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# Views of India Lean Positive Across 23 Countries

*Among Indians, Modi and India's global influence are viewed favorably*

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## How we did this

The Pew Research Center looked at views of India and its prime minister in 23 countries in North America, Europe, the Middle East, the Asia-Pacific region, sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America. The report also explores how Indians think their country compares to others in terms of international influence, and how they see their country's political leaders. This is the first year since 2019 that the Global Attitudes Survey has included countries from Africa and Latin America due to [the coronavirus outbreak](#).

For data from countries outside of India and the U.S., this report draws on nationally representative surveys of 24,674 adults conducted from Feb. 20 to May 22, 2023. All surveys were conducted over the phone with adults in Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, South Korea, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom. Surveys were conducted face to face in Hungary, Poland, Indonesia, Israel, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Argentina, Brazil and Mexico. In Australia, we used a mixed-mode probability-based online panel.

In India, we surveyed 2,611 Indian adults from March 25 to May 11, 2023. The survey was conducted face to face and is weighted to be representative of the Indian adult population by gender, age, education, region, urbanicity and other categories.

In the United States, we surveyed 3,576 U.S. adults from March 20 to 26, 2023. Everyone who took part in this survey is a member of the Center's American Trends Panel (ATP), an online survey panel that is recruited through national, random sampling of residential addresses. This way nearly all U.S. adults have a chance of selection. The survey is weighted to be representative of the U.S. adult population by gender, race, ethnicity, partisan affiliation, education and other categories. Read more about the [ATP's methodology](#).

Here are the [questions used for the report](#), along with responses, and the [survey methodology](#).

## Table of Contents

<b>Views of India Lean Positive Across 23 Countries</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>1. International views of India and Modi</b>	<b>10</b>
Confidence in Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi	14
<b>2. Indians' views of Modi and other national leaders</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>3. Indians' views of India</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>4. Indians' views of other countries</b>	<b>18</b>
Indians' views of Russia, the U.S. and China	20
Indians' views of Pakistan	23
<b>Acknowledgments</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Appendix A: Political categorization</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>Appendix B: Classifying European political parties</b>	<b>28</b>
Classifying parties as populist	28
Classifying parties as left, right or center	29
<b>Methodology</b>	<b>31</b>
About Pew Research Center's Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey	31
The American Trends Panel survey methodology	31
<b>Topline questionnaire</b>	<b>37</b>

# Views of India Lean Positive Across 23 Countries

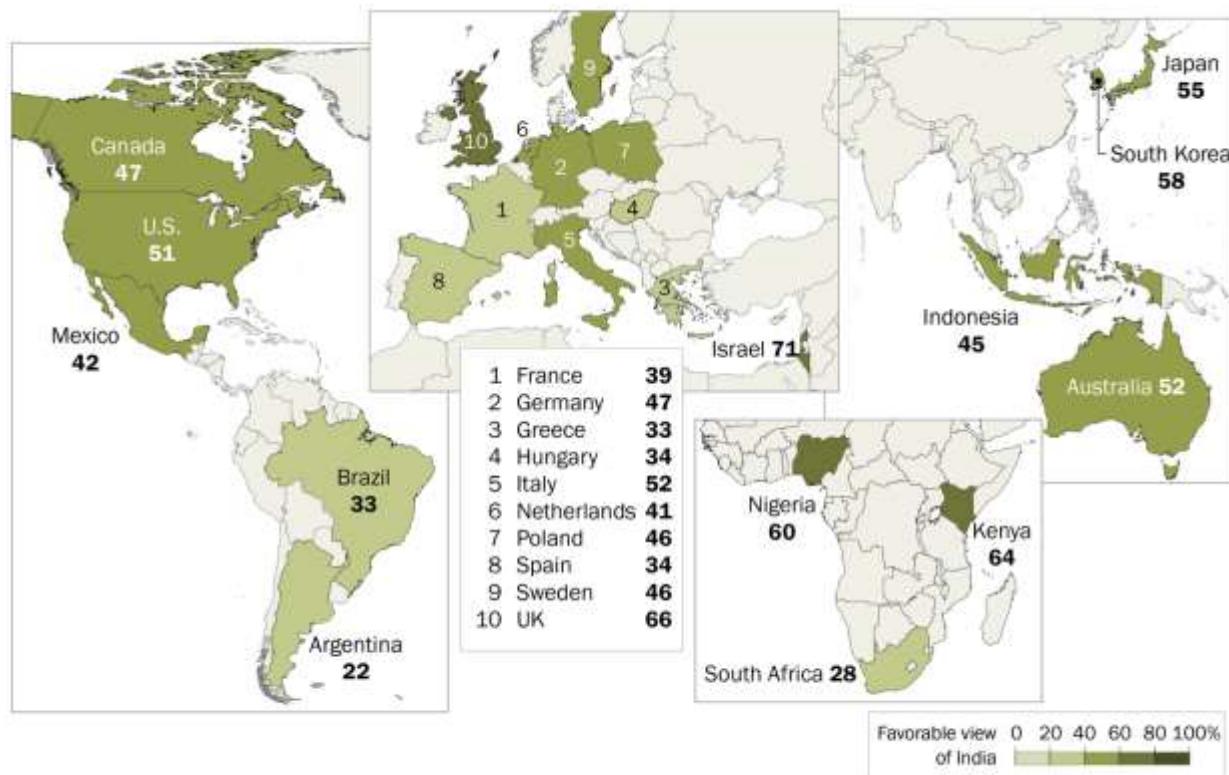
*Among Indians, Modi and India's global influence are viewed favorably*

Next week, political leaders are gathering in New Delhi for the [annual G20 summit](#), the first ever to be held in South Asia. As international attention is drawn to India, a new Pew Research Center survey finds that views of India are generally positive across 23 countries.

A median of 46% of adults hold a favorable view of India, while a median of 34% have unfavorable views. In comparison, views of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, which were collected in a

## India is seen more favorably than not in many countries across the world

% who have a *favorable* opinion of India



Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q3g.  
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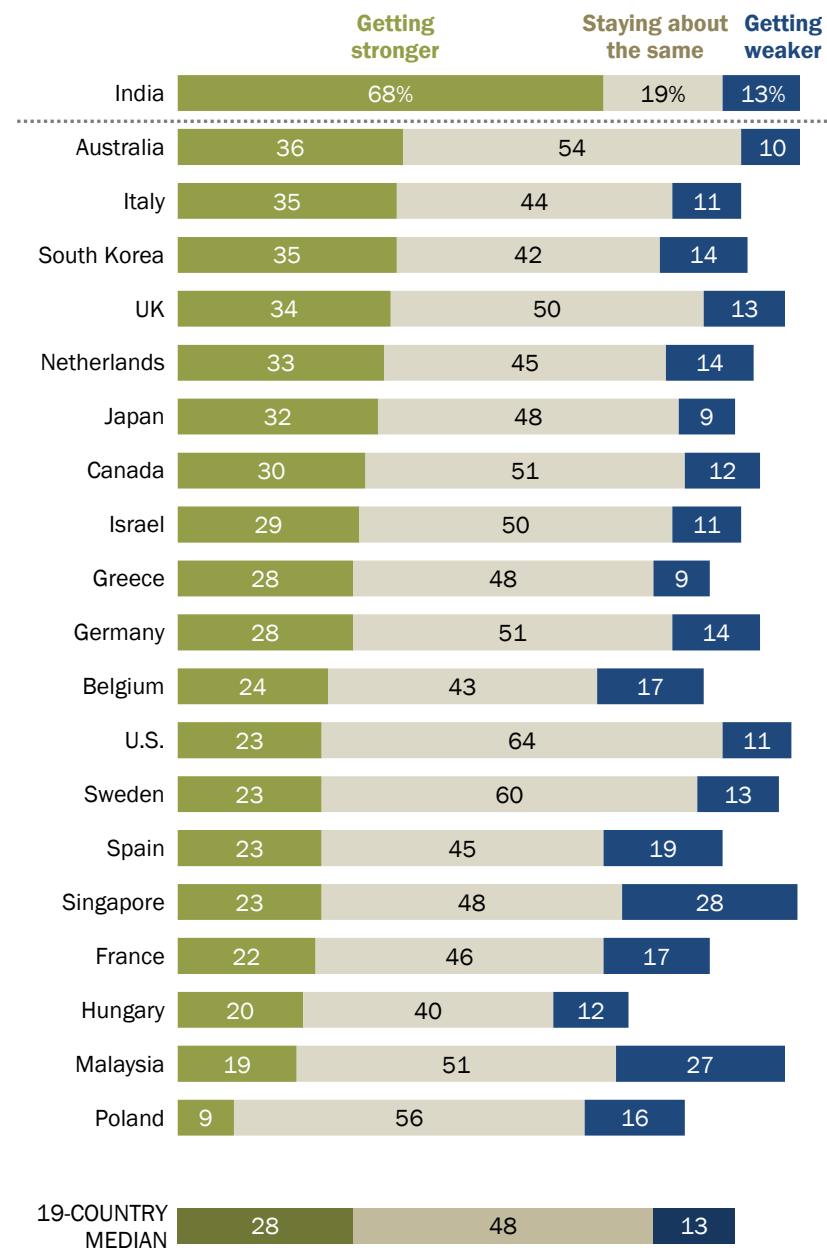
subset of 12 countries, are more mixed: A 37% median say they have confidence in Modi, and a 40% median say they lack confidence in him.

