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# India and Modi: The Honeymoon Continues

Indians remain upbeat about Modi and see India playing larger role in the world, but growing partisan take on Modi's record

BY Bruce Stokes

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## India and Modi: The Honeymoon Continues

Indians remain upbeat about Modi and see India playing larger role in the world, but growing partisan take on Modi's record

Two years into his tenure, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi continues to ride a wave of public good feeling about the way things are going in India, the state of the domestic economy and his own stewardship of the country.

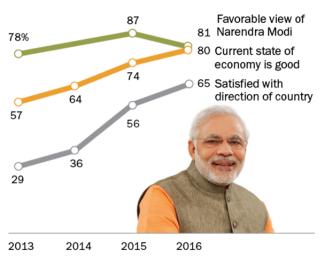
About two-thirds of the Indian public is satisfied with the direction of the country and eight-in-ten think the economy is doing well. A similarly large proportion has a favorable view of Modi, a sentiment that is down slightly from 2015.

Indians are positive about Modi's handling of various challenges facing the nation, though there is a growing partisan divide over the prime minister's record on various domestic issues.

In addition to expressing positive views of their country, Indians believe it plays a growing role on the world stage. Roughly half are supportive of India's burgeoning international economic engagement and are committed to their allies. At the same time, the public is wary of China and longtime rival Pakistan. They favor a militaristic stance against terrorism and support increased defense spending. But only about a quarter want their country to help other nations deal with their problems.

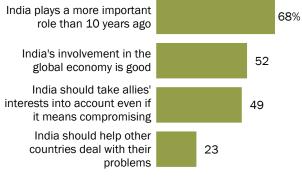
These are among the main findings of a new Pew Research Center survey conducted among 2,464 respondents in India from April 7 to May 24, 2016.

### Wave of good feeling in India about Modi, economy, direction of country



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q2, Q3 & Q73c. PEW RESEARCH CENTER

### Indians on India's place in the world



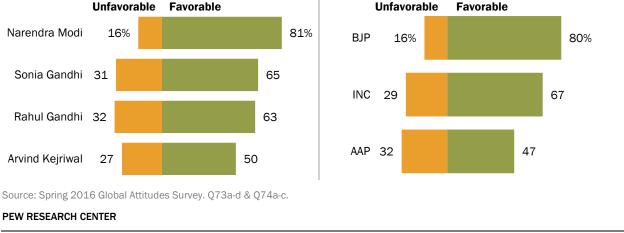
Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q29, Q31a, Q32 & Q43.

The Indian public's satisfaction with the direction of the country has increased 36 percentage points since 2013, the year before Modi and his Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) took power. Views on the economy have improved by 23 points. And belief that today's children will be better off financially than their parents is up 8 points.

A strong majority (81%) of Indians hold a favorable view of Modi, including 57% who have a *very* favorable opinion of him. A similar proportion of the public (80%) expresses a positive view of the BJP.

Modi and the BJP enjoy overwhelming support among men and women, from people of all ages, educational backgrounds and income levels, and among people in rural and urban areas. Even a majority of backers of the rival Indian National Congress party (INC) express a positive view of Modi and the BJP.



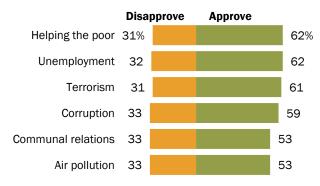


About half or more of the public approves of Modi's handling of a range of domestic problems facing the country: helping the poor and dealing with unemployment (both 62%), handling terrorism (61%) and dealing with corruption (59%).

And roughly half or more of Indians in the survey approve of Modi's leadership style: 56% believe he cares about people like them, 51% say he stands up for what he believes and 49% say he brings people together and gets things done.

## Generally strong support for Modi's handling of problems

Do you \_\_\_\_ of the way Prime Minister Narendra Modi is handling each of the following areas?



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q75a-f.

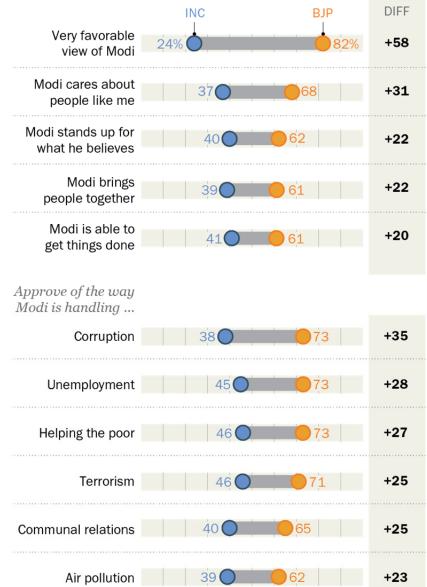
### Growing polarization about Modi

Views of Modi's performance are increasingly partisan as the divide grows between how BJP supporters and Indian National Congress adherents judge his achievements. When it comes to views of his leadership, roughly six-in-ten Indians who identify with the BJP see Modi as a unifying figure who stands up for what he believes and gets things done. Only about four-in-ten Congress adherents agree.

Majorities of those who identify with the BJP approve of Modi's handling of various domestic issues. Less than half of Congress supporters share that view. BJP support of the prime minister's actions has improved slightly in the past year. But Congress approval has fallen sharply. This has opened up double-digit partisan gaps on Modi's handling of various problems: 35 percentage points on his handling of corruption, 28 points on unemployment, 27 points on his help for the poor.

Two-thirds of the public sees the Indian National Congress party in a favorable light and accords two of the leaders of that party –

## Deep partisan divide in views of Modi, his leadership style and how he handles issues



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q73c, Q75a-f & Q77a-d.

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Sonia Gandhi and Rahul Gandhi – similarly strong favorable ratings. Notably, roughly half of BJP supporters voice a favorable view of the Gandhis (both 52%) and a majority has a favorable view of

Congress (56%). Roughly half of the public sees the Aam Aadmi Party (47%) and Arvind Kejriwal, the party's national convenor (50%), favorably.

### India's place in the world

By more than four-to-one (68% to 15%) Indians believe their country plays a more important rather than a less significant role in the world today than it did a decade ago. And by roughly two-to-one (52% to 25%) Indians voice the view that their involvement in the global economy is a good thing because it provides India with new markets and opportunities for growth.

Indians also favor toughness in dealing with the world. A majority (62%) believes that using overwhelming military force is the best way to defeat terrorism around the world. Few (21%) worry that relying too much on such force creates hatred that leads to more terrorism. And 63% back increased defense spending.

Nevertheless, Indians give priority to issues at home. By more than two-to-one (53% to 23%) they believe that India should deal with its own problems and let other nations deal with theirs.

This public preference for a focus on domestic issues reflects ongoing concerns about a range of issues: Roughly eight-in-ten Indians believe crime, corrupt officials, a lack of employment opportunities and terrorism are very big national problems.

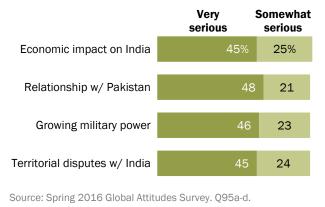
### The China challenge

Indians have little love for China. Only about a third (31%) of the public expresses a favorable opinion of their emerging Asian rival. These positive views are down 10 percentage points in the past year, but unchanged from 2014. Another 36% voice an unfavorable opinion and 32% have no opinion.

