FOR RELEASE MARCH 31, 2014

# Indians Reflect on Their Country & the World

Troubled by Economic Problems, Corruption, Pakistan and China

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# **Table of Contents**

About the Report	2
About Pew Research Center	3
Chapter 1: Indians in a Sour Mood	8
Look for Change	8
Complaints about a Range of Economic Woes	9
Confidence in Indian Institutions	11
BJP Favored to Deal with Challenges	12
Chapter 2: Indians View the World	14
U.S. Seen Favorably, Pakistan Unfavorably	14
Indians See U.S. Favorably	15
More Restrained View of Obama	18
Skepticism about China	18
Across the Board: Indians Favor U.S. vs. China	20
Uncertainty about Other Global Players	21
Negative Views toward Pakistan	22
India Survey Methods	24
Topline Results	25

# **About the Report**

This report examines current public opinion in India and is based on 2,464 face-to-face interviews with adults 18 and older, between December 7, 2013 and January 12, 2014. The survey covers 15 of the 17 most populous states (Kerala and Assam were excluded) and the Union Territory of Delhi, which together are home to about 91% of the adult Indian population. For more details, see survey methods and topline results.

Chapter 1 explores Indians' domestic troubles, including dissatisfaction with country direction, economic problems, confidence in institutions, and political issues. Chapter 2 discusses Indians' view of the world, including opinion of the United States, Pakistan, and China as well as Indians' own views of their place in the international arena.

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# **About Pew Research Center**

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# Indians Reflect on Their Country & the World

Troubled by Economic Problems, Corruption, Pakistan and China

On the eve of an election for the Lok Sabha, India's national parliament, Indians are disgruntled about the state of their nation, deeply worried about a range of problems facing their society and supportive of new leadership in New Delhi. However, despite a faltering economy, they remain fairly upbeat about their personal finances and hopeful about the economic prospects of both India and the next generation.

Notwithstanding recent high-profile official frictions with the United States, the Indian public has a generally positive view of America. Meanwhile, Indians are divided in their opinions about the world's rising superpower: China. And they remain deeply wary of Pakistan, although they would like to see Indo-Pakistani relations improve.

These are among the main findings of a Pew Research Center survey conducted between December 7, 2013, and January 12, 2014. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with 2,464 randomly selected adults at their place of residence, in states and territories that are home to roughly 91% of the Indian

# Indians Dissatisfied with Country's Direction

<sup>%</sup> \_\_\_\_ with the way things are going in country today



Source: Dec. 2013-Jan.2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. Q1.

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population. The margin of error is  $\pm 3.8$  percentage points. (For more details, see methodology statement at the end of report.)

More than twice as many Indians are dissatisfied as satisfied with the way things are going in the country (70% vs. 29%). And this discontent is shared by those who would like to see the Hindunationalist opposition Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) lead the next Indian government, those who prefer the current governing coalition led by the left-of-center Indian National Congress (Congress) party and those who favor some other party to lead.

Despite a dramatic slowdown in economic growth in the last few years, more than half (57%) still describe the country's economic performance as at least "somewhat good." And nearly two-out-of-three (64%) expect the nation's children to be better off as adults than people are today.

But as Indians head to the polls, there is pervasive, intense concern about a range of current economic troubles. By overwhelming majorities they say inflation, joblessness and inequality are not just problems for the country, but *very* big problems.

In the face of these challenges many Indians voice despair. Nearly two-out-of-three lament the political and parliamentary deadlock that hobbles national problem solving. And by overwhelming margins, Indians say corruption by public and business officials – those whom citizens might look to for solutions– is a significant problem.

Little wonder then that only about four-in-ten Indians retain a lot of confidence in either the national government or the Lok Sabha.

Looking ahead, by more than three-to-one (63% to 19%) Indians prefer the BJP, not Congress, to lead the next government. Such sentiment is in no small part due to the belief by more than two-to-one that the BJP would do a better job dealing with India's myriad problems. *(For more on views of the two parties, as well as Indian political leaders, see this Pew Research Center <u>report</u> from February 26, 2014).* 

Domestic conditions largely shape the public mood in the run-up to the election. But India is the world's second most populous country and the 10th largest economy, making it a major player on the world stage. Indians' views of the international challenges they face and their nation's role in the world are a notable aspect of Indian public opinion.

During the Cold War, the Indian government attempted to position itself between Moscow and Washington by claiming leadership of the non-aligned movement. India again finds itself in a world, and in a region, with two preeminent powers: China and the United States. And the Indian public is fairly clear where its sentiments lie: with America.

By 56% to 15%, Indians express a favorable, rather than unfavorable, view of the United

# U.S. vs. China



Source: Dec. 2013-Jan.2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. Q9a, Q9c, Q11a, Q11b, Q29, Q47, Q59, Q82, Q119 & Q120.

States, with 28% offering no opinion. Meanwhile, Indians are roughly divided in their attitude toward China (35% favorable vs. 41% unfavorable). And, by a margin of 21 percentage points, they are more positively disposed toward the United States then they are toward China.

By nearly four-to-one (47% to 12%) Indians say the United States is today the world's leading economic power rather than China. However, a third of Indians say China has already replaced or will eventually replace the United States as the world's leading superpower, possibly a reflection of Beijing's growing strategic as well as economic influence. Yet Indians are less likely than publics in many countries to see China's rising hegemony as inevitable, according to a separate Pew Research Center <u>survey</u> in spring 2013.

Bilaterally, Indians are more than twice as likely to see America as a partner than as an enemy. They are more likely than not to see China as an enemy, whose rising power and influence more than half of Indians view as a major threat to the country. And Indians are much more likely to favor strong ties with Washington than to support more robust relations with Beijing.

Such sentiment in favor of the United States exists despite the fact that the Pew Research Center survey was in the field in India during and in the immediate aftermath of the controversial December 12, 2013, arrest and strip-search of India's female deputy consul general in New York on charges of visa fraud. This may be one reason that Indians are divided over whether relations between India and the United States have improved in recent years.

Meanwhile, Indian views of the international challenges facing the country are inextricably bound up with its neuralgic relationship with Pakistan, which New Delhi claims gives safe haven to anti-India terrorist organizations. Nearly nine-in-ten Indians say terrorism is a *very* big problem for the country, two-in-three voice the opinion that Islamic extremist groups are a major threat to India and roughly six-inten are worried that such groups could take control of Pakistan.

Overall, just 19% of Indians express a positive view of Pakistan. And when asked which poses the greatest threat to India – Pakistan, China, the Lashkar-e-Taiba extremist group or



Pakistan Seen as India's Biggest Threat

Source: Dec. 2013-Jan.2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. Q145.

Naxalite insurgents – a 47%-plurality chooses Pakistan.

Still, most Indians hope for a stronger relationship with Pakistan. A majority (64%) would like to see improved relations with India's long-running rival, and more than half support more trade and more talks between the two nations.

