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Obama Leaves Office on High Note, But Public Has Mixed Views of Accomplishments

72% have favorable opinion of Michelle Obama

FOR MEDIA OR OTHER INQUIRIES:

Carroll Doherty, Director of Political Research Jocelyn Kiley, Associate Director, Research Bridget Johnson, Communications Associate

202.419.4372

www.pewresearch.org

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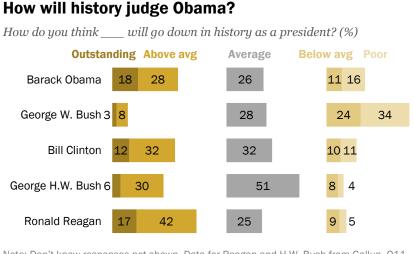
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Obama Leaves Office on High Note, But Public Has Mixed Views of Accomplishments

72% have favorable opinion of Michelle Obama

With just a few weeks left in Barack Obama's presidency, Americans' early judgments of his place in history are more positive than negative. Obama is poised to leave office on a high note: Current assessments of both the president and the first lady are among the most favorable since they arrived in the White House.

At the same time, many express skepticism about whether Obama has been able to make progress on the major problems facing the nation, and whether his accomplishments will outweigh his failures. Democrats and Republicans have distinctly different views on Obama's legacy, and these partisan divides are greater today than they have been for other recent presidents.



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Data for Reagan and H.W. Bush from Gallup. Q11. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

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And when asked in an open-ended question what Obama will be most remembered for, more cite the Affordable Care Act – which faces an uncertain future in the Republican-controlled Congress – than anything else.

The latest national survey by Pew Research Center, conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5 among 1,502 adults, finds that 45% expect Obama to be remembered as an above average or outstanding president, while 26% expect he will be viewed as average, and about as many (27%) say he'll be seen as a below average or poor president.

Obama fares well when compared with past presidents. Expectations for Obama's historical record are far more positive than those of George W. Bush at the end of his term (when 57% predicted

that he would be remembered as a below average or poor president), and are roughly on par with views of Bill Clinton when he left office.

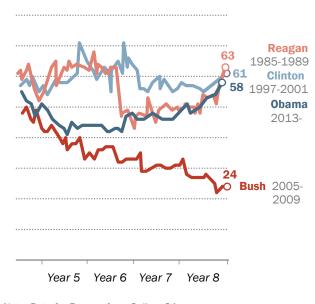
And while more expect Obama to be seen as below average than said this of George H.W. Bush in 1993, more also expect him to be viewed as above average. Among recent presidents, only Ronald Reagan was predicted to fare better in the eyes of history, with a clear majority (59%) saying they thought Reagan would be remembered as above average or outstanding.

Obama is set to leave the White House with a job approval rating only slightly below Reagan's and Clinton's. Currently, 58% approve of his job performance, while 37% disapprove. Obama's job ratings have steadily improved over the last several months, and are the highest they have been since a short-lived bump in approval immediately following his re-election.

However, views of Obama's job performance – as well as opinions of his historical legacy – are deeply divided along partisan lines.

Obama prepares to leave office with job rating close to Reagan's, Clinton's

Second-term presidential job approval (% who approve of each)



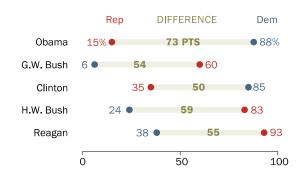
Note: Data for Reagan from Gallup. Q1. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

Nearly nine-in-ten Democrats (88%) approve of Obama job's performance, compared with just 15% of Republicans. That is a wider partisan gap than in George W. Bush's job approval rating eight years ago (60% of Republicans approved, just 6% of Democrats) or Clinton's in January 2001 (85% of Democrats approved, as did 35% of Republicans).

Obama's <u>average job rating over the course of his</u> <u>presidency</u> is more politically polarized than any president dating to Dwight Eisenhower.

Wider partisan gap in Obama's end-of-term job approval than for Bush or Clinton

% who approve of each president



Note: Data for Reagan and H.W. Bush from Gallup. Q1. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

Though Obama's presidency is viewed positively in general terms, the public is divided over whether his administration's accomplishments will outweigh its failures: Just 49% say they will, while about as many (44%) expect that the failures will outweigh the accomplishments.

Views of Obama's accomplishments in office fall between those of George W. Bush and Clinton. By more than two-to-one, the public thought Bush's failures would outweigh his accomplishments (64% vs. 24%), while the inverse was true for Clinton (27% vs. 60%).

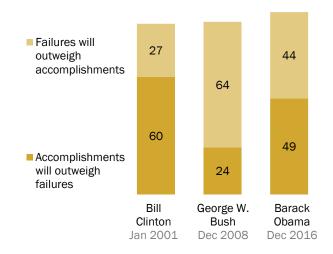
There is a far wider partisan gap in these views than for either Clinton or Bush. Today, fully 78% of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents expect the Obama administration's accomplishments to outweigh its failures in the long run – nearly identical to the share of Democrats who said this of Clinton in early 2001. But just 13% of Republicans now expect Obama's accomplishments to outweigh his failures; 45% Republicans said this about Clinton nearly 16 years ago.

In assessing Obama's problem-solving efforts, 35% say he has made progress toward solving major problems facing the country, while nearly as many (32%) he has tried but failed to solve these problems; 9% say he has not addressed these problems, while 21% say he has made them worse.

