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"STRENGTHENING MULTILATERALISM: A CASE STUDY OF INDIA'S ROLE
IN G20"

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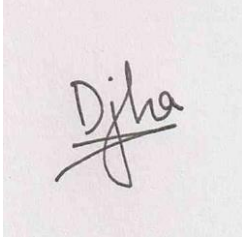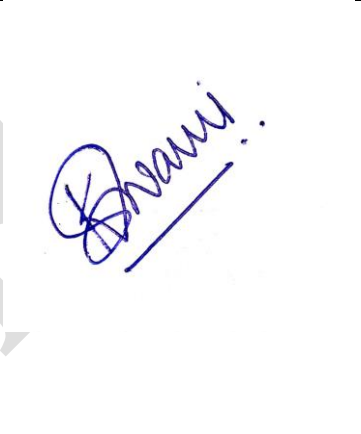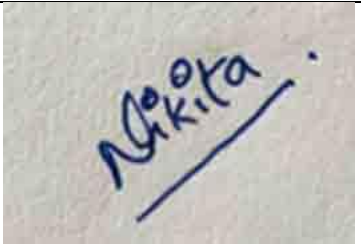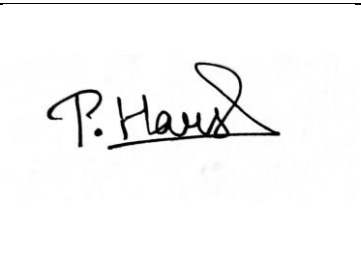
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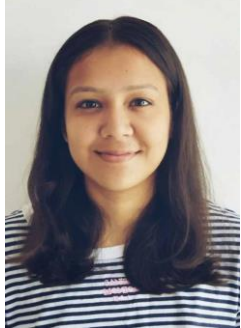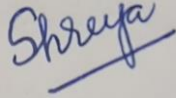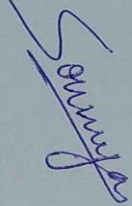
Title: *STRENGTHENING MULTILATERALISM: A CASE STUDY OF INDIA'S ROLE IN G20*

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 This is to certify that the aforementioned students from Sri Venkateswara College have participated in the summer project SVP-XXXX titled "*STRENGTHENING MULTILATERALISM: A CASE STUDY OF INDIA'S ROLE IN G20.*" The participants have carried out the research project work under my guidance and supervision from 15 June, 2023 to 15th September 2023. The work carried out is original and carried out in an online/offline/hybrid mode.

Ashish

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SVP- 2360 'STRENGTHENING MULTILATERALISM: A CASE STUDY OF INDIA'S ROLE IN G20'

Introduction

The 21st century has presented a more uncertain, complex and challenging environment before the states. Global power dynamics have become more asymmetrical in nature. Climate change, terrorism, cyber security threats, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and economic imbalances between developed and developing nations call for greater cooperation between the states. The foundational theory seems inadequate to conceptualize the behaviour of states in the 21st century. Given the changing nature of international politics, the question is how a state should behave in contemporary times. In this context, the role of global governance institutions like the United Nations (UN) and Group of Twenty (G20) has become quite significant.

The G20 is a unique forum bringing together leaders of the major economies of the world. The G20 outlines that middle powers or would-be great powers can make a significant difference and share the burden of leadership with great powers. (Thakur, 2022) However, these powers must be cautious, given the changing nature of international politics. The recent developments with and surrounding the G20 has linked it inextricably with multilateralism and particularly reformed multilateralism in relation to the current international system. Of specific interest has been the role of nations from the Global South, such as India, within organisations like the G20 and the position that these countries occupy within the space of a new form or epoch of multilateralism – one that represent contemporary geo-political realities more accurately.

The research project aims to outline several questions related to the role and salience of India within the G20 and its push towards strengthening multilateral world order. Particularly, we begin by looking at how India's perspective towards multilateralism and reformed multilateralism have evolved over time, leading to the creation of a new rhetoric and direction for the Indian foreign policy in relation to multilateral and international organisations. We then begin by looking at India's normative power, specifically in relation to global governance and its contestations, looking at the G20's development within the framework of international norms of global governance and cooperation. This research project then delves deeply into

the various aspects and spheres within which we have seen innovative choices and crucial steps taken by countries together, while often being led by India to move towards a more equitable and inclusive world order.

Review of Literature

The review of literature is divided into various themes. To understand India's role within the G20 in relation to various areas and domains, we begin by looking at India's role in G20 and Reformed Multilateralism. We then move towards climate finance and green development—more specific issues related to the global environment and climate – green tourism, seen within the framework of sustainability. Moving further towards the direction of cooperation on critical areas and issues, we take a look at India's Digital Public Infrastructure initiatives as a move towards and digital and technological transformation world-over. Arriving lastly at the issue of growing cooperation on security issues within G20, the last chapter of this research project looks at India's engagement with other countries in the security domain.

Acknowledging the need for further research in several of these areas, it is clearly highlighted that research within areas such as digital cooperation vide the Digital Public Infrastructure initiative of India or climate finance in the context of the G20 elicit greater research in much deeper detail, especially from a retrospective perspective. Nevertheless, the review of literature provides important insights into these subjects, while future research might help us put it in greater context, in the coming time.

Security: G20 and Reformed Multilateralism

Since its establishment in 1999, the G20 agenda predominantly centred on economic matters, such as fiscal restructuring (as seen in the G20 Summit in 2010), tax evasion and avoidance (highlighted in the G20 Summit in 2013), and similar topics. Over time, the G20 has made significant contributions to strengthening emerging economies and enhancing financial regulations. Noteworthy initiatives include the Trillion Dollar Pledge during the 2009 financial crisis and a strong emphasis on fiscal restructuring, illustrating the G20's commitment to a resilient banking system and sustainable fiscal policies.

The tragic events of 9/11 in 2001 marked a turning point when terrorism, specifically terror financing, was explicitly addressed within the G20 during the Canada meeting that year. Representatives collectively expressed their resolve to combat the financing of terrorism in collaboration with various international bodies. In the years following 9/11, terrorism and its financing began to feature prominently in G20 summits, showcasing an expanded scope for the forum beyond economic concerns. However, this shift was not uniform, with the topic notably absent in some summits, such as the 2014 Brisbane Summit.

The narrative surrounding counter-terrorism within the G20 evolved significantly in 2015 during the Antalya Summit. Fueled by conflicts like the Syrian crisis driving a major refugee crisis, terrorism gained prominence, shifting the focus from inclusive economic growth to a comprehensive approach to combat terrorism in all its forms. Subsequent G20 summits saw more holistic discussions on countering terrorism, addressing aspects like financing channels, violent extremism, and the exploitation of technology for terror activities.

Moreover, the transformation in the discourse on terrorism within the G20 since 2015 reflects the changing nature of global security threats, indicating a shift toward a more holistic global approach. One notable area of expansion is climate change and green energy, where G20 countries have committed to significant targets to combat climate degradation and transition to a sustainable growth model.

Public health has also emerged as a crucial agenda, with the G20 forming the Health Working Group to address healthcare system improvements, malnutrition, and pandemic preparedness. The G20's increasing focus on health has developed gradually amid greater awareness of the widespread impacts of global health challenges, encompassing both high- and low-income countries within its ambit.

Additionally, the G20 has recognized and acted upon challenges such as the refugee crisis and the ongoing Russia-Ukraine conflict, underscoring the forum's evolving role in addressing pressing global issues. These expansions in the G20's agenda affirm its journey from a predominantly economic platform to a forum that encompasses a wider array of concerns essential for the well-being and stability of the global community. Today, the G20 plays a crucial role in shaping the global agenda, fostering collaboration and coordination to tackle a broad spectrum of issues impacting our interconnected world. Therefore, it is important to delve into how this evolution has impacted the inclusion and prioritization of human security concerns. Understanding the historical progression of the G20's agenda and the factors

influencing the shifting focus is crucial for formulating recommendations to enhance the forum's response to contemporary global challenges

Norms and Norm Life-Cycle in International Relations

Much of the existing literature on international norms and their influence on the conduct of international relations and politics within the international system, in general, pre-dominantly occupies itself with the question of how norms can be defined in the first place. Bjorkdahl (2010) begins by acknowledging that it is quite difficult to empirically ascertain or recognise what a norm is. Viewed within the framework of "action", one can recognise a norm more distinctly, since it is only after an actor decides to agree or disagree with a certain rule, standard or principle, that it can be recognised as a norm. Bjorkdahl (2010) thus views norms as context-dependent, furthering the complexity and difficulty associated with studying them objectively. Beginning with the Behavioural Revolution, scholars and researchers began to de-emphasize the role of norms in IR since norms were difficult to measure and understand empirically. However, with the "ideational turn" in the 1980s and 1990s, norms were brought back as a central theoretical concern in the field of international politics (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998).