# **Chapter 1: Indians in a Sour Mood**

# Look for Change

As Indians prepare to head to the polls beginning April 7, they are in a sour mood. They are dissatisfied with the way things are going in their country. This public frustration with the direction of their nation is less a judgment about economic conditions in India or their own personal financial situation and more disgruntlement about a range of problems – from inflation to corruption – that the public perceives to be troubling Indian society. Concerned, Indians express a desire for political change. They want new party and personal leadership at the national level, and they express the view that the opposition Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) can do a better job handling the nation's challenges.

Seven-in-ten Indians are dissatisfied with the way things are going in their country; only three-in-ten (29%) are satisfied. This discontent is shared by young and old, rich and poor, urban and rural Indians in almost equal measure: men (72%) and women (67%); Indians ages 18 to 29 (72%) and those 50 years of age and older (69%); those with a primary school education or less (67%) and Indians with at least some college education (75%); and people living in urban areas (72%) as

# Indians Dissatisfied with Country Direction, Hopeful about Economy

	Total
Direction of country	%
Satisfied	29
Dissatisfied	70
Current state of economy	
Good	57
Bad	42
Economy in next 12 months	
Improve	62
Worsen	10
Future of children	
Better off	64
Worse off	23
0	

Source: Dec. 2013-Jan.2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. Q1, Q4, Q5 & Q8.

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well as Indians in rural areas (68%). People across the political spectrum are dissatisfied. Those who prefer the right-of-center, Hindu-nationalist opposition BJP to lead the next Indian government (71%), those who prefer the current governing coalition led by the left-of-center Indian National Congress (Congress) party (66%) and those who say they would like to see some other leadership (65%) all say things are going poorly in the country.

Nevertheless, more than half (57%) of the public say the current economic situation in India is good. Of these people, just 10% say it is *very* good and 47% see it as good. Women (61%) are somewhat more satisfied than men (53%). This positive assessment comes despite a recent government estimate that economic growth in the fiscal year ending in March 2014 would be just 4.9%, up only slightly from expansion of just 4.5% in the previous year. Indians in the southern states of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka are the most dissatisfied with current economic conditions: 60% of them say the national economic situation is bad.

Fully 62% of the public expect the economy to improve over the next 12 months. This optimism is broadly shared across demographic groups. And such sentiment tracks with International Monetary Fund projections that the Indian economy may rebound, growing 5.5% in calendar year 2014 and 7% in 2015.

Indians also feel relatively good about their personal economic situation. Nearly two-thirds say their own finances are good. People who live in cities (72%) are more satisfied than those who live in rural areas (62%); those with some college or more (73%) feel better about their personal finances than those with a primary school education or less (64%); and high-income Indians (73%) are more satisfied than those with low incomes (59%).<sup>1</sup> Indians in the south (46%) and east (39%) feel the most negative about their personal finances.

# Satisfied with Personal Economic Situation



Most Indians (63%) expect their family finances to improve over the next year. Young Indians, ages 18 to 29, are more optimistic (68%) than those ages 50 and older (56%).

Having experienced more than a doubling of per capita income between 2004 and 2012 and a dramatic reduction of the proportion of Indians living in poverty, according to the <u>World Bank</u>, 64% of Indians surveyed expect that when today's children grow up, they will be better off financially than their parents. This expectation is shared by the rich and poor, young and old, and the well-educated and those with minimal education.

# Complaints about a Range of Economic Woes

One reason for public dissatisfaction about how things are going in India, despite relatively upbeat sentiment about national, personal and future economic conditions, is widespread concern about a range of specific economic issues.

Nearly nine-in-ten Indians (89%) say rising prices are a *very* big problem. The consumer price index rose at an annual rate of 8.1% in February 2014, according to the <u>Indian government</u>. But it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For income, respondents are grouped into three categories of low, middle and high. Low-income respondents are those with a reported monthly household income of 4,000 rupees or less, middle-income respondents fall between the range of 4,001 to 10,000 rupees per month, and those in the high-income category earn 10,001 rupees or more per month.

had been above 9% for every month from April 2012 to December 2013. And food prices – for pulses, cereals, vegetables, fruit, fish and meat –rose by 8.6%, faster than the index in February.

Fully 85% of the public say the lack of employment opportunities is a *very* big problem facing India. The intensity of concern is greatest in the northern states (92%) (Delhi, Rajasthan, Haryana, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh) and eastern states (90%) (Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha and West Bengal) and relatively less intense in the west (77%) (Gujarat, Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh) and south (74%) (Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu).

Income inequality in India has doubled in the last two decades, according to the <u>Organization</u> <u>for Economic Cooperation and Development</u>. And more than eight-in-ten (82%) Indians say the gap between the rich and the poor is a *very* big problem. As might be expected middleincome (86%) and low-income (84%) Indians are more intensely concerned than those with high incomes (74%). It is striking, though, that roughly three-quarters of the most fortunate Indians still express rather strong unease about inequality.

Given the widespread apprehension about the rich-poor gap, it is not surprising that more than seven-in-ten (73%) of the public say that the Indian economic system generally favors

# A People Besieged by Problems

% very big problem



the wealthy rather than being fair to most Indians. Such systemic dissatisfaction is shared by the rich and poor, the old and the young, the well-educated and the less-well-educated, and by people in both urban and rural areas.

Compounding disgruntlement with the economy is a general perception of corruption in both the public and private sectors. More than eight-in-ten (83%) say that corrupt officials and corrupt business people are a *very* big problem in India. And that view is shared across demographic groups. Perception of business corruption as a *very* big problem is lowest in the south (72%), although seven-in-ten holding such sentiment is hardly an endorsement of business ethics.

Not only do Indians see public officials as corrupt, but they also lament the country's political gridlock that impairs fixing the nation's economic problems. Nearly two-thirds (65%) of the public express the sentiment that political and parliamentary deadlock are a *very* big problem facing the nation. This includes strong majorities of both those who want the Congress party to lead the next government (67%) and those who want the BJP to lead (66%).

Apart from economic, political and ethical challenges facing Indian society, the public is quite worried about homeland security. Nearly nine-in-ten (88%) say that terrorism is a *very* big problem. Roughly two-thirds say the domestic-based Maoist Naxalite movement is a *very* serious threat to the country, and a similar proportion views Lashkar-e-Taiba, a Pakistani-based terrorist group, as a dangerous menace.

# **Confidence in Indian Institutions**

Despite their strong concern about political dysfunction and corruption, Indians maintain strong faith in the nation's major public institutions, although their confidence is subdued in some cases.

Among the institutions tested, the military enjoys the greatest public support. About nine-in-ten (92%) say they have confidence in the armed forces to do the right thing for India, including 75% who have a lot of confidence.

About three-quarters have a lot or some confidence in the lower house of the Indian parliament, the Lok Sabha (75%), and the courts (74%). But only 38% have a lot of confidence in the Lok Sabha, and just 45% have strong faith in the courts.

Roughly seven-in-ten Indians have confidence in their state governments (69%) and the

# **Overwhelming Confidence in the Military**

% Which group will do the right thing for India?

