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The Takshashila Global Outlook Survey

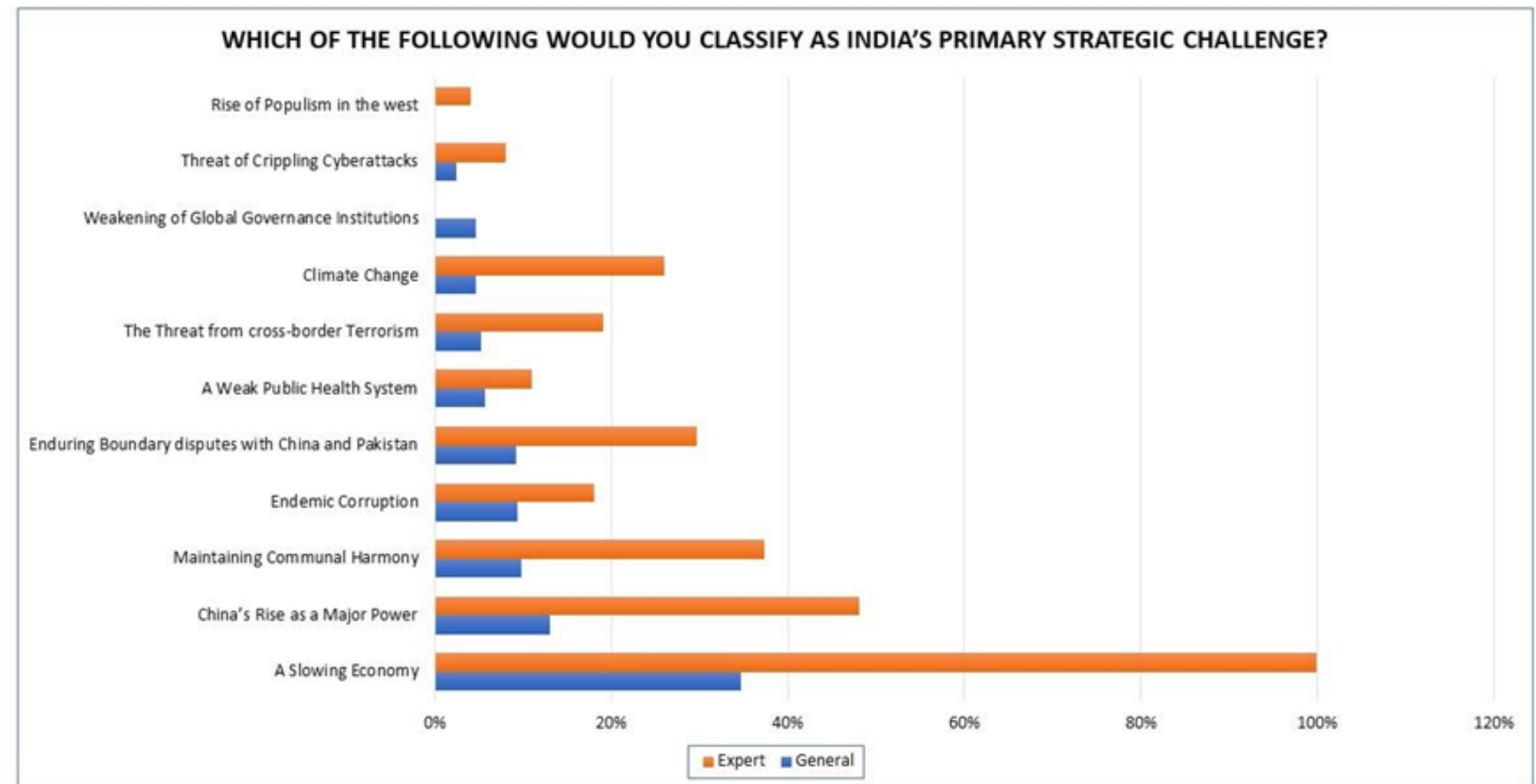
February 2022
v1.0





Highlights

- A prolonged downturn in the Indian economy, exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic, has clearly impacted the outlook of most Indians. Thus, a slowing economy is seen as India's primary strategic challenge by the majority of the General Audience (35%). The strategic affairs community is even more concerned about the sluggish growth. 56% of the Strategic Affairs Experts (SAE) ranked a slowing economy as India's primary challenge, with nearly all of them prioritising it as one of the top three strategic challenges*.
- New Delhi's deteriorating relationship with Beijing is seen as another emerging challenge. 13% of the General Audience (GA) and 48% of the SAE identified China's rise as a major power as among the topmost strategic challenges faced by India. The degradation of inter-religious harmony in the country is another important concern. 10% of the GA saw it as India's primary strategic challenge, while it ranked in the priority list of 37% of SAE.

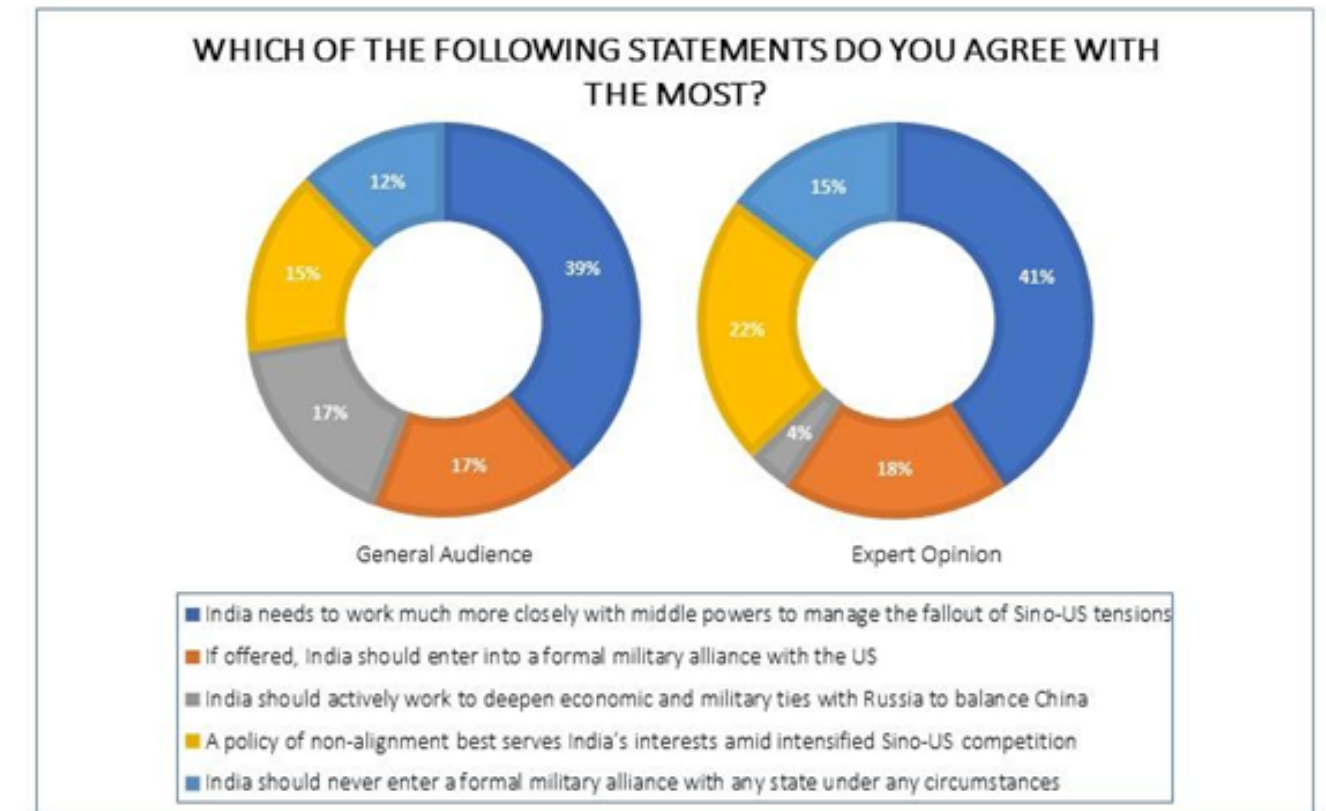


*The Strategic Affairs Experts' preferences in the questions with more than five choices have been recorded on the basis of top 3 priorities in the Survey. These priorities are shown as the topmost in the document. In such questions, SAE's first priority has been shown as the foremost in the document.



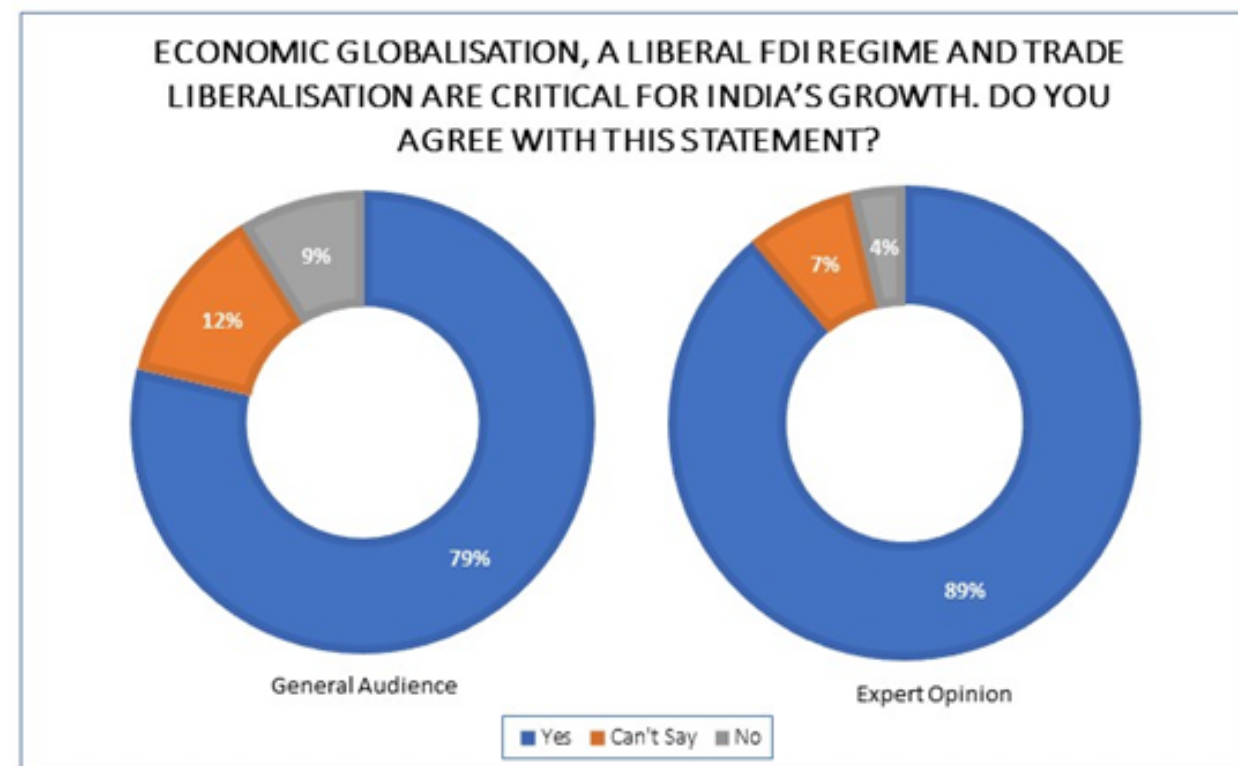
Highlights

- When it comes to geopolitical concerns, US-China tensions are at the top of the minds of most Indians. 39% of the GA and 41% of SAE are of the view that India needs to work much more closely with middle powers to manage the fallout of the increasing competition between Washington and Beijing. In this regard, even though the term “non-alignment” has been phased out of the Indian foreign policy discourse over the years, it continues to hold sway, especially within the strategic affairs community. 22% of SAE as opposed to 15% of the GA believe that a policy of non-alignment best serves India’s interests amid intensified Sino-US competition.
- Further, 15% of SAE and 12% of the GA contend that India should never enter a formal military alliance with any state under any circumstances. The views of the GA and the SAE also remain divided on the question of India’s balancing partner against China. Only 4% of the experts, as opposed to 17% of the GA, believe that New Delhi should actively deepen economic and military ties with Russia to balance China. On the other hand, 19% of the SAE and 17% of the GA believe that India should enter into a formal military alliance with the US if offered.





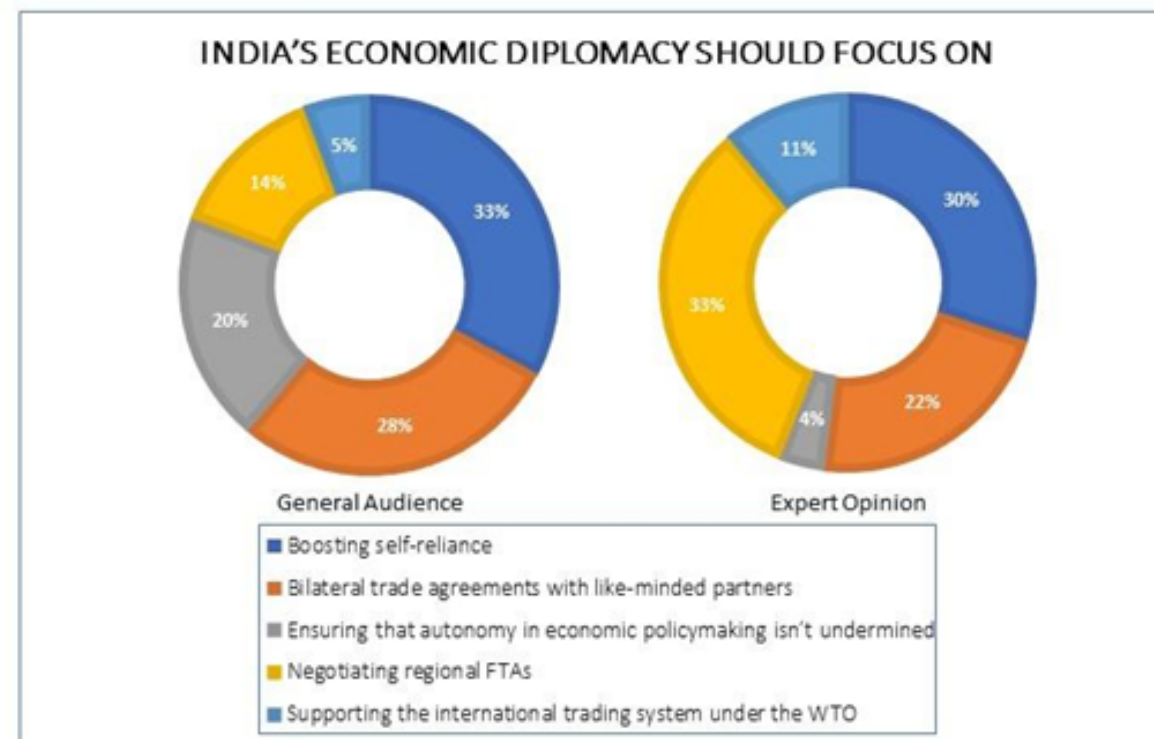
Highlights



- On economic policy, despite the counter-currents that globalisation is encountering, the survey reveals that a majority of both the GA (79%) and the SAE (89%) continue to believe that economic globalisation, a liberal FDI regime, and trade liberalisation are critical for India's growth.



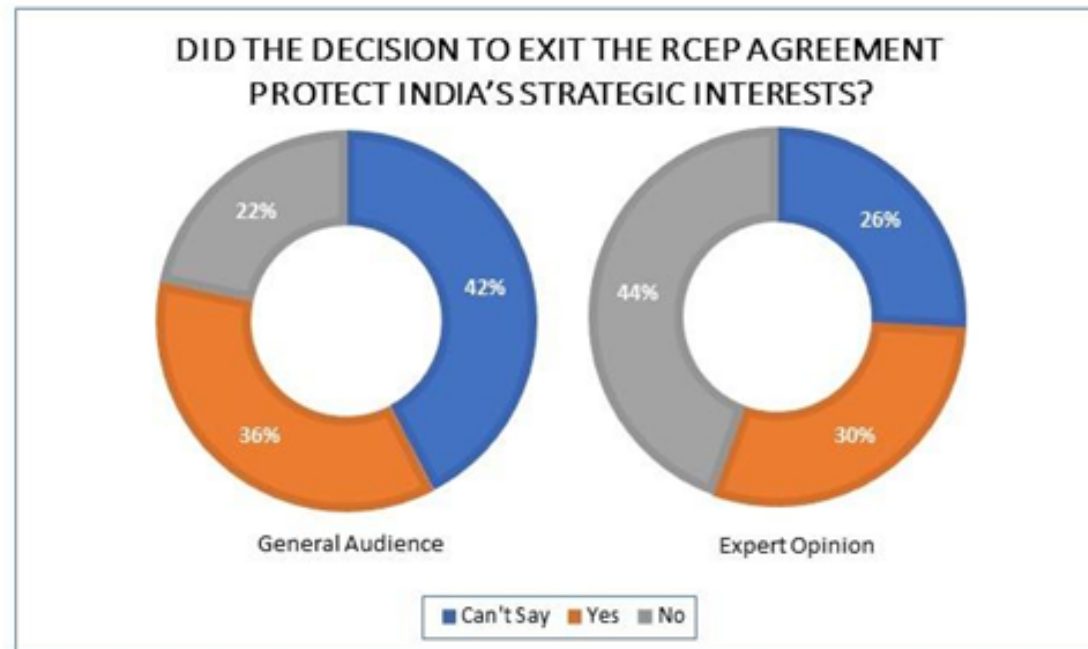
Highlights



- At the same time, more than half of the GA wants the Indian government to also focus on boosting self-reliance (33%) and ensuring that autonomy in economic policymaking isn't undermined (20%). Also, only 28% of the GA wants the government to focus on inking bilateral trade agreements with like-minded partners, with 14% preferring regional FTAs.
- This contradiction is somewhat seen in the views of SAE. 30% of them called for boosting self-reliance as against 33% for Negotiating regional FTAs and 22% for inking bilateral trade agreements with like-minded partners.



Highlights

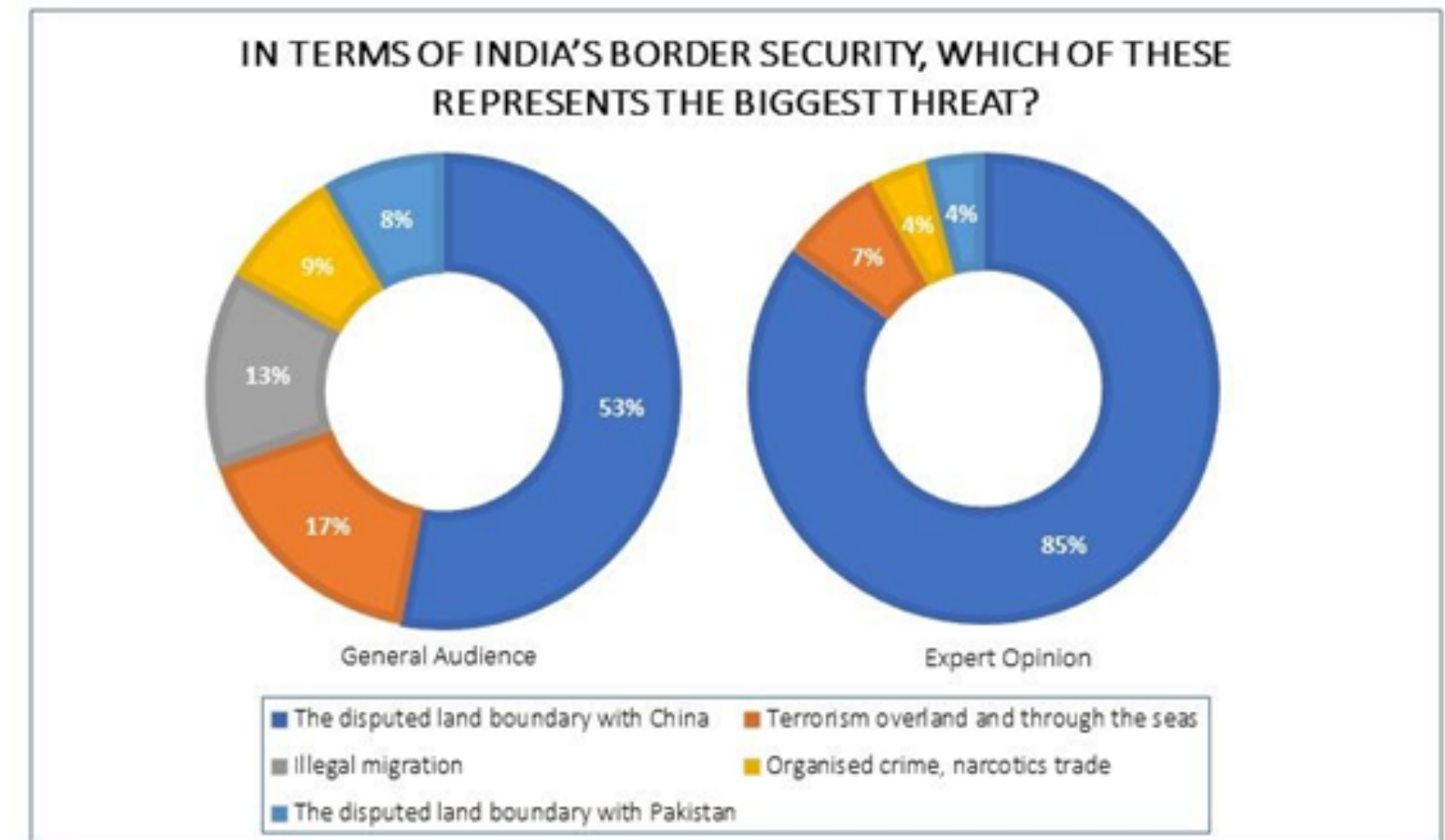
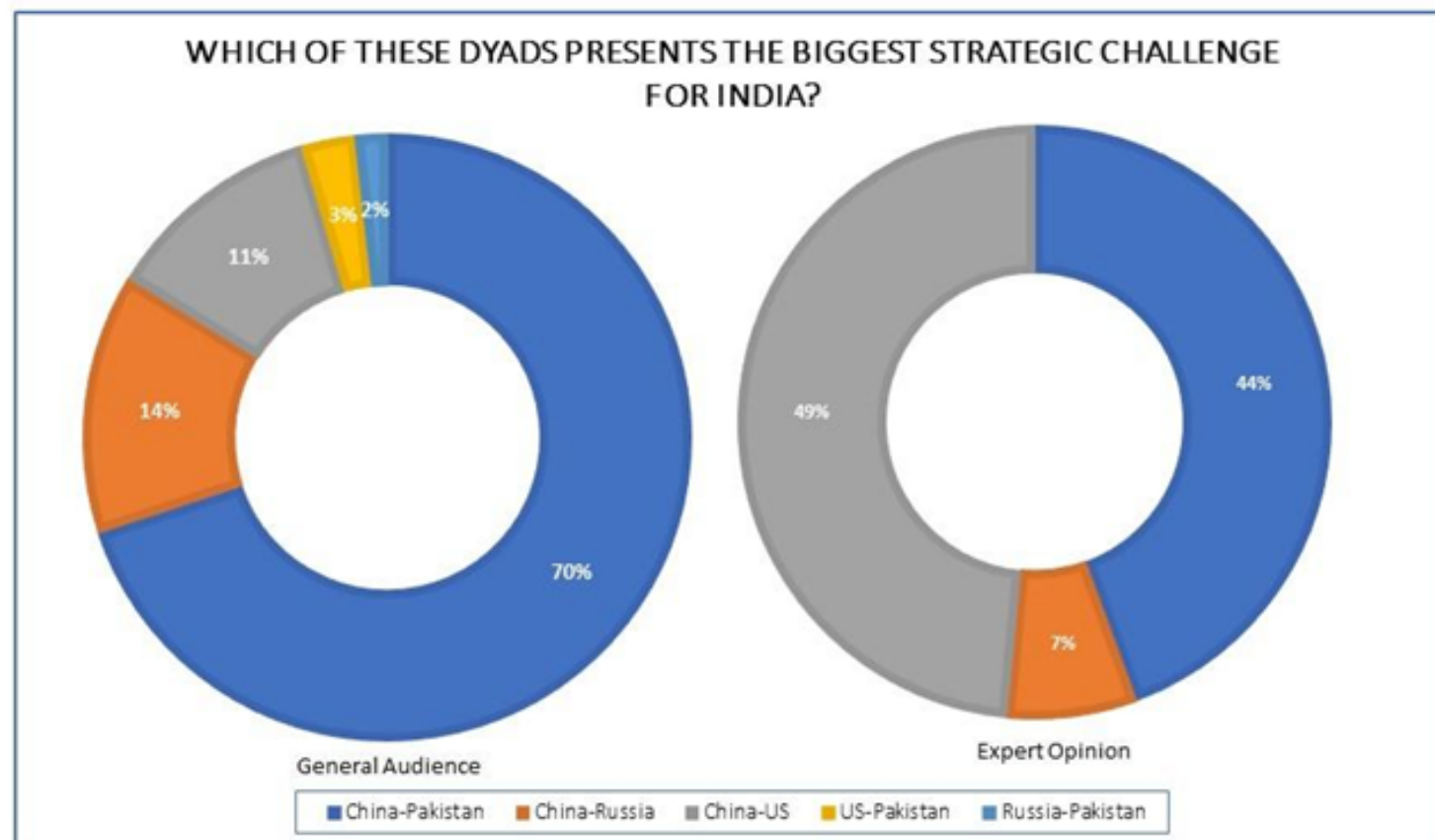


- The ambivalence towards free markets is also reflected in views on the RCEP agreement. 36% of the GA backs the government's decision to exit as opposed to 22% who believe that the decision to not join the RCEP harms India's strategic interests. Importantly, a majority of the GA (42%) is undecided on the benefits/loss of the RCEP. For the majority of SAE (44%), the government's decision to exit RCEP harmed Indian interests as opposed to 30% who support the government's decision.



