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India in the international climate negotiations: from traditional nay-sayer to dynamic broker

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1. Introduction

This paper explores some of the general ideas on country positions, strategies and success in the international climate negotiations (see Bailer 2011 and Weiler 2011) for the specific case of India. India is of particular interest for a number of reasons: First, in international climate negotiations, it has emerged as a highly relevant player in recent years. Second, it combines features of high vulnerability to climate change (due to persistent poverty and a high share of agriculture in GDP) with large and increasing own greenhouse gas emissions, ranking fourth after China, the US and Japan. Thus India is relevant both as a victim of historical (and current) emissions by industrialized countries, and as a major polluter that could, on its own, contribute substantially to a containment of future global emissions. Third, India is also becoming an economic power, whereby the large overall size of the economy amplifies the internationally perceived relevance of its impressive growth rates during the last two decades. This has led a number of scholars to re-examine India's general role in international negotiations, e.g., with regards to international trade and nuclear proliferation. While certain authors argue that India's economic take-off in the early 1990s has also led to a significant change in its international negotiation strategy (see, in particular, Mohan 2003), others argue that the trend is not yet clear (Narlikar 2006). In this paper, we will examine their arguments in the context of international climate policy, a relatively new policy field that became relevant only in the late 1980s / early 1990s, i.e. at a time when India was already about to shift to a more liberal economic policy regime and to start its impressive growth spurt. In this context, we will draw a comprehensive picture of India's current climate policy stance, the way the country argues at the international level, and the roots of this negotiation behaviour in both historical developments and India's current national political economy. By doing so, we draw from existing work on Indian climate policy (see, in particular, Dubash 2009a,b,c, Vihma 2011, Ahuja 2009, Michel and Pandya 2009, and Gupta et al. 2001).

As opposed to these earlier studies, our primary approach is a comparative one. First, we try to compare India's role in global climate policy with its role in other fields of global negotiations, notably with the objective to determine whether we can observe the change in international negotiation strategies that remains disputed in other policy areas. In a way, we thereby provide a new case study for the propositions regarding the shift of negotiation strategies advanced in Narlikar (2006). Second, we compare India's strategies with those used by other countries in international climate policy. In this context, we make use of a novel, hand-coded dataset we compiled on the basis of interviews with negotiators, official country submissions, and daily summaries of sessions of the negotiations of the process under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) published in the Earth Negotiations Bulletin (ENB). With respect to official submissions and ENB, our information covers all

negotiation rounds from Bali (December 2007) to Copenhagen (December 2009) (for further details, see Annex 1 in Weiler 2011, and Castro, Hörnlein and Michaelowa 2011).

Following this introduction, Section 2 will provide a brief review of India's international negotiation behaviour in non-climate related policy areas. Section 3 then traces the development of India's positions and negotiation strategies in international climate policy. Section 4 takes a closer look at how its positions can be explained on the basis of its domestic political economy. Section 5 focuses on current negotiation strategies and specific elements that may affect India's chances to be successful, while Section 6 discusses the success actually achieved on the basis of the adopted positions and strategies. Finally, Section 7 provides some conclusions and a brief reflection upon possible lessons learnt for other developing countries.

2. The general development of India's role in the international arena

India has traditionally been very active in international negotiations, much more than other countries at comparable levels of per-capita income, and much more than other large developing countries such as, for instance, China, which completely isolated itself from the outside world after the communist revolution (see, e.g., Short 1999).

Already at the dawn of independence in August 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru's celebrated speech "Tryst with Destiny" to the Indian Constituent Assembly demonstrated India's high aspirations as to its role at the global level. This attitude of the country's first Prime Minister was based on the pride of a 6000-year old civilization and on the size of the country that was equated with a great reservoir of manpower and economic development. In addition, it was based on the perception of India's war and peace potentials as a strategic location in the Eastern Hemisphere that – according to Asaf Ali, the Indian ambassador in Washington in 1948 – came close to the potentials of the US in the Western Hemisphere (Ali 1948, p. 24). On this basis, the Indian government expressed the country's responsibility for joining forces with the major world leaders to settle all relevant global problems of humanity. Interestingly, in this context, from the very beginning, the necessity to well manage the world's natural resources was explicitly mentioned within these responsibilities (Ali 1948).

In his speech to the Indian Constituent Assembly, Jawaharlal Nehru also expressed the expectation that the world would soon recognize the global role that India deserved (Khilnani 1997). Based on this expectation, Nehru's support of multilateralism was so strong that Rana (1970, p. 49) draws the – perhaps slightly questionable – comparison that the UN for Nehru was like a Hindu deity for a pandit. With great rhetorical skills and his own charisma, Nehru interpreted the Indian historical traditions "*with a view to projecting the image of a country which could exercise a leadership role without possessing the acceptable essentials of power*" (Rana 1970, p. 53).

At least during the early Cold War times this strategy indeed appeared relatively successful, with India playing a key role in the Non-Aligned Movement. Despite widespread poverty and economic stagnation – with the proverbial "Hindu rate of growth" (Krishna 2007) of 3.5% that was at times insufficient to even compensate population growth – India became an internationally highly relevant mediator and negotiator between the Blocks, as well as a recognized leader for the new African and Asian countries joining the UN in the 1950s and 1960s. India was similarly successful in promoting both its policy positions and its international leadership role outside the UN. During the GATT negotiations, for instance, India strongly argued for exemptions for developing countries from the intended reciprocal tariff reductions, a position that eventually found its reflection in the "special and differential treatment" provision (Narlikar 2006, p. 63).

Apart from the personality of India's leading diplomats including the Prime Minister himself, the literature suggests a number of factors that may have been important for the country's success in international negotiations. India's well-trained elite, well-versed in the use of the English language, and experienced in the international arena through a high representation in international organization obviously represented a key advantage. To a certain degree, such internal power resources may compensate for a lack of external power resources such as economic or military strength.

In terms of strategic orientation, India showed a consistently strong level of international activity in a large number of areas, even when they were not directly relevant for India itself (Rana 1970). It thus took over responsibility for others and willingly adopted a leadership role. It seems that being an accepted leader for smaller developing countries not directly linked to one of the two big blocks was in itself considered a relevant diplomatic objective of the Indian elite. India thereby based its position on highly value-loaded arguments based on fairness, equality and justice, and on strategic neutrality between the two major international powers. Once India adopted and defended a position in such way, it showed little tendency to compromise, but rather left the session or used other "effect creating strategies" if discussions did not turn in the way desired (Rana 1970, p. 65).

Starting in the mid-1960s, when the Kashmir issue became more and more politically salient, and India became dependent on the Soviet Union for defending its case, Indian diplomats faced more difficulties on the international arena. India perceived the need to become a strong military (and also nuclear) power to face its neighbours Pakistan and China. This led to certain political moves that – at the international level – were widely conceived as inconsistent with India's value-loaded arguments and reduced their moral appeal. Notably the nuclear bomb tests in 1974 and 1998 led to wide-spread international protests and a suspension of development assistance by major donors. India never signed the comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT) although it had initially been a driving force behind the efforts to initiate such an agreement (Narlikar 2006, p. 67).

India's strong dependency on the Soviet Union to ensure that no undesirable decision would be taken at the UN Security Council with respect to the Kashmir issue also reduced the international credibility of its strict position of non-alignment. India's abstention from a UN condemnation of the Soviet Union's violent repression of the Czech revolt in 1968 – which repeated itself in 1980 regarding a UN resolution condemning the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan - was widely interpreted as a kowtow towards the Soviet authorities. At the same time, the Soviet Union itself increasingly let India feel that it saw no need to always reciprocate its supportive stance. Even in their general attitude, Soviet diplomats demonstrated their superiority, which greatly frustrated their Indian counterparts (Rana 1970, p. 66, especially fn. 58); this however changed in the 1980s when the Soviet Union courted India.

Generally, the late 1960s and early 1970s marked a period in which India started to appear less successful in the international arena, and this persisted until the late 1980s. Despite the temporarily reduced credibility and moral appeal of its positions, the country continued to rely on a Third Worldist diplomacy based on strict distributive strategies that are characterized by high opening demands, an argumentation based on irrevocable moral principles, and a refusal to make concessions during the course of the negotiations. Narlikar (2006) and Narlikar and Odell (2006) provide a number of examples that these strategies often failed to bring about any substantive gain, at least in the short run. Coalitions forged around fundamental principles without any agreed fallback position typically turned out to be unstable, with most of the members eventually agreeing to concessions leading to side-payments, and only India staying firm and losing even the opportunity of side-payments at the end. This characterises, for instance, the situation of the G10, a group of developing countries blocking the start of the Uruguay round within the GATT (Narlikar 2006, p. 64), as well as the situation of the Like

Minded Group (LMG) blocking the start of the Doha round within the WTO (Narlikar and Odell 2006). In both cases, some developing countries had decided to make their agreement to any further move conditional on prior unreciprocated concessions, in particular: the non-inclusion of services into the talks (G10), and the consideration of implementation cost (LMG). Interestingly, the latter falls into a period where India itself had clearly moved towards a liberalized open market economy (with a particular strength in services) and could, in principle, reap great benefits from progress made in the international trade negotiations.

While India thus gained little in terms of the policy issues at stake, it gained a reputation of a strong leader, credibly holding to its initial positions and faithful to the group (Narlikar 2006, p 63). The experience of India being ready to accept foregone benefits and actual substance-based losses for the sake of its once chosen principle also increases its chance to present a credible threat during future negotiations (Narlikar 2007).

Generally, short-term losses may be offset by long-term benefits. In nuclear policy, immediate negative reactions and sanctions after the 1998 bomb tests quickly faded and eventually led to an agreement with the US that implicitly acknowledged India's membership in the ranks of the peaceful nuclear power states.

Overall, the literature tends to conclude that despite short-term defeats, India has usually been a relatively successful player in the international arena. It was clearly more visible in the negotiations than other countries at comparable levels of per-capita income, and achieved a respected leadership position, at least within the non-aligned developing countries. For the Indian diplomacy, this seems to have represented a success in itself. However, as especially the more recent examples clarify, success in terms of recognition did not necessarily go hand in hand with success in terms of reaching desired outcomes. In terms of substantive results, the evidence is mixed, but overall, also appears to tend towards the positive side.

The success achieved may be partially due to the sheer size of the country, but other factors such as fluency in English linked to the high education level of the elite (often also with degrees from western universities), strong experience in the international civil service, and, in particular, a distinctive set of negotiation strategies also determined its international role and recognition.