	A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence	Don't know
	%	%	%	%	%
The military	75	17	3	1	4
Courts	45	29	13	8	4
State gov'ts	41	28	14	12	5
Lok Sabha	38	37	12	6	7
National gov't	38	30	18	10	4
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Source: Dec. 2013-Jan.2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. QIND3a-e.

national government (68%). Again this faith is somewhat muted. Just 41% have a lot of confidence in state governments, and only 38% say they have strong trust in the national government. Only in the eastern states do more than half voice a lot of confidence in state governments (53%) and a plurality has a lot of confidence in the national government (49%). Notably, only about half (49%)

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of those who say they would like to see Congress lead the next government express a lot of confidence in the national government.

The Indian public also looks favorably on signature programs by the national government to boost employment and to deal with food costs.

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act ensures at least 100 days of annual wage employment to every rural household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual labor, such as tree planting and work on irrigation projects. Fully 86% of the public say this jobs effort has been a good thing for India.

There is similarly strong support for the more recent National Food Security Act, which is intended to provide subsidized food grains to approximately two-thirds of the Indian population. The program meets a professed need. Roughly two-in-ten Indians (22%) say that there have been times during the past year when they did not have enough money to buy the food their family needed. In the face of that challenge, eight-in-ten Indians express the view that the new food distribution program has been a good thing for India.

# **BJP Favored to Deal with Challenges**

Looking ahead to the upcoming Lok Sabha election, in light of the problems Indians see facing their society, there is a widespread sense that the BJP would do a better job dealing with these challenges.

A majority says the BJP (58%) is more likely to be successful than Congress (20%) in creating employment opportunities in the future. A similar proportion of the Indian public (56%) says the BJP would do a better job than Congress (20%) in reducing terrorism. There is equal faith (56%) in the BJP's capacity to combat corruption. Only 17% voice the sentiment that Congress can successfully deal with corruption. A majority of the public (55%) says the BJP would be better at reining in inflation. Just 17% expect Congress to be successful. And the Indian public says the BJP (47%) is better suited than the Congress party

# **BJP Seen as Problem Solver**

% saying \_\_\_\_ party would do a better job ...

	BJP %	INC %	Diff.
Combating corruption	56	17	+39
Creating job opportunities	58	20	+38
Limiting rising prices	55	17	+38
Reducing terrorism	56	20	+36
Helping the poor	54	21	+33
Ending political deadlock	47	19	+28

Source: Dec. 2013-Jan. 2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. QIND2a-f.

(19%) to end political and parliamentary gridlock. Notably, more than half of the public express the view that the BJP (54%) would do a better job than Congress (21%) in helping the poor.

Given their perception that the BJP would do a better job handling many of India's problems, it is not surprising that more than six-in-ten Indians (63%) prefer the BJP to lead the next national government. Only about two-in-ten (19%) pick Congress. Other parties have the support of 12% of the public.

And the BJP's prime ministerial candidate, Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi, is more popular than putative Congress party candidate Rahul Gandhi, grandson and son of former Indian prime ministers. Nearly eight-in-ten Indians (78%) have a favorable view of Modi, compared with 16% who hold an unfavorable view. Gandhi is seen favorably by 50% of those surveyed and viewed unfavorably by 43%.

# **Chapter 2: Indians View the World**

# U.S. Seen Favorably, Pakistan Unfavorably

India has growing influence around the world and is expected to be the most populous country and the third largest economy in the world by 2050. And it is already a dominant regional power. Nevertheless, many Indians feel they lack respect abroad. They are concerned about China's power, influence and territorial claims. They have mixed sentiments about the United States. They generally like America and see it as the world's leading economic power. They have confidence in President Barack Obama, but they are not so sure about his international policies or the trajectory of U.S.-India relations. Their relationship with Pakistan remains troubled. And they feel threatened by Islamic extremism.

Indians are frustrated that their country does not receive sufficient recognition on the world stage. By more than two-toone (63% to 27%), they say that India should be more respected around the globe than it is. This sense that foreigners do not give India its due is widely shared by men and women, rich and poor, highly educated and less well educated, people who live in cities

and those who live in the countryside. It is a sentiment that is not unique to India. More than half of the Chinese (56%) think their country should be more respected, according to a Pew Research Center <u>survey</u> in spring 2013.

Indians view the world as a dangerous place. Two-thirds (67%) of the public see Islamic extremist groups as a major threat to India. This concern is widely shared across demographic groups, although it is felt most intensely in the eastern states (79%).

Nearly six-in-ten (59%) say political instability in Pakistan is a major threat. People with at least some college education (68%) or a high income (63%) are more likely than those with a primary education or less (56%) or a low income (53%) to be worried about the stability of India's neighbor.

A majority of Indians (56%) also view the power and influence of China as a major threat to India. Men (60%) are more concerned than women (51%).

# Indians Want More Respect from World

% saying India ...



India is now the third largest source of total carbon emissions, trailing only China and the United States. And Indians understand this is a problem. About half (53%) of the public express the view that climate change is a major hazard for their country. This is a particular concern of people in eastern India (74%). By comparison, in the Pew Research <u>poll</u> conducted in spring 2013, only 40% of Americans and 39% of Chinese considered climate change a major threat.

Four-in-ten Indians worry that international financial instability poses a major danger to the nation. Well-educated Indians (54%) are more concerned than those with a minimal education (36%). Indians in the eastern part of the country (49%) are more troubled than those in the north (33%).

# **Extremism Tops Global Concerns**

	Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	Don't know
	%	%	%	%
Islamic extremist groups	67	15	4	14
Political instability in Pakistan	59	20	6	15
China's power and influence	56	22	6	16
Global climate change	53	25	5	17
Int'l financial instability	40	25	7	28
Iran's nuclear program	34	21	12	33
N. Korea's nuclear program	30	24	12	34
U.S. power and influence	27	29	19	25

Source: Dec. 2013-Jan.2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. Q11a-h.

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The Indian public is not that anxious about the nuclear programs being pursued by Iran and North Korea. Only about a third (34%) voice concern about Tehran's nuclear efforts. But a similar proportion (33%) has no opinion. And just 30% say Pyongyang's nuclear ambitions are a major threat, with another third (34%) taking no stance on the issue.

Meanwhile, just 27% of the Indian public sees American power and influence as a major threat to India.

# Indians See U.S. Favorably

In general, Indians are positively disposed toward the United States. A majority (56%) say they have a favorable view of America, including 30% who express a *very* positive opinion. The intensity of this support is notable. By five-to-one Indians are more likely to have a *very* favorable view than to hold a *very* unfavorable sentiment (6%).

Those with at least some college education (73%) and high-income Indians (64%) are particularly affirmative toward the United States. But half of those with a primary education or less (52%) and low-income Indians (50%) also give Uncle Sam a thumbs up. People who live in the south of India

(76%) are far more predisposed toward the United States than those who live in the north (36%), where 47% voiced no opinion. Overall, just 15% of the Indian public have an unfavorable opinion of America.