The new survey examines views of India and its political leaders in and outside of India, as well as Indians' views of other countries. The survey includes eight [middle-income nations](#) that Pew Research Center has not surveyed since 2019, before the outbreak of COVID-19, due to the [challenges of conducting face-to-face interviews](#) during the pandemic. Below are some of the key findings from the survey of 30,861 people in 24 countries, including India, conducted from Feb. 20 to May 22, 2023:

- **Indians are more likely than others to believe India's power is on the rise.** Around seven-in-ten Indians believe their country has recently become more influential, compared with a median of 28% across 19 countries who said the same in 2022. In those 19 countries, respondents were most inclined to say that India's

## Majority of Indians say India's global influence is getting stronger

% who say India's influence in the world in recent years has been ...



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. Data for India from 2023. Data for other countries from 2022.

Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q14g. Spring 2022 Global Attitudes Survey. Q14d.

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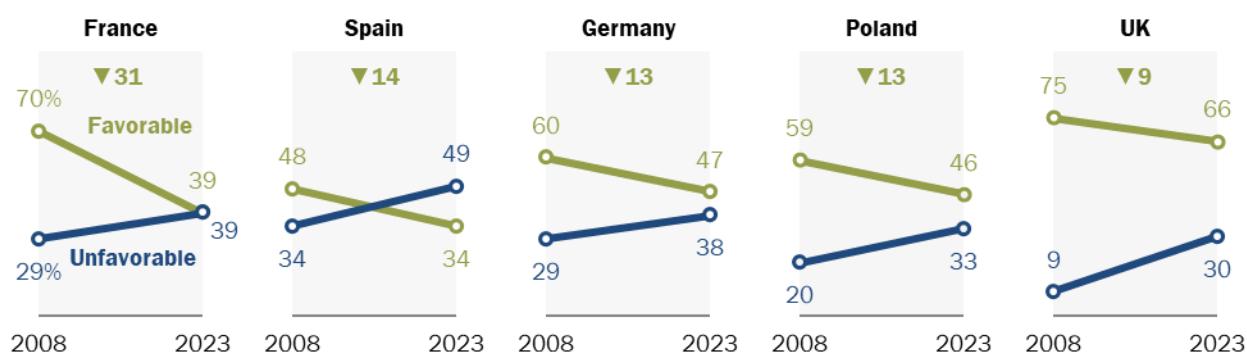
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influence had not changed much in recent years (48% median), but only 19% of Indians agree with this view. Indians are just as likely as those in other countries to think India's influence has become weaker in recent years (13% vs. a 19-country median of 13%).

- **Modi is popular in India, but has more mixed reviews internationally.** About eight-in-ten Indians (79%) have a favorable view of Modi, including a majority of 55% with a *very* favorable view. In comparison, a median of 37% in 12 countries, most of which are middle-income, report having confidence in Modi to make the right foreign policy choices. Kenyans are especially confident, with 60% saying they trust Modi to do the right thing regarding world affairs, while Argentines are particularly skeptical. Just 12% in Argentina have confidence in the Indian leader. At least one-in-ten in each of these countries also do not offer an opinion on Modi.

### Drop in favorability of India in European countries since 2008

% who have a(n) \_\_\_ opinion of India



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant. Those who did not answer are not shown.

Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q3g.

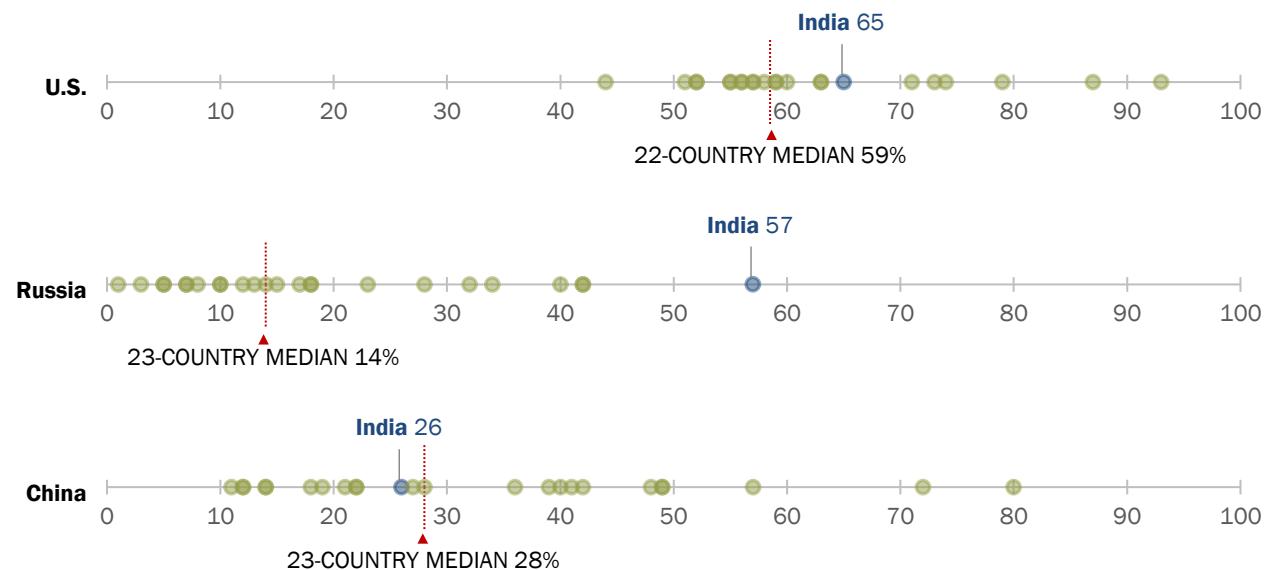
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- **European attitudes toward India have turned more negative over time.** Favorable views of India have declined by roughly 10 percentage points or more in all five of the European countries where past data is available. The greatest change is seen in France, where just 39% now have a favorable view of India, compared with 70% in 2008. Notably, French adults are also *less* likely than they were in 2008 to share an opinion on India. In all other countries, people are more or about as likely to offer an opinion on India as they were in 2008.

## Indians express positive views about both the U.S. and Russia, but not China

% who have a *favorable* opinion of ...



Note: U.S. median does not include the U.S. or India. Russia and China medians do not include India.

Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q3a, b, f.

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- Indians stand out for their favorable views of Russia.** Whereas a median of only 14% across 22 countries have a positive view of Russia, a 57% majority of Indians see Russia favorably. Indians are also the most likely to have confidence in Russian President Vladimir Putin to do the right thing regarding world affairs among all publics surveyed. Likewise, the United States is seen more favorably in India (65%) than in many other countries surveyed. When it comes to China, India stands out for the opposite reason: It is the only middle-income country surveyed where a majority has *unfavorable* views of China.
- Negative attitudes toward Pakistan persist in India.** Roughly three-quarters of Indian adults hold an unfavorable view of Pakistan. This includes 57% who have a *very* unfavorable opinion. Indians' views of Pakistan have consistently been unfavorable since the question was first asked in 2013, with the share holding an unfavorable view of the country never dipping below 60%.
- Outside of India, substantial shares in many countries surveyed do not offer an opinion on India and on Modi.** In the U.S., this includes 40% who report having never heard of Modi. Some groups are more inclined to provide a response to the two questions: This includes men and those with more education in several countries. Younger adults are also generally more likely to offer an opinion on India. Within India, a quarter or more do not offer

an opinion of Indian National Congress (INC) leaders Mallikarjun Kharge and Adhir Ranjan Chowdhury.