India's negotiation strategy was generally characterized by its civilizational rhetoric, and its appeal to moral, Third Worldist imperatives – or, more generally, its strict distributive character. This in turn implied that India became known as a traditional "nay-sayer", accepting neither compromise nor side-payments (most prominently expressed by Cohen 2001, pp. 66ff.; see also Narlikar 2006, p. 76). In the current WTO negotiations, the Indian negotiator was given the nickname of "Dr. No".[2]

While successful under certain circumstances, this type of negotiation strategy also bears a number of risks. As illustrated above, direct success in terms of policy outcomes strongly depends on the cohesion of the coalition and the credibility of the threat, and both vary depending on policy issues, economic incentives and partners involved. Moreover, a nay-saying attitude tends to pressurize for certain principles at the expense of any progress being made at all. In areas in which international collective action is generally beneficial to India, blocking progress in such way appears counter-productive. Latest by the early 1990s when India became aware of the benefits of open markets for its own economic growth, its attitude in the context of the WTO thus became questionable. Narlikar (2007) underscores that while India might now be able to veto undesired outcomes in international negotiations, this does not mean that it can actually obtain its preferred outcomes. As we will see, the situation is similar in international climate policy since India itself is highly vulnerable to climate change.

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[2] We thank Dan J. Kim for pointing this out to us.

In addition, India's recent growth spurt has provided the country with exogenous[3] power resources that could be used to complement its traditional strategy. International recognition as an emerging economy with markets highly attractive for exports and foreign investment, strong own export sectors (notably in services), and even the rising ability to provide development aid to poorer countries such as Afghanistan, has gradually led India into a remarkably different position from that of a large, but desperately poor country that largely characterized its global image throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

Driven by these developments, some observers already see an important shift in India's international negotiation strategies. According to Mohan (2003) India effectively changed from a "porcupine" into a "tiger". The porcupine metaphor thereby reflects India's traditional defensive, distributive strategy: The porcupine has its fixed position and shows its spikes rather than to move. In contrast, while also being strong and not expected to give in more easily than a porcupine, the tiger is a versatile and quickly moving animal that symbolises the new dynamics starting in the early 1990s. As a tiger, India should be more self-confident, advancing new ideas and proposals and solutions acceptable to all rather than defending firm positions fixed once for all. A move from porcupine to tiger would thus stand for a shift towards mixed strategies with a considerable value creating element.

Based on her observations of the above-mentioned counter-productive strategies in trade, Narlikar (2006, 2007) cautions against such early diagnostics. One important aspect she highlights in this context is public opinion. As in any democracy, Indian politicians closely observe the discussion of their activities in the media. And, according to Narlikar, the media largely reflect the traditional "porcupine" position, i.e. they usually expect Indian representatives at the international level to insist on the normative positions initially adopted, no matter what the cost may be. Interviews carried out by Narlikar in 2003 and 2004 strongly support this observation. For instance, a member of the Indian delegation to the WTO states: *"It is easier for a minister to come home empty-handed as a wounded hero, rather than to come back with something after having had to make a compromise."* Other interviewees also confirm that the Nehruvian spirit of self-sufficiency and anti-imperialism, linked to a "strong colonial mindset" is, still today, deeply rooted in public opinion (Narlikar 2006, p 72).

Getting back to our focus on the global problem of climate change, what does this imply? We should expect that the factors described above as major domestic and international drivers of Indian diplomacy also play a role in international climate policy. What are the Indian positions and strategies adopted in this context, and can we observe any change over time, from hard to soft strategies and from a purely defensive stance to a more proactive leadership role? If there is such a general shift from porcupine to tiger diplomacy, we should be able to identify it more clearly than previous studies since our observations cover the years until 2011 including highly relevant recent negotiation rounds such as in Copenhagen in 2009. Similarly, we can follow the domestic debate in this particular policy area and observe its development over time until mid-2011. This will allow us to trace the parallels between the development of India's international positions and strategies on the one hand, and the development of public opinion as reflected by the national media, on the other hand.

Let us begin with an overview of the historical development of India's role in the international climate negotiations since their start in the late 1980s.

3. India's role in international climate negotiations

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[3] Exogenous (as opposed to endogenous) power resources are those that are not determined by the negotiation strategy itself. Exogenous power resources are sometimes also called "external" power resources.

India has been a key player in the international climate negotiations since their start. A good account of the early years can be found in Gupta et al. (2001, p. 329ff.). Initially, the Indian position was determined by just a few officials, without much general interest being taken in the issue (Rajan 1997, pp. 19ff., Vihma 2011, p. 13). At one of the first international conferences in the Dutch city of Nordwijk in 1989, the Indian delegate argued against emission targets for developing countries, but called for mechanisms to involve these countries in the international process. Industrialized countries should reduce emissions and cover the costs of emission reductions implemented in developing countries. We thus observe the willingness to participate in the global negotiation process, but, at the same time, an unambiguous refusal to participate in the burden sharing, which India clearly considers as a responsibility of the North who generated the problem in the first place.

The first in-depth national (and international) discussion of the Indian position on global climate policy was triggered by the publication of country-specific greenhouse gas emission data by the Washington-based World Resources Institute (WRI) in 1990, which focused on the current rather than the cumulated level of emissions, and pointed at India as a major culprit due to the country's high methane emissions from rice cultivation. While the estimate of US emissions reached 3.67 billion t CO_2 equivalent, India's value was 0.84 billion, of which 43% were attributed to methane (WRI 1990, p 349). Overall, the report held developing countries responsible for 45% of the global problem at hand. The WRI numbers led to an angry rebuttal by the Indian NGO "Centre for Science and Environment" (Agarwal and Narain 1991). It did not only point at the questionable assumptions underlying the WRI's calculations, but also argued for a differentiation between "luxury emissions" in the North and "survival emissions" in the South. Moreover, it underscored that emissions should be accounted for on a per capita basis and considering historical responsibility. Consequently, the Indian position hardened and called even more strongly for differentiated responsibilities and far-reaching technology transfer. India became a faithful supporter of a unified G 77 position that sketched a clear divide between poor developing countries in need of resources for further development on the one side, and rich industrialized countries with a historical responsibility for the problem of global climate change and thus the moral responsibility to carry all the cost involved with remedial action on the other side. For India, the issue addressed fundamental questions of equity, and from this perspective, its positions reflected a moral imperative rather than a simple policy stance (Mathur and Varughese 2009, p. 43).

To a large extent, this clearly reflects what we have seen earlier in other areas of international negotiation. Strong morally loaded arguments on fairness and responsibility, and high opening demands on industrialized countries carrying all the cost are typical characteristics of India's traditional defensive, distributive strategy, while obviously being in India's self-interest. In the context of climate change, these moral arguments are undeniably well founded – as opposed to other policy areas such as trade policy where they might be more questionable.

A second parallel to international negotiations in other policy areas, well illustrated at the example of international trade, is India's role within developing country coalitions (here: G77). The strong pressure for differentiated rules depending on capacity (income) and responsibility (here: historical emissions) is also very characteristic for the Indian negotiation behaviour in general.

The principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" enshrined in the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the resulting separation of countries in Annex I (industrialized countries) and Non-Annex I (developing countries) eventually satisfied this major Indian demand. According to Jakobsen (1999), the formulation itself corresponded to an Indian proposal that was acceptable for both, northern advocates of "common responsibilities" and southern proponents of a "main responsibility of industrialized countries" (Vihma 2011, p. 10). However, not much is known about India's specific role in

achieving this agreement since the related negotiations happened behind closed doors; for example Saudi Arabian negotiators also claim having invented this principle.

In any case, this success changed the Indian attitude towards the overall process. Thus, towards the mid-1990s, the Indian negotiation strategy begins to clearly show some initial, novel features as compared to its traditional stance. From a defensive, distributive strategy, India switched – at least temporarily – to the role of a dynamic broker. When the negotiations leading to the Kyoto Protocol started seriously in 1995 at the first Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC (COP 1) in Berlin, India broke ranks with the forces within G77 that wanted to retard progress (mainly the OPEC countries that feared that climate policy would reduce oil demand and thus their export revenues). In a green paper, India called for a 20% emission reduction by industrialized countries in the year 2000 compared to 1990 levels, essentially putting its weight behind the protocol proposal of the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS). In less than one week, India rallied over 100 supporters within G77, the so-called "green group" and isolated OPEC (Dunn 1995). Thus, India was crucial in securing the "Berlin Mandate".[4]

During subsequent years, market mechanisms to trade emission reductions became a major issue in the international climate negotiations. India showed some flexibility by adjusting its initially strong opposition (based on the general normative principle that access to the atmosphere should not be made saleable) to cautious support. However, COP 3 in Kyoto did not see a re-emergence of India as radiant leader of the green group. Instead, Brazil's cooperation with the US, which led to the emergence of the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), caught India by surprise. The resulting key role of market mechanisms in the Kyoto Protocol clearly did not reflect the Indian position. Subsequently, India returned into the main G77 fold and contributed to the delay of the negotiations. But when the failure of COP 6 at the Hague in 2000 and the subsequent repudiation of the Kyoto Protocol by US president Bush led to the risk of a total collapse of international climate policy, India was eager to support the resurrection of the Kyoto process at COP 6 (part 2) in Bonn in June 2001, and the codification of this agreement at COP 7 in Marrakech later in the same year. By hosting COP 8 in Delhi in 2002, India showed its full commitment to the international process, but remained firm in its rejection of emissions commitments for developing countries.

In sum, during this period, India shifted between different strategies. One might interpret this attitude as an initial move towards a mixed strategy whereby distributive tactics are softened by selected integrative moves. This would correspond to what Narlikar (2007, p. 992ff.) suggests as a difficult, but potentially very effective negotiation strategy for a country like India. Alternatively, one might interpret the shift between strategies during this period as a reflection of different positions within the Indian diplomacy, and thus a situation in which it was not clear which side would eventually gain the upper hand.

The COP in Delhi allowed Indian negotiators to get exposed, for the first time, to the full range of climate policy stakeholders. Facilitated by the increased spread of information and dedicated capacity building programs of several industrialized countries, the Indian business community became aware of climate policy and the opportunities offered by the CDM, and quickly started to pressurize government to be able to sell emission credits. As a consequence of this lobbying through business, the previously rather reticent Indian position regarding market mechanisms reversed shortly after COP 8, now fully embracing the CDM, setting up the national CDM project approval authority in December 2003 and rapidly becoming a leading country in hosting such projects (Shukla et al. 2004; see also Section 4.2 below).

In the same year as the COP in Delhi, Indian scientist Pachauri was elected to head the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). This raised the attention to the topic

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[4] The "Berlin Mandate" agreed to start negotiations about a protocol to the UNFCCC that should include emissions commitments of Annex I countries, and that should be completed by 1997. Eventually, this led to the Kyoto Protocol.

within the domestic scientific community. Pachauri, who was initially seen as a puppet of the US[5], quickly showed his wits and became the symbol of world climate change science, especially after the IPCC received the Nobel peace price in 2007.