Highlights

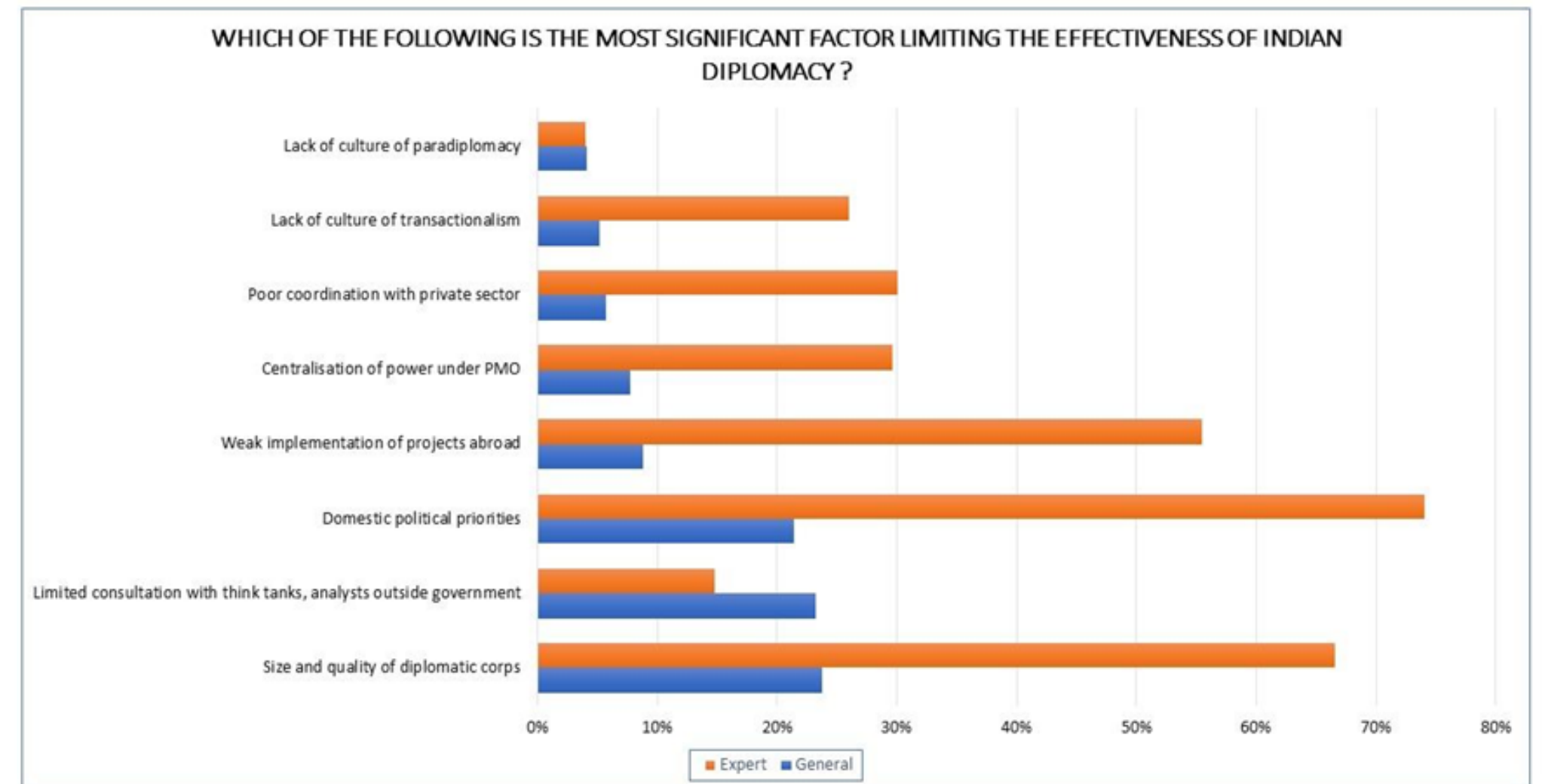
India's continuing border crisis with China and the threat of a two-front war strongly resonates in the Indian outlook on security. Thus, for most of the GA (53%), the disputed land boundary with China represents the biggest threat for India. Similarly, 70% of the GA believe that the China-Pakistan dyad presents the biggest strategic challenge for India. Nonetheless, though 85% of the SAE see the disputed land boundary with China as the biggest threat, only 44% view the China-Pakistan dyad as the strategic challenge. For the SAE (49%), it is the ramifications of the emerging China-US rivalry that poses the biggest strategic challenge.





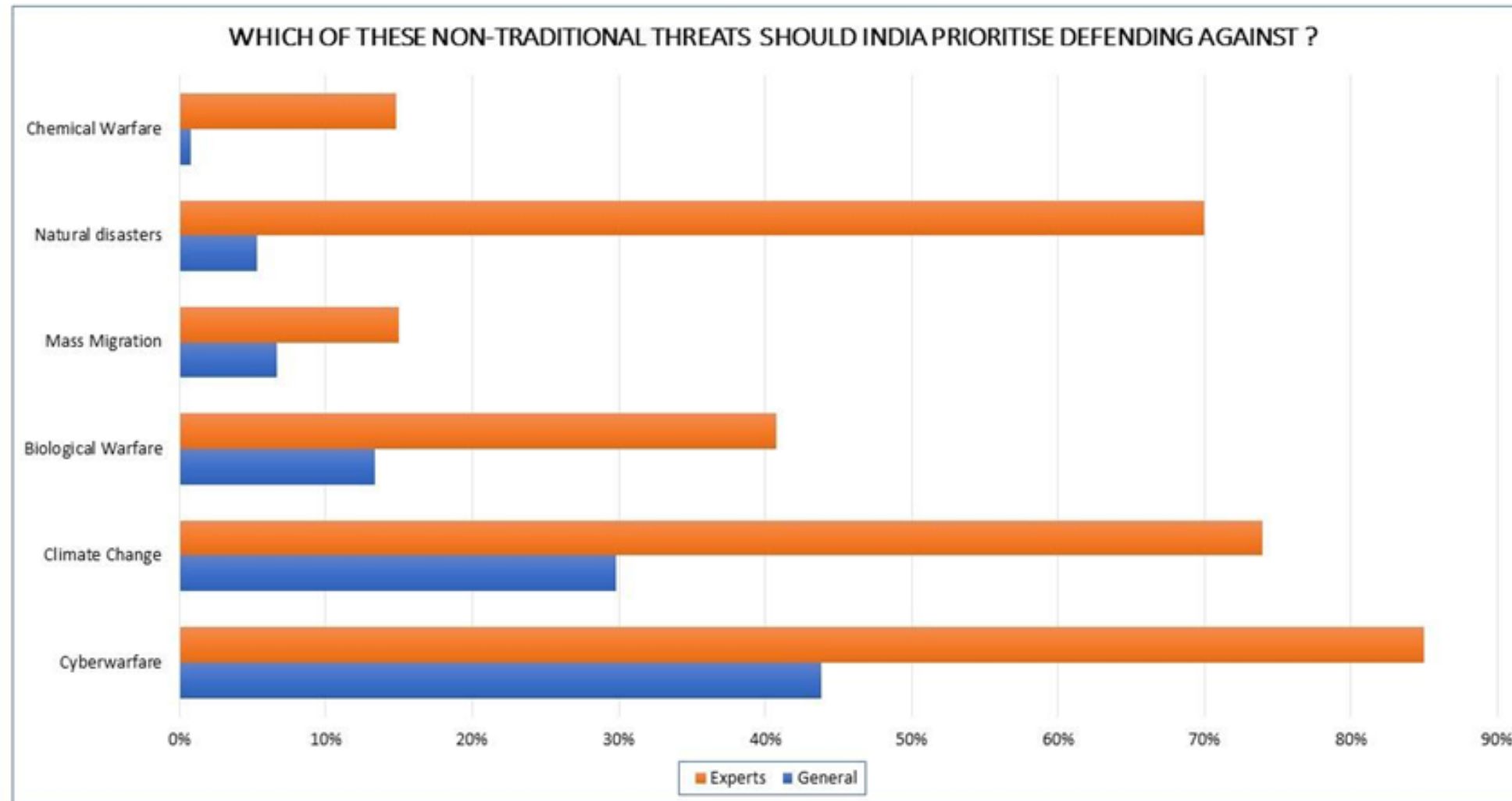
Highlights

- As a rising power, there are going to be increasingly new demands on Indian diplomacy. Despite this, there is little discussion in the public domain about India's diplomatic capacity. Nevertheless, the survey finds that 24% of the GA and 33% of the SAE believe the *size and quality of the diplomatic corps* in India is the most significant limiting factor in limiting the effectiveness of Indian diplomacy.
- The government's engagement with the intellectual and institutional infrastructure involved in researching and formulating the country's foreign policy is also seen as lacking. Interestingly, nearly a quarter of the GA respondents believe that the government's *limited consultation with think tanks and analysts outside government* is a major limiting factor for Indian diplomacy. In contrast, the SAE placed much less emphasis on this. Rather, 74% of them believe that it is domestic political priorities that limit the effectiveness of Indian diplomacy.





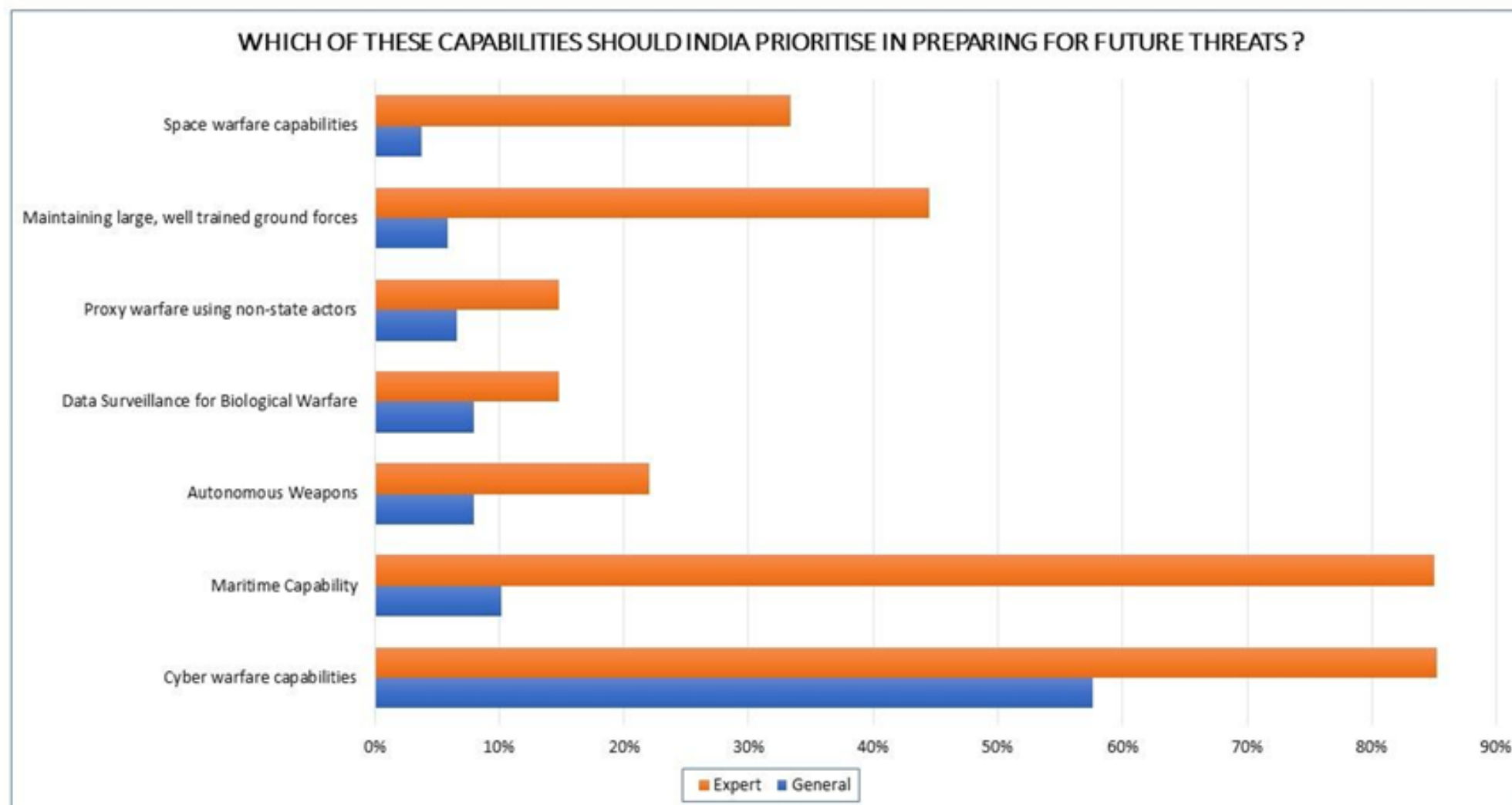
Highlights



The changing nature of threats in the 21st century concerns most Indians. Among the survey respondents, 44% of the GA and 85% of the SAE consider Cyberwarfare as being the topmost non-traditional threat facing India. This is followed by concern over Climate Change, with 30% of the GA voting for this as the primary non-traditional threat facing India and 74% of the Strategic Affairs Experts ranking it among their top three choices.



Highlights

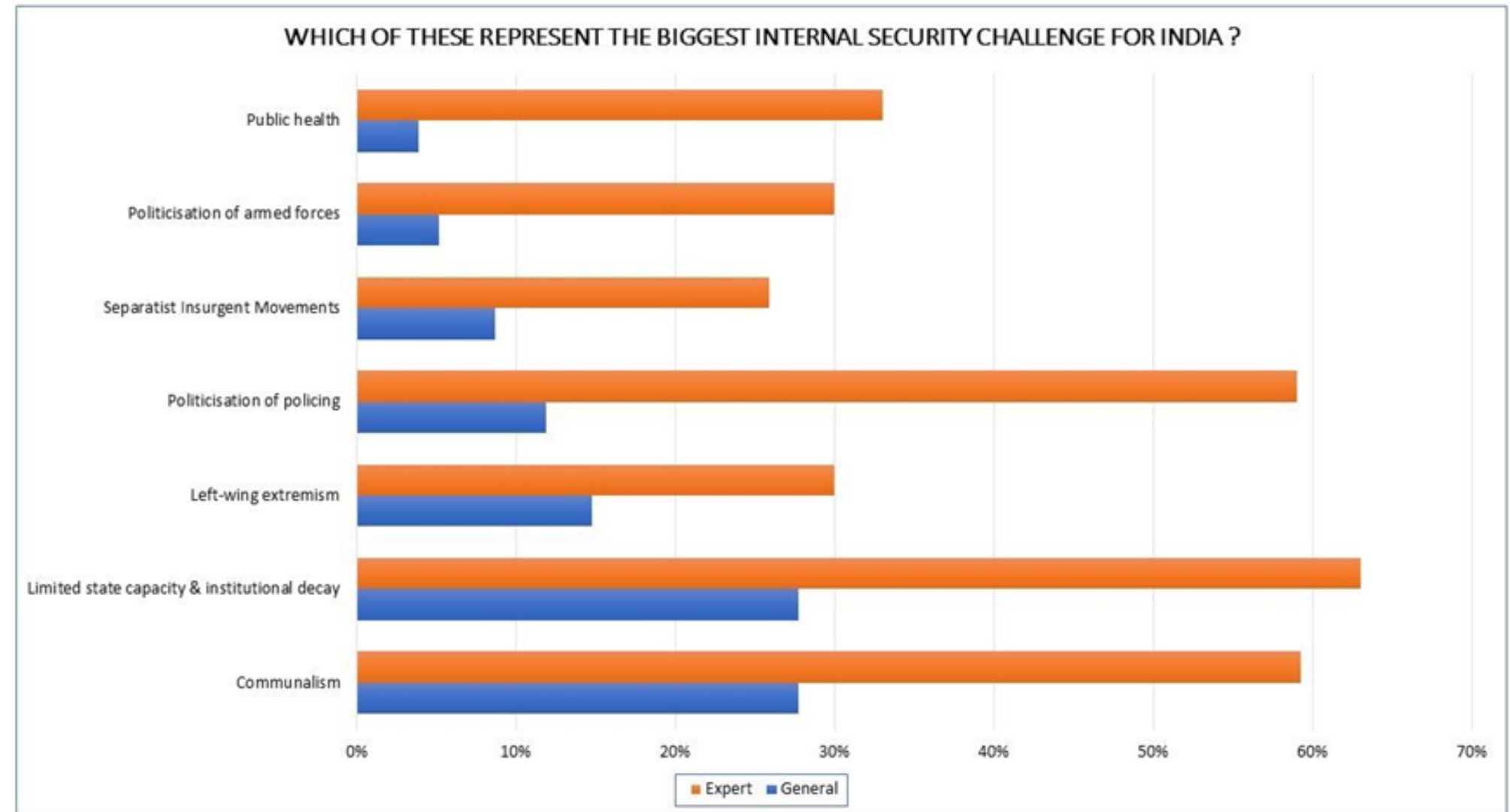


- To prepare for future threats, therefore, 58% of the GA wants to prioritise the development of cyber warfare capabilities. For the SAE, Cyberwarfare capabilities (85%) and maritime capability (85%) are among their topmost priorities. Interestingly, maintaining large, well-trained ground forces is becoming a relatively lesser priority for both the GA (6%) and the Strategic Experts (44%).



Highlights

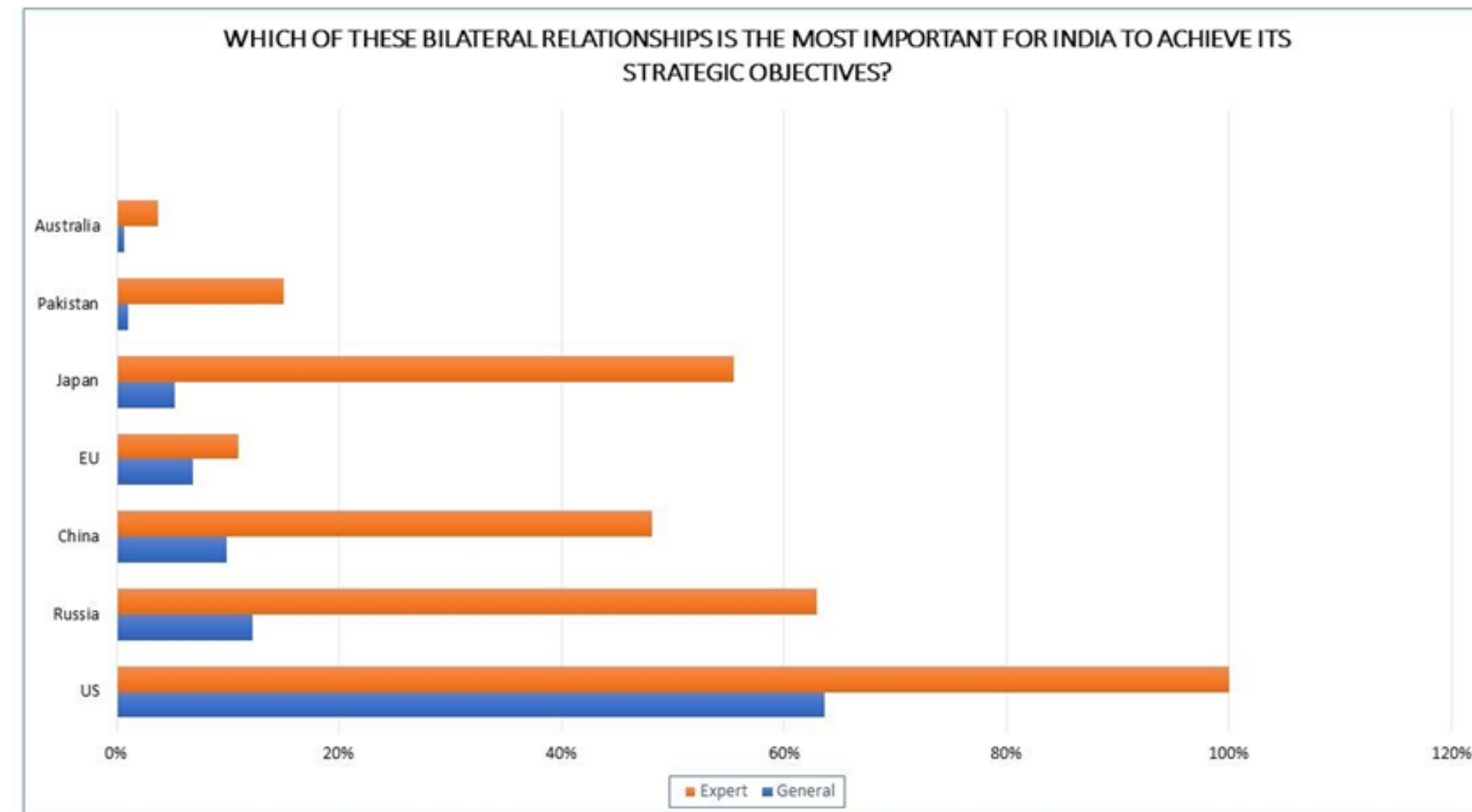
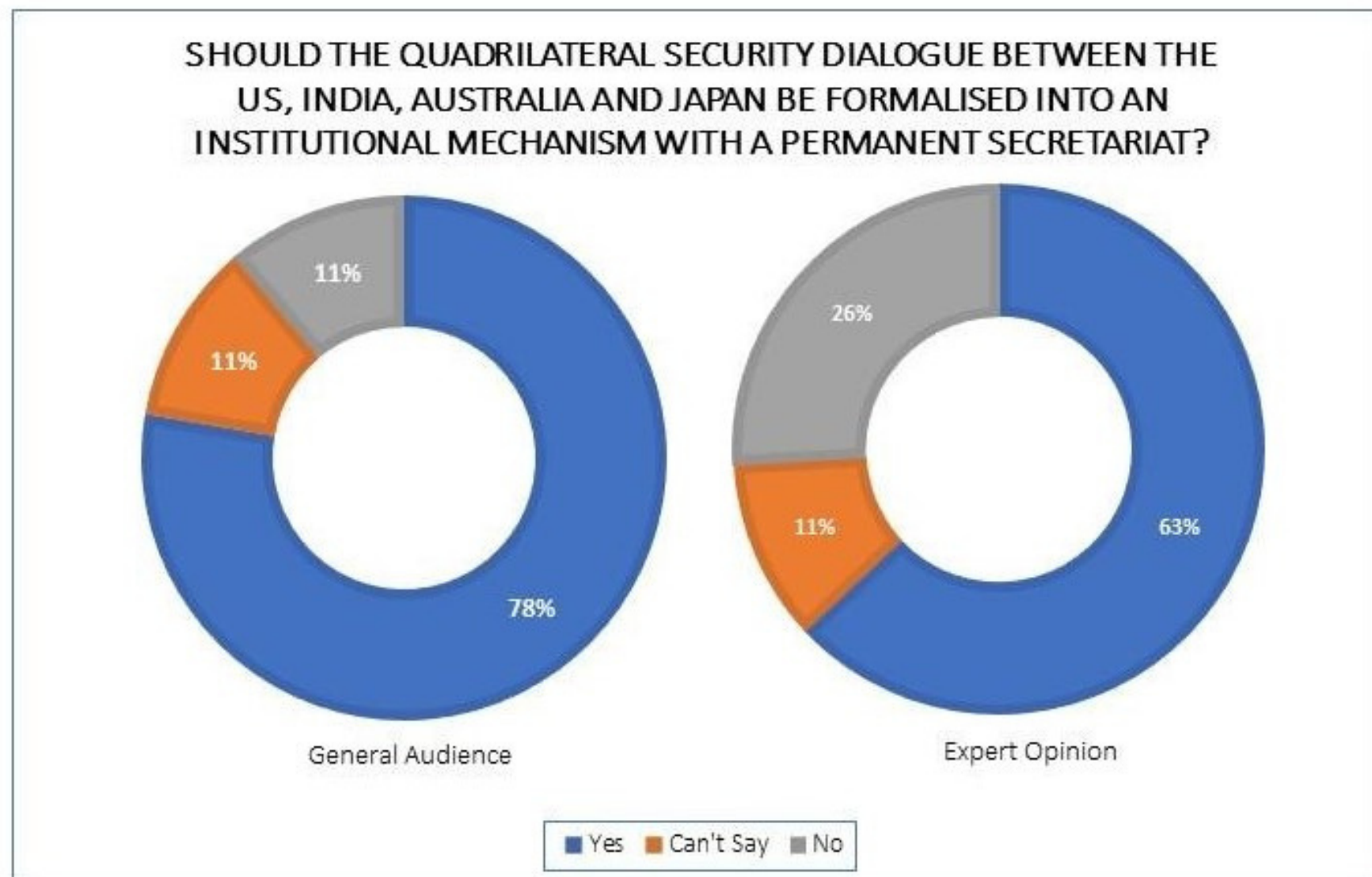
- Communalism, politicisation of policing, and the weakening of state institutions are seen as the three most important internal security challenges before India. 28% of the GA and 64% of the SAE identified limited state capacity & institutional decay as India's topmost internal security challenge. This was followed by Communalism.
- An interesting difference of opinion is seen when it comes to priorities of the GA and SAE with regard to the issues of left-wing extremism and politicisation of policing. 15% of the GA believe that the former is India's biggest internal security challenge, while fewer people rate the latter as such. For the Experts, on the other hand, the politicisation of policing (60%) is a far more significant challenge than Left-Wing Extremism (30%).





Highlights

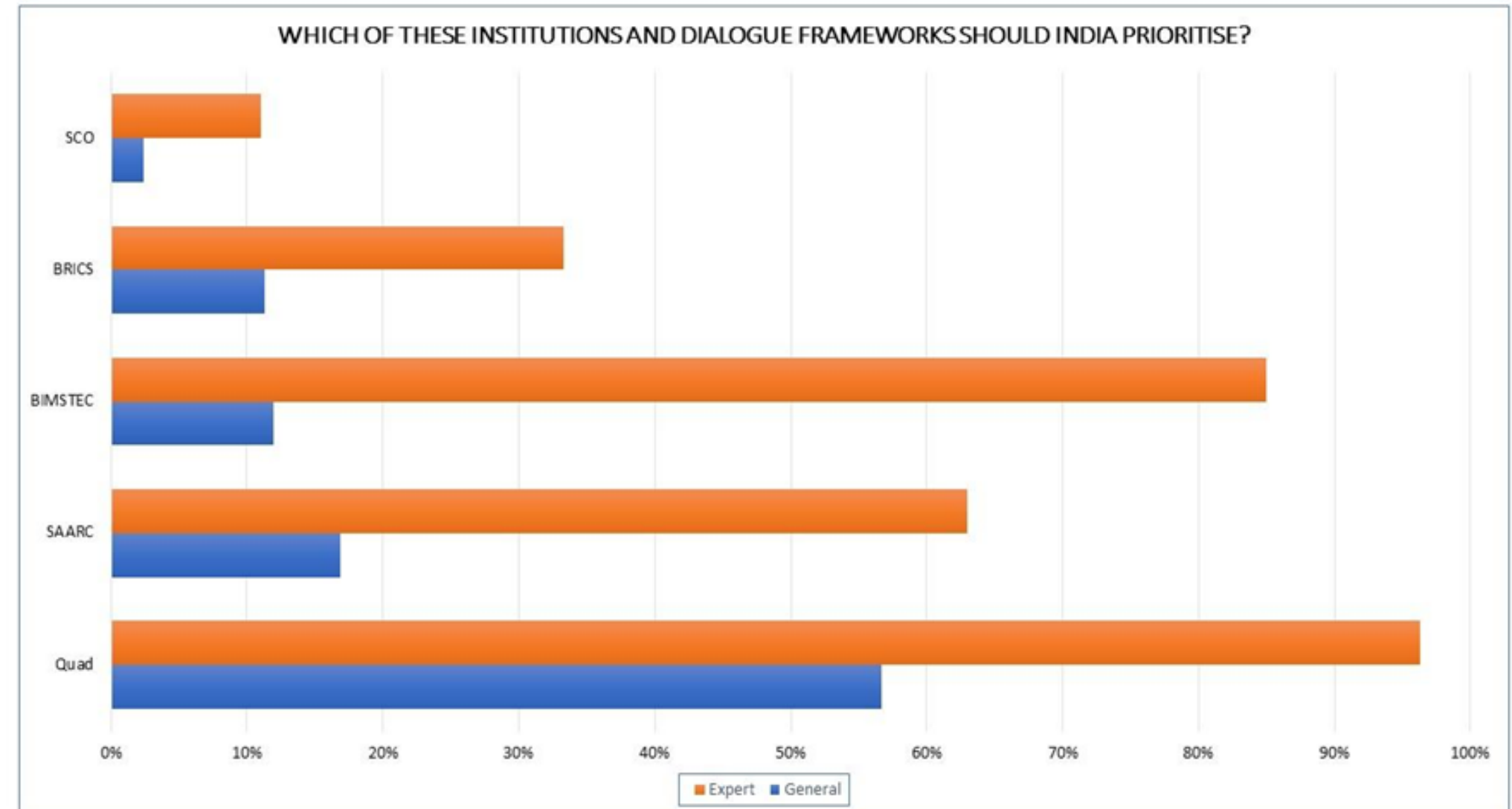
The increasing centrality of the Indo-Pacific in India's geostrategic discourse is reflected in the survey. This is evident from the growing acceptance of the US as India's most important strategic partner and the rising importance of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad) in the outlook of most Indians. 64% of the GA and all of the experts consider the Indo-US relationship as New Delhi's topmost partnership to achieve its strategic objectives. When it comes to the Quad, 78% of the GA and 63% of the SAE want it to be formalised into an institutional mechanism with a permanent Secretariat.