Large majorities say Beijing poses serious challenges for India. Seven-in-ten of those surveyed believe that China's economic impact on India is a serious problem, including 45% who voice the view that it is *very* serious. Nearly half (48%) of Indians think China's relationship with Pakistan poses a very serious



*China's* \_\_\_\_ *is a very/somewhat serious problem* 





problem for India. Another 21% see this as a somewhat serious challenge. Fully 69% hold the view

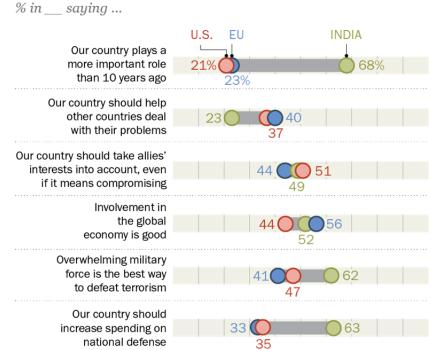
that China's growing military power is a problem for India, including 46% who say this is a very serious issue. And the same proportion (69%) expresses the opinion that China's territorial disputes with India are very or somewhat serious. Notably, with regard to problems posed by China, BJP adherents are more intensely worried than Congress backers.

### Contrasting Indian, U.S., EU views of their role in the world

Indians are much more likely than Americans and Europeans to express no opinion about international threats. When it comes to their country's role in the world, Indians, Americans and Europeans have some sharply differing perspectives. (For more on how Americans and Europeans see their place in the world, see "<u>Public</u> Uncertain, Divided Over America's Place in the World" released May 5, 2016, and "Europeans Face the World Divided" released June 13, 2016.)

Indians are far more likely than Americans and Europeans to see their nation's star on the rise. Roughly two-thirds of the Indian public believes that India plays a more important role in the world today than it did 10

## Indians, Americans and Europeans differ in their views of their country's role in the world



Note: EU percentages are medians based on 10 European countries.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q29, Q31a, Q32, Q40, Q43 & Q86. U.S. data from a Pew Research Center Survey conducted April 12-19, 2016.

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years ago. Only about a fifth of Americans and Europeans (a median of findings from a survey of 10 EU members in spring 2016) hold this view of their respective countries. Only the Germans (62%), among the trans-Atlantic nations surveyed, have a comparable sense of their country's recent ascendancy.

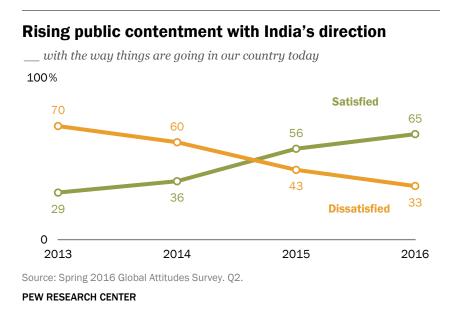
At the same time, Indians (23%) are less willing than Americans (37%) or Europeans (40%) to help other nations deal with their problems.

Roughly six-in-ten Indians say the use of overwhelming military force is the best way to defeat terrorism around the world. Less than half of Americans and Europeans agree. And about six-in-ten Indians back increased military spending. Only about a third of Americans and Europeans are willing to boost current defense budgets.

Indians (49%) and Americans (51%) are more in accord about the value of working with allies, even if it means making compromises. Europeans (44%) are slightly less committed to such cooperation. And Indians generally share with Europeans a faith that global economic integration is good for their country. Americans (44%) are less certain.

### 1. How is India doing?

A growing number of Indians, roughly two-thirds (65%), are satisfied with the way things are going in their country. Such satisfaction is up 9 percentage points since 2015 and 29 points since 2014, in a survey taken before Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) came to power. In 2013, the last year of the previous government, just 29% of the Indian public was happy with the trajectory of their nation.



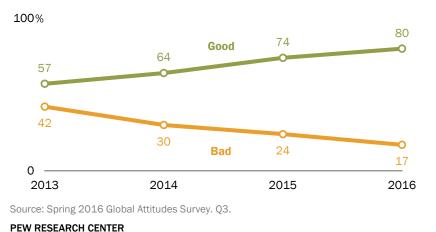
Current approval of the country's direction is widely shared by men and women, by all age groups and education levels, and by people living in cities and in the countryside. And about seven-in-ten supporters of the BJP and more than half of backers of the Indian National Congress party (INC) are satisfied with the way things are going in India.

This general approval reflects public contentment with the state of the Indian economy, which grew by 7.6% in 2015 and is expected to grow by 7.4% in 2016, according to recent <u>estimates</u> by the International Monetary Fund, making India the fastest growing major economy in the world. By comparison, the Indian economy grew by only 5% in <u>2013</u>.

**Eight-in-ten Indians believe** their economy is doing well, up 16 points since 2014. And 35% of Indians today say the economy is *very* good. Such highly positive views of the economy are up 8 points since 2015 and 25 points since 2014. Given the overall satisfaction with economic conditions there is little demographic difference in such sentiments.

### Economy seen as doing well, getting better

The current economic situation in India is ...



Notably, 42% of BJP supporters voice the view that the economy is doing *very* 

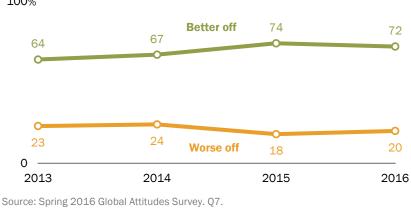
well, while only 26% of Congress adherents share such strong feelings.

Views of the economy are a snapshot, subject to change, as the recent improvement in economic sentiment testifies. But people also see the economy as a bellwether of prospects for their children. **Roughly seven-in-ten Indians** believe that when today's children grow up they will be better off financially than their parents. This faith in the future is consistent with last year, but up a bit from 2013, when it stood at 64%. People in rural areas are slightly more optimistic for the next generation than those living in urban environments (68% vs. 74%).

### Indians continue to expect next generation to be better off

When children today in India grow up, they will be \_\_\_\_\_ financially than their parents





Indians in different regions of the country differ in their perceptions of national conditions. People in the northern states of Delhi, Rajasthan, Haryana, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh express the most satisfaction (71%) with the direction of the country. Those living in the southern states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu are the least satisfied (55%). Roughly fourin-ten living in the north say the economy is doing very well (42%), while people living in the western states of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh (26%) and in the south (30%) are less likely than those in the north to believe the economy is performing very well. People living in the eastern part of the country – in Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa and West Bengal – are more confident (83%) than those in the north (62%) and west (70%) about prospects for the next generation.

### The challenges India faces

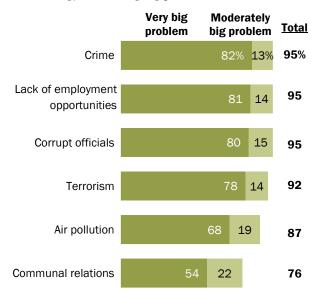
Despite satisfaction with the economy and the country's direction, Indians are troubled by a range of problems, both domestic and foreign.

Roughly eight-in-ten Indians view crime (82%), lack of employment opportunities (81%), corrupt officials (80%) and terrorism (78%) as very big domestic problems. Concern about all four issues is down somewhat in the past year, with the biggest drop-off (11 percentage points) in the intensity of worry about crime. It is notable, however, that strong concern about crime and joblessness is simply returning to the level of public anxiety in 2014 and concern about corrupt officials is returning to 2013 levels.