As a point of comparison, 58% of the British and 53% of Germans had a favorable view of the United States in a spring 2013 Pew Research Center <u>survey</u>, but just 40% of Chinese held such positive views of America and only 11% of Pakistanis.

Nearly six-in-ten Indians have a positive view of the American people (58%). Here, too, this view is shared by both rich and poor, the well educated and the less educated. Indians are also more than twice as likely to see the United States as a partner (36%) than as an enemy (16%). Notably, a solid majority of people in the south of India (56%) say America is India's partner. But two-in-ten (21%) nationwide say the U.S. is neither a partner nor an enemy. And one-in-four (26%) have no opinion.

Seeing America as a partner, Indians say U.S. policies favor India rather than Pakistan by a ratio of three-to-one (36% to 12%). An additional 22% say Washington policy on the subcontinent fairly balances between Islamabad and Delhi. Notably, 30% have no opinion of which country America sides with in Indo-Pakistani relations.

Another reason Indians' views of the United States are relatively positive may be that they do not see Washington as acting unilaterally in foreign policy. More than half the public

(56%) express the opinion that the United States takes into account the interests of countries like India in making international policy decisions. High-income Indians (65%) and people who live in urban areas (61%) are more likely to hold such views than those with low incomes (51%) and people living in rural areas (53%). In contrast, 57% of the British think Uncle Sam acts unilaterally in foreign affairs, according to the spring 2013 Pew Research Center <u>survey</u>, as did 53% of the Pakistanis.

In the wake of recent revelations of spying by the U.S. National Security Agency, four-in-ten Indians (41%) say the United States respects the personal freedoms of its people. Two-in-ten (19%) venture it does not. And a large segment of the population, four-in-ten (40%), voices no opinion.

# Indians See U.S. Favorably

	Total
Favorability of Americans	%
Favorable	58
Unfavorable	18
Favorability of U.S.	
Favorable	56
Unfavorable	15
Strong ties with China or U.S.?	
U.S.	42
China	9
Both (VOL)	15
U.S. more of a partner?	
Partner	36
Enemy	16
Neither	21

Source: Dec. 2013-Jan.2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. Q9a, Q9b, Q82 & Q120.

Those with some college or more (59%) are much more likely to see Uncle Sam as a stalwart of human rights than are those with a primary education or less (37%).

In comparison, only 25% of the Indian public sees China as respecting personal freedoms. Just 22% voice the belief that Iran protects civil liberties. And only 19% say Saudi Arabia does. Many Indians simply have no view on this issue.

Indians are divided over whether relations between Washington and New Delhi have gotten better in recent years. Roughly four-in-ten (39%) say ties have improved. But a third (34%) say they have not picked up. And a quarter (26%) voice no opinion. Well-educated Indians (55%), high-income people (47%) and those who live in urban areas (47%) are more likely than low-income individuals (34%), those with a primary education or less (35%) and persons living in the countryside (35%) to see U.S.-India ties on the upswing.

Indians overwhelmingly say that the United States (47%) is the world's leading economic power, rather than China (12%), Japan (9%) or the countries of the European Union (2%). This opinion of American economic preeminence is widely shared among rich and poor, highly educated and less educated, urban and rural Indians and is particularly strong in eastern India (61%).

However, Indians are less certain about U.S. preeminence in the long run. Just 21% think China will never supplant the United States as the world's leading superpower, both economic and strategic. A plurality (46%) express no view on this subject, while 12% say China already has surpassed the United States and 21% say Beijing will one day replace Washington. Notably, 44% of Indians with some college or more say China has already replaced or will eventually replace the United States as the world's leading superpower. Just 31% of Indians with a primary education or less hold such views.

# More Restrained View of Obama

Indians have a positive, if somewhat nuanced, view of U.S. President Barack Obama. Roughly half (53%) say they have a lot or some confidence in him to do the right thing in world affairs. This trust is particularly strong among high-income Indians (66%) and men (58%). But 27% express no opinion about the U.S. leader. And only 19% of the Indian public says they have a lot of confidence in the American president, while 34% say they have some confidence.

# Views of Obama

		1			
	Total	Urban	Rural		
Barack Obama	%	%	%		
Confidence	53	62	47		
No confidence	21	21	21		
Don't know	27	18	32		
Obama int'l policies					
Approve	44	51	39		
Disapprove	30	30	30		
Don't know	27	19	31		
Source: Dec. 2013-Jan.2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. Q38,					

Source: Dec. 2013-Jan.2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. Q38, Q103.

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In spring 2013, 88% of Germans had

confidence in Obama to do the right thing in foreign affairs, as did 72% of the British, but only 31% of the Chinese and just 10% of the Pakistanis.

Less than half (44%) of Indians approve of Obama's international policies. As with many issues relating to the United States, approval is highest among the wealthiest, the best educated and people who live in urban areas. And roughly a quarter of the public has no view on the American president's foreign policy. Half (50%) of people 50 years of age and older approve, but 36% of those ages 18 to 29 disapprove.

Indians are even more divided over one of the signature anti-terrorism policies of the Obama administration: U.S. missile strikes from pilotless aircraft called drones that have targeted extremists in Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia. Just 30% approve of them, 38% disapprove and 32% have no opinion. Indians are not alone in their questioning of drone strikes. Only 39% of the British, 25% of the Japanese, 23% of the Chinese and 5% of Pakistanis back them.

# **Skepticism about China**

Indians are far more skeptical about their neighbor China. A little more than a third of the public has a favorable view of China (35%), with only 13% holding a *very* favorable opinion. Four-in-ten (41%) have an unfavorable opinion of the People's Republic, including 22% whose opinion is *very* unfavorable. Half of high-income Indians (51%) have a negative view.

More than a third (37%) of the Indian public considers China to be an enemy. Just 21% see China as a partner, and 24% voice no opinion.

One reason for such sentiment may be that nearly two-thirds of the public (65%) view China's growing military power as a bad thing for India. Men (71%), in particular, are concerned, as are those who live in the south (83%). Only 19% of the Indian public say Beijing's increasing military might is good for India.

India has long had border disputes with China. A war was fought along their mutual frontier in 1962. And, in recent years, there have been confrontations along the Chinese border with Jammu and Kashmir and in Arunachal Pradesh, an Indian state that China claims as part of Tibet. So it comes as little surprise that seven-in-ten Indians say territorial disputes between India and China are a problem for the country. This includes 45% who say they are a *very* big problem. Again, men (74%) are especially troubled by China's territorial ambitions. Just 11% say these territorial frictions are not a problem for India.

Nevertheless, a plurality of Indians (47%) hold the view that China takes into account the interests of countries like India when making international policy decisions. Urban dwellers (55%) are more likely than rural residents (42%) to hold such opinions. Just 28% say China acts unilaterally. But a quarter of Indians (26%) have no views on the issue. On this topic, Indians appear more trusting of China than some others. Only 9% of Japanese and 35% of Americans think Beijing's foreign policy takes into account the views of others.