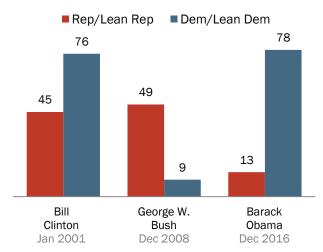
Again, these evaluations are far more positive than views of Bush's record of solving problems – but far less positive than ratings of Clinton's. Just 13% of Americans said Bush made progress in dealing with national problems (22 percentage points lower than

Mixed views of Obama administration accomplishments and failures

% who say, in the long run, ____ administration's



% who say administration's accomplishments will outweigh failures



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q13. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

Obama's rating today), while about half (52%) said Clinton made progress (17 points higher than Obama).

In the public's view, Obama will be remembered more for the Affordable Care Act than other aspects of his presidency -- including his election as the nation's first black president. When asked

what Obama will be *most* remembered for, 35% volunteer the 2010 health care law (or mention health care more generally) while 17% say it will be Obama's election as the first black president.

Notably, mentions of Obama's domestic policies, including health care and the economy, account for nearly half (49%) of all responses. By comparison, only 9% point to foreign policy, including just 2% who specifically mention the killing of Osama bin Laden and just 1% who cite U.S. military action against ISIS.

ACA viewed as major aspect of Obama's legacy

What do you think Obama will be most remembered for after he has left office?

	Total
	%
Health care	35
First black president	17
Positive assessments (general)	13
Foreign policy	9
Economy	7
Negative assessments (general)	6

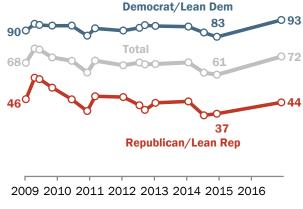
Notes: Open-ended question. Responses with more than 5% of total shown here. See topline for all mentions and trend. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5,

While Obama's personal favorability ratings are even higher than his job approval – 64% have a favorable impression of the president – the public has an even more positive opinion of Michelle Obama: 72% view the first lady favorably, while just 22% view her unfavorably.

Still, she remains far less positively viewed among Republicans and Republican leaners (44% favorable) than Democrats and Democratic leaners (93% favorable). In particular, conservative Republicans are more likely to have an unfavorable view of the first lady than a favorable one (52% vs. 33%).

Michelle Obama remains popular, but partisan divide persists

% who have a favorable opinion of Michelle Obama



Note: Q50b

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

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While first ladies are generally viewed more positively by those of the same party, Republican views of Michelle Obama are far less favorable than Democratic views of Laura Bush were eight years ago (when 56% of Democrats and Democratic leaners had a favorable view of her).

Wide partisan, racial gaps over how history will judge Obama's presidency

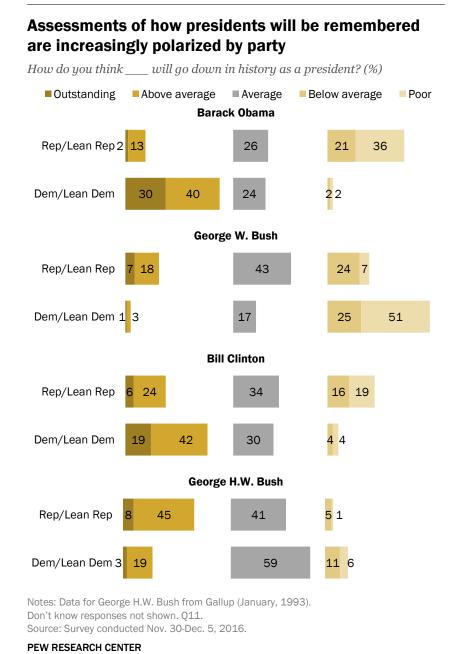
There is a substantial partisan gap in views of how Obama will go down in history. Fully 71% of Democrats and Democratic leaners say he will be remembered as an outstanding (30%) or above average (40%) president, while just 4% predict history will consider him below average or poor (24% expect him to be viewed

as average).

By contrast, nearly six-in-ten (57%) Republicans and Republican leaners say he will be remembered as below average (21%) or poor (36%), while just 15% say he'll go down in history as outstanding or above average (26% say he'll be considered average).

Expectations for George W. Bush's legacy were more negative overall, but the partisan divide was somewhat less pronounced. For example, 77% of Democrats thought he would be remembered as below average or poor, compared with 30% of Republicans.

And while the public's overall predictions about Bill Clinton in January 2001 are roughly on par with Obama's today, Republicans then were more likely to say Clinton would be outstanding or average (29%)



than to say this of Obama today (15%), while Democrats were slightly less likely to say this about Clinton then (60%) than they are to say this about Obama now (71%).

Views of Obama's place in history also are split along racial lines. Blacks are twice as likely as whites to say history will judge Obama as above average or outstanding: Fully 76% of blacks and just 38% of whites say this.

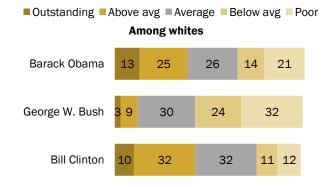
This 38-percentage point racial gap in assessments of Obama is larger than it was for other recent presidents. Though blacks were more likely than whites to say Clinton would be remembered as outstanding or above average, the gap was just 19 percentage points (61% vs. 42%).

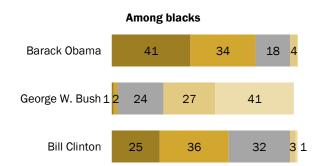
And in 2008, 56% of whites and 67% of blacks said Bush would be remembered as below average or poor.

While the balance of opinion among black and white Democrats is similar as to whether history will judge Obama as above average or outstanding (79% and 71%, respectively), black Democrats are more likely than white Democrats to say he will go down as an outstanding president (46 vs. 27%).