While the terminology of "norms" finds a fairly succinct definition as "a standard of appropriate behavior for actors with a given identity", the concept of international norms has come to be defined and delineated in varied ways (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998).

Many scholars have pointed to the impact of international norms on state behaviour. For Bjorkdahl (2010) international norms "constitute interests, and may provide states with both preferences and effective and legitimate strategies for pursuing these preferences". According to Lee and McGahan (2015), international norms are shared understandings and expectations about appropriate behaviour and rules that guide the actions of states in the international system, shaping the behavior of states and influencing their decision-making processes. Raymond (1997) defines international norms as "generalised standards of conduct that delineate the scope of a state's entitlements, the extent of its obligations, and the range of its jurisdiction". (Raymond, 2021). Zhang (2012) defines international norms as the rules and normative principles that enable and restrict state behavior in international society, closely linked to power, identity, values, and national interest. Normative orders are intricate patterns in which international norms fit together. They refer to the broader structures that govern and shape the behavior of states in the

international arena, providing a framework for understanding and analyzing the complex interactions and expectations among states in the international system.

Other scholars have instead opted for a definition based on functional terms. Bjorkdahl (2010) defines international norms in functional terms by classifying them into regulative and constitutive norms. Regulative norms exist to sanction or order action by prescribing or proscribing different types of actions. They serve to reflect the critical normative priorities of the international system and remind actors of various available political alternatives. On the other hand, constitutive norms are more related to actors and their identities and interests. Over time these norms may get institutionalized into the machinations of the international community and system, at which point they become "practical norms" and come to act as "instructional unities directing the behaviour of actors". Similarly, Winston (2018) notes the dual qualities of international norms, which include both prescriptive and constitutive elements. Prescriptive elements define appropriate behavior, while constitutive elements shape the identities and relationships of actors in the international system. Sandholtz and Stiles (2008) look at the international norms as shared expectations and standards of behavior that guide the actions and interactions of states and other international actors. These norms shape the behavior of states and help to establish common understandings and rules in the international system. Their work also explores various international norms and their cycles of change, highlighting how they evolve and adapt over time in response to changing circumstances and challenges. International norms are also understood to inherently "embody a quality of "oughtness" and shared moral assessment" (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998).

Different traditions and disciplines have also developed their own understanding of international norms. For instance, as pointed out by Finnemore and Sikkink (1998), what political scientists call norms are labelled as "institutions" by Sociologists. Elsewhere, Acharya (2004) uses the terms "ideas" and "norms" interchangeably, recognizing that ideas can be held privately, while norms are always collective and behavioural. Parallels can also be drawn between Hedley Bull's notion of rules and the normative or prescriptive quality of norms. Bull states that "rules are general imperative principles which require or authorise prescribed classes of persons or groups to behave in prescribed ways". (Bull, 1977)

A paper by the National Intelligence Council's Strategic Futures Group (2021) sums it up quite comprehensively by defining international norms as "widely shared expectations about what constitutes appropriate behavior among governments and certain non-state actors at the international level."

A significant part of the scholarship on international norms focuses on how norms come to be and more importantly, how they come to occupy a status of pre-dominance in international relations. Bjorkdahl (2010) highlights three major sources or points of origin of international norms viz. social practices, demand-and-supply mechanisms i.e. norms as a response to situation and context-specific needs, and lastly domestic norms. One of the most notable contributions is made by Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) who suggest that norms evolve in a "three-stage life cycle" of "norm emergence", "norm cascades" and internalization and that each stage is governed by different motives, mechanisms, and behavioural logics. The first stage is the emergence of norms, where the successful creation of new norms often involves norm entrepreneurs and organizational platforms from which entrepreneurs act to convince norm leaders to embrace new norms. The second stage is norm cascade, where norms gain momentum and spread rapidly through social networks. This stage involves a process of norm diffusion and adoption by "a critical mass of states", characteristic of "a dynamic of imitation as the norm leaders attempt to socialize other states to become norm followers". The final stage is internalization, where norms become deeply ingrained in the beliefs and behaviours of individuals and groups. This stage involves the internalization of norms as social norms, leading to their widespread acceptance and adherence. At this point "norms acquire a taken-for-granted quality and are no longer a matter of broad public debate". While this model of norm diffusion isn't accepted without contestation and criticism, it continues to be the major framework for understanding the life-cycle of international norms in international relations due to its wide applicability and relevance.

Norm Diffusion and Contestation

Of notable interest, however, is the process of norm evolution and norm diffusion, especially as within the context of this paper, I focus on how middle powers and aspirational powers in world politics can come to shape the evolving character of international norms and thus carve out a space for themselves in world politics. Winston (2018) notes that norm evolution can involve the fusion of existing norms or the innovation of new norms, resulting in the creation of norm clusters. It can also occur through the acceptance of change and the adaptation of norms to new circumstances. It is reasoned that norms evolve through existing precedents, as they are taken out of their original context and applied to new contexts, leading to norm diffusion, while norm clusters evolve in particular patterns based on the strategies for choice, practices, discourses of justification, and innovation employed by states. They further note that norm diffusion occurs through the process of adoption and adaptation by states, where states choose to

either maintain continuity or introduce changes in the components of a norm cluster. The process of norm diffusion involves the construction of "typologies of similarity" by identifying similarities between states and their norm choices, which contributes to the spread of norms. Norm diffusion can be influenced by the practices, discourses, and strategies employed by states, as well as the interaction between the community that shares a common interpretation of norms and individual actors (Winston, 2018).

Norm Subsidiarity and Localisation

One model or concept of particular interest within the scope of this paper's subject matter and theme is the idea of "norm subsidiarity" provided by scholars like Acharya (2011), Lee and McGahan (2015) and Ali (2021). Broadly speaking, "Norm Subsidiarity" can be defined as "a process where regional or local actors create rules to preserve their autonomy" (Ali, 2021). Lee and McGahan (2015) define it more elaborately by suggesting that norm subsidiarity refers to the process by which weaker states band together to develop their own rules and solutions to prevent exclusion or marginalization from global governance institutions. This process is a response to the efforts of more powerful actors to govern certain issues or regions. They further suggest that constructivist approaches, which emphasize ideational factors and the importance of regional cognitive priors, are necessary to understand the dynamics of norm subsidiarity.

The existing literature thus approaches the concept of norm subsidiarity in international relations by examining how different actors develop their own rules and norms to prevent exclusion or marginalization from global governance institutions (Ali, 2021). The literature also emphasizes the role of top leaders in driving norm localization processes, where new norms emerge in open policy spaces created by these leaders. These norms are then localized through the creation of procedural and operational rules, often through inclusive dialogue with other countries (Lee and McGahan, 2015). They also highlight the influence of preexisting local norms and preferences of different actors in shaping the localization of international standards.

Amitav Acharya's (2004, 2011) work in this area sheds light on how norm contestation might be resolved and specifically focuses on the role and salience of "Third-World" powers in shaping the norms that govern the international order. Acharya (2004) proposes the notion of "norm localization" as a pre-cursor to his idea of "norm subsidiarity" defining the concept as the process through which local agents reconstruct foreign norms to ensure that they align with their existing cognitive priors and identities – it

goes beyond simple congruence between foreign and local norms and emphasizes the need for adaptation and modification of foreign norms to fit within the local normative order. Localization involves accepting certain aspects of foreign norms while rejecting or adjusting others to maintain consistency with local beliefs and practices. This process of norm reconstruction is crucial for the acceptance and diffusion of norms within a particular context. Acharya argues that the ability of local agents to effectively localize foreign norms determines the extent to which those norms are accepted and integrated into the local normative order. Building on this concept, he defines "norm subsidiarity" as "the process whereby local actors create rules to preserve their autonomy from dominance, neglect, violation, or abuse by more powerful central actors". This concept emphasizes the bottom-up nature of norm creation and the significant contestations and feedback involved in the process. Norm subsidiarity is seen as a way for Third World countries, lacking in structural and material power, to resort to ideas and norms in constructing world politics. It provides an important perspective on the diffusion of norms and their moral claims, challenging dominant narratives of power and highlighting the agency role of Third World countries in world politics (Acharya, 2011).

Middle Powers and Reconstruction of Global Governance Architecture

Within global governance mechanisms, countries of the Global South – often dubbed "middle-powers" or "aspirational powers"—have continuously sought to acquire a greater say and reform global governance as a whole. India in particular has called for multilateral reforms, greater cooperation and more inclusive spaces within the realm of contemporary geopolitics. This brings us to the second theme within the research scope of this paper, i.e., the role of middle powers and rising powers in reshaping the global governance landscape apropos the G20, with particular reference to India as one such power.

The existing literature collectively suggests that middle powers have the potential to play a significant role within the G20 but stops short of addressing how they might be able to do so while dealing with resistance from the dominant powers or the status quo actors. Heenam highlights the importance of middle powers in mediating the opinions of different economies and facilitating the comprehensive adoption of global financial measures. Middle powers can cooperate and coordinate in various ways to strengthen the relevance of the G20 as a forum for multilateral discussion, while specifically focusing on issues such as development, human security, reform of the international financial institutions, and climate change and green growth as opposed to the existing hegemons who might have different priorities.