With Indians holding the opinions they do about China and the

# United States, it may come as no surprise that 42% of them say it is more important to have strong ties with Washington than with Beijing. Only 9% hold the view that it would be better to have a closer relationship with China. And 15% of the public volunteer that India should be closer to both countries. But, in a sign that superpower politics are a distant concern for many Indians, 28% have no opinion on the matter.

# **Indians Wary of China**

	Favorable %	Unfavorable %
Overall rating	35	41
	Partner	Enemy
Relationship with China	% 21	% 37
	Good	Bad
01.1	%	%
China's military power is for India	19	65
		Very big/big problem
	%	%
Territorial disputes with China	11	70
Source: Dec. 20 Attitudes survey Q163.		

# Across the Board: Indians Favor U.S. vs. China

Indians of all backgrounds have a more favorable view of the United States than of China. More than half of both men and women see America in a positive light compared with only about a third who see China that way. There is no generation gap with regard to views on the U.S. and on China; all age groups favor America. More than seven-in-ten Indians (73%) with some college or more have an affirmative view of Uncle Sam, compared with just four-inten (42%) college attendees who see the People's Republic in that light. Similarly nearly two-thirds of high-income Indians (64%) favor the United States compared with one-third (34%) who state a positive opinion of China. And while half of rural Indians (54%) hold a favorable estimation of America, only a third (33%) say that about China.

# **U.S. Seen More Favorably than China**

% favorable

	U.S. %	China %	Diff
TOTAL	56	35	-21
Men	59	37	-22
Women	54	33	-21
18-29	58	37	-21
30-49	57	35	-22
50+	54	33	-21
Primary school or less	52	34	-18
Secondary school/higher secondary/certificate	65	37	-28
Some college or more	73	42	-31
Low income Middle income	50 58	31 39	-19 -19
High income	64	34	-30
Urban Rural	60 54	39 33	-21 -21

Source: Dec. 2013-Jan.2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. Q9a & Q9c.

# Uncertainty about Other Global Players

Indian assessments of other countries are marked by the large proportion of the public that has no view, either favorable or unfavorable, of key countries.

Among the other nations tested in the survey, by a two-to-one ratio Indians see Japan favorably: 49% favorable, 25% unfavorable and 26% no opinion. Southerners (72%), well-educated Indians (65%), men (56%) are particularly well disposed toward the Land of the Rising Sun.

Russia, a strong ally of India during the Cold War, enjoys a 45% favorable rating, with 23% of the public holding an unfavorable view and 32% having no judgment (The Pew Research Center survey was conducted before Russia's annexation of Crimea). Russia's greatest support is among Indians with some college education (62%), and eastern (59%) and southern (59%) Indians. Men (52%) also have a more favorable view than women (38%, with 40% of women having no view).

The European Union, with which India has been unsuccessfully negotiating a free trade agreement since 2007, is viewed positively by just a third of Indians (34%), with a quarter



# Pakistan Seen Unfavorably

(25%) having an unfavorable perception and four-in-ten (40%) voicing no opinion.

Iran is even less popular among Indians. Just 30% have a favorable judgment of the Islamic state, while 35% have an unfavorable view and 36% express no judgment. Men (39% unfavorable) are more critical than women (29% unfavorable).

A founding member of the United Nations, India has long campaigned to be a member of the UN Security Council. But just 40% of the public has a favorable assessment of the international body, 22% are unfavorably disposed toward the UN and 38% have no view. Indians with some college education or more (54%) and high-income people (46%) are more likely to have a positive take on the UN than are people with a primary education or less (37%) and low-income Indians (36%).

# Negative Views toward Pakistan

Indians are the least favorably disposed toward their neighbor Pakistan, among the nations tested in the survey. Just 19% of the public has a favorable view of their longtime adversary, and 71% have an unfavorable opinion, including 54% who have a *very* unfavorable assessment. The negative view of Pakistan, a country with which India has fought four wars since 1947, is shared across demographic groups.

# Pakistan Seen as India's Biggest Threat

% very/somewhat serious threat



Pakistan is seen as a greater danger to India than any of the other potential dangers included on the poll. Eight-in-ten Indians consider Pakistan a very serious threat to the county. About twothirds feel this way about the Naxalites (Maoist insurgency groups active in East and South India) and Lashkar-e-Taiba (an extremist organization widely blamed for the 2008 Mumbai terrorist attacks). Slightly less than half of Indians (46%) see China as a serious threat.

When asked which of these poses the greatest threat to India, a 47% plurality name Pakistan. About one-in-five say Lashkar-e-Taiba (20%) or the Naxalites (19%). Only 6% believe China poses the greatest danger.

Many Indians are concerned about the possibility of Pakistan's falling into the hands of extremists. Roughly six-in-ten (62%) are worried that such groups could take control of Pakistan, and 35% are *very* worried. Pakistani influence in Afghanistan is also a concern for many -72% say this is a big problem, and 52% rate it a *very* big problem.

Despite these concerns and the long-running tensions between the two countries, most Indians want a better bilateral relationship. About a third (35%) believes improving relations with Pakistan is very important, while an additional 29% say this is somewhat important.

There is an even stronger desire to settle the dispute over Kashmir, which has caused friction between the two nations since the end of British rule. A sold majority (63%) considers resolving the dispute a very important priority.

On balance, Indians also want a stronger economic relationship with Pakistan: 54% say increased trade and business ties between the two countries would be good for India, while just 32% think this would be a bad thing.

And Indians tend to support more dialogue with Pakistan. Roughly half (53%) favor further talks with Pakistan to reduce bilateral tensions; only 30% oppose this idea.

# Indians: It's Important to Improve Relations with Pakistan

	Very	Somewhat	Not too/ Not at all	Don't know	
	%	%	%	%	
Important to resolve Kashmir dispute	63	19	7	11	
Important to improve relations between India and Pakistan	35	29	22	14	

Source: Dec. 2013-Jan.2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. Q98 & Q99.

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# **Indians Open to Talks**

% saying they would \_\_\_\_ further talks between Pakistan and India to try to reduce tensions



Source: Dec. 2013-Jan.2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. Q100.

# India Survey Methods Pew Research Center Winter 2013-2014 Survey

The survey in India was conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International.

Results for the survey in India are based on 2,464 face-to-face interviews with adults 18 and older, between December 7, 2013, and January 12, 2014. Interviews were conducted in Hindi, Tamil, Bengali, Telugu, Odia, Marathi, Kannada and Gujarati. The survey covers 15 of the 17 most populous states (Kerala and Assam were excluded) and the Union Territory of Delhi, which together are home to about 91% of the adult Indian population. The survey is based on an area-probability design, which entailed proportional allocation of 1,876 interviews by region and urbanity, plus an urban over-sample of 588 interviews. The primary sampling units were urban settlements and rural districts. The full sample was weighted to reflect the national urban-rural distribution in India.

The margin of sampling error is  $\pm 3.8$  percentage points. For the results based on the full sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus the margin of error. 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.