Highlights

- Further, 57% of the GA and 70% of the Experts want to prioritise the Quad over other dialogue frameworks like SAARC, BIMSTEC, and the SCO.
- Moreover, when it comes to India's neighbourhood, Bangladesh has overtaken Pakistan as India's most important neighbour. 35% of the GA ranked it as the most critical partner for India's security and economic interests, while it featured as a priority for 93% of the SAE. In contrast, 27% of the GA opted for Pakistan, which featured on the priority list of 52% of the Experts.





About the Survey

India's Global Outlook Survey is an initiative by the Takshashila Institution to understand how Indian policymakers, the country's strategic affairs community, and ordinary citizens view the world and India's role in it.

At Takshashila, we believe that India's population, economic potential, geographic position, military capacity and democratic governance make it an indispensable actor on the world stage. As India rises, it will increasingly play a role in shaping the course of world events. At the same time, as it integrates deeper with the outside world, events around the globe will impact Indian policy decisions. The future, therefore, will increasingly be marked by tricky trade-offs and tough choices.

Considering the above, it is more important than ever to understand the issues that matter the most to Indians when it comes to the country's foreign policy. How do they define India's national interests?

What are the concerns at the top of their minds? And what are the approaches they likely to prioritise?

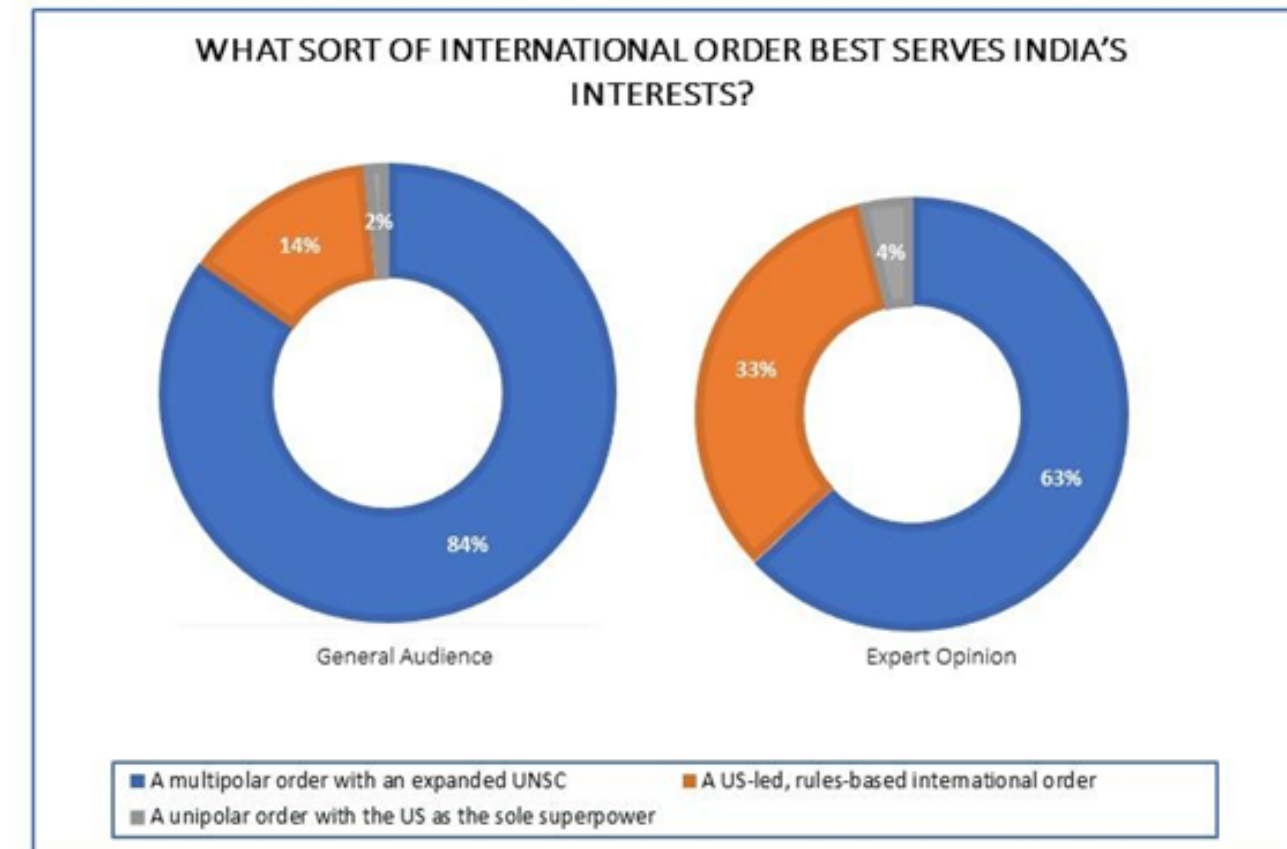
India's Global Outlook Survey aims to address this knowledge gap through online polling. The Survey, which was conducted in English, consisted of 26 questions, some of which required the participants to rank choices in order of priority.

The Survey was open to everyone from August 13, 2021, to October 15, 2021. Along with seeking online responses from the GA, we invited a select set of Strategic Affairs Experts, including current and former policymakers, armed forces personnel, media professionals, research scholars and analysts, to take the survey. In all, 714 respondents from the GA and 27 SAE submitted full responses.



Q1. What sort of international order best serves India's interests?

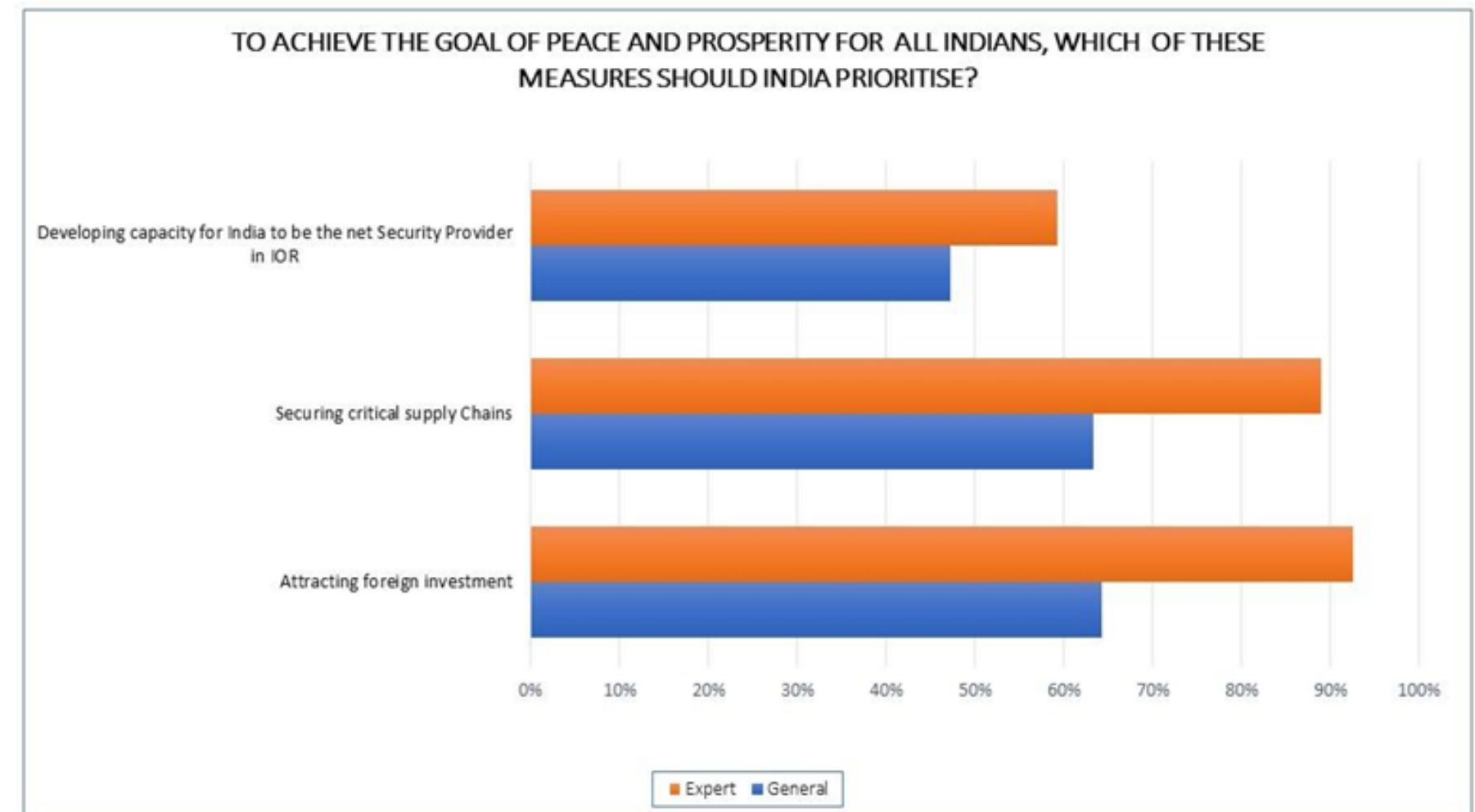
Both the majority of GA and SAE believe that 'A multipolar order with an expanded UNSC' best serves India's interests. However, for SAE (33%), 'A US-led, rules-based international order' has far more attraction than the GA (14%).





Q2. To achieve the goal of peace and prosperity for all Indians, which of these measures should India prioritise? (Top 3 Priorities of Experts)

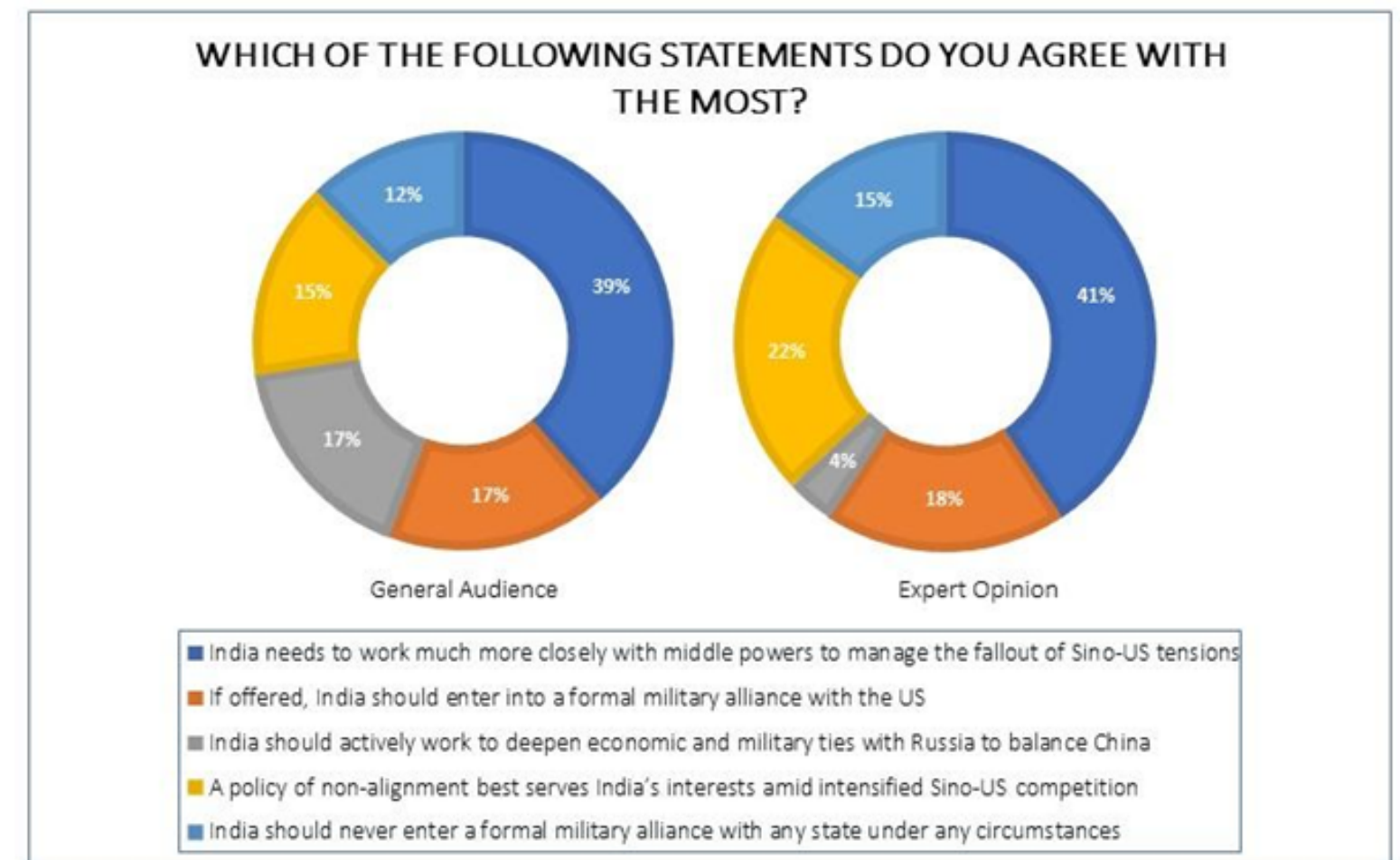
- For the GA, 'Attracting foreign investment' (64%), 'Securing critical supply Chains' (63%), 'Developing capacity for India to be the net Security Provider in IOR' (47%) are the three topmost priorities for India.
- For the SAE, 'Attracting foreign investment' (93%), 'Securing critical supply Chains' (89%), 'Developing capacity for India to be the net Security Provider in IOR' (59%) are the three topmost priorities for India.
- Interestingly, 'Pursuing a Seat at the UNSC' is prioritised by 34% of the GA, however, only 4% of the SAE chose it as one of the three topmost priorities for India.
- Another important difference is seen in the outlook of the GA and SAE when their prioritisation on 'Pursuing a Friendly Relationship with Pakistan & China' is comparatively examined. Thus, whereas it is favoured by 16% of GA as one of their three priorities, only 4% of SAE mention it as one of their top three priorities.





Q3. Which of the following statements do you agree with the most?

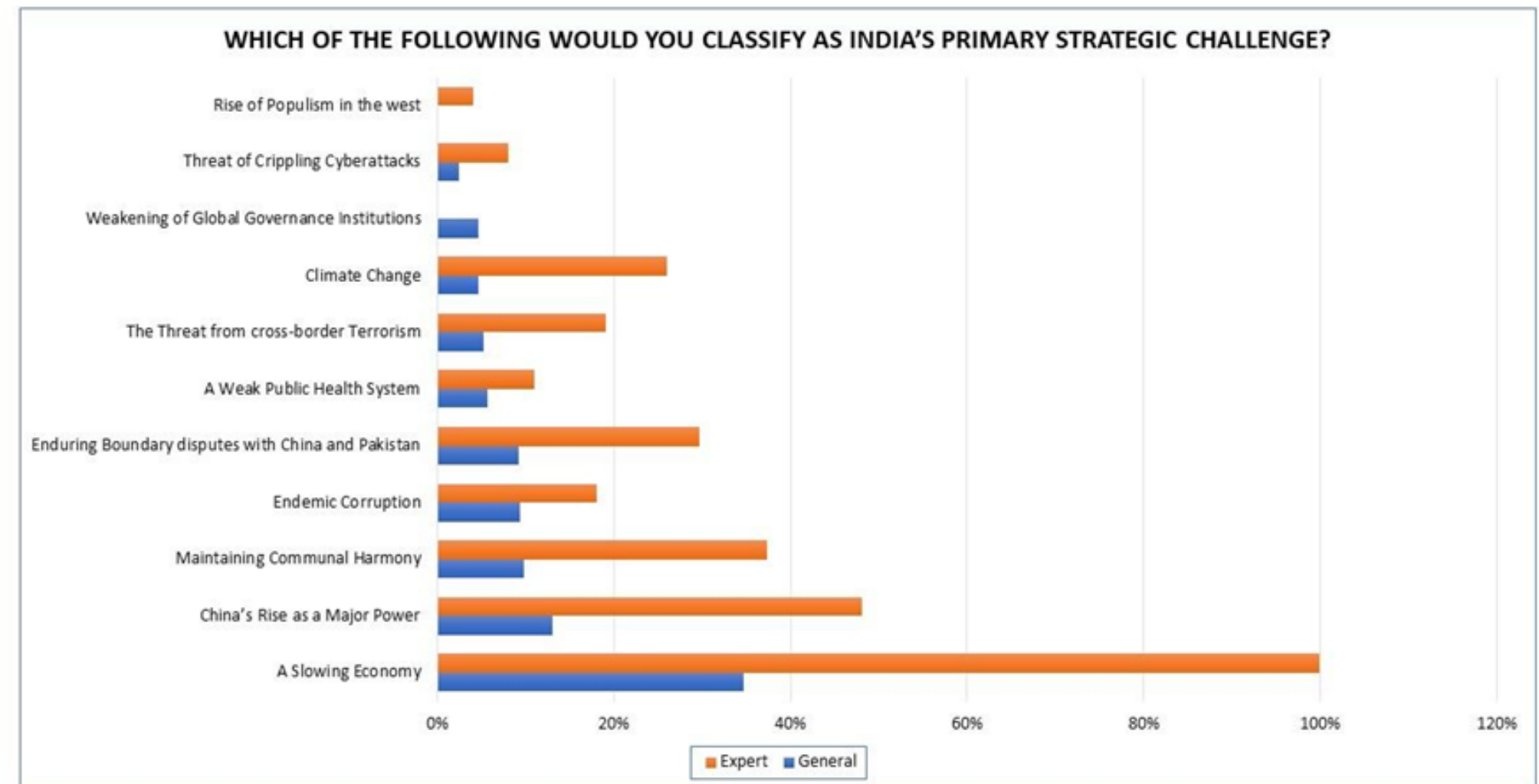
- Both the majority of GA (39%) and SAE (41%) agree with the statement ‘India needs to work much more closely with middle powers to manage the fallout of Sino-US tensions’.
- When the two propositions that ‘A policy of non-alignment best serves India’s interests amid intensified Sino-US competition’ and ‘India should never enter a formal military alliance with any state under any circumstances’ are seen together, it gets highlighted that only 28% of GA holds faith in non-alignment/non-alliance tenets of Indian Foreign Policy as opposed to 37% of SAE.
- The proposition that ‘India should actively work to deepen economic and military ties with Russia to balance China’ is only favoured by 4% of the experts as opposed to 17% of the GA. This indicates that Russia’s identity as the successor state to the Soviet Union, India’s cold war ally, has far more value for the GA even though Russia has lost its status as India’s patron in SAE community.





Q4. Which of the following would you classify as India's primary strategic challenge? (Top 3 Priorities of Experts)

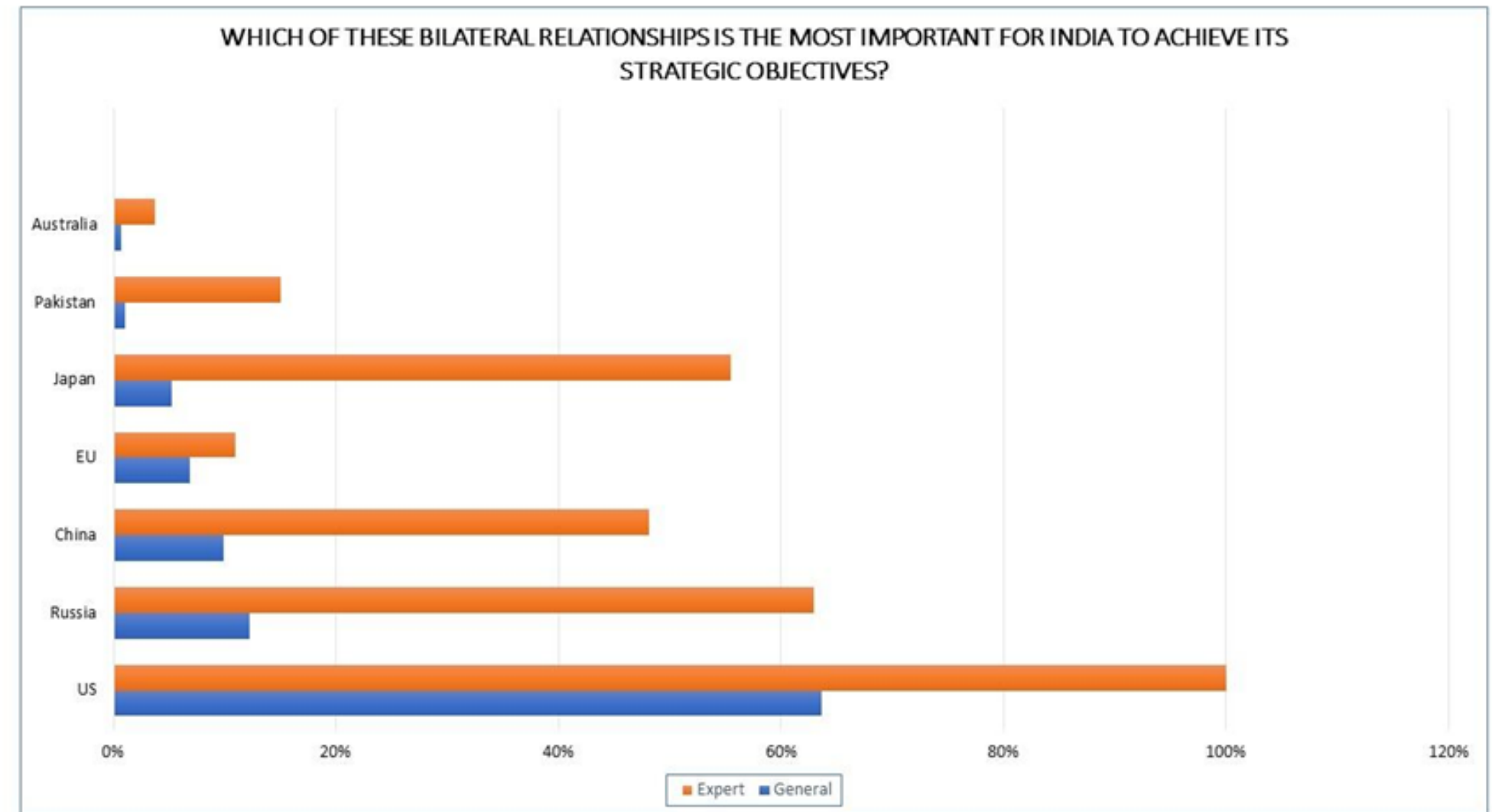
- The GA (35%) sees 'A Slowing Economy' as India's primary strategic challenge. Similarly, for 56% of SAE, it is India's foremost strategic challenge, and all the experts agree that 'A Slowing Economy' is one of the topmost strategic challenges faced by India.
- For 13% of GA, 'China's Rise as a Major Power' is India's primary strategic challenge. Similarly, 19% of SAE consider it as India's "foremost" strategic challenge, and 48% of SAE agree that it is one of the topmost strategic challenges faced by India.





Q5. Which of these bilateral relationships is the most important for India to achieve its strategic objectives?

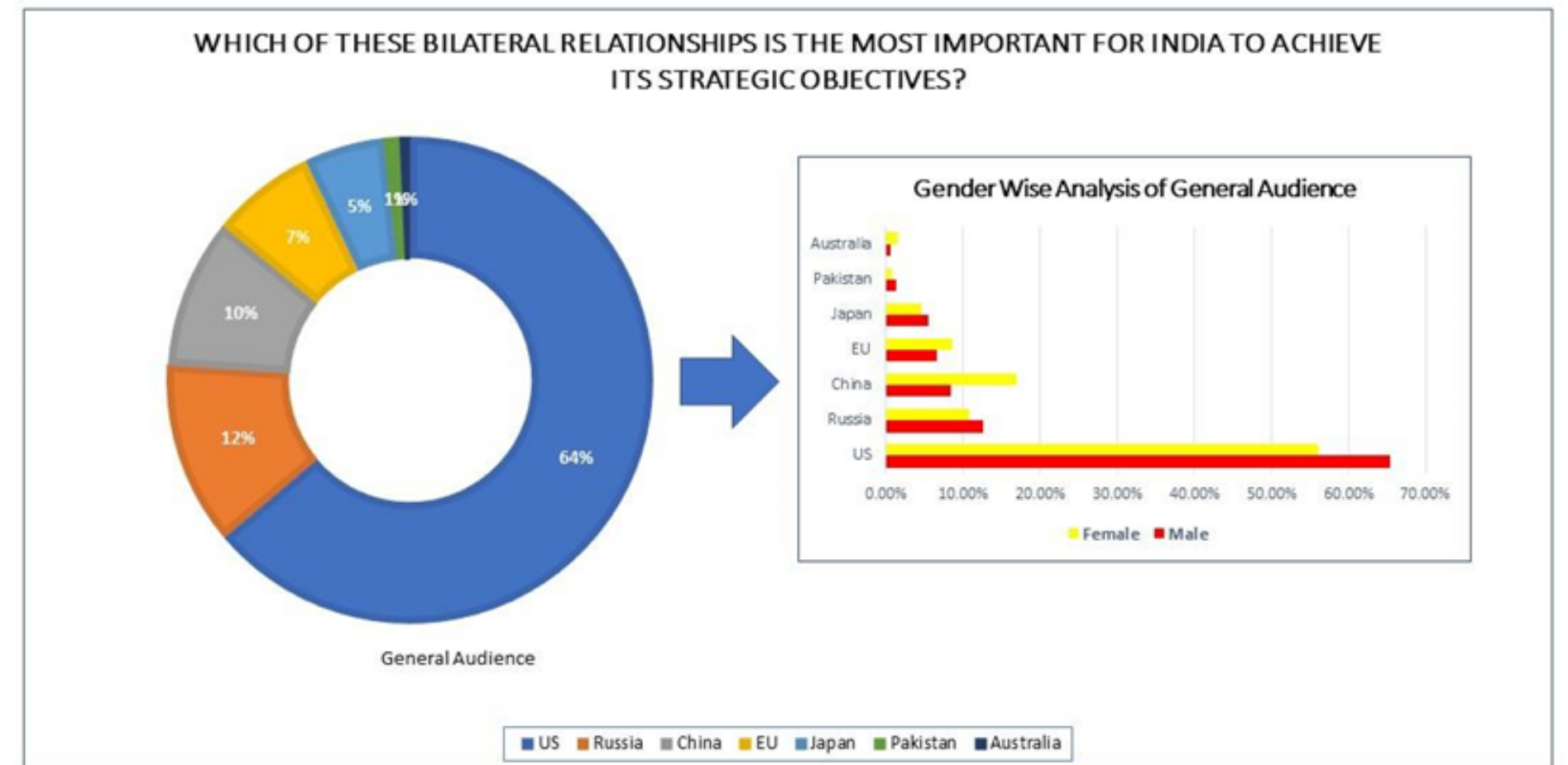
- The GA (64%) sees Indo-US relationship as the most important for India to achieve its strategic objectives. Similarly, 85% of SAE consider it as the foremost and all the experts agree that it as the topmost bilateral relationship.
- One of the most significant difference between the GA and SAE's views is that only 5% of GA consider India-Japan relationship as the most important whereas 7% of SAE consider it as India's foremost and 56% see it as one of the topmost bilateral relationships for New Delhi.