Racial divide in views of how Obama will go down in history

How do you think ____ will go down in history as a president? (%)





Notes: Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic. Don't know responses not shown. Q11. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

Did Obama make progress solving the country's major problems?

The public is divided on how much progress has been made toward solving the major problems facing the country over the course of Obama's presidency. Roughly a third (35%) say Obama has

made progress toward solving major problems, while a similar share (32%) says he tried but failed. About two-in-ten (21%) believe he has made things worse; just 9% say he has not addressed the major problems facing the country.

Public perceptions of Obama's success addressing the country's major problems are more positive than views of Bush in 2008, but more negative than assessments of Clinton in his last weeks in office. Only 13% said Bush made progress on solving major problems, while almost four-in-ten (37%) said his efforts made things worse. Clinton was seen by a greater share (52%) as having made progress solving the country's major problems.

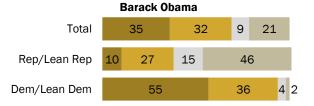
Among Democrats and leaners, 55% say
Obama has made progress on solving major
national issues and 36% say he tried but failed
to do so. In early 2001, a greater share of
Democrats said Clinton's efforts had been
successful: 70% said he had made progress
solving problems, while 20% said he had tried
but failed to do so.

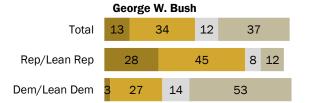
Just one-in-ten Republicans today say Obama made progress solving the country's problems,

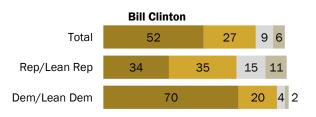
Partisans divided on how much progress Obama made on solving major problems

Has (Obama/Bush/Clinton) ____ toward solving major problems facing the country (%)









Notes: Don't know responses not shown. Q14. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

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while another 27% say he tried but failed. Nearly half of Republicans (46%) say Obama made these problems worse, while 15% believe he did not address major national problems. Republican evaluations of Clinton's efforts were more positive at the close of his presidency: 34% said he had made progress on major issues, while about as many said he had tried but failed (35%). Only 11% of Republicans said Clinton had made things worse.

Assessments of Obama's efforts to solve major problems also divide along racial, age and educational lines. Blacks (60%) are much more likely than whites (31%) or Hispanics (38%) to say

Obama has made progress on the problems facing the nation. Though roughly even shares of whites and Hispanics say Obama has made progress on these issues, Hispanics are much more likely than whites to say Obama tried, but failed to make progress (45% vs. 29%), while whites are more likely than Hispanics to say he made these problems worse (26% vs. 8%).

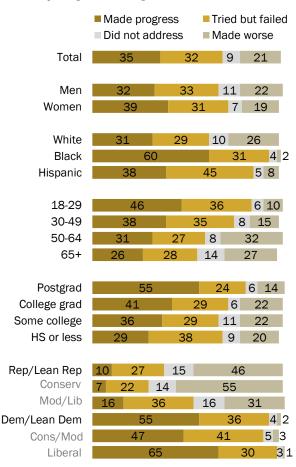
Younger adults and those with more education take a more positive view of Obama's efforts to solve major problems than do older adults and those with less education.

There also are some differences in opinion by ideology. Among Republicans, moderates and liberals are less likely than conservatives to say he made major problems worse (31% vs. 55%, respectively) and more likely to say he tried but failed. Still, few Republicans, regardless of ideology, say he made progress on addressing problems in the country today.

While few Democrats say he has not addressed major issues or made them worse, liberals are more likely than moderates and conservatives to say he made progress on these issues.

Blacks, postgrads say Obama made progress on solving major problems

Has President Obama _____ toward solving major problems facing the country (%)



Notes: Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Don't know responses not shown. Q14. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

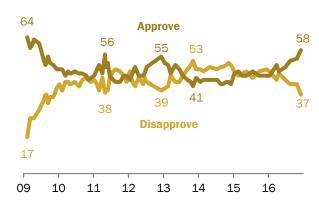
Obama's approval rating

As Obama nears the end of his presidency, his overall approval rating has steadily risen over the last year. Today, 58% say they approve of how he's handling his job, while 37% disapprove. More now approve of Obama's job performance than at any point since shortly after he was re-elected in 2012.

In January, Obama's job rating was divided: 46% approved of his job performance, while 48% disapproved. Today, the share approving surpasses the share disapproving by 12 percentage points.

Obama's job rating continues to improve

% who ____ of the way Obama is handling his job



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q1. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

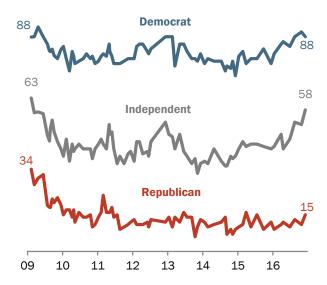
Though both Democratic and Republican views of Obama are little changed in recent months, the share of independents who approve of Obama's job performance is far higher than it was earlier in the year.

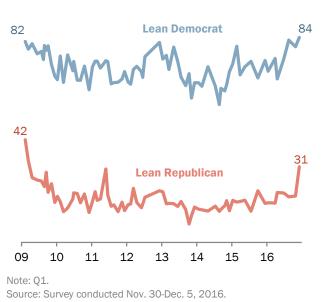
Today, nearly nine-in-ten Democrats (88%) say they approve of the job Obama is doing as president, while just 15% of Republicans say the same. A 58% majority of independents say they approve of the way Obama is handling his job, up six points from October and 16 points from a year ago.