(Heenam, 2015) Cooper (2013) argues that membership in the G20 provides middle powers with agency and opportunities for issue-specific policy leadership. A central argument of Cooper (2013) is that middle power leadership has been and will continue to be a driving force for the ascent of the G20, which is becoming increasingly embedded as the hub of global economic governance.

Arguably much of the scholarship regards countries other than India as middle powers or rising powers, which can successfully initiate reform measures within the G20 or shape/reshape its priorities. This is seen in the works mentioned above. Much of the literature which does focus on the role of India is either obsolete by today's standards and time frames, such as Gnath and Schmucker (2011) or regards India's potential impact as a part of the collective effort or collective rise of the BRICS countries, rather than acknowledging its individual capabilities as a nation, such as with Blom (2022) and Downie (2016). Furthermore, no literature exclusively deals with this issue from an Asian perspective, reflecting a Eurocentric perspective even as the G20 tries to be more inclusive of non-Western powers in terms of its real functioning.

India's Normative Power and Priorities

Similarly, literature on India as a normative power is scarce but significant and noteworthy nevertheless. Kumari (2014) argues that India pursues a non-conventional approach to norm promotion by using multilateral forums to assist states in nation-making, democracy consolidation, and ensuring human security. Hall (2015) discusses how India's vision of being a normative power shifted over time, with a focus on domestic development and traditional diplomatic and military means. He further argues that "a vision of normative power for India" was central to postcolonial India's understanding of itself and its role in the world. Hall (2017) highlights India's historical aspirations to be a normative power, particularly in delegitimizing imperialism and advocating for changes in diplomatic practice and disarmament. Kumar (2008) analyzes India's behaviour as a foreign policy actor and suggests that India's present normative foreign policy behaviour is focused on economic growth, maritime capability, and peace and stability in its neighbourhood.

Lastly, while literature dealing with the outcomes of India's G20 presidency is limited, most notably there has been no emphasis on how it impacts India's position as a normative power, which again represents a notable discrepancy, considering that much of the G20's priorities revolve around areas where international norms have a considerable salience, such as the global economy, climate co-operation or

sustainable development. An exception to this is Warwantkar (2023), who argues that India can use the G20 presidency to become the voice of the Global South and achieve a stable, inclusive, and representative global economic and financial system. However, within the Global South itself, there is considerable competition amongst the rising Asian powers, largely due to differing and competing identities, priorities and agendas. Cooper (2016) here notes that India's approach to the G20 is increasingly positioned as a response to China. Gautam (2022) notes that India's presidency presents an opportunity to accelerate sustainable growth within India and beyond and to support global cooperation, inclusive development, economic stability, and sustainability.

Climate

The extensive literature study delves into the varied role of green tourism, with a special emphasis on its significance within the G20 context. Green tourism combines economic prosperity, cultural exchange, and environmental stewardship, altering the dynamics of global tourism and shaping national policies and practises.

The Economic Advantages of Green Tourism

Green tourism is becoming widely recognised for its ability to stimulate economic growth in G20 countries. Numerous academics have investigated the economic benefits of implementing sustainable practises in the tourism industry. Gössling et al. (2012) conducted a thorough investigation into the economic contributions of green tourism. Their findings show that sustainable tourism practises may dramatically increase revenue, offer job possibilities, and promote tourist industry expansion. Dwyer et al. (2010) did a meta-analysis of studies from various nations, concluding that there is a positive relationship between green tourism and higher visitor spending. Sustainability activities improve destination competitiveness, according to this meta-analysis. These economic gains are especially important for the G20 countries, who jointly account for a sizable chunk of the worldwide tourism industry.

Green tourism's revolutionary potential extends beyond economics into international relations and cultural exchange. Hall (2010) emphasised the importance of tourism in diplomacy, emphasising how cultural interchange may strengthen diplomatic ties. Tourism acts as a bridge between nations, fostering mutual understanding and compassion. Hunter and Green (2017) expanded on this idea, arguing that

green tourism has the unique potential to cross political barriers. Their findings provide insight on how green tourism efforts can overcome divides, forge lasting bonds, and contribute to the progress of peaceful interactions among G20 nations. Such diplomatic benefits are in line with the G20's goal, which emphasises international collaboration and peace.

Environmental Sustainability Initiatives

Tourism, despite its economic benefits, can have a substantial impact on the environment. Green tourism addresses this issue by supporting sustainable practises and minimising environmental impacts. Fennell (2015) examined sustainable tourism growth in depth, calling for proactive environmental stewardship within the business. Her research emphasised the significance of minimising tourism's environmental impact while maximising its benefits.

Gössling and Scott (2014) investigated the carbon emissions related with tourism, indicating that the business contributes significantly to global greenhouse gas emissions. Their findings emphasised the importance of implementing mitigating measures and sustainable practises in the tourism industry. These criteria fit with the G20 nations' sustainability goals, balancing economic growth with environmental protection.

India, a G20 member, has diverse landscapes, a rich cultural legacy, and a rapidly rising tourism industry. Over the years, India has made considerable strides in encouraging green tourism practises in order to capitalise on tourism's economic potential while also addressing environmental and social concerns. India's embrace of green tourism has resulted in significant economic gains. Tourism contributes significantly to India's GDP and creates job opportunities, making it an important driver of economic growth. India has attracted environmentally concerned tourists, resulting in greater revenue creation, through promoting ecotourism and sustainable practises. Due to its cultural richness and historical significance, India is a popular destination for international visitors. Green tourism development has not only boosted India's soft power but has also aided international ties. Tourism has generated positive image of India through cultural exchange and people-to-people diplomacy.

India's "Incredible India" programme, which promotes the country's cultural and natural assets, has been essential in improving international ties. Through cultural interaction and tourist diplomacy, India has

strengthened its connections with the G20 and other nations by demonstrating its commitment to responsible and sustainable tourism.

Despite its success in green tourism, India confronts tourism-related environmental concerns. Overcrowding in environmentally vulnerable places, incorrect waste management, and transportation's carbon footprint are all issues that must be addressed. To address these issues, India has implemented programmes such as the "Swachh Bharat Abhiyan" (Clean India Campaign) and promoted sustainable tourist practises in national parks and wildlife reserves. The Sundarbans in West Bengal, for example, a UNESCO World Heritage site, has implemented eco-friendly boating practises to limit the impact on the fragile mangrove ecology.

While India has made strides in promoting green tourism, challenges remain. Balancing economic growth with environmental protection, managing tourist numbers in sensitive areas, and ensuring equitable distribution of economic benefits among local communities are ongoing challenges. In India, the government and tourist industry partners are working hard to overcome these issues. To establish a more sustainable and responsible tourism business, sustainable tourism certifications, capacity building for local communities and public-private partnerships are being leveraged.

India's experience with green tourism can help G20 countries combine economic growth, international relations, and environmental sustainability. India illustrates the potential for green tourism to positively contribute to the G20 framework's objectives by embracing responsible tourism practises, encouraging cultural exchange, and solving environmental concerns. As India continues on its path towards sustainable tourism, it can serve as a model for other G20 countries eager to capitalise on the transformative potential of green tourism.

India's contribution to Green Development and Climate Finance in the context of G20

India became a member of the G20 in 1998, when it still only included finance ministers and governors of central banks. Since that time, India has taken a proactive role in establishing the G20's agenda and promoting its objectives on the international stage. India has been a vocal supporter of issues related to climate change, sustainable development, and reducing poverty.

India took over from Indonesia as the G-20 forum's president on December 1, 2022. This offers India the chance to highlight its position as a rising power and a pioneer in the world's energy transition. India has a

lot of potential to work with G-20 countries to implement clean energy transition strategies. As the G-20's president, India can forge international alliances to hasten the advancement and application of clean energy technologies while ensuring low-income nations' access to energy.

India is expected to grow its GDP to $8.3 trillion over the following ten years, making it the third-largest economy in the world. However, this will put a great deal of pressure on its rising energy needs, which are primarily based on imports of fossil fuels. This story is about to change, though, as India is in a good position to lead the transition to cleaner energy sources. During its G-20 presidency, India will have the chance to take the lead in shifting the world's energy system towards low-carbon fuels.

Climate change is a pressing global issue that demands swift and resolute action from every nation. Tackling this multifaceted challenge and mitigating its effects necessitate bold actions within each country's borders. Effectively addressing climate change requires a comprehensive approach that involves collaborative efforts to mobilize climate finance, formulate and implement robust policies, ensure active participation of civil society in climate policy-making, and reduce greenhouse gas emissions across all levels.