Apprehension about terrorism, however, is down 10 points from 2013, the last time the question was asked.

## Crime, unemployment, corrupt officials seen as top domestic issues in India

\_\_\_\_ is a very/moderately big problem in India

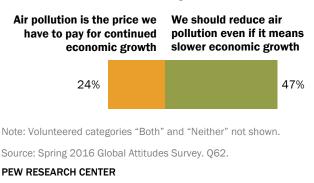


Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q59a-f. PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Air pollution exposure for the average Indian may <u>now</u> be worse than exposure for the average Chinese, <u>contributing</u> to as many as half a million premature deaths per year. About seven-in-ten Indians (68%) believe air pollution is a very big problem in their country. Such alarm is down a bit since last year, but up 16 points since 2014. Nearly three-quarters (73%) of city dwellers are very concerned about air pollution, while roughly two-thirds (65%) of those living in rural areas agree. The issue is of such concern that a plurality of Indians voice the view that air pollution should be reduced, even if it means slower economic growth (47%).

## Plurality in India wants action on air pollution

Which statement comes closer to your own views?



Just 24% say air pollution is the price society has to pay for continued economic growth.

Communal tensions – between Indians of various religious faiths and/or different castes – have long plagued Indian society. The number of communal <u>incidents</u> in India increased slightly in 2015 after having dipped sharply from 2013 to 2014. Nonetheless, intense public concern about religious and caste troubles is lower than concern about other issues. Just over half (54%) express the opinion that communal relations are a very big problem. Notably, 63% of those in southern states say communal relations are very concerning, just 42% of those living in western India agree.

Indians express far less apprehension about international problems. About a fifth to roughly a third of respondents voice no opinion about various foreign issues, reflecting the reality that distant threats seem less compelling than challenges close to home.

About half (53%) of the public sees global climate change as a major threat to India, sentiment that is unchanged from last year. Only 8% dismiss climate change as not a threat, while about a fifth (18%) see it as a minor danger or express no view (21%).

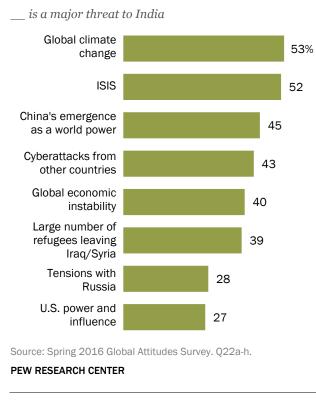
A comparable proportion (52%) voices the opinion that the Islamic militant group in Iraq and Syria known as ISIS is a major threat to India. There have been no major ISIS-led attacks in India, but over its history the country has experienced numerous incidents of international terrorism, a number of which originated in Pakistan. Few Indians (6%) dismiss ISIS outright as a threat, while 13% see it as a minor challenge for their country and more than twice that number make no judgment. A majority of BJP supporters (59%) are concerned about ISIS, as are 44% of Congress party adherents, though Congress supporters are more likely to express no opinion.

A little less than half of the public sees China's emergence as a world power as a major threat to India. Just 6% say it's no threat at all, while about a quarter believe Beijing's rise is a minor challenge (23%) or have no opinion (25%).

Roughly four-in-ten Indians express major concern about cyberattacks from other countries (43%) and global economic instability (40%). And a similar percentage sees the large number of refugees leaving countries such as Iraq and Syria as a major threat.

Half (50%) of BJP supporters are troubled by the threat of cyberattacks, as are 35% of Congress party adherents. More than four-inten (44%) of those who identify with the BJP and roughly three-in-ten (32%) Congress party backers share a perception of the threat posed by refugees. However, it is important to note that on both of these issues Congress supporters are more likely to give no opinion.

## Indians name climate change and ISIS as top international threats



Only about three-in-ten Indians consider tensions with Russia and U.S. power and influence to be major threats.

As with most domestic concerns tested, those with some college education or more express the highest levels of concern about various international threats. Notably, the greatest concern by Indians with a primary school education or less is about climate change (48% see it as a major threat). But, generally, about a quarter to a third or more of people with a primary education or less voice no view on international challenges. People with some college education or more are much more likely to express an opinion.

### 2. How is Modi doing?

Two years after his Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) swept to power in Lok Sabha elections, Prime Minister Narendra Modi continues to enjoy overwhelming public support. Roughly eight-in-ten Indians (81%) have a favorable view of Modi, including 57% who express a *very* favorable opinion. Just 16% voice an unfavorable assessment of the former chief minister of Gujarat state. This backing has decreased slightly from the 87% of Indians who voiced a favorable opinion of Modi in 2015. But the intensity of such views has waned somewhat: The share of Indians with a very favorable view of Modi is

down 11 percentage points in the last year.

Given his strong overall support, it is not surprising that Modi is popular across demographic groups – to both men and women, and among all age groups, educational backgrounds and income levels.

As might be expected, 94% of BJP followers support the leader of their party. He is also seen favorably by 61% of Congress party adherents. However, partisan differences in views of Modi can be seen in the intensity of such

### Modi seen positively across demographic groups

	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable
	%	%	%	%
TOTAL	57	24	10	6
Men	61	24	8	5
Women	53	24	11	7
18-34	60	23	8	6
35-49	58	23	9	7
50+	53	27	12	6
Primary school or less	54	25	12	7
Secondary school	64	24	7	5
Some college or more	70	20	2	7
Urban	57	25	8	7
Rural	57	23	10	6
BJP	82	12	2	2
INC	24	37	24	14

Views of Narendra Modi

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q73c.

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support: 82% of BJP supporters have a very favorable view of the prime minister, while just 24% of Congress backers voice a very positive opinion.

Modi is seen very favorably by seven-in-ten of those with some college education or more and by more than half (54%) of those with a primary school education or less. Notably, despite the Congress party's traditional strength in rural areas, Indians in cities and the countryside have a similarly positive assessment of the prime minister.

### Views of the opposition

Rahul Gandhi, Congress party standard bearer in the 2014 election, grandson of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and son of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, is seen favorably by 63% of the public, unchanged from last year but up from 50% in 2013. Fully 85% of Congress party supporters voice a positive view of Gandhi, but he has only a 52% backing from BJP adherents. Roughly two-thirds (65%) of those with a primary school education or less back Gandhi, while about half (49%) of those with some college or more support him.

### Views of Sonia, Rahul Gandhi improving

Favorable view of ...

	2013	2015	2016	'13-'16 Change
	%	%	%	
Sonia Gandhi	49	58	65	+16
Rahul Gandhi	50	62	63	+13
Narendra Modi	78	87	81	+3
Arvind Kejriwal		60	50	

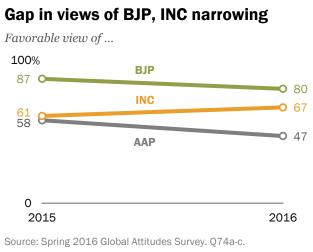
Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q73a-d.

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Rahul's mother, Sonia Gandhi, the long-serving president of the Congress party, is viewed favorably by 65% of the public. This positive view is up from 58% in 2015 and 49% in 2013, suggesting that the public's view of her is steadily improving in parallel with views of her son. Opinions about Sonia Gandhi are similarly partisan: Approval is 88% among Congress party adherents and 52% among BJP supporters. And, just like her son, she enjoys stronger support among those with a primary education or less than from those with some college education or more.