In 2004 the preparation of the first national communication to the UNFCCC, a report containing data on all relevant aspects of climate change and intended mitigation and adaptation action, again provided an opportunity to involve a large number of local actors into a national dialogue about climate policy. By the mid-2000s, key Indian social scientists were openly calling for an active Indian mitigation and adaptation strategy (Sathaye et al. 2006). From their perspective, the traditional Indian negotiation position was seen as increasingly outdated and counter-productive, since a failure in global mitigation due to Southern intransigence would lead to huge climate change impacts on India itself (Rajamani 2007).

Nevertheless, when a new epoch in climate policy was opened by the entry into force of the Kyoto Protocol in early 2005 and the opening of post-2012 climate negotiations at COP 11 in Montreal, India remained steadfast in its defence of "common but differentiated responsibilities". Moreover, India blocked a discussion of climate change in the UN Security Council in early 2007 with the argument that it was uncertain. At the run-up to the Bali COP in 2007, negotiator Prodipto Ghosh stressed that "nothing in the Protocol provides for non-Annex I to commit to GHG abatement post-2012" and reaffirmed the principle of allocating emissions allowances per-capita and accounting for historical responsibility. Moreover, he reiterated India's position that technology transfer from industrialized countries should take place without any strings attached (Ghosh 2007).

However, he also introduced a new element, stating that India would ensure that on a per-capita basis India would not exceed Annex I greenhouse gas emissions. This commitment – while obviously not relevant in the short term due to the huge gap between Indian and Annex I per capita emissions – was made by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh himself with the perspective of moving towards a convergence of long-term per-capita emissions (Jha 2009, p. 33). In addition, regarding market mechanisms, the Indian approach became highly liberal, calling for simplified methodologies in the CDM and its expansion to technologies such as nuclear power that are currently excluded.

When the Bali Action Plan endorsed the principle of "nationally appropriate mitigation actions" (NAMAs) in developing countries, it probably reflected India's position fairly well, preserving the opposition against binding commitments for developing countries, but accepting that mitigation should also be done by developing countries. The National Action Plan on Climate Change (NAPCC) released in June 2008 shortly before the G8 summit further demonstrated India's willingness to participate in the global mitigation effort as long as this effort was self-determined and did not hamper economic growth (Jha 2009, p. 33).

In Bali, COP 15 in Copenhagen had been defined as the deadline to agree on a comprehensive post-2012 climate policy framework. Immediately before Copenhagen, the Indian position emphasized not to accept any national emission commitments, a specific year for peaking of global emissions or international verification of NAMAs (Dubash 2009b).

However, at the same time, India announced a self-imposed intensity goal of reducing carbon emissions per unit of GDP by 20–25% from the 2005 levels until 2020. While this may not sound very ambitious, notably when compared to the Chinese objective of reducing emission intensity by 40-45% (equally announced before COP 15 in Copenhagen), it should be taken into account that the Indian emission intensity is already much lower than the Chinese one and even lower than that of a typical OECD country. Therefore Indian energy intensity is more difficult to reduce further as compared to China where the potential is immense across all types of industry (Jacob 2010, p. 441).

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[5] A NGO representative commented Pachauri's election as follows: "The Bush Administration and the fossil fuel industry cynically promoted Dr. Pachauri's election in hopes that the IPCC, under his leadership, would be less credible and effective than under Dr. Watson [his predecessor]" (Bagla 2002, p. 4).

In Copenhagen itself, India again took a leading role, enhanced through its membership in the newly formed group of advanced developing countries (Brazil, South Africa, India and China: BASIC). Given the economic relevance of this group of countries and its relevance for the development of global emissions, it was clear from the outset that no deal would be possible without the consent of this group. This effectively provided its members with a veto player position just as discussed by Narlikar (2007) in the context of other international policies. The alliance thus had a qualitatively very different meaning for India than its traditional coalitions within the G77. BASIC clearly represents a strong middle power coalition with the potential to play a decisive role in the negotiation process.[6] In fact, the final negotiation on the Copenhagen Accord brought together the heads of state of the US and BASIC, shunning the EU.

And even within BASIC, India managed to play a dominant role as its Chinese partners were ill prepared for the last minute discussions between heads of state. According to Conrad (2011, p. 7) the knowledgeable Chinese experts had already left the negotiation table when the relevant part of the negotiation actually started. The Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao had come only for ceremonial reasons and was insulated from the ongoing debates in order to shield him against any negative effect a failure of the negotiations could have on his personal reputation. India in turn, negotiated actively and quite successfully at this stage and was largely recognized as having contributed significantly to the Copenhagen Accord that reflected many of its core positions although it failed to bring about legally binding commitments by Annex I countries for the period post 2012. In the international media reporting on the Copenhagen failure, the "porcupine" role was largely attributed to China (Conrad 2011), rather than to India. India's dynamic Minister of Environment and Forestry, Jairam Ramesh (in office from May 2009 to July 2011) strongly contributed to this perception and actively presented India as a "deal maker" rather than a "deal breaker" (The Hindu 2009a). Already before Copenhagen, he realized the need for maximal flexibility during the last few days of the negotiations, and prevented the Indian parliament from defining parts of the Indian position as non-negotiable.

After Copenhagen, Ramesh took the bold step of publishing a new emissions inventory of India for the year 2007 without being required to do so by the UNFCCC (Ministry of Environment and Forests 2010), a step which China has avoided so far. And one year later Ramesh surprised some of his own negotiators when, at the plenary of COP 16 in Cancún, he stated that "all countries must agree to a legally binding commitment under an appropriate legal form" – thereby breaking with a long-standing paradigm of Indian international climate policy (Hindustan Times 2010).

Overall, the most recent period confirms a trend towards a mixed strategy, which appears to have strengthened after COP 8 in Delhi. The traditional defensive and strictly distributive Indian negotiation strategy lost more and more ground to selected integrative and increasingly proactive elements. In fact, the active participation of India became crucial to move the climate regime forward. In line with Mohan (2003) we thus observe a tendency for the transformation from "porcupine" to "tiger", but with a major strategic shift taking place only in the mid-2000s. As opposed to trade negotiations, some of this flexibility also extends to India's attitude towards its major coalition partners in G77 and BASIC. Despite the relevance of these coalitions, building sub-coalitions and proceeding with unilateral proposals without awaiting the consent of the group has not been considered a taboo by Indian climate negotiators in recent years.

In the literature on climate policy, the shift towards a more proactive and flexible strategy is also noted elsewhere (Vihma 2011, Shukla and Dhar 2011), and appears even in the title of certain articles: "From 'Obstructionist' to leading player: transforming India's international image" (Mathur and Varughese 2009).

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[6] On middle power coalitions and leadership, see Higgot and Cooper (1990).

However, traditional elements keep reappearing from time to time and for selected issues, albeit becoming less frequent. This comes in two different ways: First, India remains faithful to some of its traditional key principles such as differentiated responsibilities based on per-capita and historical emissions as well as economic capacity. This can be interpreted as part of a promising mixed strategy combining credible intransigence on some issues with flexibility and integrative, consensus oriented proposals on others.

Second, from time to time, India still falls back into unconvincing argumentations that appear mostly like half-hearted attempts to veil an unwillingness to move forward. The most obvious recent example of this attitude was India's blocking of the discussion of climate change in the UN Security Council in early 2007, with the claim that scientific evidence for anthropogenic climate change was not yet convincing enough. This type of attitude is clearly not in line with a well-designed, promising mixed negotiation strategy, but simply contradicts both, a wide scientific consensus, and also other statements of Indian diplomats themselves. In fact, such statements do not appear to be parts of a more complex and carefully designed overall negotiation strategy, but rather seem to reflect conflicting views of different forces within the Indian diplomacy. Various sources show that the government institutions and ministries involved are multiple, and that their cultures and traditions widely differ (Grover 2008, Vihma, pp. 13f.). While the Ministry of Environment and Forests currently has the lead for negotiations within the UNFCCC, the Ministry of External Affairs had the lead for the issues related to the UN Security Council. More generally, this indicates that the new strategic development with respect to international climate change policy is still fragile.

4. Finding a position – the domestic climate policy background

To understand India's positions and negotiation strategies at the international level, it is useful to examine the dynamics of the national debate. In this context, we can build on prior work, notably by Dubash (2009a,b,c) and Vihma (2011), which we update and complement based on a variety of additional sources. Let us first discuss who the main players are within the government and within civil society.

4.1. Domestic political actors driving the debate

As already mentioned above, at government level, several ministries are involved in climate change related issues. Overall, India has a daunting number of 77 ministers, 33 of which are members of the cabinet (Government of India 2011). The Ministry of Environment and Forests, which has the lead on international climate policy, only has a state minister without cabinet rank, which puts it in a structurally more difficult position. At the same time, there are separate ministries for (i) power, (ii) new and renewable energy, (iii) petroleum and natural gas, and (iv) coal, which are all represented in the cabinet. Responsibilities with respect to climate change are not clearly defined which leaves some room for inefficiencies, lack of cooperation and mutual competition In addition, various other ministries are concerned, such as the powerful Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of External Affairs, the Prime Minister's Office, and a variety of ministries with portfolios ranging from water and infrastructure to rural development. Theoretically, coordination between all these ministries is handled by the Planning Commission; however in practice its influence is limited (Dubash 2011, p. 68). Moreover, notwithstanding recent federal legislation processes, many energy related responsibilities rest with the individual states.

As in any federal democracy, parliament, both at federal and at state level may also become involved in the different topics at stake. In addition, India is generally known for a vibrant

civil society, a large number of research institutions (some of which meet the highest international quality standards), and well functioning media with a long tradition.

According to an interview with a senior member of the Indian delegation carried out at a Bonn meeting after Copenhagen, on 5 August 2010, the strongest domestic influence on the Indian negotiation position is exerted by the Ministry of Environment and Forests, by public opinion and by domestic media. As compared to their influence, the role of other ministries, of parliament, and of special interest groups or NGOs was considered only moderate. Given the structurally difficult situation of the Ministry of Environment and Forests, its strong position is rather surprising. How can we understand the strong role of an otherwise rather marginal ministry? We will come back to this question in the following sections.

Moreover, our interview only provides a snapshot of the situation in summer 2010. At the same time, the existing literature suggests that the power balance between the different players has considerably changed over time. We will thus try to trace this process since its beginning, building on a general framework by Dubash (2009a,c) that classifies domestic actors into different groups depending on their positions on domestic and international climate policy.