Among Republican-leaning independents, 31% now approve of Obama's job performance, up from just 19% in late October. And while wide majorities of Democratic leaners have expressed approval of Obama throughout his presidency, that share has grown to 84% today, up from 80% in October and just 67% in April. This is among the highest share of Democratic leaners who have approved of Obama over the course of his presidency.

As the end of Obama's term nears, independents grow more approving

% who approve of the way Obama is handling his job





Evaluations of Obama among Republicans and Democrats reflect a growing partisan divide in approval ratings of the president. Now at its widest since the 1950s, the partisan gap in approval is driven by increasingly negative views of the president among the opposition party.

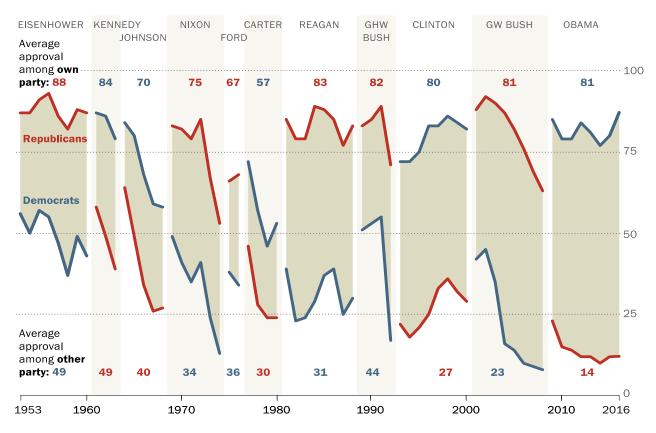
Nearing the end of his two terms, Obama's average approval stands at 14% among Republicans, compared with 81% among Democrats.

Average ratings of George W. Bush were only slightly less polarized: While 81% of Republicans approved of Bush on average throughout his presidency, just 23% of Democrats expressed a favorable opinion.

By contrast, the partisan divide in approval ratings of prior presidents was less pronounced.

Polarization and presidential approval: Supporters stay loyal, opposition intensifies

% approving of president's job performance, by party



Notes: Data from Eisenhower through George H.W. Bush from Gallup. Because some earlier data did not include partisan leaning, Republicans and Democrats in this graphic do not include leaners. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

The generation gap in views of Obama's performance as president is now wider today than it has been at any point over the course of his two terms.

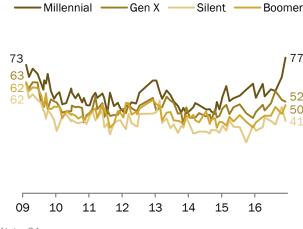
About three-quarters of Millennials (77%) now approve of Obama's job performance, up from 66% in October and 58% in August.

By contrast, 53% of Generation Xers, 49% of Baby Boomers and just 41% of those in the Silent Generation approve of his job performance – and these ratings are little changed in recent months.

Millennials' approval ratings of Obama are now higher than they have been since his first few months in office.

Obama's approval rating soars among Millennials in his final weeks in office

% who approve of the way Obama is handling his job



Note: Q1.

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

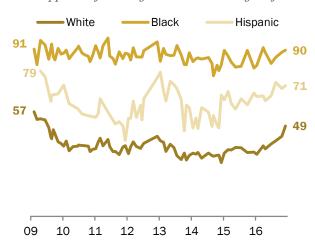
Throughout Obama's two terms, an overwhelming majority of blacks have expressed approval of his job performance: Today, 90% say they approve, while just 6% say they disapprove.

Obama's approval ratings among Hispanics have shifted over his eight-year term. With just a few weeks left in office, 71% now approve of his job performance. This is slightly lower than it was in early 2013, but represents a significant improvement in his ratings from late 2013 and throughout 2014, when only about half of Hispanics approved of his job performance.

Whites have consistently expressed lower approval of Obama than blacks and Hispanics, but the share saying they approve also

From start to finish, wide racial divides in Obama's approval ratings

% who approve of the way Obama is handling his job



Note: Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. 01.

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

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increased this year. About half (49%) of whites now say they approve of Obama, up from just 35% last December.

While most white Democrats approve of the job Obama is doing as president (89% of white Democrats and Democratic leaners), a majority of white Republicans say they disapprove (79%).

Michelle Obama remains a popular, but partisan, figure

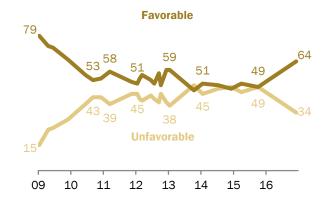
Obama's personal favorability continues to be somewhat higher than his job approval rating, but has followed a similar overall trajectory: Obama is now viewed more favorably than at any point since his first year in office.

Today, 64% say they have a favorable view of Obama, including 34% who say they have a *very* favorable view. In October last year, only about half (49%) had a favorable view of Obama, including only about two-in-ten (22%) who viewed him very favorably.

Though the president's favorability ratings have improved over the last year, Michelle Obama remains more popular than her husband: Nearly three-quarters of the public (72%) also have a very (46%) or mostly (25%) favorable opinion of the first lady, compared with 22% who view her unfavorably. Views of Michelle Obama have changed only modestly over the course of eight years, though the share who see her favorably is up 11 points from last year.

Most view Barack and Michelle Obama favorably

% who have a ____ view of Barack Obama



% who have a ____ view of Michelle Obama

Favorable 61 72 Unfavorable 31 15 09 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q50a & Q50b. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5. 2016.

While ratings of Michelle Obama are positive across all gender, race, age and educational groups,

she is viewed more favorably among younger Americans, women, non-whites and those with higher levels of education.