# **Topline Results**

Pew Research Center Winter 2013-2014 Survey March 31, 2014 Release

Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on a national sample. For further details on sample designs, see Survey Methods section.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline "total" columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- For some countries, trends for certain years are omitted due to differences in sample design or population coverage. Omitted trends often reflect less representative samples than more recent surveys in the same countries. Trends that are omitted include:
  - India prior to 2013
- Not all questions included in the Winter 2013-2014 survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.

		Q1 Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?				
		Satisfied Dissatisfied DK/Refused Total				
India	Winter, 2013-2014	29	70	1	100	

		Q4 Now thinking about our economic situation, how would you describe the current economic situation in India – is it very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad?					
		Somewhat         Somewhat         Somewhat         DK/Refused         Total					Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	10	47	24	18	2	100

		Q5 And over th	Q5 And over the next 12 months do you expect the economic situation in our country to improve a lot, improve a little, remain the same, worsen a little or worsen a lot?								
		Improve a lot	Improve a little	Remain the same	Worsen a little	Worsen a lot	DK/Refused	Total			
India	Winter, 2013-2014	16	46	21	6	4	7	100			

		Q6 Now thinki	J J I	rsonal economic s mewhat good, so			it – is it very
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	13	52	22	9	3	100

		Q7 And over the	Q7 And over the next 12 months do you expect your personal economic situation to improve a lot, improve a little, remain the same, worsen a little or worsen a lot?								
		Improve a lot	Improve a little	Remain the same	Worsen a little	Worsen a lot	DK/Refused	Total			
India	Winter, 2013-2014	16	47	27	3	2	5	100			

		Q8 When childr	Q8 When children today in India grow up, do you think they will be better off or worse off financially than their parents?								
		Better off	Worse off	Same (Volunteered)	DK/Refused	Total					
India	Winter, 2013-2014	64	23	5	8	100					

		Q9a Please tel		a very favorable, favorable opinion			nfavorable or
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	30	26	9	6	28	100

		Q9b Please tel	ll me if you have a very	a very favorable, unfavorable opir			nfavorable or
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	25	33	10	8	24	100

		Q9c Please tel		a very favorable, ery unfavorable o			nfavorable or
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	13	22	19	22	23	100

		Q9d Please tel		a very favorable, very unfavorable o			nfavorable or
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	8	22	19	16	36	100

		Q9e Please tel		a very favorable, ry unfavorable o			nfavorable or
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	18	27	13	10	32	100

		Q9f Please tell m		ery favorable, sor prable opinion of:			vorable or very
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	9	25	15	10	40	100

		Q9g Please tel		a very favorable, avorable opinion			nfavorable or
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	14	26	13	9	38	100

		Q9m Please te		a very favorable, ery unfavorable o			nfavorable or
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	77	11	3	4	5	100

		Q9o Please tel	-	a very favorable, y unfavorable opi		ble, somewhat ur an	nfavorable or
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	6	13	17	54	11	100

		Q9v Please tel		a very favorable, ery unfavorable o			nfavorable or
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	15	34	15	10	26	100

			as respected arou	ser to your own w and the world as i around the wo	t should be OR In	
		India is as respected around the world as it should be	India should be more respected around the world than it is	Both/Neither (Volunteered)	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	27	63	2	7	100

			at a. China's powe	some possible in er and influence is ot a threat to Ind	s a major threat,	
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	56	22	6	16	100

			nat b. the United	some possible in States' power and at or not a threat	d influence is a m	
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	27	29	19	25	100

			ke your opinio hink that c. po	litical in	stability		tan is a	n major thr		
		Major thre	eat Minor t	hreat	Not a	threat	DK/I	Refused		Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	59	20	)		6		15		100
			ke your opinio hink that d. No	rth Kore	a's nucl		ram is a	a major th		
		Major thre	at Minor t	hreat	Not a	threat	DK/I	Refused		Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	30	24	ţ	1	12		34		100
			ke your opinio ink that e. Irai	n's nucle	ar prog		major t			
		Major thre	at Minor t	hreat	Not a	threat	DK/I	Refused		Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	34	21		1	12		33		100
			ke your opinio iink that f. inte	rnationa	al financ		oility is	a major th		
		Major thre	eat Minor t	hreat	Not a	threat	DK/I	Refused		Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	40	25	5		7		28		100
			ke your opinio nk that g. globa	al climat	e chang	je is a ma	jor thr			
India	Winter, 2013-2014	Do you thin Major thre 53 Q11h I'd li	nk that g. globa	al climat a hreat on about mic extr	e chang threat Not a some p emist g	e is a ma to India? threat 5 ossible ir	DK/I	eat, a mino Refused 17 Ional conce	erns f	Total 100 Tor India.
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India	Winter, 2013-2014	Do you thin Major thre 53 Q11h I'd li Do you thi Major thre	hk that g. globa at Minor t 25 ke your opinio ink that h. Isla	al climat a hreat on about mic extr or n hreat	e chang threat Not a some p emist g ot a thre Not a	e is a ma to India? threat 5 ossible in roups are eat to Ind	DK/I	eat, a mind Refused 17 Jonal conce or threat, a	erns f	eat or not Total 100 for India. or threat
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					sible problems in , a small problem		
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem		Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	89	8	1	1	1	100
				derately big probl	sible problems in o lem, a small probl officials		
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	83	11	3	0	3	100
				ely big problem, a	ble problems in or a small problem o ntary deadlock		
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	65	18	5	1	10	100
		it is a very bi	g problem, a moo	derately big probl	sible problems in o em, a small probl prism		
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	88	7	2	1	2	100
				better job in eac opport	1		
		BJP	INC	Other (Volunteered)	None (Volunteered)	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	58	20	10	6	6	100
				a better job in ea	aratiya Janata Pa ach of the followir		
		BJP	INC	Other (Volunteered)	None (Volunteered)	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	56	20	10	6	8	100
					aratiya Janata Par h of the following		
		BJP	INC	Other (Volunteered)	None (Volunteered)	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	56	17	12	8	7	100
					aratiya Janata Par ch of the following		
		BJP	INC	Other (Volunteered)	None (Volunteered)	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	55	17	11	9	8	100
				lo a better job in o	aratiya Janata Par each of the follow llock		
		BJP	INC	Other (Volunteered)	None (Volunteered)	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	47	19	12	9	14	100
					aratiya Janata Par each of the follow		
		BJP	INC	Other (Volunteered)	None (Volunteered)	DK/Refused	Total
			21	1 44			100