4.2. Domestic positions on climate policy: a general framework

Dubash (2009a,c) suggests a distinction between three groups of domestic actors: (i) the "growth first stonewallers", (ii) the "progressive realists", and (iii) the "progressive internationalists". These groups are cross-cutting the different types of public and private actors discussed above.

"Growth first stonewallers" are characterized by the traditional and still widely-shared position that climate policy is an issue India should not care about given its need for economic development that requires other priorities. The international request for India to curb its emissions is seen as a geopolitical threat and an attempt by industrialized countries to prevent India's rise to economic power, as emissions reductions invariably would reduce growth (see Purkayastha and Mandal 2010). India is perceived as a very small emitter, having contributed only marginally to the current stock of historical emissions, and as being too poor to be able to prioritize climate policy over economic development.

Indeed, India's per capita emissions from fossil fuel use in 2009 were just 1.4 t CO_2, against over 16 t CO_2 for Australia, Canada and the US, over 8 t CO_2 for a number of other countries such as Germany, the UK, the Netherlands, Russia, Japan, Ukraine, South Korea, South Africa, Saudi Arabia and Taiwan and 6.1 t CO_2 for China (Olivier and Peters 2010, p. 6). Its contribution to the stock of historical emissions in the mid-2000s was just about 2.3% as compared to 75% by Annex I countries, and about 29% by the US alone (Dubash 2009a, p. 2). At the same time, in 2005, 42% of the Indian population still lived under the international poverty line of 1.25 USD a day (PPP), and 76% under 2 USD a day (World Bank 2011). Moreover, with 78 million households without access to electricity (Dubash 2009a, p. 4) and mainly getting their energy from "dung cakes", i.e. dried livestock manure (Ministry of Energy and Forests 2010, p. 24), development without further emissions increase is hard to imagine. The comparison of five emissions scenarios by Climate Modelling Forum, India (2009, p. 9) gives a range of per capita emissions of 2.8 to 5.0 tonnes CO_2 for 2030 which would lead to a doubling to quadrupling of current absolute emissions.

In brief, the argument of the "stonewallers" is that India is neither responsible for the problem, nor can it do anything about it. Fighting against the consequences of climate change should be entirely dealt with by the industrialized countries that created the problem in the first place. This is exactly the position adopted traditionally by Indian diplomats at the international level (for an excellent summary see Sethi 2010).

According to Dubash (2009a,c), as opposed to the stonewallers, the two progressive groups do see the need for India to engage actively in climate change mitigation. They are aware that the country will itself be strongly hit by the consequences of climate change. Thus, rather than to see climate policy and economic development (or poverty reduction) as conflicting objectives, they see the complementarities. The two groups differ in the extent to which they have lost trust in the international community to solve the problem. Progressive realists call for proactive policies at the national level, but without linking these to the international negotiations. At the international level they agree with the stonewallers' defensive, value-claiming traditional diplomacy. This results in Indian propositions that avoid any commitments below the high end of the business as usual scenarios computed by the Climate Modelling Forum – allowing India to double emissions by 2020 and to quadruple them by 2030. The global emissions budget proposal of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (2010, p. 60) is a typical case. NGOs like the Centre for Science and Environment also belong to this group.

Conversely, progressive internationalists push for an active national climate policy that should be made known internationally, and used within the international negotiations to achieve concessions by other parties and to move the global process towards a successful global mitigation strategy. They include important research institutions such as TERI, IIM-Ahmedabad and IRADE.

4.3. Development over time

While the progressive groups are still relatively small, notably the internationally oriented one, Dubash (2009a), but also Vihma (2011) see some evidence for their strengthening and becoming more vocal over time. Four factors can be identified as the major drivers of this development. They affect the preferences of the different domestic actors and / or generally affect public opinion. The first two strengthen pro-active climate policy at the national level whereas the last two also increase the incentives for international cooperation:

(1)   Increasing awareness of climate change and of India being itself highly vulnerable.
(2)   Strong energy demand growth of the economy in the absence of sufficient domestic energy resources calling for energy-efficiency even independently of climate change considerations.
(3)   Direct economic and financial benefits from climate policy instruments agreed at the international level such as the CDM.
(4)   International pressure, not just from industrialized, but also from developing countries, that India should contribute to the global effort.

Ad (1): All available literature indicates that during the early years of international climate policy, this issue was hardly discussed in India itself. As mentioned above, first discussions emerged in 2002 when the COP 8 was held in Delhi, and Pachauri elected to head the IPCC, and a further push came with the IPCC's Nobel Price in 2007. Yet, according to interviews carried out by Vihma (2011, p. 14), until 2008, even the Indian elite was not generally conscious of the problems involved. In 2009, however, COP 15 in Copenhagen led to an unprecedented climate policy debate worldwide, which did not leave India unaffected. In 2009, more scientific articles on the Indian climate policy positions appeared than in the entire past (e.g., Ahuja 2009, Dubash 2009a,b,c, Joshi and Patel 2009, Kapur et al 2009, Rai and Victor 2009, Subramanian et al. 2009, UNDP 2009).

General awareness of climate change also triggered an understanding of the vast range of severe problems India itself would face in this context. They include increased risk of flooding due to sea-level rise and high variability of rainfall, but also of droughts. This has severe consequences for agriculture and food production. Moreover, there is a serious threat to India's overall water reservoir due to the melting of Himalayan glaciers (Mahanta 2009). As these developments will affect the whole region they will also induce migration flows and may even have effects on India's national security threat of refugee streams from Bangladesh (Chellaney 2009). These issues are increasingly present in the public discourse.

Ad (2): Along with the energy requirements of India's growing economy and the consumption needs of its large population, there is a rising awareness of a serious shortage of energy resources, especially oil and gas. Currently, India is largely dependent on oil imports. According to Noronha (2009, p. 9) this brings along problems related to price volatility, the economic cost of potential disruptions of supply, and geopolitical risks related to the main region of India's imports, namely southwest Asia and Nigeria. The same applies to natural gas, which is imported from the Middle East. While natural gas resources discovered offshore in the Krishna Godavari basin in 2002 seemed to reduce the problem for a while[7], these resources have turned out to be much smaller than initially predicted (Jayaswal 2011). While India is one of the world's largest coal producers, coal supply lags demand so that coal needs to be rationed by the government through so-called "coal linkages" (see e.g. Ministry of Power 2003). When Minister of Environment and Forests Ramesh enforced a policy that coal mines could not be set up on forest land, this caused uproar because 40 million tonnes of coal per year could not be produced. Eventually the policy was watered down substantially (Chauhan 2011). The lack of coal as well as its bad quality is a major factor in the notoriously unreliable electricity supply and high energy cost.

Bhushan (2009, p. 14) emphasises the effort of Indian entrepreneurs to reduce energy consumption in order to remain competitive. He further underscores that, in terms of purchasing power parities (PPP), Indian industry and commerce face power tariffs that are among the highest in the world. This is due to the cross-subsidization of electricity for the agricultural sector, which is essentially given for free. While the former suffer from the high price, the latter suffer from the irregularity of supply.

Energy efficiency has thus become an economic imperative, independently of environmental or climate policy concerns. In fact, even today, energy intensity (measured as kg of oil equivalent, kgoe, per USD of GDP) is remarkably low for an emerging economy at the current stage of development. It reached its peak as early as in 1985 and is declining since. With 0.16 kgoe per USD (PPP) it was below the OECD mean of countries like Germany in the mid 2000s (Bhushan 2009, p. 15). Yet, as compared to OECD countries, there is substantial scope for a further increase in energy efficiency since the range of technologies used in Indian industry is still very large. Along with a modern production sector, many small industries with more or less medieval technologies still continue to exist in sectors like pulp and paper or iron and steel (Bhushan 2009, p. 15).

Overall, energy security concerns implicitly strengthen the case for national climate policy in India. They generate economically motivated incentives not only for energy efficient production, but, also, at the policy level, for the search for and promotion of alternative renewable energy resources (solar, water and wind).

Ad (3): The CDM was introduced in 1997 as a mechanism under the Kyoto Protocol, but became operational only after the Kyoto Protocol procedures were fully defined at COP 7 in Marrakech in November 2001. As mentioned above, when COP 8 was held one year later in

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[7] At production start in 2009 the minister of petroleum enthusiastically stated that India would save 9 billion USD in oil imports (Press Trust of India 2009)

Delhi, Indian entrepreneurs became fully aware of this new mechanism and – once the national approval body had been set up in 2003 – started to develop the first projects. Figure 1 shows that in the first quarter of 2004 already, India had contributed about 25% of all CDM projects worldwide, and this share even reached over 50% in the fourth quarter of 2005. While China has captured the largest market share today, India is still the second largest CDM host country, way before Brazil that holds the third largest share.

Figure 1:   CDM projects in the pipeline in India, China, Brazil and Mexico (in % of all projects)
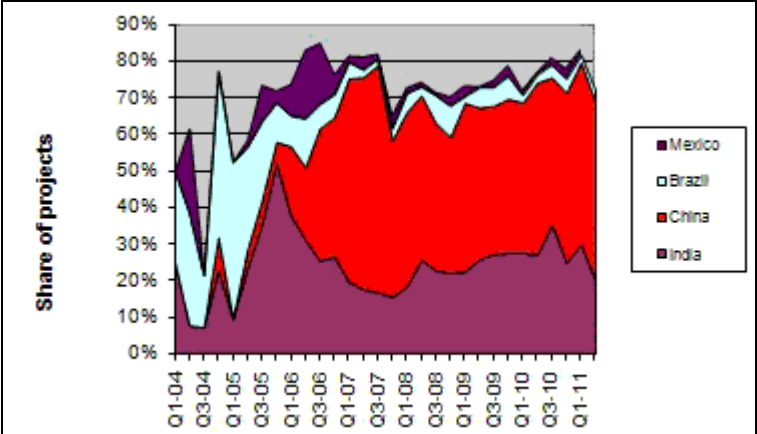
Source: UNEP Risø Centre (2011).

In mid-2011, India had a total number of 1 653 projects in the CDM pipeline, estimating a total of 418 million Certified Emission Reductions (CERs) to be generated until the end of the first commitment period in 2012 (UNEP Risø Centre 2011). If we exclude those projects in the pipeline that have not yet been registered by the CDM Executive Board (so that the issuance of CERs until 2012 is not very realistic any more), still 261 million CERs would accrue (UNEP Risø Centre 2011). As Indian CDM project developers have mostly spent own funds on the CDM projects, they did not have to sell the CERs cheaply in the form of forward contracts, but could wait until CERs were actually issued. At the average price of 12.6 € per CER over the period in which issued CERs have been traded on exchanges (Bluenext 2011), this corresponds to private benefits of around 3.3 billion € Apart from these direct benefits for Indian entrepreneurs, CDM projects indirectly support development in the host country, e.g. through technology transfer and the reduction of local air pollutants. However, according to UNFCCC (2010, p. 23), the share of Indian CDM projects that claimed technology transfer reached only 20% in 2005, rising to almost 40% in 2006 and 2007, before declining to just 10% from 2009 onwards. Overall, the bulk of the benefits from CDM in India thus accrued in terms of direct financial flows to Indian entrepreneurs.