Q5. Which of these bilateral relationships is the most important for India to achieve its strategic objectives? (Males versus Females**)

More females (17%) than males (8%) believe that India's bilateral relationship with China is the most important for it to achieve its strategic objectives. Conversely, more males (65%) than females (56%) believe that it is India's bilateral relationship with the US which is the most important one.

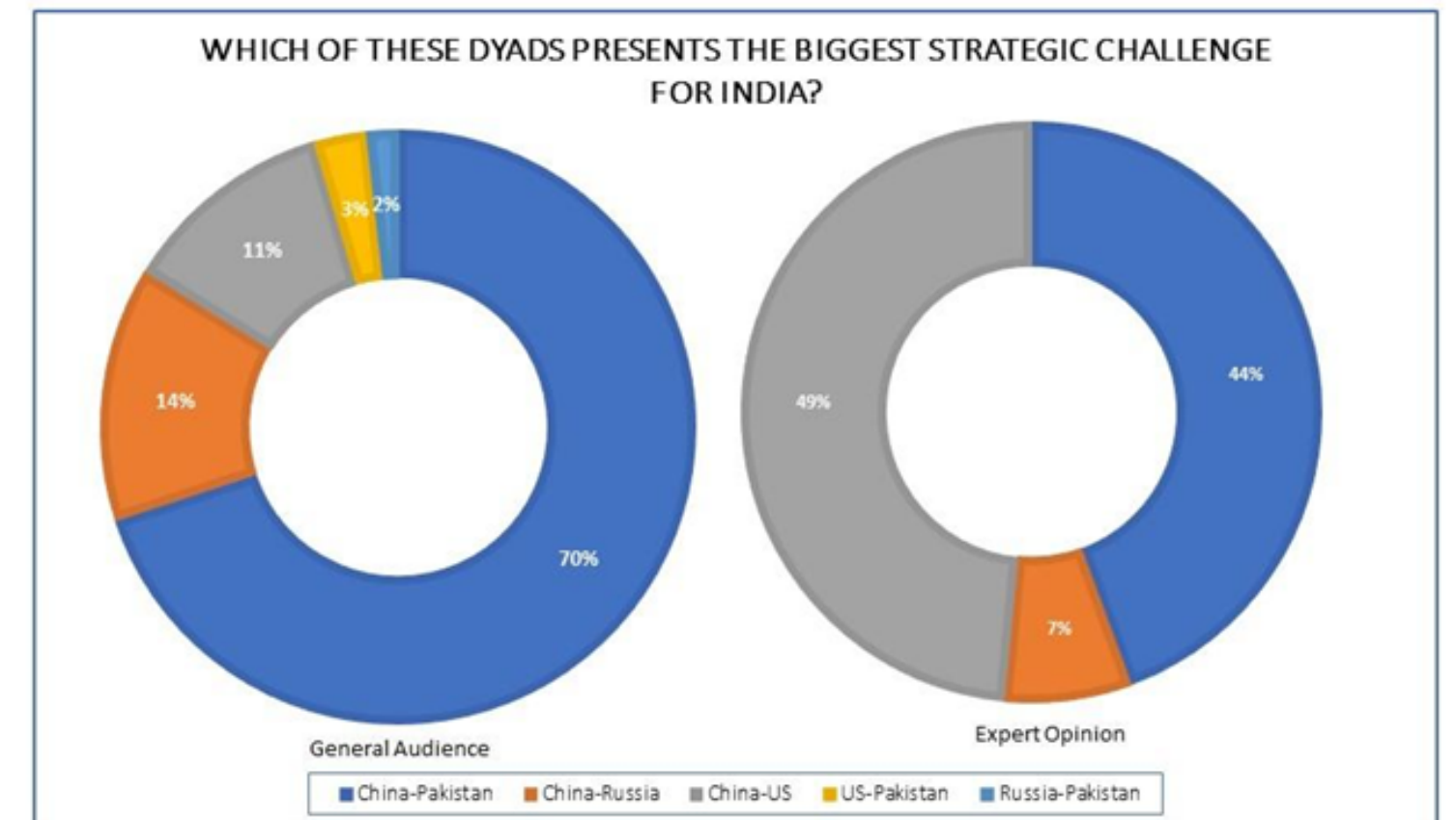


** Out of 714 respondents from the General Audience, there were 584 males and 130 females.



Q6. Which of these dyads presents the biggest strategic challenge for India?

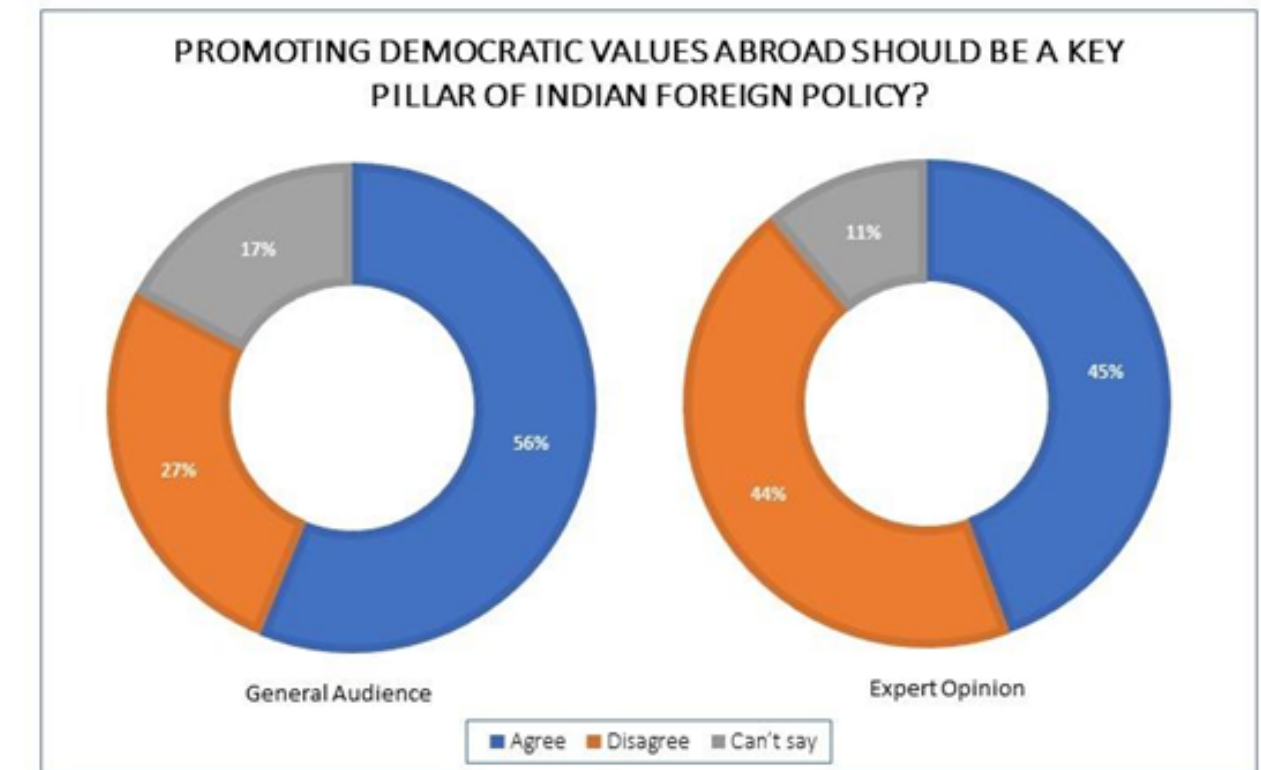
- For the 70% of GA, China-Pakistan dyad presents the biggest strategic challenge for India. However, only 44% of SAE believe that it is India's biggest challenge.
- For 49% of SAE, it is the China-US relationship which is the biggest strategic challenge for India. However, only 11% of GA consider it as a challenge for India.



Q7. Promoting democratic values abroad should be a key pillar of Indian foreign policy?



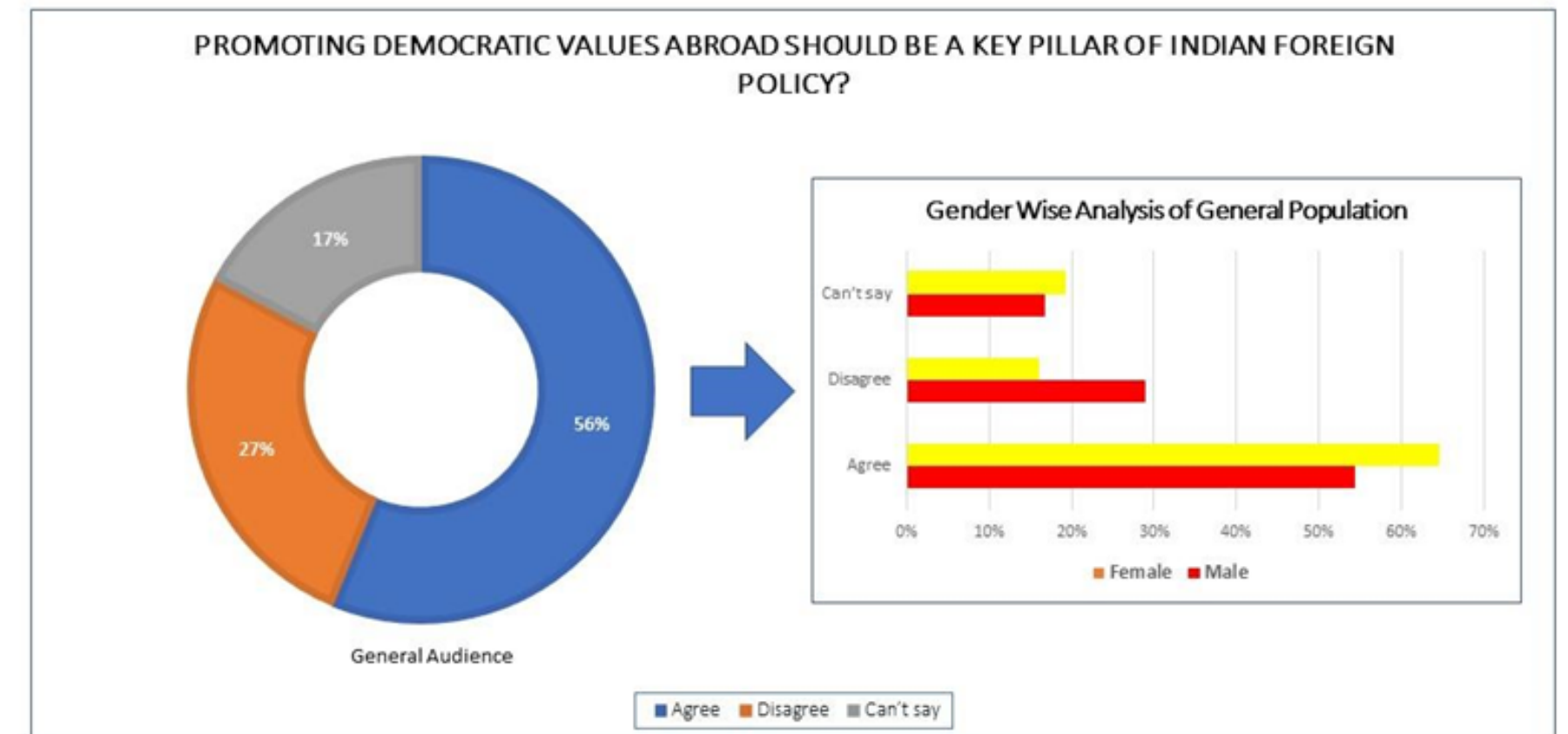
- 56% of GA agree with the proposition that 'Promoting democratic values abroad should be a key pillar of Indian foreign policy'. 27% of GA do not agree, with 17% undecided.
- The SAE's opinion remains evenly divided on the proposition with 45% agreeing and 44% disagreeing, with 11% undecided.



Q7. Promoting democratic values abroad should be a key pillar of Indian foreign policy? (Males versus Females)



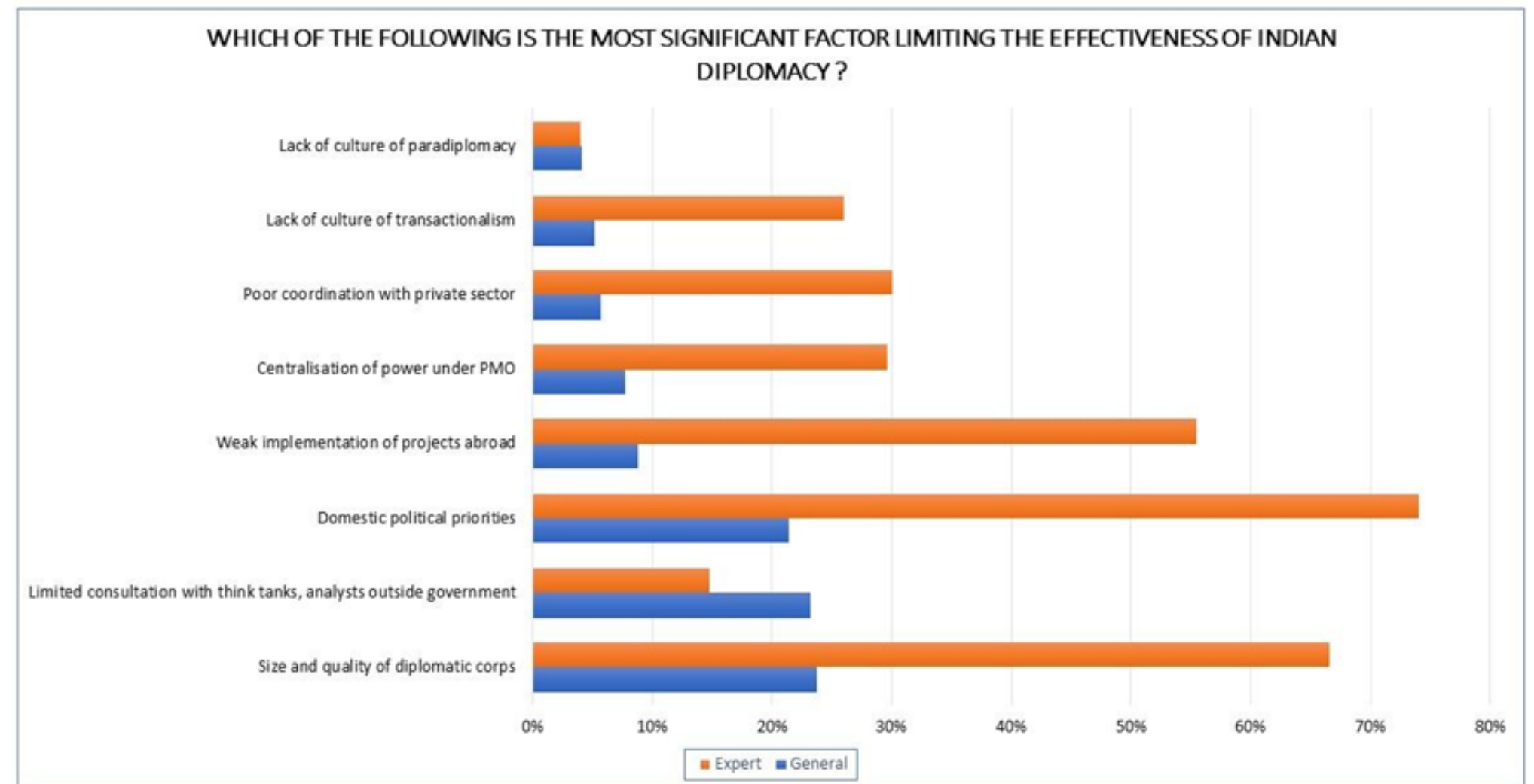
- More females (65%) than males (54%) agree with the proposition that 'Promoting democratic values abroad should be a key pillar of Indian foreign policy'. Similarly, more males (29%) than females (16%) disagree with the said proposition.





Q8. Which of the following is the most significant factor limiting the effectiveness of Indian diplomacy? (Top 3 Priorities of Experts)

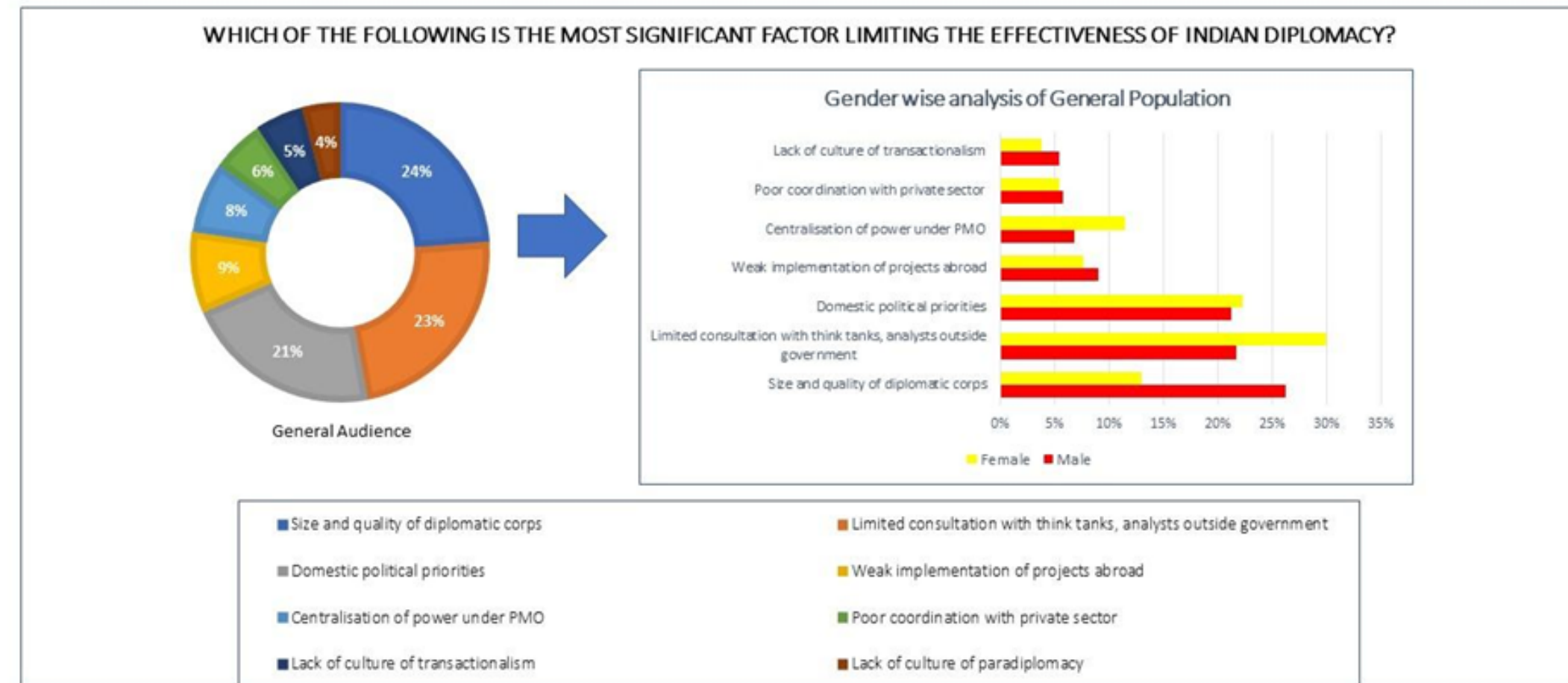
- For 24% of the GA, the 'Size and quality of diplomatic corps' is the most significant limiting factor. Similarly, 33% of SAE consider it as the foremost and another 67% consider it as the topmost factor hindering Indian diplomacy.
- Interestingly, much more of the GA (23%) consider 'Limited consultation with think tanks, analysts outside government' as a limiting factor as opposed to SAE, as only 15% consider it as one of topmost limiting factors.
- In this regard, 'Domestic political priorities' are seen by 30% of SAE as the foremost and 74% as one of the topmost problems facing Indian diplomacy. In contrast, only 21% of the GA consider it as the limiting factor.





Q8. Which of the following is the most significant factor limiting the effectiveness of Indian diplomacy? (Males versus Females)

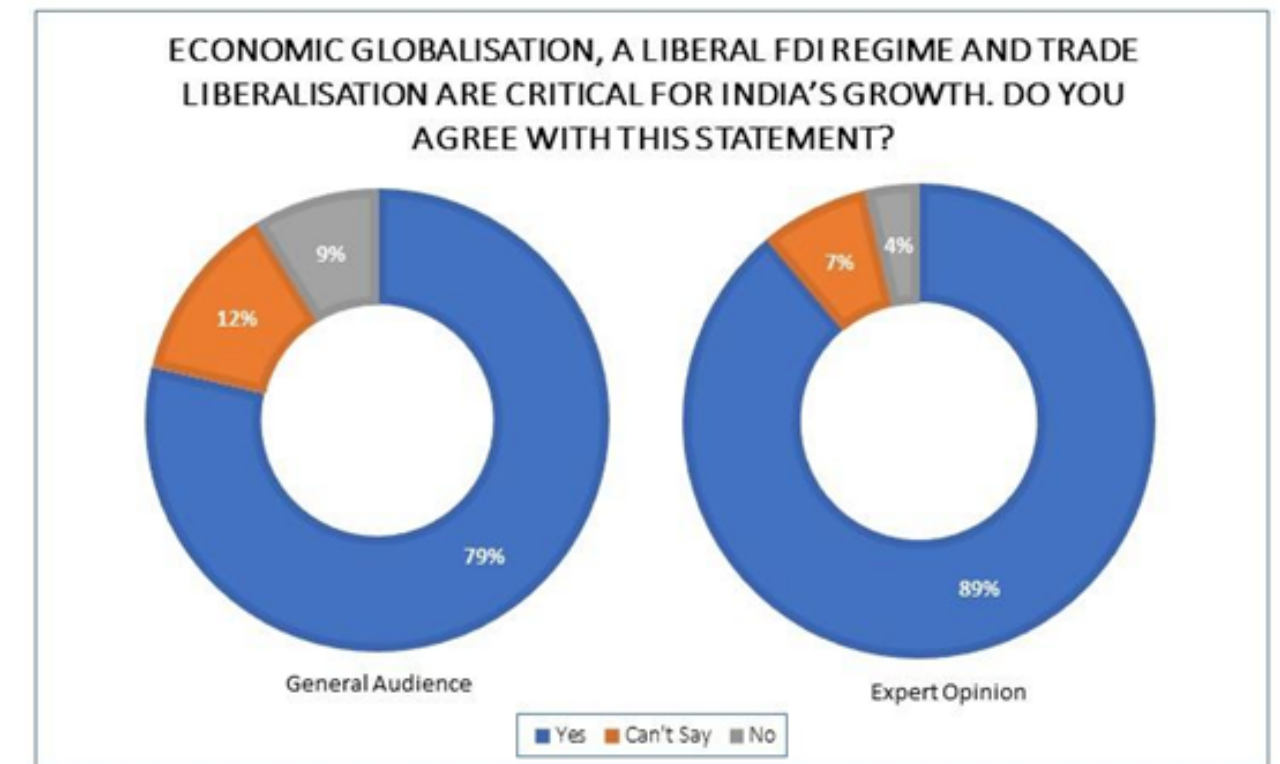
- More males (26%) than females (13%) believe that it is 'Size and quality of diplomatic corps' which is the most significant factor limiting the effectiveness of Indian diplomacy.
- On the other hand, more females (30%) than males (22%) believe that it is 'Limited consultation with think tanks, analysts outside government' which is the most significant factor limiting the effectiveness of Indian diplomacy.





Q9. Economic globalisation, a liberal FDI regime and trade liberalisation are critical for India's growth. Do you agree with this statement?

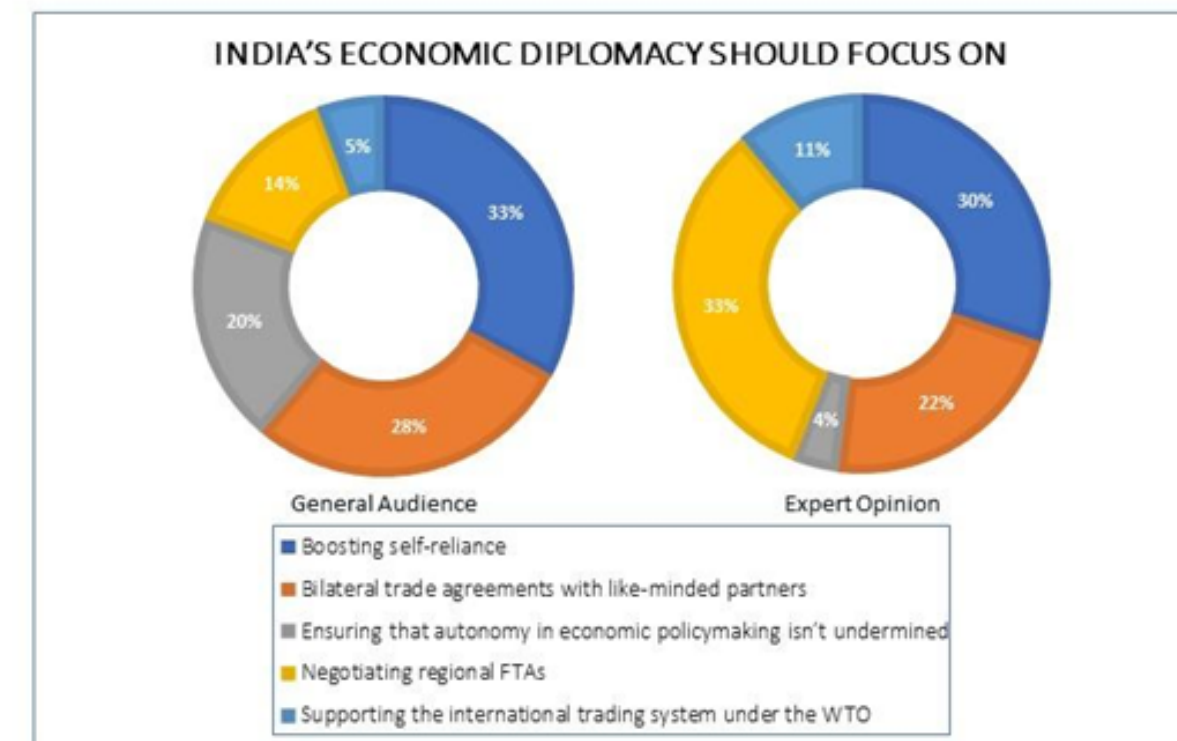
Both 79% of the GA and 89% of SAE agree with the proposition that 'Economic globalisation, a liberal FDI regime and trade liberalisation are critical for India's growth'.