Arvind Kejriwal, the chief minister of Delhi, is viewed favorably by 50% of the public, down from 60% in 2015. The head of the anticorruption Aam Aadmi Party (the party's name translates as "common man") is viewed favorably by 62% of Indians with at least some college and 44% of those with a primary school education or less. However, only 5% of those with some college or more respond "don't know" to this question, compared with 30% of those who have a primary education or less.

Public views of the BJP, Prime Minister Modi's party, mirror opinion about their leader. Eightin-ten Indians voice a positive assessment of



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the BJP, including 53% who have a very favorable opinion. Total support for the BJP is down

slightly from last year (87%). And the intensity of that backing has waned: Very favorable views are 53% in 2016, down from 65% in 2015. Not surprisingly, the party's most fervent backers are BJP adherents (94%), but 60% of Congress party supporters also voice a positive view of the BJP. The party enjoys roughly equal support in cities and in the countryside. Notably, however, very favorable assessment of the BJP in rural areas has fallen from 70% in 2015 to 54% in 2016. At the same time, support in cities is largely unchanged. BJP favorability is fairly strong across the country: It is highest (86%) in the eastern states of Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha and West Bengal, and lowest (71%) in the western states of Chhattisgarh, Gujarat and Maharashtra.

Two-thirds of Indians have a favorable opinion of the Congress party, up slightly from support in 2015 (61%). While only 28% of the public has a very favorable view, this is up from 16% last year. Again there is a deep partisan divide in public views: 90% of Congress supporters give their party a positive assessment, but only 56% of BJP backers agree. The highest Congress approval is in the southern states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Its lowest backing is in the western states.

The AAP enjoys relatively less approval than either the BJP or the Congress party and that favorability is declining. Less than half (47%) of the public voices a positive assessment of the AAP, down from 58% in 2015. Reflecting the regional strength of the party, its support is highest in northern states – Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh – and Aam Aadmi-governed Delhi (57%), and lowest in western states (23%).

### Modi's leadership style and performance

Modi's overall public support is higher than people's opinions of his specific character attributes. A majority (56%) of Indians believe Modi is "someone who cares about people like me." Men (61%) more than women (50%) say Modi understands their situation, as do those ages 18 to 34 (59%) more than those age 50 and older (51%). Not surprisingly, Indians who identify with Modi's own party (68%) see him as more sensitive to their needs than Congress party supporters (37%).

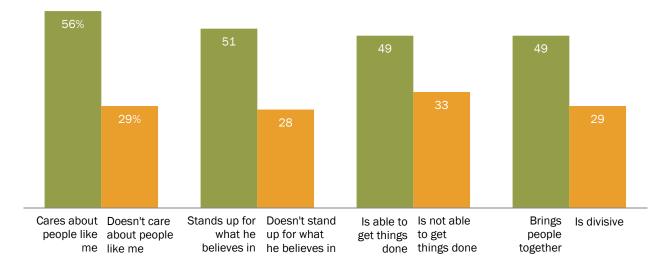
About half (51%) of the Indian public believes that Modi is someone who stands up for what he believes, while 28% say he is not. About six-in-ten (62%) BJP supporters see the prime minister in this light, but only four-in-ten Congress backers agree.

Roughly half (49%) of the public views Modi as someone who is able to gets things done. A third says he cannot accomplish things. Again there is a partisan divide in how people see the prime minister's effectiveness: BJP supporters (61%) are more likely than Congress adherents (41%) to judge Modi as a can-do prime minister.

And 49% of Indians say Modi brings people together, while 29% believe he is divisive.

### Modi generally seen in a positive light

Narendra Modi is someone who ...



Note: Volunteered category "Neither" not shown.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q77a-d.

While Indians generally approve of Modi's handling of various problems facing the country, such assessments have grown more partisan in the last year.

The <u>Indian labor force</u> is growing more quickly than the number of jobs being created by the formal economy. About six-in-ten (62%) Indians approve of Modi's handling of unemployment. More than seven-in-ten (73%) BJP supporters approve of his endeavors, largely unchanged from the number who voiced such approval last year. But among Congress party backers, support for his efforts to deal with unemployment has fallen sharply, from 62% in 2015 to 45% in 2016.

A similar proportion of the overall public (62%) approves of the prime minister's efforts to help the poor, a perception that is little changed overall from 2015. Yet there is a widening partisan divide in this assessment: 73% of BJP adherents favor Modi's efforts, while just 46% of Congress supporters agree. The partisan gap, now 27 percentage points, was only 6 points last year.

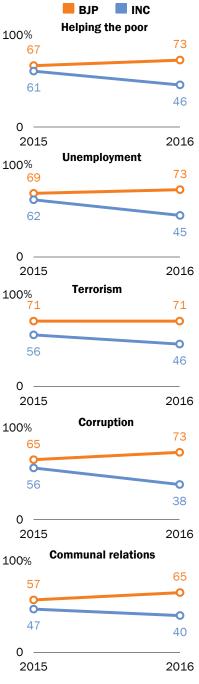
Likewise, about six-in-ten overall (61%) approve of Modi's handling of terrorism. Support among those who identify with the BJP is 71%, unchanged from 2015. Backing by Congress adherents is 46%.

A roughly comparable segment of the Indian public as a whole (59%) voices support for the prime minister's handling of corruption. BJP adherents are more supportive (73%) than Congress backers (38%). Notably, Modi's support on this issue is up by 8 points among his own party faithful and down by 18 points among Congress party supporters.

More than half (53%) of the public approves of Modi's efforts in dealing with air pollution. Despite <u>very poor air quality</u> in many of India's major cities, there is no difference in the judgment of Modi's performance between those living in urban or rural areas. Nor is there any gender or age gap in

## Partisan divide on Modi performance

Approve of the way Prime Minister Narendra Modi is handling ...



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q75a-e.

such assessments. But there is a 23-percentage-point difference by party: 62% of BJP supporters but only 39% of Congress adherents approve of Modi's performance.

In both 2015 and 2016, Modi's lowest approval rating (53%) was for his handling of communal relations. This is a partisan assessment, with his own party (65%) more supportive than the opposition (40%). And public polarization on this issue has grown. It was 10 points in 2015; it is now 25 points, with approval among the BJP growing.

### Views of Modi's handling of issues

Approve of the way Prime Minister Narendra Modi is handling ...

	Helping the poor	Unemployment	Terrorism	Corruption	Communal relations	Air pollution
	%	%	%	%	%	%
TOTAL	62	62	61	59	53	53
Men	64	64	65	61	56	55
Women	60	59	57	57	51	51
18-34	65	65	62	60	55	56
35-49	60	60	59	59	53	51
50+	59	59	63	57	51	52
Urban	64	60	62	61	55	55
Rural	61	63	61	58	53	53

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q75a-f.

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As with Modi's overall favorability and the public's judgment of his character, views of his handling of some national problems differ by the education of the respondent. Those who have some college education or more are significantly more likely than those with a primary education or less to approve of Modi's performance on several issues. This education gap is 24 points on helping the poor, 22 points on dealing with corruption and 18 points on handling joblessness.

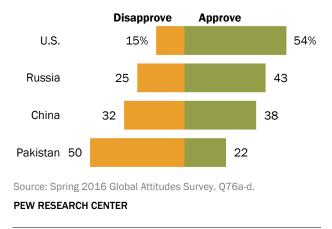
### Modi's foreign policy

Modi fares less well in public assessment of his handling of relations with other countries, despite having taken 51 trips to 42<u>nations</u> since he became prime minister in 2014.