India

Winter, 2013-2014

			Q24	Do yo					rich and th same in the				ncreas	ed,
			Incr	eased		Decrea		Stay	ed the		Refused	3.	Total	
India	Winter, 2013-	2014	-	66	-	18	3		11		5		100	
		Q2			d thin	ng, somew	hat good,	somew	usiness ties hat bad or a					
		v	ery goo	a l		newhat good	Some	d	Very ba	d	DK/Refu	ised		otal
India	Winter, 2013-201	1	24			30	1	5	17		14			100
			Q29	Today	which	n ONE of the	e following	do vou t	think is the w	orld's l	eading ecor	nomic pa	ower?	
		The Un State	ited	China			The count of the Europea Union	ries n	Other /olunteered)	None no ecc	/There is leading onomic ower unteered)	DK/Re		Tota
India	Winter, 2013-2014	47		12		9	2		2		2	2	6	100
			s lead			• •		vill nev	nas already er replace power?					
			ever	itually ice U.	-	Has alr replace			never ce U.S.	DK/	Refused		Total	
India	Winter, 2013-	2014		21		12	2		21		46		100	
			egardin A lot of	g wor	ld affa	airs – a lot	of confid	ence, so confiden much	. President E ome confidence at all?	nce, n	ot too muc	h confi	idence,	or no
India	Winter, 2013-201	-	onfidenc	e	con	fidence	confic		at all		DK/Refu 27	ised		otal 100
		cor					up to do t	he right	groups and t thing for In all: a. Lok Sa	ndia -				
			A lot of onfidence	e		ome fidence	Not too		No confide at all	ence	DK/Refu	ised	т	otal
								eniee						100
India	Winter, 2013-201	1	38			37	1		6		7			100
India	Winter, 2013-201		QIND3			n going to n each gro	1 read you up to do t	2 a list of he right	groups and t thing for I ur national g	ndia - a	izations. T a lot, some		how m	uch
India	Winter, 2013-201	cor	QIND3	you h	ave ir S	n going to n each gro	1 read you up to do t	a list of he right all: b. ou much	groups and t thing for I	ndia - a overn	izations. T a lot, some	e, not to	how mi	uch
India	Winter, 2013-201	cor	QIND3 nfidence A lot of	you h	ave ir S	n going to n each gro confi	1 read you up to do t dence at Not too	a list of he right all: b. ou much lence	groups and t thing for In ar national g	ndia - a overn	izations. T a lot, some ment	e, not to	how mi oo muc	uch h, or n
		cor co 4 cor	QIND3 offidence A lot of onfidence 38 QIND3 offidence	you h	Si con v I am	n going to n each gro confi ome fidence 30 n going to n each gro co	1 read you up to do t dence at Confic Confic I read you up to do t onfidence	a list of the right all: b. ou much lence 3 a list of the right at all: c	groups and t thing for Ir ar national g No confide at all 10 groups and t thing for Ir . state gove	overn overn organ ndia -	izations. T a lot, some ment DK/Refu 4 izations. T a lot, some	e, not to used	how micoo muco T	uch h, or n otal 100 uch
	Winter, 2013-201	cor cu t cor	QIND3 nfidence A lot of onfidence 38 QIND3 nfidence A lot of onfidence	you h	son Son v I am ave ir	n going to n each gro confi ome fidence 30 n going to n each gro co co co fidence	1 read you up to do t dence at a Not too confic 1 read you up to do t onfidence Not too confic	a list of the right all: b. ou much lence a list of the right at all: c much lence	groups and t thing for Ir ar national g No confide at all 10 groups and t thing for Ir . state gover No confide at all	overn overn organ ndia -	izations. T a lot, some ment DK/Refu 4 izations. T a lot, some ts DK/Refu	e, not to used fell me e, not to	how mi oo muc T how mi oo muc	uch h, or n otal 100 uch h, or n otal
		cor cu t cor	QIND3 offidence A lot of 38 QIND3 offidence A lot of	you h	son Son v I am ave ir	n going to n each gro confi- fidence 30 n going to n each gro co come	1 read you up to do to dence at a Not too confic 1 read you up to do to nfidence Not too Not too	a list of the right all: b. ou much lence a list of the right at all: c much lence	groups and t thing for Ir ar national g No confide at all 10 groups and t thing for Ir . state gover No confide	overn overn organ ndia -	izations. T a lot, some ment DK/Refu 4 izations. T a lot, some ts	e, not to used fell me e, not to	how mi oo muc T how mi oo muc	uch h, or n otal 100 uch h, or n

				confidence at all	i: d. the military		
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	75	17	3	1	4	100

				up to do the right	groups and organ t thing for India - t all: e. courts		
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	45	29	13	8	4	100
				mewhat favorabl	ne political leaders le, somewhat unfa lanmohan Singh		
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	24	28	19	23	5	100
				mewhat favorabl	ne political leaders le, somewhat unfa . Sonia Gandhi		
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	19	30	19	27	5	100
				mewhat favorabl	ne political leaders le, somewhat unfa Rajnath Singh		
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	15	28	20	14	23	100
				mewhat favorabl	ne political leaders le, somewhat unfa . Rahul Gandhi		
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	23	27	22	21	6	100
			•	mewhat favorabl	ne political leaders le, somewhat unfa Narendra Modi	-	
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	60	18	9	7	7	100
		QIND4f Now I'd	l like to ask your	views about som		in our country. P	
		you have a v	ery favorable, so	mewhat favorabl	le, somewhat unfa P. Chidambaram		
		you have a v Very favorable	ery favorable, so Somewhat favorable	mewhat favorabl	le, somewhat unfa		
India	Winter, 2013-2014	Very	Somewhat	mewhat favorabl opinion of: f. P Somewhat	le, somewhat unfa 9. Chidambaram Very	vorable, or very u	Infavorable
India	Winter, 2013-2014	Very favorable 13 QIND4g Now I'd	Somewhat favorable 24	mewhat favorabl opinion of: f. F Somewhat unfavorable 20 views about som mewhat favorabl	le, somewhat unfa 2. Chidambaram Very unfavorable	DK/Refused 24	Total 100 lease tell me if
India	Winter, 2013-2014	Very favorable 13 QIND4g Now I'd	Somewhat favorable 24	mewhat favorabl opinion of: f. F Somewhat unfavorable 20 views about som mewhat favorabl	le, somewhat unfa 2. Chidambaram Very unfavorable 19 ne political leaders le, somewhat unfa	DK/Refused 24	Total 100 lease tell me if
India	Winter, 2013-2014	Very favorable 13 QIND4g Now I 'c you have a v Very	Somewhat favorable 24 d like to ask your very favorable, so Somewhat	mewhat favorabl opinion of: f. F Somewhat unfavorable 20 views about som mewhat favorabl opinion of: g Somewhat	le, somewhat unfa Chidambaram Very unfavorable 19 ne political leaders le, somewhat unfa Anna Hazare Very	DK/Refused 24 in our country. P vorable, or very u	Total 100 lease tell me if infavorable
		Very favorable 13 QIND4g Now I'c you have a v Very favorable 47 Q47 In making	Somewhat favorable 24 d like to ask your rery favorable, so Somewhat favorable 22 international po	mewhat favorabl opinion of: f. F Somewhat unfavorable 20 views about som mewhat favorabl opinion of: g Somewhat unfavorable 10	le, somewhat unfa Chidambaram Very unfavorable 19 ne political leaders le, somewhat unfa Anna Hazare Very unfavorable	DK/Refused 24 in our country. P vorable, or very u DK/Refused 13 u think the United	Total 100 lease tell me if infavorable Total 100 d States takes
		Very favorable 13 QIND4g Now I'c you have a v Very favorable 47 Q47 In making	Somewhat favorable 24 d like to ask your rery favorable, so Somewhat favorable 22 international po	mewhat favorabl opinion of: f. F Somewhat unfavorable 20 views about som mewhat favorabl opinion of: g Somewhat unfavorable 10	le, somewhat unfa Chidambaram Very unfavorable 19 he political leaders le, somewhat unfa Anna Hazare Very unfavorable 7 what extent do yo – a great deal, a fa	DK/Refused 24 in our country. P vorable, or very u DK/Refused 13 u think the United	Total 100 lease tell me if infavorable Total 100 d States takes

		conducting miss	approve or disap ile strikes from p hists in countries Soma	ilotless aircraft ca such as Pakistan,	alled drones to
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	30	38	32	100