Q10. India's economic diplomacy should focus on:



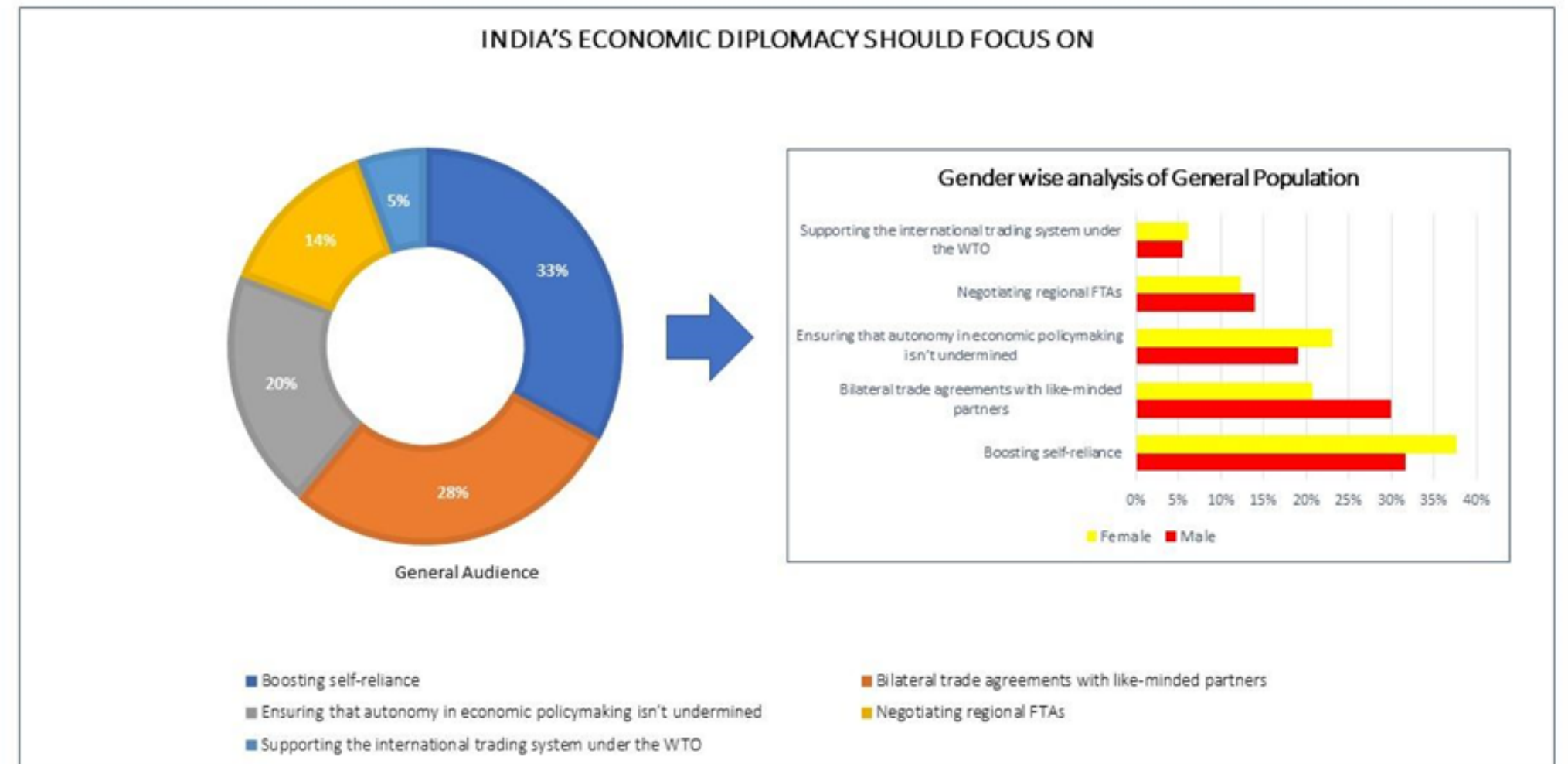
- A contradiction can be seen in the preferences of the GA when they are asked what India's economic diplomacy should focus on. Thus, after overwhelmingly affirming their faith in trade liberalisation and economic globalisation (in question 9), more than half of the participants believe that India should focus on 'Boosting self-reliance' (33%) and 'Ensuring that autonomy in economic policymaking isn't undermined' (20%).
- A similar contradiction can be seen in the SAE's preferences. Thus, one-third of the SAE exhibit protectionist preferences – with 'Boosting self-reliance' (30%) and 'Ensuring that autonomy in economic policymaking isn't undermined' (4%) as targets of India's economic diplomacy.





Q10. India's economic diplomacy should focus on (Males versus Females):

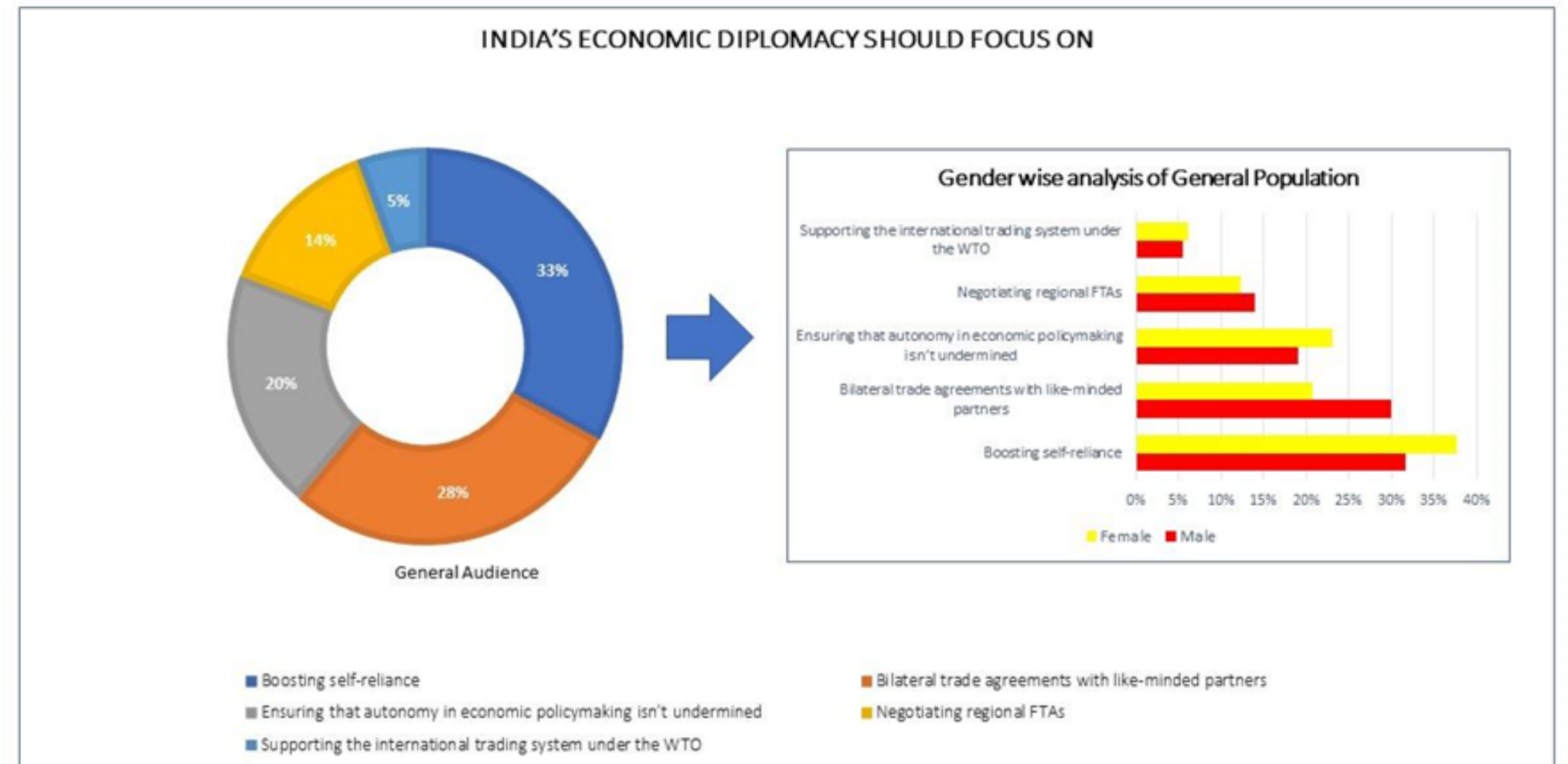
- More males (81%) than females (69%) agree with the proposition that 'Economic globalisation, a liberal FDI regime and trade liberalisation are critical for India's growth' (in question 9). Also, more males (30%) than females (21%) want India to ink 'Bilateral trade agreements with like-minded partners'.
- On the other hand, more females (38%) than males (32%) want India's economic diplomacy to focus on 'Boosting self-reliance'.





Q10. India's economic diplomacy should focus on (Regional Variation***):

- 'Bilateral trade agreements with like-minded partners' is preferred by 40% Respondents in the East (RE) as opposed to 22% Respondents in the North (RN), 29% Respondents in the West (RW), and 29% Respondents in the South (RS).
- 'Ensuring that autonomy in economic policymaking isn't undermined' is preferred by 25% of RS as against 21% of RN, 14% of RW, and 14% of RE.

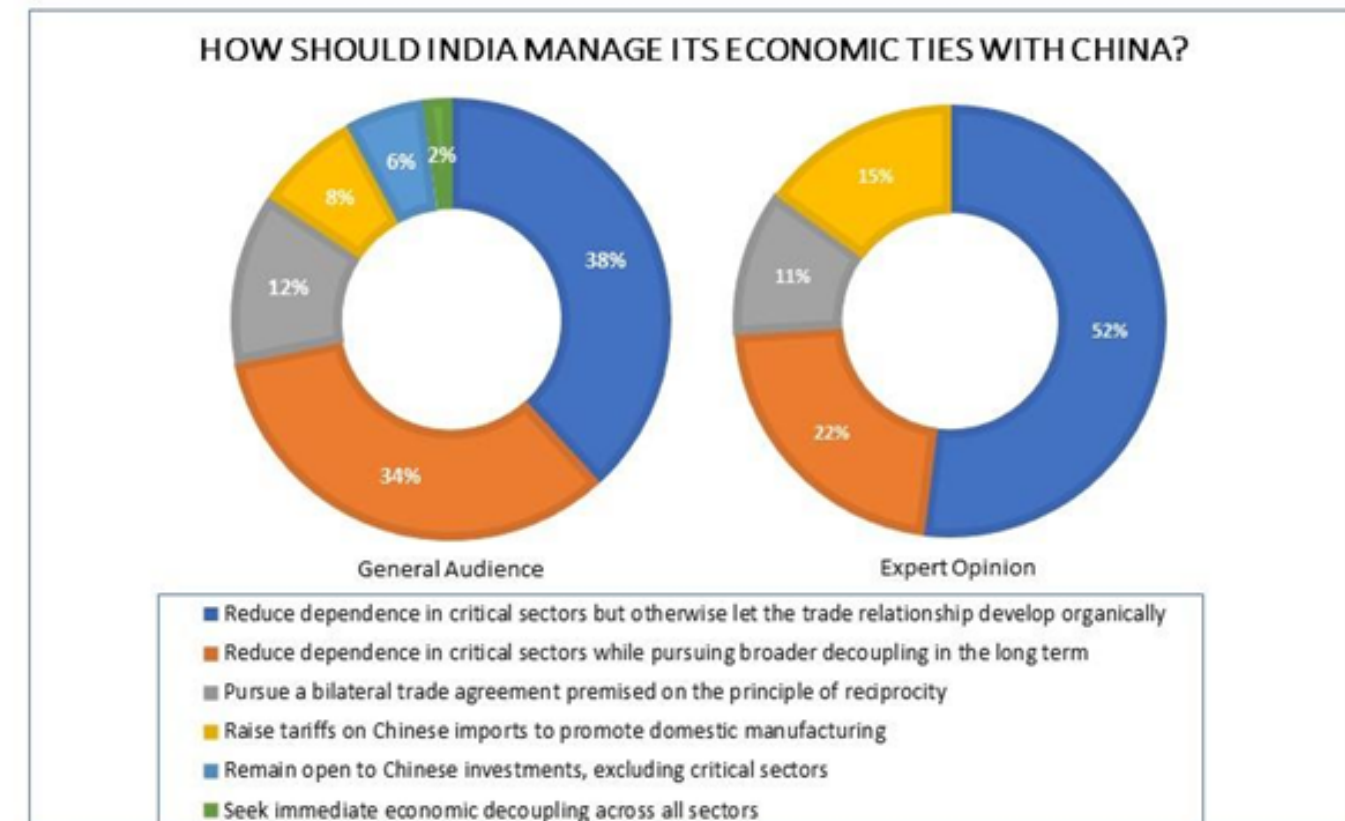


*** The Survey also undertakes a regional analysis of respondents' preferences wherever any important differences are evident among the respondents from the Northern, Western, Eastern and Southern India. There were 223 respondents from Southern India, 57 respondents from Eastern India, 187 respondents from Western India, and 196 respondents from Northern India.

Q11. How should India manage its economic ties with China?



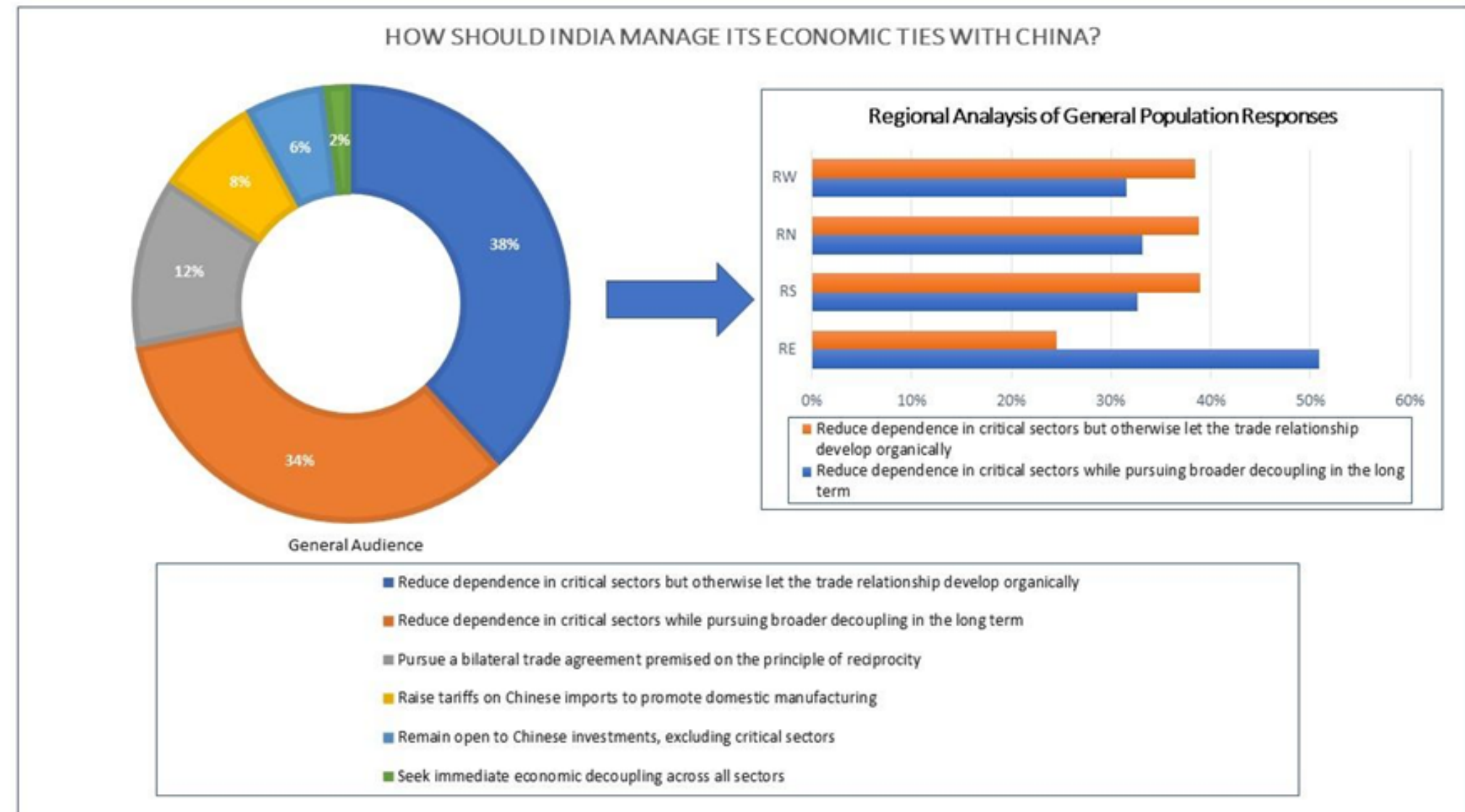
- The GA opinion is united that India should reduce dependence in critical sectors. However, the GA's view remains evenly divided on the point whether or not such a reduction should lead to a broader decoupling in the long term. Thus, 38% of GA believe that India should 'let the trade relationship develop organically' and another 34% believe that India should 'pursue broader decoupling in the long term'.
- The SAE also overwhelmingly believes that India should reduce dependence in critical sectors with China, with the majority favouring the organic development of ties. Thus, for 52% of SAE, India should 'Reduce dependence in critical sectors but otherwise let the trade relationship develop organically' and another 22% believe that India should 'Reduce dependence in critical sectors while pursuing broader decoupling in the long term'.



Q11. How should India manage its economic ties with China? (Regional Variation)



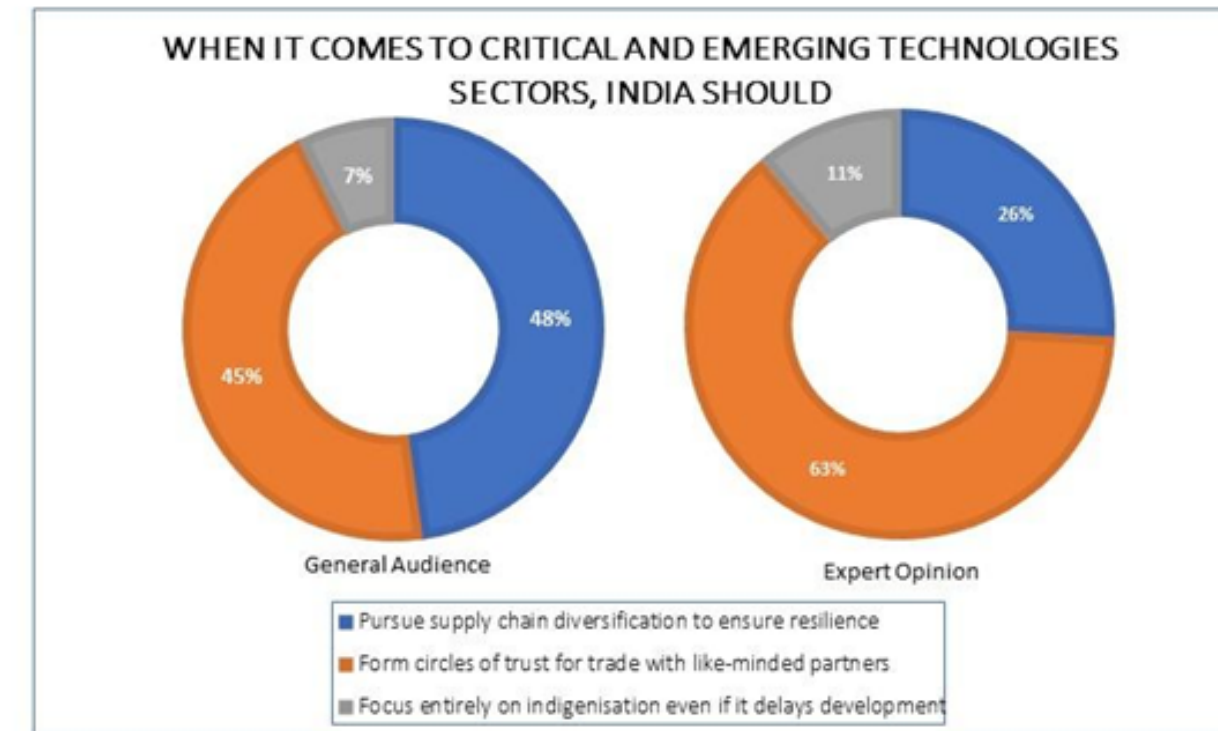
- 'Reduce dependence in critical sectors but otherwise let the trade relationship develop organically' is the preferred option for 39% of RS, RN, RW as opposed to 25% of RE.
- 'Reduce dependence in critical sectors while pursuing broader decoupling in the long term' is the most preferred option for 51% of RE in comparison to 33% of RN, 33% of RS and 32% of RW.





Q12. When it comes to Critical and Emerging Technologies sectors, India should:

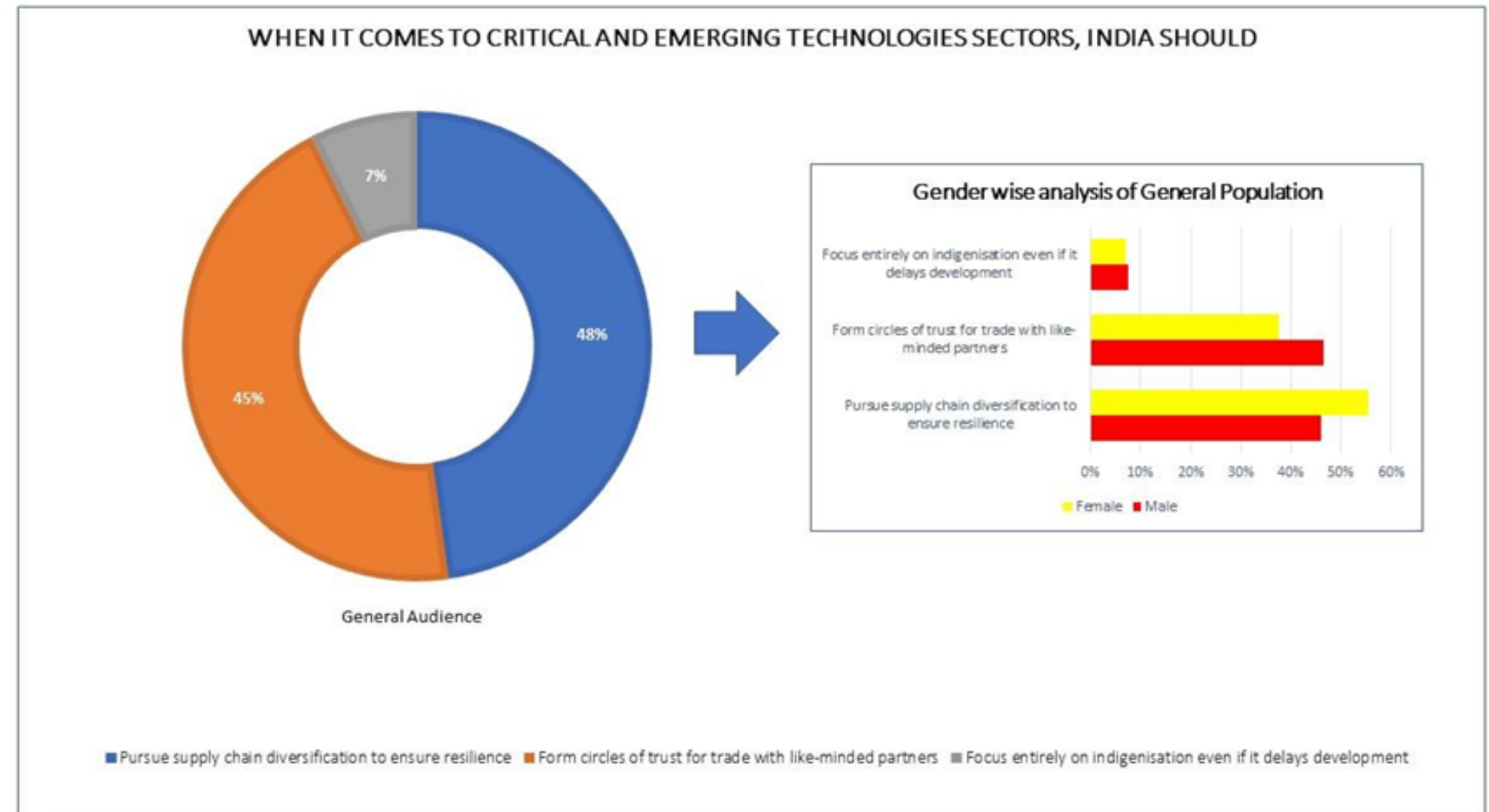
- About 48% of GA believe India should 'Pursue supply chain diversification to ensure resilience'. In contrast, only 26% of SAE prefer this option.
- On the other hand, about 63% of SAE believe India should 'Form circles of trust for trade with like-minded partners', as opposed to 45% of the GA.





Q12. When it comes to Critical and Emerging Technologies sectors, India should (Males versus Females):

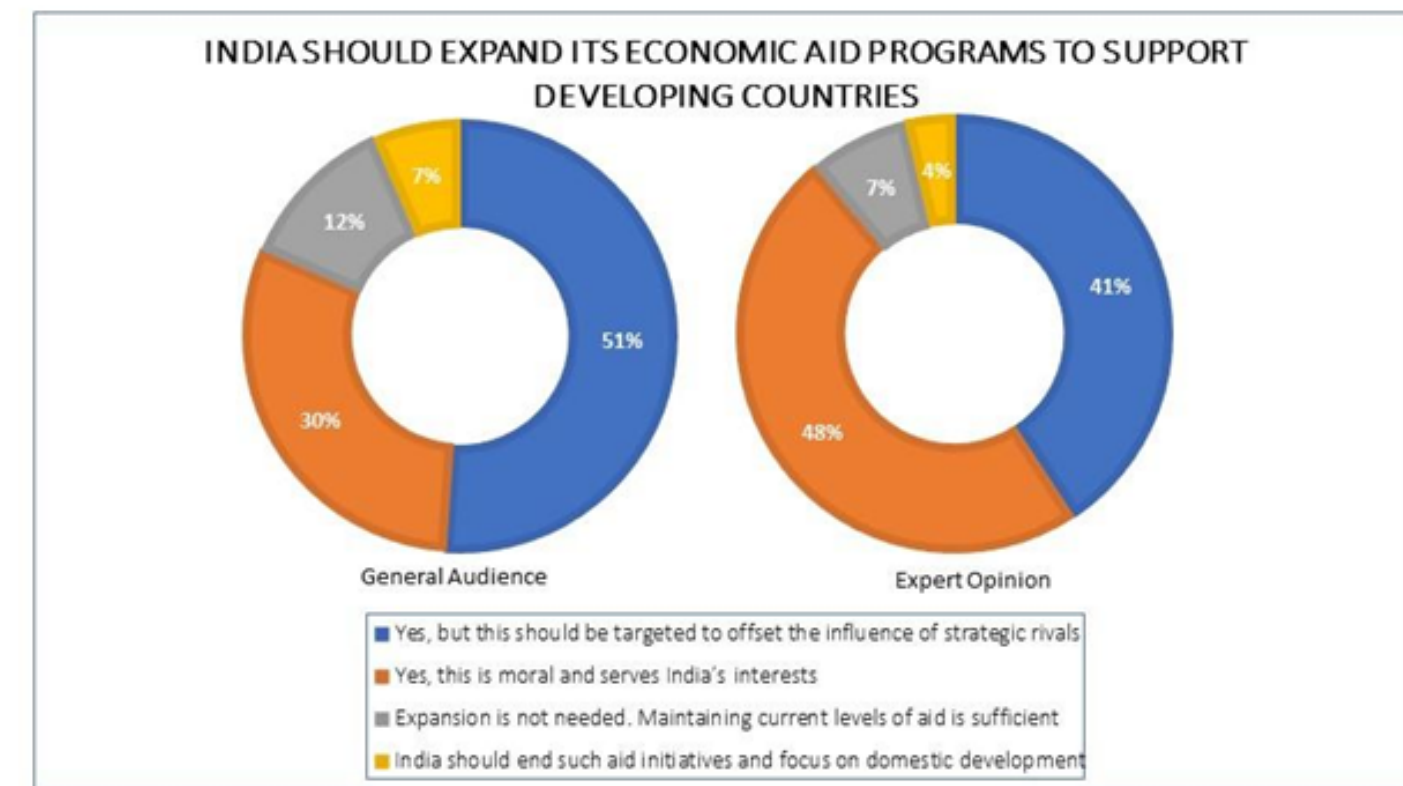
- In this question, the preferences of females and males diverge. Thus, more females (56%) than males (46%) want India to 'Pursue supply chain diversification to ensure resilience'. Whereas, more males (46%) than females (38%) want India to 'Form circles of trust for trade with like-minded partners'.