## 1. International views of India and Modi

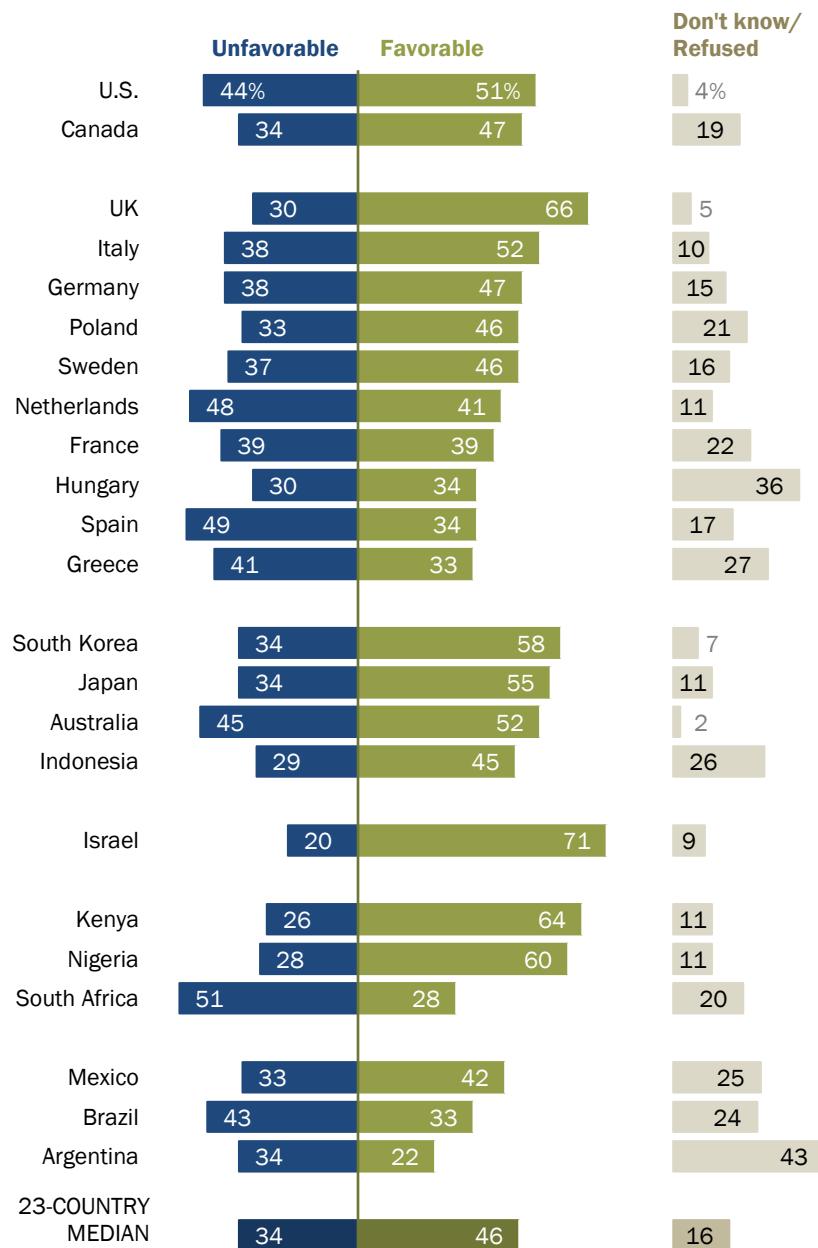
Many of the 23 countries surveyed report a relatively favorable view of India. A median of 46% say they have a favorable view of India, compared with a median of 34% with an unfavorable view. Substantial shares in some countries also do not share an opinion (16% median).

Views of India are most positive in Israel, where 71% say they have a favorable view of the country. India and Israel are both part of the I2U2 – a partnership among India, Israel, the U.S. and the United Arab Emirates – and India is the [top destination for Israeli arms exports](#). India is also seen especially favorably in Kenya, Nigeria and the United Kingdom, where at least six-in-ten say they have a favorable view of the country. Kenya and Nigeria additionally stand out for having about a quarter who have a *very* favorable view of India.

In contrast, South Africans see India more critically than favorably. About half say they have an unfavorable view of the country – including 36% who

### India is generally seen more favorably than not

% who have a(n) \_\_\_ opinion of India



Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q3g.  
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hold a *very* unfavorable view, while 28% report a favorable opinion. About half in the Netherlands and Spain also say they have a critical opinion of the country.

In most countries, at least one-in-ten do not share an opinion on India. Argentines are particularly likely to not offer an opinion of the country (43%). About a third in Hungary and roughly a quarter in Brazil, Greece, Indonesia and Mexico also refrain from answering the question.

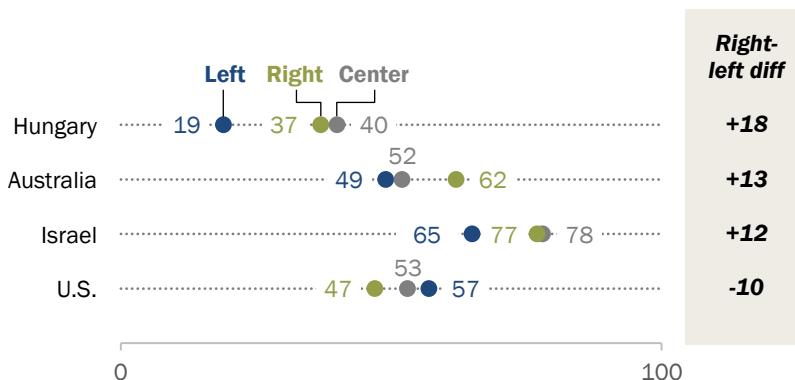
Political ideology also plays a role in how India is evaluated in some cases. In Hungary, Australia and Israel, those on the political right report more favorable views of India than those on the left.

The opposite is true in the U.S., where liberals are 10 percentage points more likely than conservatives to hold a favorable opinion of India.

Favorable views of India are likewise more common among supporters of some populist parties in Europe. In Greece, supporters of Greek Solution – a right-wing populist party – and supporters of Syriza – a left-wing populist party – are more likely than nonsupporters to hold a favorable view of India. Similarly, supporters of the centrist Five Star Movement in Italy, right-leaning Nationally Rally in France and right-wing Vox in Spain all see India more positively than those who do not support each of these parties. Notably, supporters of these parties are not more likely than nonsupporters to have an opinion on India. For more information on how we classify populist parties, read [Appendix B](#).

### In some countries, India is seen more positively among the right

*% who have a favorable opinion of India, among those on the ideological ...*



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. In the U.S., ideology is defined as conservative (right), moderate (center) and liberal (left).

Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q3g.  
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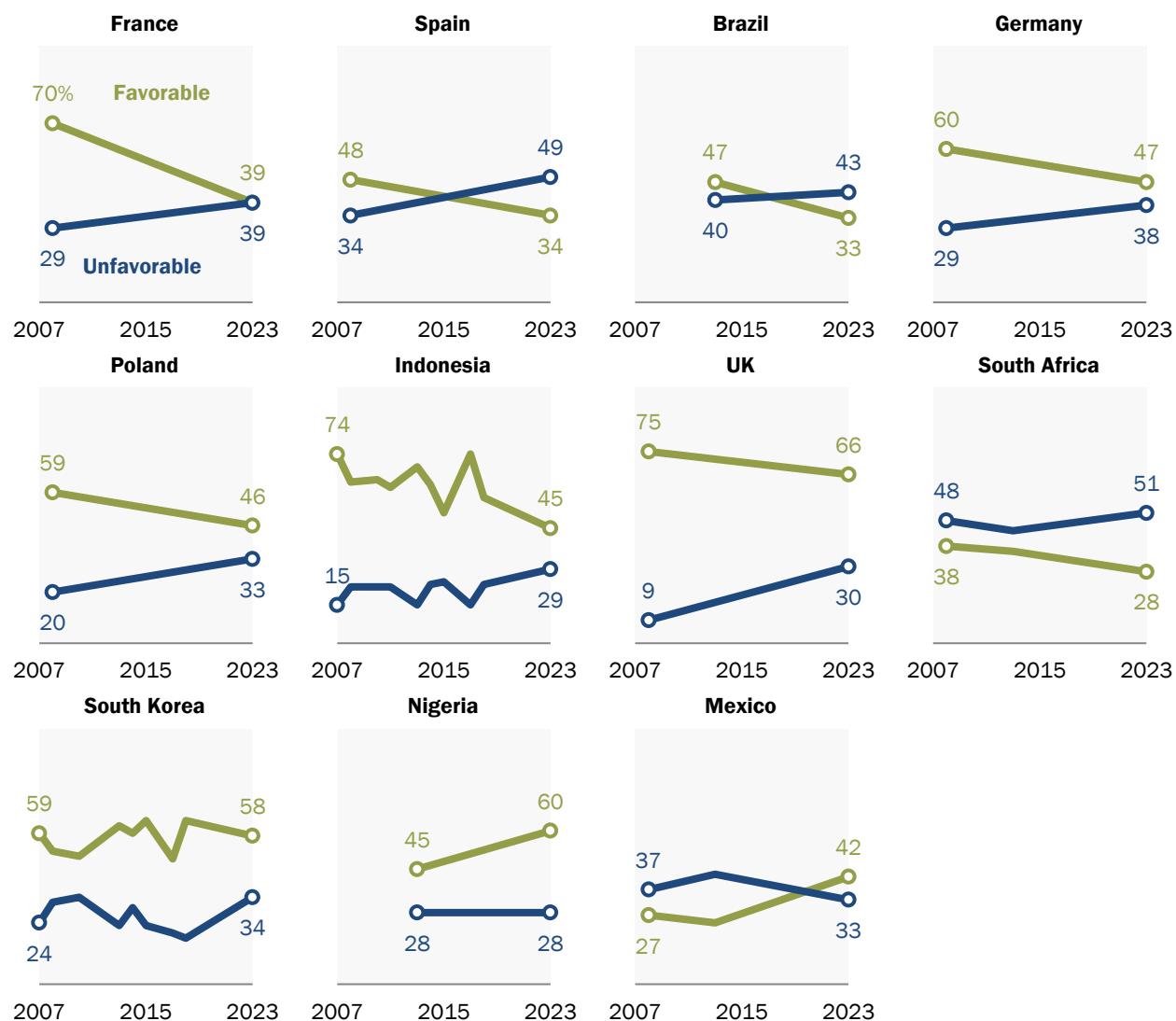
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## How views of India have changed over time

Views of India have been measured before in some of the countries surveyed this year. Across these select countries, views of India have generally become more negative since the question was last asked.