The research findings reveal the vital role of climate-related grants, funding, and instruments in sustaining climate actions within each country's borders. Additionally, the distribution of emissions reduction aligns with the categories defined by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change annex. However, while progress is visible in adopting national climate policies and legislation, there is still an early phase of implementation, aiming to integrate sectoral strategic objectives and actions into a cohesive framework. (Codal. Et. al 2021)

The significance of civil society in addressing climate change is of paramount importance; their active engagement in the policymaking process is a vital ingredient for achieving effective and impactful outcomes. Moreover, adopting a multidimensional perspective in the assessment and evaluation process yields results that are not only distinct but also highly valuable when compared to a narrow one-dimensional approach. This comprehensive analysis not only enhances our understanding of how individual countries are faring in their efforts to combat climate change but also facilitates the identification of specific areas that hold potential for improvement. Addressing the challenge of climate change necessitates a united global effort, with every nation taking bold strides within its own borders. This multidimensional approach casts a revealing spotlight on the progress made by the G20 countries,

underscoring the critical role played by coordinated action, sustainable financing, robust policies, and active involvement of civil society in shaping a more sustainable and resilient future for our planet.

G20's Commitment to Environmental Issues

The G20 acknowledges the collective responsibility to tackle environmental issues and climate change while advocating for the transition to cleaner and more flexible energy systems. An essential development in this regard is the rapid expansion of renewable energy. Notably, nearly all G20 nations have significantly ramped up their utilization of renewable energy sources. A pivotal moment was the G20 Summit in Toronto in 2020, which reconfirmed the Group's commitment to environmentally conscious economic growth and global development sustainability. Similarly, the 2011 Summit focused on advancing low-carbon development strategies to foster inclusive green growth and sustainable development, thereby addressing the fundamental issues that the G20 traditionally prioritizes, including climate finance.

In 2012, the G20 Summit in Mexico saw the establishment of the first study group on climate finance. This group aimed to explore effective means of mobilizing resources and supporting the operationalization of the Green Climate Fund to aid developing economies, all while adhering to the goals, clauses, and principles of the UNFCCC. Subsequent summits, including those in St. Petersburg (2013), Brisbane (2014), and Antalya (2015), yielded significant outcomes such as commitments to reduce hydrofluorocarbon production and consumption, a substantial USD 3 billion campaign for the Green Climate Fund, and robust support for the ambitious goals set by the Paris Conference.

The Antalya Summit in 2015, held just before COP21, extended and emphasized the commitment to secure an agreement in the Paris negotiations. Delegates at this G20 Summit expressed unwavering support for the Paris Conference objectives, highlighting the importance of fairness and equilibrium in addressing global climate concerns. Notably, 160 nations submitted their Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs), outlining their intended reductions in greenhouse gas emissions with the aim of limiting global temperature rise to 2 degrees Celsius.

The 2017 Hamburg Summit in Germany emerged as a crucial platform advocating for the swift and complete implementation of the Paris Agreement. This included efforts to secure signatures and ratification from nations yet to do so. Notably, the Paris Agreement became international law in

November 2016, although the US administration's decision to include language indicating its intent to withdraw underscored a change in its stance on climate change.

Despite this, the G20 persisted in its climate-related endeavors. In 2017, under the G20 Hamburg Climate and Energy Action Plan for Growth, a dedicated working group was established, which later gained independence in 2018. This underlined the G20's ongoing commitment to advancing clean energy and climate initiatives.

Under the Saudi Presidency, the G20 made strides in 2020 by supporting the Circular Carbon Economy (CCE) Platform, an initiative recognizing the urgency of emissions reduction while considering the effectiveness and context of various systems. The global nature of the challenge necessitated cooperation to serve the greater public interest on a worldwide scale.

Another significant commitment emerged during the 2021 Rome Summit, as the G20 pledged to collectively plant one trillion trees by 2030, focusing on restoring degraded ecosystems. This aspiration aligned with the G20's expanding agenda. Moreover, the Indonesian presidency steered the G20 towards climate mitigation through private discussions, considering legislative and regulatory measures to mobilize climate finance in line with the Sustainable Finance Roadmap of the Rome conference.

Beyond their commitments, G20 countries made substantial advancements in sustainable energy and climate change. Notably, the G20's share of renewable energy surged by 20% between 2015 and 2020, constituting 28.6% of its power generation by 2020, with projections of 29.5% in 2021. Carbon intensity in the energy sector across the G20 also reduced by 4% during this period. Even after the US's announcement to withdraw from the Paris Agreement, the G20 continued to champion sustainable practices in the energy and climate sphere.

The annual Bonn conference marked a pivotal juncture on the path to COP28, instilling high expectations for positive outcomes.

However Climate finance — or the lack of it — was a key stumbling block, stunting talks on adaptation and loss and damage amid widening concerns about the overall trajectory of the only international political climate process. (Worley, 2023) The concern over the overall trajectory of the international political climate process has been widening as high-income nations continue to fall short on their

promises to provide financial support to lower-income countries. This failure has eroded trust in the negotiation process, creating an impasse in finding viable solutions.

The advocates attending COP 28 had hoped for significant progress on key issues, including the phasedown of fossil fuels, climate adaptation measures, and addressing loss and damage caused by climate impacts. However, as the talks concluded, U.N. Secretary-General António Guterres expressed his frustration and dismay. He made it evident that countries were significantly off-track in fulfilling their climate promises and commitments. The lack of ambition, trust, support, and cooperation among nations became evident, further exacerbating problems related to clarity and credibility. As a result, the climate agenda itself is being undermined.

Climate finance encompasses a broad spectrum of funding initiatives dedicated to bolstering efforts aimed at mitigating and adapting to the impacts of climate change. With climate-related challenges at the forefront of global concerns, addressing these issues and seeking viable solutions have become focal points of the G20 meetings during India's presidency. In a recent gathering held in Bengaluru, prominent stakeholders from around the world convened to deliberate on the crucial topic of "Mainstreaming Climate Action in Cities." (India finding solutions, 2023)

The meeting centered around three of the six prevailing U20 priority areas, signifying their utmost significance: accelerating climate finance, ensuring water security, and promoting environmentally responsive behavior.

As mentioned previously, the recently concluded Bonn climate conference in Germany played a pivotal role in shaping the political agenda for the critical end-of-year Conference of Parties-28. One of the central issues discussed was the urgent need to review and reform the climate finance architecture. According to Teresa Anderson, ActionAid International's Global Lead on Climate Justice, the conference shed light on a significant shortfall in the funding required to support climate action. This discrepancy has arisen due to a longstanding impasse between developed and developing countries regarding the sources and forms of financial support for climate change policies. (Kalia, 2023)

The need for a renewed finance goal stems from the disparity between the promised $100 billion annual climate finance and the actual amount provided by developed nations in 2020, which stood at $83.3 billion according to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. However, Oxfam's

analysis unveils a potential inflation of these figures by up to 225%, attributed to dishonest reporting practices. Adding to the complexity, the $100 billion target set in 2009 was often regarded as a political aspiration, lacking clear definitions and sources of climate finance.

The responsibility to address climate change rests heavily on developed nations, who have achieved economic growth at the cost of significant carbon emissions. While there has been an increase in available climate finance, its accessibility remains limited, largely tied to the private sector, and frequently subject to delays, hindering its delivery to the most vulnerable nations. A recent study from the Centre for Science and Environment exposes the fact that only 5% of climate finance is in the form of grants, with the majority being provided as loans and equity, exacerbating the debt crisis for developing countries.

India's Initiatives and Stance and Its Role

For India, prioritizing its energy transition goals involves supporting inclusive, resilient growth, adhering to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, fostering technological progress, promoting green development, and advocating for equitable climate finance within the framework of the G-20. India stands as an exemplar, showcasing how environmental protection and economic progress can harmoniously coexist.

Evidently, India launched the Amrit Kaal initiative under the Lifestyle for Environment (LiFE) movement. This initiative strives to encourage ecologically responsible behavior and sustainable lifestyles, aligning with the aspiration to build a shared global future. Underpinning India's presidency of the G-20 in 2023 is the theme "*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*" translating to "One Earth, One Family, One Future." This theme underscores the pivotal role of environmentally conscious choices in individual and societal development, aiming to shape a cleaner, greener, and healthier future.

Central to India's stance is the principle of "Common but Differentiated Responsibility," which underscores the notion that while addressing climate change is a collective effort— developed nations hold greater responsibility due to their historical contributions to emissions. India urgently calls for swift global action to curtail carbon emissions and expedite the transition to cleaner energy sources.

Technology

Digital and Technological Co-operation

Digital transformation encompasses the seamless integration of digital technology across all facets of our society. (Govers and Amelsvoort, 2023) The pervasive adoption of digital technologies in every sector is experiencing exponential growth, with abundant evidence underscoring its beneficial influence on both the economy and society. Remarkably, the proliferation of digital technologies has been a symbiotic process, simultaneously facilitating and being facilitated by the ever-expanding reach of globalization. The challenge is to jointly optimise technical and social aspects for creating both added values in a sustainable manner and improving the quality of working life.