Q13. India should expand its economic aid programs to support developing countries:

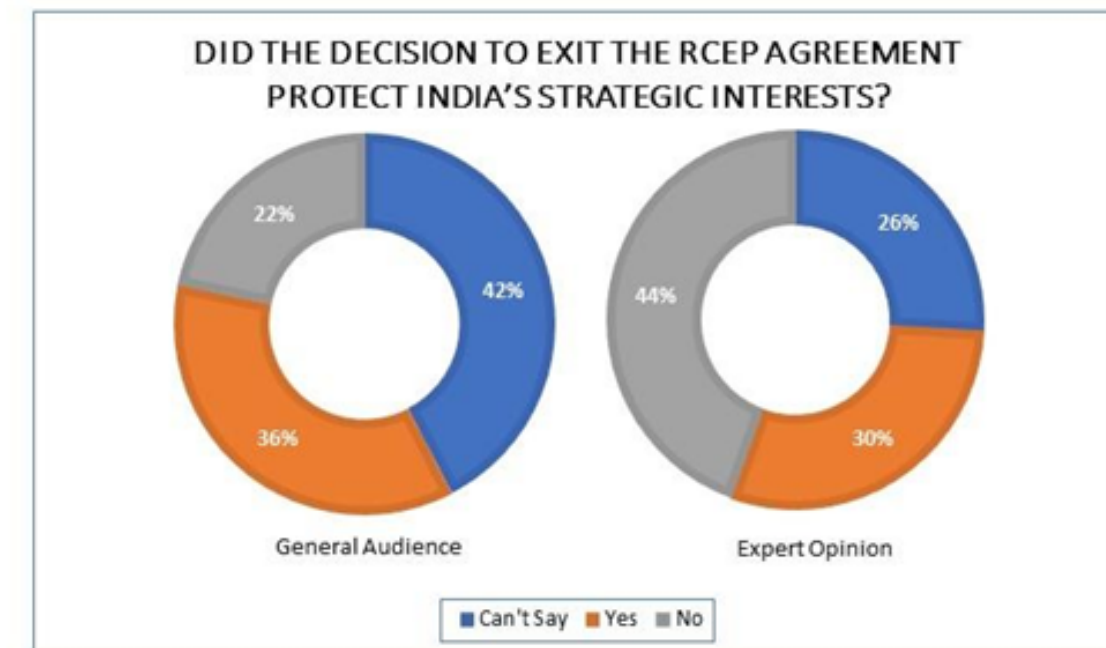
- About 51% of GA believe that India should target its aid to 'offset the influence of strategic rivals', as opposed to 41% of the SAE.
- About 48% of SAE believe that the expansion of Indian aid 'is moral and serves India's interests'. The GA adopts a lesser moralistic attitude with support from only 30%.





Q14. Did the decision to exit the RCEP agreement protect India's strategic interests?

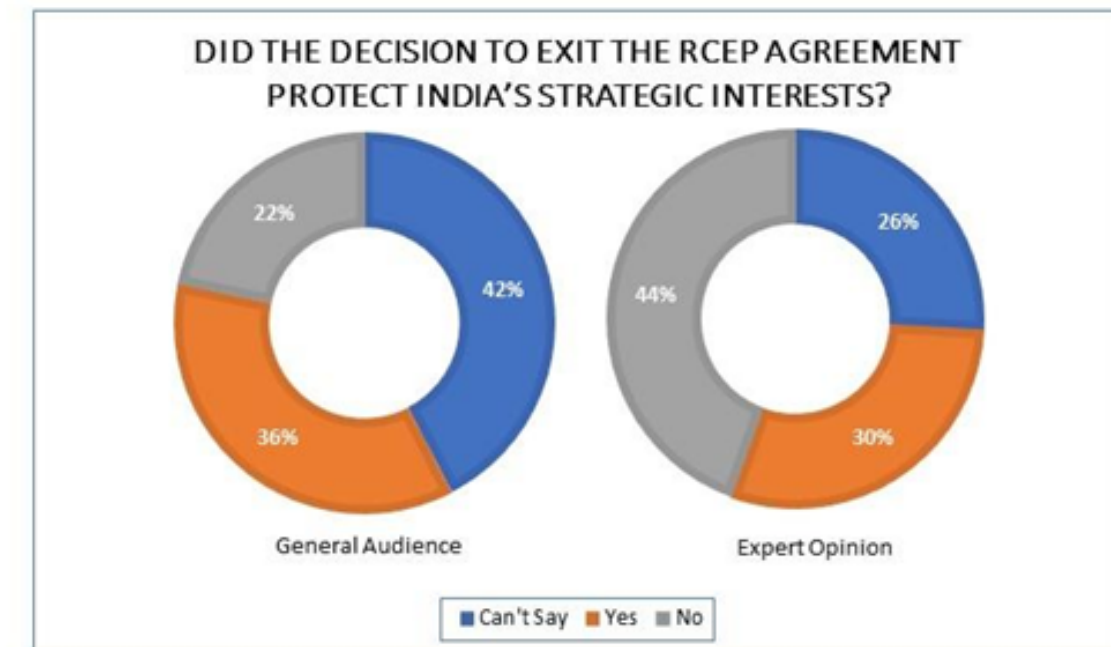
- About 44% of SAE say 'No'. The GA seems to be more inclined towards the GoI's decision to exit RCEP, with only 22% of them saying 'No'.
- About 30% of SAE say 'Yes', as opposed to 36% of the GA.
- About 26% of SAE say 'Can't say'. Interestingly, much more of the GA (42%) is undecided on the benefits/loss of the RCEP to India. This suggests that the government as well as the think tanks have failed in shaping the public opinion on the issue.





Q15. In terms of India's border security, which of these represents the biggest threat?

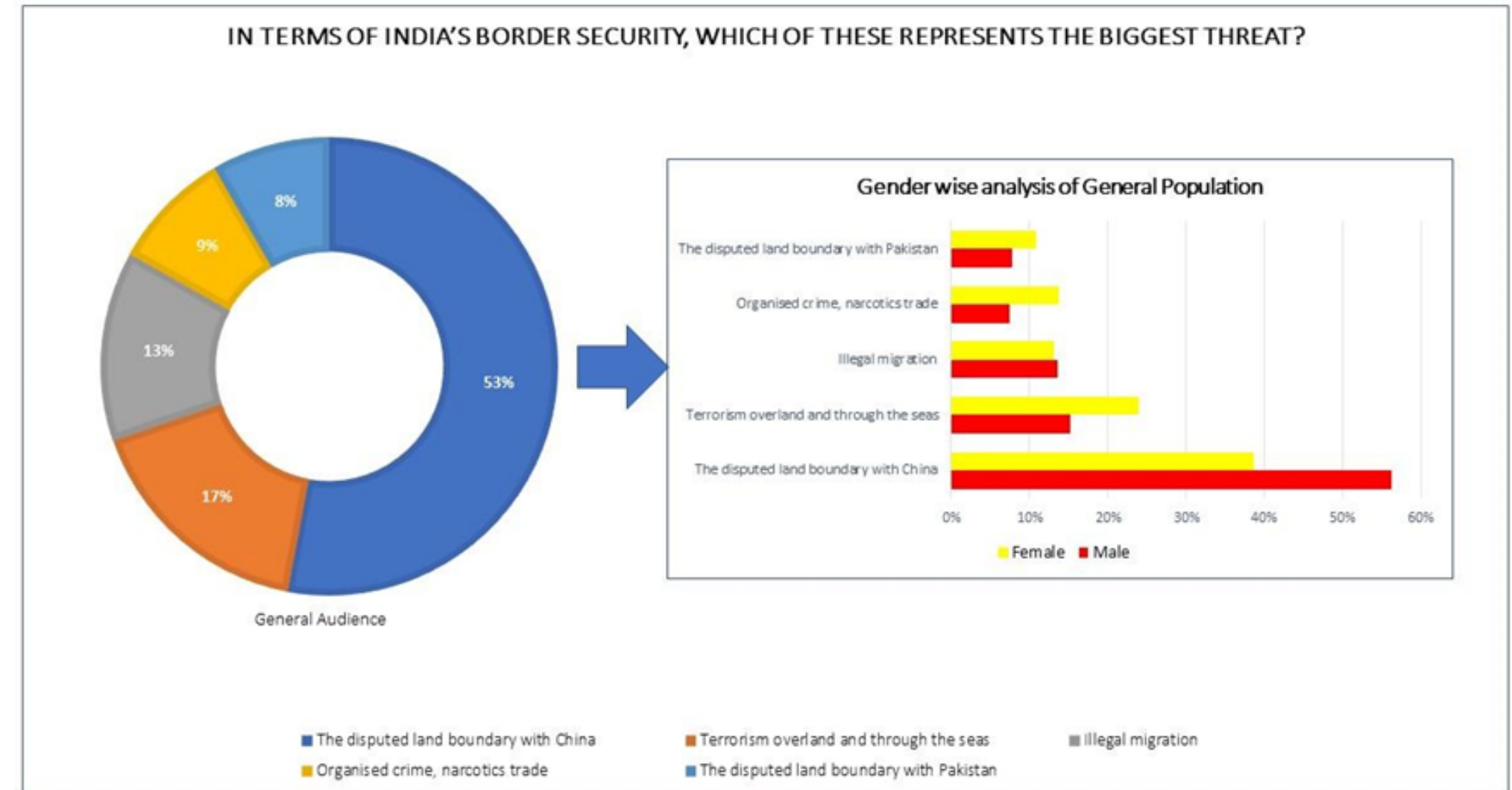
- For both the GA (53%) and SAE (85%), 'The disputed land boundary with China' represents the biggest threat for India.
- However, the threat of 'Terrorism overland and through the seas' is taken seriously by far more of the GA (17%) than SAE (7%).
- Similarly, 'The disputed land boundary with Pakistan' is considered the biggest threat by more of the GA (8%) than SAE (4%).





Q15. In terms of India's border security, which of these represents the biggest threat? (Males versus Females)

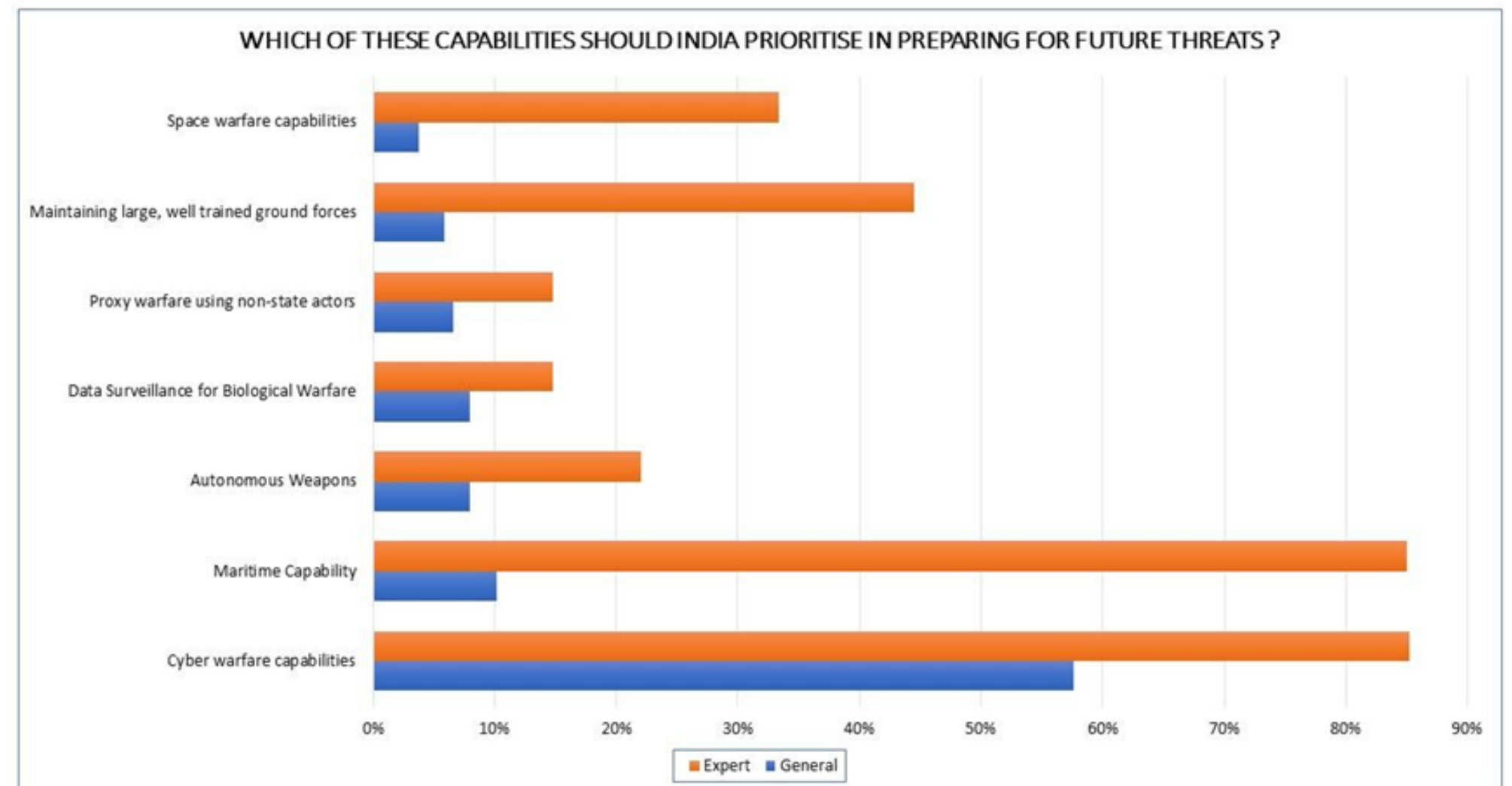
- More males (56%) than females (39%) believe that 'The disputed land boundary with China' represents the biggest threat in terms of India's border security.
- On the other hand, more females (24%) than males (15%) believe that 'Terrorism overland and through the seas' is the biggest threat in terms of India's border security.
- Also, more females (14%) than males (7%) believe that 'Organised crime, narcotics trade' China' represents the biggest threat in terms of India's border security.





Q16. Which of these capabilities should India prioritise in preparing for future threats? (Top 3 Priorities of Experts)

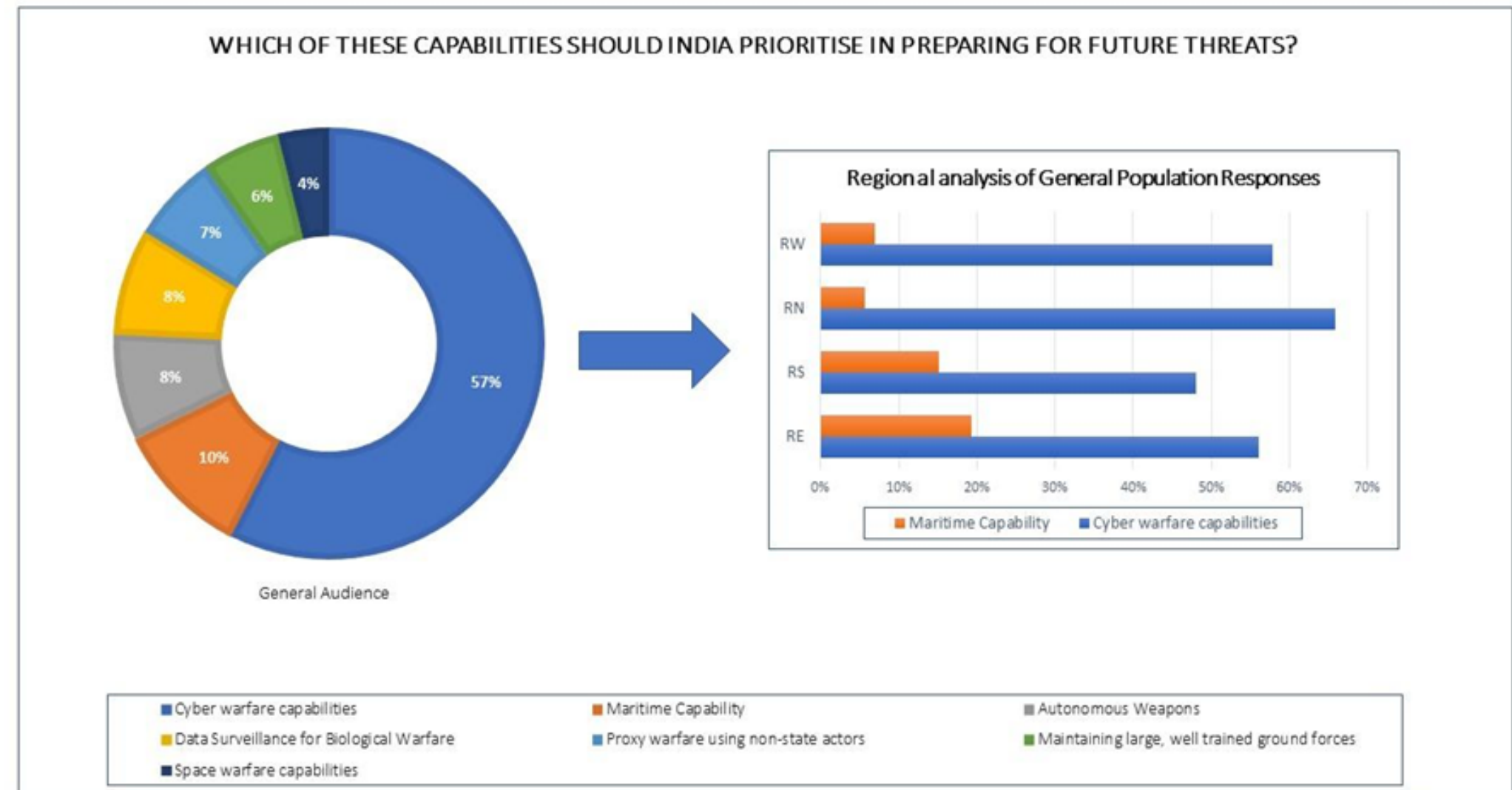
- ‘Cyber warfare capabilities’ are the foremost priority for 44% and a topmost priority for 85% of SAE. Similarly, it is the priority for 58% of the GA.
- ‘Maritime capability’ is the foremost priority for 30% and a topmost priority for 85% of SAE. It is only the priority for 10% of the GA.
- ‘Maintaining large, well trained ground forces’ is the foremost priority for 22% and a topmost priority of 44% of SAE. In contrast, only 6% of the GA believe it should be prioritised.
- ‘Space warfare capabilities’ are the foremost priority for none of the experts but a topmost priority for 33% of SAE. However, only 4% of the GA believe it should be the priority for future threats.





Q16. Which of these capabilities should India prioritise in preparing for future threats? (Regional Variation)

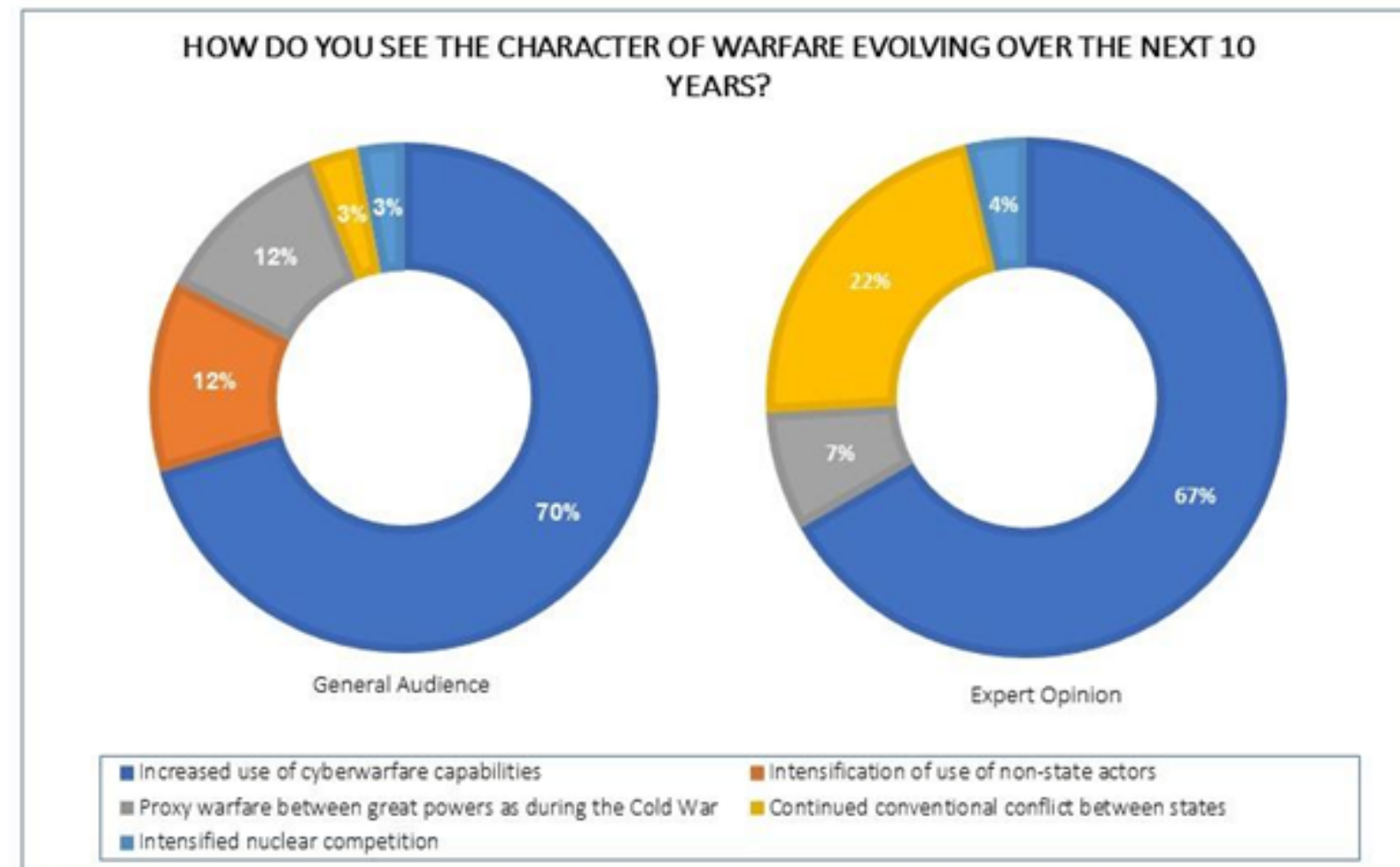
- 'Cyber warfare capabilities' is the preferred option for 66% of RN, 58% of RW, 56% of RE as opposed to 48% of RS.
- 'Maritime Capability' is the preferred option for 19% of RE and 15% of RS, as opposed to 6% of RN and 7% of RW.





Q17. How do you see the character of warfare evolving over the next 10 years?

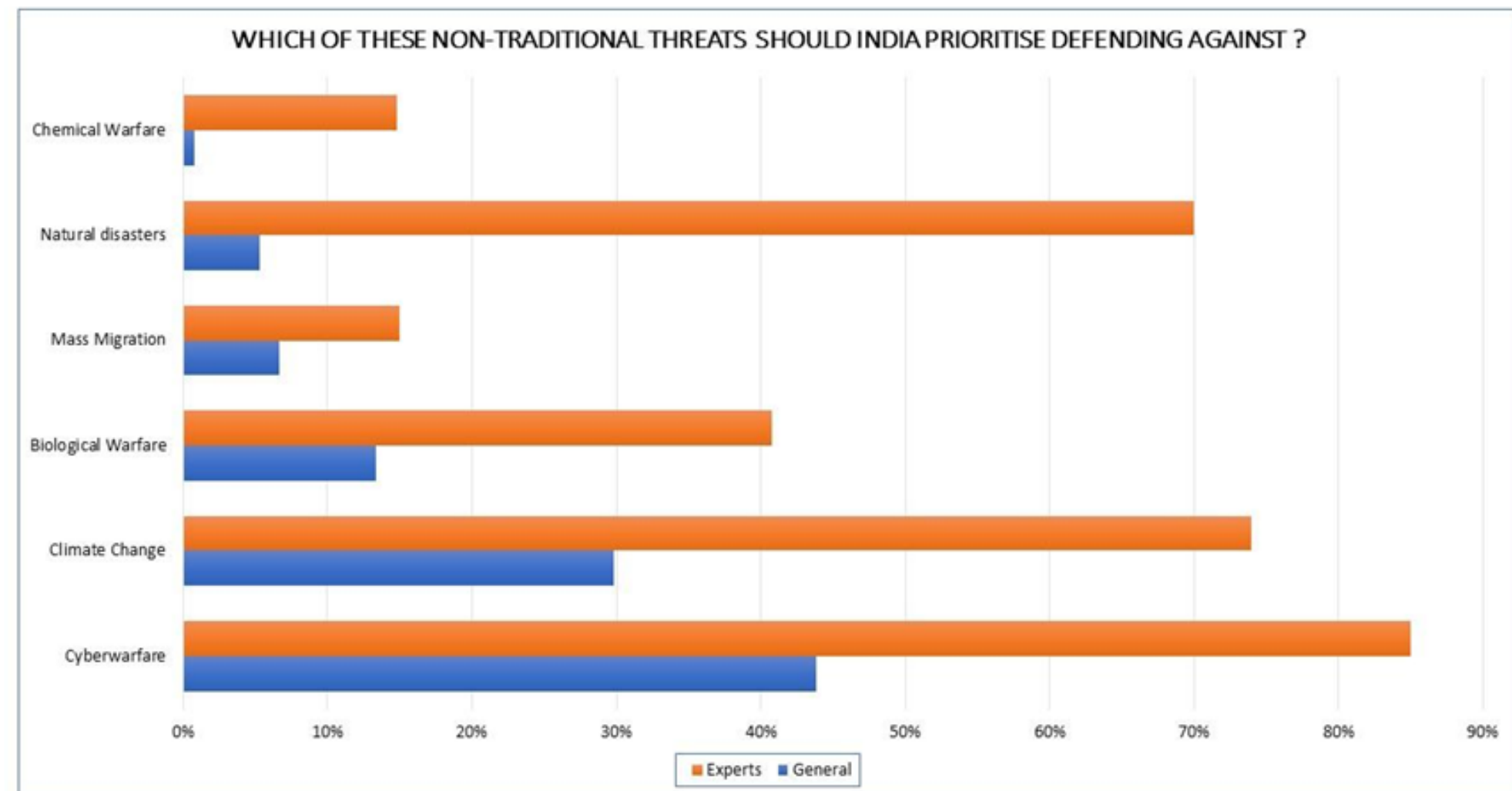
- About 67% of SAE and 70% of the GA believe it will be the 'Increased use of cyberwarfare capabilities'.
- About 22% of SAE believe it will be a 'Continued conventional conflict between states'. In contrast, only 3% of the GA believe that conflict between the states will remain conventional.
- About 12% of the GA believe that 'Intensification of use of non-state actors' will occur in future. In contrast, none of the SAE believe it to be the case.
- Around 12% of the GA believe that 'Proxy warfare between great powers as during the Cold War' will continue in future. However, only 7% of the SAE believe it to be the case.