The prime minister has made four trips to the United States since taking office. More than half (54%) of Indians approve of Modi's dealings with Washington. Just 15% disapprove. But roughly three-in-ten (31%) voice no opinion. Notably, public approval of Modi's handling of America is down 12 percentage points since 2015 despite his having visited the U.S. more than any other country during his premiership.

## Indians approve of Modi's dealings with the U.S., but not with Pakistan

Do you \_\_\_\_ of the way Prime Minister Narendra Modi is handling relations with ...



More than four-in-ten Indians (43%) approve of Modi's relationship with Russia, while 25% disapprove. But 32% say they "don't know." Support for the prime minister's dealings with Moscow is up 6 points since 2015.

About four-in-ten (38%) back Modi's handling of ties with China. Roughly three-in-ten (32%) disapprove, while 30% express no opinion. Such sentiment is largely unchanged from last year.

Just 22% of the public approves of Modi's management of India's volatile relationship with Pakistan. Half disapprove. This harsh judgment is relatively unchanged from 2015.

In the handling of China, supporters of Modi's own party, the BJP, are more likely than adherents of the Congress party to favor his conduct of bilateral relations. Notably, however, more than half of BJP supporters (54%) and a plurality of Congress party adherents (45%) disapprove of the prime minister's handling of relations with Pakistan. However, the proportion of Indians responding "don't know" is higher among Congress supporters (35%) than among BJP adherents (23%).

### 3. How Indians see their place in the world

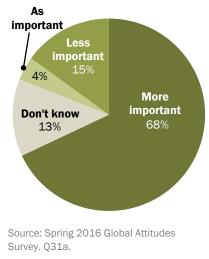
As India's economy has revived, its international trade and military posture around the world have grown. With the election of Narendra Modi, who has pursued an active foreign policy both within the South Asia region and around the world, India has emerged as an <u>increasingly important</u> <u>player</u> on the world stage. For the most part, Indians are moderately supportive of India's global engagement. Many, however, voice no opinion about such global affairs, again a reminder that for large numbers of Indians living in disparate rural villages or vast urban squatter settlements, international relations are quite removed from the concerns of their daily lives.

Indians acknowledge their country's growing international stature. About two-thirds (68%) say India plays a more important role in the world today compared with 10 years ago. Only 15% believe India plays a less important role. Notably, only 13% express no opinion, suggesting that most of the public has views on general international issues involving pride in country, even if they may not express views about the specifics of foreign policy. There is no generation gap in this perception of India's eminence. Young, middle-aged and older Indians all see their nation as more important today. And strong majorities of both Indians with only a primary school education or less and those with some college or more think India is a bigger player in the international arena than it did a decade ago.

Publics in a few other countries generally have a similarly positive take on India, though a somewhat less enthusiastic one. But there is no appreciable evidence in these countries of a positive bounce in India's stature thanks to Prime Minister Modi's extensive public diplomacy in his first two years in office.

## Indians see India playing rising role on world stage

India plays a \_\_\_\_ role in the world today compared to 10 years ago



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Roughly half or more of the public in Canada (52%), Australia (53%) and Japan (54%) hold a favorable view of India. This positive opinion is little changed in Australia, but down 9 percentage points in Japan since 2015. And the Japanese public's assessment of India is down 16 points since its recent high point in 2012, during the government of Modi's predecessor, Manmohan Singh of the Indian National Congress party.

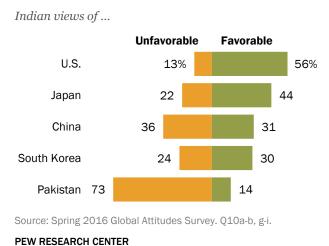
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In the wake of Sino-Indian territorial disputes and growing economic competition, only 26% of Chinese hold a favorable view of India. About six-in-ten Chinese (61%) express a negative opinion.

For their part, Indians hold mixed views of other major countries. This may in part be explained by the fact that roughly a third or more of those surveyed hold no view at all of many other nations.

A majority (56%) of Indians have a favorable opinion of the U.S., with *very* favorable (33%) views exceeding somewhat favorable (23%). However, overall U.S. favorability is down 14 percentage points since 2015, including an 11point drop in very favorable opinions. Only 13% of Indians have an unfavorable assessment of the U.S. Younger Indians view the U.S. more favorably (61%) than those ages 50 and older (49%).



### Indians' mixed views of other countries

By a margin of two-to-one (44% favorable to 22% unfavorable), Indians hold a positive view of Japan. This is relatively unchanged from previous years.

Just 30% of Indians give a thumbs-up to South Korea, while 24% have an unfavorable opinion. But most Indians (45%) hold no view at all of the country.

While many Indians may not express views of other countries, most do have an opinion about neighboring Pakistan – and such views are uniformly negative. India has fought several wars with Pakistan since the 1947 partition of the former British Indian Empire into Muslim-majority Pakistan and Hindu-majority India. Nearly three-quarters (73%) of Indians hold an unfavorable view of Pakistan. This includes 55% who have a very unfavorable opinion. Overall negative sentiments are up 9 points since 2015.

Nevertheless, a majority (56%) of Indians favor further talks between India and Pakistan to reduce tensions between the two countries. Again, on such practical international issues, most Indians have some opinion. This desire for dialogue between New Delhi and Islamabad is shared across most demographic groups. Talks enjoy greater support among Congress party backers (63%) than with BJP adherents (54%).

### A China syndrome

Indians hold China in low regard and are concerned about the competitive and strategic challenge posed by Beijing. Just 31% of the public holds a favorable view of China, while 36% voice an unfavorable opinion. However, 32% of Indians voice no view at all.

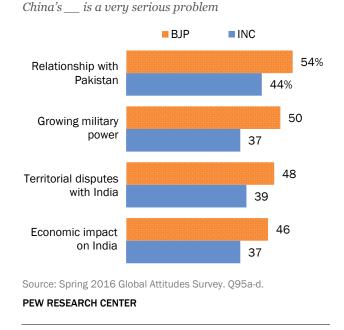
A plurality (41%) of people with a primary school education or less express no view of China, while only 8% of those with some college education or more voice no opinion, underscoring the impact of education on public views of the world around them.

Such negative views are coupled with concern about specific problems Indians believe are linked to Beijing. Seven-in-ten believe that China's economic impact on India is a problem, including 45% who say it is a *very* serious problem.

Roughly six-in-ten (61%) Indians with some college education are very worried about the competitive challenge posed by China. Just 38% of people with a primary education or less are similarly concerned. However, just 2% of those with at least some college respond "don't know" to this question, compared with 28% of those with a primary education or less. People who identify with the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) are more troubled by China's economic impact on India (46%) than are Congress party supporters (37%).

Nearly half (48%) of Indians think China's relationship with Pakistan poses a very serious problem for India. Another 21% see this as a somewhat serious challenge. BJP backers are more critical than Congress adherents.

### BJP supporters more worried about China than Congress adherents



Fully 69% hold the view that China's growing military power is a problem for India, including 46% who say this is a very serious issue. Half of those who identify with the BJP are very worried, but only 37% of Congress supporters share that intense concern.