Nearly eight-in-ten adults under 50 (78%) view Michelle Obama favorably, compared with a somewhat narrower majority (64%) of those 50 and older.

There also is a modest gender gap: While roughly three-quarters of women (76%) give Michelle Obama a positive rating, a slightly smaller majority of men (67%) say the same.

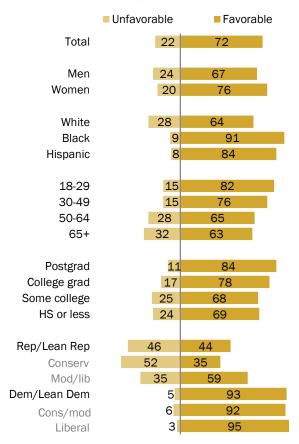
And while roughly nine-in-ten blacks (91%) and 84% of Hispanics have a favorable impression of the first lady, whites (64%) are less likely to say this.

Similarly, 80% of those with a college degree or more education give her a positive rating, compared with 68% of those who have some college experience of less education.

The partisan gap in views of Michelle Obama is stark. Wide majorities of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents rate Michelle Obama favorably (93%), including comparable shares of liberal Democrats (95%) and conservative and moderate Democrats (92%).

Modest gender differences in views of Michelle Obama

% who have a ____ view of Michelle Obama



Notes: Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Don't know responses not shown. Q50b. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

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By contrast, Republicans and Republican leaners are divided in their opinions: 44% of Republicans think of her favorably, while 46% have an unfavorable opinion. Views of the first lady are particularly negative among conservative Republicans: Just 35% view her favorably, while 52% say they have an unfavorable opinion of Michelle Obama – including 19% who view her very

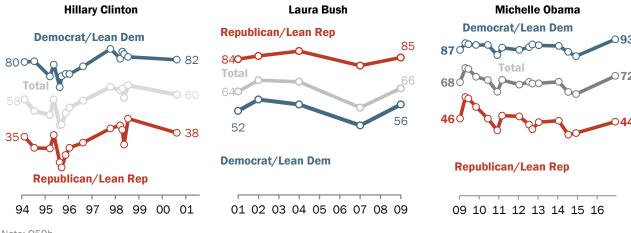
unfavorably. Among moderate and liberal Republicans more view Michelle Obama favorably than unfavorably (59% vs. 35%).

Views of Michelle Obama are far more polarized across the course of her eight years as first lady than were views of Laura Bush when George W. Bush was in office. By the end of Bush's term, a 56% majority of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents rated Laura Bush positively, as did 85% of Republicans and leaners.

The partisan gap in views of Michelle Obama is on par with that of Hillary Clinton throughout her time as first lady. In January 2001, a few weeks before Bill Clinton left office (and just after Hillary Clinton was sworn in as a Democratic senator), 82% of Democrats and 38% of Republicans viewed her favorably.

How Democrats and Republicans have viewed recent first ladies

% who have a favorable view of...



Note: Q50b.

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

Acknowledgements

This report is a collaborative effort based on the input and analysis of the following individuals:

Research team

Carroll Doherty, *Director*, *Political Research*Jocelyn Kiley, *Associate Director*, *Political Research*Alec Tyson, *Senior Researcher*Bradley Jones, *Research Associate*Baxter Oliphant, *Research Associate*Rob Suls, *Research Associate*Hannah Fingerhut, *Research Assistant*Shiva Maniam, *Research Assistant*Samantha Smith, *Research Assistant*

Communications and editorial

Bridget Johnson, Communications Associate

Graphic design and web publishing

Peter Bell, Information Graphics Designer

Methodology

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted November 30-December 5, 2016 among a national sample of 1,502 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia (375 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 1,127 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 664 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted under the direction of Abt SRBI. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/u-s-survey-research/

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and nativity and region to parameters from the 2014 Census Bureau's American Community Survey and population density to parameters from the Decennial Census. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status (landline only, cell phone only, or both landline and cell phone), based on extrapolations from the 2015 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size among respondents with a landline phone. The margins of error reported and statistical tests of significance are adjusted to account for the survey's design effect, a measure of how much efficiency is lost from the weighting procedures.

The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

Survey conducted November 30-December 5, 2016								
Group Total sample	Unweighted sample size 1,502	Plus or minus 2.9 percentage points						
Form 1 Form 2	750 752	4.1 percentage points4.1 percentage points						
Republican Democrat Independent	378 501 517	5.7 percentage points5.0 percentage points4.9 percentage points						
Republican/Lean Rep Democrat/Lean Dem	597 743	4.6 percentage points4.1 percentage points						

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Pew Research Center undertakes all polling activity, including calls to mobile telephone numbers, in compliance with the Telephone Consumer Protection Act and other applicable laws.

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PEW RESEARCH CENTER DECEMBER 2016 POLITICAL SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE NOVEMBER 30-DECEMBER 5, 2016 N=1,502

RANDOMIZE Q.1 AND Q.2 ASK ALL:

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]