Q18. Which of these non-traditional threats should India prioritise defending against? (Top 3 Priorities of Experts)

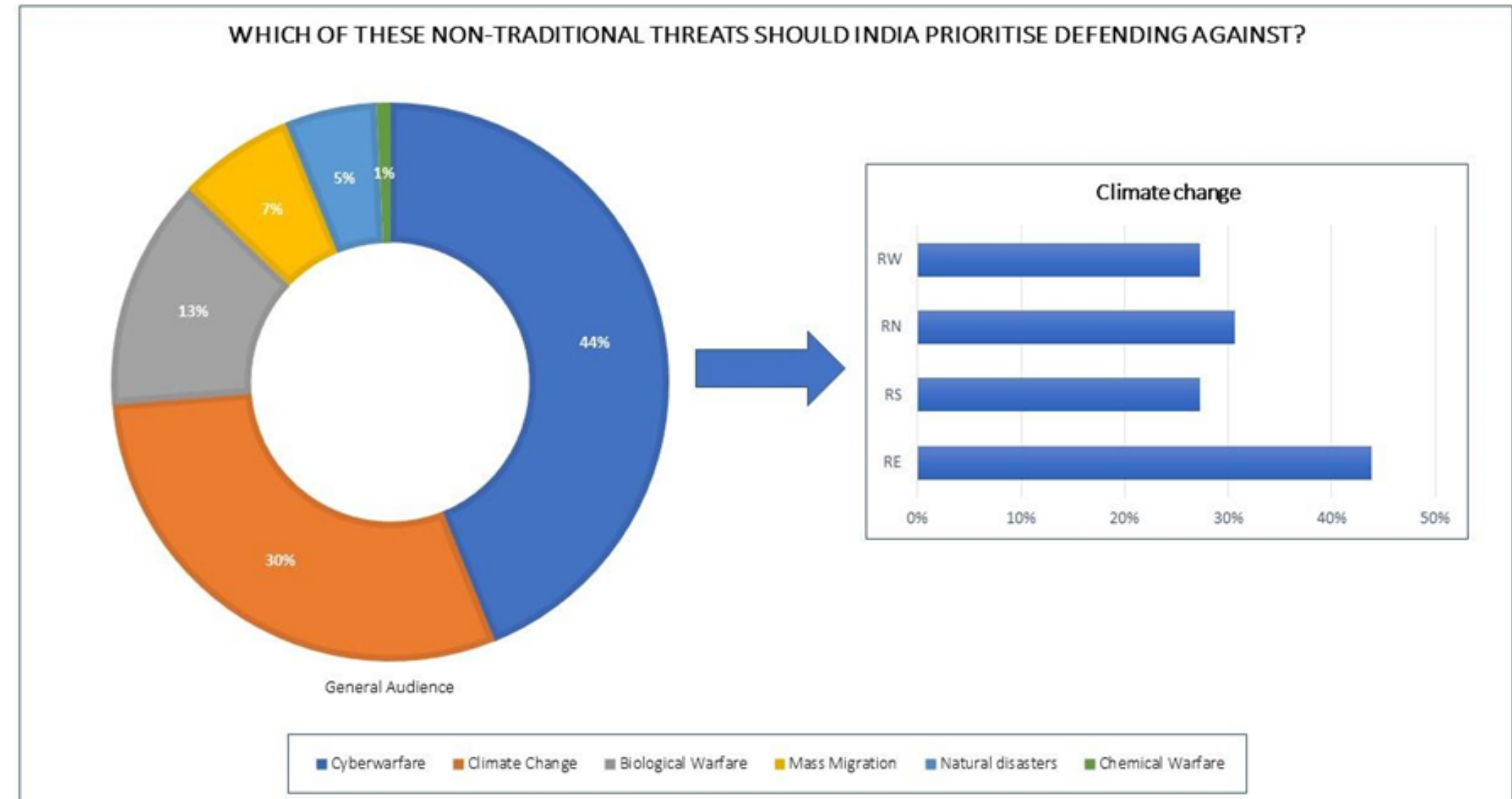
- ‘Cyberwarfare’ is the foremost threat for 59% and a topmost threat for 85% of SAE. Similarly, it is the biggest priority for the majority of the GA (44%).
- ‘Climate Change’ is the foremost threat for 22% and a topmost threat for 74% of SAE. For 30% of the GA, it is the priority.
- ‘Natural disasters’ are the foremost threat for 15% and a topmost threat for 70% of SAE. In contrast, they are the priority for only 5% of the GA.
- ‘Biological warfare’ is the foremost threat for 4% and a topmost threat for 41% of SAE. However, it is the priority for 13% of the GA.





Q18. Which of these non-traditional threats should India prioritise defending against? (Regional Variation)

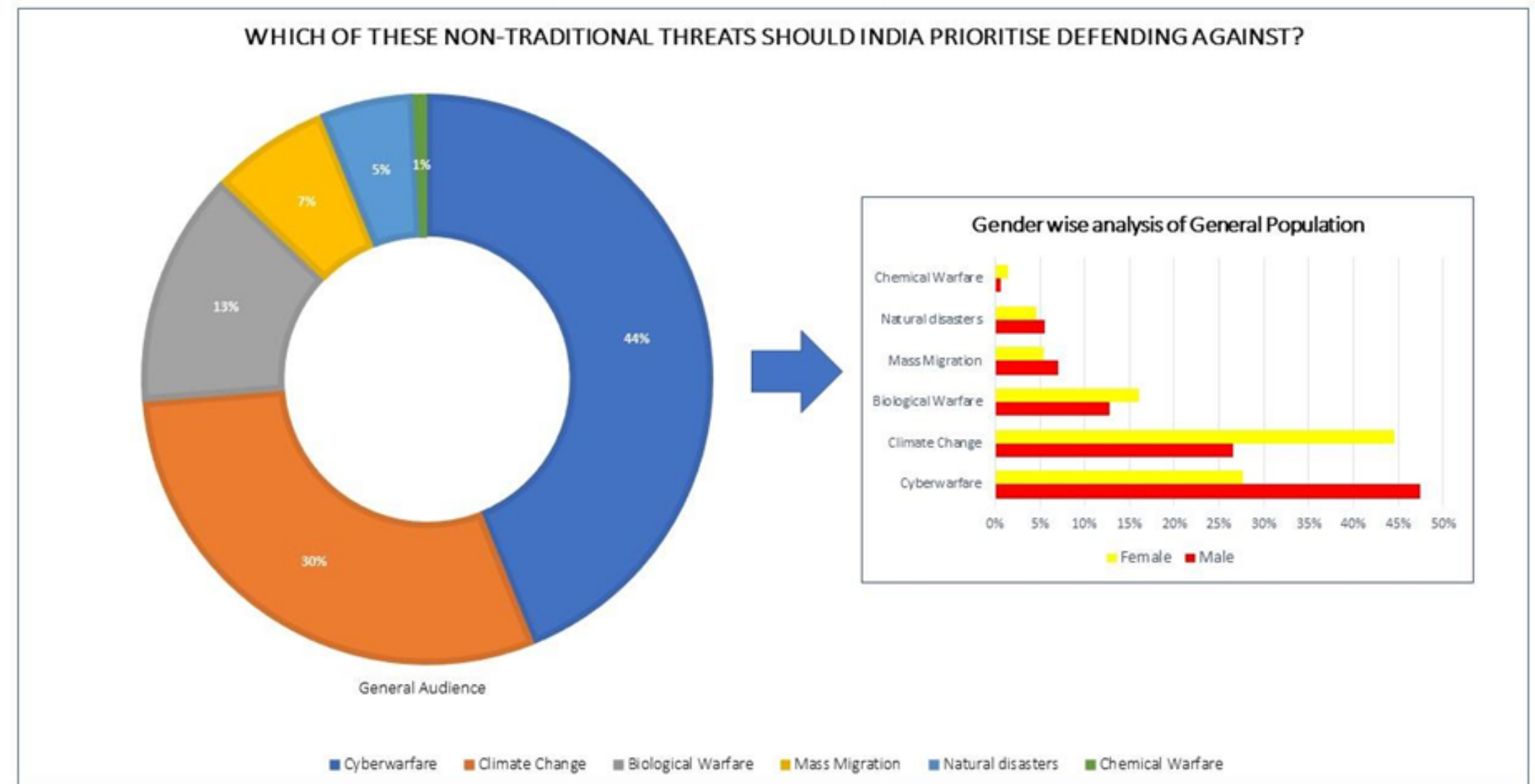
- For 44% of RE, 'Climate Change' is the biggest non-traditional threat facing India as opposed to 31% of RN, and 27% of RS and RW.





Q18. Which of these non-traditional threats should India prioritise defending against? (Males versus Females)

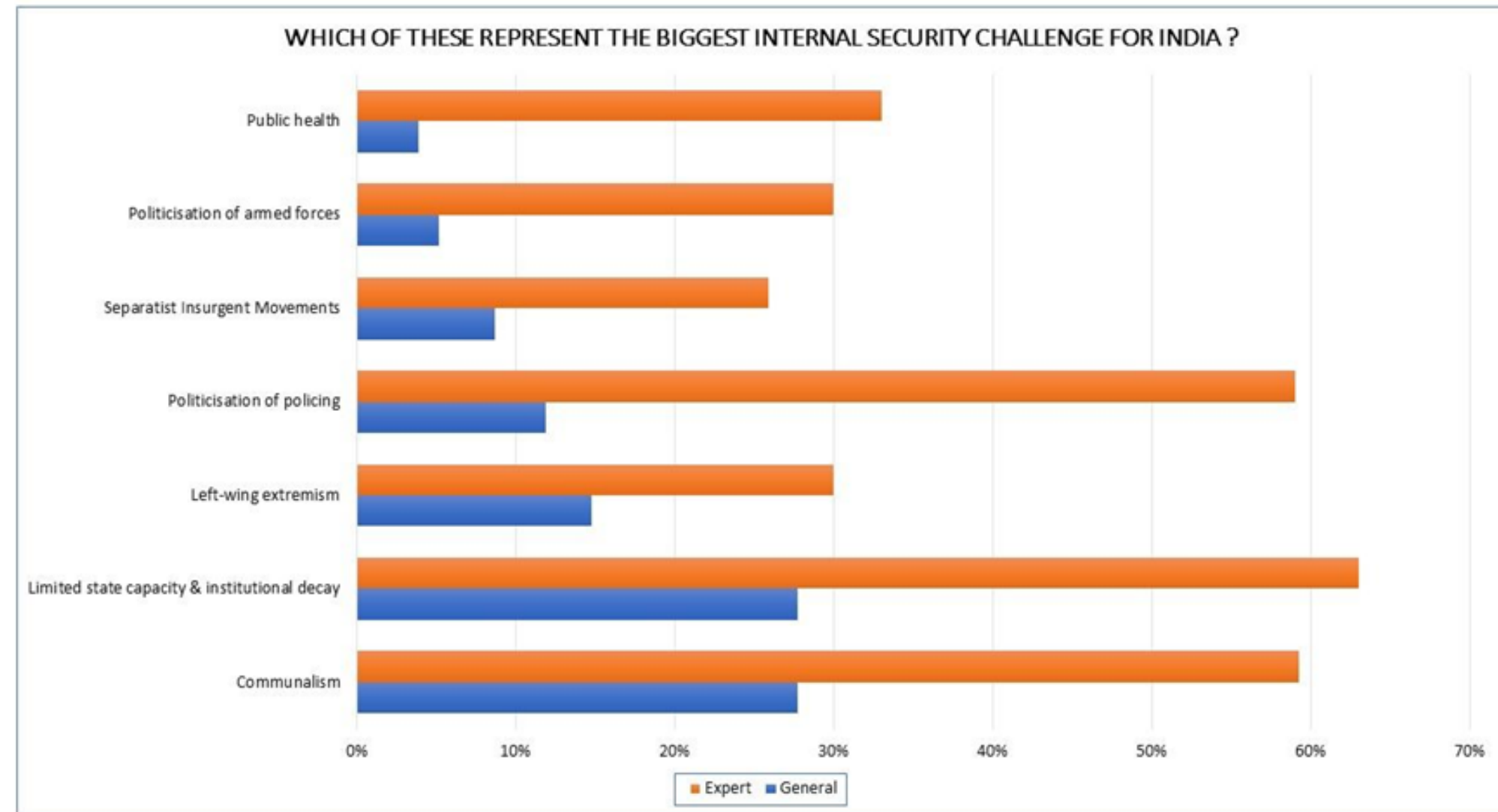
- Whereas males (47.4%) are more concerned with the threat from 'Cyberwarfare', females (44.6%) are more concerned about the 'Climate Change'.





Q19. Which of these represents the biggest internal security challenges for India? (Top 3 Priorities of Experts)

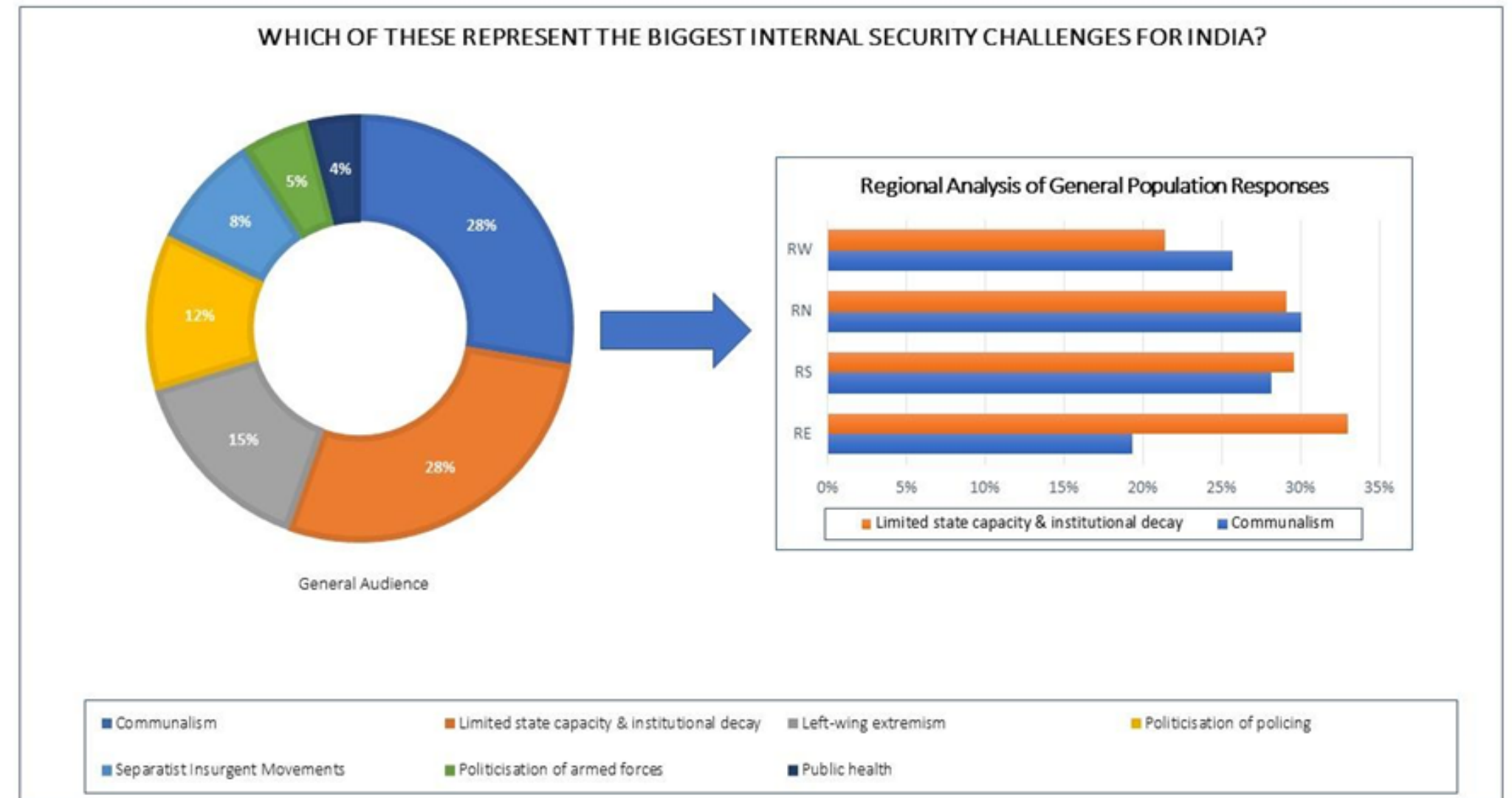
- ‘Communalism’ is a topmost challenge for 59% of SAE. It is also one of the biggest internal security challenges for the GA, with 28% agreeing.
- ‘Limited state capacity & institutional decay’ a topmost challenge for 63% of SAE. It is also one of the biggest internal security challenges for the GA, with 28% agreeing.
- ‘Politicisation of policing’ is a topmost challenge for 59% of SAE. It is the biggest challenge for 12% of the GA.
- ‘Left-wing Extremism’ is a topmost challenge for 30% of SAE. It is the biggest challenge for 15% of the GA.
- ‘Politicisation of armed forces’ is a topmost challenge for 30% of SAE. It is the biggest challenge for 5% of the GA.



Q19. Which of these represents the biggest internal security challenges for India? (Regional Variation)



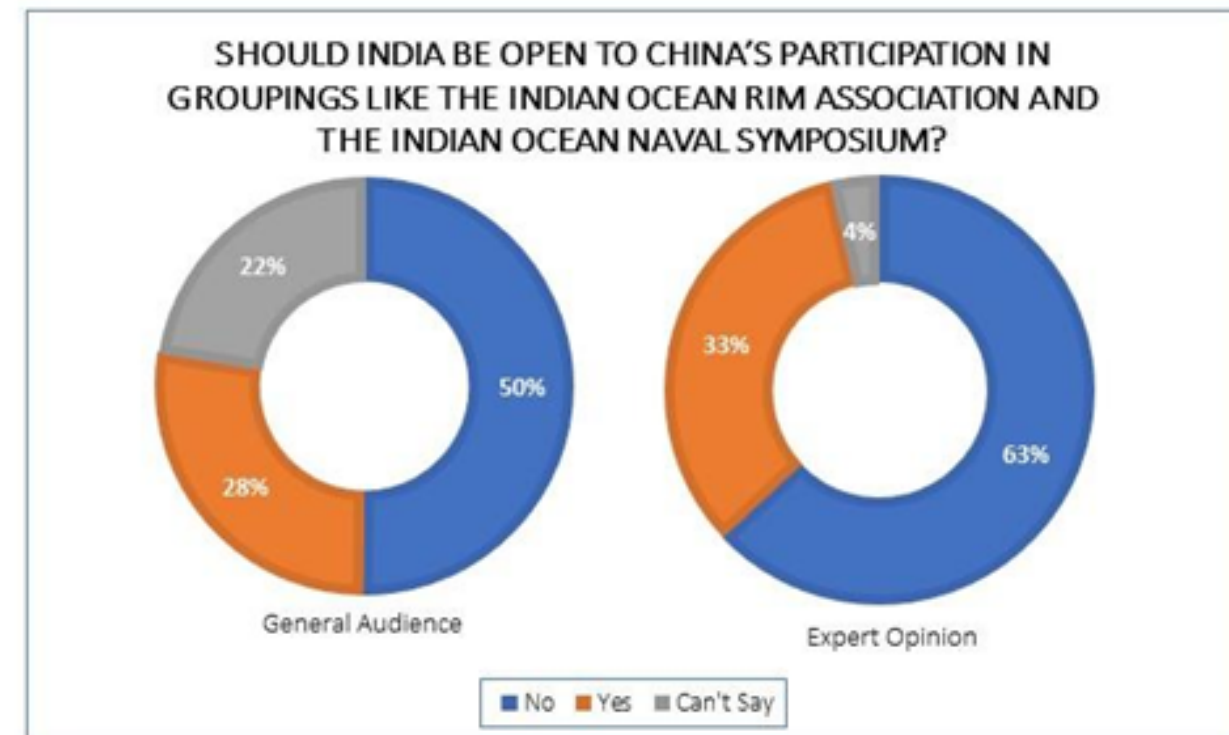
- For 30% of RN and 26% of RW, 'Communalism' is the biggest internal security challenge, as opposed to 19% of RE and 28% of RS.
- For 33% of RE and 30% of RS, 'Limited state capacity & institutional decay' is the biggest internal security challenge, as opposed to 29% of RN and 21% of RW.





Q20. Should India be open to China's participation in groupings like the Indian Ocean Rim Association and the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium?

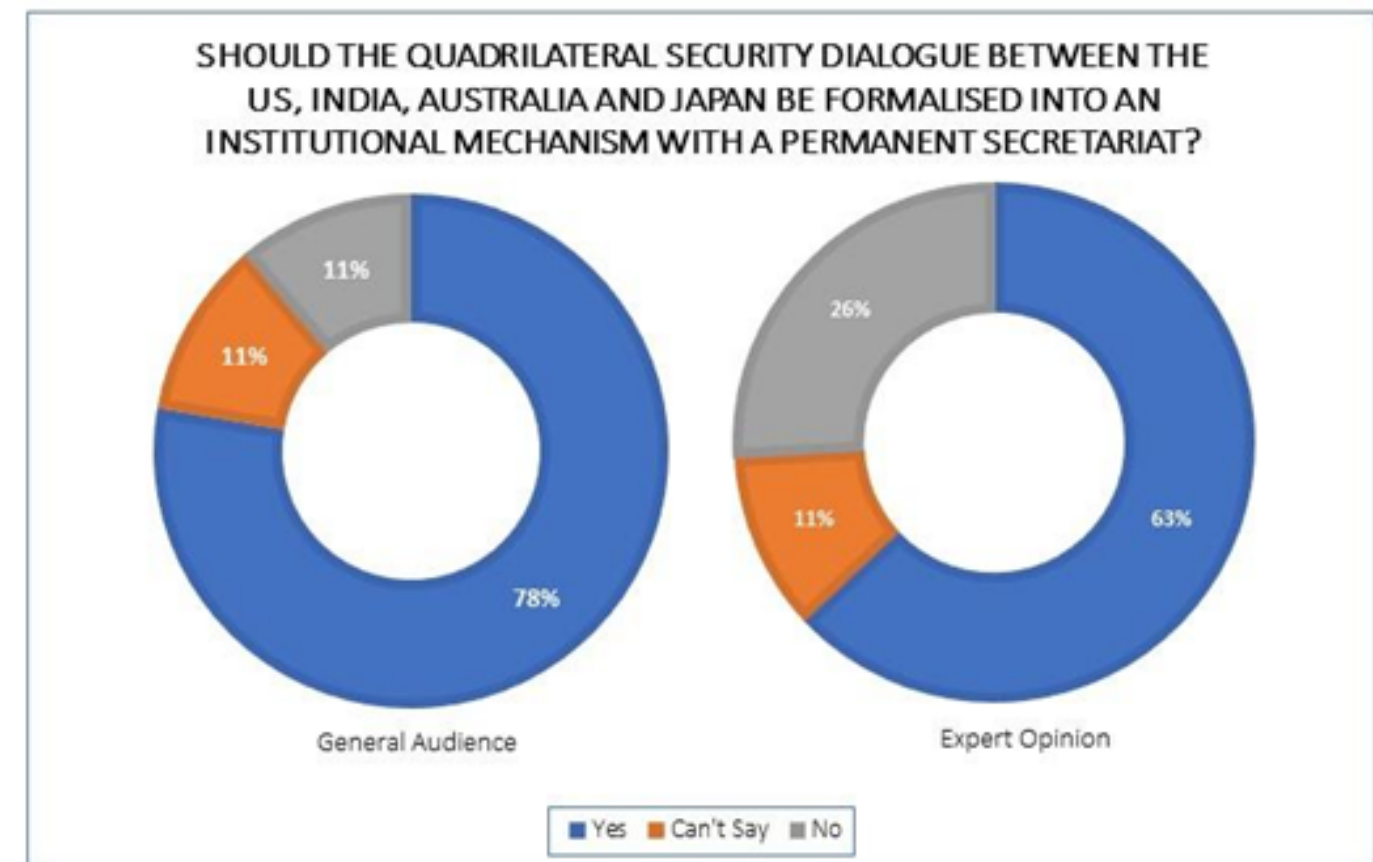
- A total of 63% of SAE and 50% of the GA say No.
- A total of 33% of SAE and 28% of the GA say: 'Yes'.
- A total of 4% of SAE and 22% of the GA say: 'Can't say'.





Q21. Should the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue between the US, India, Australia and Japan be formalised into an institutional mechanism with a permanent Secretariat?

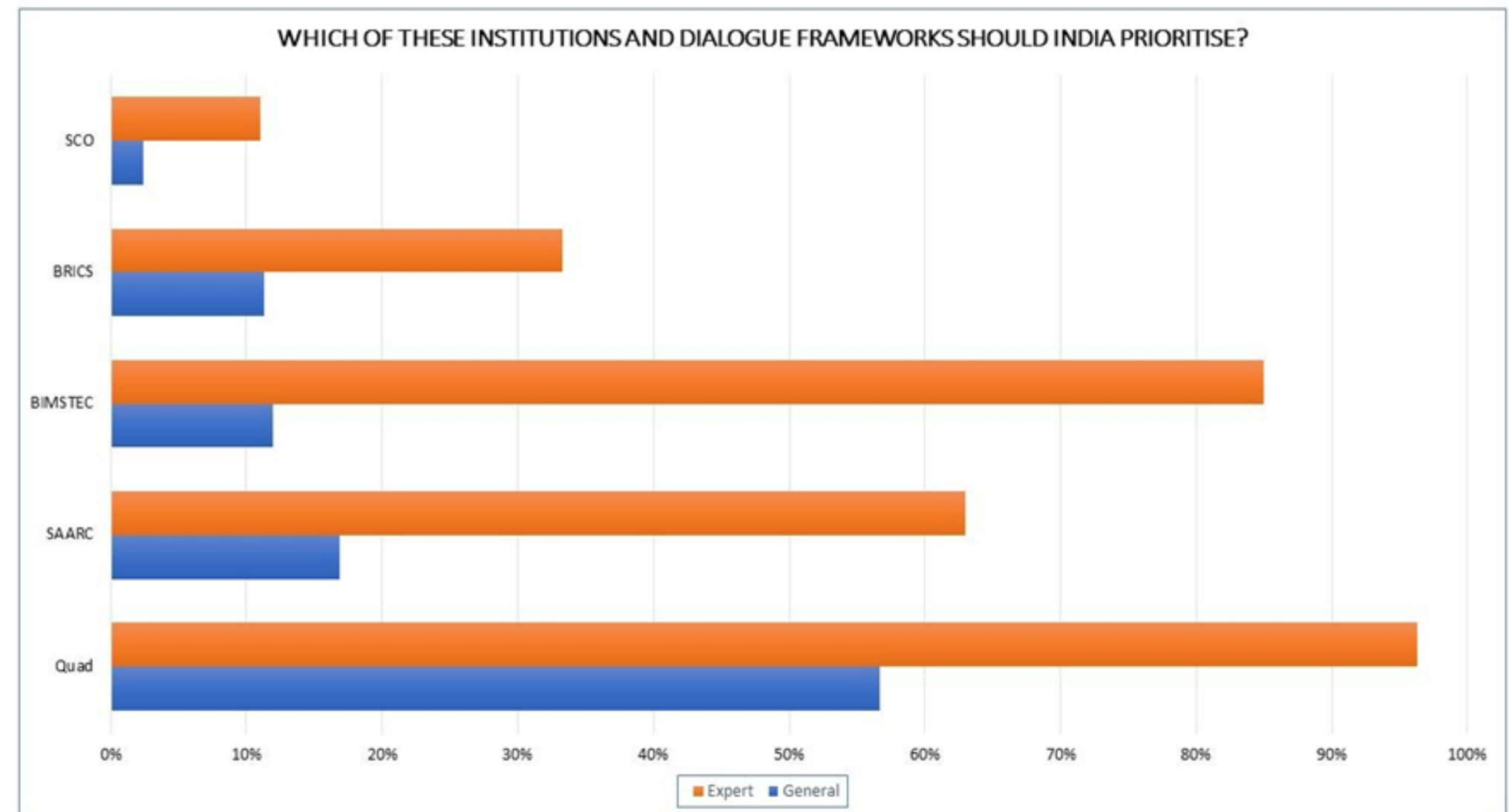
- A total of 63% of SAE and 78% of the GA say: 'Yes'.
- A total of 26% of SAE and 11% of the GA say: 'No'.
- A total of 11% of SAE and 11% of the GA say: 'Can't say'.