And a similar overall proportion (69%) expresses the opinion that China's territorial disputes with India are a very or somewhat serious problem. BJP supporters are more likely than adherents of the Congress party to say China's territorial disputes with India are a very serious problem.

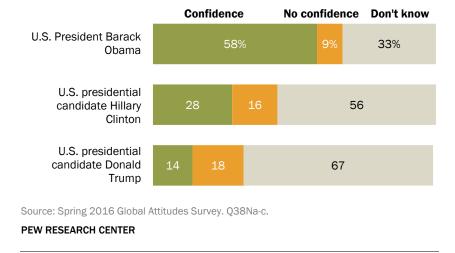
### Mixed views of foreign leaders

Indians hold mixed views of other countries' leaders, with many people voicing no opinion. A majority of Indians (58%) are confident in U.S. President Barack Obama to do the right thing regarding world affairs. This includes 34% who have *a lot* of confidence in him. But such overall public confidence is down 16 points from 2015. Indians with some college education or more are overwhelmingly confident in him (86%).

Views of the two principal candidates for the U.S. presidency in 2016 are marked by the large share of the Indian population that voices no view on the two contenders. Two-thirds of the public has no opinion of Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump. And a majority (56%) has no view of Democrat Hillary Clinton. Nearly three-in-ten (28%) have confidence in Clinton and 14% have confidence in Trump.

## Indians hold positive view of Obama, but majorities don't express opinion on Clinton or Trump

How much confidence do you have in \_\_\_\_ to do the right thing regarding world affairs?



Chinese President Xi Jinping

enjoys little recognition by or confidence from the Indian public. Fully 64% have no opinion about him. Just 15% express confidence.

Only 24% voice confidence in Russian President Vladimir Putin. Roughly six-in-ten (62%) express no view at all.

### India's international role

Indians do not need extensive knowledge about international issues to have a view about national priorities or the balance between attention to domestic and foreign concerns.

Indians are generally inward-looking in their overall posture toward the rest of the world. More than half (53%) say their country should deal with its own problems and let other nations deal with their own difficulties. Just 23% say India should help other countries deal with their problems.

At the same time, Indians demonstrate a commitment to their allies. About half (49%) hold the view that in foreign policy India should take into account the interests of its allies, even if it means making compromises. Just 28% believe that India should follow its own national interests in foreign policy, even when its allies strongly disagree. By about two-to-one (53% to 27%) BJP supporters favor such multilateralism over unilateralism. Congress party adherents are divided on India's foreign policy posture toward its allies.

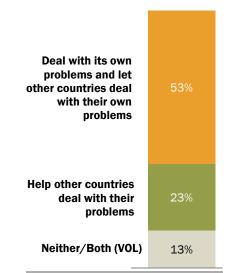
In line with their views on multilateralism, by more than twoto-one (40% favorable, 17% unfavorable) Indians have a positive view of the United Nations, the multilateral institution where India has long been a leader of what was once called the Non-Aligned Movement. But more than four-in-ten Indians (43%) voice no opinion of the UN.

India's <u>share</u> of world exports has slowly risen from 0.8% in 2002 to 1.7% in 2014. While small, it has more than doubled, and the government and business community have aspirations to play an even greater role.

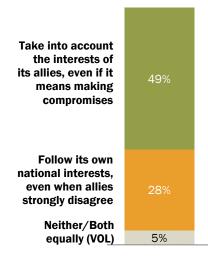
By more than two-to-one Indians think this involvement in the global economy is a good thing because it provides the country with new markets and opportunities for growth (52%); only 25% say it's a bad thing because it lowers wages and costs Indian jobs. As with other measures of public

### Indians want to deal with own problems, but willing to compromise with allies

Our country should ...



In foreign policy, our country should ...



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q29 & Q32.

sentiment on international issues, just 3% of those with a college education or more voice no opinion, but 24% of people with a primary education or less have no view.

With roughly half (52%) the Indian public worried that ISIS poses a major threat to their country, about six-in-ten Indians (62%) believe that overwhelming military force is the best way to defeat terrorism around the world. Just 21% say relying too much on such force creates hatred that leads to more terrorism.

And Indians are ready to back up that commitment with more defense spending. Across party lines, more than six-in-ten (63%) think the country should increase spending on national defense, just 6% want to decrease it and 20% want to keep it at current levels. Notably, Indians who see China's growing military power as a very serious problem are more likely than those who see China's growing military power as a less serious threat to favor increased military spending.

## Indians support use of military force against terrorism

Which statement comes closer to your views?

Relying on force creates Overwhelming military force is hatred, more terrorism best way to defeat terrorism

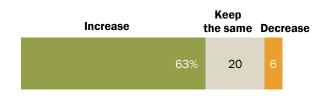


Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q86.

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## Indians support increased defense spending

*Do you think India should* <u>\_\_\_</u> *spending on national defense?* 



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q40. PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Finally, a plurality of Indians (46%) voice support for making the improvement of human rights around the world one of India's most important foreign policy goals. Roughly a quarter (27%) say improving human rights is important, but that many other foreign policy goals should be more important. Just 5% believe human rights should not be an important Indian foreign policy objective.

### Acknowledgments

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### Methodology

About the Pew Research Center's Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey

Results for the survey in India are based on face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. The results are based on national samples, unless otherwise noted. More details about our international survey methodology and country-specific sample designs are available on our <u>website</u>.

For more detailed information on survey methods for this report, see here: <u>http://www.pewglobal.org/international-survey-</u> methodology/?country\_select=India&year\_select=2016

For more general information on international survey research, see here: <u>http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/international-survey-research/</u>

### **Topline Questionnaire**

### Pew Research Center Spring 2016 Survey September 19, 2016 Release

Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on national samples. For further details on sample designs, see Methodology section and our <u>international survey methods database</u>.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline "total" columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- Throughout this report, trends from India in 2013 refer to a survey conducted between December 7, 2013, and January 12, 2014 (Winter 2013-2014).
- 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 Winter 2013-2014
- Not all questions included in the Spring 2016 survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.

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		Q2. Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?							
		Satisfied Dissatisfied DK/Refused Total							
India	Spring, 2016	65	33	2	100				
	Spring, 2015	56	43	1	100				
	Spring, 2014	36	60	4	100				
	Winter, 2013-2014	29	70	1	100				

				mic situation, how it very good, som			
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	35	45	11	6	3	100
	Spring, 2015	27	47	16	8	2	100
	Spring, 2014	10	54	19	11	5	100
	Winter, 2013-2014	10	47	24	18	2	100

		Q7. When childre		y country) grow u f financially than	p, do you think the their parents?	ey will be better			
		Better off Worse off Same (VOL) DK/Refused Total							
India	Spring, 2016	72	20	5	4	100			
	Spring, 2015	74	18	4	4	100			
	Spring, 2014	67	24	4	4	100			
	Winter, 2013-2014	64	23	5	8	100			

		Q10a. Please tel			omewhat favorabl		vorable or very
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	33	23	9	4	31	100
	Spring, 2015	44	26	5	3	22	100
	Spring, 2014	30	25	9	7	29	100
	Winter, 2013-2014	30	26	9	6	28	100

		Q10b. Please tel			omewhat favorablen of b. China	e, somewhat unfa	vorable or very
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	8	23	21	15	32	100
	Spring, 2015	13	28	15	17	28	100
	Spring, 2014	12	19	16	23	30	100
	Winter, 2013-2014	13	22	19	22	23	100