### Views of India over time

% who have a(n) \_\_\_ opinion of India



Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q3g.

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In Indonesia and South Korea, where opinions of India were last recorded in 2018, favorable views of India have declined by 12 and 6 percentage points, respectively. Among the African and Latin American countries, which were last asked about views of India in 2013, evaluations have become more critical in Brazil (-14 points) and South Africa (-8), but more positive in Mexico (+18) and Nigeria (+15). Views of India have also become critical across some European countries, which were last surveyed about India in 2008.

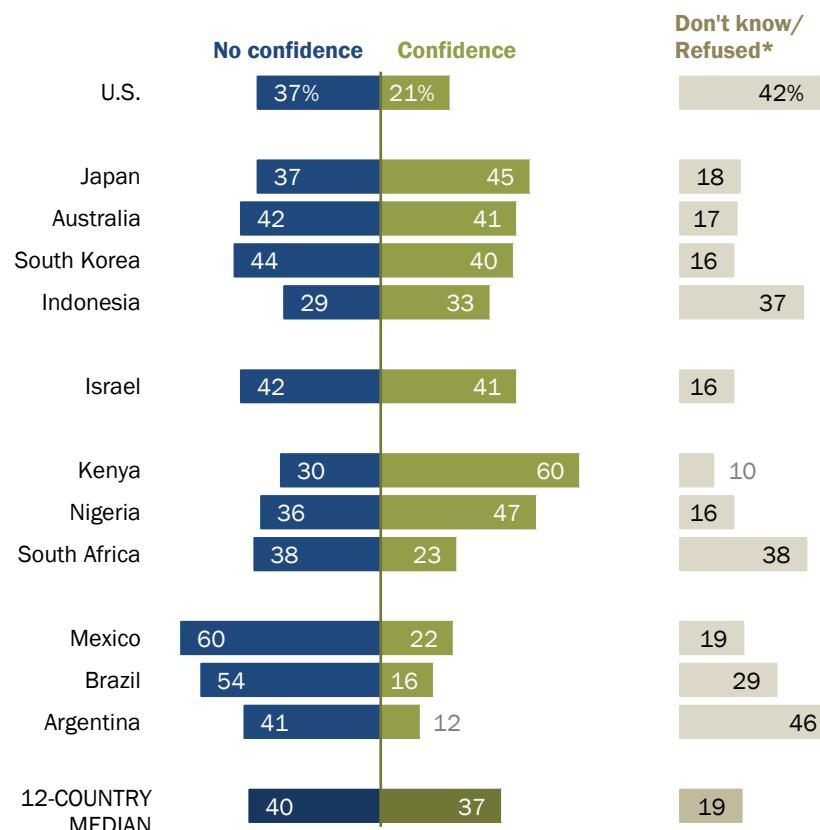
## Confidence in Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi

Opinions of Modi are mixed, with a median of 40% saying they have no confidence in Modi to do the right thing regarding world affairs and a median of 37% saying they have at least some confidence. Substantial minorities in most countries did not share an opinion, and respondents in Europe were not asked about the Indian leader.

Mexicans and Brazilians are especially critical of Modi, who is often described as promoting a Hindu nationalist ideology and leads the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which some experts classify as a right-wing party. At least half in these countries say they do not have confidence in him to make the right foreign policy choices. Those in Argentina, South Africa, South Korea and the U.S. are also more likely to lack than have confidence in India's prime minister if they offer an opinion at all.

### Views of Modi across countries are mixed, with substantial minorities not offering an opinion

*% who have \_\_\_ in Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi to do the right thing regarding world affairs*



\*In Australia and the U.S., the question included a “never heard of this person” response option. “Don’t know/Refused” includes respondents who said they had “never heard of this person”.

Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q15g.  
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In contrast, those in Japan, Kenya and Nigeria are more likely to have confidence in Modi’s abilities. Kenyans are especially confident, with a 60% majority saying they have at least some confidence in Modi to do the right thing regarding world affairs.

In Indonesia, Japan and South Korea – countries where trend data are available – confidence in Modi has remained largely unchanged since we first asked this question in 2015. Notably, the share who does not offer an opinion on Modi has declined in all three countries. The difference is greatest in South Korea, where 16% now do not provide a response, compared with 34% in 2015.

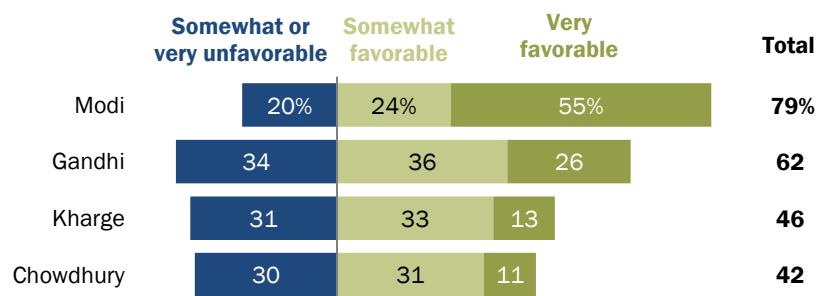
## 2. Indians' views of Modi and other national leaders

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, who has been in power since 2014 and is a member of the right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), is seen favorably among Indian adults. About eight-in-ten in India have a favorable view of the prime minister, including 55% who have a *very* favorable view. A fifth of Indians have an unfavorable opinion of Modi.

About six-in-ten Indians also see opposition leader Rahul Gandhi of the Indian National Congress (INC) in a positive light. In contrast, 34% have an unfavorable view of the INC politician. The survey was conducted March 25 to May 11, starting just before Gandhi was [removed from office](#) on March 27 of this year after being conviction of defamation. [He was recently reinstated.](#)

### Favorable views of BJP and INC leaders

% of Indian adults who have a(n) \_\_\_ opinion of each Indian leader



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.

Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4a-d.

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Two other INC leaders, Mallikarjun Kharge and Adhir Ranjan Chowdhury, are seen more favorably than not, though roughly a quarter of Indian adults did not offer opinions of each leader. Kharge is the current president of the INC and leader of the opposition in the Rajya Sabha, the upper house of India's Parliament. Chowdhury leads the party in the Lok Sabha, the lower house. Kharge is seem somewhat more favorably than Chowdhury: 46% have a positive opinion of him, compared with 42% who say the same of Chowdhury. Three-in-ten or more have an unfavorable view of each politician.

Younger adults (those ages 18 to 29) in India are more likely to express an unfavorable opinion of Kharge than adults 50 and older (34% vs. 25%, respectively). On the other hand, younger Indians are more likely to have a favorable view of Chowdhury than older Indians (47% vs. 37%, respectively). Younger adults were more likely to provide a response to both questions.

### 3. Indians' views of India

Roughly seven-in-ten Indians say India's influence in the world in recent years has been getting stronger. In contrast, 19% say India has been getting weaker, and 13% say its influence has not changed. This question was also asked of 19 countries in 2022, and relatively few overall felt that India's influence was growing. A median of 28% said India's influence was getting stronger, while 13% said it was getting weaker. Instead, a plurality in 2022 saw India's influence in the world as staying about the same: a median of 48% held this view.

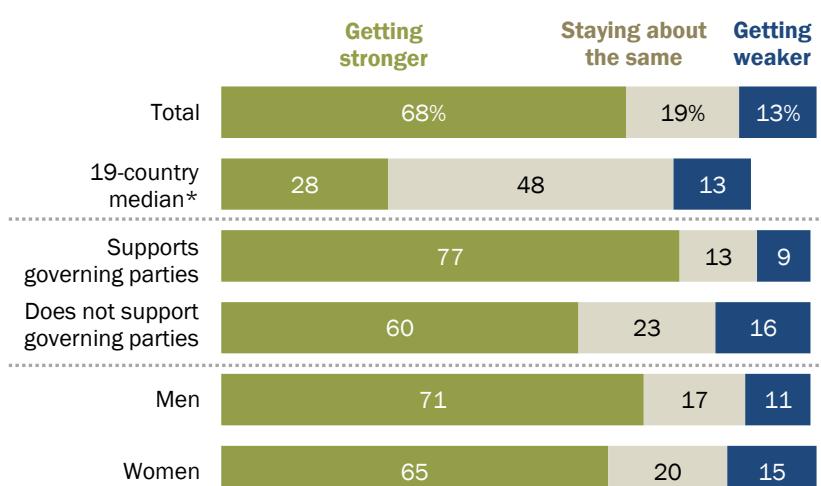
**Related:** [\*\*\*Key facts as India surpasses China as the world's most populous country\*\*\*](#)

Those who support the governing parties in the [National Democratic Alliance](#)

(which includes Modi's party, the BJP) are much more likely to say India's influence is on the rise: 77% of those who identify with the governing parties say this, compared with 60% of those who don't identify with these parties. Men, too, are more likely than women to believe India is getting stronger on the world stage (71% vs. 65%, respectively). For more information on how we classify governing parties, read [Appendix A](#).