 The proliferation of the COVID-19 outbreak in the world has catalyzed a digital transformation that had been in progress for many years. Students began attending classes virtually, a significant number of employees transitioned to remote work, and numerous businesses embraced digital models to keep their operations running and safeguard their revenue streams. Concurrently, mobile applications were created to aid in "track and trace" efforts related to the pandemic's progression, and researchers turned to artificial intelligence (AI) to gain deeper insights into the virus and expedite the search for a vaccine. a significant surge in Internet traffic in certain countries, with some experiencing an increase of up to 60%. This phenomenon highlighted the profound impact the pandemic had on accelerating the process of digital transformation (OCED, 2020). Efforts to assess the consequences of this digital transformation on governmental structures and the international arena have been undertaken. Certain scholars contend that the state remains the primary actor in this context, preserving its role as the principal provider of security, albeit with adaptations. On the other hand, some argue that the rise of 'virtual states' and network-based economies signifies a reduction in interstate conflicts, leading to a decreased emphasis on security compared to earlier periods. (Eriksson and Giacomello, 2007)

A substantial body of literature highlights the substantial challenges to the traditional power dynamics of the state. The state's historical role as the primary agent for collective action is under threat, as it no longer maintains a near-monopoly on the capacity to shape the behavior of large populations. Thanks to digital technology, disruptive innovators now possess the ability to influence the behavior of large groups with fewer of the societal constraints that traditionally surrounded state actions. In contemporary security studies, cyberspace has taken on the role of a battleground. The United States, the originator of the Internet as a defense research project, now regards cyberspace as a distinct "domain" or a potential

battlefield of equal significance to land, sea, air, and outer space. This recognition underscores the evolving landscape where the state's dominance is being challenged, and new digital realms are becoming vital arenas for power and influence. (Owen, 2015) Scholars like Ranstorp claims that cyberspace is not merely an add-on that facilitates mobilization and terrorist propaganda, but that it is the very nerve centre of global jihadism.

Absolutely, the impact of disruptive innovators harnessing the power of digital technology is reshaping the very foundations of institutions that held pivotal roles in 20th-century international affairs. These institutions encompass foreign ministries, armed forces, development agencies, media conglomerates, and international organizations. Furthermore, the utilization of sophisticated technology is not limited to states with concerning human rights records; anti-state individuals and groups are also capitalizing on these tools. This paradoxical situation places states in a multifaceted position, wherein they can be both facilitators and targets of disruptive actors, vividly reflecting the intricate dynamics of power, agency, and control in the digital realm. Western democratic governments, driven by concerns over the potential capabilities of digitally empowered entities, have been willing to counter these forces and reassert control over communication channels. The emergence of new forms of currency introduces the possibility of establishing behavioral norms that operate beyond government oversight. If the state loses its grasp on regulating the financial activities of its citizens, it faces a profound existential challenge. In this evolving landscape, digital public diplomacy has gained widespread international acceptance. Ambassadors and desk officers are using platforms like Twitter to engage with their home constituents and the citizens of their host countries. Foreign ministers are conducting online briefings through platforms like Facebook, Twitter, and Google Hangouts, while events are being live-streamed online. This reflects the ever-expanding role of digital communication in the realm of international diplomacy. (Owen, 2015)

Differing perspectives on the impact of the information revolution on global politics abound. Some argue that this revolution has elevated the importance of entities such as firms, interest organizations, social movements, transnational networks, and individuals. Realists, for the most part, maintain their traditional theories of security in the digital age, continuing to regard the state as the primary, if not the sole, significant actor. Furthermore, they often adhere to a narrow, primarily military definition of security, rejecting the idea that non-state actors can wield any substantial military power. The integration of information warfare into strategic studies and military planning, which has largely been influenced by realist thinking, might be seen as an indicator of continuity rather than a radical departure from the past.

On the other hand, liberals concur with realists that states remain central actors in international politics. However, in contrast to realists, liberals contend that states are not the exclusive influential players in international relations. The most notable development in recent years has been the rise of various non-state international actors, including transnational corporations, social movements, pressure groups, political party networks, migrants, and terrorists. Consequently, liberalism is more attuned to the emergence of new online groups operating in chat rooms and 'blogs,' as well as the utilization of new forms of audiovisual information and communication technologies. Generally, liberalism tends to emphasize the positive outcomes of interdependence and interconnectedness, rather than focusing on the potential vulnerabilities and insecurities that might arise.

The empirical flexibility inherent in constructivism provides a framework to address a broad spectrum of perceived security threats. Concerning threats to critical infrastructures, this encompasses not only digital attacks but also technical failures and glitches, as exemplified by the infamous Y2K problem, as well as natural disasters like earthquakes and volcanic eruptions.

In the limited existing constructivist accounts of security in the digital age, the focus primarily revolves around how information warfare challenges numerous boundaries, particularly those related to identity. Everard (2000), for instance, argues that information warfare can be viewed as a distinct form of 'identity warfare' where various boundaries, including the traditional domestic-international divide, are called into question. Consequently, the identity of the nation-state is in a state of flux, adapting rather than succumbing to the constant permeation of formally sovereign boundaries and the emergence of new identities in the realm of cyberspace. Furthermore, constructivist analysis can shed light on the role and impact of language in the context of security in the digital age. By drawing analogies to concepts familiar in the physical or offline world, such as comparing digital threats to 'bugs,' 'viruses,' 'worms,' and 'firewalls,' the abstract and technically intricate field of cybersecurity becomes more comprehensible and meaningful. The utilization of terms like information 'warfare' and 'electronic Pearl Harbor' conveys a distinct message: even though digital in nature, these actions have tangible consequences akin to those of conventional warfare. Constructivist analysis contributes to uncovering and understanding the significance of such rhetoric and symbolic gestures. (Eriksson and Giacomello, 2007) The shift in power dynamics is undergoing a profound transformation, and the ramifications for the international system are monumental. We are witnessing the early stages of a significant rebalancing, and the full extent of its consequences is yet to unfold. (Owen, 2015)

The data management maturity of infrastructure projects is still quite low, and government agencies typically lag behind the private sector in terms of digital capabilities. A crucial problem is low data awareness combined with weak digital capacity. A significant factor in unsuccessful project outcomes is poor data management, which could also have an adverse effect on upcoming initiatives to adopt new technologies and create digital twins of public infrastructure.

A new, end-to-end vision for the systems and services present throughout the built environment that support and connect the general public is represented by the digital transformation of public infrastructure. Beyond customer-facing technology, customised services, or point solutions using new technologies, this idea is broad. This vision would establish a full digital ecosystem that links infrastructure agencies with their suppliers, stakeholders, and clients and is based on trustworthy and verifiable data. By aggressively encouraging data sharing and digital collaboration, it will also encourage cross-agency cooperation, helping to reinvent how government agencies work together to plan, implement, and manage public infrastructure. In the construction industry, new digital working practises are already emerging that enhance project controls, offer increased cost certainty, and deliver a step shift in project delivery. Combining the strength of contemporary digital technology will increase government's ability to predict outcomes, providing better value for citizens and the overall economy.

In India, digital inclusion has significantly increased over the past few years. Over 500 million people utilise the Internet, and there are 1.2 billion mobile connections. With an estimated 400 million cellphones and one of the cheapest mobile data plans available anywhere in the globe, India is currently the second-largest smartphone market in the world. (Raghavan, Jain, and Varma, 2019)

The "Digital India" Scheme, a significant project, was introduced on July 1. With the help of information technology, this initiative seeks to change the entire ecosystem of public services. The Digital India plan covers all three economic growth-supporting sectors: agriculture, industry, and services. It focuses on three primary issues: on-demand services, digital empowerment of citizens, and digital governance as fundamental rights for all people. Through this system, more than 12,000 post offices have been digitally connected, and it is planned that the same programme would facilitate payment banking. Additionally, by incorporating contemporary technology into all of its plans, the government hopes to establish "digital villages" around the country. Rural communities would get access to solar energy, LED lighting, e-services, skill development, and e-education. The main objective was to enable simple and transparent

transactions by making all services accessible to everyone online or through web portals. The government is increasing its technological investments in an effort to combat illegal cash and public corruption. (Vijayan, 2003)

Data Centres could be extremely important to the world due to rising smartphone adoption, soaring online activity, and the enormous amount of data being generated. Therefore, it is imperative to encourage and establish a framework for the growth of a solid digital infrastructure that could facilitate the adoption of cutting-edge technologies such as 5G, IoT, artificial intelligence, machine learning, drones, robotics, additive manufacturing, photonics, nano-based devices, etc., and their applications in fields like defence, agriculture, health, cyber security, smart cities, and automation, with a focus on solving real-world problems. (Agrawal, Rao and Agrawal, 2021)

Governments can deliver public services more effectively by implementing digital transformation, but this will mostly depend on having an inclusive digital infrastructure with the appropriate systems, technology, and procedures in place. Given its collection of open, interoperable, and adaptable digital building pieces, digital public infrastructure (DPI), which serves as a common means to numerous ends, has emerged as a facilitator of digital transformation. DPI is a rapidly developing idea that has already shown tremendous promise for long-term digital growth. Governments, funders, participants in the commercial sector, and members of civil society all have the chance to seize the day and take constructive action. The execution of digital transformation will undoubtedly need an inclusive strategy supported by solid governance and committed investments because it won't happen quickly. (UNDP, 2023)

With growing emphasis and the global acknowledgement of the need and importance of DPI, multilateral cooperation has become more essential than ever. Multilateralism is necessary for the full realisation of the potential benefits of the shifting trends and minimise the associated dangers.