In addition to benefits from the CDM, the international climate negotiation process requests industrialized countries to channel further financial resources to developing countries, for either adaptation to the consequences of climate change, or for technological adjustment to reach a low-emissions growth path. In the Copenhagen Accord industrialized countries pledged to spend an overall amount of 30 billion USD of fast track funding for the years 2010-2012, and 100 billion USD per year from 2020 onwards. Stadelmann et al. (2011) show that, so far, this type of finance is extremely intransparent. However, if concrete rules and criteria were designed for the allocation of these funds in future negotiation rounds (e.g. criteria on financial additionality), they could become a relevant source of funding for a country like India.

Over time, the international negotiation process has thus brought about new opportunities. The future development of the market mechanisms and the allocation of other climate finance

are of immediate economic interest for Indian entrepreneurs as well as for the Indian government. These developments increase the perceived relevance of the international climate negotiations within the Indian public.

Ad (4): Along with India's sustained growth performance, international pressure on India to take up own commitments regarding climate change mitigation has been mounting in recent years. While some authors believe that this has started to become counter-productive (Noronha 2009, p. 10), others suggest that this has actually produced a stronger debate within the country, and, eventually, a softening of traditional positions that seemed to be cast in stone for many years (Vihma 2011). When India, along with China, was blamed for the deadlock of the international negotiation process in 2009, India's diplomats fought against this negative image. As mentioned above, India's Minister of Environment and Forests Ramesh clearly strived for a positive international reputation as a dynamic and flexible broker, rather than a stubborn laggard preventing international progress.

The reaction might not have been so clear if the international criticism had only come from industrialized countries. However, it was also expressed by other developing countries such as Bangladesh or the Maldives. Based on an analysis of transcripts from the upper house of parliament, the Rajya Sabha, Vihma (2011, p. 15) reports that this was the central argument put forward by Ramesh when defending the international negotiation position he adopted at COP 15 in Copenhagen against the criticism from parliamentarians.

While distrust regarding industrialized countries and their willingness to take up a fair share of the international burden may still be rooted deeply in the beliefs of the Indian public, reporting of the media after the Copenhagen meeting also shows some pride that India has been part of the "compromise formula that saved the talks" (The Hindu 2009b).

4.4. Reflections in domestic media

The development of public opinion driving the gradual shift from "stonewallers" to "progressive realists" and further, to "progressive internationalists" is also reflected by the Indian media. While initially there was generally very limited debate over global environmental issues (Vihma 2011, p. 13), we observe a significant increase of media coverage over time.

To assess this development more systematically, we conducted a keyword search in the online edition of "The Times of India" - which is the oldest and most highly respected Indian newspaper - using the terms: climate, global warming, UNFCCC, IPCC, adaptation, mitigation, carbon and CDM. After cleaning for duplication or irrelevant context, we obtained a total number of 650 hits (including information until 6 August 2011).

Table 1 presents the results by sub-topic and year. Overall, we note that indeed, significant reporting on climate change related issues started only in 2009 with the preparation for Copenhagen and Jairam Ramesh taking up office as the responsible minister. The year 2009 appears to represent a real tidal shift for the role of climate change in the Indian media. In 2009, on average, the Times of India had an article on the topic every two out of three days. In earlier years, more or less only the CDM and impacts of climate change on national agriculture, food production, glacier melt, droughts, desertification, migration, sea-level rise and the like were covered – to a limited extent – in the press. Around Copenhagen, the discussion shifted towards international issues. National mitigation efforts, concrete steps towards adaptation and scientific debates (mainly related to the IPCC reports coordinated by Pachauri) contributed to a relatively lesser extent to the discussion, but reporting in these areas also increased over time.

Table 1: Discussion of climate policy in "The Times of India"

Year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011[1]
Total hits	**2**	**8**	**3**	**3**	**5**	**3**	**35**	**50**	**224**	**201**	**116**
of which:											
Impacts of climate change	2	4	2	1	0	0	4	5	29	30	22
CDM	0	2	1	0	5	3	12	13	30	26	19
Adaptation to climate change	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	4	6
Mitigation, national	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	21	17	18
Mitigation, international	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	5	8	2	3
International negotiations	0	1	0	1	0	0	3	6	98	74	23
Science	0	0	0	1	0	0	7	3	15	37	10

[1] Only until 6 August 2011 (date of data collection).
Source: The Times of India (2011).

4.5. The strong role of the Minister of Environment and Forests

The sea-level rise in media attention can be associated not only with COP15 in Copenhagen, but also with the personality of Minister Jairam Ramesh taking up office in the same year. The MIT-trained economist was already an experienced statesman who held other ministerial positions before moving into the Ministry of Environment and Forests. Moreover, he had gathered prior experience in international negotiations at the WTO. But even more importantly, he had been the manager of the government's successful national election campaign, which did not only bring him close to the Prime Minister, but also very close to domestic media. As a former journalist, he had had close ties to domestic media even before. As a Minister of Environment and Forests, he fed in his positions, and they were processed and published, and triggered public reactions. It seems that this led to a ping-pong action-reaction process of mutual influence between the public, the media, and the minister, strongly stimulating the domestic debate on national and international climate policy.

The personality of the minister can easily explain the strong role of his ministry after he came in office. What may be more unusual is to see such a strong character taking over this previously rather unimportant ministry. It would go beyond the scope of this paper to speculate about the underlying motivations. But clearly, Ramesh put all the dynamics and energy of his strong character into the relevant tasks, ready to challenge established opinions and not shying away from potential controversies.

The Indian press also reveals the power struggle between different positions within Indian politics. A letter from Minister Ramesh to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh before the Copenhagen meeting leaked to the Times of India. It clearly showed the Minister's intention to break with India's traditional defensive stance at the international level. The letter clarified the Minister's position who, until then, had tried to compensate his conciliatory signals to the international audience with traditional, strident messages for the reluctant domestic audience (Vihma 2011, p. 8). Even from within Minister Ramesh's own party and from India's environmental NGOs, this position faced strong criticism. In particular, Ramesh was accused to jeopardise the much needed financial and technological support by the West (Spiegel Online 2009).

His strong positions have led other high-level politicians to quit office. As reported by the Times of India (2010), Shyam Saran, the Prime Minister's special envoy on climate change

and India-US nuclear issues, and designated Minister of State, resigned in February 2010 given "ambiguity over his role now that environment minister Jairam Ramesh has been driving the country's climate policy". The article also indicates Saran's difficulties to accept the "radical policy shift" introduced by Ramesh and backed by the Prime Minister, and suggests that Saran's exit might further weaken those political forces that fear Ramesh's new dynamic and open international negotiation style.

Clearly, Jairam Ramesh is part of the "progressive internationalists", and his camp seems to have broadened over time. As the strong minister himself led to more discussion of the core policy fields under his responsibility in the media, the perceived relevance of these topics increased, thereby raising domestic awareness of climate change and the related national and international challenges.

Promoted to the rank of a Cabinet Minister and responsible for rural development in July 2011, Ramesh left the Ministry of Environment and Forests, and passed environmental issues over to the new minister Ms. Jayanti Natrajan. As a lawyer and Member of Parliament since 1986, she is a well-trained and experienced politician. Yet, her profile does not come close to Jairam Ramesh's, notably with respect to his relationship with domestic media. Thus, it is not yet clear to what extent the new drive in Indian climate policy will be sustainable without Minister Ramesh. Some observers of Indian climate policy fear that the changes may have been only "Ramesh-deep". [8] Initial evidence suggests that Natrajan will push for an intellectual property rights system granting developing countries free access to costly clean technologies to mitigate greenhouse gas emissions. This appears as a natural follow-up of prior Indian positions. Eventually, it remains to be seen which impact the cabinet reshuffling will have on India's future stance in international climate policy. If the current dynamics continue under the new minister, this will be a strong sign for the reliability of the new diplomatic strategy.

5. Negotiation strategies for international climate policy

In the following, we will provide an in-depth discussion of the recent Indian negotiation strategies, and see to what extent they reflect the development of the national discourse towards a more progressive stance on national and international climate policy. In this context, we will examine: (1) the positions officially submitted on a number of relevant issue areas, (2) the way India negotiates, (3) whom they cooperate with, and (4) the composition of the Indian delegation at the UNFCCC meetings.

As far as possible, the Indian data will be compared to data from other countries or country groups on the basis of our dataset compiled from interviews, official country submissions, and the ENB's daily negotiation summaries (cf. Section 1).

5.1. Indian positions at COP 13-15, 2007-2009

To determine country positions on the basis of official submissions, we use all submissions for the negotiation rounds from Bali to Copenhagen, apply a numerical coding procedure, and compute averages if the country has several submissions that are not identical (for all details on the data, see Weiler 2011, Annex 1). If the country itself does not make any submission, we use the submission of the country group it belongs to as a substitute. In the interviews, we ask country representatives which would be the relevant group to use in such cases. On the

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[8] The positions of external observers were reported in a personal communication by Benito Mueller, an Oxford based researcher involved for many years in capacity building for developing country negotiators in international climate policy.

central question of mitigation targets, Table 2 presents the results for India together with corresponding results for a selection of other country groups, namely the G77+China (in short here: G77) as the central group India traditionally identified itself with, the Association of Small Island States (AOSIS) as a group of countries for which strong emission targets are particularly salient, and the European Union (EU) representing the progressive end of positions within Annex I countries.

In addition, we present the individual answers given by the Indian delegate in our interview carried out at a Bonn meeting after Copenhagen, on 5 August 2010. He is a long-standing, experienced member of the delegation, with experience of the climate negotiation process since the early 1990s.

Table 2: Positions on mitigation targets

	India submissions	India interview	G77 country submissions	AOSIS country submissions	EU submissions
A. Annex I emission reduction targets for 2020 relative to 1990 (in %)	32.5	40	40.1 (5.0)	43.4 (1.2)	30.1
B. Commitments for developing countries (0= for none,…, 100=for all)	0	50	5.8 (22.4)	0	33.3

Note: Standard deviation in parenthesis where result is computed from submissions by more than one country.
Sources: Own coding of submissions and information from interviews (see Weiler 2011, Annex 1).