#### Many Indians feel their country is growing in influence

% of Indian adults who say India's influence in the world in recent years has been ...



\*Median percentage based on data from 2022.

Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.

Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q14g. Spring 2022 Global Attitudes Survey. Q14d.

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## 4. Indians' views of other countries

Indians were also asked to evaluate the influence of six other countries. Of the countries asked about, the U.S. is most likely to be seen as having become more influential, with about half of Indians saying they see the United States' influence in the world in recent years getting stronger. In contrast, 14% say that the United States' influence in the world is getting weaker, while about three-in-ten say it is staying about the same.

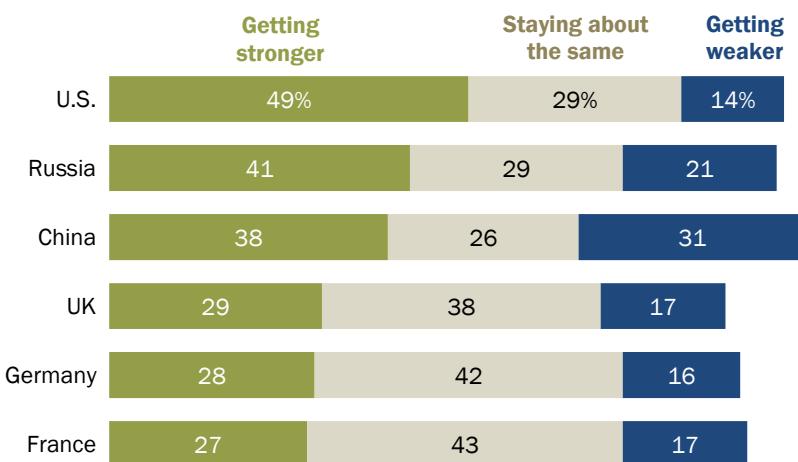
Indians are also positive on views of the U.S. at large, with 65% saying they have a favorable view of the U.S. and 64% expressing confidence in U.S. President Joe Biden to do the right thing regarding world affairs.

Those who believe that the U.S. is the world's leading economic power are more likely to believe that American influence is getting stronger, as are those who say the U.S. contributes to peace and stability and that the U.S. interferes in the affairs of other countries.

Many Indians also believe that Russia's global influence has strengthened, with about four-in-ten saying that Russia's influence in the world has been getting stronger in recent years. Roughly three-in-ten say that it has been staying about the same, while about two-in-ten say that Russia's influence has been getting *weaker*. Indians stand out on overall favorability of Russia as the only place among the 24 countries surveyed this year where majorities say they have a favorable opinion of Russia and have confidence in Russian President Vladimir Putin.

### Pluralities in India see U.S. and Russian global influence getting stronger in recent years

*% of Indian adults who say each country's influence in the world in recent years has been ...*



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.

Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q14a-f.  
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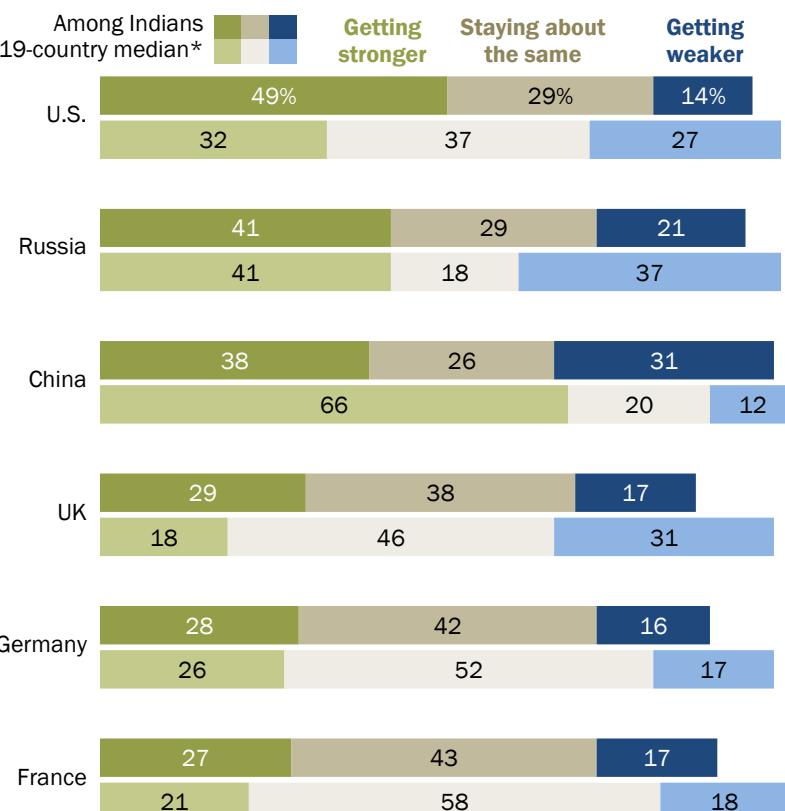
Indians' views on China's influence in the world are somewhat more mixed, with about four-in-ten also saying that China's influence has been getting stronger. In contrast, around three-in-ten Indians say that China's influence has been getting *weaker*, more than say the same of any other country asked about. In India, [negative views of China](#) have also reached historic highs since the country was last surveyed in 2019. Two-thirds of Indians express an unfavorable opinion of China, making India the only middle-income country where a majority has unfavorable views of China.

The global influence of the UK, Germany and France are seen similarly in India, with roughly four-in-ten Indians saying each country's influence in the world has been staying about the same in recent years. About three-in-ten say that the global influence of each country has been growing, while fewer than two-in-ten say that it has been getting weaker in recent years.

These six countries are viewed slightly differently in India than in [19 high-income countries](#) where the question was asked in 2022. A 19-country median of 32% said U.S. influence is getting stronger, compared with the roughly half of Indians who say the same. In only one country – Poland – did more than half say that American influence is growing. Indians' views on China's influence also differ from other countries, with fewer Indians saying that China's influence in the world is getting stronger than adults saying the same among countries surveyed last year. In 2022,

## Indians are more inclined than others to see the U.S. as becoming more influential, China as less influential

% who say each country's influence in the world in recent years has been ...



\*Median percentages based on data from 2022.

Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. Percentages for France, Germany, the U.S. and the UK include evaluations from those survey publics.

Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q14a-f. Spring 2022 Global Attitudes Survey. Q14a-c, e.g.

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a median of 66% among 19 countries said that China's influence is getting stronger, with half or more in every country surveyed saying this.

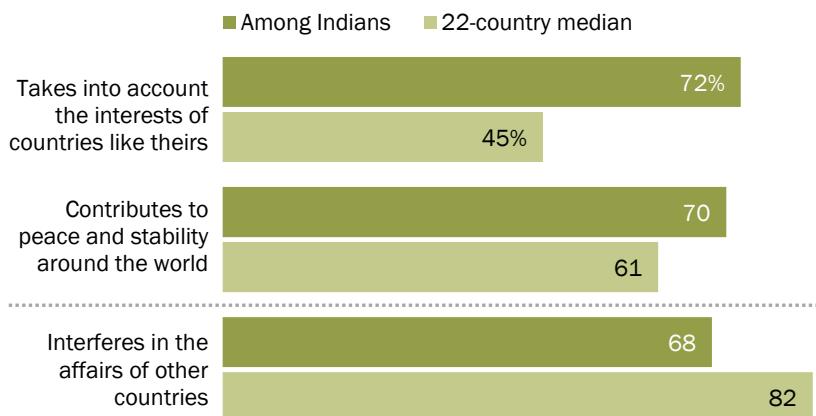
Meanwhile, a somewhat larger share of Indians say that the UK's and France's global influence has been getting stronger than do shares among many countries where the question was asked in 2022. The findings in India regarding Russia and Germany's influence are more similar to those of countries surveyed in 2022. A median of 41% among 19 countries said that Russia's influence is getting stronger, while a median of 26% said the same of German influence in the world.

## Indians' views of Russia, the U.S. and China

In addition to its relatively high assessment of U.S. influence in world affairs, the Indian public also gives the U.S. more positive overall ratings than adults in most other countries surveyed this year. Roughly two-thirds of Indian adults hold a favorable view of the U.S., including 23% with a *very* favorable view. Indians also give the United States' international behavior positive ratings. About three-quarters say U.S. foreign policy takes their country's interests into account, and seven-in-ten say the U.S. contributes to world peace.

### **U.S. behavior on world stage is seen more favorably in India than in other countries**

% who say the U.S. ...



Note: 22-country medians do not include the U.S. or India.

Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey, Q21-23.