Q22. Which of these institutions and dialogue frameworks should India prioritise? (Top 3 Priorities of Experts)

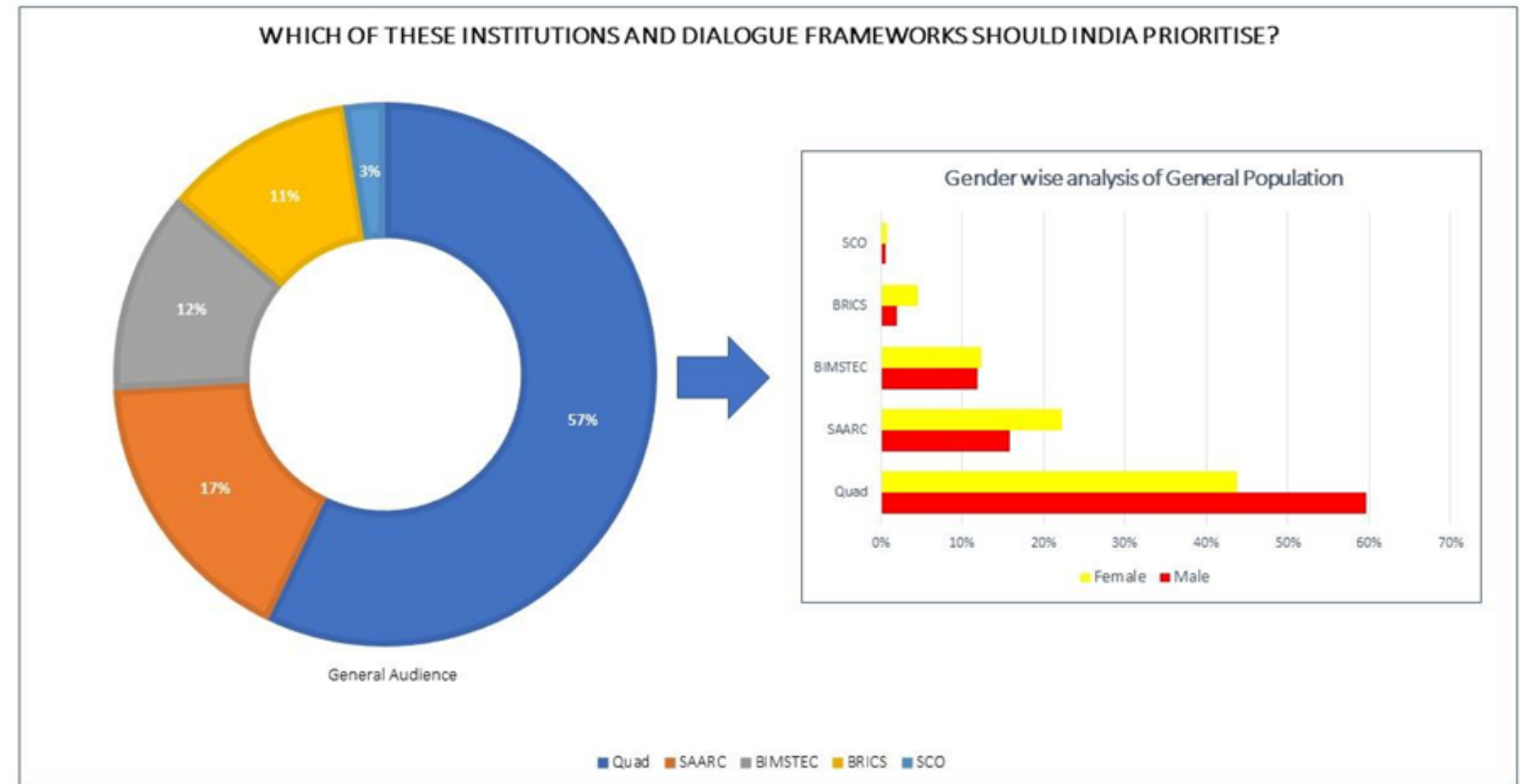
- 'Quad' is the foremost priority of 70% and a topmost priority of 96% of SAE. It is also the highest prioritised option by the GA, with 57% of them favouring it.
- 'BIMSTEC' is the foremost priority of 11% and a topmost priority of 85% of SAE. It is the third biggest priority for the GA, with 12% of them favouring it.
- 'SAARC' is the foremost priority of 19% and a topmost priority of 63% of SAE. It is the second biggest priority for the GA, with 17% of the GA favouring it.





Q22. Which of these institutions and dialogue frameworks should India prioritise? (Males versus Females)

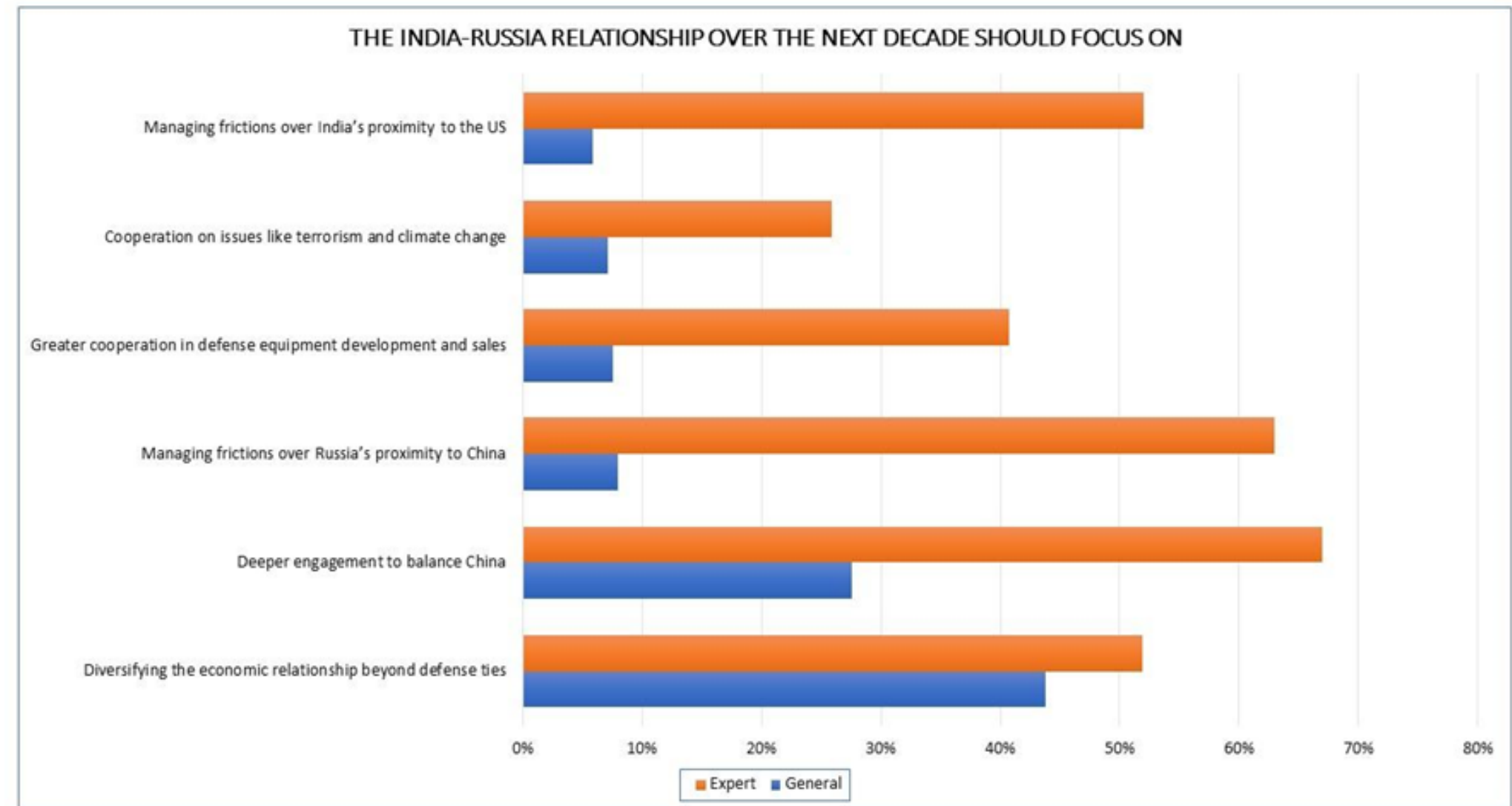
- About 60% of males believe that India should prioritise 'Quad' over other dialogue frameworks as compared to 44% of females. However, females give bigger priority to 'SAARC' (22%), BRICS (16%), and SCO (5%) than males.





Q23. The India-Russia relationship over the next decade should focus on (Top 3 Priorities of Experts):

- ‘Deeper engagement to balance China’ is one of the topmost concern of 67% of SAE. It is the second biggest concern of the GA, with 28% of them believing India should focus on it.
- ‘Diversifying the economic relationship beyond defense ties’ is a topmost concern of 52% of SAE. It is the biggest concern for the GA, with 44% of them believing India should focus on it.
- ‘Managing frictions over Russia’s proximity to China’ is a topmost concern of 63% of SAE. In contrast, it is a concern only for 8% of the GA,
- ‘Managing frictions over India’s proximity to the US’ is a topmost concern of 52% of SAE. In contrast, it is the least of the GA’s concern, with only 6% of them thinking of it as an area of concern.





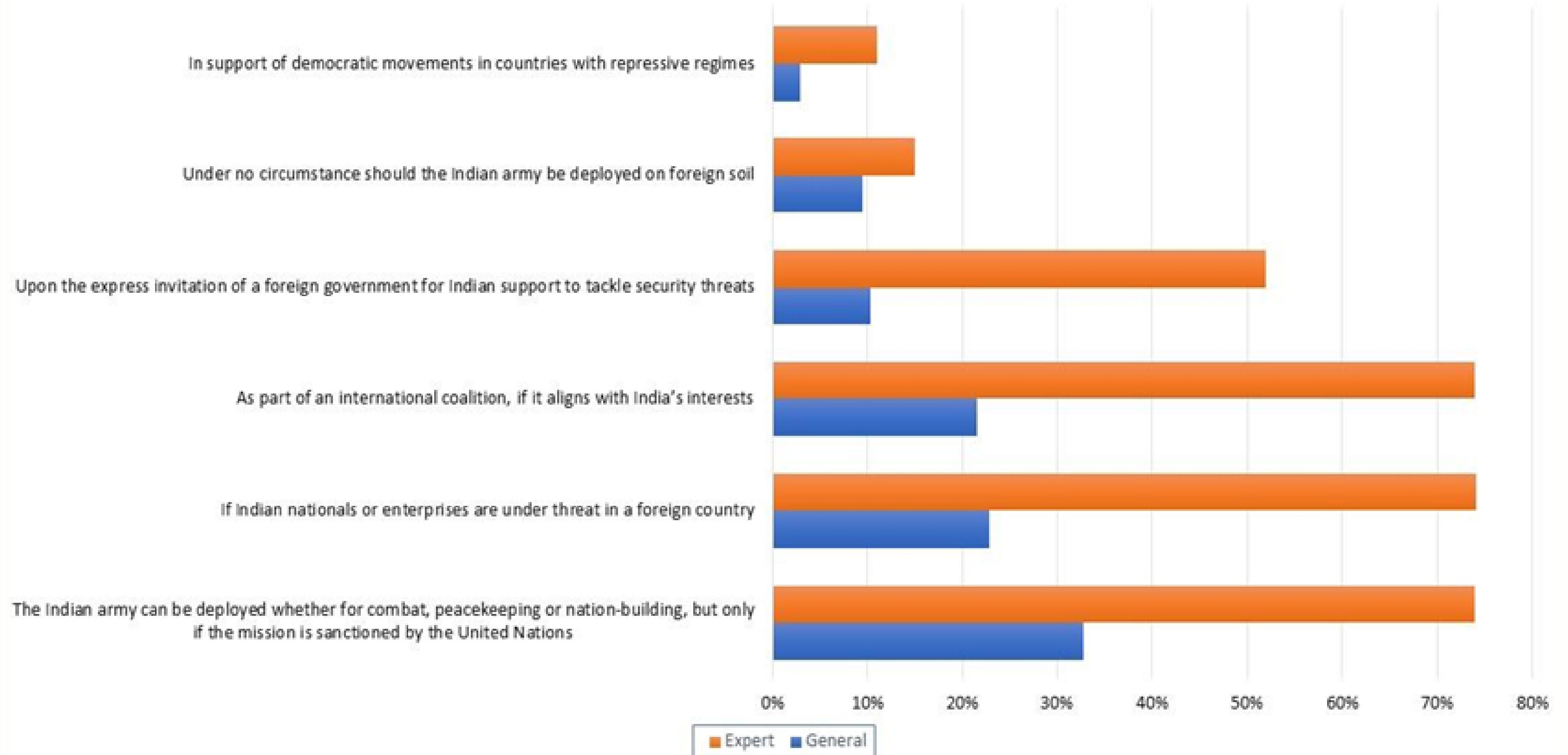
Q24. Under what circumstances should the Indian government deploy the Indian Army on foreign soil? (Top 3 Priorities of Experts)

- ‘The Indian army can be deployed whether for combat, peacekeeping or nation-building, but only if the mission is sanctioned by the United Nations’ is a topmost choice of 74% of SAE. It is also the largest preferred choice of GA, with 33% of them agreeing.
- ‘If Indian nationals or enterprises are under threat in a foreign country’ is a topmost choice of 74% of SAE. It is also the second largest preferred choice of GA, with 23% of the them agreeing.
- ‘Upon the express invitation of a foreign government for Indian support to tackle security threats’ is a topmost choice of 52% of SAE. It is also the choice for 10% of the GA.
- ‘As part of an international coalition, if it aligns with India’s interests’ is a topmost choice of 74% of SAE. It is also the choice for 22% of the GA.

Graph in the following page



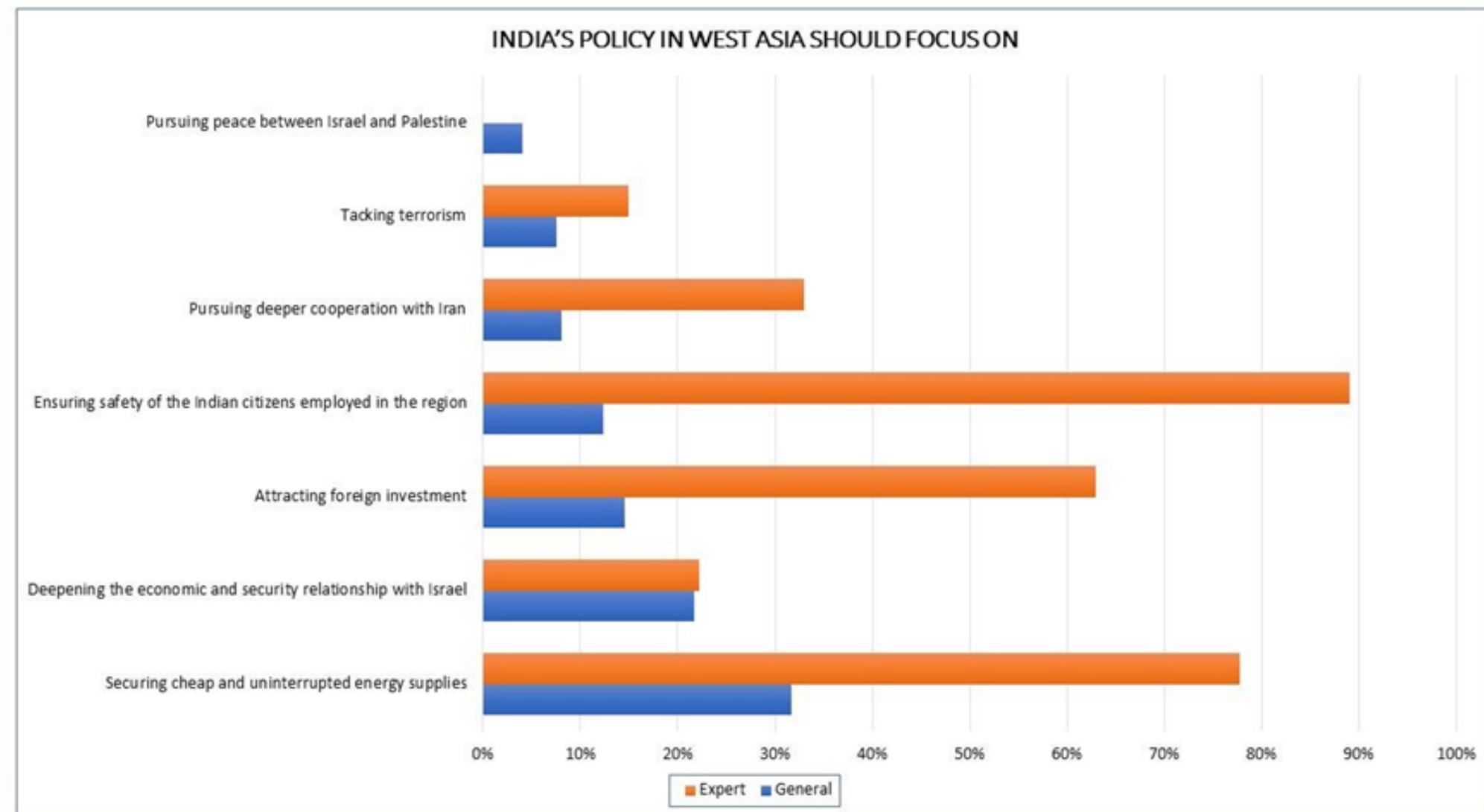
UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT DEPLOY THE INDIAN ARMY ON FOREIGN SOIL?



Q25. India's policy in West Asia should focus on (Top 3 Priorities of Experts):



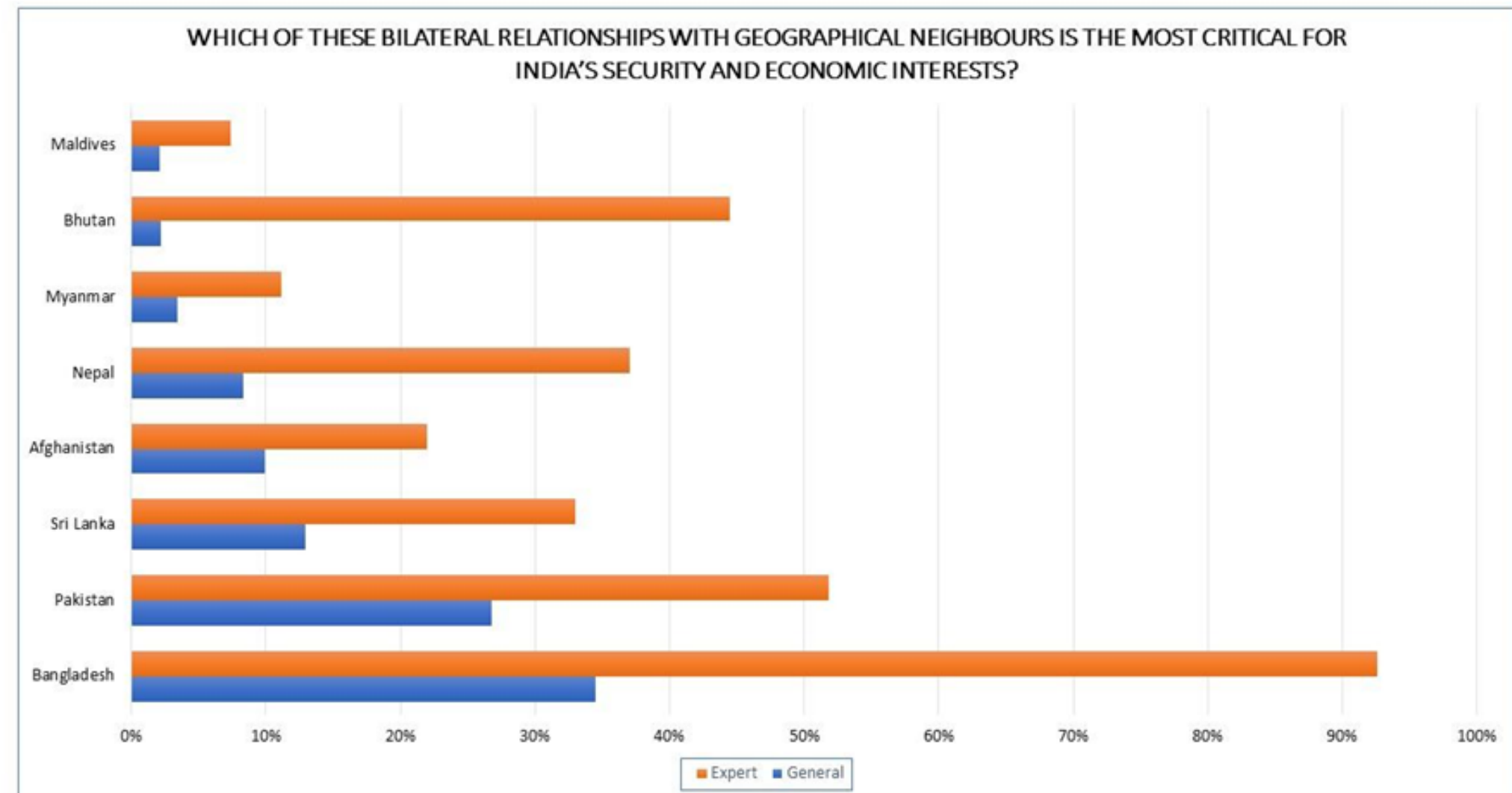
- 'Ensuring safety of the Indian citizens employed in the region' is a foremost concern of 37% and topmost concern of 89% of SAE. However, it is only the choice of 12% of the GA.
- 'Securing cheap and uninterrupted energy supplies' is the foremost concern of 37% and a topmost concern of 78% of SAE. It is also the choice for the majority of GA (32%).
- 'Attracting foreign investment' is the foremost concern of 11% and a topmost concern of 63% of SAE. It is also the choice of 15% of the GA.





Q26. Which of these bilateral relationships with geographical neighbours is the most critical for India's security and economic interests? (Top 3 Priorities of Experts)

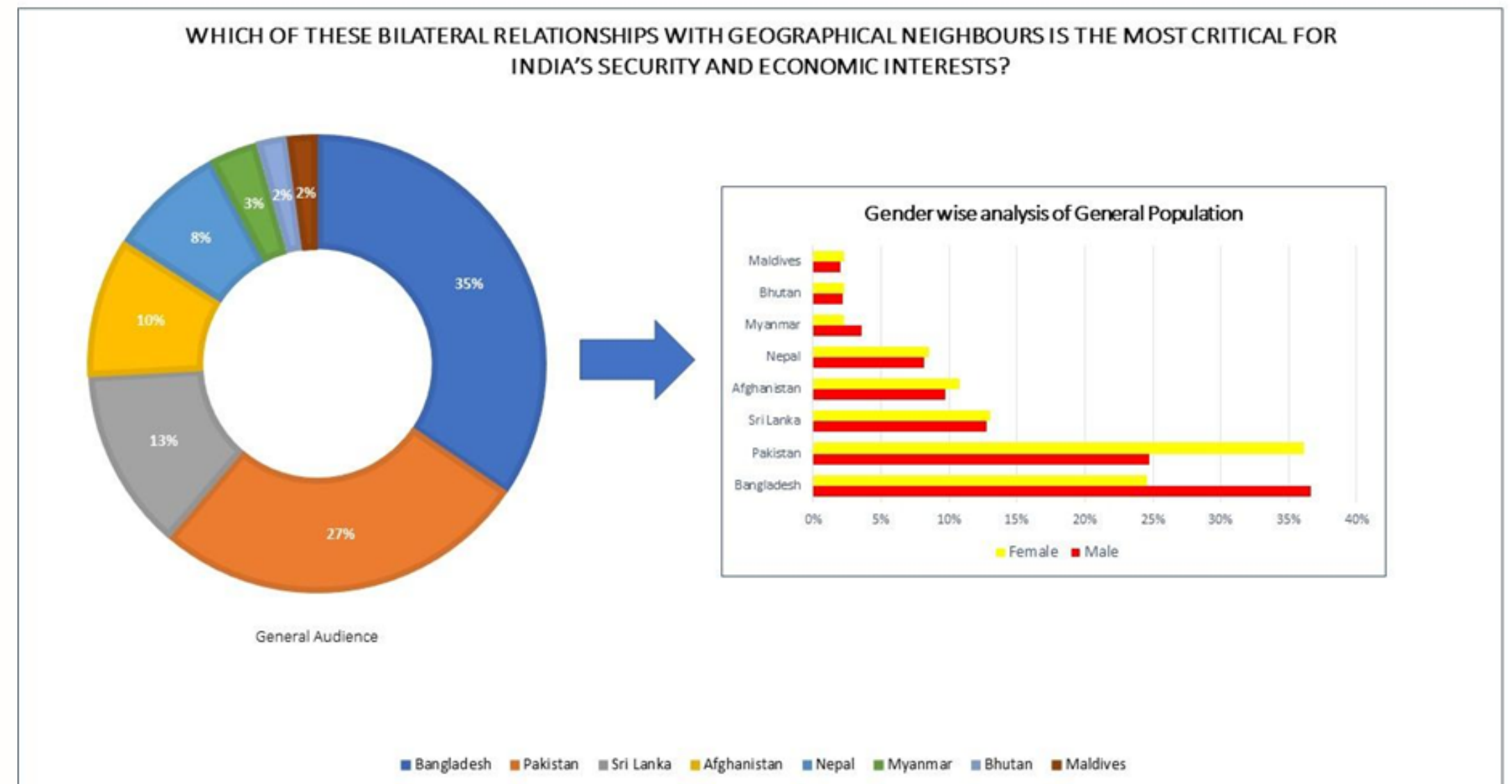
- 'Bangladesh' is a topmost priority of 93% of SAE. It is also the biggest focus of GA, with 35% of them seeing it as critical for India.
- 'Pakistan' is a topmost priority of 52% of SAE. It is also the second biggest focus of GA, with 27% of them preferring it.
- 'Bhutan' is a topmost priority of 44% of SAE. For the GA, 'Bhutan' is one of the lowest preferred countries, with only 2% of them preferring it.
- 'Sri Lanka' is a topmost priority of 33% of SAE. It is also preferred by 13% of the GA.





Q26. Which of these bilateral relationships with geographical neighbours is the most critical for India's security and economic interests? (Males versus Females)

- More males (37%) than females (25%) believe India's bilateral relationship with 'Bangladesh' is the most critical for India's security and economic interests.
- On the other hand, more females (36%) than males (25%) believe India's bilateral relationship with 'Pakistan' is the most critical for India's security and economic interests.



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