Table 2 reveals that the official Indian position on emission reduction targets for Annex I countries is very close to the EU position. The Indian delegate interviewed, however, shares the mean G77 position that comes close to the position put forward by AOSIS members and is substantially higher, demanding an additional reduction by about 10 percentage points (over 40% rather than 30% relative to 1990). This may reflect either some disillusionment over industrialized country attitudes in the aftermath of Copenhagen, or the variety of different (subjective) positions within the Indian delegation.

An even stronger divergence exists between the official Indian submission and the delegate's stated position when it comes to commitments for developing countries. According to its official negotiation position, India does not accept own commitments. Yet, in the interview the Indian delegate shows a much more flexible position. In fact, he does not provide a fixed number, but a much more detailed statement. The number of 50 is our (conservative) summary of his statement. In fact, he argues that developing countries should indeed take up binding commitments, whereby different types of countries should face different types of obligations. Large emerging countries (BASIC) should commit to energy intensity targets, and small countries should commit to low carbon development paths. Generally, commitments should be differentiated in terms of energy use per capita or emissions per capita.

This position reflects a mix of the traditional choice of relevant indicators (on a per capita basis) and the new recognition of binding commitments for developing countries – in line with delegation leader Ramesh's policy shift discussed above. In the context of the related topic of monitoring, reviewing and verification of such developing country commitments the delegate explicitly underscores the change in the Indian position during COP 15 in Copenhagen.

In other developing countries, the position on commitments for developing economies is widely divergent. Note the extremely high standard deviation for G77 countries where submissions, in fact, cover the full range from 0 to 100. For AOSIS, the official position looks surprisingly firm, despite their direct interest in emission reductions by all countries. Yet, just as for India, when asking individual delegates during our interviews, the result was very different, with a mean value of 64.3. In total, we carried out seven interviews with AOSIS

representatives, and none of them was of the opinion that all non-Annex I countries should be excluded from future commitments.

Table 3 turns to additional issue areas relevant during the negotiations from Bali to Copenhagen, namely adaptation and mitigation finance, as well as the role of market mechanisms. In this context, it appears relevant to also compare the Indian position to the position of similar countries, such as the other large emerging economies in the BASIC group. We thus replace the AOSIS-column of Table 2 with a column for BASIC countries as a whole. In addition, as opposed to the issues relating to emission reduction targets, the position of the EU is less clearly defined within Annex I so that we prefer to show the mean value for Annex I as a whole.

On adaptation and mitigation finance, we observe the expected differences between average Annex I country positions and developing country positions, including India. The position on adaptation finance stated in the interview is stronger than the one in the official submissions and requests mandatory financing of around 100 billion USD per year by industrialized countries. The difference could be driven by the fact that the interview was carried out at a time when an agreement along these lines was already achieved as an integral part of the Copenhagen Accord, although still lacking appropriate specifications to guarantee its implementation.

Table 3: Positions on additional issue areas

	India submissions	India interview	G77 country submissions	BASIC country submissions	Annex I country submissions
C. Adaptation finance by industrialized countries (0=voluntary, …,100=mandatory)	70	100	82.5 (17.7)	75.7 (21.2)	52.6 (16.0)
D. Mitigation finance by industrialized countries (0=voluntary, …,100=mandatory)	63	n.a.	55.2 (24.3)	73.1 (18.0)	45.7 (6.3)
E. Use of market mechanisms (0=none,…, 100=all under discussion)	75	100	48.7 (21.0)	59.3 (34.4)	75.0 (25.9)

Note: Standard deviation in parenthesis where result is computed from submissions by more than one country.
Sources: Own coding of submissions and information from interviews (see Weiler 2011, Annex 1).

Otherwise, India generally takes up an intermediate position between G77 and BASIC on the one hand, and Annex I on the other hand. With respect to mitigation finance, India's submissions reflect the lowest demands on the Western world among the four BASIC countries. The relatively moderate Indian position is also reflected in positions on the concrete implementation of adaptation and mitigation finance. According to the Indian delegate, the respective funds should be allocated by double majority of donors and recipients, rather than by recipients alone, and they should not simply be disbursed, free of conditions, to a designated national authority, but in a more controlled manner to pre-defined programmes and activities, especially in the area of adaptation.

On the use of market mechanisms the Indian position matches exactly the Annex I average. Given the strong and positive experience of the CDM, India is clearly more open towards such mechanisms than the average developing country. It should be noted, however, that for all issue areas, mean values for the different country groups are based on a wide range of diverging positions that largely overlap across groups.

Generally, the evidence from Bali to Copenhagen depicts India as a country with moderate positions that do not reflect its traditional image as a defensive, value claiming negotiator ("porcupine"), but rather as a country that could forge a compromise. While positions have certainly become even more flexible under the leadership of Minister Ramesh in Copenhagen,

this seems to reinforce an existing trend rather than a complete break with prior attitudes on the international arena.

5.2. Strategy choice and choice of partners

If India has moved away from its traditional role as a defensive, value claiming negotiator, this should not only be reflected in its positions, but also in the way the delegation argues and forges coalitions. When asking the Indian delegate himself, he conveys a picture of his country as a transparent negotiator, with firm convictions, but yet ready and flexible enough to search for compromise and suggest new solutions. We assess the Indian negotiation strategy based on a number of questions posed to the delegate, and compare the answers to those given by other countries' representatives during our interviews at the UNFCCC negotiation round from Bali to Copenhagen. Table 4 presents the Indian response to these questions, along with the mean response by delegates from G77 and Annex I countries respectively. We also present a confidence interval, to see whether we observe any significant difference of the Indian position. While self-reporting by the delegates may bias the responses towards the (perceived normatively superior) value creating, soft strategies and against value claiming, hard strategies, we will assume that this holds for all delegates in a similar way so that the comparison between India and the median values for the two country group remains valid.

Table 4: Strategic behaviour[1]

Strategies	India	G77			Annex I		
		median	95% conf.i.		median	95% conf.i.	
Value creating / soft strategies							
Express understanding for diverging interest	7	7	5	7	7	5	9
Propose new solutions in common interest	9	7	6	7	7	7	9
Exchange concessions for mutual benefit	4.5	5	3	7	5.5	1	7
Value claiming / hard strategies							
Declare not to change position under any circumstance	3	3	3	6	5	1	9
Criticise others' positions	7	5	3	7	5	3	5
Ignore or reject demands made by others	7	6	3	7	6	1	9
Hide actual objectives to reach stronger negotiation position	3	5	3	7	5	1	7
Demand concessions for own benefit	7	5	5	7	5	1	9
Use threats (e.g. sanctions, trade restrictions, etc.)	1	1	1	3	1	1	5
Use promises (e.g. concessions, aid, etc.)[2]	1	1	1	5	4	1	7

[1] Questions refer to strategic behaviour in the open negotiations (as opposed to internal group meetings). Numbers correspond to 1=never,…,9=very often. Information is based on self-reporting by delegates. Confidence intervals are binomial-based and computed without interpolation. Maximum number of observations for G77=33, for Annex I=9.
[2] For the classification of the use of promises as "value claiming", see Bailer (2011).
Source: Interviews with national delegates at UNFCCC negotiations (see Weiler 2011, Annex 1).

We first note that the two groups of comparison do not substantially differ from each other. According to the delegates' own reporting, the median Annex I country makes more use of the hard strategies for only two out of seven specific strategy types, confidence intervals are large and always overlap. There is even less difference with respect to the use of soft strategies.
India stands out for its very frequent proposition of new solutions, significantly above the G77 median, and met by only few Annex I countries. This well reflects the special role India had during recent negotiation rounds. Generally, the Indian delegate presents India as a country that has largely made use of value creating strategies, at least to the same extent as the typical G77, and also Annex I member country. With respect to the exchange of concessions, the

answer of the Indian delegate is not easily put into a number. The number 4.5 is our own shortcut for a more complex answer by the delegate indicating that India usually does not make concessions until the end of the negotiation round. Then, however, India is ready to make a lot of concessions to contribute to a mutually acceptable compromise.

Evidence is mixed with respect to the hard strategies. In many respects, the reported Indian strategy is at the lower end of the range of answers: never using threats or promises, very rarely hiding its objectives, and very rarely declaring not to change positions under any circumstance. Especially the positioning in the latter case is remarkable, given the fixed and fully intransigent positions Indian delegations used to be known for in earlier times.

At the same time India reportedly uses some hard strategies more often than other delegations, frequently criticising other parties, ignoring or rejecting their demands, and demanding concessions. In this context, it places itself at the "harder" end of G77 countries and even outside the confidence interval for Annex I countries when it comes to the use of criticism. The observation of recent UNFCCC negotiations reveals that these strategies continue to be anchored in a firm belief in the normative imperative of its central positions, e.g. on historical responsibility, the consideration of population size, and economic capacity.

Overall, India appears like a very transparent player, openly criticising, but clarifying its demands rather than hiding its own objectives. In sum, results for the use of value claiming strategies are mixed. While the traditional stance is still visible to some extent, it is now embedded in a more flexible overall strategic framework, and compensated by the simultaneous use of value creating strategies. This conclusion is also shared by external observers, and carries over from our observations covering Bali to Copenhagen, to COP 16 in Cancún. According to the Hindustan Times (2011), Christiana Figueres, Secretary General of the UNFCCC, summarises her impression as follows:

> *"India represented its own interests and stood firm with other developing countries,*
> *and then was incredibly helpful in showing that it's mostly in the interest of*
> *developing countries to move forward."*

All in all, the analysis strengthens the case for the "tiger" as opposed to the "porcupine" as far as modern Indian negotiation behaviour in international climate policy is concerned.

In terms of coalitions, India is traditionally anchored within the G77 where it has frequently occupied a leadership position. Correspondingly, in our interview, G77 is mentioned as the single most important group India is a member of. Yet, even in the interview, when it comes to the group's influence on India's own position, BASIC, rather than G77, is pointed out as most influential. Thus, even if India still feels close to the large group of (mainly very poor) developing countries within G77, common preferences may drive it closer to the subset of the large emerging economies.

Using our coding of statements during the negotiations as reflected in the ENB, we try to objectively assess India's actual closeness to and support for other countries and groups. Table 5 presents all mutually supportive (="joint") statements with its ten most important partners during negotiation rounds from Bali (December 2007) to Copenhagen (December 2009). We call a "joint statement" whenever India explicitly and expressively supports the statement of another country or group, or vice versa. The "most important partners" are then defined as those partners with the highest number of joint statements. Table 5 shows these statements in absolute terms (number of statements), as well as in relative terms (relative to the total number of statements made by India on the one hand, and by the respective partner on the other hand).