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Still, not all aspects of the U.S. are seen positively in India. Roughly two-thirds of adults in India say the U.S. interferes in the affairs of other countries, and Indians are the most likely to say American movies, television and music are below average or the worst (20%). For more on international views of the U.S., read "[International Views of Biden and U.S. Largely Positive.](#)"

Russia is likewise seen favorably in India. In fact, India is the only country surveyed where a majority has a favorable view of the country – including 23% of Indians who see Russia *very*

favorably – and is one of two countries where ratings for Russia have become more favorable in recent years. Of the 11 countries where Russian energy was a particularly salient issue, India was also one of three countries where a majority prioritized maintaining access to Russian oil and gas over being tough with Russia on Ukraine. Indian imports of Russian oil recently reached new highs, and India has repeatedly abstained from voting on Russia’s invasion of Ukraine.

Positive views of Putin accompany favorable views of Russia among Indians. India is the only country in which a majority says they have confidence in Putin to do the right thing regarding world affairs. This includes 19% with *a lot* of confidence. In comparison, a 23-country median of 70% say they have no confidence *at all* in Putin. Again, India is one of two countries where confidence in Putin has grown recently.

Views of Russia and its leader are partisan issues in India. Those with a favorable view of the right-wing BJP are more likely than those who do not support the party to have positive views of Russia or confidence in Putin. More on international views of Russia can be read in “[Large Shares See Russia and Putin in Negative Light, While Views of Zelenskyy More Mixed.](#)”

## Indians are especially positive on Russia, Putin and maintaining access to energy

% who ...



Note: 23-country medians do not include India. 10-country median is of France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden and the UK.

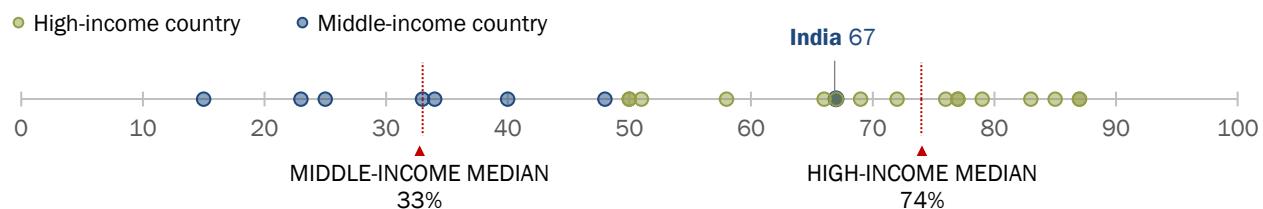
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q3f. Q15c. Q36.

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## Among middle-income countries surveyed, China is seen most negatively in India

% who have an *unfavorable* opinion of China



Note: Middle-income median is of Argentina, Brazil, Indonesia, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria and South Africa. High-income median is of Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Poland, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, the UK and the U.S.

Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q3b.

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While Indians stand out for their positive evaluations of the U.S. and Russia, they are notably more critical of China. India is the only middle-income country surveyed where a majority has an unfavorable view of China (67%); it also has the largest share with a *very* unfavorable view of China among all the countries surveyed (50%). Critical views of China have become more common in India since 2019, and [continued border tensions](#) between the two countries may have contributed to the 21 percentage point increase.

A majority of Indians also have [no confidence in Chinese President Xi Jinping](#), with 48% having no confidence *at all*. This is likewise the highest share to have a negative opinion recorded in India. (Indians have also become more likely to provide an opinion on Xi over time.)

Increasingly negative views of China and its leader are accompanied by [increased skepticism](#) that China takes Indian interests into account when making foreign policy decisions. While only 28% of Indians said that China did not take their country's interests into account in 2013, 58% now say so in 2023. This is the largest increase observed among countries surveyed. Similarly, Indians are the most likely to say China does *nothing at all* to help with global peace and stability (49%).

Chinese investment is also [viewed with skepticism in India](#). When asked alongside those in other middle-income countries to evaluate the impacts of Chinese investment, more than half say Chinese investment has not been good for the Indian economy. Four-in-ten say Chinese investment has provided no benefits *at all*, again the largest share recorded. For more on international views of China, read "[China's Approach to Foreign Policy Gets Largely Negative Reviews in 24-Country Survey](#)."

## Indians' views of Pakistan

Strained bilateral relations between India and Pakistan date back to the [1947 Partition of British India](#) into independent India and Pakistan and more recently center on [disputed control of Jammu and Kashmir](#).

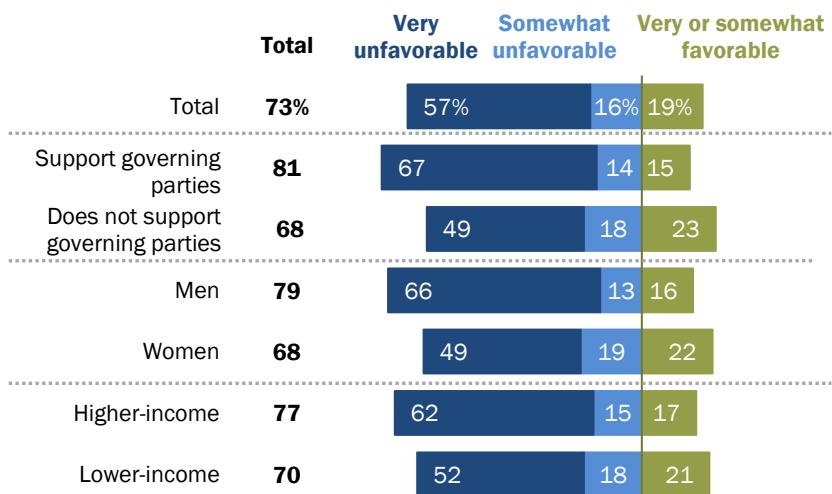
About seven-in-ten Indians have an unfavorable view of Pakistan, including 57% who are *very* unfavorable toward Pakistan. Just 19% in India have a favorable view of the neighboring country.

Men are more likely than women to have an unfavorable view of Pakistan. They are especially likely to say they are *very* unfavorable: 66% of Indian men hold this opinion, while 49% of Indian women say the same. Women were somewhat less likely than men to state their opinion either way.

Those who support the governing parties in the [National Democratic Alliance](#) (which includes Modi's party, the BJP) are more likely to express an unfavorable view of Pakistan than those who do not support the governing parties. And two-thirds of those who support the governing parties are *very* unfavorable toward Pakistan, compared with about half of those who do not support these parties. For more information on how we classify governing parties, read [Appendix A](#).

### Indians' attitudes toward Pakistan

% of Indian adults who have a(n) \_\_\_ opinion of Pakistan



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.

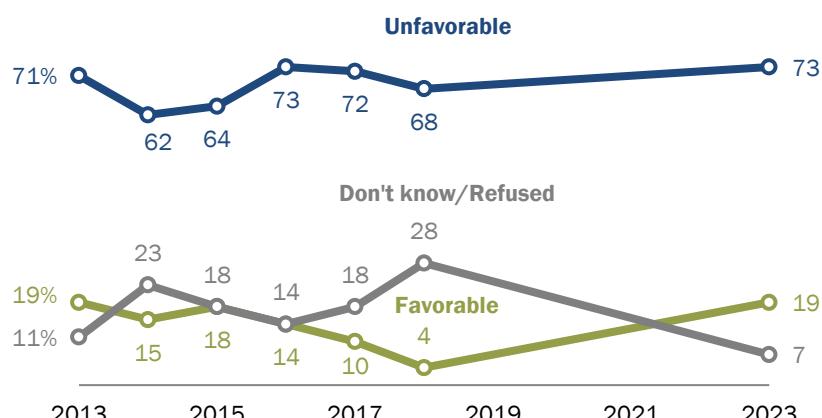
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q3j.  
"Views of India Lean Positive Across 23 Countries"

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Opinion of Pakistan among the Indian public has been far more negative than positive since this question was first asked in 2013. Over the last 10 years, unfavorable views of India’s neighbor never dropped below 62%. This year, the share who have an unfavorable view of Pakistan has increased 5 percentage points since 2018, when the question was last asked. The share with a favorable view also increased (15 points), but this is likely due to a decline among those who did not respond between 2018 and 2023.

### Indians’ views of Pakistan over time

*% of Indian adults who have a(n) \_\_\_ opinion of Pakistan*



Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q3j.  
“Views of India Lean Positive Across 23 Countries”

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## Acknowledgments

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## Appendix A: Political categorization

For this analysis, we grouped people into two political categories: those who support the governing political party (or parties) in each country, and those who do not. These categories were coded based on the party or parties in power at the time the survey was fielded, and on respondents' answers to a question asking them which political party, if any, they identified with in their country.<sup>1</sup>

In countries where multiple political parties govern in coalition (as in many European countries), survey respondents who indicated support for any parties in the coalition were grouped together. In Germany, for example, where the Social Democratic Party governed with the Alliance 90/The Greens and the Free Democratic Party at the time of the survey, supporters of all three parties were grouped together. In countries where different political parties occupy the executive and legislative branches of government, the party holding the executive branch was considered the governing party.

Survey respondents who did not indicate support for any political party, or who refused to identify with one, were considered to be *not* supporting the government in power.

Below is a table that outlines the governing political parties in each survey country.

---

<sup>1</sup> Governing parties were not updated to account for elections that occurred after the survey was fielded and resulted in a new party (or parties) serving in government. Language used to measure party identification varied from country to country.