	Approve	Dis- approve	(VOL.) DK/Ref		Approve	Dis- approve	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	58	37	5	Feb 8-12, 2012	47	43	10
Oct 20-25, 2016	54	42	5	Jan 11-16, 2012	44	48	8
Aug 9-16, 2016	53	42	5	Dec 7-11, 2011	46	43	11
Jun 15-26, 2016	50	44	7	Nov 9-14, 2011	46	46	8
Apr 12-19, 2016	48	47	5	Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	43	48	9
Mar 17-26, 2016	51	44	6	Aug 17-21, 2011	43	49	7
Jan 7-14, 2016	46	48	6	Jul 20-24, 2011	44	48	8
Dec 8-13, 2015	46	49	4	Jun 15-19, 2011	46	45	8
Sep 22-27, 2015	46	48	5	May 25-30, 2011	52	39	10
Jul 14-20, 2015	48	45	7	May 5-8, 2011	50	39	11
May 12-18, 2015	46	48	6	May 2, 2011 (WP)	56	38	6
Mar 25-29, 2015	46	47	7	Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	47	45	8
Feb 18-22, 2015	48	46	5	Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	51	39	10
Jan 7-11, 2015	47	48	5	Feb 2-7, 2011	49	42	9
Dec 3-7, 2014 (U)	42	51	6	Jan 5-9, 2011	46	44	10
Nov 6-9, 2014	43	52	5	Dec 1-5, 2010	45	43	13
Oct 15-20, 2014	43	51	6	Nov 4-7, 2010	44	44	12
Sep 2-9, 2014	42	50	8	Oct 13-18, 2010	46	45	9
Aug 20-24, 2014 (U)	42	50	8	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	47	44	9
Jul 8-14, 2014	44	49	6	Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	47	41	12
Apr 23-27, 2014 (U)	44	50	7	Jun 8-28, 2010	48	41	11
Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014	44	49	7	Jun 16-20, 2010	48	43	9
Feb 14-23, 2014	44	48	8	May 6-9, 2010	47	42	11
Jan 15-19, 2014 (∪)	43	49	8	Apr 21-26, 2010	47	42	11
Dec 3-8, 2013 (U)	45	49	6	Apr 8-11, 2010	48	43	9
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	41	53	6	Mar 10-14, 2010	46	43	12
Oct 9-13, 2013	43	51	6	Feb 3-9, 2010	49	39	12
Sep 4-8, 2013 (U)	44	49	8	Jan 6-10, 2010	49	42	10
Jul 17-21, 2013	46	46	7	Dec 9-13, 2009	49	40	11
Jun 12-16, 2013	49	43	7	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	51	36	13
May 1-5, 2013	51	43	6	Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	52	36	12
Mar 13-17, 2013	47	46	8	Sep 10-15, 2009	55	33	13
Feb 13-18, 2013 (U)	51	41	7	Aug 20-27, 2009	52	37	12
Jan 9-13, 2013	52	40	7	Aug 11-17, 2009	51	37	11
Dec 5-9, 2012	55	39	6	Jul 22-26, 2009	54	34	12
Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012	50	43	7	Jun 10-14, 2009	61	30	9
Jun 7-17, 2012	47	45	8	Apr 14-21, 2009	63	26	11
May 9-Jun 3, 2012	46	42	11	Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009	61	26	13
Apr 4-15, 2012	46	45	9	Mar 9-12, 2009	59	26	15
Mar 7-11, 2012	50	41	9	Feb 4-8, 2009	64	17	19

See past presidents' approval trends: George W. Bush, Bill Clinton

QUESTION 2 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

NO QUESTIONS 3 THROUGH 10

ASK ALL:

Q.11 How do you think President Barack Obama will go down in history... as an outstanding president, above average, average, below average, or poor?

					Gallup	
		Bush	Clinton	Clinton	Bush	Reagan
Nov 30-Dec 5		December	January	February	January	January
<u>2016</u>		<u>2008</u>	2001	<u>1999</u>	<u>1993</u>	1989
18	Outstanding	3	12	11	6	17
28	Above average	8	32	29	30	42
26	Average	28	32	27	51	25
11	Below average	24	10	13	8	9
16	Poor	34	11	18	4	5
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)) 3	3	2	1	2

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=752]:

Q.12F2 Thinking ahead, what do you think Barack Obama will be most remembered for after he has left office? [OPEN END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES; PROBE FOR CLARITY BUT NOT FOR ADDITIONAL RESPONSES]

Nov 30-Dec 5	
<u>2016</u> 49	DOMESTIC POLICY (NET)
35	ACA/Obamacare/health care
7	Economy/taxes/budget/trade
2	Gay marriage/women's rights/civil rights
1	Immigration
1	Race/racial issues
1	Military/veterans
5	Other domestic policy
17	FIRST BLACK PRESIDENT
13	POSITIVE ASSESSMENTS OF PRESIDENT OBAMA (NET)
10	Positive attributes (compassionate, intelligent, humble, dignity etc.)
3	Positive views of how he ran the country
1	Other positive assessments
9	FOREIGN POLICY (NET)
1	Cuba
1	Iran/Iran deal
1	ISIS/terrorism/national security
2	Killing Osama bin Laden
5	Other foreign policy
6	NEGATIVE ASSESSMENTS OF PRESIDENT OBAMA (NET)
4	Ran country poorly
1	Polarization/divisiveness
1	Other negative assessments
*	OTHER
1	NOTHING
8	DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q.12 TRENDS FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED...

Thinking ahead, what do you think George W. Bush will be most remembered for after he has left office?

	December
	<u>2008</u>
WAR (NET)	51
War in Iraq	29
War/Wars (general mentions)	20
War in Afghanistan/Afghanistan	2
War on Terror/Dealing with terrorists	1
NEGATIVE ASSESSMENTS OF PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH (NET)	17
Stupid/Incompetent/Idiot	2
Ruining the country/Destroying America	2
Worst president	2
Bad speaker/vocabulary	1
Lying to the American people	1
Will be remembered for nothing	1
Other negative assessments	8
SEPTEMBER 11/FOREIGN POLICY (NET)	13
September 11/Handling of September 11 terrorist attacks	9
Keeping the country safe after September 11	3
Other foreign policy	1
ECONOMIC ISSUES (NET)	12
The economy (general mentions)	7
Current economic crisis/mortgage crisis and related bailout/debts	4
Recession	3
Gas prices	1
POSITIVE ASSESSMENTS OF PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH (NET)	4
Hurricane Katrina/Handling of Hurricane Katrina	1
Other mentions with unclear/neutral tone	4
Don't know/Refused	11

Q.12 TRENDS FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED...