Table 5: Joint statements with India during public negotiation sessions

Partner	Number of joint statements	Joint statements in % of India's statements	Joint statements in % of partner's statements
1) China	41	20.0	15.4
2) Brazil	23	11.2	10.2
3) Saudi Arabia	19	9.3	8.4
4) African Group	11	5.4	8.3
5) Philippines	10	4.9	17.2
6) Algeria	9	4.4	25.0
7) South Africa	9	4.4	6.9
8) AOSIS	8	3.9	3.5
9) G77	7	3.4	1.8
10) Indonesia	7	3.4	12.5

Note: Partner countries ordered by the number of joint statements with India.
Sources: Own coding of submissions (see Weiler 2011, Annex 1).

Clearly, the most relevant partner country for India seems to be China. Out of 205 Indian interventions reported in the ENB, 41 were in support of (or supported by) simultaneous statements made by China. The second most important partner – albeit with only about half the number of joint interventions – is Brazil a, i.e. yet another BASIC country. Unexpectedly and possibly related to very specific issues under discussion, it is closely followed by Saudi Arabia.

With only 7 joint statements and 3.4% of all Indian interventions, joint statements with the G77 are relatively rare. For the G77, joint statements with India represent only 1.8% of its interventions. This level of mutual support is much less than what one would expect for a strong partnership situation. One might object that there is no need for India to say anything in support of G77 statements as India is itself part of this group. Yet, such supportive statements by individual member countries are not unusual. China, for instance, has many more joint statements with the G77 despite being a member of this group, too (remember that we use G77 as a shortcut for G77+China). Indeed for China, with 55 joint statements, the G77 is the most important partner, pushing back India in the second position.

In this light it seems that India, even more than China, gradually loosens its traditional coalition, and sets a clear priority on the new partnership with other emerging nations within BASIC. Despite poverty remaining a wide-spread phenomenon in India, the country's delegation does not seem to see India so much as a poor developing country any more. This is also underscored by a remark of the Indian delegate related to adaptation funding. When asked why he would opt for direct donor funding of individual projects rather than for a maximum freedom of recipient countries in determining the allocation of these funds, he clarifies his belief that India will not receive any of these funds anyway.

The perceived decrease in commonalities with poor developing countries is a further factor driving India away from its traditional negotiation strategy.

5.3. The composition of the Indian delegation

Let us finally consider whether the above mentioned changes are also reflected in the composition of the Indian delegation. One would typically assume that the delegation of a successful dynamic broker should be relatively large (in order to participate in all relevant meetings), well-organised and well-experienced.

In the early days of international climate policy, at least the size of the delegation was certainly below the expectation for a country with the population and the economic relevance of India. According to Vihma (2011, p. 13f.) the basically inexistent debate of international climate policy within India was reflected, on the one hand, by a very small group of people responsible for this policy area, and, on the other hand, by the large freedom they enjoyed to

determine India's international position. Gupta et al. (2001, p. 333) take a very sober view of these initial years, suggesting that the Indian position was not determined by its national interests, but rather by personal ideology. In addition, Indian delegations to UNFCCC conferences were not only small, but, with a few exceptions, also did not enjoy continuity of personnel. The lead was shared by the Ministry of Environment and Forests and the Ministry of External Affairs (Rajan 1997, pp. 19-25). According to interviews carried out by Vihma (2011, p. 13), far beyond his retirement from the Ministry of External Affairs in 2000, Ambassador Chandrashekhar Dasgupta was a driving force within the Indian delegation. In addition, Prodipto Gosh, who joined the delegation in 2001 as a top bureaucrat from the Ministry of Environment and Forests, also became a key spokesperson of the delegation, and was known for his sharp rhetoric related to the specific needs of developing countries and the historical responsibility of industrialized economies.

Noticeably, for both of them, Copenhagen was the last UNFCCC meeting they participated in – just as some other high-ranking proponents of the more traditional Indian international climate policy such as Special Envoy Shyam Saran (see discussion in Section 4). All of them left shortly after Minister Ramesh had taken over the lead of the Indian delegation. This cleaned the new delegation from the last representatives of the strategic "porcupine" attitude.

When along with the increasing interest of the Indian media, climate policy was elevated to a policy field of strategic importance, there were some attempts to constrain the autonomy of the Indian delegation. Yet, with the Prime Minister taking personal interest in the issue and fully supporting Minister Ramesh's position, these attempts remained without much consequence.

Despite the loss of some of its long-standing members after Copenhagen, the Indian delegations are today well-prepared and show continuity even beyond rotations of officials between agencies. In fact, it seems to have become a common strategy to retain experienced staff in the delegation when they move to different ministries or even to external employers outside the Indian civil service. Among the delegation members at COP 16 in Cancún, over 35% had already been part of the delegation at COP 15 in Copenhagen, 20% at COP 14 in Poznan and 10% at COP 13 in Bali. The lists of delegation members are available from the UNFCCC website (UNFCCC 2011).

When examining these lists more closely, the most striking feature is that the Indian delegation is still very small. The number of delegates was 41 (Bali 2007), 23 (Poznan 2008), 77 (Copenhagen 2009), and 29 (Cancún 2010). Other delegations of comparable countries are larger by far. China and Indonesia for instance, sent more than 300 delegates to Copenhagen. Figure 2 provides a general overview of the number of delegates at Copenhagen in relation to the countries' population size.[9]

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[9] Among the non-Annex I countries, with 450 delegates, neither China, nor Indonesia, but Brazil formally had the largest delegation. However, Brazil is an exception in that any Brazilian nationals attending the COP, i.e., all interested NGO members or members from other interest groups, were automatically included in the national delegation.

Figure 2: Delegation size versus population size, COP 15 in Copenhagen
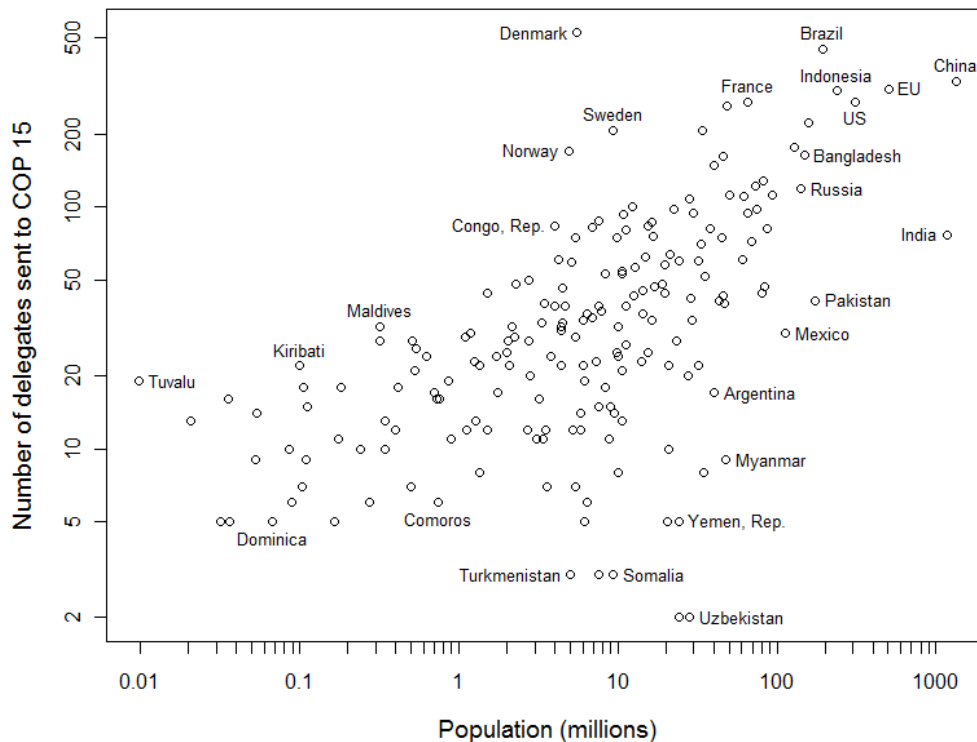
Note: logarithmic scales.
Sources: UNFCCC (2011), World Bank (2011).

Clearly, the limited number of delegates constrains the possibility to attend all relevant parallel meetings and to take part in side-events. Notably the side-events also provide a valuable exchange with research and other parts of civil society, and a platform to promote a country's position in a more open and deliberative context. In our interview, the Indian delegate recognised the relevant role of side-events. According to him India is often on the programme and clearly wants to participate in these discussions, but actual participation is severely limited due to the time constraints on the few delegates. In fact, in a sample of side events in 2007, attendance of Indian negotiators was zero, while Latin American and African countries participated eagerly. However, NGO participation from India in the side events was quite strong (Hjerpe et al. 2008, p. 39, 41).

Apart from its small size, another notable feature of the Indian delegation is its limitation to (current or former) members of the civil service. This is rather unusual as 87% of UNFCCC member countries' delegations also include representatives of NGOs, the media, researchers and / or industry. Yet, given that already within government, a variety of institutions have to be included (more than ten in Copenhagen alone), the inclusion of additional non-governmental actors might render coordination within the delegation extremely difficult. Despite no direct representation, exchange with the research community is guaranteed, at least to some extent, through the move of some delegates between research and civil service. And an advantage may be that the limitation to civil servants reduces the influence of special interests.

In sum, available evidence looks as if the small delegation size may be compensated by the effective selection of delegates. This impression is also supported when considering the relatively high ranks of many delegates within their respective institutions. These senior civil servants or diplomats are then typically complemented by local embassy staff. At COP 16 in

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Cancún, for instance, 6 out of the 29 delegation members came from the Indian embassy in Mexico.[10]

6. Achievements so far

Before we conclude let us briefly consider the preliminary achievements of India's international climate negotiation policy, as well as the challenges ahead. We will consider the achievements along the lines of a classification of objectives suggested by Odell (2000, p. 25), namely:

(1)   Economic objectives (financial gains or avoided losses)
(2)   Relational objectives (international esteem and influence on other parties)
(3)   Domestic political objectives (popularity of chief negotiator or ruling party)

Ad (1): Economic success is most difficult to evaluate at this stage since, as opposed to what was initially expected, no major decisions were taken in Copenhagen and all key items were deferred to later meetings. Preliminary outcomes are relatively positive from the Indian perspective. In particular, the agreement on climate finance adopted in the context of the Copenhagen Accord might yield direct financial benefits for India. Moreover, India has so far avoided any costly own mitigation commitments apart from voluntary action in the framework of NAMAs.

However, given its high vulnerability to the impact of climate change, in the long-run, the economic cost of adaptation will be very high. Therefore, it becomes vital for India that a serious agreement on global emission reduction be achieved. In addition, a second commitment period in the spirit of the Kyoto Protocol is of direct financial interest for India as a major CDM host country. In the event that no agreement can be found on these issues, even the status quo will be at risk since international demand for CERs will shrink considerably. This would deprive the Indian industry of a major opportunity to earn extra revenues through the reduction of carbon intensity.