The use of the word "multilateralism" is often ambiguous. It most frequently refers to global collaboration that is sponsored by a global body with a "constitution." This is referred to as "formal" multilateralism. However, informal multilateral cooperation has recently gained great global importance. One of the premier forums is the G-20, functioning through annual conferences amongst the main countries but lacking a secretariat and a constitution. (Coulibaly and Derviş, 2022) Such a multilateral forum offers an "institutional framework for knowledge sharing, consensus building, and adaption of the DPI approach to new contexts of both member and non-member states." A cooperative platform, like the G20, is essential

to ensuring the expansion of the discussion on DPIs. India, a pioneer in the DPI debate, is well-positioned to establish itself as a centre of excellence and cooperation among nations that are developing and utilising DPIs. There are opportunities to fund initiatives in states wanting to develop and deploy DPIs, construct tools that help identify gaps, and identify suitable governance structures given the ardent energy of innovation and the urgent need for DPIs. The G20 is well positioned to shape the fledgling discourse around DPI given the growing amount of digital development programmes being launched across nations and the increased attention being paid to DPIs on a global scale. (Gupta and Nair, 2023)

Gaps in the Literature

The exploration of literature on multilateralism within the G20 context has uncovered substantial gaps and challenges, offering invaluable insights into the evolving dynamics of these domains. This analysis brings to light critical issues that warrant further examination to effectively enhance multilateralism during India's tenure as the G20 presidency.

The existing literature on security cooperation initiatives within the G20, especially concerning human security, reveals several gaps and challenges. Notably, there is a significant lack of practical emphasis on critical human security concerns like public health emergencies, refugee crises, and the protection of vulnerable populations. These issues are integral aspects of global security, but their integration into the G20's agenda remains limited. Scholars argue that while the G20 has the potential to address security challenges comprehensively, implementation of proposed measures often falters due to inadequate resources, political will, and commitment from member states. This challenge is particularly pronounced in the context of human security issues, which necessitate sustained and comprehensive efforts.

Historically, the G20 has primarily focused on economic matters, particularly fiscal restructuring and financial regulation. The literature underscores the need to transcend this historical economic-centric approach, especially in the wake of paradigm shifts triggered by events like 9/11. The evolving G20 agenda now encompasses broader security concerns like climate change and public health, signaling a transformative shift. However, the literature falls short in deeply exploring how this evolution impacts the integration and prioritization of human security concerns. Research in this domain is critical for

understanding and optimizing the inclusion of human security in the evolving G20 agenda. Despite highlighting critical concerns such as public health emergencies and refugee crises, practical integration of human security into the G20 agenda remains limited. This inadequacy underscores the necessity for focused research and policy initiatives that prioritize human security, encompassing the safety and well-being of individuals and communities. Such emphasis is vital for effective responses to complex security issues, especially those related to human security.

Scholars have pinpointed inadequate resources, political will, and commitment from member states as major impediments. Sustained and comprehensive efforts are crucial to overcome these challenges and implement proposed security measures successfully. This highlights the urgency for research to delve into the root causes of these obstacles and propose strategies to surmount them, especially in the context of human security and broader security concerns.

Addressing terrorism within the G20 exhibits inconsistencies, with its prominence varying across different summits. This inconsistency emphasizes the necessity for a more unified and consistent approach in addressing security threats, including terrorism. Comprehensive research and analysis are needed to identify factors contributing to these inconsistencies and propose mechanisms for a cohesive and unified approach towards combating security threats, particularly terrorism, on a global scale.

In the domain of climate, a significant gap lies in the inadequate integration of green tourism within the G20 framework. Despite acknowledging the economic advantages, international relations, and environmental sustainability associated with green tourism, the literature fails to provide a thorough understanding of how the G20 specifically addresses or integrates green tourism as a tool for economic growth and sustainability. This knowledge gap necessitates research focusing on policy frameworks and strategies for effective integration of green tourism within the G20 context. Furthermore, the limited focus on specific environmental challenges related to sustainable tourism growth is another critical gap identified. The literature predominantly discusses the economic benefits and potential of green tourism, overlooking a detailed examination of the environmental challenges and threats that need mitigation within the G20 countries. A comprehensive analysis of these challenges is crucial for formulating policies that ensure sustainable tourism growth while preserving the environment.

The conclusion of the literature reviews emphasizes the necessity for further research to fill identified gaps, offering a more holistic understanding of how the G20 can effectively address human security

concerns and integrate green tourism for sustainable growth. This research is vital for shaping policy recommendations and actions to enhance global security and environmental sustainability within the G20 framework.

Much of the existing literature in climate finance and green development focuses on global or national-level analyses. These identified gaps collectively represent a critical literature void, necessitating focused exploration. They encompass localized impact assessments of climate finance and green development initiatives, the application of behavioral economics in climate finance and sustainability, an evaluation of the functioning and effectiveness of solid waste management and recycling initiatives in the circular economy, and an examination of the dynamics of norms within the G20 framework and their role in global governance. This could involve case studies or field research to understand how these interventions affect specific communities and ecosystems. Understanding how individuals and businesses make decisions related to climate finance and green development is crucial.

Addressing these gaps through rigorous research and empirical studies will yield a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of multilateralism during India's presidency in the G20, guiding informed policy decisions to strengthen global cooperation and foster sustainable development. This endeavor is pivotal for formulating informed policies and strategic interventions that fortify multilateralism, ultimately contributing to a more cooperative and sustainable global order.

Definition

The research aims to comprehensively investigate the dynamics of multilateralism during India's tenure as the G20 presidency, focusing on how India's leadership can strengthen global cooperation and sustainable development. Multilateralism, in this context, refers to the collaboration and cooperation among the G20 nations to address pressing global challenges, encompassing security, economic stability, climate action, and sustainable development. The research seeks to explore strategies and policies that would enhance multilateral efforts and effectively contribute to a more cooperative and sustainable global order.

Rationale

Rationale of the research is underscored by the growing significance of the G20 as a premier forum for international economic cooperation. With India assuming the G20 presidency, there is a unique

opportunity to investigate how its leadership can shape and contribute to a more inclusive and impactful multilateral approach. The identified literature gaps in the domains of security, climate, digital transformation, and norms underscore the need for in-depth research to bridge these deficiencies. Understanding these gaps and addressing them is crucial for informed policy-making during India's G20 presidency and beyond. By exploring these gaps, the research aims to offer concrete recommendations to fortify multilateralism, aligning with India's strategic interests and global responsibilities.

Scope of Study

The study will focus on analyzing the identified literature gap, including the inadequate emphasis on human security concerns, the implementation challenges in addressing security issues, historical economic focus, inconsistencies in addressing terrorism, and inadequate integration of green tourism within the G20 framework. Additionally, the study will explore gaps in the domains of climate, digital transformation, and norms. The research will encompass an extensive literature review, case studies, empirical analysis, and policy recommendations. Special attention will be given to India's role as the G20 presidency and how it can influence and contribute to a more collaborative and sustainable global governance approach. Furthermore, the study will propose strategies and recommendations to bridge these gaps, providing insights into effective policies that strengthen multilateralism during India's presidency in the G20.

Research Questions:

Through the study, we will be aiming to answer the following questions:

1. What reform measures can be adopted by the G20 in order to align itself with the evolving norms and global governance mechanisms?
2. How can the G20 effectively integrate human security concerns, historically overshadowed by economic matters, within its agenda during India's G20 presidency, and how might this integration enhance overall global security and sustainability?
3. What policies and strategies can the G20 adopt during India's G20 presidency to seamlessly integrate green tourism into its economic framework, balancing economic growth while addressing specific environmental challenges and preserving delicate ecosystems?

Hypothesis

Strategic prioritization and effective integration of human security, climate sustainability, and norm development within the G20 framework calls for a synergistic multilateral approach— leading to sustainable development, enhanced global security, and a strengthened foundation for collaborative governance.