Thinking ahead, what do you think Bill Clinton will be most remembered for after he has left office?

	January	March
	<u>2001</u>	<u> 1998</u>
SCANDALS (NET)	74	57
Lewinsky/Impeachment	43	6
Other Personal/Sex Scandals	18	38
Scandals	14	18
Lack of integrity/morals	1	1
Corrupting/disgracing/cheapening the White House	*	1
Whitewater	*	1
ECONOMY/BUDGET DEFICIT (NET)	14	14
Economy (Sub-Net)	13	11
The economy/Good management of the economy	12	9
Decrease in unemployment	1	3
Stock market	*	*
Inflation	*	*
Balancing the budget/Handling the deficit/Decrease in national debt (Sub-Net	t) 1	5
FOREIGN POLICY (NET)	6	4
Middle East peace process	2	
Efforts for peace	2	
Improvements in foreign policy/world affairs	1	1
Iraq situation/No loss of life/Ensuring peace	*	3
OTHER POSITIVE COMMENTS (NET)	5	8
Good job he has done/Accomplishments	2	6
Good/Great president	2	
His concern for the common man/working people/poor/less fortunate	1	2
Good communicator	*	
OTHER NEGATIVE COMMENTS (NET)	3	3
Lying/Lack of honesty/Ability to spin the truth	2	3
Negative personal comment	1	
DOMESTIC POLICY (NET)	1	5
Don't Know/Can't think of anything	3	13

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=750]:

Q.13F1 In the long run, do you think the accomplishments of the Obama Administration will outweigh its failures, or will the failures outweigh the accomplishments?

	Accomplishments will outweigh failures	Failures will outweigh accomplishments	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Obama			
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	49	44	8
Jan 7-14, 2016	39	51	10
Jan 7-11, 2015	44	50	7
Jan 15-19, 2014	39	47	14
Jan 9-13, 2013	46	39	15
Jan 11-16, 2012	43	44	12
Bush			
December, 2008	24	64	12
January, 2008	28	59	13
January, 2007	31	53	16
January, 2004	49	36	15
Clinton			
January, 2001	60	27	13
January, 2000	51	37	12
August, 1999	56	38	6
January, 1999	50	34	16
Early September, 1998	52	35	13
Reagan			
Newsweek: May 1987	46	41	13
<i>Newsweek</i> Feb 1987	52	38	10

ASK ALL:

Q.14 Thinking about the major problems facing the country, would you say President Obama has made progress toward solving these problems, tried but failed to solve these problems, not addressed these problems, or made these problems even worse?

		Bush	Clinton	Clinton Early-	Clinton
Nov 30-Dec 5		December	January	September	October
<u> 2016</u>		<u>2008</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u> 1998</u>	<u> 1995</u>
35	Made progress	13	52	45	24
32	Tried but failed	34	27	34	50
9	Not addressed	12	9	9	11
21	Made worse	37	6	9	12
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5	6	3	3

NO QUESTIONS 15-26, 28-34, 36-49

QUESTIONS 27, 35 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ASK ALL:

Q.50 Is your overall opinion of [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? How about [NEXT NAME]? [IF NECESSARY: Just in general, is your overall opinion of [NAME] very favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?] [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]

		 <u>Total</u>	Favoral <u>Very</u>	ole <u>Mostly</u>	U <u>Total</u>	nfavoral <u>Very</u>	ble <u>Mostly</u>	(VOL.) Never (heard of	(VOL.) Can't rate/ <u>Ref</u>
a.	Barack Obama								
	Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	64	34	30	34	18	17	0	2
	Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	49	22	27	49	33	16	*	2
	Mar 25-29, 2015	51	18	33	46	27	19	*	3
	Dec 3-7, 2014	48	19	29	49	28	20	0	3
	Jul 8-14, 2014	50	19	32	48	30	18	0	2
	Jan 15-19, 2014	51	19	32	45	24	22	*	4
	Oct 9-13, 2013	47	17	31	50	32	18	*	3
	Jan 9-13, 2013	59	28	31	38	20	18	*	3 2
	Dec 5-9, 2012	59	26	33	40	24	16	*	2
	Oct 4-7, 2012	50	24	26	45	26	19	*	5
	Sep 12-16, 2012	57	27	30	40	23	17	*	4
	Jul 16-26, 2012	51	24	26	42	27	15	0	8
	Jun 7-17, 2012	53	20	33	44	22	21	0	4
	Mar 7-11, 2012	56	24	32	41	25	16	*	3 5 4
	Feb 8-12, 2012	54	22	32	42	26	16	*	5
	Jan 11-16, 2012	51	23	28	45	24	21	0	4
	Nov 9-14, 2011	52	21	31	45	24	21	*	3 3
	Mar 8-14, 2011	58	22	36	39	20	19	*	3
	Dec 2-5, 2010	54	26	29	43	25	18	*	2
	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	53	21	32	43	23	20	*	5
	Jun 10-13, 2010	56	27	30	39	20	19	0	4
	Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009	65	33	32	30	16	14	*	5
	Jun 10-14, 2009	72	<i>37</i>	35	25	11	14	*	3
	Apr 14-21, 2009	73	38	35	24	10	14	*	3
	Jan 7-11, 2009	79	40	39	15	4	11	0	6
	Mid-October, 2008	66	33	33	28	13	15	*	6
	Late September, 2008	65	33	32	30	11	19	*	5
	Mid-September, 2008	62	28	34	34	15	19	*	4
	Late May, 2008	51	23	28	40	21	19	*	9
	April, 2008	52	21	31	42	21	21	*	6
	March, 2008	56	21	35	34	18	16	1	9
	Late February, 2008	57	24	33	34	16	18	1	8
	Early February, 2008	58	19	39	30	13	17	2	10
	January, 2008	56	20	36	33	13	20	3	8
	Late December, 2007	54	16	38	30	12	18	5	11
	August, 2007	48	14	34	26	10	16	13	13
b.	Michelle Obama								
	Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	72	46	25	22	9	13	*	6
	Dec 3-7, 2014	61	28	32	31	15	15	*	8
	Jul 8-14, 2014	62	29	33	30	14	16	*	8
	Jan 15-19, 2014	68	29	39	24	11	13	1	7
	Jan 9-13, 2013	67	<i>37</i>	30	22	11	11	1	11
	Sep 12-16, 2012	67	39	28	22	11	11	*	10
	Jun 7-17, 2012	68	33	35	21	11	10	1	10
	Jan 11-16, 2012	66	33	34	21	10	12	*	12