## Political categorization

Country	Governing political party (or parties)
Argentina	Frente de Todos
Australia	Australian Labor Party (ALP)
Brazil	AVANTE (formerly PTdoB), Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB), Christian Workers Party (PCT), Communist Party of Brazil (PDDoB), Green Party (PV), Republican Party of the Social Order (PROS), Socialism and Liberty Party (PSOL), Solidarity (SD), Sustainability Network (REDE), Workers' Party
Canada	Liberal Party
France	Renaissance (formerly En Marche)
Germany	Alliance 90/The Greens, Free Democratic Party (FDP), Social Democratic Party (SPD)
Greece	New Democracy (ND)
Hungary	Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP), Fidesz
India	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK), Bharatiya Janata Party, Lok Janshakti Party
Indonesia	Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P)
Israel	Likud, Religious Zionist Party, Shas, United Torah Judaism
Italy	Brothers of Italy, Forza Italia, Lega, Us Moderates (Noi Moderati)
Japan	Komeito (NKP), Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)
Kenya	Amani National Congress, FORD – Kenya, Kenya Kwanza, United Democratic Alliance
Mexico	Ecologist Green Party of Mexico (PVEM), Labor Party (PT), Morena
Netherlands	Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), ChristianUnion (CU), Democrats 66 (D66), People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD)
Nigeria	All Progressives Congress (APC)
Poland	Law and Justice (PiS)
South Africa	African National Congress (ANC)
Spain	Catalunya en Comú, Podemos, Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, United Left (IU)
Sweden	Christian Democrats, Liberals, Moderate Party
UK	Conservative Party
U.S.	Democratic Party

Note: Only parties represented in the federal government are shown. Support for governing party is not asked in South Korea.

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## Appendix B: Classifying European political parties

### Classifying parties as populist

Although experts generally agree that populist political leaders or parties display high levels of anti-elitism, definitions of populism vary. We use three measures to classify populist parties: anti-elite ratings from the [2019 Chapel Hill Expert Survey \(CHES\)](#), Norris' [Global Party Survey](#) and [The PopuList](#). We define a party as populist when at least two of these three measures classify it as such.

CHES, which was conducted from February to May 2020, asked 421 political scientists specializing in political parties and European integration to evaluate the 2019 positions of 277 European political parties across all European Union member states. CHES results are regularly used by academics to classify parties with regard to their left-right ideological leanings, their key party platform positions and their degree of populism, among other things.

We measure anti-elitism using an average of two variables in the CHES data. First, we used “PEOPLE\_VS\_ELITE,” which asked the experts to measure the parties with regard to their position on direct vs. representative democracy, where 0 means that the parties support elected officeholders making the most important decisions and 10 means that “the people,” not politicians, should make the most important decisions. Second, we used “ANTIELITE\_SALIENCE,” which is a measure of the salience of anti-establishment and anti-elite rhetoric for that particular party, with 0 meaning not at all salient and 10 meaning extremely salient. The average of these two measures is shown in the table below as “anti-elitism.” In all countries, we consider parties that score at or above a 7.0 as “populist.”

The [Global Party Survey](#), which was conducted from November to December 2019, asked 1,861 experts on political parties, public opinion, elections and legislative behavior to evaluate the ideological values, issue position and populist rhetoric of parties in countries on which they are an expert, classifying a total of 1,051 parties in 163 countries. We used “TYPE\_POPULISM,” which categorizes populist rhetoric by parties. We added only “strongly populist” parties using this measure. In Italy, experts were asked to categorize the Center-Right coalition instead of individual parties within the coalition. The coalition includes Lega, Forza Italia and Brothers of Italy. For all three parties, we have used the coalition rating of “strongly populist.”

The PopuList is an ongoing project to classify European political parties as populist, far right, far left and/or euroskeptic. [The project](#) specifically looks at parties that “obtained at least 2% of the vote in at least one national parliamentary election since 1998.” It is based on collaboration

between academic experts and journalists. The PopuList classifies parties that emphasize the will of the people against the elite as populist.<sup>2</sup>

Reform UK, formerly the Brexit Party, is only classified as populist on one measure but is still included for analysis in the report. It is not included in the PopuList and does not meet our anti-elite CHES threshold of 7.0, but is considered a right-wing populist party by the Global Party Survey and [other experts](#).

### Classifying parties as left, right or center

We can further classify these traditional and populist parties into three groups: left, right and center. When classifying parties based on ideology, we relied on the variable “LRGEN” in the CHES dataset, which asked experts to rate the positions of each party in terms of its overall ideological stance, with 0 meaning extreme left, 5 meaning center and 10 meaning extreme right. We define left parties as those that score below 4.5 and right parties as those above 5.5. Center parties have ratings between 4.5 and 5.5.

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<sup>2</sup> Mudde, Cas. 2004. “[The Populist Zeitgeist](#).” Government and Opposition.

## European populist party classifications

Party	Country	2019 Left-right	2019 Anti-elitism	2019 Global Party Survey	The PopuList
<b>Populist parties on the left</b>					
La France Insoumise	France	1.3	8.3	Strongly populist	Populist
Podemos	Spain	1.9	7.7	--	Populist
Syriza	Greece	2.3	7.0	--	Populist
<b>Populist parties in the center</b>					
Five Star Movement (M5S)	Italy	4.8	9.2	Strongly populist	Populist
<b>Populist parties on the right</b>					
Forza Italia	Italy	6.9	4.1	Strongly populist	Populist
Law and Justice	Poland	7.6	6.9	Strongly populist	Populist
Jobbik	Hungary	7.7	6.1	Strongly populist	Populist
Reform UK*	UK	8.2	5.3	Strongly populist	--
Fidesz	Hungary	8.3	6.5	Strongly populist	Populist
Sweden Democrats	Sweden	8.5	7.5	Strongly populist	Populist
Party for Freedom (PVV)	Netherlands	8.7	9.5	Strongly populist	Populist
Lega	Italy	8.8	7.6	Strongly populist	Populist
Greek Solution	Greece	9.0	7.6	--	Populist
Brothers of Italy	Italy	9.1	7.3	Strongly populist	Populist
Alternative for Germany (AfD)	Germany	9.2	9.0	Strongly populist	Populist
Forum for Democracy (FvD)	Netherlands	9.5	9.7	--	Populist
Vox	Spain	9.7	4.1	Strongly populist	Populist
National Rally	France	9.8	8.6	Strongly populist	Populist

\*Previously named the Brexit Party.

Notes: Left-right indicates the average score CHES experts gave each party on an 11-point left-right scale. Scores for anti-elitism are an average of party position on direct vs. representative democracy and the salience of anti-elite rhetoric within the party.

Source: CHES (2019). Global Party Survey (2019). The PopuList (2019).

## Methodology

### About Pew Research Center's Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey

Results for the survey are based on telephone, face-to-face and online interviews conducted under the direction of Gallup, Kantar Public, Langer Research Associates and Social Research Centre. The results are based on national samples, unless otherwise noted. More details about our international survey methodology and country-specific sample designs are [available here](#). Results for the U.S. survey are based on data from the American Trends Panel.

### The American Trends Panel survey methodology

#### Overview

The American Trends Panel (ATP), created by Pew Research Center, is a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults. Panelists participate via self-administered web surveys. Panelists who do not have internet access at home are provided with a tablet and wireless internet connection. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish. The panel is being managed by Ipsos.

Data in this report is drawn from ATP Wave 124, conducted from March 20 to March 26, 2023, and includes an [oversample](#) of Hispanic men, non-Hispanic Black men and non-Hispanic Asian adults to provide more precise estimates of the opinions and experiences of these smaller demographic subgroups. These oversampled groups are weighted back to reflect their correct proportions in the population. A total of 3,576 panelists responded out of 4,058 who were sampled, for a response rate of 88%. The cumulative response rate accounting for nonresponse to the recruitment surveys and attrition is

#### American Trends Panel recruitment surveys

Recruitment dates	Mode	Invited	Joined	Active panelists remaining
Jan. 23 to March 16, 2014	Landline/ cell RDD	9,809	5,338	1,503
Aug. 27 to Oct. 4, 2015	Landline/ cell RDD	6,004	2,976	881
April 25 to June 4, 2017	Landline/ cell RDD	3,905	1,628	434
Aug. 8 to Oct. 31, 2018	ABS	9,396	8,778	4,116
Aug. 19 to Nov. 30, 2019	ABS	5,900	4,720	1,472
June 1 to July 19, 2020; Feb. 10 to March 31, 2021	ABS	3,197	2,812	1,541
May 29 to July 7, 2021; Sept. 16 to Nov. 1, 2021	ABS	1,329	1,162	788
May 24 to Sept. 29, 2022	ABS	3,354	2,869	1,697
	<b>Total</b>	<b>42,894</b>	<b>30,283</b>	<b>12,432</b>

Note: RDD is random-digit dial; ABS is address-based sampling. Approximately once per year, panelists who have not participated in multiple consecutive waves or who did not complete an annual profiling survey are removed from the panel. Panelists also become inactive if they ask to be removed from the panel.