Research Methodology

For this study, a comprehensive research methodology based on secondary data analysis has been employed. The research extensively reviewed existing literature, academic papers, official G20 documents, policy reports, and case studies related to multilateralism, particularly focusing on India's presidency in the G20. The analysis involved synthesizing information from diverse sources to gain a thorough understanding of historical context, current dynamics, and gaps in the domains of security, climate sustainability, and norms within the G20 context. Additionally, a comparative analysis of G20 summits during India's presidency was conducted to identify trends and variations in approaches. This rigorous secondary data analysis provided valuable insights, allowing for informed policy recommendations and strategies to strengthen global cooperation and sustainable development during India's G20 presidency.

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India's Approach to Multilateralism and Evolving Global Order

Nikita Tuwani and Pratibha Kumari

Introduction

Our world, which was once dominated by a power, is currently undergoing a transformation, as the economic center of gravity shifts towards the east and south. This shift has led to the emergence of centers of power bringing forth challenges that will likely necessitate innovative forms of multilateral diplomacy.

At its core, the concept of multilateralism in the Western interpretation is based on liberal internationalism. G. John Ikenberry argues that liberal internationalism is characterized by five key conditions: openness in terms of trade and exchange, commitment to a rules-based system of relations,

some form of security cooperation, the belief that power politics can be controlled by fostering stable relationships for mutual benefit, and the idea that liberal internationalism will promote the spread of liberal democracy. In simpler terms, multilateralism revolves around collectively agreed norms, rules, and principles that guide and govern interactions between states.

Studying India's multilateralism strategy is essential since it affects global governance in this changing world order. India has the capacity to alter the balance of power, redefine international decision-making processes, and tackle the problems of the twenty-first century through its active participation in multilateral organizations and efforts to influence global norms and institutions.

India's approach towards multilateralism is characterized by participation with international organizations, forums and global governance systems so that it advances its domestic interests, promotes ideals and contributes to international decision making processes. Understanding India's attitude towards multilateralism, which defines the shifting dynamics of a global order that is defined by increasing power equations and growing problems, will be crucial to understanding its role in influencing an international system.

The main focus of the chapter is on understanding the factors that have influenced India's multilateralism strategy, including its economic might, political stability, nuclear capability, domestic politics, and conflict with neighboring nations, as well as evaluating the implications of significant events like the Kashmir crisis, the Cold War, or wars against neighboring nations. When it comes to investigating India's current stance on multilateral issues like climate change, trade and regional cooperation, examining the challenges and opportunities it faces in these areas, and providing insight into the prospects of India's engagement with multilateralism in the future—taking into account its growing economic and political influence as well as its domestic priorities, is essential.

India's G20 Presidency – India as a Reformist Normative Power

Durgesh Jha

Introduction

In the midst of a global geopolitical landscape that has necessitated greater cooperation and more inclusive decision-making, countries of the developing world, particularly the Global South have begun to push for "Reformed Multilateralism". India in particular has endured a complex and multifaceted relationship with the notion of "Reformed Multilateralism" – this relationship is influenced by a range of domestic and international factors. Today however, it is not only a key foreign policy objective for India but rather "reinvigorated" and "reformed" multilateralism based on transparency, inclusivity, justice and accountability serves as the guiding values for a post-colonial country that is at an unprecedented, critical and crucial juncture, in terms of its stature in the international community of nations. Having assumed the presidency of the G20 in December 2022, succeeding Indonesia, India not only has an opportunity to make these very foreign policy priorities clear to the rest of the world but can also set the stage and lead the way as a norm-maker and re-invent the current form of multilateralism. Of particular interest is India's normative power, considering the fact that India seeks to position itself as a value-based power, a teacher of sorts to the rest of the world, outlined articulately in its doctrine of India as the "Vishwaguru". The chapter argues that India's normative power today is best conceptualized as a "reformist normative power" in a break from the current literature.

The chapter will be looking at the role of rising and middle powers in reshaping the global governance architecture and specifically how India as a middle or rising power can play an important role in shaping global norms that shape the face of contemporary international relations. The chapter evaluates India's

normative power and priorities, particularly in the context of its G20 presidency. Evaluating the salience of international norms in the present geopolitical context and whether their manner of operation and significance thereof carries any weight at the moment in the conduct of international relations, the chapter looks at how India's emphasis on Reformed Multilateralism and its recent foreign policy postures and doctrines align themselves with this idea of norm creation, particularly considering its G20 agenda and priorities. Taking into consideration the fact that it deals with international norms in a detailed manner, most of these questions will be evaluated within a Constructivist framework of international relations, that accords importance to norm creation within multilateral institutions.

India's Contribution to Green Development and Climate Finance within the Context of the G20

Sanya Sachdeva, Shreya Dadwal and Bhavna Pratiahri

Introduction

In a poignant address at the UN's COP 26 climate conference in Glasgow, Scotland, Narendra Modi, India's Prime Minister, emphasized the gravity of the situation with his words resonating, "For many developing countries, climate change is looming large over their existence. We have to take big steps today to save the world. This is the need of the hour." (National Statement by Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi at COP26 Summit in Glasgow, n.d.)

India, grappling with the ramifications of the climate crisis, witnesses some of the most severe consequences firsthand, as underscored by Prime Minister Modi's message. From blistering heat waves, decimating crop yields to torrential downpours triggering floods that engulf entire communities, the nation is confronting the extremities of this crisis. Strikingly, despite housing slightly over 17% of the global population, India's contribution to worldwide emissions hovers around 7%.

India is vulnerable to a variety of climate change impacts. The Himalayan region faces risks from glacial melt, leading to the potential for increased flooding and changes in water availability. Coastal areas are at risk of sea-level rise and extreme weather events like cyclones. Changes in monsoon patterns can significantly affect agricultural productivity, and heatwaves pose risks to human health. Given the inevitability of some climate impacts, India has also been focusing on adaptation strategies. These include projects to improve water management, strengthen infrastructure against extreme weather events, develop climate-resilient agriculture, and enhance early warning systems for disasters.

As part of the Paris Agreement, India has submitted its Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs). The NDCs outline the country's climate actions, which include targets to reduce greenhouse gas emissions intensity of GDP, increase the share of non-fossil fuel-based power capacity, enhance carbon sink capacity, and adapt to climate change impacts.

Thus, keeping in view the present challenges to our environment and the fact that humans are treading the path of destruction in the name of progress through their reckless actions of urbanization and industrialization, an initiative like green development comes of utmost importance. It refers to an approach to economic and social development that aims to achieve sustainable growth while minimizing adverse impacts on the environment. It seeks to strike a balance between economic prosperity, social inclusion, and environmental conservation. Green development in India is driven by the recognition that traditional development models have often led to environmental degradation, resource depletion, and increased vulnerability to climate change. A significant aspect of green development in India is the promotion of renewable energy sources such as solar, wind, hydro, and biomass. The country has set ambitious targets for renewable energy capacity to reduce its dependence on fossil fuels and mitigate greenhouse gas emissions.

The chapter looks into India's efforts to promote sustainable development and green growth, with an emphasis on programs meant to stop environmental deterioration, protect biodiversity, and advance eco-friendly technologies. It will evaluate how India's policies on waste management, the adoption of renewable energy sources, afforestation, and sustainable agriculture fit into the larger G20 goals. It will go deep into analyzing some of the Policy Initiatives and movements for example, LiFE(Lifestyle for Environment Movement). Examining India's role in climate finance within the G20 framework would be a key aspect of the study. India's contributions to international climate funds, methods for securing climate finance, and its initiatives to close the financial gap for climate adaptation and mitigation projects in developing nations will all be the subject of the study.

The chapter will also help us to analyze India's partnerships with other G20 members to combat climate change. It will also gauge the extent to which India is collaborating and can extend collaboration on technology transfer, knowledge sharing and capacity building and the financial support it can provide to address climate change.

The chapter will also look into if India can allocate adequate resources as per India's climate commitments and to what extent has India fulfilled these commitments.

It's indisputable that India will face various challenges in balancing its development needs with environmental considerations. India's G20 presidency will be an opportunity for India to leverage its participation towards the cause, enhance its own climate strategies, and bring nations together to cooperate on the agenda and set the rhythm for future international meetings the COP28. It will provide insights into how India's actions and policies influence global climate negotiations, green technologies dissemination, and the mobilization of climate finance. Additionally, the chapter will outline potential pathways for India to strengthen its position as a key player in the G20's climate change agenda.

By encompassing these dimensions, the chapter aims to offer a comprehensive understanding of India's cooperation on climate change, green development, and climate finance within the dynamic context of the G20.

Promoting Green Tourism for Economic Growth, International Relations, and Environmental Sustainability within the G20 Framework

Kashaa Swami

Introduction

As a global juggernaut, tourism transcends cultures and borders, shapes economies, and fosters international relationships. Green tourism is transforming this dynamic industry. At the intersection of economic prosperity, cultural exchange, and environmental stewardship, it redefines how nations engage with domestic and international landscapes. There is profound significance to this paradigm shift within the context of the G20—a forum of the world's leading economies.