Q10d. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable unfavorable opinion of d. the United Nations						vorable or very	
Somewhat Somewhat Very   Very favorable favorable unfavorable Unfavorable						Total	
India	Spring, 2016	15	25	13	4	43	100
	Winter, 2013-2014	14	26	13	9	38	100

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		Q10f. Please tel			omewhat favorabl		vorable or very
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Canada	Spring, 2016	8	44	20	4	24	100
Australia	Spring, 2016	5	48	28	8	11	100
	Spring, 2015	6	52	22	9	11	100
	Spring, 2013	6	48	26	10	9	100
	Spring, 2008	7	64	17	3	9	100
China	Spring, 2016	4	22	44	17	13	100
	Spring, 2015	4	20	41	21	15	100
	Spring, 2014	3	27	40	15	14	100
	Spring, 2013	2	21	40	21	16	100
	Spring, 2012	3	20	38	24	16	100
Sp	Spring, 2011	2	25	32	21	19	100
	Spring, 2010	4	28	32	19	18	100
	Spring, 2008	2	27	38	12	20	100
	Spring, 2007	2	27	45	12	15	100
	Spring, 2006	2	31	38	5	24	100
India	Spring, 2016	83	7	1	2	6	100
	Spring, 2015	85	9	2	1	2	100
	Spring, 2014	72	10	2	3	13	100
	Winter, 2013-2014	77	11	3	4	5	100
Japan	Spring, 2016	4	50	20	4	21	100
	Spring, 2015	8	55	22	5	9	100
	Spring, 2014	7	56	23	3	11	100
	Spring, 2013	6	56	23	3	12	100
	Spring, 2012	8	62	20	2	8	100
	Spring, 2011	7	52	20	3	18	100
	Spring, 2010	6	56	22	5	12	100
	Spring, 2008	5	55	26	4	10	100
	Spring, 2007	7	44	30	5	14	100
	Spring, 2006	8	57	26	2	7	100

		Q10g. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of g. Pakistan						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total	
India	Spring, 2016	5	9	18	55	14	100	
	Spring, 2015	5	13	13	51	18	100	
	Spring, 2014	5	10	13	49	23	100	
	Winter, 2013-2014	6	13	17	54	11	100	

		Q10h. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of h. Japan						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total	
India	Spring, 2016	15	29	14	8	35	100	
	Spring, 2015	18	28	11	5	38	100	
	Spring, 2014	15	28	12	8	37	100	
	Winter, 2013-2014	15	34	15	10	26	100	

Q10i. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or ve unfavorable opinion of i. South Korea							vorable or very
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	7	23	14	10	45	100
	Spring, 2015	8	20	13	6	52	100

Q22a. I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns. Do you the that is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to (survey country)' a. China's emergence as a world power						
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	45	23	6	25	100

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Q22b. I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns. Do you th that is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to (survey country)? b. the United States' power and influence						
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	27	24	18	31	100
	Winter, 2013-2014	27	29	19	25	100

Q22c. I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns. Do you t that is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to (survey country) c. tensions with Russia					3	
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	28	25	16	31	100

Q22d. I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns. Do you thin that is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to (survey country)? d. global climate change						
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	53	18	8	21	100
	Winter, 2013-2014	53	25	5	17	100

		Q22e. I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns. Do you think that is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to (survey country)? e. the Islamic militant group in Iraq and Syria known as ISIS					
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total	
India	Spring, 2016	52	13	6	29	100	

		Q22f. I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns. Do you think that is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to (survey country)? f. cyberattacks from other countries					
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total	
India	Spring, 2016	43	16	6	34	100	

		that is a	. I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns. Do you think at is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to (survey country)? g. a large number of refugees leaving countries such as Iraq and Syria				
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total	
India	Spring, 2016	39	20	7	34	100	

		O22h. I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns. Do you think that is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to (survey country)? h. global economic instability				
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	40	19	7	34	100

	Q2	9. Which of these	statements com	es closer to y	our view?	
	(Survey country) should deal with its own problems and let other countries deal with their own problems [OR]	(Survey country) should help other countries deal with their problems	Neither (VOL)	Both (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
	p. 52.51.15 [61(]	p. 62.101113			2.1.1.1.1.1.0.0.0	
India Spring, 2016	53	23	1	12	11	100

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		Q31a. Do you think plays a more important role in the world today compared to 10 years ago, a less important role or about as important a role in the world as it did 10 years ago? a. (Survey country)				
		More important role	Less important role	As important as 10 years ago	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	68	15	4	13	100

		ell me whether the oser to your own v					
	In foreign policy, (survey country) should take into account the interests of its allies, even if it means making compromises	policy, (survey country)policy, (survey country)should take into accountshould follow its own the interestsof its allies, even if itinterests, even when its allies stronglyNeither/Both					
India Spring, 2016	49	28	5	18	100		

					have in each leade e, not too much co t Barack Obama		
A lot of Some Not too much No confidence confidence confidence confidence at all DK/Refused To						Total	
India	Spring, 2016	34	24	5	4	33	100
	Spring, 2015	45	29	4	4	17	100
	Spring, 2014	22	26	8	7	37	100
	Winter, 2013-2014	19	34	10	11	27	100

In 2013, item asked as a standalone question.

		Q38Nb. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regar world affairs — a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence or no confidence at b. U.S. presidential candidate Hillary Clinton						
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total	
India	Spring, 2016	8	20	12	4	56	100	

			a lot of confidence	e, some confidence	have in each leade e, not too much co ndidate Donald Tru	nfidence or no cor	5 5 5
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	4	10	10	8	67	100

Q38Ng. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regard world affairs — a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence or no confidence at a g. Chinese President Xi Jinping							
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	4	11	10	10	64	100
	Spring, 2015	8	21	14	15	42	100
	Spring, 2014	3	10	12	13	62	100

Q38Nh. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs — a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence or no confidence at a h. Russian President Vladimir Putin							
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	10	14	9	6	62	100
	Spring, 2015	14	22	8	7	49	100
	Spring, 2014	9	15	10	6	60	100

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Q40. Now thinking about (survey country), do you think that we should increase spending on national defense, keep it about the same or decrease it?						
		Increase	Keep same	Decrease	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	63	20	6	12	100

		Q43. Which statement comes closer to your view about (survey country)'s involvement in the global economy, even if neither is exactly right?							
		It is a good thing because it provides (survey country) with new markets and opportunities for growth	thing because it providesIt is a bad thing because country) with it lowers new marketsIt is a bad thing because thing because 						
India	Spring, 2016	52	25	3	20	100			

	Q45. Which of t	the following state	ements comes clos	ser to your view, e	even if neither is	exactly right?
	Improving human rights around the world should be one of (survey country)'s most important foreign policy goals	Improving human rights is important, but many other foreign policy goals should be more important	Improving human rights around the world should not be an important foreign policy goal for (survey country)	None of the above (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
India Spring, 2016	46	27	5	2	20	100

		Q59a. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all. a. crime							
Very big Moderately big problem Problem Small problem Small problem					Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total		
India	Spring, 2016	82	13	3	0	1	100		
	Spring, 2015	93	6	1	0	1	100		
	Spring, 2014	85	9	2	0	4	100		

		Q59b. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all. b. corrupt officials						
	Very big problem Moderately big problem Not a problem DK/Refused Total					Total		
India	Spring, 2016	80	15	3	0	3	100	
	Spring, 2015	86	11	1	0	2	100	
	Winter, 2013-2014	83	11	3	0	3	100	