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4%. The break-off rate among panelists who logged on to the survey and completed at least one item is 1%. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 3,576 respondents is plus or minus 2.0 percentage points.

### Panel recruitment

The ATP was created in 2014, with the first cohort of panelists invited to join the panel at the end of a large, national, landline and cellphone random-digit-dial survey that was conducted in both English and Spanish. Two additional recruitments were conducted using the same method in 2015 and 2017, respectively. Across these three surveys, a total of 19,718 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 9,942 (50%) agreed to participate.

In August 2018, the ATP switched from telephone to address-based recruitment. Invitations were sent to a stratified, random sample of households selected from the U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File. Sampled households receive mailings asking a randomly selected adult to complete a survey online. A question at the end of the survey asks if the respondent is willing to join the ATP. In 2020 and 2021 another stage was added to the recruitment. Households that did not respond to the online survey were sent a paper version of the questionnaire, \$5 and a postage-paid return envelope. A subset of the adults who returned the paper version of the survey were invited to join the ATP. This subset of adults received a follow-up mailing with a \$10 pre-incentive and invitation to join the ATP.

Across the five address-based recruitments, a total of 23,176 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 20,341 agreed to join the panel and completed an initial profile survey. In each household, one adult was selected and asked to go online to complete a survey, at the end of which they were invited to join the panel. Of the 30,283 individuals who have ever joined the ATP, 12,432 remained active panelists and continued to receive survey invitations at the time this survey was conducted.

The U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File has been estimated to cover as much as 98% of the population, although some studies suggest that the coverage could be in the low 90% range.<sup>3</sup> The American Trends Panel never uses breakout routers or chains that direct respondents to additional surveys.

### Sample design

The overall target population for this survey was non-institutionalized persons ages 18 and older living in the U.S., including Alaska and Hawaii. It featured a stratified random sample from the ATP in which Hispanic men, non-Hispanic Black men and non-Hispanic Asian adults were

<sup>3</sup> AAPOR Task Force on Address-based Sampling. 2016. "[AAPOR Report: Address-based Sampling](#)."

selected with certainty. The remaining panelists were sampled at rates designed to ensure that the share of respondents in each stratum is proportional to its share of the U.S. adult population to the greatest extent possible. Respondent weights are adjusted to account for differential probabilities of selection as described in the Weighting section below.

### **Questionnaire development and testing**

The questionnaire was developed by Pew Research Center in consultation with Ipsos. The web program was rigorously tested on both PC and mobile devices by the Ipsos project management team and Pew Research Center researchers. The Ipsos project management team also populated test data that was analyzed in SPSS to ensure the logic and randomizations were working as intended before launching the survey.

### **Incentives**

All respondents were offered a post-paid incentive for their participation. Respondents could choose to receive the post-paid incentive in the form of a check or a gift code to Amazon.com or could choose to decline the incentive. Incentive amounts ranged from \$5 to \$20 depending on whether the respondent belongs to a part of the population that is harder or easier to reach. Differential incentive amounts were designed to increase panel survey participation among groups that traditionally have low survey response propensities.

### **Data collection protocol**

The data collection field period for this survey was March 20 to March 26, 2023. Postcard notifications were mailed to all ATP panelists with a known residential address on March 20.

Invitations were sent out in two separate launches: soft launch and full launch. Sixty panelists were included in the soft launch, which began with an initial invitation sent on March 20. The ATP panelists chosen for the initial soft launch were known responders who had completed previous ATP surveys within one day of receiving their invitation. All remaining English- and Spanish-speaking sampled panelists were included in the full launch and were sent an invitation on March 21.

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#### **Invitation and reminder dates, ATP Wave 124**

All panelists with an email address received an email invitation and up to two email reminders if they did not respond to the survey. All ATP

	Soft launch	Full launch
Initial invitation	March 20, 2023	March 21, 2023
First reminder	March 23, 2023	March 23, 2023
Final reminder	March 25, 2023	March 25, 2023

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panelists who consented to SMS messages received an SMS invitation and up to two SMS reminders.

### Data quality checks

To ensure high-quality data, the Center's researchers performed data quality checks to identify any respondents showing clear patterns of satisficing. This includes checking for very high rates of leaving questions blank, as well as always selecting the first or last answer presented. As a result of this checking, eight ATP respondents were removed from the survey dataset prior to weighting and analysis.

### Weighting

The ATP data is weighted in a multistep process that accounts for multiple stages of sampling and nonresponse that occur at different points in the survey process. First, each panelist begins with a base weight that reflects their probability of selection for their initial recruitment survey. These weights are then rescaled and adjusted to account for changes in the design of ATP recruitment surveys from year to year. Finally, the weights are calibrated to align with the population benchmarks in the accompanying table to correct for nonresponse to recruitment surveys and panel attrition. If only a subsample of panelists are invited to participate in the wave, this weight is adjusted to account for any differential probabilities of selection.

### American Trends Panel weighting dimensions

Variable	Benchmark source
Age (detailed)	2021 American Community Survey (ACS)
Age x Gender	
Education x Gender	
Education x Age	
Race/Ethnicity x Education	
Born inside vs. outside the U.S. among Hispanics and Asian Americans	
Years lived in the U.S.	
Census region x Metro/Non-metro	2021 CPS March Supplement
Volunteerism	2021 CPS Volunteering & Civic Life Supplement
Voter registration	2021 CPS Voting and Registration Supplement
Party affiliation	2022 National Public Opinion Reference Survey (NPORS)
Frequency of internet use	
Religious affiliation	
<i>Additional weighting dimensions applied within Black adults</i>	
Age	2021 American Community Survey (ACS)
Gender	
Education	
Hispanic ethnicity	
Voter registration	2018 CPS Voting and Registration Supplement
Party affiliation	2022 National Public Opinion Reference Survey (NPORS)
Religious affiliation	

Note: Estimates from the ACS are based on non-institutionalized adults. Voter registration is calculated using procedures from Hur, Achen (2013) and rescaled to include the total U.S. adult population.

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Among the panelists who completed the survey, this weight is then calibrated again to align with the population benchmarks identified in the accompanying table and trimmed at the 1st and 99th percentiles to reduce the loss in precision stemming from variance in the weights. Sampling errors and tests of statistical significance take into account the effect of weighting.

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

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### **Sample sizes and margins of error, ATP Wave 124**

<b>Group</b>	<b>Unweighted sample size</b>	<b>Plus or minus ...</b>
Total sample	3,576	2.0 percentage points
Half sample	At least 1,776	2.9 percentage points
Rep/Lean Rep	1,491	3.0 percentage points
Half sample	At least 690	4.4 percentage points
Dem/Lean Dem	1,930	2.9 percentage points
Half sample	At least 922	4.2 percentage points

Note: This survey includes oversamples of Hispanic men, non-Hispanic Black men and non-Hispanic Asian adults. Unweighted sample sizes do not account for the sample design or weighting and do not describe a group's contribution to weighted estimates. See the Sample design and Weighting sections above for details.

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Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

## Dispositions and response rates

### Final dispositions, ATP Wave 124

	AAPOR code	Total
Completed interview	1.1	3,576
Logged on to survey; broke off	2.12	53
Logged on to survey; did not complete any items	2.1121	16
Never logged on (implicit refusal)	2.11	405
Survey completed after close of the field period	2.27	0
Completed interview but was removed for data quality		8
Screened out		0
<b>Total panelists in the survey</b>		<b>4,058</b>
Completed interviews	I	3,576
Partial interviews	P	0
Refusals	R	482
Non-contact	NC	0
Other	O	0
Unknown household	UH	0
Unknown other	UO	0
Not eligible	NE	0
<b>Total</b>		<b>4,058</b>
AAPOR RR1 = I / (I+P+R+NC+O+UH+UO)		88%

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### Cumulative response rate as of ATP Wave 124

	Total
Weighted response rate to recruitment surveys	12%
% of recruitment survey respondents who agreed to join the panel, among those invited	71%
% of those agreeing to join who were active panelists at start of Wave 124	49%
Response rate to Wave 124 survey	88%
Cumulative response rate	4%

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## Topline questionnaire

Pew Research Center  
Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey  
August 29, 2023 Release

Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on national samples. For further details on sample designs, see Methodology section and our [international survey methods database](#).
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline “total” columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- Since 2007, Pew Research Center has used an automated process to generate toplines for its Global Attitudes surveys. As a result, numbers may differ slightly from those published prior to 2007.
- Surveys in the U.S. and Australia were conducted online. The U.S. survey was conducted on Pew Research Center’s American Trends Panel. The Australia survey was conducted on the Social Research Centre’s Life in Australia Panel. In both countries, many questions have been asked in previous surveys on the phone. Phone trends for comparison are provided in separate tables throughout the topline. The extent of the mode differences varies across questions; while there are negligible differences on some questions, others have more pronounced differences. Caution should be taken when evaluating online and phone estimates.
- 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:
  - Poland in March 2003
  - India prior to Winter 2013-2014
  - Indonesia prior to 2005
  - Nigeria prior to 2010
  - South Africa in 2007
  - Brazil prior to 2010

- Not all questions included in the Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.