3.0	+10.9	Defense +2.2
19	-1.4 AidCity	AidCity	Welfare	Welfare	AidCity	Space	+3.0 Space	Space	Space
13	-18.4	-13.9	-13.2	-12.8	-19.2	-9.0	-4.5	-4.7	-2.3
20	Welfare	Welfare	AidCity	Defense	Welfare	AidCity	AidCity	AidCity	AidCity
_0	-20.6	-17.8	-14.5	-14.4	-19.2	-23.4	-19.1	-11.8	-12.1
21	Space	Space	Space	Space	Space	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare
	-25.6	-25.7	-22.7	-24.3	-21.0	-28.5	-30.8	-21.4	-15.3
22	ForAid	ForAid	ForAid	ForAid	ForAid	ForAid	ForAid	ForAid	ForAid
	-59.9	-57.2	-53.8	-52.3	-55.1	-60.4	-61.7	-51.5	-36.2

Table 4. Rank of Net Spending Priorities,	2002-2018
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	Overall Spending	Domestic Social Spending
1973	+14.1	+24.2
1974	+16.1	+29.2
1975	+13.6	+25.0
1976	+10.7	+16.1
1977	+10.9	+13.9
1978	+11.3	+13.3
1980	+17.4	+14.7
1982	+13.8	+20.9
1983	+16.3	+24.1
1984	+19.1	+31.0
1985	+15.5	+23.2
1986	+17.9	+29.4
1987	+20.3	+29.4
1988	+24.4	+35.2
1989	+24.5	+35.2
1990	+24.3	+39.9
1991	+22.9	+36.1
1993	+17.0	+32.0
1994	+16.8	+26.4
1996	+16.9	+27.8
1998	+19.5	+31.1
2000	+23.4	+35.5
2002	+21.5	+32.7
2004	+23.1	+34.9
2006	+23.7	+35.6
2008	+23.0	+36.7
2010	+17.2	+25.9
2012	+17.9	+26.3
2014	+19.0	+24.7
2016	+27.6	+34.9
2018	+33.1	+42.9

# Table 5. Trends in Overall and Domestic Welfare Spending, 1973-2018

Overall Spending = Average Net Spending for all 11 items

Domestic Welfare Spending = Average Net Spending for 5 items (Improving and Protecting the Nation's Health/Health, Solving the Problems of the Big Cities, Improving the Nation's Education System/Education, Improving the Condition of Blacks, Welfare)

## **Technical Appendix**

## **General Social Surveys (GSSs)**

The GSSs are conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago. Principal funding comes from the National Science Foundation. Tom W. Smith, Michael Davern, Jeremy Freese, and Michael Hout are the principal investigators. The GSS are full-probability samples of adults living in households in the United States. Interviews are conducted in-person. Sample size across 1973-2016 in the standard cross-sections totals 60,146 respondents (1973=1504, 1974=1484, 1975=1490, 1976=1499, 1977=1530, 1978=1532, 1980=1468, 1982=1506, 1983=1599, 1984=1473, 1985=1534, 1986=1470, 1987=1466, 1988=1481, 1989=1537, 1990=1372, 1991=1517, 1993=1606, 1994=2992, 1996=2904, 1998=2832, 2000=2817; 2002=2765; 2004=2812; 2006=2992; 2008=2023; 2010=2044; 2012=1974; 2014=2538; 2016=2867; 2018=2348). Full technical details on the sample, response rates, and other methodological matters are presented in Tom W. Smith, Michael Davern, Jeremy Freese, and Stephen L. Morgan, <u>General Social Surveys, 1972-2018: Cumulative Codebook</u>. Chicago: NORC, 2019. The data are on-line at http://gss.norc.org/.

## **National Spending Priority Items**

Items covering 11 areas have been asked in every GSS since 1973 (Space Exploration Program, Improving and Protecting the Environment, Improving and Protecting the Nation's Health, Solving the Problems of the Big Cities, Halting the Rising Crime Rate, Dealing with Drug Addiction, Improving the Nation's Education System, Improving the Condition of Blacks, The Military, Armaments, and Defense, Foreign Aid, Welfare). Since 1984 an additional four areas have been included (Highways and Roads, Social Security, Mass Transportation, Parks and Recreation). In 2000 a 16th area (Assistance for Childcare) was added, in 2002 a 17th area (Supporting Scientific Research), and in 2010 an 18th area (Developing Alternative Energy Sources).

Also since 1984, 11 alternative wordings for the original spending items have been asked on a random sub-sample (Space Exploration, The Environment, Health, Assistance to Big Cities, Law Enforcement, Drug Rehabilitation, Education, Assistance to Blacks, National Defense, Assistance to Other Countries, Assistance to the Poor). When the alternative wordings produced distributions that did not significantly differ from the original wordings, they have been combined together (Space Exploration Program/Space Exploration, Improving and Protecting the Environment/The Environment, Improving and Protecting the Nation's Health/Health, Improving the Nation's Education System/Education, The Military, Armaments,

and Defense/National Defense, Foreign Aid/Assistance to Other Countries). For the remaining five original spending areas the standard and alternative results are presented separately.

Differences between the standard and alternative wordings are examined in Tom W. Smith, "A Preliminary Analysis of Methodological Experiments in the 1984 GSS," GSS Methodological Report No. 30. Chicago: NORC, 1984; Tom W. Smith, "That Which We Call Welfare by Any Other Name Would Smell Sweeter: An Analysis of the Impact of Question Wording on Response Patterns," <u>Public Opinion Quarterly</u>, 51 (Spring, 1987), 75-83; Kenneth A. Rasinski, "The Effect of Question Wording on Public Support for Government Spending," GSS Methodological Report No. 54. Chicago: NORC, 1988; Tom W. Smith, "Wording Effects on National Spending Priority Items Across Time, 1973-2004," GSS Methodological Report No. 107. Chicago: NORC, 2006; and "Tracking Question Wording Experiments across Time in the General Social Survey, 1984-2014," in <u>Experimental Methods in Survey Research:</u> <u>Techniques that Combine Random Sampling with Random Assignment</u>, edited by Paul Lavrakas and Michael W. Traugott. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 2019.