		Q59c. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all. c. air pollution							
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total		
India	Spring, 2016	68	19	6	1	6	100		
	Spring, 2015	74	19	4	1	2	100		
	Spring, 2014	52	31	9	3	5	100		

		Q59d. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all. d. a lack of employment opportunities					
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	81	14	2	0	3	100
	Spring, 2015	87	10	1	1	2	100
	Spring, 2014	79	16	4	0	1	100
	Winter, 2013-2014	85	10	3	1	1	100

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		Q59e. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all. e. terrorism						
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total	
India	Spring, 2016	78	14	4	1	3	100	
	Spring, 2015	85	9	3	0	4	100	
	Winter, 2013-2014	88	7	2	1	2	100	

		Q59f. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all. f. communal relations						
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total	
India	Spring, 2016	54	22	11	5	8	100	
							100	

	Q62. Which statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right?							
	We should reduce air pollution even if it means slower economic growth	Air pollution is the price we have to pay for continued economic growth	Both (VOL)	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total		
India Spring, 2016	47	24	12	1	16	100		

		Q73a. Now I'd like to ask your views about some political leaders in our country. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? a. Rahul Gandhi					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	25	38	18	14	5	100
Spring, 2015		20	42	18	15	5	100
	Winter, 2013-2014	23	27	22	21	6	100

		Q73b. Now I'd like to ask your views about some political leaders in our country. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? b. Sonia Gandhi						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total	
India	Spring, 2016	28	37	17	14	4	100	
Spring, 2015		21	37	21	17	5	100	
	Winter, 2013-2014	19	30	19	27	5	100	

		Q73c. Now I'd like to ask your views about some political leaders in our country. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? c. Narendra Modi						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total	
India	Spring, 2016	57	24	10	6	3	100	
	Spring, 2015	68	19	6	5	2	100	
	Winter, 2013-2014	60	18	9	7	7	100	

	Q73d. Now I'd like to ask your views about some political leaders in our country. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? d. Arvind Kejriwal							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total	
India	Spring, 2016	19	31	14	13	23	100	
	Spring, 2015	25	35	16	10	14	100	

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	Q74a. Now I am going to read you a list of groups and organizations. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of a. Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total	
India	Spring, 2016	53	27	10	6	4	100	
	Spring, 2015	65	22	6	5	3	100	

Q74b. Now I am going to read you a list of groups and organizations. Please tell me if you have a vo favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of b. Indian National Congress (INC)							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	28	39	15	14	5	100
	Spring, 2015	16	45	20	15	5	100

Q74c. Now I am going to read you a list of groups and organizations. Please tell me if you have a ve favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of c. Aam Aadmi Party (AAP)							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	15	32	16	16	21	100
	Spring, 2015	20	38	17	11	14	100

		Q75a. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Prime Minister Narendra Modi is handling each of the following areas? a. unemployment					
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total		
India	Spring, 2016	62	32	7	100		
	Spring, 2015	67	29	4	100		

			Q75b. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Prime Minister Narendra Modi is handling each of the following areas? b. terrorism						
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total				
India	Spring, 2016	61	31	8	100				
	Spring, 2015	66	66 28 6 100						

			approve or disapp Nodi is handling e c. corr	ach of the followir					
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total				
India	Spring, 2016	59	33	8	100				
	Spring, 2015	61	61 33 6 100						

			approve or disapp Nodi is handling e d. helping	ach of the followir					
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total				
India	Spring, 2016	62	31	8	100				
	Spring, 2015	63	63 32 5 100						

			approve or disapp Nodi is handling e e. communa	ach of the followir	
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	53	33	13	100
	Spring, 2015	53	35	12	100

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			Q75f. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Prime Minister Narendra Modi is handling each of the following areas? f. air pollution				
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total		
India	Spring, 2016	53 33 14 100					
India	Spring, 2016	••					

			Q76a. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Prime Minister Narendra Modi is handling relations with? a. China					
		Approve Disapprove DK/Refused Total						
India	Spring, 2016	38	32	30	100			
	Spring, 2015	<b>39 30 31 100</b>						

			approve or disapp lodi is handling re						
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total				
India	Spring, 2016	43	25	32	100				
	Spring, 2015	37	37 29 34 100						

			Q76c. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Prime Minister Narendra Modi is handling relations with? c. Pakistan					
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total			
India	Spring, 2016	22	50	29	100			
	Spring, 2015	25 50 25 100						

		Q76d. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Prime Minister Narendra Modi is handling relations with? d. the United States						
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total			
India	Spring, 2016	54	15	31	100			
	Spring, 2015	Spring, 2015 66 13 22 100						

		impression of Na	Q77a. As I read some pairs of phrases, please tell me which one best reflects your impression of Narendra Modi. Do you think Narendra Modi is? a. someone who cares about people like me OR someone who doesn't care about people like me						
		Statement #1 Statement #2 Neither (VOL) DK/Refused Total							
India	Spring, 2016	56	56 29 4 11 100						

		impression of Na	l some pairs of ph arendra Modi. Do get things done Of	you think Narendr	a Modi is? b.	. someone who			
		Statement #1 Statement #2 Neither (VOL) DK/Refused Total							
India	Spring, 2016	49	49 33 4 13 100						

		impression of Na	Q77c. As I read some pairs of phrases, please tell me which one best reflects your impression of Narendra Modi. Do you think Narendra Modi is? c. someone who brings people together OR someone who is divisive					
		Statement #1 Statement #2 Neither (VOL) DK/Refused Total						
India	Spring, 2016	49	49 29 7 15 100					

		Q77d. As I read some pairs of phrases, please tell me which one best reflects your impression of Narendra Modi. Do you think Narendra Modi is? d. someone who stands up for what he believes in OR someone who doesn't stand up for what he believes in						
		Statement #1	Statement #2	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total		
India	Spring, 2016	51 28 5 16						

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		Q86. Which statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right?				
		Using overwhelming military force is the best way to defeat terrorism around the world	Total			
India	Spring, 2016	62	21	17	100	

	Q95a. For each one, please tell me if you think it is a very serious problem, somewhat serious, not to serious or not a problem at all. a. China's economic impact on India						
		Very serious problem	Somewhat serious problem	Not too serious a problem	Not a problem	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	45	25	6	3	21	100

Q95b. For each one, please tell me if you think it is a very serious problem, somewhat serious, not serious or not a problem at all. b. China's relationship with Pakistan							erious, not too
		Very serious problem	Somewhat serious problem	Not too serious a problem	Not a problem	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	48	21	7	2	22	100

	Q95c. For each one, please tell me if you think it is a very serious problem, somewhat serious, not t serious or not a problem at all. c. China's growing military power						
		Very serious problem	Somewhat serious problem	Not too serious a problem	Not a problem	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	46	23	6	2	23	100

	Q95d. For each one, please tell me if you think it is a very serious problem, somewhat serious, no serious or not a problem at all. d. China's territorial disputes with India						
		Very serious problem	Somewhat serious problem	Not too serious a problem	Not a problem	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	45	24	6	2	23	100

			u favor or oppose t y to reduce tensio		
		Favor	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2016	56	36	8	100
	Spring, 2015	60	33	7	100
	Winter, 2013-2014	53	30	17	100