Q.50 CONTINUED...

INOLD								
	FavorableUnfavorable			ble	(VOL.) Never	(VOL.) Can't rate/		
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	heard of	<u>Ref</u>
Mar 8-14, 2011	69	30	39	21	9	12	1	9
Dec 2-5, 2010	62	30	31	27	15	12	1	10
Jun 10-13, 2010	69	31	38	22	9	12	1	9
Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009	71	33	38	16	8	8	1	11
Jun 10-14, 2009	76	36	39	14	5	9	1	9
Apr 14-21, 2009	76	36	40	13	4	9	1	10
Jan 7-11, 2009	68	28	40	15	4	11	2	15
Mid-September, 2008	56	23	33	25	11	14	2	17
Late May, 2008	43	14	29	21	8	13	4	32

QUESTIONS 50c-d, 68-71, 83, 86, 88, 89, 91-99, 101, 105-108, 115, 120, 124-126 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

NO QUESTIONS 51-67, 72-82, 84-85, 87, 90, 100, 102-104, 109-114, 116-119, 121-123

ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent? **ASK IF INDEP/NO PREF/OTHER/DK/REF (PARTY=3,4,5,9):**PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

				(VOL.)	(VOL.)			
				No	Other		Lean	Lean
	Republican	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>preference</u>	party	DK/Ref	Rep	<u>Dem</u>
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016		33	35	5	1	3	15	16
Oct 20-25, 2016	26	33	36	3	*	2	15	17
Aug 23-Sep 2, 2016	5 27	32	33	5	*	3	11	16
Aug 9-16, 2016	27	32	35	2	1	2	13	16
Jun 15-26, 2016	24	33	37	4	1	2	16	16
Apr 12-19, 2016	25	32	37	3	1	2	16	17
Mar 17-26, 2016	25	31	38	3	*	2	15	20
Jan 7-14, 2016	24	30	38	5	1	2	14	17
Dec 8-13, 2015	26	31	37	4	*	2	16	15
Yearly Totals								
2015	23.7	30.4	40.1	3.6	.4	1.8	16.4	17.3
2014	23.2	31.5	39.5	3.1	.7	2.0	16.2	16.5
2013	23.9	32.1	38.3	2.9	.5	2.2	16.0	16.0
2012	24.7	32.6	36.4	3.1	.5	2.7	14.4	16.1
2011	24.3	32.3	37.4	3.1	.4	2.5	15.7	15.6
2010	25.2	32.7	35.2	3.6	.4	2.8	14.5	14.1
2009	23.9	34.4	35.1	3.4	.4	2.8	13.1	15.7
2008	25.7	36.0	31.5	3.6	.3	3.0	10.6	15.2
2007	25.3	32.9	34.1	4.3	.4	2.9	10.9	17.0
2006	27.8	33.1	30.9	4.4	.3	3.4	10.5	15.1
2005	29.3	32.8	30.2	4.5	.3	2.8	10.3	14.9
2004	30.0	33.5	29.5	3.8	.4	3.0	11.7	13.4
2003	30.3	31.5	30.5	4.8	.5	2.5	12.0	12.6
2002	30.4	31.4	29.8	5.0	.7	2.7	12.4	11.6
2001	29.0	33.2	29.5	5.2	.6	2.6	11.9	11.6
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6	11.7	9.4
2001 Pre-Sept 11	27.3	34.4	30.9	5.1	.6	1.7	12.1	13.5
2000	28.0	33.4	29.1	5.5	.5	3.6	11.6	11.7
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9	13.0	14.5
1998	27.9	33.7	31.1	4.6	.4	2.3	11.6	13.1
1997	28.0	33.4	32.0	4.0	.4	2.3	12.2	14.1
1996	28.9	33.9	31.8	3.0	.4	2.0	12.1	14.9
1995	31.6	30.0	33.7	2.4	.6	1.3	15.1	13.5
1994	30.1	31.5	33.5	1.3		3.6	13.7	12.2
1993	27.4	33.6	34.2	4.4	1.5	2.9	11.5	14.9
1992	27.6	33.7	34.7	1.5	0	2.5	12.6	16.5
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	0	1.4	3.0	14.7	10.8
1990	30.9	33.2	29.3	1.2	1.9	3.4	12.4	11.3
1989	33	33	34					
1987	26	35	39					

Key to Pew Research trends noted in the topline:

Pew Research Center/USA Today polls