		Q56INDIA D			Afghanistan is a v problem or not a		for India, a
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	52	20	6	4	19	100

		Q56 Do you think the Indian economic system generally favors the wealthy or is it fair to most Indians?						
		Favors the wealthy	Fair to most	DK/Refused	Total			
India	Winter, 2013-2014	73 20 7 100						

Q59 In making international policy decisions, to what extent do you think China takes into according the interests of countries like India – a great deal, a fair amount, not too much, or not at all							
		Great deal	Fair amount	Not too much	Not at all	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	15	32	16	12	26	100

		Q64 Overall, do you think that China's growing military power is a good thing or a bad thing for our country?						
		Good thing	Bad thing	DK/Refused	Total			
India	Winter, 2013-2014	19	65	15	100			

		Q82 Is it mo	e important for I	ndia to have stro	ng ties with Chin	a or with the Un	ited States?			
The United         Both equally         Neither           China         States         (Volunteered)         United         DK/Refused         To					Total					
India	Winter, 2013-2014	9	9 42 15 6 28 100							

		Q97 Now thinking about India, do you think relations between India and the U.S. have improved in recent years, or don't you think so?							
		Yes - have improved	No - have not improved	DK/Refused	Total				
India	Winter, 2013-2014	39	39 34 26 100						

		Q98 How important is it that relations improve between Pakistan and India, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?								
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total			
India	Winter, 2013-2014	35	35 29 13 9 14 100							

		Q99 How important is it that the dispute over Kashmir be resolved, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?							
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total		
India	Winter, 2013-2014	63 19 5 2 11 100							

Q100 Would you favor or oppose further talks between P and India to try to reduce tensions between the two cou								
		Favor	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total			
India	Winter, 2013-2014	53 30 17 100						

		Q101 What's your opinion of U.S. policies toward India and Pakistan – would you say they are fair or do they favor India too much or do they favor Pakistan too much?								
		Favor Fair Favor India Pakistan DK/Refused Tota								
India	Winter, 2013-2014	22	22 36 12 30 100							

		Q103 Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the international policies of President Barack Obama?						
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total			
India	Winter, 2013-2014	44 30 27 100						

		Q119 Overall,	Q119 Overall, do you think of China as more of a partner of India, more of a enemy of India, or neither?						
		More of a partner	More of an enemy	Neither	DK/Refused	Total			
India	Winter, 2013-2014	21							

		Q120 Overall, o	Q120 Overall, do you think of the U.S. as more of a partner of India, more of an enemy of India, or neither?							
		More of a partner	More of an enemy	Neither	DK/Refused	Total				
India	Winter, 2013-2014	36	36         16         21         26         100							

		Q127a Do you think the government of a. Iran respects the personal freedoms of its people, or don't you think so?						
		Yes - respects personal freedoms	No – does not respect personal freedoms	DK/Refused	Total			
India	Winter, 2013-2014	22	34	44	100			

		Q127b Do you think the government of b. China respects the personal freedoms of its people, or don't you think so?						
Yes - respects personal freedoms Yes - respect personal freedoms DK/Refused								
India	Winter, 2013-2014	25	38	36	100			

		Q127c Do you think the government of c. The United States respects the personal freedoms of its people, or don't you think so?						
		Yes - respects personal freedoms	No – does not respect personal freedoms	DK/Refused	Total			
India	Winter, 2013-2014	41	19	40	100			

		Q127d Do you think the government of d. Saudi Arabia respects the personal freedoms of its people, or don't you think so?							
	DK/Refused	Total							
India	Winter, 2013-2014	19	36	45	100				

		Q144a H	ow ser	ious c	of a threat i	s a. Lash	kar-e-	Taiba to ou	· country	? Is it a	very serio	us th	ireat, a
		Very serio			newhat seri newhat	ous thre	at, a m	inor threat	1	threat a	t all?		
		threat		serious threat		Minor threat		all		DK/Refused		т	otal
India	Winter, 2013-2014	65			15	3	3	2		15	15		100
		Q144b How	Q144b How serious of a threat is b. Pakistan to our country? Is it a very serious serious threat, a minor threat or not a threat at all?						ous threat,	a so	omewhat		
			Very serious threat		Somewhat serious threat		No thre Minor threat all				'Refused		otal
India	Winter, 2013-2014	80			11	3	3	2		5			100
		Q144	c How		us of a thre newhat seri							hrea	t, a
		Very serio threat			newhat us threat	Minor	threat	No thre		DK/Ref	fused	т	otal
India	Winter, 2013-2014	67			18	4	1	3		8			100
		0145.4	ع الم	* * * * * *	thusate L b -		- ا - ا مار مر	of these '-		ot thus - 1	+o. o		
		Lashkar –e- Taiba	Pakis		Naxalites	China	A	Il of these is olunteered)	s the greatest threat to on None of these		hese		Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	20	4		19	6		2	•	Unteered) DK/Ref		u	100
maia	Winter, 2010 2014	20				0		2			0		100
		Q146	How w	orrie	<b>d are you</b> , i	if at all,	that ex	tremist gr	oups coul	d take	control of	Paki	stan?
		Very wor	ried		mewhat /orried		t too rried		lot at all worried DK/Refused		efused	Total	
India	Winter, 2013-201	4 35			27		9		10		20		100
		Q163 In g	eneral		ou think tei big problen							big p	oroblem,
		Very big probler			problem	Small problem		Not a pr	oblem	DK/Refused		т	otal
India	Winter, 2013-2014	45			25	ε	3	3		18			100
				lead	ow, nationa the next go ongress (IN	vernme	nt – the	e Bharatiya	Janata P	arty (BJ	P), the Ind		
		BJP			INC	Oth	ner	Nor	e	DK/Ref	fused	т	otal
India	Winter, 2013-2014	63			19	1	2	2		4			100
					ur opinion t (NREGA) t		good	thing for I					
		•	od thi India	•		5	DK/I	Refused	то	otal			

		QIND7 In your opinion, is the National Food Security Bill a good thing for India or a bad thing for India?							
	A good thing for India for India DK/Refused Tot								
India	Winter, 2013-2014	80	12	8	100				

		Q182a Have there been times during the last year when you on the not have enough money to buy food your family needed?					
		Yes No DK/Refused Total					
India	Winter, 2013-2014	22 76 2 10					