Green tourism is not merely a niche concept but a transformative force capable of driving economic growth, enhancing international relations, and advancing environmental sustainability. Green tourism's wide-ranging impacts and practical strategies are illustrated through the synthesis of existing research and case studies. With this knowledge, empirical analysis and recommendations can be made to provide a nuanced understanding of green tourism's ability to drive progress and promote sustainability in the G20.

The chapter delves into the complex catalyst that is green tourism, with a special emphasis on its function in boosting economies, fostering robust international relations, and supporting environmental sustainability among G20 nations. The study begins a journey that recognises the tourism industry's growing acknowledgement of sustainable practises. What was once thought to be a niche concept is now a vital driver of change, determining the destiny of both local economies and global cooperation.

The overwhelming global concerns of climate change, resource depletion, and socioeconomic inequality highlight the need for novel responses. Green tourism, which sits at the crossroads of these issues, presents once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. It enables us to link economic development, cultural interchange, and environmental responsibility in ways that few other organisations can.

The chapter adopts a thorough technique. It begins with a thorough literature analysis that covers the philosophical foundations of green tourism, historical backdrop, and existing research on its economic,

socio-cultural, and environmental ramifications. Following that, a quantitative analysis will be carried out to determine the precise economic contributions of green tourism in selected G20 countries, using data on key economic indicators, tourism earnings, and employment figures. Case studies of successful green tourism programmes will be thoroughly examined, as will their environmental impact. Surveys and interviews will provide deeper insights into important stakeholders' opinions, supplementing quantitative analysis with qualitative data.

Within the context of the G20, this research is critical. It is consistent with the organization's dedication to long-term development, economic progress, and international cooperation. The chapter intends to give actionable insights that empower G20 countries to harness the power of tourism as a dynamic force for building their economies, nurturing cultural understanding, and conserving the environment by focusing on the transformative potential of green tourism.

The chapter intends to provide a thorough knowledge of the numerous benefits of green tourism within the G20 framework through an in-depth exploration of the intricate linkages between tourism, economic growth, international relations, and environmental sustainability. The study's findings have the potential to be a helpful resource, guiding policymakers, engaging tourism stakeholders, and encouraging environmental advocates to work together to construct a more balanced, inclusive, and sustainable global tourist landscape. By bringing these goals together, we can pave the path for a brighter future in which tourism becomes a catalyst for positive change on several fronts, pushing progress and leaving a prosperous legacy for future generations.

India's Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) agenda in G20

P. Harshvardhan and Yashica

Introduction

Every society is supported by its infrastructure systems, which offer vital services including energy, water, waste management, transportation, and telecommunications. Physical infrastructure has historically been the backbone of economic development. However, digitisation has transformed global economic interactions and structures, especially digital infrastructure. In order to fully utilise the economic opportunities presented by digitalization, a strong and inclusive infrastructure, both digital and physical, is necessary. This infrastructure should be collaborative and support social and economic progress with a focus on human-centric approaches. The development of Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) is one way to achieve this goal.

Like other infrastructures, digital public infrastructures are the tools and systems required to make digital life function. As is the case in all phenomena, there is no single definition of DPI. The World Bank's Identification for Development project defines DPI as digital platforms —including the institutional and legal frameworks around them that enable the provision of essential society-wide functions and services.

Germany's GovStack defines DPI as solutions and systems, which enable the effective provision of essential society-wide functions and services in the public and private sectors. However, a broad definition considering different stands on the same can be formulated. DPI comprises foundational population-scale technology systems on which the digital economy operates, such as identity systems, payment systems, data exchanges, and social registries. They are society-wide, digital capabilities that are essential to participation in society and markets as a citizen, entrepreneur, and consumer in a digital era. They are essential for public and private service delivery, i.e., collaboration, commerce, and governance. They allow data to flow seamlessly while accomplishing basic, but widely useful functions at a societal scale. At its simplest, DPI can be understood as an intermediate layer in the digital ecosystem. It sits atop a physical layer (including connectivity, devices, servers, data centres, routers, etc.), and supports an apps layer (information solutions to different verticals, e-commerce, cash transfers, remote education, telehealth, etc.). DPI acts as a connective platform layer, offering registries for the unique ID of people, payments infrastructure, data exchange, consent networks, and so forth.

Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) refers to the use of digital technologies for the provision of various public services and management of public resources by the government. During the Covid-19 pandemic, countries with robust digital platforms were able to provide 51 percent of their citizens with financial aid, through digital means; the reach was a far lower 16 percent in countries that could not rely on digital databases and platforms. As a response to the pandemic, countries across the globe are increasing their DPI investments. The G20 summits have continuously stressed on the importance of digitization for over a decade. India, under its presidency has now introduced DPI development as a key priority area in the Digital Economy Working Group meetings. The objective of the chapter is to understand the development of DPI and its key prospects for citizens around the world, and the pioneering role India can play in the development of strong DPI globally through its G20 presidency.

Security Cooperation within the G20 Framework

Soumya Sinha

Introduction

The G20, consisting of 19 significant world economies and the European Union, conducts annual summits with a focus on financial markets and the global economy. These economies collectively account for a significant share, representing 90% of global GDP, 80% of global trade, and 67% of the world's population. Within the G20, each country designates a Sherpa to strategize and provide guidance on behalf of their respective leader. The G20's efforts are divided into two main tracks: finance and broader topics such as political engagement, anti-corruption measures, and development. Furthermore, the G20 forum involves active participation from 10 engagement groups, encompassing the private sector, civil society, and independent bodies. To ensure balanced representation, the G20 presidency rotates annually among its members. Notably, the G20 functions without a permanent headquarters or a secretariat, and its decisions are based on recommendations rather than being treaty-based.

Over time, the G20's role has evolved and expanded beyond just economic matters. The forum recognized that economic stability is closely linked to broader global challenges, including security issues. As a result, the G20 has gradually broadened its scope to encompass discussions on security cooperation, particularly in addressing issues related to counter-terrorism, cyber security, and other shared security concerns. This research paper aims to explore security initiatives within the G20 with a specific focus on human security, understanding its significance in the ever-changing global security landscape.

In traditional approaches to security, the emphasis has been on state-centric interests, military defence, and geopolitical strategies. However, the notion of human security, introduced in the United Nations

Development Programme's 1994 Human Development Report, brought about a paradigm shift. Human security centres on safeguarding individuals' well-being and protection, transcending traditional state borders to address a wide range of threats. It encompasses economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, and personal security, recognizing the inseparability of these dimensions in people's lives.

The rationale for studying security cooperation within the G20 lies in its composition and influence. The G20 represents major economies, collectively responsible for a significant portion of the world's economic output and population. Its policies and actions have far-reaching implications for global security, making it essential to explore how member states engage in security cooperation and respond to human security concerns.

The post-Cold War era has witnessed a transformation in global security challenges. Non-state actors, such as transnational terrorist organisations, cybercriminals, and organised crime networks, have emerged as formidable threats. Additionally, non-traditional challenges, like pandemics, climate change, and economic disparities, have taken centre stage, underscoring the importance of addressing human security issues.

Although the G20 initially focused on economic matters, it has gradually incorporated security concerns into its agenda. Early discussions revolved around counter-terrorism efforts and the fight against money laundering and terrorist financing. Over time, the G20 broadened its security cooperation to include cyber threats, food security, energy security, climate change, and other non-traditional challenges.

The effectiveness of the G20's security cooperation is shaped by the diversity of interests, priorities, and capabilities among its member states. While some countries possess robust security apparatuses and resources, others face more pressing development challenges. Finding common ground for effective security cooperation is a complex task.

Despite the expansion of the G20's security agenda, the full integration of human security principles has been a gradual process. Traditional state-centric approaches and geopolitical interests have sometimes overshadowed human security concerns. Nevertheless, commendable efforts have been made to incorporate human security dimensions, particularly in areas such as health security, humanitarian assistance, and disaster response.

Conclusion

The research tends to outline India's significant role within the G20 and its implications for the evolving landscape of multilateralism, emphasizing a need for reformed multilateral approaches within the current international system. The focus on India's engagement in the G20 has highlighted its position as a representative of the Global South and a key player in shaping a contemporary geopolitical reality. Through examining India's evolving perspective on multilateralism and international organizations, the research delineates a new rhetoric and direction for Indian foreign policy. Moreover, India's Presidency and the subsequent symbolic passing of the gavel to Brazil mark a unique opportunity for countries of the Global South to take the lead in shaping and influencing international politics.

The research looks at how India contributes to shaping international norms, particularly through its active involvement in the G20. This includes its efforts towards a fairer and more inclusive world order, especially in areas like climate finance and sustainable development. Additionally, the research focuses on exploring how India is embracing the digital era and the importance of collaboration in this area.

While the research intends to provide a foundational understanding of India's role in the existing framework within the G20, a deeper examination of specific domains like digital infrastructure and climate finance is needed to grasp the intricacies of India's contributions and influence in the evolving global landscape. These areas represent critical facets of international cooperation and have the potential to shape the future of security and sustainability on a global scale.

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