In any case, this clearly shows that the continuation of the traditional purely defensive, value claiming strategy would not have been helpful here, either. A veto cannot help. If at all, the "tiger" rather than the "porcupine" can move things forward in the desired direction.

Ad (2): In terms of international esteem and influence on other parties, the new Indian strategy has proved most clearly successful. India is now widely recognised as a key player in the international climate negotiations. While remaining loyal to its central positions in support of poor developing countries, in public perception, it has moved out of this group and into the group of emerging powers. Linking up with China, Brazil and South Africa in the BASIC group, India now tends to be put in the same category as China, an economically much more powerful country. Given its highly professional and flexible handling of difficult negotiation situations in Copenhagen as well as in Cancun, even within the BASIC group (as discussed in

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[10] Note that the relevant skills and experience of delegates, as well as their hierarchical position and thus their capacity to actually take decisions and guarantee their implementation, is not adequately measured by the standard variables such as "years of international negotiation experience of delegation head" used in the literature and in our interview questionnaire for the delegates (see Weiler 2011). In fact, comparing the results of our interviews across countries, the Indian delegation appears below average. This can be explained by three related problems: First, information is restricted to the head of the delegation. Second, the more powerful the head of delegation (minister, head of state), the less experience he will usually have as a delegate in international negotiations, and even less so in the specific area of climate change. Third, long-term politicians also have negotiation experience, but this will not be taken into account as long as it is gained at the national rather than the international level.

Section 3), it seems to become the preferred and most relevant negotiation partner for other major players such as the US.

However, in the long-term, this strategy is not without risk. As compared to all other BASIC countries, India still is a relatively poor country. At 3 296 USD, its GDP per capita (PPP) is less than half of the corresponding figure for China, and not even one third of the corresponding figures for Brazil and South Africa. As compared to China, the contribution of India's economy to the rise in global emissions is only marginal (Massetti 2011). Eventually, the preferences of these countries may thus be less closely correlated than it appears at first glance (see also Jacob 2010). Playing the game of the large emerging economy may be dangerous in that the expectations for India will rise accordingly and disproportionately when considering the actual state of economic development of the country.

Ad (3): In terms of domestic politics, the new Indian negotiation strategy at international level evoked a lot of controversy. While Ramesh had to fight with strong criticism, he also managed to be continuously present in the media, even though the topic was almost inexistent in the national press before he took office as the responsible minister. In December 2010, Forbes India (2010) called him a "person of the year". And the media enjoyed the glory of India being praised internationally as a dynamic broker in the ongoing climate negotiations. Throughout, the strategies followed by Ramesh enjoyed the backing by the Prime Minister. In July 2011, he was promoted to the rank of a cabinet minister. All in all, this appears to be a personal success story within domestic politics.

It is too early to predict what this cabinet reshuffling will mean for the future of India's international climate policy. However, all in all, the strategy followed by Ramesh seems to have been relatively successful. While a trend towards a more open and flexible negotiation strategy had already emerged some years earlier, he used all of his political weight, his rhetoric skills and his links to the media, to support these developments. Despite some remaining domestic opposition, given the arguments provided above, the new minister Natrajan should have an incentive to continue along these lines. If this happens, India will be able to further promote its international image as a "tiger" and to abandon its past image as a "porcupine".

7. Concluding discussion

Indian international climate policy was initially characterized by a defensive Third Worldist rhetoric and a pure distributive strategy. The strategy in international climate policy was similar to areas of international negotiations, such as trade. These similarities are not surprising given the common traditions, education and cultural heritage of Indian diplomats and civil servants active in the different fields, and the general example given by important leaders such as Jawaharlal Nehru.

Following the economic transformation starting in the early 1990s, some observers note a change in this strategy. They see the strategic orientation moving towards the more frequent use of integrative elements, and towards greater flexibility and dynamics. However, in trade, for instance, many traditional value claiming and defensive elements remain. Until today, India has frequently been observed to stick to its positions, fixed once and for all, as well as to the positions of the coalitions it is part of, and in which it often assumes a leadership role.

The shift from pure distributive to mixed strategies has been much clearer in international climate policy. To reflect this change, we borrow Mohan's (2003) metaphor of a change from "porcupine" to "tiger". Indeed, in recent years, India has shown some similarities with the powerful, dynamic and versatile tiger in the international climate negotiations. It showed quite

some flexibility and integrative leadership, changing positions when realising previously unnoticed benefits like in the case of the CDM, creating dynamic sub-groups when discussions within G77 did not lead to the desired consensus, and assuming individual responsibility in critical situations such as when directly dealing with the US to negotiate the Copenhagen Agreement. Despite persistent poverty and a level of per capita greenhouse gas emissions which is over ten times lower than that of industrialized countries and four times lower than that of China, it became a recognised and, in fact, leading member of BASIC, and, more generally, a pivotal player in international climate policy. In the Copenhagen and Cancun climate summits of 2009 and 2010, its dynamic and decisive role was repeatedly acknowledged by international media and by the Secretary General of the UNFCCC.

Our analysis based on the available literature as well as on the data collected from interviews with negotiators, official submissions, coding of ENB's daily negotiation summaries and publications of the Indian press, reveals that the shift towards mixed strategies is based primarily on factors emanating from the domestic political economy. They include: the rising awareness of India's own vulnerability to climate change, of direct financial benefits for the private sector through the CDM, and of the problem of energy security, which anyway calls for a national orientation towards energy efficiency and renewable energy. Moreover, rising international pressure for India to participate in the global effort, in particular when it comes from developing countries, seems to play a relevant role.

Between 2009 and 2011 the awareness rising process was further fuelled by a sharp rise in media coverage, and by the dynamics of an individual key politician, Minister Jairam Ramesh, who assumed the leading role both within the Indian delegation to the UNFCCC, and within the fractionalised national system with its various institutions and unclear responsibilities in the area of climate change.

Some of these factors clearly reflect determinants of strategy choice also suggested in the cross-country study by Bailer (2011), and the case study on Russia by Andonova and Alexieva (2011). In Russia, just as in India, the rising recognition of the country's own vulnerability, and the financial benefits from emissions trading also appear to be relevant for a certain shift in strategies (from pure obstructionism towards a somewhat more consensual orientation). This is in line with theoretical arguments of negotiation theory according to which a country that has much to lose from no (further) agreement, would tend to negotiate for a compromise (Bailer 2011).

It should be noted, however, that – rather than vulnerability and private sector benefits themselves – it is the perception of these that actually changes over time, that leads to political pressure, and that eventually changes the negotiation approach. This may explain some of the differences in the empirical results Bailer (2011) reports for the general vulnerability index on the one hand, and the delegates' assessment of vulnerability on the other hand. While available only for a smaller (and non-representative) sample of countries, the latter seems conceptually closer to the relevant measurement of perceptions.

Another important result that is more difficult to capture in a cross-country study is the important role of individual dynamic leaders such as Jairam Ramesh. Again, the case study on Russia also shows some – albeit more limited – effect of the change of key politicians. In both cases, this is not a matter of easily measured characteristics such as party ideology or years in office as an international negotiator, but of personality and other, more subtle personal characteristics.

In the Indian case Jairam Ramesh's personal dynamics and his close link to the media were crucial to launching the national debate. Moreover, his standing and experience in national politics allowed him to obtain the freedom from constraints imposed by the Indian parliament, and thus allowed him to become a flexible negotiator at the international level. Here, evidence

for India differs from the average country case where the delegation leader's experience and qualification tends to increase the use of hard strategies (Bailer 2011).

At the same time, this same example – along with the above discussion of the role of the media and public opinion – supports another proposition by Bailer (2011) related to the strong importance of domestic actors for international negotiation, when the country is a democracy. While Andonova and Alexieva (2011) demonstrate that the Russian case also needs to be modelled as a two-level decision process, with national factors influencing international positions and strategies, clearly, the role of media and public opinion is of much lesser relevance.

Results of the Indian case study are also in line with some of the major arguments advanced by Weiler (2011) on the determinants of negotiation success. Along with India's recent growth spurt, India's exogenous power resources increased making it a more relevant international player across different fields of international negotiations. With respect to endogenous power resources, our analysis of the climate negotiation process confirms the important role of the delegation head, and the qualification and experience of the delegation as a whole. The way in which India retains experienced negotiators in the delegation, even when they change employment, could be exemplary for other developing countries in order to improve their negotiation capacity. The Indian case study also reveals that the empirical results presented by Weiler (2011) for his cross-sectional analysis may, in fact, underestimate the role of endogenous power resources since, at least in the Indian case, the qualification of the delegation is only very imperfectly measured by the standard variables used.

The Indian case study further offers some evidence for Weiler's (2011) proposition of the importance of a careful adjustment between the selection of hard and soft strategies, and the availability of exogenous and endogenous power resources. Again, however, despite de facto support for his general arguments, the Indian case may not contribute much to making his results statistically more significant. The central problem is that in our cross-country interview data used by Weiler (2011), the definition of success hinges solely on substantive outcomes of the international negotiation process. This means that among the three dimensions of success considered relevant in this case study (i. economic objectives, i.e. financial gains or avoided losses; ii. relational objectives, i.e. international esteem and influence on other parties; and iii. domestic political objectives, i.e. popularity of chief negotiator or ruling party) only the first is taken into account in the cross-country study. While this is difficult to handle otherwise, it is somewhat problematic, notably in a situation where the final substantial (economic) outcomes are not yet known as the negotiation process continues. The Indian case study therefore suggests that some of the empirical results by Weiler (2011) might have provided stronger support to his theoretical arguments if it were possibly to more precisely measure negotiation success.

What would we conclude for the outlook on the future of India's role in the international climate negotiations? Generally, it appears that the careful use of mixed strategies could lead to further success for the Indian delegation. Yet, even in international climate policy, it may not be fully clear whether Indian negotiators will be able to stick to this strategy. The reshuffling of the Indian cabinet moving Jairam Ramesh to higher ranks and leaving his former portfolio to the new minister Jayanti Natrajan might take out some of the current dynamics. Moreover, the perception of the Indian delegation may be that the unique window of opportunity opened by the election of Obama as the US president and by his willingness to actively participate in Copenhagen has closed again, so that further integrative moves would be in vain. However, given the domestic factors mentioned above (national vulnerability to climate change, energy security concerns, and private benefits through the CDM) together with the coverage of these issues in the national media, and rising public awareness going

hand in hand with this, the new drive may have gained sufficient momentum. Similarly, at the international level, India's new role as a pivotal player within its new and strong coalition (BASIC), and the way its responsibility is perceived by poorer and even more vulnerable developing countries may imply that its change in strategies cannot easily be reversed. In this case, we will continue to see India as a tiger in the international climate negotiations.

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